

**THE SOCIALIST WORKERS SELF-GOVERNMENT
AND
IT'S EFFECT ON THE WORKERS INFLUENCE AND
THE TRANSCENDENCE OF ALIENATION OF LABOR
IN YUGOSLAVIA**

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Prof. Dr. Raşit Kaya
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Prof. Dr. Şinasi Aksoy
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Şinasi Aksoy (METU, ADM) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. A. Alpay Dikmen (ANK.U., ADM) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok (METU, CRP) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tarık Şengül (METU, ADM) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Üstüner (METU, ADM) _____

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Name, Surname : Ali Milliođulları

Signature :

ABSTRACT

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT IT'S EFFECT ON WORKERS' INFLUENCE AND THE TRANSCENDENCE OF THE ALIENATION OF LABOR IN YUGOSLAVIA

Ali Milliođulları

Ph.D. Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Őinasi Aksoy

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The objective of this dissertation study is to explore the socialist workers' self-government and to what extend the socialist workers self-government's theoretical aim and potential for the transcendence of the alienation of labor has been realized in the experience of the Socialist Yugoslavia, by a theoretically and socio-historical contextually grounded comparative empirical inquiry in Yugoslavia. The main theoretical thesis of this study is that compared to the etatist-bureaucratic socialist system and the capitalist societal system, the self-governing socialism can have a qualitatively more significant positive effect on the workers influence over decision-making and the transcendence of alienation of labor in work organizations. The study is composed of three main parts: (1) the examination and evaluation of the theoretical perspectives on the

socialist workers' self-government and the alienation of labor, (2) the examination of the development of the socialist workers' self-government in Yugoslavia in practice, and (3) a comparative empirical study concerning the effect of the socialist workers' self-government in Yugoslavia and the capitalist non-participative management in Turkey on the workers influence over decision-making and the transcendence of the alienation of labor in work organizations. The analyses of the research data for the within - the socialist workers self-management system in Yugoslavia revealed that, contrary to the expectations of the related theory, ideology and de jure structure, the socialist workers self-management did not have a qualitatively significant positive effect on the workers influence and transcendence of the alienation of labor in work organizations.

However, as to the between societal systems comparison, the analyses of the research data indicated that, in consistent with the theoretical expectations, compared with the capitalist management system in Turkey, the socialist workers self-management in Yugoslavia has a statistically more significant positive effect on the workers influence and the reduction of the powerlessness in work dimension of the alienation of labor.

Key words: workers' self-government, socialism, alienation, Yugoslavia.

ÖZ

YUGOSLAVYA'DA SOSYALİST ÖZYÖNETİM

VE

EMEĞİN ÇALIŞMA ÖRGÜTLERİNDEKİ

KARARLARA KATILIMI VE EMEĞİN

YABANCILAŞMASININ AŞILMASI ÜZERİNE ETKİSİ

Ali Millioğulları

Ph.D. Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Şinasi Aksoy

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Bu tez çalışmasının amacı, Yugoslavya'da sosyalist özyönetim sistemini ve sosyalist özyönetim kuramının temel amaçları ve potansiyellerinden emek süreci ve örgütlerinde emekçi sınıfın özyönetiminin ve emeğin, sonuç olarak da insanın yabancılaşmasının aşılmasının ne ölçüde gerçekleştiğinin, kuramsal ve toplumsal-tarihsel pratiği bağlamı üzerine temellendirilen bir karşılaştırmalı görgül araştırmasını gerçekleştirmektir. Çalışmanın temel kuramsal tezi, kapitalist toplum sistemi ve devletçi bürokratik sosyalist toplum sistemiyle karşılaştırıldığında, sosyalist özyönetim toplum sisteminin emeğin çalışma sürecindeki kararlara katılımları ve emeğin yabancılaşmasının aşılması üzerine niteliksel olarak daha anlamlı olumlu bir etkisi olacaktır. Çalışma üç bölümden oluşmaktadır: (1) sosyalist özyönetim ve emeğin yabancılaşması üzerine kuramsal

yaklaşımların ve ilgili görgül araştırma yazınının bir inceleme ve değerlendirmesi, (2) Yugoslavya'da sosyalist özyönetim deneyiminin toplumsal tarihsel bağlamda incelenmesi, ve (3) Yugoslavya'da sosyalist özyönetim ve Türkiye'de katılımsız kapitalist yönetimin, çalışanların iş örgütlerinde karar süreçlerine katılımları ve emeğin yabancılaşmasının aşılması üzerine etkilerinin bir karşılaştırmalı görgül araştırması. Yugoslavya sosyalist özyönetim sisteminin sistem-içi verilerini çözümlenmesi, ilgili kuram, ideoloji ve siyasal-yasal yapının beklentisi ile çelişkili olarak, sosyalist özyönetimin emekçilerin çalışma örgütlerindeki karar alma süreçlerine katılımını ve işte yabancılaşmanın aşılmasını olumlu yönde niteliksel düzeyde anlamlı olarak etkilemediğini göstermiştir. İki toplumsal sistemin karşılaştırılmasında ise, bulgular, ilgili kuram, ideoloji ve siyasal-yasal yapının beklentileriyle tutarlı olarak, Türkiye'deki kapitalist katılımsız yönetimle karşılaştırıldığında, Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetiminin emekçilerin çalışma örgütlerindeki karar süreçlerine katılımı üzerinde ve emeğin yabancılaşmasının işte güçsüzlük boyutunun aşılmasında istatistiksel olarak daha anlamlı olumlu bir etkiye sahip olduğunu göstermiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Özyönetim, sosyalizm, yabancılaşma, Yugoslavya.

*For A Non-Exploitative, Non-Alienative, Praxis Based -
Self-Governing - Liberating Socialism For Mankind*

and

For My Angel

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A central characteristic of industrial society has been an ever-increasing efficiency of the technology and social organization of production, mastery of man over nature. However, counterbalancing these positive results have been its generation and imposition of its own instrumental rationality and its own ethos on man's relation to his work, himself, society and nature. In this socio-historical condition of man, the theory of alienation has been developed by the classical and contemporary social philosophers and social scientists as an analysis and critique of industrial society in general and industrial capitalism in particular.

More than a century and a half after its emergence, the theory of alienation of labor and man has not lost its practical and critical-theory relevance to the major problems of the contemporary society. Indeed, we witness a revitalization of interest in the phenomenon of alienation of labor, for the industrial capitalism's alienative effects have extended far beyond the industrial work into universal societal scopes, penetrating into all phases of human life because of its concomitant results as urbanization, oversocialization, rationalization, overspecialization, bureaucratization, conspicuous consumption,

symbolic manipulation and reification of all human relations with their universalization and intensification primarily as a result of deepening and widening exploitation and the human existence's becoming increasingly the means of capitalisation in the present age of global capitalism together with the failure of the etatist - bureaucratic socialism.

In the light of advances in the knowledge of social sciences on the organizational and administrative behavior and under the demands of labor and management, in industrialized and industrializing societies, a variety of ideas, interventions, techniques and movements as leisure, automation, job design, job enlargement and enrichment, work humanization, quality of working life, quality circles total quality-management, participative management and workers' self-management have been developed for the solution of the problem of work alienation. Out of such variety of administrative and organizational models, the relevant thematical studies, **on the theoretical plane**, suggest that **the socialist workers' self-governed mode of work has more potential as a solution for the problem of work alienation on a macro-societal system level** (Marx, 1964, 1977; Lukacs, 1976; Marcuse, 1955; Fromm, 1964; Morkovič, 1982). In addition, after the collapse of the existing etatist-bureaucratic socialism, this researcher observes a growing revitalization of interest

in the workers self-governing model of socialism as a possible future for socialism, in line with the direction of a continuing development of a critical Marxist perspective. However, comparative cross-societal empirical research on the subject is limited in the relevant literature in the world and completely absent in our country.

Therefore, I thought the exploration of the extend to which the theoretically assumed potential effect of the socialist workers self government on overcoming the alienation of labor has been realized in a socialist society in practice would be a scholarly and practically worthy endeavor as to both an empirical research based critical evaluation of the experience of “the existing socialist workers self-government system” in comparison with the capitalist management system in this respect, and establishing its implications for the development of non-exploitative, non-alienative, praxis-oriented self-governing and liberating socialist experiments in the future.

In the light of our reflections on the subject above, **the specific objective of this dissertation study is to explore the socialist workers self-government and to what extent the socialist workers self-government’s theoretical aim and potential for the transcendence of alienation of labor has been realized in the experience of the Socialist Yugoslavia, by a theoretically and socia-historical contextually grounded comparative empirical**

inquiry in Yugoslavia. Because, out of all existing socialist societal experiences, only the experience of the socialist workers self-government in Yugoslavia developed on a societal system scale and continued over forty years has provided a natural unique testing ground for the hypothesized relationship between the socialist workers self-government and the alienation of labor. The study on the subject of this dissertation and consequently writing on it is organized on its three aspects **its theory, practice and field research**, in the theoretical part of the study, an analysis and evaluation of the major theoretical and empirical research literature perspectives on the alienation of labor and the socialist workers self-government will be presented.

Although the idea of alienation had its roots in the ancient and medieval theology and philosophy the study of alienation of man on a systematic philosophical level started its career in Hegel's writings (Hegel. 1949) and evolved into a social scientific theory primarily in the works of Marx (Marx (1844), 1964) and in the works of other classical sociologists and contemporary social philosophers, and an empirically oriented field in the contemporary social sciences. Therefore, in the theoretical section on human alienation and alienation of labor in our exposition, we will take into consideration of the need for the reflecting the changes and continuities in the evolution of the studies on alienation. However, considering the fact that the

specific focus the empirical field investigation in this study is not being human alienation in general but the alienation of labor in particular; and that the philosophically grounded systematic critical scientific theoretical studies on the alienation of labor undertaken primarily Marx and contemporary Marxist social philosophies (Lukacs, Marcuse, fromm), the critical social theory perspective warrants relatively more substantive examination.

In the socialist workers self-government related theoretical section first an attempt for a conceptual clarification on the self-government and related concepts as participative management workers, control organizational democracy and industrial democracy will be realized. More importantly, the main theoretical perspective on the socialist workers self-government will be presented in an examination approach interweaving the major self-government experiments on the Paris Commune, the Soviet in the USSR, the factory councils in Italy and the Socialist workers self-government in Yugoslavia with the theoretical perspectives of the Utopian Socialist, the Anarchists, the Guild Socialism and the critical Marxists on the socialist self-government under the disappointing effect of the etatist – bureaucratic socialist experience mainly in line with the critical social science perspective .

The second part of the study will be devoted to **the description and analysis of the evolution of the socialist workers self-government in Yugoslavia in practice.** The rationale for devoting a major part to the evolution of the socialist workers self-government in the Yugoslav practice lies in **the fact that the emergence and development of the socialist workers self-government experience in the real socio-historical context can provide more realist insights for both the interpretations of its achievements and limitations in the construction of the socialist society in Yugoslavia** and a general natural source of a great additional category of data and insights for more sound interpretation of the finding of our field research on the socialist workers self – government and labor alienation relationship in particular.

In the third, the empirical research related part of the study, research methodology, methods of data collection and analyses, conduct of field research, findings and interpretation aspects of the empirical research will be presented. For more approximating the realization of the intended objective of a socio-historical context and theoretically grounded empirical research for this study; in addition to devoting two major parts of the study to the exposition of the theoretical perspective and socio-historical context of the socialist workers' self-government, an empirical research conceptual model of

the interrelationship of the research variables based on this study's main theoretical thesis – **compared to the capitalist and etatist – bureaucratic socialist societal systems the socialist workers' self-governing societal system can have a qualitatively significant positive effect on the workers influence over decision-making and the transcendence of alienation labor** – will be developed in the introductory section of the empirical study methodology chapter. **This empirical research conceptual model will be, we hope, an important methodological instrument in order to connect the empirical research to the relevant theory and socio-historical context, specify the relevant research variables, predict possible interactions among the sets of variables, develop the research hypotheses, and consequently, have a logically sound systematic guide for developing the research design and research analysis-interpretation phases.**

Though the aim and focus of the study is centered on the investigation of the workers self-government-labor alienation relationship in Yugoslavia, inclusion of non-participative capital-managed work organizations in a capitalist society into our research design is integrated as a natural reference of comparison. Accordingly, the empirical research will be conducted in the work organizations at three different levels of technology (handicraft,

mechanized and automated) in Yugoslavia and Turkey. Indeed, in accordance with the rationale of a fuller examination of the major theoretical thesis and sub-theses, in its inception, our research design was planned to be a three-societal systems comparison study (socialist workers self-government, etatist-bureauratic socialist and capitalist societal systems). However, due to the insurmountable legal-political obstacles for the research permission, the researcher feel to content with a two-societal systems comparison study for the time being. The principal method of data collection will be a self-administrated questionnaire supplemented by structured interviews with some key persons among workers councils, administrative board members of labor unions and high level managers, internal organization records and published documents. In order to increase the possibility of methodologically justified causal inferences, both univariate, bivariate and multivariate statistical methods of analysis will be utilized as the nature of data renders it appropriate.

Due to our awareness of **some serious weaknesses of empirical methodology as a dominant methodological perspective in the mainstream social science research practice**, the researcher feels also in need of benefitting from the Marxist and Critical Realist methodological perspectives, particularly, in the research design and interpretation of research findings in this study.

CHAPTER 2

ALIENATION OF LABOR: A REVIEW OF THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

2.1. Theological and Philosophical Origins of the Concept of Alienation

Considering the fact that the idea of alienation has existed since the ancient ages in the whole spectrum of theological, philosophical and literary writings as well as in the social scientific literature; and its development in to a systematic social scientific theory in Marx's writings was significantly influenced primarily by Hegel's philosophical theory of alienation and in turn, Hegel's theory of alienation had been influenced by the ancient, medieval and modern theological and philosophical traditions of thought, a brief look at the theological and philosophical origins of the concept may contribute to a proper and holistic understanding of the concept of alienation in our theoretical exposition. Therefore, we will begin this theoretical chapter, first, by giving a summary account of the linguistic, theological and philosophical origins of the term and concept of alienation.

2.1.1. The Pre-Hegelian Theological and Philosophical Origins of the Concept of Alienation

The origin of the English word of alienation goes back to the Latin word *alienatio* which is reproduced from the Greek word in Biblical translations in the Latin language. According to Schacht, three meanings of *alienatio* (its verb form *alienare*) can be distinguished: (1) Alienation as Transfer of Ownership: *alienatio* (*alienatio* – *alienare*) connotes to transfer the ownership of something to another person. This use of the term is valid in the legal and economic context in the classic and medieval Latin, and the medieval and modern English as well. (2) Alienation As Mental Disorder: In Latin language, *alienatio mentis* connotes the loss of one's mental power or consciousness due to an external or an internal cause. This medical usage is still in use in psychiatry today. (3) Alienation as an Interpersonal Estrangement: In the ordinary Latin usage, this use of *alienatio*, its Latin verb form, *alienare*, means to cause a warm relationship with another to cool one. This use was primarily valid in theological contexts in the medieval age (Schacht, 1971:8).

The first appearance of the idea of alienation in the imaginative – mythical thinking based Middle Eastern, Hellenistic monistic and the early Christian Gnostic writings. In the Monistic writings, the idea appears in the expression of the 'first alien life' that rooms

around in the here on this side, longing for on the other side. This 'first alien life' is imagined as 'light' symbolically. Dwelling in this world connotes ranking lower than dwelling in the light and temporality, dissolution and mobility. The monastic literature also employs similar to the classic theology, the expression of dwelling in this world in the sense of the body in which soul lives and which the soul needs. In the Gnostic writings, it is evident that the idea of alienation is conceptualized both in its negative and more significantly positive meanings (Ludz, 1981:23-24).

In the Holy Books texts based dogmatic Judio-Christian and Islamic theological writings, the idea of human alienation is expressed in the wellknown mythological-theological postulate that man has fallen from Grace since he has violated the divine order; that is, man has alienated himself from the ways of God. This concept of human alienation as an archetypal theme in the theological history can be traced to the sense of Loss as in the estrangement of Adam and Eve from God and outcast from Eden. Indeed, the whole messianic mission consists in rescuing man from this self-alienation (Kenniston, 1972:389).

In the writings of the great classical philosophically oriented theologian as Plotinus, Augustine, Meister Eckhart and Aquinas, the positive connotation of alienation is articulated with a more theological influence. In order to emphasize the significance of

alienation in elevation Plotinus thought that without the body, the soul would remain completely in the spiritual realm and consequently would not be able to develop so that it could return to the light. Alienation, for Aquinas, is a preparatory stage for the real, the experience of God; for Meister Eckhart, it is the precondition of true life (Ludz, 1981:24-25).

These statements indicate that there appears a similarity between the views of the classical theologians and Hegel in conceptualizing alienation with a necessary and positive connotation as well as with a negative connotation for the realization of an unalienated status, though in a somewhat secularized philosophical terms in Hegel.

In the philosophically oriented theology, furthermore, alienation gains a different meaning, an ecstatic dimension or experience. As Rostenreich points out,

Alienation mentis in St. Augustine is the act of elevation from senses and not the act of forlornness of the mind. Being an act of elevation, it reaches the divine realm, and ceases to be a negative act of estrangement, this becoming a positive act leading to the achievement of union with God (Rostenreich, 1963:551).

The historically dominant idealist philosophical approach to the question places the root of man's alienation within problematic of

substance and subject. This approach to the origin of the idea of alienation has been developed by the two major metaphysical systems, the philosophy of substance of the classical and post-classical world and the modern philosophy of subject. In the pythagorian formulation alienation refers to moving away from the limit (determinacy and toward the unlimited (the formless). The Platonic conception of alienation means moving away from the eternal order of being (the forms) toward the world of transient particulars. In order to transcend the reifications of philosophy of Substance (being as substance), the modern philosophy of subject, which was developed mainly by Descartes, Kant and Hegel, brought forth a notion of man as spirit (Green, 1966:355).

2.1.2. Hegel's Theory of Alienation

Although the idea of alienation had been an ever recurred theme in the theological and philosophical writings throughout their history, it was elevated to the level of a systematically developed philosophical theory in Hegel's writings. While the concept of alienation begins to appear in Hegel's early works, it gains a fully articulated theoretical status in his seminal work, *Phenomenology of Mind*, in which a whole chapter consisting of more than one hundred pages, bears the title of "spirit in self-estranged" and a subsection"

under the title of “unhappy consciousness”, and more significantly, alienation is the central process in the unfolding of being in Hegel’s transcendental philosophical ontology primarily developed in the Phenomenology and the Logic.

Hegel uses the term alienation in two senses: separation (in the negative meaning) and surrender (in the positive meaning). The first one connotes one’s separation from the social substance, characterized as unfortunate (negative and necessary). A quotation from the section under the title, “the unhappy consciousness” in the Phenomenology will provide a more effective statement of the negative sense of alienation.

Consciousness of life, its existence and action is merely pain and sorrow over the existence and activity; for therein consciousness finds only consciousness of its opposite as its essence – and its own nothingness. Elevating itself beyond this, it passes to the unchangeable (Hegel, 1967, 260).

In the second sense, the term alienation connotes surrender, one’s surrendering his/her particular self (personal interests and desires), relinquishment of independence (individuality) and subordination of particularity to the universality as the result of which the reconciliation of particular (individuality) and the universal (the absolute reason and the social substance) and establishing

himself/herself as the objectively existing substance are realized. In Hegel's one related statement, "For the power of the individual consists in making himself comfortable to that substance, i.e., in relinquishing his self, and thus establishing himself as the objective substance" (Hegel, 1949:517). Hegel's conceptualization of alienation as surrender seems to have been effected from the social contract theorists views on "transferring" or relinquishing one's sovereign authority over oneself (the right or liberty of determining one's actions) voluntarily to the community.

In evaluating Hegel's theory of alienation we may conclude that Hegel's philosophical originality and achievement lies in his being the first philosopher in grasping the development of man, society and human history as the self-creation of man or as the result of his own labor in a dialectic paradigm based philosophical ontology (Marx, 1964, 202). Hegel's views have significantly influenced the development of a historical materialist theory of alienation from Feurbach, Marx to the leading contemporary scholars as Lukacs, Marcuse and Fromm. On the other hand, the major weaknesses in Hegel's theory of alienation lies firstly in his equating every types of objectification with alienation. The phenomenon of objectification cannot be eliminated from human life, because without production of materials or objects for human use, human existence can not be able to

continue. As we will touch on the subject in the following sections, this confusion of objectification with alienation has been resolved in theoretically more convincing terms in the class perspective grounded alienation conceptualizations. The most serious point of critic developed against Hegel on the subject is that Hegel's solution for the transcendence of human alienation in the real socio-historical conditions is reduced to the transcendence of alienation in self-consciousness, in the logico-metophysical realm (Marx, 1964:200; Lukacs, 1976:xxiii).

2.2. Main Social Scientific Theoretical Perspectives on Alienation

2.2.1. Marx's Theory of Alienated Labor

Introduction

Most of scholarly writings on alienation in the twentieth century has centered around Marx's **Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844**. The Manuscripts, Marx's seminal work on alienation, was first published in Russian language in 1927 and then in German in 1932. However its worldwide diffusion and consequently the discovery of the unknown Marx, the humanist, by philosophical, scientific and literary circles had to wait the Manuscripts' publication

in English in 1950's. The publication and diffusion of the Manuscripts has led to the discovery of the continuity of the concept of alienation in the middle and the mature Marx's writings (Grundrisse and Capital), though rather in mute expressions, and more significantly alienation being a central concept and thesis in Marx's theory of society and history. The reasons underlying the Manuscripts' stimulation of an intensive theoretically oriented interest and studies, in our assessment, might be attributed to the trend universalization of alienating conditions in both capitalist and socialist systems on the one hand and to the discovery of a significant new constitutive element in the Marxist thought which completes the humanistic dimension of his social ontology.

2.2.1.1. Marx's Concepts of Labor and Human Nature

Since Marx's theory of alienation is being based on his concepts of human nature, labor and mode of production, first I will try to explore his view on labor and human nature.

Labor is considered by Marx the most important constitutive element in the development of man and society, in the creation of man and society in human history. Labor is human's conscious, self-directed, creative, productive and free activity (praxis). Through work man creates his world and himself. Marx adapted this concept of labor

as man's self-creative activity from Hegel as evidenced in his evaluation of Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind:

The outstanding achievement of Hegel's Phenomenology is, first, that Hegel grasps the self-creation of man as a process, objectification as loss of the object, as alienation and transcendence of this alienation, and that he, therefore, grasps the nature of labour and conceives objective man (true, because real man) as the result of his own labour (Marx, 1964: 202).

Through labor man transforms nature and produces objects, societal institutions for his own need satisfaction and for self-realization, realization of potentialities of his species-being. It should be obviously understood that such a conceptualization of labor expresses the unalienated-ideal nature of labor in Marx's writings. In Marx's theoretical framework another significant **analysis of labor is its conceptualization as the source (essence) of all values in human society, with negative and-positive implications, e.g. use-value, exchange-value, property, capital. Of them, alienated labor will be the subject of an elaborated analysis in the succeeding subsections.**

A close analysis of the related texts in Marx's writings (especially, The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts) reveals that Marx emphasizes four distinctive characteristics in his concept of

human nature: (1) Man as Natural Being (2) Man as Social Being, (3) Man as Species Being, and (4) Man as Totality.

(1) Man as Natural Being: Marx's characterization of man as a natural being essentially refers to two aspects of human nature, man's natural powers and more significantly man's realization of his essence through his transformation of nature. Expressed in a language of philosophical anthropology, it refers to the ontological relationship of man and nature. "Nature is the province of man..." Man's nature is composed of organic and inorganic natural elements of nature consequently subject to laws of nature, dependent on the nature on the other hand; however, man has natural powers as impulses-tendencies and abilities for their realizations through his transformation and humanization of nature (Marx, 1964:127).

(2) Man as Social Being: For Marx, the most important constitutive element of human nature is his social characteristic.

In his Theses on Feurbach, Marx argues that "The human essence is no abstraction, inherent in each single individual. In its reality, it is the ensemble of social relations" (Marx-1967, 402) It underlies the necessity of a cooperative, solidaristic and harmonic relationship among individuals because of the limited nature of human individuals in maintaining their survival and development as isolated

individuals. Man's social being character especially emerges in human productive activities. According to Marx,

Man is in the most literal sense of the word a zoon politician, not only a social animal, an animal which can develop into an individual only in society. Production by isolated individuals outside society- something which might happen as an exception to a civilized man who by accident get into the wilderness and already dynamically possessed within himself the forces of society- is as great an absurdity as the idea of the development of language without individuals living together and talking to one another (Marx, 1909:78, cited in Ollman, 1976:105).

Though Man's social character prevails in all modes of society, to Marx it is more realized in communism.

(3) Man as Species Being: This feature of human refers to the unique characteristic which distinguishes human species from animals: man's self-conscious and free being or more properly human species conscious and free life activity (productive activity). Marx's concept of man's species being would be better expressed by his own words:

Of course, animals also produce, They construct nests, dwellings, as in the case of bees, beavers, ants, etc. But they only produce what is strictly necessary **for themselves** or their young. They produce only in a single direction, while **man produces universally**. They produce only under the compulsion of direct physical needs, while **men produces when he is free from such need**. Animals produce only themselves, while man reproduces the whole of nature. Animals

construct only in accordance with standards and needs of the species to which they belong, while man knows how to produce in accordance with the standards of every species. This man constructs also in accordance with the laws of beauty (Marx, 1964:128).

(4) Man as a Total Being (Man as Totality): “Though man is a unique individual, he is equally the totality, the ideal totality... He exists in reality as the representation and the real mind of social existence and as the sum of human manifestations of life.” Marx uses man as a totality in two senses: Man is an ideal totality, that is, man being an ideal is endowed with all the potentialities which characterize the species and which can be increasingly manifested as society and his productive forces develop. The second meaning of man as being totality conceptualizes the individual as a complete entity with his capacities and talents, the realization of which are possible.

At the point of concluding our brief textual analysis-based exposition of Marx’s concepts of human nature and labor as a necessary foundation for our better understanding his analysis and conceptualization of alienation of labor it should be made clear that Marx’ use of concept as human essence, man as species being or totality must not be construed as the continuation of the pre-Marxian pure transcendental ontological conceptualization of human being, instead human essence as **his historically created possibilities which**

can be realized by the development of forces and relations of production as it is amply substantiated by rich concrete evidences and by his dialectic-historical materialist theory of society and history in his writings (Markovič, 1974:4-16).

2.2.1.2. The Conceptual Framework of Marx's Theory of Alienation of Labor

After my introductory remarks and endeavor for getting an insight into more basic concepts underlying Marx's theory of alienated labor in previous sections in this chapter, under the present section I will try to expose a conceptual framework of Marx's theory of alienated labor in a three-dimensional conceptual structure primarily drawn on Marx's early, middle and mature writings: (1) Forms of Alienated Labor, (2) Causes of Alienated Labor, and (3) Transcendence of Alienated Labor.

2.2.1.2.1. The Forms of Alienated Labor

In the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844, Marx explicitly specifies four forms of alienated labor in a systematically related manner in the capitalist mode of production, with an essential continuity, with some changing emphasis, in his later works: (1) Alienation of the laborer from the product of his labor; (2) Alienation

of the laborer from his productive activity; (3) Alienation of the laborer from his species-life and (4) Alienation of the laborer from other men (primarily from the capitalist).

(1) The Alienation of the laborer from the product of his labor: In the Manuscripts, Marx' attributes to the alienation of the laborer from the product of his labor as the causalistically first mode in the development of the process of alienation in labor or production. By the appropriation of his product of labor from the worker, his product gains an external existence, exists independently, outside himself as an alien and hostile force because of the fact that they do not belong to him. "The more objects the worker produces the fewer he can possess and the more he falls under the domination of his product, **capital**. Labour certainly produces marvels for the rich but it produces privation for the worker" (Marx, 1964:122-124). This mode of alienation described in the Grundrisse, as" absolute divorce between the living labour capacity and the conditions of its realization...between value and value creating activity" due to the development of Marx's labor theory of value (Marx, 1973:452).

(2) Alienation of the laborer from his productive activity: This mode of alienation refers to the alienation of the laborer in the process of production, in productive activity itself. Marx emphasizes two aspects of labor activity as alienated/alienating: under the

conditions of capitalist mode of production work activity: (1) is not free but “imposed, forced labor”, (2) “He does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but physically exhausted and mentally debased”. Therefore, work loses its meaning as end itself and becomes only a means for satisfying other needs Marx (Marx, 1964:125).

(3) Alienation of the laborer from his species-life:

According to Marx, the unique essence of human species lies in their self-conscious and free productive activity. It is just in his conscious and free activity upon the objective world that man really proves himself as a species-being. “That object of labour is, therefore, the objectification’s of man’s species-life. While, therefore, alienated labor taken away the object of production from man, **it also takes away his species-life.**” In other terms, the transformation of free and conscious activity of the laborer by the alienated labor into a means results in its transformation of the species-life of man into a means for his **individual physical existence** depriving him of his own body, nature, his mental and human species-life (Marx, 1964:128-129).

(4) Alienation of the laborer from other men: In Marx’s own words “A direct consequence of the alienation of men from the product of his labour, from his life activity and from his species-life, is that man is alienated from other men” (Marx, 1964:129). A close

reading of the related texts in Marx's writings reveals that man's alienation from other men has two references: Man's alienated relation to the capitalist primarily and to other men in general. In order to bring to light the specific reference in his mind Marx asks "If the product of labor is alien to me and confronts me as an alien power, to whom does it belong?". He answers: "The gods alone were never the lords of labor. And no more was nature...This can only be because it (alienated labor) belongs to a man other than the worker, the non-worker" (the capitalist) (Marx, 1964:129). By means of his alienated labour the labour not only produces his relation to the product and process of production, he also produces the relation of other men to his production and product and the relation between himself and other men. Most significantly, the laborer produces and reproduces the domination of the non-producer over his labor activity and product.

The major emphasis on the worker's alienated condition should not lead to the misunderstanding that the capitalist is not alienated. To Marx, the capitalist is also alienated because, he does not do any real life creating practical activity; does every thing against to the worker and the capitalist himself is governed by the laws of capital (Man, 1964, 134).

2.2.1.2.2. The Causes of Alienated Labor

A thorough examination of Marx's writings indicates that Marx takes the class society, the pre-capitalist ones and the capitalist, as source of alienated labor in particular and human alienation in general. More specifically he locates the root of alienated labor in three central distinctive conditions of capitalist society: (1) Private property (more correctly, private ownership of means of social production); (2) Division of labor; and (3) Market exchange.

(1) Private property: From Marx's statements regarding the future prospect for the transcendence of alienation, we infer clearly that, of these conditions, he holds the capitalist private property relation as **the primary source of human alienation.** **Communism is the positive abolition of private property, of human self-alienation** and this the real appropriation of human nature through and for man" says Marx, the development of private property at the stage of industrial capitalism is foreseen that it "can consolidate its rule over man and become...a world-historical power" (Marx, 1964:155).

Though Marx derives his analysis of the concept of alienated labor from his analysis of the development of private property, **he observes a reciprocal relationship between them, private property as both the cause and consequence of alienated labor** (Marx, 1964:131).

(2) Division of Labor: Though Marx rather abstractly characterize the division of labor as alienated labor, in the German Ideology, the Grundriss and the Capital the alienating consequences of the division of labor are more emphatically and concretely put forward. In the German ideology it is expressed in a perfect literary effectiveness “For as soon as the distribution of labour comes into being, each man has a particular, exclusive sphere of activity, which is forced upon him from which he cannot escape. He is a hunter, a fisher man, a shepard or a critical critic, and must remain so if he does not want to loose his means of livelihood (Tucker 1978, 160). In the Grundrisse and the Capital how the division of labor progressed at the stages of manufacturing and modern factory industries are described in an industrial development stage related terms. “by a hierarchic gradation of the workers, by forcing them developing detail dexterity and converting the laborer in a crippled mostrocity in manufacturing industry and the modern industry increasingly separated science as a productive force from labour and pressed it into the service of capital. It should be made clear that Marx’s concept of the division of labor implies a broad specter of meanings from the technical division of labor through the intellectual and manual division of labor to the social division of labor (the division of men into the social classes).

(3) Market Exchange (Commodification of Labor): The Market exchange as a constitutive element of the capitalist mode of production and the capitalist society is assumed the third major cause or source of the alienation of labor in particular and alienation of man in general. **The beginning moment of the market exchange's alienating effect on labor is located in the human history when the laborer had to sell his labor power for a wage for living because of the fact that he lacked the means of production.** This relationship is characterized, by Marx, as the commodification of labor or reification of labor, man's labor power and consequently his uniquely productive activity and product his labor's turning into a commodity, a thing which can be sold and bought like any material thing the market. The laborer alienates his activity in the exchange of labor power for money (Marx, 1973:225). Beginning through commodification of labor, market exchange and money convert all social relations into exchange values, "establishes itself as a" "general power over society".

2.2.1.2.3. The Transcendence of Alienated Labor (and Human Alienation)

What distinguishes Marx on the subject from his philosophical and political economist predecessors and sociological successors is the fact that his having a historically realizable vision of the

transcendence of alienated labor (and human alienation) as an integral part of the transcendence of capitalism on the basis of a critical social scientific analysis of structural tendencies of capitalist society in its known history. In the Manuscripts, Marx starts to express his view on the subject by his first statement “The suppression of self-estrangement follows the same course as self-estrangement.” He, then, continues to elaborate his view on the possibility of suppression of human alienation: “By it we found the proof, first that human life needed private property for its realization, and secondly, it now requires the suppression of private property” (Marx, 1964, 152, 187). He develops his analysis and arguments in a manner in this following paragraph which deserves a complete quotation.

Communism is the positive abolition of private property, of human self-alienation and thus the real appropriation of human nature through and for man. It is, therefore, the return of man himself as a social, i.e. really human, being, a complete and conscious return which assimilates all the wealth of previous development. Communism as a fully developed naturalism is humanism. It is the definitive resolution of the antagonism, between man and nature, and between man and man. It is the true solution of the conflict between existence and essence, between objectification and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity between individual and species. It is the solution of the riddle of history and knows itself to be this solution (Marx, 1964:155).

This statement is probably the best expression of Marx's thought and socio-historical transformation project which integrates his analysis of both exploitation and alienation theses with a positive abolishing of the class society for the emancipation of mankind. The conceptualization of communism as the positive abolishing of private property and a fully developed humanism seems providing the crucial elements of explanation for the question of what went wrong in the "real socialism" in practice.'

2.2.2. The Concept of Alienation in the Works of the Classical Sociologists

Although in the works of none of the other classical sociologists, the idea of alienation developed into a systemically elaborated theoretical status as in Marx's writings, alienation was a central theme in the writings of the major classical sociologists where perspectives have greatly influenced the theoretical and empirical sociological studies throughout nineteenth and twentieth centuries and continue to influence them in the 21st century. Therefore, the concepts of alienation in the works of the classical sociologists deserve an examination and evaluation, especially considering also the fact that they represent the major mainstream perspective on the industrial society.

The Concept of Alienation in Max Weber's Writings

A review of Weber's writings indicates that though the phenomenon of alienation was not explicitly conceptualized as a formal constitutive element of his theoretical structure, the negative consequences of the increasing rationalization and bureaucratization of the societal and organizational structures and processes of productions and relations on human beings in the industrial society were a serious concern of the classical sociologists. Weber states that

It is horrible to think that the world could one day be filled with nothing but these little cogs, little men clinging to little jobs and striving towards the bigger ones- a state of affairs which is to be seen once more, as in the Egyptian records, playing an ever-increasing part in the spirit of our present administrative system, and especially of its offspring, the students. This passion for bureaucracy... is enough to drive one to despair. It is as if in politics... we were deliberately to become men who need 'order' and nothing but order, become nervous and cowardly if for one moment this order wavers, and helpless if they are torn away from their total incorporation in it. That the world should know no men but these: **it is in such an evolution that we are already caught up, and the great question is, therefore, not how we can promote and hasten it, but what can we oppose to this machinery in order to keep a portion of mankind free from this parcelling-out of the soul, from this supreme mastery of the bureaucratic way of life** (Mayer, J.P. 1943, p.127, Cited in Nisbet, R. 1966, p. 299).

As this necessarily overlenghtily quoted statements from the author indicates, Weber attributes human alienation (the parcelling-out

of the soul, his own wording) to the domination of the bureaucratic way of life. Compared to the other classical sociologists, Weber's contribution to the subject lies in locating the rationality and bureaucracy as a loci of alienation that supercedes all societal system whether they are capitalist or socialist. He asserts "though, the capitalist system has undeniably played a major role in the development of bureaucracy... any rational type of socialism would have simply to take it over and increase its importance. (Israel, 1971:79). Weber's reasoning and prediction seems to have been supported by the developments in the Soviet type of bureaucratic state socialism in practice. On the other hand, as we all know Weber is an admirer of bureaucratic organization, he characterize bureaucratic organization "from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and in this sense formally the most rationally known means exercising authority over human beings. It is superior to any other form in precision, stability, in the stringency of its discipline and in its reliability" (Israel, 1971:105).

Weber views bureaucratic organization as the most rational form of organization and suggests the trend of bureaucratization is inescapable; he does not envision any idea for the overcoming of human alienation on the societal level. Despite his concern for the fearful effects of ever-increasing rationalization

and bureaucratization on man in the modern western society, **Weber sees the future for the mankind** in this respect as an **“iron cage”**, except a dim hope for the salvation of mankind from its own creation of this problem through the rise of a charismatic leadership.

Weber’s perspective on the concept of alienation may be expressed more clearly by a brief comparison of Marx’s and Weber’s social perspectives. The differences between Marx and Weber are rooted in their differing epistemological, ontological and ideological perspectives. As it is well known by the interested, informed scholars, epistemologically while Marx has a critical dialectical methodological perspective, Weber has a value-free, uncritical positivist scientific methodological perspective. As to political-ideological orientation, Weber’s stand is characterized by as a German nationalist and a conservative liberal.

Fromm characterizes Weber’s contribution to the conceptualization of alienation in the realm of bureaucratization in the modern society as a correction which history has made in Marx’s conception of alienation (Fromm, 1963:60).

Due to Weber’s liberal political economic views, **the market is characterized as the quintessence of rationality, instead of a fundamental dimension and source of the process of human**

alienation (the commodification of labor) and as a source of irrationality and chaos in society.

2.2.3. A Review of the Empirical Research Literature Concerning the Effects of the Socialist Workers' Self-Management on the Workers' Influence Over Decision-Making and the Transcendence of Alienation of Labor in Work Organizations

The review of the empirical research literature on the subject indicate that the relevant researches were conducted under two models of research designs: (1) the within-societal system research design and (2) the cross-societal systems research design. Accordingly, this review will be presented under two sub-sections headings. It is understandable that most of the relevant researches were undertaken under the cluster of the within-societal system research design and only a few researches were undertaken in a cross-societal systems research design. While the most of the both research categories were focused on the effect of the socialist workers self-management on the workers influence, only one research was focused on the socialist workers self-management - alienated labor relationship.

We limit our empirical research review by some representative researches in the abovementioned two clusters of research designs at

the moment, instead of presenting a comprehensive review of the related empirical research literature.

1. The Within-Societal System Empirical Researches

In this category, a significant longitudinal study about the distribution of ideal and actual control in Yugoslav workers self-management organizations was undertaken by B. Kavcic and A.S. Tannenbaum on a sample of more than 3,000 persons in 100 industrial organizations from 1969 through 1973 (Kavcic and Tannenbaum, 1981:403-9). This research indicated that in terms of the actual (perceived) influence, the general directors were the most influential group, the workers the least influential group, and contrary to the relevant theory and de jure structure, the workers council, the legally import worker's self-management organ, had less perceived influence than even sector and department heads. And the relative ranking of groups in respect to their perceived influence was essentially constant during the five-year longitudinal research period (Kavcic and Tannenbaum, 1981:405-406).

Another important large-scale empirical study was carried out by Obradovic on the actual participation involvement behavior of 1825 individuals on the decision-making processes in the central workers councils meetings in twenty work organizations in four republics (Bonia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia) in

Yugoslavia in the period of 1966-1969. **The significant distinct aspect of this empirical study lies in its choice and implementation of a real measurement of the actual participation in decision-making by the method of the researchers observation and registration of the** frequency and length of discussions, the number of original proposals, the number of explanations and the number of the proposals accepted, instead of the widely used method of measuring individuals perceptions, in order to obtain the data more objectively expressing the reality (Obradovic, 1978:233-235).

According to this researcher's assessment, Obradovic's study discloses two important general findings on the working of the workers councils and consequently the working of the socialist workers self-management in Yugoslavia: (1) a most significant finding of this research, in Obradovic's words, is that:

The most decisive role at workers council sessions is assumed by managerial staff, who are involved in three fourths of all discussions. Managers consume over 80 percent of total time in discussions, provide 90 percent of all explanations, and approximately 75 percent of proposals, all of which are accepted. Among managerial staff, directors and heads of sectors have a dominant role (Obradovic, 1978:243).

(2) A second important finding of this research is that the membership of the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia dominates decision-making in all issue areas investigated in this

study (Obradovic, 1978:249). And in most of the cases, managerial staff memberships. Council chairmanships are fused with the membership of the Communist Party, indeed. This fusion and dominance can be explained by the fusion of the motives of the etatist-bureaucratic socialism and the individual self-interest created by the market economy in the socialist workers self-management system.

2. The Cross – Societal System Researches

The most comprehensive cross-national empirical research on industrial democracy are the IDE studies (Industrial Democracy in Europe-International Research Group).

The IDE conducted its first international research on a sample of 9000 individuals in 134 work organizations in twelve countries including Yugoslavia in the period of 1975-1977. and a replication of this first study was carried out in 1987, with a difference of excluding two countries and including two new countries for their places. About 80 publications were produced from these IDE studies by 1992 (IDE, 1992:773).

The principle objective of the IDE studies was to explore the effects of **the de jure participation (norms for participation) on the de facto participation** behaviour. For this purpose, the written rules and regulations were compared in terms of the degree of participation

prescribed for various groups over decision-making in sixteen decision making areas form routine to policy-making. Also the actually perceived influence were measured and related by bivariate and multivariate methods of statistical analyses. The findings of the first IDE study indicated that Yugoslavia had the highest ranking in the de jure participation (in the formal intensity of participation). Consequently, in consistant with the main research hypothesis, while the average amount of the de facto influence per country varied between 2.4 and 2.6, Yugoslavia had a 3.0 average; and the workers and the workers' representative bodies in the Yugoslav socialist workers self-management system had the highest average amount of de facto influence (2.7 and 3.9 respectively) among the workers and the workers' representative bodies in all countries included in the first IDE study (IDE, 1979:274-281).

An important finding of the IDE 1987 replication study is that the major determining effect of the de jure participation structure on the de facto influence for workers and representative bodies did not change in Yugoslavia between 1977 and 1987. however, workers' in influence relatively decreased, which is attributed to serious unemployment conditions (IDE, 1992:776-779).

The sole socialist workers self-management-alienation relationship focuced cross-societal empirical research was conducted

by A. Whitehorn on a sample of 281 working people (Yugoslavia, N=180; Canada, N=101) in work organization in Yugoslavia and Canada in the period of 1972-1973. From the point of the view of our research, three questions and related findings in Whitehorn's study are important. Therefore, we limit our review by these questions and related findings. The questions are: (1) "Is the workers' self-managed factory more democratic than the capitalist firm?", (2) Is the workers' self-managed factory associated with lower alienation levels?, and (3) Is alienation in the factory strongly associated with alienation in society?" (Whitehorn, 1983:245-246).

The comparison of the workers' perceived influence in Yugoslavia and Canada indicated that the Yugoslav worker, individually, had significantly more perceived influence than the worker in Canada. As to the socialist workers self-management - alienation relationship, the study indicated that while, in consistent with the theoretical expectation, both the Yugoslav workers and managers had significantly lower work alienation scores than the Canadian workers and managers; contrary to the theoretical expectations, the Yugoslav workers and managers had significantly higher societal (life) alienation scores than the Canadian workers and managers (Whitehorn, 1983:249, 259-261).

In our assessment, a weak feature in Whitehorn' study is his over-psychologizing tendency in his construction of measurements as "sense of factory ownership" and "management and labour as social classes" in such essentially materialistically grounded Marxist theoretical and practical contexts.

CHAPTER 3

THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALIST WORKERS SELF-GOVERNMENT

3.1. The Origins of Concepts of Workers Self- Management in the Writings of the Utopian Socialists, Anarchists and Guild Socialists

The Utopian Socialists

Although the earliest ideas of the utopian socialism would be traced to the writing of Plato, Godwin, More and Campanella, we will limit our brief presentation to touches on the essential aspects of participatory and self-governing related ideas of principal utopian socialist thinkers of the industrial age as Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and Henri Saint-Simon.

Robert Owen (1771-1858), an English leading utopian reformist socialist envisioned the future society as a federation of cooperative communities governed by producers. He developed his views first on the basis his twenty years experience as the manager of a cotton mill in the village of New Lanark. He continued such experiments in the U.S. buying the colony “Harmony in Indiana and transforming it into the New Harmony Community of Equality.” He

published his expences and ideas in several books. In his books he proposed the villages of cooperation as the basis unit of society, each consists of 300 to 2000 people, **combining the industry and agriculture, town and countryside, without the division of labor and bureaucracy.** As to the mode of governing of such villages of cooperation, Owen proposed that “The peculiar made of governing these establishments will depend on the parts who form them.” If such a village is established by a landowner or capitalist, a participatory made of governing was not proposed. But **those formed by the middle and working classes, upon a complete reciprocity of interests, should be governed by themselves.. Their affairs should be conducted by a committee composed of all the members of the association between certain ages.**” (Owen, 1820, cited in Horvat, 1975:66-71). **So we may conclude that Owen proposes a quisi-self governing cooperative community,** if the community is established by middle and working class people.

Charles Fourier (1772-1837), another utopian socialist, developed the idea of establishing **self-governing Phalanstères** in which about sixteen hundred persons will cultivate five thousand acres of land collectivizel in agricultural areas in order to confront the ill effects of the industrial capitalism. Phalanstery communities were designated to guarantee the right to work and a secure income

(guaranteed income). Phalansteres will be organized under a unitarian federalism. In line with Fourier's idea of phalansteres, forty communities were established in a decade between 1843 and 1853 (Horvat, 1975:8-9).

The Anarchists

Anarchism in its essence may be defined as "The doctrine and movement which rejects the principle of political authority and maintains that social order is possible and desirable without such authority" as is expressed by Ostergaard in **A Dictionary of Marxist Thought** (Bottomore, 1983:28). Due to more relevance of their versions of anarchism to self-management, we will take up two leading anarchist thinkers among the anarchist thinker-leaders, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) and Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876).

Proudhon's vision of the organization of society is based on the principles of mutualism in economics and federalism in politics in order to overcome the ill effects of the capitalism and abolish the state. Proudhon's concept of mutualism in economic realm denotes an equitable exchange or equalization of economic relations between individuals based on a freely agreed contract, **the free association of workers**, in Proudhon's own words "a system of guarantees that resolves old forms of our civil and commercially based societies, and satisfies all the conditions of efficiency, progress and justice, instead

of asking the capitalist for credit and the state for protection, it will make both capital and the state subordinate to labor (Proudhon, 1970:56-61, cited in Horvat, 1975:80).

Proudhon's mutualism in politics denotes federalism, that is to say, the abolishing of the state by transferring all powers to communes established as the basis of a contract among a certain number of family heads. Comunes are federated into provinces and states. The decisions of the central organs of the higher units of federation can be obligatory only when they are accepted by communes. Instead of the representative parliamentary model of democracy, **a self-governing federal political structure was proposed by Proudhon**, "the government of each man by himself, that is **anarchy** or **self-government**", the essence of this system is the division of power (Proudhon, 1970:103, cited in Horvat, 1975:88).

It should be emphatically stated that Proudhon's ideas had significant influences on the legal formation and actual working of the Yugoslav workers' self-management system.

Mikhail Bakunin advanced the work of Proudhon on a revolutionary and international plane. As different from Proudhon he envisioned the abolishing of the state by a revolutionary movement of a general strike and the building "the future social organization... made solely from the bottom upwards, by the free association of

workers, firstly in unions, then in communes, regions, nations, finally in a great federation, international and universal” (Boltmore, 1983:42). **His opposition against the state was not limited to the capitalist state but also directed to the dictatorship of the proletariat since he foresaw it would become a dictatorship over the proletariat.**

The Guild Socialists

The ideas of the Guild Socialism took its roots in the writings of A.J. Penty and S.G. Hobson, and reached its mature expression in the writings of G.D.H. Cole. Therefore, our brief exposition on the subject basically reflecting the distinctive aspects of Coles’ thoughts on Guild Socialism. **The idea of a self-governing socialism is most developed in the writings of G.D.H. Cole, outside the Marxist school of thought.** Cole expressed his intellectual belief in the place of self-governing in the Guild Socialism in these words:

The essence of the Guild Socialist attitude lies in the belief that society ought to be so organized as to afford the greatest possible opportunity for individual and collective self-expression to all its members and that it involves and implies the extension of **positive self-government through all its parts** (Cole, [1920], cited in Horvat, 1975:120).

In Cole’s theory, **the system of Guild Socialism** essentially is based on **the guild as the organizing institution for industry**, the

commune as the social community and its local government. The concept of the guild in the Guild Socialism aims at reinstating only the spirit of community and solidarity from the guilds of the medieval age in modern industry. For realizing this reinstating the spirit of the guild and maximizing the individual and collective freedom, the theory envisions that each industry is organized into a guild. The guild would include all the workers in an industry. The guild will have jurisdiction over all enterprises in its industrial sector. The managers in work organizations in a guild will be elected by all workers of a work organization, and also the representatives of all work organization to the guild will be determined by elections. Every producer organization will have a corresponding consumer organization. Representatives to such consumer organizations will be elected on a democratic basis. All work organizations in a guild elect their representatives to the communal boards, which basically will have a coordinating function in the guild system. **The formation of the communal bodies by the elected representatives of the enterprises in a guild reflects the Guild Socialist's idea of integration of political democracy with economic democracy** (Cole, [1920], cited in Horvat, 1975:127-133).

The ideas of the Guild Socialists had some chance of practice in the mining and the building industries in England a few years during and after the First World War. Also some influences of the Guild Socialists on the Yugoslav Socialist workers self-management are observable particularly in the relations of the workers self-management organizations and the local communal system.

3.2. The Development of the Theory of the Socialist Workers' Self-Government in Marxist Thought and Practice

3.2.1. Marx' Theory of Workers' Self-Government and Its Development Through The Paris Commune Experience

The origins of Marx's theory of **workers' self-government as true democracy** go back to his grasp of the dichotomy of the civil society and the political as the fundamental riddle of the modern society in his **Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right** and it crystallizes and develops into a theory primarily in his **Civil War in France** reflecting his observations on and evaluations of the Paris Commune (1871), the first proletarian revolution, though short-lived, in history. Marx develops his ideas on human emancipation and the modern state by analyzing and criticizing Hegels

separation of the civil and political spheres. Hegels' concept of civil society is not characterized by the state of nature, the reign of natural order which does not require political regulation as the proponents of the natural rights school, but characterized by economic domination, competition, egoism and ethical corruption; therefore, must be controlled by a superior entity, the state which represents the universal will over the sum of competing particular wills.

The state exists immediately in custom, mediately in individual consciousness, knowledge and activity, while **self-consciousness** in virtue of its sentiment toward the state **finds in the state, as its essence and the product** of activity, its substantive freedom (Hegel, 1967:155-156).

Marx rejects Hegel's thesis of the state's representation of the common interest in modern society and claims that the modern state in its present form does not have a status reconciling particular interest, instead of, **serves and secures the particular interest of the private ownership of means of production.** The separation of the state and civil society has been increased through the industrial society and culminated with the French Revolution. These developments have destroyed all subordinate political societies, such as estates and guilds. This resulted in confining the more exploitative aspects of the social relations of production to the civil society, where the political-legal

sanction granted for private property, contract to buy and sale of labour as a commodity. As a second result, the modern state emerged as a system of institutions alienated from people's control and reigning over society as an independent force. **In order to solve the problem of the dichotomy of the state and civil society, the state and civil society had to be abolished in their existing forms and transcended in a higher unity.** Marx, in his Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right and in his essay On the Jewish Question, concludes that **democracy must become the organizing principle of all sphere of life:**

Human emancipation will only be complete when the real, individual man has absorbed into himself the abstract citizen; when as an individual man, in his everyday life, in his work, and in his relationships, he has become a **specious-being**; and when he has recognized and organized his own powers (forces propres) as social powers so that he no longer separates this social power so that he no longer separates this social power from himself as a political power (Marx, 1964:31).

However, the experiences of the Paris Commune, resulted in a realistic and holistic development of Marx' theory of workers' self-government as the resolving of the riddle of the state and civil society dichotomy, and the discovery of the primary means of realization and constitutive dimension of his human emancipation

project. Marx, in his work, **Civil War in France** on the Paris Commune, expressed this point with such words:

It (the Paris Commune) was essentially a working-class government, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labour (Marx and Engles, 1971:75).

In Marx's assessment of the Paris Commune's revolutionary decrees, programs, resolutions and practices in its development of the self-government of producers, it underlined the following dimensions of this new form of the organization of society (Marx, 1971:71-74):(1) The Commune's shattering the state bourgeois and suppression of the repressive characteristics of the bourgeois state apparatuses and developing a working-class self-government composed of the representative of the working-class based on the political and economic functions, as it was implemented in the Commune's formation of all the Communal Committees composed of mostly elected representatives of the working class and its other measures. In Marx's own words:

The Commune-the reabsorption of the state power by society as its own living forces instead of as forces controlling and subduing it, by the popular masses themselves, forming their own force instead of the organized force of their suppression- the political form of their social emancipation, instead of the artificial force appropriated by their oppressors **(their own force opposed to and organised against them)**

of society wielded for their oppression (Marx, 1971:153).

(2) Making the public functions (political, administrative, military) **real workmen's functions**,

(3) The Commune's designation of that all public officials, from political, administrative, judiciary to military and police, must be elective by universal suffrage and subject to recall anytime.

(4) The Commune's designating of that salaries or wages of all officials of the public service have to be reduced to workmen's wages.

(5) The Commune must be the model for the self-governing organizations in both territorial and functional lines in an ascending structure of representative bodies.

(6) The Commune's designating of that municipal councillors and committees must hold the function and authorities of both executive and legislative organs in contrast to the bourgeois-parliamentary practice of the principle of separation of powers.

Although it is not as a relatively more systematically elaborated status as in his **Civil War in France**, the idea of self-government of free and associated producers is an ever-present theme in Marx's early writings and mature writings as the model of socialist government most conducive for the transcendence of alienation of labor and human alienation, as the model for the dictatorship of the proletariat,

as the way of the withering away of the state, and the socialist democracy or true democracy.

3.2.2. Lenin's Views on the Paris Commune and the Soviets Experience

The source of the development of the socialist self-government in Lenin's thought was naturally based on the experiences of the Paris Commune and the Soviets in the October Revolution on the one hand and his experience as a revolutionary leader in the Soviet Socialist Revolution in the first quarter of the twentieth century. However Lenin's view of the socialist self-government underwent changes in the course of the changes in the conditions of the revolutionary strategy of the Bolsheviks during the 1905 Russian Revolution, Lenin did not accept the Paris Commune as a proletarian dictatorship, merely as a form of the working-class representatives' participation with a poorly developed class-consciousness in a government of petit-bourgeois democrats. However, he adopted a positive view of the experience of the Paris Commune as the model of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the influence of the more convincing development of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers in Russia on the eve of the October Revolution, as expressed primarily in his **The State and Revolution. In The State and Revolution**, in full

agreement with Marx's interpretation of the Paris Commune, Lenin defined the Paris Commune as the government which ceased to be a government in the concept of a bourgeois government, by the Commune's replacement of parliamentary institutions by working bodies in which working people's will and interests find direct expression, abolishing of military and police by people's own armed and militia forces and measures for abolishing of bureaucracy (Lenin, 1975; 160-162, Cited in Horvat, 1975). Lenin, during the last months of the October Revolution came to the conclusion that the lessons of the Paris Commune indicating the requirement of establishing a **Soviet Republic** in Russia:

“Power to the Soviets” means radically reshaping the entire old state apparatus, that bureaucratic apparatus which hampers everything democratic. It means removing this apparatus and substituting for it a new, popular one i.e., **a truly democratic apparatus of Soviets**, i.e., the organized and armed majority of the people- the workers, soldiers and peasants. It means allowing the majority of the people initiative and independence not only in the election of deputies, but also in state administration, in effecting reforms and various other changes (Ehrenberg, 1992:106).

However, as it is well known the idea and practice of the Soviet Republic was ended in the very year of the October Revolution as soon as the establishment of Soviets Union primarily by the victorious revolutionary movement of the workers', peasants' and

soldiers' Soviets. Consequently, an outstanding experience in the direction of the construction of the Socialist state and society on the basis of Marx' idea of workers' self-governing was stopped.

The negative impact of this tragic phenomenon on the possibility of development of a truly socialist society will be elaborated in the evaluation subsection of this section of the study.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN YUGOSLAVIA IN PRACTICE

4.1. The Socio-historical and Political Context of the Emergence of Workers' Self-Government in Yugoslavia: A Reaction to the Soviet-Yugoslav Split and the Etatist-Bureaucratic Degeneration of the Experience of Socialism in the USSR.

A review of scholarly works on the socio-historical origins of the emergence of the socialist workers' self-government system in Yugoslavia indicates that the three socio-historical and political factors played the determining role in the emergence of the socialist workers' self-government in this country: (1) the embryonic self-organization-self-management experiences during the people's Liberation War in Yugoslavia (1941-1945), (2) the Soviet-Yugoslav split and the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform in 1948, and (3) the Yugoslav leaders' discovery of Marx' Paris Commune's model of socialism as a response to the degeneration of the Soviet socialism into an etatist bureaucratism.

Under the conditions of the Yugoslav Kingdom's government organs being disintegrated and entered into the service of the invader during the Second World War and the People's Liberation War in Yugoslavia (1941-1945), the people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were forced to create unique revolutionary organs as **the Peoples' Liberation Committees** for struggles for their national independence and socialist revolutionary aims on the territories liberated from the invader. These people's liberation committees were based on people's masses and were formed by direct and secret ballot. People's Liberation Committees' functions are both mobilizing people, other resources against the overpowering occupiers and **taking over the management of economic institutions and public property on the liberated territories**. In the factories and other economic institutions taken over by the workers under the war conditions, even the elections of the workers' councils began to be held according to a Decree issued by the People's Liberation Committee in Krupanj, Užice, Čačak and some other liberated territories (Pasic, 1980:30-31). Another forerunner of workers' self-management was the **workers' participation based on the legislation on workers' commissions passed in 1945**. This legislation designated the **formations of workers representatives** to function as a liaison between workers,

unions, management and state organizations; and organizations of **production conferences** by unions (Terzuolo, 1982:200).

Despite such pioneering seeds and experience in the embryonic forms of self-management during the years of the People's Liberation War, and under the requirements of the construction of a socialist societal system by a revolutionary method, the Yugoslav socialist leadership established a state socialism similar to the Soviet Socialist model, the state and party as the dominant socio-economic and political-ideologic power ruling the society on the principles of the centralized administration and the centrally planned command economy. However, the culmination of a series of disagreements and conflicts between the Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union as the wartime disagreements, the Yugoslav emphasis on the uniqueness of their revolution, Tito's international and regional activities and initiatives in the direction of making Yugoslavia autonomous from the Soviet bloc, the Soviet's demand for the establishment of Joint Soviet-Yugoslav Companies as those in Hungary and Romania, which assessed by the Yugoslavia as intolerably exploitative, Stalin's strategy for establishing a monolithic socialist bloc under the Soviet control and Stalin's attempt of purging the Yugoslav leadership circle by the Soviet officials and the Stalinist comrades in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia brought

the relationship to the point of the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform on 28th June, 1948 (Rusinov, 1977:18-20).

The expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform and the subsequent developments of the Soviet Bloc's immediate application of the economic blockage on Yugoslavia and attempts of military and political threats led the Yugoslav leaders to question the state socialism and search for an alternative road to socialism. From the close circle of Tito, especially Edvard Kardelj, M. Djilas and B. Kidric began rereading the Marxist writings and importantly discovered the ideas of the **Paris Commune** developed in Marx's **Civil War in France, Capital** and Lenin's **State and Revolution**. Of these three official discoverers of the idea of self-governing socialism in Marx's and Lenin's writings, Djilas' assessments in his reminiscences do worth a lengthy quotation since it has the quality of authoritatively and lively account of a historical moment at the turning point of Yugoslav road to socialism as self-management socialism.

Djilas says:

Soon after the outbreak of the quarrel with, in 1949, as far as I remember, I began to reread Marx's *Capital*, this time with much greater care, to see if I could find the answer to the riddle of why, to put in a simplistic terms, Stalinism was bad and Yugoslavia was good. I discovered many new ideas, and most interesting of all, ideas about a future society in which the immediate producers, through free

association, would themselves make the decisions regarding production and distribution – would, in effect, run their own lives and their own future.

It occurred to me that we Yugoslav communists were now in a position to start creating Marx's free association of producers. The factories would be left in their hands, with the sole proviso that they should pay a tax for military and other state needs still remaining essential (Djilas, 1969:158-159).

Djilas relates to Kardelj and Kidric; the subject was discussed for months in closed circles and with trade union leaders. Later, the idea was presented to Tito. Tito's first reaction was "Our workers are not ready for it yet!". Djilas and Kardelj reexplained their arguments, emphasizing it being a radical departure from Stalinism. Upon this emphasis, Djilas relates the situation:

Tito passed up and down, as though completely wrapped up in his own thoughts. Suddenly he stopped and exclaimed: 'Factories belonging to the workers – something that has never yet been achieved.' With these words the theories worked out by Kardelj and myself seemed to shed their complications and seemed, too, to find better prospects of being workable. A few months later, Tito explained the workers self-management bill to the National Assembly (Djilas, 1969:223).

4.2. The Development of the Institutionalization of the Socialist Workers' Self-Government System in Yugoslavia

4.2.1. The Early Development Phase (1949-1953)

The first legal document which started the development of the self-governing socialism in Yugoslavia was the instruction of the Federal Economic Court and the Trade Unions on the Establishment of Workers' Councils of State Economic Enterprises issued in 1949. Due to the fact that the central state authorities at this stage had still the authority to appoint the directors of state Economic Enterprises and decide on the major policy-making matters of the enterprises as establishing the enterprise, investment and wage levels according to the central state plan, the **workers' councils had an advisory status.**

The Law on the Transfer of Management of state Economic Enterprises and Major Economic Organizations to the Workers' Collectives promulgated in 1950 represents a more significant step in the Early Development Phase of the Socialist Workers' Self-Management because of the fact that work collectivities and their workers' councils became the main management decision-making organs as the first article of this law clearly indicates:

Factories, mines, communications, transport, commercial, agricultural, forestry, communal and other state economic enterprises as public property shall be managed by workers collectivities on behalf of the social community, in conformity with the state economic plan and on the basis of the rights and duties spelled by laws and other enactments. The work collectives shall exercise the right of-management through their workers' councils and the management boards of the enterprises, and the workers councils and management boards of major economic organizations, in which several economic enterprises are associated (Pasic, 1980, p.33).

According to this first basic workers self-management related law, the work collective consisted of all members of an enterprise, from the unskilled laborer to the general director and was the base organ which had the authority to elect and recall major workers self-management organs as workers councils, boards of management and directors in work organization by the democratic ways of election.

The workers' council consisted of 15 to 120 members, depending on the size of work organization. In small work organizations employing up to 30 workers (or members), all the work collective members acted also as the Workers Council.

According to the law, the workers council had the authority to endorse the main enterprise plan, the balance of sheet, to make all policy making decisions, to elect and recall the board of management and its members, to adopt the rules of the work organization, to discuss and appraise the board of management's works and reports.

Consequently, the workers councils can be characterized as the most important policy-making organ in the early development phase of workers' self-management system in Yugoslavia **on the law** (ILO, 1962:74-75).

The board of management as the second most important organ after the workers' council in the workers self-management system was elected and could be recalled, by the workers council among its members. The board of management consisted of 3 to 11 members, including the director of the work organization as ex officio member. The board of management had the function and the authority to prepare the main plan of the work organization, the scheme of the internal organization, classification of jobs, work discipline measures and appoint officials to executive jobs (Pasic, 1980:34).

The appointment and dismissal of the director of the work organization in the early development phase of the workers self-management was continued to be within the authority of the central state organs. However, by the 1953 law and constitution, the directors ceased to be a government official and in terms became responsible primarily to workers' councils and boards of management, and secondarily, to the state organs from the local to the federal (ILO, 1962:100). The directors were in charge of the implementation of the plan, operations and rules of the work organizations and the legal

representation of the work organization. They were also responsible for the legality of work and business operations. Therefore, the director's status can be characterized of having a dualist nature: an organ acting within the framework of the internal self-management mechanism of the work organization on the one hand and a state official appointed and authorized to implement the state's economic policy on the other hand.

A change in the centrally planned economy perspective in order to adjust it to the newly emerging workers' self-management system was developed by the 1951 Law on Planning. This Law's provisions limited the control of the state planning functions to determining for each work organization, the compulsory minimums of utilization of the production capacities, leaving the determination of the details of the enterprise plans to the workers self-management organs.

Changes toward a workers' self-management system in this early development stage were not limited to the worker's self-managing status in economic organizations, but also began to develop toward the democratization of the socio-political structure and processes through changing the primary function of the communist party from its authoritative bureaucratic administration of society by its unification with the state, to the one of political-ideological

guidance of the working class in its revolutionary transformative actions at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia held in 1952, at which the party's name was changed to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, for expressing this change in the role of the party symbolically in its new name.

In this line of relevant developments, the Law on People's Committees, passed in 1952, provided the basis of local-self government by transferring some economic and political functions and authorities of the federal and republican governments to communes and districts.

4.2.2. The Establishment Phase (1953-1962)

The promulgation of the Constitutional Law on the Principles of the Social and Political Order of SFRY in January 1953 can be characterized as the entrance of workers self-management system in Yugoslavia to its establishment phase in its political-legal terms. Because, it granted a macro-socio-economic and political system level foundation of acknowledgement of the previous initiatives for workers self-management and extended the status of the worker in workers self-management in the economic sphere to the socio-political sphere. **The Council of Producers** was established as the second chamber of the Assembly in the communes, districts, republics and Federal

government. This Council of Producers was to be elected by the workers of workers self-management system. The principles of this new Constitutional Law in respect to workers' self-management and self-government system were expressed in its fourth article as below:

Social ownership of the means of production, self-government by the producers in the economy, and self-government by the working people in the municipality, town and district constitute the basis of the social and political organization of the country, of self-government by the working people in the fields of education, culture and social services is guaranteed. Self-government by the producers is exercised in conformity with the general social interest which are expressed in law and in other decisions of the representative bodies of the working people's assemblies and the people's committees (ILO, 1962:6).

As it is seen in the statement of the fourth article of this new Constitutional Law, **the social ownership of means of production as a more advanced form of collective ownership than the state ownership in the building of a socialist society enters into the socialist workers self-management system in Yugoslavia.** This change in the nature of ownership can be characterized a significant indication of intent in the direction of the transformation of the state socialism. And most significantly, the 1953 Constitution established the socialist worker's self-government system as the foundation of socio-economic and political order in Yugoslavia.

Another development in the maturization of institutionalization of the workers self-government system brought by the 1953 Constitution Law is the extension of workers self-management to the spheres of culture, education and social services. On the basis of the relevant provisions of this law, schools, universities, scientific and cultural organization, hospital and social welfare, institution were transformed into self-government work organizations, consequently, all employees of such organizations began to participate directly in decision-making on their process of work, distribution of income and the development policy of their institutions. The self-management organs of such socio-cultural organization were composed of both members elected by the employees in these organization and those delegated by the institutions and citizens who have interest in the services of such institutions as the beneficiaries of the services of such institutions (Pasic, 1980:38-39).

The regulations entered into practice in 1954 further deepened the workers self-management process by introducing decentralization and direct participation in the internal structure and processes of work organization through the development of self-management processes in the sub-units of work organization (at the department and workshop levels).

The promulgations of the Law on Labor Relations in January 1958 advanced the self-management status of the workers in the

employment security relations, particularly **by the provision of its Article 126 authorizing that the workers collectives shall autonomously take decision on employment and dismissal of workers and on other questions relating to the personal status of a worker**” (Pasic, 1982:40).

An other line of development in the direction of further institutionalization of the worker self management in this period was realized in the areas of the workers self-management investment fund system and the distribution of income in work organization.

The regulation promulgated in 1954 established a comprehensive workers self-management investment fund and relations system from the commune to the Federal levels. Resources collected by the rate of interest on the work capital and other sources were required to be accumulated in the Joint Yugoslav Investment Fund in the Federal level and in similar fund organizations in the republican and local levels to be used in the investments of the workers self-management organizations. This investment fund system began to provide the three-fourth of all the investment resources in Yugoslavia. This workers self-management investment system granted loans to the worker self-management organizations for their establishment and development if they meet the legally required conditions. **Through such a unique investment system, the concept**

and practice of “social capital” was established (Blandzic, 1965:144; Pasic, 1980:41).

After the issuances of the 1957 and 1958 laws on the subject, workers collectives began to have the right freely to dispose of the net income for personal incomes and accumulation in proportions fixed by the workers collective itself. Blandzic explained this development as a result of the influence of the declarations of the First Congress of Workers’ Councils of Yugoslavia held in 1957, development emphatically in the following way:

Pursuant to the aforementioned regulations, it was for the first time since the initiation of workers self-management that nobody from outside had, formally, the right to determine how the workers’ collective should distribute the net income into funds. As a matter of fact, the councils of producers in the communes had the right to make comments on the distributions of the net income into funds and personal incomes, but those remarks had rather the character of recommendations. The workers’ collectives were equally free to fix the rate of wages or salaries of individual members of their collectives (Blandzic, 1965:144).

4.2.3. The Market Socialism Phase: Integration of Market Economy Into Workers’ Self-Management System (1963-1973)

Although some market economy elements and tendencies had begun to appear in the early development periods of workers self-

management system operating basically in the framework of a centrally planned economy in Yugoslavia, the economic reforms in 1961 and 1965 and the constitutional changes in 1961 started a decisive comprehensive market economy orientation and practice in the socialist workers self-management system in Yugoslavia. Therefore, the period of 1960s of workers' self-management can be characterized as **the era of "market socialism" in Yugoslavia**. The entrance into the market economy phase by the 1961 economic reforms was put in such words in Horvat's analysis of these reformative changes:

In 1961, three radical reforms were carried out. To increase the efficiency of the market organization and improve the quality of goods produced, the hitherto virtually closed economy was to be made more open to the **influences of the world market**. To achieve this, the system of multiple exchange rates were replaced by a customs tariff, the dinar was devalued, foreign trade was liberalized to a certain extent, and the country became an associate member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Horvat, 1976:121).

In the background of the 1961 market oriented economic reforms was the economic crisis in Yugoslavia with the indication of a significant drop of the rate of economic growth (which was the highest in the world before 1960s), a slower increase of productivity of labor and a low level utilization of production capacities. The

assessments of the economic crisis by the Trade Unions and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led to the strong demand that the bureaucratic-etatist relationship be eliminated and a radical change in the system of planning and greater freedom in the market relations be developed. Such socio-political and economic debates culminated in the promulgation of the 1963 constitution.

Both the 1961 and 1965 economic reform and the complementing 1963 Constitution and other legal measures had the objectives of: (1) a more efficient and rational business operation of economic organizations (2) liberalization of commodity and monetary regulations (3) more autonomous status of enterprises in their market relations,(4) liberalization of imports and exports, convertibility of the currency for developing the competitiveness of the national economy in the international market economy. An important measure in the direction of realization of there market economy objectives was the abolishment of abolishment of the workers' self-management funds system in the 1964. As a result this change, the banks became controlling about 50 percent of the total investment funds and the share of the socio-political communities dropped to 15 percent in 1971, while the share of the investment funds of the governmental organizations was 61,7 percent of the total national investment sources, in 1961. That is to say, **the capital (banks) became**

controlling the largest part of investment resources (Pasic, 1982, 10-11).

The 1963 constitution changed the socialist concept of the mandatory central planning to the liberal economy's concept of indicative planning. Article 9 of the 1963 constitution reflected this new concept of planning as:

Planning is done in the working organizations by the working people as the bearers of production and of socially organized work, and by the social political communities in the performance of their socio-economic functions (Süloğlu, 1986:28).

An important negative impact of the market socialism movement in 1960s was the growing influence of the managerial and professional stratum (techno-structure) to the detriment of the workers masses and their self-management rights especially when the boards of management was replaced by a Business Board comprised of experts. **It should be emphatically underlined that the usurption of the self-management rights by professional managers was in general, with the consent of the workers themselves under the conditions of the market economy and its values** (Pasic, 1980:49).

4.2.4. The Integrated Socialist Workers Self-Management Phase (1974-1999)

The 1974 Constitution and the 1976 Law on Associated Labour laid down the foundations of the integrated self-management phase in Yugoslavia. Despite a unique road to socialism chosen by Yugoslavia yielded some original Marxist experimentation in the realization of principal ideals of socialism in practice in its early development and establishment periods, the integration of the market economy mechanism into the socialist workers self management system in 1960's in general and its concomitted effects on the **workers self-managed system and society through the reemergence of individualistic self-interest centered value orientations and bank power and techno-managerial stratum began to subvert the realization of the socialist Marxist self-management ideals in practice.** Therefore, the integrated workers' self-government phase based on theoretical-ideological discussions and political-legal actions in the late 1960s and the early 1970s in Yugoslavia aimed at developing the Marxist self-government system essentially by overcoming the market socialism's negative effect through giving a major reemphasis on social planning, making a semi-directive planning mandatory for all organizations of associated labor in economic sphere and socio-political communities on the one hand;

and **developing direct democracy conditions for workers in the workers self-government system by establishing the basis of workers' self-mechanism in smaller units of work organization,** conceptualized and legalized as “basic organization of associated labour, in which any skilled or unskilled worker can reasonably participate in decision-making and implementation processes on the basis of his/her concrete work life experiences and reasoning capacity on the other hand. So, the concept of the basic organization of associated labour may be characterized as the basis of the integrated workers self-government phase in 1974 onward. The associated labour as the basis of the entegrated worker’s self-government system in 1970s onward is conceptualized by Pasic:

The general concept embracing all forms of relations and institutions established among working people who jointly manage the socially owned means of production and dispose of the income resulting their labour in conformity with the Constitution and the law. This, **term denotes a specific new form of production and social relations, linking equal, mutually dependent and responsible workers voluntarily and freely associated in the production process and in other forms of work and in all decision-making connected with their management** (Pasic, 1982:20).

This long quotation about the concept of associated labour can be characterized a more articulated expression of Marx’s concept of

freely associated labour in the theory and practice of workers self-government in Yugoslavia.

4.3. The Structure and Functions of Workers' Self-Management in Economic Organizations

4.3.1. The Forms of Organizations of Associated Labour in Economic Sphere

Our presentation of the subject matter of this subsection will be based on the framework envisaged by the 1974 consultation, the 1976 Associated Labour Act and other related laws and regulation on the one hand and the practice in the latest phase of workers self-management system experienced during the 1974 - 1999 period. In his phase of workers self-management system, the 1974 Constitution and the 1976 Associated Labour Act developed the form of associated labour organization in the economic sphere as: basic organization of associated labour (BOAL), work organization (WO), and composite organization of associated labour (COAL).

4.3.1.1. Basic Organization of Associated Labour

This form of organization denotes to the legally designated primary (basic, simple) unit of organization in economic and social

sphere in the framework of associated labour developed by the 1974 Constitution and the 1976 Law on Associated Labour. The basic organization of associated labour refers to a techno-economically independent unit of a work organization in more familiar terms. However, basic organizations can not be established an independent form of organization, but can be established and exist as constituent unit a larger work organization or a composite organization. According to the article 14 of the 1974 Constitution, the basic organization of associated labour is the most basic organizational unit in the workers' self-management system in which "workers exercise their socio-economic and other self-management rights directly and on an equal footing, and decide on other questions concerning their socio-economic status". In order to establish a basic organization in a work organization according to the 1974 Constitution and the 1976 Associated Labour Law, the following requirements must be fulfilled: (1) a unit in a work organization must represent an independent technical whole, "in which workers are mutually interdependent in their work and directly linked as a group to the work process as a whole", (2) the gross income of the work unit can be expressed independently in terms of value in the related work organization or on the market in general, and(3) **the work unit must be relatively small to make direct self-management realistically realizable** (Pasic, 1982:36).

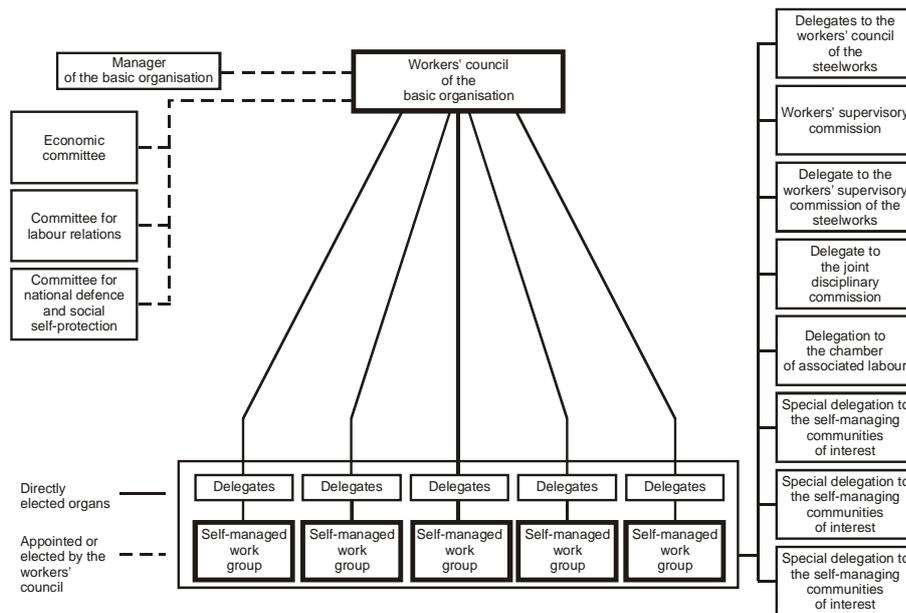
The workers of a unit in a work organization who fulfill these requirements have the right and also duty to form a basic organization of associate labour. The initiation for establishing a basic organization can be made by the workers of a work unit in a work organization, by the self-management bodies, the trade union of the related work organization or the assembly of the related socio-political community. If the workers of a unit in a work organization fulfill such legally necessary requirements, the decision to establish a basic organization is made by a referendum among the workers of the work unit concerned. When the aforementioned conditions for the establishment of a basic organization of associated labour become no longer fulfilled, workers in a basic organization or the aforementioned self management authorized entities (trade unions, socio-political communities' assemblies) may dissolve the basic organization or may separate from the work organization of which the basic organization is a constituent part and pool their labour and resources to form another basic organization or work organization.

After the positive referendum determination on the establishment of a basic organization, the procedure of preparation and concluding of a self-management as on the basic by-laws of the organization is realized by way of referendum by the workers in their basic organization in order to regulate their common socio-economic

relations as managing its resources, allocating gross and net income, distributing resources for investment, collective consumption and personal income; and workers self-management decision-making rights.

After the completion of all the statutory requirements for its formation, the name of the newly established basic organization and the name of the work organization within which it is a constituent unit are entered in the court register and thereby, a basic organization gains its legal personality (Pasic, 1982:33-37).

An organizational chart of workers self-management in basic organizations of associated labour is presented in Figure 1 below:



Source: N. Pasic, 1982, Workers' Management in Yugoslavia (Geneva; ILO):68.
Figure 4.1. Organizational Chart of Workers' Self-Management in Basic Organization of Associated Labour.

4.3.1.2. Work Organization

A work organization denotes to a higher level and larger form of organization based on associated labour. As different from the basic organization of associated labour, **a work organization is an independent organization of associated labour workers who have common interests in their work.** A work organization may be composed of a single independent work unit or two or more basic organizations of associated labour. If a work organization is composed of two or more basic organizations of associated labour linked by, for instance, production and trade of a certain good, their relations are regulated by self-management agreements adopted by way of referendum by the workers of all basic organizations of associated labour in the work organization. The main reason for establishing a work organization composed of several basic organizations is naturally the workers and, the society's interest in the efficiency of the scale of organizing. Similar to establishing basic organizations, the right and duty of establishing work organizations belongs to workers and some legally authorized entities as trade unions, self-management organizations and assemblies of socio-political communities. After concluding the self-management agreements. The second step in the process of establishing a new work organization is the election of the workers' council, board of management and the director of the work

organization. After the completion of the statutory requirements for the formation of a work organization, the name and kind of activity of a new work organization, together with the liabilities of the basic organizations within it, if there exists such units, are entered the relevant court register, and a work organization gains its legal personality (Gorupic, 1980:78-81).

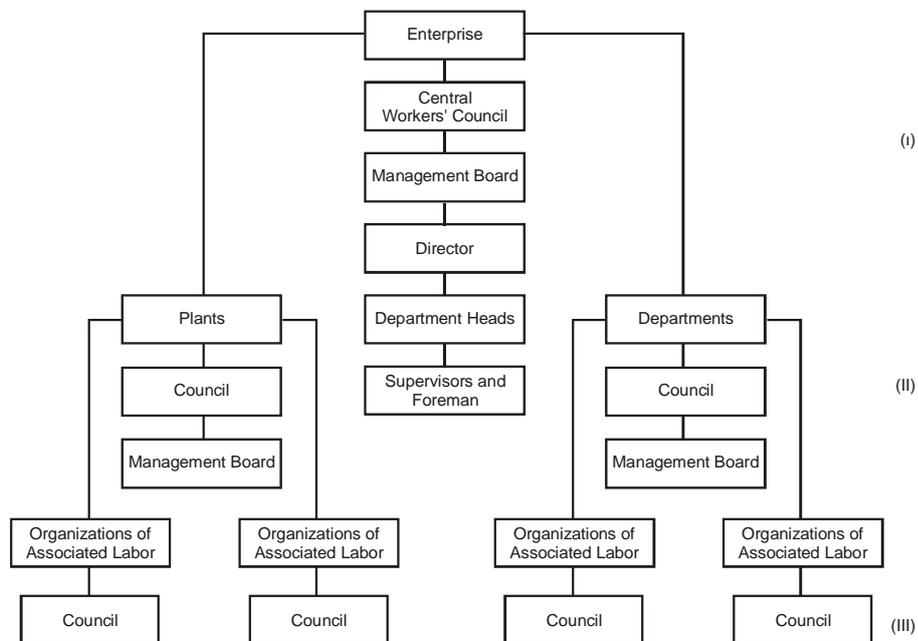
4.3.1.3. Composite Organization of Associated Labour

The composite organization of associated labour refers to the form or mode at the third level-highest-of integration of organizations of associated labour. It corresponds to the merger or association of work organizations which have the same kind of production subject and process or have common interest in producing different products and services. As different from the basic organizations and work organization, the initiation for the establishment of a composite organization is voluntary. In more familiar terms, composite organization corresponds to a company or holding in capitalist societies in terms of its size. The rationale for its legal creation and the practice of establishing a composite organization through the association of several work organizations is being able to work on the basis of a more advanced technology, a higher division of labor, a

scale-economy providing form of organization, and consequently higher productivity of social labour (Kavčič, 1983:204-205).

The establishing of a new composite organization follows the similar legal procedure as in the establishment of basic organizations and work organizations of associated labour.

An organizational chart of workers' self-management in composit organisation of associated labour is presented in Figure 2 below.



Source: J. Obradovič and W. Dunn, 1978, *Workers' Self-Management and Organizational Power in Yugoslavia* (Pittsburgh: Univ. Center for International Studies):20.

Figure 4.2. Organizational Chart of Workers' Self-Management in Composite Organization of Associated Labour.

4.3.2. The Internal Structure of Workers Self-Management in Work Organizations in Economic Sphere: Workers' Self-Management Organs

In the early development and institutionalization phases of workers self-management system in Yugoslavia, the internal structure of workers self management mechanism in work organizations consisted of structural units: (1) Workers Collective, (2) Workers Council; (3) Board of management and (4) Director (Manager). However, in the integrated self-management phase, the structural units were reduced to basically two units in practice; workers' council and board of management/individual manager.

4.3.2.1. The Workers' Collective

In the early development and the establishment periods (in 1950s and 1960s), the status of the workers collective can be characterized as the fundamental and most important organ in the workers' self-management in its theoretical and statutory conceptualization. However, its existence and significance in the statutory contexts and theoretical significant during the late phase of workers self-management system in Yugoslavia became less visible. However, considering the fact that the function of the work collective

or Workers' Assembly in **referendum and general meetings** of all workers in the organization of associated labour as significant channels for the realization of the "idea of direct democracy" in the theoretical perspectives on the workers' self-governing society were kept in the late phase of workers self-management related constitutional, statutory sources and self-management agreements, it justifies a special separate treatment.

A workers collective comprises all working people in workers' self-management organization from an unskilled worker to the manager. All members of a workers collective have all self-management right. However, when electing the management organs, "workers collective comprises only those, who are entitled to vote, namely, Yugoslav citizens who reached the age of 18 and have full civil rights (ILO, 1962:68). As of 1960, even apprentices or employees engaged for temporary part time work basis in workers self-management organization were included into the workers collective in terms of the right to elect the workers' council.

The powers of the Workers Collective as workers assembly in workers self-management system primarily consists of **(1) making most fundamental policy making decisions by the ways of meetings and referendums and the right to elect the workers' council members as the main workers' self-management organ.**

The meetings of the workers collective are called either by the workers council or the trade union committee in the related organization of associated labour. In large organization such workers collective meetings are held also at the department level. The subject of the meetings are not designated or limited by the law. Indeed the meetings have no legal status except the by-laws of the related organization. Therefore, the resolutions made by the workers assembly is considered as advisory (ILO, 1962:70-71). Nonetheless, the meetings of the workers assembly may be considered an effective instrument of the realization of the workers self-management potential in practice. A study on the subject conducted in 1976 indicated that 95 percent of 19.000 organization of associated labour held such workers' assembly meetings (Pasic, 1982:47).

Referendums by the workers' assembly may be considered a most important instrument of the practice of direct participation in the workers self-management system on most fundamental self-management rights. Besides, the decisions made by way of referandums are legally compulsory and the subjects of referendum have been more developed in the integrated workers self-management phase in 1970 onward. The 1976 Law on Associated Labour designated the referendum as the way of decision on the following significant subject matters: (1) the adoption of self-management agreement

establishing organizations of associated labour,(2) the adoption of the by-laws of the organizations of associated labour regarding the outlines of the basic organization's plan the principles for the distribution of resources for workers personal incomes and collective consumption, and(3) the adoption of other self-management agreements designated by law (Pasic, 1982:45).

4.3.2.2. Workers Council

The workers council may be characterized as the most important decision-making organ in the workers' self-management organizations. All organizations of associated labour have to elect a **workers' council as a policy making organ in their organization**. If a workers' self-management organization has 30 or fewer members, the workers collective acts as the workers' council. Depending on the size of an organization, the workers' council consists of 15 to 120 elected members. Workers' council members can be elected for a two year term. No person can be reelected for more than two consecutive terms. In cases of work organization and composite organization of associated labour, the composition of workers' council must represent the proportion of the member of workers in each associated organization and department.

In terms of its functions, the **workers council may be resembled to a legislative assembly**. It determines the general policy of the work organization. It prepares and adapts self-management agreements by-laws, draft of organization plan, decides on the implementation of the organization's policy and plan and adapts balance sheets (ILO, 1962:74-81).

A workers council elects the board of management members and appoints and discharges the manager of the organizations. However, Pasic, a scholar and the President of the Constitutional court of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, assesses that:

Despite the wide power conferred to the workers councils by the Constitution and the statute, they are at present losing their predominant position as the most influential organs of workers management. On the one hand, under recent legislation, a number of fundamental issues, matters formerly dealt with by the worker's councils are now referred to the workers directly (at meetings or by referendum). Decisions of worker councils have sometimes been overruled by meetings. On the other hand, where complex operating decisions have to be made or questions decided that are of not direct concern to the members of the workers council, it has been noted that the council tends simply to approve the proposals made and decisions taken by the managerial organs. The need to combat the temptation to transfer the decisions to the "technostructure" in self-managing organisations has been repeatedly emphasised by the highest authorities in the country. (Pasic, 1982:150-151).

4.3.2.3. Management Organs: Board of Management and General Manager

According to the provision of the 1974 Constitution and the 1976 Law on Associated Labour, the organizations of associated labour can choose the type of their management organs as a collective management organ (board of management) or an individual manager. The tendency in practice is in the direction of the choice of an individual manager. The composition of the board of management varies from three to seven members. The appointment of the managerial organ and relieving of their the office lie in the authority of the workers council. Though the term of office for managerial organs can not exceed four years, the same persons can be reappointed. The nomination of condidates for the managerial organs is undertaken by a selection committee which is composed of the representative of the workers in the self-management organization and the related trade union and socio-political community.

As different from the workers collective's and the workers' council's policy making function, the management organ's function involes basically the operational-implementational activities of organization; it also has the authority and duty of coordinating the organizational activities, issuing orders to individual workers or groups of workers in regard to their work. The management

organs also have the functions of preparing proposals in regard to management policy and measures for its implementation. In order to carry out the functions effectively, management organs can set up work committees and similar special auxiliary management organs.

In carrying out their functions, the management organs are, required of implementing the decisions of both the workers collective and the workers' council and responsible principally to the workers council and also to the society in terms of the legality of the operations of the organization. The manager and the chairman of the board of management can participate in the worker council meetings, without the right to vote (Wachtel, 1973:69-71; Pasic, 1982:52-55).

4.4. The Socio-Political Organizations and Their Influence on the Socialist Workers' Self-Management System

A general statement on the subject in the very beginning should be the expression of the fact that without a knowledge of the essential mechanisms of the influence of the significant socio-political organizations on the establishment, development and the operation of workers' self-management system in the political-ideological and practical terms, our understanding of the reality of the workers' self-management will be inadequate. According to the provisions of the

last effective constitution of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia those socio-political organizations were specified as League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Socialist Alliance of Working People, Confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, Federation of Veterans of National Liberation War and League of Socialist Youth. Of these, League of Communists, Federation of Trade Unions and League of Socialist Youth had their branches or sections in workers' self-managed work organizations almost throughout Yugoslavia. These socio-political organizations had special quotas for their representation in the workers councils in the self-management work organizations of associated labour in which they had organized their branches as sections on the condition of the existence of the provisions for this purpose designated by the by-laws of the related work organizations (Radkovic, 1977:57).

Looking at the subject from the point of view of these organizations' positive influence intention and commitment to the ideal and development of workers' self-management system, a statement of the resolution adopted at the Second Congress of Self-Managers of Yugoslavia held in Sarjeva in 1971 does worth quoting at length:

In the past years, parallel with the changes in the socio-economic and political system and the democratization of social relations, the League of Communists, Confederation of Trade Unions, Union

of Socialist Youth, Socialist Alliance of Working People and the Federation of the National Liberation War, have invested visible efforts **to transfer the focus of their influence from the state mechanism to self-management organizations and decision-making.** In this process, **these socio-political organizations** have further **affirmed themselves as the internal moving force of the development of our self-management socio political system and as a factor in resolving social contradictions and realizing social unity. For the working person and citizen, they are irreplaceable** (Pasic, 1982:185).

Due to the dominating role of the League of Communists, and Confederation of Trade Unions in the emergence, development and implementation of workers self-management system, the relationships between these two major organizations and workers self-management require more specifications.

The League of Communists was unquestionably the most powerful political organization based on mass militant membership in Yugoslavia due to its revolutionary historical victorious role in the struggle for independence, in the war of national liberation, the socialist revolution and the construction of a socialist society. Furthermore, the Communist Party, later under the name of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia and its leadership was the committed main political force in the introduction and development phases of the socialist workers' self-management system. As already touched in a previous section, by the introduction

of workers' self-management Yugoslavia, **the function of the League of Communists was transformed from an etatist bureaucratic administration and direct control of socio-economic and political societal system to a political-ideological guiding status.**

Consequently, the omnipresent existence of the state apparatus in all economic, social and communal organizations through one-man management model ended in legal and practical terms. However, after the introduction of workers' self-management system, the League of Communists seemed to have demonstrating strategically oriented more active effort for gaining membership among youth and workers in self-management work and communal organizations, representation in workers' councils and management organs essentially by the establishment of its branches in the organizations for a genuine interest, in the origin at least, for the protection and development of the working class interests in the newly introduced system (Hunnius, 1973:284; Pasic, 1982:163-165). The table below (Table 4.1.) based on the data of the Federal Institute of Statistics indicate that in 1979 the members of the League of Communists held such high percentages as 38.9, 39.7, 44.4 and 67.1 in the composition of workers councils and committee members in self-managing work organizations and communities. In the economically large scale and most important composite organizations LCY members appear to have had 67.1, a

dominating percentage in the composition of the workers' councils which is the most important policy-making organ in the workers self-management system.

Table 4.1. Delegates to workers' councils and committee members, 1979.

Item	BOAL	Work organisation without BOAL	Work organisation without BOAL	Composite organisation	Work communities
Delegates to workers' councils	247 586	200 666	71 845	9 149	52 216
<i>Percentages of –</i>	<i>26.4</i>	<i>40.3</i>	<i>23.1</i>	<i>14.5</i>	<i>47.5</i>
<i>Women</i>	<i>14.2</i>	<i>12.5</i>	<i>10.0</i>	<i>7.0</i>	<i>13.3</i>
<i>Young people</i>	<i>37.9</i>	<i>38.2</i>	<i>47.4</i>	<i>58.9</i>	<i>42.7</i>
<i>Members of LCY</i>	<i>6 985</i>	<i>3 871</i>	<i>1 692</i>	<i>146</i>	<i>1 139</i>
No. of committees	66 544	37 910	22 320	2 680	9 798
Committee members					
<i>Percentages of –</i>	<i>21.4</i>	<i>32.7</i>	<i>19.7</i>	<i>13.7</i>	<i>41.0</i>
<i>Women</i>	<i>11.9</i>	<i>10.2</i>	<i>7.7</i>	<i>5.6</i>	<i>11.3</i>
<i>Young people</i>	<i>38.9</i>	<i>39.7</i>	<i>49.2</i>	<i>67.1</i>	<i>44.4</i>
<i>Members of LCY</i>					

LCY : League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Source: Federal Institute of Statistics, Belgrade, preliminary data, 1981, cited in N. Pašić, S. Grozdanic and M. Radevic eds, 1982, *Workers' Management in Yugoslavia* (Geneva: ILO) p.51, table 3.

The table 4.2. below shows a more striking picture of the influential position of the Communist Party (LCY) in workers' self-management organizations in terms of the absolute numbers and percentages of general managers. Because, the data in the table

indicates that the Communist Party members held 21886 general managership position out of 29966 general managers in the self-management organizations in Yugoslavia in 1976.¹

Table 4.2. Proportion of women, young people and members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia among general managers of organisations of associated labour, 1976.

Area	Total	of which–					
		Absolute numbers			Percentages		
		Women	Young people	Members of LCY	Women	Yoğun people	Members of LCY
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3 897	169	63	3 425	4.3	1.6	87.9
Croatia	7 307	404	97	3 926	5.5	1.3	53.7
Macedonia	2 315	98	15	1 925	4.2	0.7	83.2
Montenegro	576	17	5	476	3.0	0.9	82.6
Serbia	11	589	116	9 343	5.0	1.0	79.7
Excluding autonomous provinces	722						
		387	76	5 751	5.5	1.1	81.1
Kosovo	7 091	23	15	806	2.3	1.5	80.4
Vojvodina	1 003	179	25	2 786	4.9	0.7	76.8
Slovenia	3 628	387	26	2 791	9.3	0.6	67.3
Yugoslavia	4 149	1 664	322	21 886	5.6	1.1	73.0
<i>Underdeveloped areas</i>	29	<i>307</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>6 632</i>	<i>3.9</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>85.1</i>
<i>More developed areas</i>	966	<i>1 357</i>	<i>224</i>	<i>15 254</i>	<i>6.1</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>68.8</i>
	7 791						
	22						
	175						

Source: N. Pasic, S. Grozdanič and M. Radevic, eds, 1982 Workers' Management in Yugoslavia (Ceneva, ILO) p.53, table 4.

The statistics in these tables and several other researches on the practice of workers self-management in Yugoslavia (Supek, 1971:382; Rusinov, 1977:74-80) reveal to us some clues of the

¹ In order not to cause a misunderstanding it should clearly stated, that the LCY members elected to workers' council and general manager positions in the tables were, had to be, actually working in those self-management organizations. The party could not refer its any member residing and working actually in another organization and region in the country.

reenterance of the statist socialism influence into the workers self-management system through some different doors by the channel of the coexistence of LCY membership, workers council membership and general managership in the some persons, and some other mechanisms which will be touched in other properly related sections in the study.

As to the influence of the Confederation of Trade Unions on the development and the practice of workers' self-management system, it is natural that Trade Unions as the main traditional working class organization would have interest and influence on the idea and practice of workers self-management especially in a society which was in the socialist transformational process.

As indicated in the workers' self-management's early development period related section, the very first legal document which started the introduction of workers' self-management system in Yugoslavia in modest terms, the Instruction of the Federal Economic Court and the Trade Unions on the Establishment of Workers' Councils of the State Economic Enterprises issued in 1949 was a co-product of the Trade Unions and the Federal Economic Court. Although after the introduction of workers' self-management system, there some doubts and debates whether Trade Unions are still necessary, the Trade Union had become an irreplaceable integral part

of the workers self-management in its all development phases and its functioning in practice. The 1974 Constitution and the 1976 Law on Associated Labour as the main legal foundation of the latest development phase of the workers self-management system provided the Trade Unions with legal competences for participating in almost all significant mechanisms of the workers self-management from the very establishment of the self-management organizations of associated labour to nominating the candidates for workers' council membership; formation of nominating committee for general manager and initiation and concluding the self-management agreements as the internal of workers management organizations. In order to carry out these functions, the Trade Union organized in almost in all worker' self-management organization of associated labour and work community.

In order to provide more specifically the role of the Trade Unions in its relation to workers self-management, the set of the rights and functions of the Trade Unions designated by the 1974 Constitution and other related laws in this respect, the Trade Unions' authorities are pointed out as the following.

(1) establishing new organizations of associated labour; (2) concluding self-management agreements and social compacts; (3) resolving conflicts in worker self-management organizations; (4) providing information for workers in the workers self-management

organizations; (5) nominating candidates for workers' councils, general managers, self-management workers supervisory organs, disciplinary commissions; (6) protecting the self-management rights of workers in all self-management organizations of associated labour, and educating workers for the realization of the aspirations of workers self-management. For this purpose, the Trade Unions established many **Workers' Universities** by obtaining assistance and cooperation of universities and other educational institutions (Kavcic, 1983:210; Pasic, 1982:167-170).

4.5. An Evaluation of the Socialist Workers Self - Government Experience in Yugoslavia in Terms of Its Effect on the Workers Influence and the Transcendence of the Alienation of Labor in Work Organizations

In order to reach a holistic view of the Yugoslav socialist workers' self-government experience, a recapitulation of the development of this experience and its evaluation in terms of its effect on the workers influence and the transcendence of the alienation of labor in work organizations is required at this concluding point of the chapter.

As it was pointed out in the section regarding the socio-historical and political context of the emergence of the socialist

workers' self-government in Yugoslavia, the determining factors behind the phenomenal emergence of the self-governing socialism were: (1) the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Soviet Socialist Bloc, and (2) the Yugoslav leaders' rediscovery of Marx's Paris Commune model of socialism as a response to the degeneration of the Soviet Socialism into an etatist bureaucratism socialism. These determining factors together had a reinforcingly positive effect on the emergence and development of the Yugoslav's unique socialism on the one hand, and the first determining factor, e.i., the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Soviet Socialist Bloc, together with the underdeveloped condition of the forces of production had the germ of a most crucial negative effect on the later developments of the socialist workers' self-management through its forcing the conditions for the reemergence of the market economy on the other hand.

As a result of the positive effect of the above mentioned determining factors and of the Yugoslav leaders' undogmatic vision of socialism, **a historical chance opened for the experimentation of the self-governing socialism in Yugoslavia on the basis of the objectives of the withering away of the state by the decentralization of the state administration and establishing the workers self-governing on the means, process and distribution of production, changing the state ownership into the social**

ownership, thereby abolishing wage-labor, the alienation of labor and political alienation in 1950's. A leading Praxis Group social philosopher characterizes this period of the self-governing socialism, having an impressive de-alienating effect on economic, political and cultural relations of society (Markovic, 1988:167).

However, the forced isolation of Yugoslavia from the Soviet Socialist Bloc and the related succeeding events of the economic blockade and political-military threats by the Soviet Socialist Bloc, the underdeveloped nature of the forces of production, and the pressure of the rapid economic development race among the socialist countries together with **the constraining condition of the experimentation of the self-governing of the socialism in one country** forced Yugoslavia to establishing close political and economic ties with the Capitalist West and eventually integrating the market economy into the socialist workers self-government system in 1960s. **The integration of the market economy into the socialist workers self-management system brought back the market as the main regulatory mechanism in economy with its meta-determiner status in the relations of production and distributions,** which reduced the real influence of the workers and their representative organs on decision-making in the self-management work organizations, and consequently increased the **workers' feeling of powerlessness and apathy in work together with**

the development of the dominating role of the professional managerial stratum in the market economy. More deterioratingly, the market brought back its universal commodifying process effect on products, labor, human and human relations as a majors source of labor and human alienation.

In addition, considering the continuation of the etatist bureaucratic socialism practices by the means of transfer of some functions of the federal government to the republics and local communities, e.i., decentralization, not self-government, and the domination of the members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the membership of the workers' councils and the holders of the top management statuses in work organizations as indicated in the table 4.1 and the table 4.2 in this chapter, the withering away of the state, e.i., the abolishing of the state as an external coercive alienating power over people and the reabsorbtion of the state power as its own living forces instead of as forces controlling and subduring it (Marx, 1963:153) has not been realized in the socialist workers self-management.

We may conclude that the first sufficiently long-lived experience of the self-governing socialism of the history has not been able successful in creating a truly self-governing socialist society and consequently, has not been able to create a qualitatively de-alienated

labor and de-alienated society. However, it has provided us with the experience-based clues for what conditions have to be met for the realization of the building of a truly self-governing socialist society in the future.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY OF EMPIRICAL STUDY

5.1. The Conceptual Research Model of The Interrelationships of the Research Variables and the Research Hypotheses

On the basis of our major theoretical thesis that compared to the etatist-bureaucratic socialist system and the capitalist societal system, the self-governing socialism system can have a qualitatively significant positive effect on the workers influence over decision making and of the transcendence of alienation of labor, a conceptual model of the interrelationship of the research variables was developed and presented in Figure 5.1. It is intended that this conceptual research ill function to specify the relevant research variables, foresee possible interactions among the sets of variables, develop the research hypothesis and have a logically sound systematic guide for developing a research resign and a research analysis-interpretation phases.

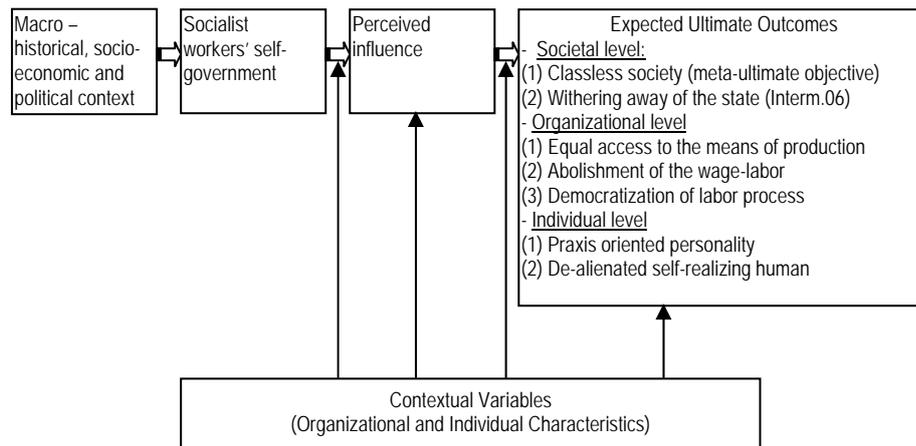


Figure 5.1. A Diagram of the Conceptual Research Model of the Interrelationships of the Research Variables.

This conceptual model of the interrelationship of the research variables postulates formal socialist workers' that self-management structure in an work organization effects the degree of perceived participation, and perceived participation directly effects outcome variables. This model implies that the formal socialist workers' self-management can effect the outcome variables, independently of the perceived participation. The model indicates that the relationship between these three sets of the independent and the dependent variables can be effected by the independent and interactional effect of contextual variables, organizational or individual (as moderating or interesting variables) for instance, the status of the individual in the hierarchy of the organizational structure can result in his higher level perceived influence even than a worker's council member who has the

highest authority in de jure terms in organization in the Yugoslav worker's self-management system. Of course, **this simple conceptual model** can be so sensitized that even the feedback effect of the dependent variables on the independent variables can be included in the research design. However, it necessitates a longitudinal research design for which the time limit of our research plan and the civil war conditions were not suitable. Consequently, this conceptual model requires the inclusion of three sets of variables in our research design.

The Hypotheses of the Empirical Study

First, I should make a point clear that the set of hypotheses presented herein represents the set of the main research hypotheses and the sub-hypotheses deduced from them together with a set of contextual variables related secondary research hypotheses, instead of a complete set of the hypotheses to be tested in this research. The second point I should make clear is the fact that some of the hypotheses are formulated as directional – hypotheses on the ground that there exist strong theoretical and empirical reasons about the direction of the relationship between variables while some hypotheses are formulated non-directionally if there does not exist such strong theoretical and or empirical reasons.

The main theoretical thesis of the study and research hypotheses

The theoretical thesis: Compared with the capitalist non-participative management system¹, the socialist workers' self-government system has a qualitatively more significant effect on the workers influence over decision-making and the transcendence of the alienation of labor in work organizations.

A) The Hypotheses Concerning the Effects of the Socialist Workers Self-Management System on Workers Influence Over Decision-Making and Alienation of Labor in Work Organizations in Yugoslavia

a) The Hypotheses Concerning the Effect of the Socialist Workers' Self-Management on Workers' Influence Over Decision-Making in Work Organizations in Yugoslavia

Considering the relevant theory, ideology and de jure structure in the socialist workers' self-management system:

¹ An explanation regarding the statement of **the capitalist non-participative management system** is required. There had been a legally established limited participative management practice in the large-scale public economic enterprises in Turkey in the period of 1966-1980. The military government annulled the participative management related provisions of the statute with number 440 and its practice in Turkey in 1980. Therefore, due to non-existence of participative management mode of work organizations in Turkey anymore, I had to choose the capitalist non-participative managed work organizations in Turkey for comparison in my empirical research.

1) The members of the workers' council have the highest perceived influence over decision-making in work organizations.

2) The status in the hierarchy of organizational structure does not have a significant effect on the perceived influence over decision-making in workers' self-management work organizations.

Considering the facts and research findings about the practice of the socialist workers' self-management system:

3) Workers have greater perceived influence over the decisions which directly effect them in person in work organizations.

4) Workers tend to have greater desired influence than their perceived influence over decision-making in work organizations.

5) Workers tend to have greater desired influence over the decisions which directly effect them in person in work organizations.

b) The Hypotheses Concerning the Effects of the Socialist Workers Self-Management System on the Transcendence of the Alienation of Labor in Work Organizations in Yugoslavia

1. Considering the relevant theory, ideology and de jure structure, perceived powerlessness of the worker and managers in work does not significantly differs.

2. Perceived influence is positively related to the reduction of the alienation of labor in the socialist workers' self-management work organizations.

3. Considering still the managers have a more meaningful work than the workers in terms of their self-realization at this stage of the development in socialist societies, workers have a significantly higher level of perceived meaninglessness than the managers in the socialist workers self-management work organizations.

4. The socialist workers' self-management system has a significantly reducing effect on the powerlessness dimension of work organizations.

5. Increase in perceived influence over decision-making leads to decrease in work alienation.

6. Decrease in work alienation leads to decrease in societal alination,

B) The Hypotheses on the Comparison of the Workers' Perceived Influence and Alienation of Labour in Work Organizations in the Socialist Workers Self-Management System and the Capitalist Non-Participative Management System

1) Compared with the capitalist non-participative management system, the workers in the socialist workers self-management work organizations have significantly higher degree of perceived influence over decision-making irrespective of the nature of work and technology.

2) Compared with the capitalist non-participative management, the workers in the socialist workers self-management have significantly lower level work alienation.

C) The Hypotheses Concerning the Effects of the Contextial Variables and Personal Characteristics on Workers' Influence, Alienation and Influence-Alienation Relationship

a) The Hypotheses Concerning the Effects of Selected Work Related Personal Characteristics:

1) Skilled workers have higher level of perceived influence

2) Worker with higher level of education have higher level of influence

3) Workers with longer length of working time in their work organization have higher level of perceived influence.

4) Middle-aged workers have higher level of perceived influence.

5) Skilled workers have lower level of work alienation

6) Workers with higher level of education have lower level of work alienation.

b) The Hypotheses Concerning the Effects of the Selected Structural Characteristics of Work Organizations

Hierarchy in organizational structure still a determinant effect on the perceived influence over decision making, work alienation and

influence-alienation relationship in work organizations in the Socialist Workers' self-management system.

Centralization of Authority is negatively associated with workers' perceived influence.

Functional Specialization is negatively associated with workers' perceived influence.

Formalization of role definition is negatively associated with workers' perceived influence.

Hierarchy in Organizational structure has still a determinant effect on alienation of labor in work organizations in the Socialist Workers' Self-Management system.

Centralization of authority is positively associated with work alienation.

Functional specialization is positively associated with work alienation.

Formalization of role definition is positively associated with work alienation.

c) The Hypothesis Concerning the Effect of the Technology of Production

- Technology of production does not have a significant effect on workers' perceived influence in the socialist workers' self-management system.

Craft and automation technology of production tend to have similar effect on work alienation industrial work organizations in the socialist workers' self-management system.

5.2. Research Design

A near-ideal research design on such a social class based societal system question and subject, would be a longitudinal research design on the subject, integrating a critical social scientific approach with the empirical research methodology in testing its hypotheses in a cross-societal comparative perspective. Being aware of insurmountable difficulties to be encountered in a research design by a single and institutionally unassisted researcher, I felt I had to content by a relatively modest cross-sectional field research design for the time being.

This forced choice of the empirical research design have some disadvantages, as over dependence on attitudinal measurements and the experimental uncontrollability of irrelevant variables and limitations for inferring causal relationship. On the other hand, the data obtained by such a research design and their interpretations are more generalizable to real life situations. The well-known limitation of this research design has been tried to be mitigated by trying to give optimal care to

the methodological requirements and using multivariate statistical control techniques as the nature of the research data are suitable.

5.2.1. The Research Setting and Sample

Though the focal interest of the empirical study was an exploration of the effect of the socialist workers' self-management on the workers' influence and the transcendence of the alienation of labor in work organizations in Yugoslavia, the empirical research project was designed to be a cross-societal comparative research design comparing the effects of the socialist workers self-management in Yugoslavia and of the capitalist non-participative management in Turkey on the workers' influence over decision-making and on the transcendence of the alienation of labor in work organizations. The rationale behind our designing the research as a two societal systems comparison research project lies in the facts that both the theory of alienation of labor and the theory of the self-governing socialism have been developed primarily as the analyses, critiques and for the transcendence of the industrial capitalism and its political form of the bourgeois liberal democracy, which **limits its effect by the political sphere, leaving the economic sphere to the tyranny of the owners of the means of production.** Therefore, the researcher thought that though a within-system comparison research project on the subject

would be worthwhile, indeed, the most of empirical studies by the Yugoslav scholars on the socialist workers self-management seem to have been undertaken on the basis of a single country research project, **a between societal-systems comparison research project may provide more relevant and clear-crystalizing research findings for the assessment of the degree of the realization of a ultimate objective of the theories and practices of such radical macro socio-historical transformations.**

Accordingly, I conducted the empirical research in the work organizations in Yugoslavia and Turkey, where respectively the socialist workers' self-management, and non-participative capital management models of work organizations prevail. From each country, three work organization at the three different levels of technology (handicraft, mechanized and automated) with similar properties were planned to be selected so that I shall be able to collect the data needed for testing our research hypotheses and establish built-in controls for excluding the confounding effects of extraneous factors. However, unfortunately I was unable to get the research in a mechanized industry organization (characterized by assembly-line technology both in Yugoslavia – due to the civil war conditions – and Turkey – due to the usual traditional social class-based antagonistic reaction against such social class related research endeavors.

Therefore, I carried out my field research in three industrial organizations (Ikarus, M. Keramika and Belgrade Refinery) in Yugoslavia and 2 industrial organizations (Tüpraş and Yarımca Seramik Sanayi) in Turkey. In my selection of the work organizations meeting the random sampling criterion was impossible; so, I tried to satisfy random sampling criterion in the selection of the research respondents from the research permission obtained organizations. From each work organization, I selected about one hundred employees drawn from all hierarchical levels and functional groups by stratified and purposive sampling methods.

5.2.2. Measurement and Methods of Data Collection

Our principal method of data collection was a self administrated questionnaire supplemented by obtaining data from the internal organizational records, some structured interviews with high level management personnel experts, workers' council members and union members, public documents, and by our field of the decision-making meetings of relevant workers' councils.

For increasing the possibility of wider comparability and generalizability I benefited from the research instruments developed in the relevant theoretical and empirical research literature in measuring perceived and desired influence, work alienation scales and relevant

contextual variables. (Archibold, 1976:819-821; IDE, 1981:347-359; Whitehorn, 1983:352-355; Seeman, 1959:783-791; Blauner, 1964:15-34, 210-214).

We tried to develop the work alienation related scales of the questionnaire with behavioral and quasi-behavioral items as more objective indicators of work alienation structured in the Likert-type items scale.

5.2.3. Methods of Statistical Analysis

Since most of our research data meet the assumptions of the interval level measurement we tried to use univariate, bivariate and multivariate statistical methods in order both to present (1) a simple descriptive analysis, (2) a relatively simplified correlational and significance test analyses between major research variables, and (3) an elaborated-refined analysis taking into consideration the independent or modifying effects of the relevant contextual variables on the relationships between the core independent and dependent research variables. Therefore, we hope to obtain some hints of causal relationship, and a richer insight in the complex dynamics of multiple relationship between many relevant variables.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

In this chapter, the statistical analyses and findings of the empirical study, and their interpretation will, in this sequence, be presented and the statistical analyses of the research data will be begin by the descriptive methods of analysis and be proceeded by bivariate and multivariate inferential methods of analysis in order to reach both a simple-clear understanding of the relevant facts and relationships investigated, and a deeper insight into the complex dynamics of power relationships and alienation of labor in work organizations as far as the nature and scope of the research data collected would be appropriate. The findings and interpretations will be presented under the following three section headlines: (1) The effects of the socialist workers' self-management on workers' influence over decision-making and alienation of labor in work organizations, (2) the workers attitudes toward the socialist workers' self-management system, (3)the comparison of workers' influence and alienation of labor in work organizations in the socialist workers' self-management system in Yugoslavia and the capitalist non-participative management system in Turkey.

The analyses and findings of the empirical study will be presented in the first section and their interpretation in the second section in the present chapter.

6.1. Analyses and Findings of the Empirical Study

6.1.1. The Effects of the Socialist Workers' Self-Management on Workers' Influence Over Decision-Making and on the Transcendence of Alienation of Labor in Work Organizations in Yugoslavia

6.1.1.1. The Effects of the Socialist Workers' Self-Management on Workers' Influence Over Decision-Making in Work Organizations

1. Perceived Influence of the Workers Council Members Over All Decisions in Workers Self-Management Work Organizations

Our first research hypothesis indicated under the section of the research hypotheses in the Chapter 5 is “Considering the theory, ideology and de jure structure in the socialist workers' self-management system, the members of the workers' council have the highest perceived influence over decision-making making in work

organizations.” In order to test this hypothesis, first, the distribution of perceived influence over decision-making by major groups in workers self-management organization in terms of mean scores was presented in the table 6.1. below, and then, due to the fact that there exists more than two groups for the independent variable in the investigated question, a one-way analysis of variance was undertaken to find out the significance of the mean difference between the perceived influence means of the members of the workers’ council, managers and workers.

Table 6.1. Perceived Influence Over Decision-Making by the Members of Workers Self-Management Group in Work Organization (in Means)

Group	Perceived Influence		
	N	Mean	S.D
Workers’ Council Members	45	2,25	565
Workers ¹	196	1.58	529
Managers ²	60	2.33	711

1. Workers include both blue collar and whit collar workers with no managerial authority. 2. Managers include all managerial level employees from lower to the upper level.

Table 6.1. indicates that while the mean perceived scores of workers are relatively lower than the mean perceived influence scores

of both the workers' council members and managers, the mean scores of workers' council members and managers do not vary substantially.

Table 6.2. The One-Way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Influence Over Decision-Making by the Members of Workers' Self-management Groups in Work Organizations

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	35,311	2	17,656	53,334	0,000
Within Groups	98,649	298	,331		
Total	133,961	300			

The overall F value (53,334) was found significant in the one-way analysis of variance as shown in the table 6.2. This indicates that there are significant difference between the means of the designated workers self-management members' perceived influence scores. However, this anova test can not specify the groups between which such a significant differences of means of perceived influence exist. In order to find out the specific source of the significant difference of perceived influence means between the groups, a complementary method of the inferential statistics, a post hoc test was carried out.

The Table 6.3. Post Hoc Analysis of Perceived Influence Over Decision-Making by the Members of Workers Self-Management Groups in Work Organizations

Test	(I) Groups	(J) Groups	Mean-Difference (I-J)	Standard Error	Sig.
Dunnnett T3	Workers' Coun. Memb.	Workers	,660*	,09234	,000
		Managers	-,0885	-,12459	,857
	Workers	Workers Coun. Memb.	-,6660*	,9234	,000
		Managers	-,7545*	,9930	,000
	Managers	Workers	,7545*	,9930	,000
		Workers Coun. Memb.	,0885	,12459	,857

The execution of the post hoc test (Dunnnett T3) for finding out which specific means of perceived influence significantly differ from which other ones in respect to the three major workers self-management groups' members presented in the table 6.3. above reveals that though the difference of means between the perceived influence of the workers council members and workers is significant and consequently, the workers' council members have greater perceived influence than workers, there is no significant difference between the means of the perceived influence of the workers council members and managers, and council members have furthermore, (Mean: 2.25) less perceived influence than managers (Mean: 2.33), though not statistically significant. Therefore, contrary to the

theoretical-ideological and de jure assumption, our first research hypothesis “the members of the workers council members have the highest perceived influence over decision-making in self-managing work organizations” is rejected. The probable factors behind such a result will be taken up in the interpretation section in this chapter.

2. The Effect of of the Hierachical Status On the Perceived Influence Over Decision-Making in Workers Self-Management Work Organizations

Our second research hypothesis is “Considering the theory, ideology and de jure structure in the socialist workers’ self-management system, the status in the hierarchical status in organizational structure does not have a significant effect on the perceived influence over decision-making in workers’ self-management work organizations.” Testing this hypothesis necessitates both the execution of a univariate descriptive analysis and a birariate infrential statistical analysis (a one-way analysis of variance) to find out the significance of the mean difference between the perceived influence of the individuals having different statuses in the hierarchical structure of workers’ self-management work organizations as top managers, middle managers, lower managers and workers. At the present moment we will be able to present a univariate

statistical analysis of the relevant data at least considering the utmost significance of this research hypothesis on the subject in the theoretical perspective.²

Table 6.4. Perceived Influence Over Decision Making by Hierarchical Status in Work Organizations (In Means Over all Decisions)

Status in Hierarchy	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Upper Level Managers	19	2.97	.656
Middle Level Managers	19	2.13	.534
Lower Level Managers	27	2.00	.518
Workers	237	1.69	.593
Total	302	1.83	.668

Although, under the present conditions of non-existence of the statistically processed F values and post hoc statistical test results we are not justified to make any formal statement about either the rejection and or acceptance of the aforementioned research hypothesis. Our visual observation on the distribution of perceived influence means over the decision-making by the individuals in different hierarchical statuses in work organizations in the table 6.4. indicates that the hierarchical status continues to have a significant

² A one-way analysis of variance on the related research data will be completed and integrated to this research findings section. However, on the basis of our observations of the univariate and one-way analysis of variance tables on the related research data, at the moment we can definitely conclude that such amounts of mean differences as observed of and derived from the table 6.4. indicate significant mean-differences in one-way analysis of variance.

effect on the actual power relationship in organizations in the workers self-management system as well.

6.1.1.2. The Effects of the Socialist Workers Self-Management on the Transcendence of the Alienation of Labor in Work Organizations

1. The Relations Between Perceived Influence and Alienation of Labor in the Socialist Workers' Self-Management Work Organizations

A general hypothesis in the category of the socialist workers self-management-labor alienation relationship of our research hypothesis is "Perceived influence is positively related to the reduction of the alienation of labor in the socialist workers self-management work organizations." In order to test this research hypotheses, a person correlation analysis of the workers related data from the Yugoslav research sample was processed and the result of the analysis is presented in the table 6.5 below.

The Table 6.5. Correlations Between Perceived Influence and Work Alienation of the Workers in Socialist Workers Self-Management Work Organizations

Work Alienation (General Index and Sub-Scales)	Perceived Influence (General Index)
Work Alienation (Genr. Index)	
Person Correlation	-.144*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.077
N	235
Powerlessness in Work	
Person Correlation	-.130*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.045
N	237
Meaninglessness in Work	
Person Correlation	-.003
Sig. (2-tailed)	.969
N	236
Self-Alienation in Work	
Person Correlation	-.165
Sig. (2-tailed)	.011
N	236
Isolation in Work	
Person Correlation	-.109
Sig. (2-tailed)	.096
N	235

* significant at the, 05 level.

The observation of the statistical values in the table reveals that workers' perceived influence has a significantly positive effect on the reduction of their general work alienation in the direction of the aforementioned research hypothesis. As to the perceived influence-the work alienation's sub-scales relationships, while no significant relationship was found between the workers' perceived influence and their perception of meaninglessness and isolation in work, a significantly

positive relationship between their perceived influence and the reduction of their powerlessness, which was especially expected, and isolation in work was found. We may justifiably conclude that our research hypothesis on the subject is supported by the statistical analysis of the research data.

The Distribution of Work Alienation By Managers and Workers in the Socialist Workers' Management Work Organizations

Two research hypothesis developed on this aspect of the empirical study are “Considering the relevant theory, ideology and de jure structure, perceived powerlessness of the workers and managers in work do not significantly differ” and “considering still the managers have a more meaningful work than workers in terms of their self-realization at this stage of the development in socialist societies, the workers have a significantly higher perceived meaninglessness in work than the managers in the socialist workers' self-management work organizations.” In order to test these research hypotheses, two tables will be presented, one based on a univariate statistical analysis, the other based on a bivariate statistical test of significance (t test).

The Table 6.6. Perceived Work Alienation by Worker and Managers in the Socialist Workers Self-Management Work Organizations (In Means Over all Decisions)

Group	Work Alienation				
	N	Powerlessness		Meaninglessness	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D.
Workers	235	2,858	.543	2,31	.703
Managers	64	2.77	.640	2.08	.629

The table 6.6 shows rather small differences between the workers and managers as to their means of perceived powerlessness and meaninglessness in work. In order to infer whether such differences are significant, it is necessary to advance the statistical proces by a significance test analysis.

The Table 6.7 The t-Test of Mean-Difference of Perceived Powerlessness and Meaninglessness by Workers and Managers in the Socialist Workers Self-Management Work Organizations

Dependent Variable	Leven's Test for equality of variances		t-Test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig	t	df	Sig. 2-tailed	Mean Difference
Powerlessness in Work Equal Variances Assumed Equal Variances not Assumed	2,919	0.89	-1.220	300	.225	-.1061
			-1.339	90.872	.182	-1061
Meaninglessness in Work Equal Variances Assumed Equal Variances not Assumed	1,245	.245	-2.500	299	0.14	-.2264
			-2.347	111.95	0.20	-.2264

The table 6.7's statistical values indicate that the difference between the workers' perceived powerlessness in work and, the managers' perceived powerlessness in work is not statistically significant. However, the table values indicate that there is a statistically significant difference between the workers' and the managers' perceived meaningfulness in work. The workers' work seems still less meaningful than the managers' work in the socialist workers self-management system. We can conclude that our two research hypotheses on the subject are supported by the research evidence.

6.1.2. The Workers Attitudes Toward the Socialist Workers Self-Management System

The researcher is in the strong opinion that workers' evaluation of the socialist workers self-management system based on their long work and life experience, its meaning for them as individual workers, for the working class and society in a holistic perspective does worth obtaining and presenting for its genuine contribution to our more truthful understand in of the experience of the socialist workers self-management system in Yugoslavia. Therefore, we will present workers' views on the socialist workers system in the following few tables in a relatively qualitative terms. **Since the values in the**

following tables speak for themselves, I feel I should contend with very brief statements explaining the meaning of the table values.

Table 6.8 “Does the Workers’ Self-Management System maintains an equalization of power between workers and management?”

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Definitely Yes	18	8.9
Yes	69	34
No	81	39.9
Definitely Not	35	17.2
Total	203	100.0

The table indicates that 57 percent of the workers do not seem to observe the maintainance of equalization of power between the workers and management.

Table 6.9. “Do you feel you have sufficient knowledge about the operation of the workers’ self-management system?”

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Definitely Sufficient	13	6.4
Sufficient	72	35.5
To some extend sufficient	96	47.3
Not sufficient	20	9.9
Definitely not sufficient	2	2.1
Total	203	100.0

The table 6.9 indicates that about 90 percent of the working people (workers and manager) believe that they have the knowledge

about the operation of the workers' self-management system varying from very much to some extent.

Table 6.10. “Is the workers self-management system the proper direction for the development of your society?”

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Definitely Yes	15	7.6
Yes	108	54.5
No	38	19.2
Definitely Not	37	18.7
Total	203	100.0

The table indicates the fact that the majority of the working people have a positive opinion on the workers self-management system for their society.

Table 6.11 “In the light of your experience in the workers self-management system in your work organization and in your country, what would be your preference for a more satisfying management model of work organizations in the future?”

Responses	Frequency	Percent
- A revised new workers self-management model ¹	138	68.0
- Etatist-bureaucratic socialist model of management ²	-	-
- Participative-capitalist model of management	53	26.1
- Non-participative-capitalist model of management	12	5.9
Total	203	100.0

(1) For this alternative, the original statement is more explanatory put as “A revised new workers’ self-management model: in which the interference of the market economy is abolished and the illegitimate political influence is limited. (2) Very interestingly, I found out from the results of the computer processed research data that no members of the sample did choose this alternative model of management!..

The values of this table provide a strong evidence for the working people’s support for the socialist workers’ self-management system in the future of their society by the condition that its then present deficiencies are eliminated.

6.1.3. A Comparison of Workers’ Influence and Alienation of Labor in Work Organizations in the Socialist Workers’ Self-Management System in Yugoslavia and the Capitalist Non-Participative System in Turkey

1. A Comparison of the workers’ Perceived Influence over Decision-Making in Work Organizations in the Socialist Yugoslavia and Turkey

Our research hypothesis on the subject is “The Workers in the socialist workers self-management system have significantly greater perceived influence over decision-making in work organizations than the workers in work organizations in a capitalist society.” In order to

test this research hypothesis, in accordance with the usual statistical procedure, first, a univariate statistical analysis based table and then, a bivariate statistical analysis based table will be constructed and presented.

Table 6.12. Distribution of Workers' Perceived Influence Scores Over Decision-Making in Work Organizations in Yugoslavia and Turkey (in Means Over All Decisions)

Workers Groups	N	Mean	S.D.
Yugoslav Workers	237	1.6973	.59332
Turkish Workers	145	1.3729	.32551

Table 6.13. The t-Test of Mean-Difference of Perceived Influence Over Decision-Making by Workers in Work Organizations in Yugoslavia and Turkey

Dependent Variable	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. 2-tailed	Mean Diff.
Perceived Influence						
Equal Variances assumed	47.456	.000	6.049	380	.000	.3245
Equal Variances not assumed					.000	.3245

The observation of the values of the two tables above indicates that the Yugoslav workers in the workers self-management work organizations have significantly greater perceived influence than the Turkish workers.

Therefore, we may conclude that our research hypothesis on the subject is supported by the statistical analysis of the research data.

2. A Comparison of Work Alienation of the Workers In the Socialist Workers' Self-Management System in Yugoslavia and in the Capitalist Non-Participative System in Turkey

A major thesis and also hypothesis of the study is “Compared with the capitalist management system, the socialist workers self-management system has a qualitatively more significant effect on the transcendence of the alienation of labor.” In order to test the truth of this hypothesis at least in terms of the statistical analysis in the tradition of the empirical research methodology, the above applied univariate and bivariate statistical analysis procedures will be used in this case as well.

Table 6.14. Distribution of Work Alienation Scores of the Workers in Yugoslavia and Turkey (in Means)

Work Alienation (General Index and Sub-Scales)	Workers in Yugoslavia			Workers in Turkey		
	N	Mean	S.D	N	Mean	S.D
Work Alienation (General index)	235	2.48	.491	145	2,51	.314
Powerlessness in work	237	2.88	.543	145	3.59	.548
Meaninglessness in Work	236	2.31	.703	145	2.10	.492
Isolation in Work	235	1.95	.807	145	1.83	.544
Self-Alienation in Work	235	2.80	.798	145	2.54	.536

The table 6.14 indicates very small difference in the mean scores of the general work alienation index of the workers in Yugoslavia and Turkey. In terms of the work alienation sub-scales mean scores; the Turkish workers seem to have a higher level powerlessness in work than the Yugoslav workers, as expectedly. Because, the objectives of both the theory and practice of the socialist workers self-management in Yugoslavia were the democratization of the process of decision-making in work organizations in terms of the real influence shares of the workers and managers on the one hand, and consequently, to decrease the workers' alienation in terms of the dimension of the powerlessness in work on the other hand. The table 6.14 values indicate that the Yugoslav socialist workers' self-management seem to have relatively achieved both of its objectives.

Table 6.15. The t-test Analysis of Mean-Difference of Work Alienation Between the Workers in Yugoslavia and Turkey

Dependent Variable	Leven's test for Equality of Variances		t-Test for Equality of Means			
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. 2-tailed	Mean Difference
Work Alienation (Gener.index)						
Equal Variances assumed	30.929	.000	-6.29	378	.523	-.292
Equal Variances not assumed			-.706	377	.480	-.292
Powerlessness in Work	.020	.886	-12.349	380	.000	-.7104
Equal Variances assumed						
Equal Variances not assumed			-12.326	302	.0000	-.7104

Table 6.15 (Continued)

Meaning lessness in work						
Equal Variances assumed	22.301	.000	3.186	379	.002	.2124
Equal Variances not assumed			3.458	372	.001	.2124
Isolation in Work						
Equal Variances assumed	6.186	.013	1.655	378	.099	.13
Equal Variances not assumed						
Self-Alienation in Work						
Equal Variances assumed	29.07	.000	3.529	379	.000	.2645
Equal Variances not assumed			3.863	375	.000	.2645

The observation of the table 6.15 does not indicate a significant difference of means for the general work alienation index between the workers in Yugoslavia and Turkey. As to the work alienation sub-scales (dimensions) comparison, the Yugoslav workers are significantly less alienated in the sense of powerlessness in work than the worker in Turkey. There is no significant difference between the Yugoslav workers and the Turkish workers in terms of work isolation scale of work alianation. However, in terms of the dimensions of meaninglessness and self-alienation in work the Turkish workers feel less alienated than the Yugoslav workers. We may conclude that though the research hypothesis is not supported in general, **it is supported in terms of the powerlessness in work which reflects the most important process on which the socialist workers self-management expected to have its most positive effect.**

6.2. The Interpretation of the Findings of the Empirical Study

In order to approximate a holistic understanding on a revolutionary societal transformation project as the construction of the socialist workers' self-governing society we are in the conviction that in our interpretation of the research findings we have to take as the references of comparison both the actual measures and the ideal numerical measures expected by the ideals of the socialist workers self-governing society, and also the qualitative changes e.i., withering away of the state, by a departure from the narrow confines of the mainstream positivist empirical methodological perspective.

We present our interpretation of the research finding under three subsection headlines parallel to that of the analyses and findings section.

6.2.1. The Effects of the Socialist Workers Self-Management on the Workers' Influence Over Decision-Making and on the Transcendence of Alienation of Labor in Work Organizations

The first two significant research hypotheses regarding the effects of the socialist workers' self-management on the workers

influence over decision-making in work organization were: “Considering the relevant theory, ideology and de jure structure in the socialist workers’ self-management system: (1) The members of the workers council have the highest perceived influence over decision-making in work organizations”, and (2) “The status in the hierarchy of organizational structure does not have a significant effect on the perceived influence over decision-making in workers’ self-management work organizations.” It was natural for the researcher to construct these hypothesis in the meaning expressed in their statement because the theory and legal structure of the socialist workers self-management in Yugoslavia designed the system in which the workers council would be the highest policy-making organ, making almost all policy-making decisions, having the authority to appoint and recall all top management organs, and the effect of the organizational hierarchy in terms of the workers participation is expected to be eliminated due to the fact that all fundamental policy-making by ways of the Workers Assembly meetings and referandums on equal basis. The findings on these two research hypotheses indicated that both hypotheses were rejected. It means that the hierarchical status continues to have a significant effect on the actual power relationship in organizations, and workers have not become the self-managers of their work organizations in the socialist workers self-management system yet.

Considering the means of perceived influence of the workers, workers council members and managers (1,58:2.25 and 2,33 respectively) by the ideal expected level of perceived influence, which is designated as a five point maximum in the research's perceived influence scale, their perceived influence level is even much lower than the ideally expected level of power execution over the decision-making in work organizations.

The empirical studies on the Yugoslav workers self-management in general support these findings (Obradovic 1978:260; Rus, 1970:149-151, Zupanov and Tannenbaum, 1968).

The continuation of the managers' dominant influential position over decision-making in the workers self-management organizations is generally attributed to managers and specialists' privileged positions on managerial knowledge and information and their connection with the communist party.

The research findings regarding the effect of the workers' self-management on the powerlessness and meaninglessness in work appear to support the research hypotheses as in the direction of the expectation of the socialist workers' self-management; though the workers' meaninglessness in work is significantly higher than the managers, a reduction in the workers' meaninglessness in work comparable to the reduction in the managers' meaninglessness in work can not be an

immediately realizable expectation of the socialist workers' self-management system because of the fact that the overcoming the division of intellectual and manual labor can be a long term realizable objective of the socialist workers self-management society.

6.2.2. The Workers & Attitudes Toward the Socialist Workers Self-Management System

The research finding of the fact that the majority of the working people (workers and managers included) have a positive attitude toward the socialist workers self-management system may be evaluated as the development of a strong attachment between the working people and the socialist workers self-management system and a positive prospect for the socialist workers self-management in Yugoslavia.

6.2.3. A Comparison of the Workers' Perceived Influence and Alienation of Labor in Work Organizations in the Socialist Workers Self-Management System in Yugoslavia and the Capitalist Non-Participative System in Turkey

The fact that the research hypotheses, "The Worker in the socialist workers' self-management system have significantly greater

perceived influence over decision-making in work organizations than the workers in work organizations in a capitalist society” completely, and a second research hypothesis, “Compared with the capitalist management system, the socialist worker’s self-management has a qualitatively more significant effect on the transcendence of the alienation of labor,” in terms of the powerlessness in work scale of the work alienation are being supported by the research data reveals that despite the socialist workers’ self-management system is not as effective as the ideal expectations of the socialist workers’ self-management it has significantly more democratizing effect and work alienation reducing effect on workers in the workers’ self-management system than the effect of the capitalist management system on workers. However, it should be underlined that the socialist workers self-management has not been able to create a qualitatively more significant positive effect in terms of increasing workers power and reducing the workers’ work alienation (powerlessness in work) compared with the capitalist management system (Whitehorn, 1983:249-260).

CONCLUSION: A Critical Evaluation of the Experience of the Socialist Workers' Self-Government System in Yugoslavia in Terms of its Effects on the Workers Influence Over Decision-Making and on the Transcendence of Alienation of Labor, and its Macro-Societal Transformational Objectives.

Alienation has been recognized as a fundamental ontological and socio-historically created problem of mankind. Although the idea of alienation had its roots in the ancient and medieval theology and philosophy, the study of human alienation has reached a systematic philosophical theory level treatment in Hegel's writings and evolved into a philosophically grounded social scientific theory primarily in the early writings of Marx and in the writings of other classical sociologist and contemporary critical social theorists, and an empirically oriented research field in the contemporary social sciences. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, two major theoretical perspectives on human alienation have been developed. (1) the classical sociologists' perspective on human alienation as a problem, analysis and critique of industrial society, and (2) the Marxist perspective on alienation of labor as a central problem, analysis and critique of industrial capitalism, as a problem of class society.

The researcher's review of the literature of theory of alienation suggests that though the classical sociologists like Veblen, Durkheim, Simmel and Weber made unique contributions by their discovery of the root of alienation in urbanization, conspicuous consumption and bureaucratization, Marx' theory of alienation of labor as the source of all forms of human alienation, **as a central** problem of the class society in a holistic class theory framework based-on historical materialism **with implications for a historically realizable human emancipation project** -workers self-governing socialism- seems unsurpassed and continues to be the most influential theoretical perspective in the theoretical studies of the subject in the twentieth and twenty first centuries. Now, a summary of the findings of the empirical study will be presented below:

1. The results of the statistical significance test on two important research hypotheses concerning the effect of the socialist workers self-management on the workers' council members perceived influence over decision-making and the effect of the hierarchical status on the working people's perceived influence over decision making in the socialist workers' self-management organizations indicate that **contrary to the relevant theory, ideology and de jure structure**, the workers **council members did not have the greatest perceived influence over decision-making**. They had lower

perceived influence than managers’, and again, **contrary to the relevant theory, ideology and de jure structure in the socialist workers self-management system, the hierarchical status in the organizational structure continued to have a significant effect on perceived influence over decision-making**, that is, to say all levels of managers had greater perceived influence than the workers.

2. The workers’ perceived influence had a positive effect on the reduction of the general work alienation and of the powerlessness in work dimension (scale) of work alienation. Therefore, we may conclude that the work alienation reducing aim of the socialist workers self-management was relatively realized in practice.

3. Majority of the working people (workers and managers included) had positive evaluation for the socialist worker self-management so that their 68 percents’ preferences were for a revised workers self-management not for the etatist-bureaucratic socialist management or the capitalist management model.

4. Consistent with the relevant theory, ideology and de jure structure, the workers in the socialist workers self-management system had greater perceived influence over decision making than the workers in the capitalist management system in Turkey. And also the former was less alienated in terms of powerlessness in work scale of the work alienation but not in terms of other aspects of work

alienation. **However, such difference can not be qualified as “a qualitatively more significant effect on the transcendence of alienation of labor.”**

Although the findings of the empirical study point to the realization a relatively positive effect of the socialist workers self-management system on the objectives of increasing workers’ influence over decision making in work organizations and communes and of reducing the alienation of labor, **we do not witness the achievement of realization of the establishment of a truly workers’ socialist self-governing system in the workplace a truly workers self-governing society by withering away of the state, and a qualitative level of transcendence of alienation of labor and society.**

According to the many competent scholars’ who undertook the important theoretical and empirical studies on the subject, and especially the Praxis School³ circle are in the commonly agreed opinion that principal determining factors behind the disillusionment about the experience of the socialist workers’ self-management in Yugoslavia are primarily(1) the integration of market economy into

³ This school of thought represent probably the most important critical-Marxist circle of thought in the Eastern European Socialist Societies, who have had a genuine interest in the theory and the construction of a truly self-governing society and significantly contributed to the further development of the theory of self-governing socialist society in the light of the practice of the self-governing socialism in Yugoslavia, which, to this researchers observation, have equipped them for developing significant new insights for a truly workable self-governing socialist society under the conditions of the vivid experience of the interactions of the theory and practice of the socialist workers’ self-government.

the socialist workers self-government and (2) the continuation of the statist-bureaucratic socialism political perspective in practice and of course, I have to add to the first two, (3) the encirclement of the socialist societal transformations and experiments, by which free, creative, genuine revolutionary societal experimentations are kept under constant control.

In order to make such fundamental constraining and degenerating socio-economic and political conditions on the meaningful realization of the socialist self-government in Yugoslavia more concretely and truthfully understood, we have to elaborate on these lines of assessments by establishing links between the practice of the self-governing socialism and Marx's theories of society and of self-governing socialism. In Marx' theory of society, the emergence of a new social formation determined by an advanced level of the social relations of production depends on an advanced level of forces of production. In other words, an existing social formation can not vanish before the full development of the forces of production implicit of a certain social formation (Marx, 1972:177, Cited in Işıklı, 1980:69-79). When the Yugoslav socialist revolution was victorious and it entered its phase of the construction of socialism after the Second World War, it was basically a backward semi-feudal society. Therefore, the socialist Yugoslavia had to realize the development of its forces of

production toward industrialization, and construction of a socialist society and economy in the same period. Under the conditions of its underdeveloped level of forces of production and its forced isolation from the socialist block by its expulsion from the Cominform and the succeeding events of military political and economic blockade and threats by the Soviet Union, the Socialist Yugoslavia established the ties with the economic organizations of the Capitalist West, and furthermore integrated the market economy into its socialist workers self-management system in 1960s. On the other hand, if we have a look at Marx's theory of self-governing socialism, we see the democratic centrally planned economy was envisioned for the realization of the ideals of socialism and self-governing socialism, instead of continuation of a market economy in a socialist society (Marx and Engels, 1975:348).

New social order... will have to take the running of industry and all branches of production in general out of the hands of separate individuals competing with each other and instead will have to ensure that all these branches of production are run by society as a whole, e.i., for the social good, **according to a social plan and with the participation of all members of society. If therefore, do away with competition and replace it by association.**

Since the conditions of the market economy are the meta-determinants of all policy-making together with its professional

managers and experts equipped with needed knowledge and information, the workers's perceived influence over decision-making being not significantly increased even in the socialist workers self-management is understandable. The market socialism feature of the Yugoslav self-governing socialism can also be characterized as a major explanatory source of the workers' alienation of labor not being significantly transcended in the workers' self-management system, because the commodification of production, human labor **as an object of buy** and sale in the market in the condition of wage-labor and all human relations, consequently reducing man's substantive life activity to primarily the means of production is characterized as a universal mode of alienation of labor in Marx's theory of alienation of labor. Furthermore, the Yugoslav scholars are in common agreement in their observation that the effect of the market economy together with the self-management organizations propensity, **transformed the social property to a group property de facto in a Proudhonian concept, which has a status between social property and private property.** As a result, two constitutive elements of the capitalist mode of production partially reentered into the Yugoslav self-governing socialism with their negative effects on workers perceived influence and work alienation.

As to the effect of the underdeveloped nature of forces of production on the transcendence of alienation of labor, it belates its effect on the transcendence of alienation of labor to the second stage of socialism e.i., communism as Marx stated (Marx and Engel, 1974:324).

Higher phase of communist society after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor and their with also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly.

Therefore, it may concluded that the Yugoslav socialist workers self-governing system having relatively low level reducing effect on the alienation of labor is primarily the result of the underdeveloped condition of the forces of production in Yugoslavia.

As it is indicated above, the second most important constraining factor is the continuation of the etatist-bureaucratic domination on the socialist works' self-management by the different means. Although the transference of the operational power's of the Federal state to the Republican governments and local districts and communes was realized by decentralization, it did not create a political self-governing order, due to the fact that the functions of the

republican and communal governments are essentially carried out by professional politicians and bureaucrats, most of them are the members of the Communist Party, despite the establishment of a political self-governing delegate system from the commune through the Republic to the Federal Assemblies (Markovic, 1988:162).

Similarly, the domination of the members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the composition of the membership structure of the workers council and among the holders of the top management statutes in work organizations in the economic sphere indicates that the Communist Party continued to be the real power center in the self-management system in economy and consequently, the objective of the withering of the state (the transcendence of the political alienation) as the main intermediary objective of the socialist workers self-governing socialism has been not realized.

Considering the fact that the continuation of the etatist bureaucratic socialist characteristic of the Yugoslav state and society, and the integration of the market economy into the Yugoslav Socialist workers self-management are essentially the capitalist system's encirclement forced conditions, **the capitalist system's encirclement might be characterized as the real distant constraining factor in the degeneration of the Yugoslav socialist workers' self-management experience.**

As in the cases of almost all the twentieth century socialist society building experiences, the Yugoslav socialist revolution and socialist society building experience was not based on the adequately developed working class revolutionary consciousness, and a critical Marxist philosophical guidance was not established. I am in the strong opinion that this limitation in the cooperation between the revolutionary philosophy and practice was a major factor in the degenerative development in this subject.

We may conclude that the first sufficiently long-lived experience of the self-governing socialism of the history has not been able to be successful in creating a truly self-governing socialist society and consequently, has not been able to create a qualitatively de-alienated labor and de-alienated society. However, it has provided us with the experience-based clues for what conditions have to be met for the realization of the building of a truly self-governing socialist society in the future.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

KROS – DRUŠTVO SISTEM KOMPARATIVNI ISTRAZIV INSTRUMENTI

(In Serbo-Croatian Language)

(Middle East Technical University i Univerzitet u Zagrebu)

Ova naučna studija je oblikovana i svrhu istraživanja činjenica i vaših osecaja o vašem radu i organizaciji. Na ovde postavljena pitanja nema ispravnih i progresnih odgovora. Ovim upitnikom nastojimo doznati nešto više o činjenicama i vašim osecajima vezanim uz različite aspekte vašeg rada.

Molimo vas da odgovorite na svako od potavljenih pitanja, jer izostavljeni odgovor nećemo moći objasniti. Ako vam je na pojedino pitanje teško odgovoriti, izaberite onaj odgovor koji najbliže izražava vaše mišljenje o njemu.

Upitnik je anonimn i stoga nije potrebno da se potpisujete. Vaši odgovori biće korišćeni isključivo u naučne svrhe.

HVALA
A. Millioğulları

Department of Political Science
and Public Administration
(Middle East Technical University-Ankara)

1.1. Molimo vaš z nekoliko ličnih podataka.

1. Koliko vam je godina?
2. Po: muški () ženski ()
3. U kojoj osnovnoj delatnosti u preduzeću radite?
 - (1) proizvodnaja
 - (2) uprava
 - (3) tehničko osoblje
 - (4) marketinska prodaja
 - (5) finansije, računovodstvo
4. Koji je vaš položaj u preduzeću?
 - (1) najviši rukovodilac (generalni direktor, pomoćnici generalnog direktora, direktori glavnih odeljenja)
 - (2) srednji rukovodilac
 - (3) nadglednik (poslovoda, itsl.)
 - (4) radnik (manuelni i nemanuelni)
5. Koja je vaša kvalifikacija?
 - (1) kvalifikovan
 - (2) polukvalifikovan
 - (3) nekvalifikovan
6. Koliko dugo radite u ovom preduzeću?
7. Koji stupanj obrazovanja ste postigli?
 - (1) osnovno obrazovanje
 - (2) srednje obrazovanje
 - (3) više obrazovanje
 - (4) visoko obrazovanje
8. Da li iste trenutno član radničkog saveta? Da () ne ()
9. Da li iste ikada bili član radničkog saveta? Da () ne ()
10. Da li iste član sindikata ili sličnog profesionalnog udruženja?
 - (1) član sindikata
 - (2) član profesionalnog udruženja
11. Koliki je vaš meseći lični dohodak?

2.1. Nize su navedenarazlicita podrucja odlucivanja unutar vašeg preduzeća odlucivanja unutar vašeg reduzeca. Molimo vas da ocenitekoliki je vaš lični stvarni uticaj na navedeneodluke. Unesite vaše odgovore u zat o predviden postor (oznaćite).

		Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
1.	Proizvodni, razvojni, investicijski i marketinški planovi i politika n arazini preduzeća					
2.	Ustanovljavanje kriterija raspodele profita n arazini preduzeća .					
3.	Immenovanje i postavljanje kovodstva					
4.	Immenovanje i izbor radničkog savjeta.					
5.	Kadrovska politika (otpuštanje, unapredenja, zaposljavanje)					
6.	Odluke o raspodeli ličnih dohodaka.					
7.	Donešenje i procena budžeta					
8.	Promene u proizvodnoj tehnologiji					
9.	Promene u organizacijskoj strukturi					
10.	Radni uslovi (fizički, sigurnosni)					
11.	Zaposljavanje i otpuštanje saradnika unutar vašeg odela.					
12.	Postavljanje vašeg neposrednog rukovodioca					
13.	Raspodela radnih zadataka					
14.	Izborradnihmetoda, opreme, tempa rada i duzine njegova trajanja					
15.	Disciplinske mere.					

2.2. Sada vaš molimo da navedete razinu uticaja koju bitse vi lično zeleti da imate na avaku od nize mavendenih odluka. Po vašem misljenju, koliki uticaj bitse vi lično trebali da imate. Unesite vaše odgovore u zat predviden prostor (oznaite).

		Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
1.	Proizvodni, razvojni, investicijski i marketinški planovi i politika n arazini preduzeća					
2.	Ustanovljavanje kriterija raspodele profita n arazini preduzeća .					
3.	Immenovanje i postavljanje kovodstva					
4.	Immenovanje i izbor radničkog savjeta.					
5.	Kadrovska politika (otpuštanje, unapredenja, zaposljavanje)					
6.	Odluke o raspodeli ličnih dohodaka.					
7.	Donešenje i procena budžeta					
8.	Promene u proizvodnoj tehnologiji					
9.	Promene u organizacijskoj strukturi					
10.	Radni uslovi (fizički, sigurnosni)					
11.	Zaposljavanje i otpuštanje saradnika unutar vašeg odela.					
12.	Postavljanje vašeg neposrednog rukovodioca					
13.	Raspodela radnih zadataka					
14.	Izborradnihmetoda, opreme, tempa rada i duzine njegova trajanja					
15.	Disciplinske mere.					

2.3. U ovom delu upitnika molimo vaš da procenite u kojoj bi meri nize navedene grupe trebale da imaju uticaja na odluke navedene izad svake od sledecih tablica. Unesite avoje odgovore u zat o predviden prostor.

1. Proizvodni, razvojni, investicijski i marketinski planovi i politika n arazini preduzeća

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovode					
Srednij rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikato					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-politicke organizacije					

2. Ustanovljanaje kriterija raspodele profita n arazini preduzeća

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovode					
Srednij rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikato					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-politicke organizacije					

3. Imenovanje i postavljanje rukovodstva

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednji rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikat					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-političke organizacije					

4. Imenovanje i izbor radničkog saveta.

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednji rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikat					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-političke organizacije					

5. Kadrovska politika (otpuštanje, unpređenja, zaposljavaње).

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednji rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikat					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-političke organizacije					

6. Odluke o raspodeli ličnih dohodaka

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednji rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikat					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-političke organizacije					

7. Donošenje i procena budžeta.

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednji rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikat					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Društveno-političke organizacije					

8. Promene u proizvodnoj tehnologiji.

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednji rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikat					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Društveno-političke organizacije					

9. Promene u organizacijskoj strukturi.

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednj rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikata					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-politicke organizacije					

10. Radni uslovi (fizički, sigurnosni)

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednj rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikata					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-politicke organizacije					

11. Zaposljavanje i otpuštanje suradnika unuar vašeg odeljenja.

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednji rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikat					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-politicke organizacije					

12. Postavljanje vašeg neposrednog rukovodioca.

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednji rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikat					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-politicke organizacije					

13. Raspodela radnih zadataka.

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovode					
Srednij rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikato					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-politicke organizacije					

14. Izbor radnih metoda, opreme, tempa rada i duzine njegova trajanja.

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovode					
Srednij rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikato					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Drustveno-politicke organizacije					

15. Disciplinske mere.

	Bez uticuja	Mali uticaj	Umereni uticaj	Veliki uticaj	Vrlo veliki uticaj
Radnici					
Poslovođe					
Srednji rukovodioci					
Najviši rukovodioci					
Stručnjaci					
Radnički savet					
Sindikata					
Banke i finansijske organizacije					
Društveno-političke organizacije					

2.4. U ovom delu upitnika molimo vaš da iznesete svoja iskustva i odnose sa radničkim savetom i vašim nadređenima. Svoje odgovore na postavljena pitanja naznačite tako da potcrtate onaj od ponudjenih odgovora koji najviše odgovara vašem mišljenju.

1. Da li imate lagan i poptun pristup svim vaznim izvorima informacija u vašem preduzeću?
 da, sigurno () možda da () ne mislim () sigurno ne ()
 da imam ()
2. Da li osećate da imate dovoljno znanja a delovanju sistema radničkog samoupravljanja?
 Sigurno dovoljno () dovoljno ()
 U određenoj mjeri dovoljno, u određenoj mjeri nedovoljno ()
 Neovoljno () sigurno nedovoljno ()
3. Koliko informacija dobivate o zbivanjima na sastancima radničkog saveta?
 Vrlo mnogo () mnogo () ponesto () malo () vrlo malo ()

4. Koliko ste lično zainteresirani za rad radničkog saveta?
 vrlo zainteresovan () zainteresiran () umereno zainteresovan ()
 malo () vrlo malo zainteresovan ()
5. Koliko često se savetuje sa vama i vašim kolegama pre no sto donese neku vaznu odluku koja se tiče vašeg odaljenja?
 Gotovo uvek () često () ponekad () retko ()
 gotovo nikad ()
6. U kojoj meri vam vaš nedređeni daje mogućnost da sami odlucite?
 nimalo () malo () donekle () mnogo () vrlo mnogo ()

2.5. U ovom delu upitnika molimo vas za vašu procenu sistema radničkog samoupravljanja.

1. Da li su interesi zaposlenih bolje zaštićeni u sistemu radničkog samoupravljanja?
 Da sigurno () nozda () ne se () sigurno ne ()
2. Da li sistem radničkog samoupravljanja održava jednakost moći između zaposlenih i uprave.
 Da sigurno () nozda () ne slažem se () sigurno ne ()
3. Da li je kvalitet odluka poboljšan zbog sistema radničkog samoupravljanja?
 Da sigurno () nozda () ne slažem se () sigurno ne ()
4. Da li zaposleni prihvataju odluke lakše zbog sistema radničkog samoupravljanja?
 Da sigurno () nozda () ne slažem se () sigurno ne ()
5. Da li je kvalitet komunikacija poboljšan zbog sistema radničkog samoupravljanja?
 Da sigurno () nozda () ne slažem se () sigurno ne ()
6. Da li su razvijeniji odnosi saradnje između zaposlenih i uprave zbog sistema radničkog samoupravljanja?
 Da sigurno () nozda () ne slažem se () sigurno ne ()

7. U celini gledano, tko ima najviše koristi od sistema radničkog samoupravljanja?

uprava
članovi radničkog saveta
sindikati
projedini radnici
politicari

8. U svetlu vašeg iskustva sa sistemom radničkog samoupravljanja u vašoj radnoj organizaciji i u ovoj zemlji, da li uvidate neka ograničenja u primeni sistema radničkog samoupravljanja koja sprečavaju ostvarivanje ciljeva sistema radničkog samoupravljanja? Ako oje vaš odgovor "da", molimo vas da navedete ograničenje (ili više njih) po redosledu njihove važnosti.

.....
.....
.....

9. U celini gledano koliko ste zadovoljni sa neposrednim sudelovanjem u preduzeću?

vrlo zadovoljan () zadovoljan () ni zadovoljan nezadovoljan ()
ponesto zadovoljan () vrlo nezadovoljan ()

10. U celini gledano koliko ste zadovoljni sa sudelovanjem kroz radnički savet?

vrlo zadovoljan () zadovoljan () ni zadovoljan nezadovoljan ()
ponesto zadovoljan () vrlo nezadovoljan ()

11. Da li bi ukidanje sistema radničkog samoupravljanja izazvalo nezadovoljstvo među radnicima?

uopće ne bi () delimično bi () bi, dosta () bi, veoma ()

12. Kakav je bio uticaj tržišne ekonomije na ostvarenje društvenih ciljeva sistema radničkog samoupravljanja?

negativan () pozitivan () ne znam ()

13. Da li je sistem radničkog samoupravljanja odgovarajući pravac za razvoj ovog društva?

da, sigurno () možda () ne slažem se () sigurno ne ()

14. Da li osećate da u uslovima radničkog samoupravljanja dobivate mogućnost da upravljate društvom u budućnosti?

da, sigurno () možda () ne slažem se () sigurno ne ()

15. U svetlu vašeg iskustva sa sistemom radničkog samoupravljanja u vašoj radnoj organizaciji i u vašoj zemlji, koji model upravljanja biste odabrali kao model radne organizacije u budućnosti?

- 1) državno-birokratski model upravljanja
- 2) participativni model kapitalističkog preduzeća
- 3) ne-participativni model kapitalističkog preduzeća
- 4) izmenjeni novi model radničkog samoupravljanja: u kojem su uplitanje tržišne ekonomije i nezakoniti politički uticaj ograničeni; gde će radnici da budu obrazovani za sistem i da imaju potpun pristup svim izvorima inoćija; i gde bi upravljačka tela trebala da imaju više autoriteta i odgovornosti u produktivnom delovanju preduzeća.

3.1. U ovom delu upitnika zeleli bismo saznati nešto više o vašim stavovima prema vašem poslu, organizaciji, vašim vrednostima i vašoj poziciji u društvu. Svoje odgovore na postavljena pitanja naznačite tako da potcrtate onaj od ponuđenih odgovora koji najviše odgovara vašem mišljenju.

1. Koliko često radite prekovremeno da biste završili posao bez da netko to od vas zahteva?

gotovo uvek () često () ponekad () retko ()
gotovo nikad ()

2. Koliko često osećate da mrzite odlazak na posao?

gotovo uvek () često () ponekad () retko ()
gotovo nikad ()

3. Koliko često osećate da ste srećni samo kada niste na poslu?

gotovo uvek () često () ponekad () retko ()
gotovo nikad ()

4. Moje dnevne aktivnosti su u velikoj meri uslovljene drugima.

posve tačno () tačno ()
donekle tačno, donekle acno ()
netačno () posve netačno ()

5. U mom poslu osećam se kao da me strojevi kontroliraju.
 posve tačno () tačno ()
 donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
 netačno () posve netačno ()
6. Imam veoma mali uticaj na opstu politiku preduzeća.
 posve tačno () tačno () donekle
 tačno, donekleacno ()
 netačno () posve netačno ()
7. Ponekad nisam siguran da u potpunosti razumem svrhu onoga sta radim.
 u potpunosti se slažem () slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
 ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
8. Ne razumem kako se moj posao uklapa u celinu delatnosti preduzeća.
 u potpunosti se slažem () slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
 ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
9. Zbog onog sto radim nam om poslu osećam se ponizenim.
 u potpunosti se slažem () slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
 ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
10. Osećam da ljudi koji napreduju u preduzeću to i zaslužuju.
 u potpunosti se slažem () slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
 ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
11. U celini, princip jednakosti je među najuočljivijim u preduzeću.
 u potpunosti se slažem () slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
 ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
12. U ovom preduzeću pravila radnih odnosa se dosledno provode.
 u potpunosti se slažem () slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
 ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
13. U celini rekao bih da mi moj posao ne osigurava mogućnost za razvoj i korištenje mojih najboljih sposobnosti.
 u potpunosti se slažem () slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
 ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()

14. Moj posao je tek esto sto treba obaviti da b ise zaradilo za zivot.
u potpunosti se slažem ()slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
15. Kad bitse imali mogućnost da započnete ponovo svoj radni vek, da li bitse izabrali isti posao koji danas obavljate?
u potpunosti se slažem ()slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
16. U celini postoji saradnički odnos između zaposlenih i uprave u našem preduzeću.
u potpunosti se slažem ()slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
17. Uistinu osećam da su problemi mogeg preduzeća i moji problemi.
u potpunosti se slažem ()slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
18. Moj posao mi omogućuje uspostavljanje prijateljskih odnosa sa mojim kolegama.
u potpunosti se slažem ()slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()
19. Osobe poput mene imaju male sanse u zastiti nasih legitimnih interesa u sukobu sa interesima vladajuće klase.
posve tačno () tačno ()
donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
netačno () posve netačno ()
20. Ljudi poput menemogu da promene pravac svetskih događaja ako pokušaju razumeti razloge koji se kriju iza odnosa između događaja i kolektivno upotrebe nasu moc za rešenja.
posve tačno () tačno ()
donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
netačno () posve netačno ()
21. Uopste, mislim da ljudsko blagostanje nije stvarna svrha društvenih institucija, već su ljudska bica instrumenti ostvarivanja ciljeva društvenih institucija.
u potpunosti se slažem ()slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()

22. Većina nas, u naše vreme, koristi veći dio svojih života za zaradivanje novca da bismo zadovoljili naše lažne potrebe, umesto da živimo u skladu sa povesno razvijenom istinitom ljudskom prirodom.

posve tačno () tačno ()
donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
netačno () posve netačno ()

23. Često osećam da smo mi ljudska bića u ratu jedni protiv drugih u celavom svetskom društvu.

posve tačno () tačno ()
donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
netačno () posve netačno ()

24. Danas je gotovo nemoguće naći prave prijatelje, budući da svi prvenstveno misle na sebe.

posve tačno () tačno ()
donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
netačno () posve netačno ()

25. Da bi bio izabran na javnu funkciju, kandidat mora dati obećanja koja ne namerava održati.

posve tačno () tačno ()
donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
netačno () posve netačno ()

26. Ne može se biti uspešan u poslovanju bez pridržavanja istinski moralnih principa.

posve tačno () tačno ()
donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
netačno () posve netačno ()

27. Često se pitam koji mi je smisao života.

u potpunosti se slažem () slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()

28. Često ne razumem da li postoje sukladni odnosi između ciljeva većine ekonomskih preduzeća i zbiljskih interesa društva.

u potpunosti se slažem () slažem se () neodlučan sam ()
ne slažem se () u potpunosti se ne slažem ()

29. Osnovna razlika između bogatog i siromašnog čoveka sastoji se u tome da je bogati verovatno rođen u dorostojecoj porodici sa svim pripadajućim prednostima, dok siromašni nije.

posve tačno () tačno ()
 donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
 netačno () posve netačno ()

30. Glavni razlog što netko postaje bogat, a netko ostaje siromasan sastoji se u tome da bogati ima više ambicija da naporno radi da bi se dokazao.

posve tačno () tačno ()
 donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
 netačno () posve netačno ()

31. Ne postoji društvo na zemlji gde ljudi ne pokušavaju da se takmice i ostvaruju profit. Taj tip nagnuća i takmicenja jest u ljudskoj prirodi.

posve tačno () tačno ()
 donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
 netačno () posve netačno ()

32. Prirodnije je čoveka da sarauje, nego da se bori i takmici sa drugima.

posve tačno () tačno ()
 donekle tačno, donekleacno ()
 netačno () posve netačno ()

33. Postoje neke vrednosti u društvu koje treba postovati da bi ljudi bili srećni i da bi mogli ostvariti smislen život. Molimo vas da u listi vrednosti, koja sledi, označite stupanj njihove važnosti za vas.

	veoma vazno	vazno	malo vazno
jednakost			
solidarnost (saradnja)			
rad			
samoupravljanje			
postignuce			
produktivnost			
društveni status i prestiz			
sigurnost			

bogatstvo			
zivotni standard			
postenje			
sloboda			

34. Da li smatrate da u ovoj zemlji postoje ideoloske drustvene klase?

Da, postoje () ne postoje () ne znam ()

35. Ako se slazete da postoje ideoloske drustveneklase u ovoj zemlji, sa kojom od njihse vi poistovecujete?

radnicka klasa
burzoaska klasa
srednij sloj

36. Da li smatrate da je strajik legitiman naćin da se cuje za radnicke zahteve?

da () ponekad () ne ()

37. Sto misliste zasto cenerastu?

- 1) zbog porasta plaća rdnika putemsistema kolektivnog pogadanja? _____
- 2) Zbog ostvarivanja profita trzisne ekonomije? _____

APPENDIX B

THE CROSS-SOCIETAL SYSTEMS RESEARCH

INSTRUMENT

Middle East Technical University and University of Zagreb

FORM 1.1. Personal Information Form

1. Your age: _____
2. Gender: Female, Male: _____
3. Your main job function in organization:
(1) Production__ (2) Administration__ (3) Technical Service__
(4) Finance-Accounting__ (5) Marketing Sales__
4. Your job status:
(1) Top management (General manager, factory manager, heads of divisions and departments)
(2) Middle Management (Chiefs and Coordinators)
(3) Supervisor (Foremen)
(4) Worker (Manual and Non-Manual)
5. How do you qualify yourself in your work?
(1) qualified__ (2) semi-qualified__ (3) non-qualified__
6. How long have you been with the work organizations?
7. Your level of education completed:
(1) Primary education
(2) Secondary education
(3) Junior college education
(4) University degree
8. Are you presently a member of the workers council?
(1) Yes____, No____
9. Were you ever a member of the workers council in the past?
(1) Yes____, No____
10. Are you a member of labor union or similar professional body?
(1) Labor Union__ (2) the other professional body__
11. What is the amount of your monthly net wage or salary?

FORM 2.1.

Here is a set of decisions regarding activities at the levels of your department, plant or enterprise in your work organization. In your opinion, how much influence do you, in person, actually have over the decisions given below? Please indicate your response by ticking your choice in the appropriate space.

		No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much influence
1.	The production, development, investment and marketing plans and policies at the enterprise level					
2.	The establishment of criteria for distribution of surplus production values profit at the enterprise level					
3.	Nomination and appointment of the management					
4.	Nomination and election of workers' council					
5.	Personnel policy (hiring, firing, promotion e.g.)					
6.	Wage administration policy					
7.	Making and evaluation of budgets					
8.	Change in the technology of production					
9.	Change in organizational structure					
10.	Work conditions (physical conditions, safety)					
11.	Hiring and firing of co-workers at your department					
12.	Appointment of your immediate supervisor					
13.	Arrangement of tasks					
14.	Choice of work methods, equipment, pace of work and hours of working					
15.	Disciplinary actions.					

FORM 2.2.

Now we would like to know your desired level of influence over the same set of decisions. In your opinion, how much influence should you, personally, have over the decisions given below? Please indicate your response by ticking your choice in the appropriate place.

		No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much influence
1.	The production, development, investment and marketing plans and policies at the enterprise level					
2.	The establishment of criteria for distribution of surplus production values profit at the enterprise level					
3.	Nomination and appointment of the management					
4.	Nomination and election of workers' council					
5.	Personnel policy (hiring, firing, promotion e.g.)					
6.	Wage administration policy					
7.	Making and evaluation of budgets					
8.	Change in the technology of production					
9.	Change in organizational structure					
10.	Work conditions (physical conditions, safety)					
11.	Hiring and firing of co-workers at your department					
12.	Appointment of your immediate supervisor					
13.	Arrangement of tasks					
14.	Choice of work methods, equipment, pace of work and hours of working					
15.	Disciplinary actions.					

FORM 2.3.

In this part, the same set of decisions and some groups who may have influence on the decisions are presented in the tables. In your opinion, how much influence should the following groups have on the decisions given just over the tables? Please indicate your response by ticking your choice in the appropriate.

1. The production, development, investment and marketing plans and policies at the enterprise level.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

2. The establishment of criteria for distribution of profit at the enterprise level.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

3. Nomination and appointment of the management.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

4. Nomination and election of workers' council.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

5. Personnel policy (hiring, firing, promotion e.g.)

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

6. Wage administration policy.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

7. Making and evaluation of budgets.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

8. Change in the technology of production.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

9. Change in organizational structure.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

10. Work conditions (physical conditions, safety)

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

11. Hiring and firing of co-workers at your department.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

12. Appointment of your immediate supervisor.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

13. Arrangement of tasks.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

14. Choice of work methods, equipment, pace of work and-hours of working.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

15. Disciplinary actions.

	No influence	Little influence	Moderate influence	Much influence	Very much
Workers					
First Line Supervisors					
Middle Management					
Top Management					
Experts					
Workers Council					
Labor Union					
Banks and Finance Organization					
Socio-Political Organization					
State					

FORM 2.4.

In this part we would like to have your experience and relations with the socialist workers' self-government system, the workers council and your superior. Please indicate your response to each question by encoding the appropriate words describing most closely your experience.

1. Do you have easy and full access to all important sources of information in your enterprise?
definitely yes () yes () I don't think so () definitely not ()
2. Do you feel you have sufficient knowledge about the operation of the workers self management system?
definitely sufficient () sufficient () to some extend sufficient
Not sufficient () Definitely not sufficient ()
3. How much do you usually hear about what goes on in the meetings of the workers' council?
very much () much () some () little () very little ()
4. How interested are you personally in the work of the workers' council?
very strongly interested () strongly interested ()
moderately interested () little interested ()
very little interested ()
5. How often does your superior consult with you and your colleagues before he takes an important decisions concerning your department?
almost always () often () sometime () rarely ()
almost never ()
6. To what extend does your superior give you the opportunity to decide on your own?
not at all () to a little extend ()
to some extend ()
to a great extend () to a very great extend ()

FORM 2.5.

In this part, we would like to have your assessment of the workers self-management system.

1. Are the interest of employees better protected in the workers self – management system?
definitely yes () yes () no ()
definitely not ()
2. Does the workers’ self-management system maintains an equalization of power between workers and management?
definitely yes () yes () no ()
definitely not ()
3. Has the quality of decisions improved because of the workers self-management system?
definitely yes () yes () no ()
definitely not ()
4. Do employees accept decisions easier because of the workers self-management system?
definitely yes () yes () no ()
definitely not ()
5. Has the quality of communication improved because the workers’ self-management system?
definitely yes () yes () no ()
definitely not ()
6. Has a more cooperative relationship developed between employees and management because of the workers self-management system?
definitely yes () yes () no ()
definitely not ()
7. On the whole, who benefits the most from the workers’ self-management system?
Management () member of workers council ()
trade unions () workers () politicians ()

8. In the light of your experience in the workers' self-management system in your work organization and in your country, do you see some limitations in the practice of the workers' self-management system which prevent the realization of the objectives of the workers' self-management system? If your answer is "yes", please indicate the limitation (s) in the order of their importance.

.....
.....
.....

9. On the whole, how satisfied, are you with your direct participation in the enterprise?

very satisfied () fairly satisfied ()
neither satisfied nor dissatisfied ()
somewhat dissatisfied () very dissatisfied ()

10. On the whole how satisfied are you with participation through the workers council?

very satisfied () fairly satisfied ()
neither satisfied nor dissatisfied ()
somewhat dissatisfied () very dissatisfied ()

11. Would the abolishing of the workers self-management system create dissatisfaction among workers?

not at all () not () much () very much ()

12. What has been the effect of the market economy on the realizations of the societal objectives in the workers self-management?

negative () positive () don't know ()

13. Is the workers self-management system the proper direction for the development of this society?

definitely yes () yes () no ()
definitely not ()

14. In the light of your experience in the workers self-management system in your work organization and in your country, what would be your preference for a more satisfying management model of work organizations in the future.

- 1) The etatist-bureaucratic socialist model of management
- 2) The participative capitalist model of management
- 3) The non – participative capitalist model of management
- 4) A revised new workers’ self-management model: In which the interference of the market economy and the illegitimate political influence are limited; workers will be educated for the system and have full access to all sources of information; and the management bodies share more authority and responsibility in the productive operation of the enterprise.

15. Do you fell that under the workers’ self-management system you are gaining the capacity to rule society in the future?
 definitely yes () yes () no () definitely not ()

FORM 3

In this form, we would like to know same facts or your feeling about your work, you organization and your position on society. Please indicate you response by encoding the appropriate alternative words describing most closely the fact on your feeling.

1. How often do you work overtime to get work done without required?
 often () sometimes () rarely () never ()
2. How often you feel to hate going to work?
 often () sometimes () rarely () never ()
3. How often do you feel that you are happy only when you are out of fork?
 often () sometimes () rarely () never ()
4. My daily work activities we largely determined by others.
 definitely true () true ()
 to some extend time-to some extent not true ()
 not true () definitely not true ()

5. In my work I feel like the machines and equipment control me.
 definitely true () true ()
 to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
 not true () definitely not true ()
6. I have very little influence on the general managerial policies in the enterprise
 definitely true () true ()
 to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
 not true () definitely not true ()
7. Sometimes I am not sure I completely understand the purpose of what I am doing.
 definitely true () true ()
 to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
8. I don't understand how my job fits into the total operations of the enterprise.
 definitely true () true ()
 to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
 not true () definitely not true ()
9. What I am doing in my work makes me feel degraded.
 definitely true () true ()
 to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
 not true () definitely not true ()
10. I feel that people who get ahead in the enterprise deserve it.
 definitely true () true ()
 to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
 not true () definitely not true ()
11. On the whole, the principle of equity is among the more observed ones in our enterprise.
 definitely true () true ()
 to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
 not true () definitely not true ()

12. This enterprise, the rules of work relations are consistently practiced.
- definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()
13. On the whole I would say that my work does not provide me with the opportunity to develop and use my best abilities.
- definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()
14. My job is something you have to do to earn a living.
- definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()
15. If you had the opportunity to start your working life over again, would you choose the same kind of work as you are doing now?
- definitely yes () yes ()
may be ()
no () definitely not ()
16. On the whole, there exist a cooperative relationship between the employee and the management in our enterprise.
- definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()
17. I really feel as if the problems of our enterprise are my problems.
- definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()
18. My job allows me all the opportunity for establishing friendly relations with my colleagues.
- definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

19. Persons like myself have little chance of protecting our legitimate interest when it is in conflict with the interests of the ruling class.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent true-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

20. People like me can change the course of world, events if we try to understand the reasons underlying relationships between events and collectively use our power for solutions.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent true-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

21. In general I think that the human well-being is not the real purpose of social institutions anymore, instead, the human being is the instrument for the objectives of social institutions.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent true-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

22. Most of us in our age use the most part of our lives for earning money to buy false need creating consumption products, instead of living our lives according to our historically developed trade human nature.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent true-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

23. Often I feel we human beings are at war with each other in the whole world society.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent true-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

24. Today, it is too difficult to find real friends because everyone forced to think of himself primarily.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent true-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

25. In order to get elected to a public office, a candidate must make promises he does not intend to keep.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

26. One can not be successful in business without compromising true moral principles.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

27. I often wonder what the meaning of life is.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

28. I often don't understand whether there exist a congruent relationship between the goals of most economic enterprise, and the general interests of society.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

29. The basic differences between the rich man and the poor man is that the rich man was probably born into a well to do family and had all the advantages, while the poor man did not.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

30. The main reasons that one man gets rich, while the other stays poor is that the rich man has more drive and ambition to work and improve himself.

definitely true () true ()
to some extent time-to some extent not true ()
not true () definitely not true ()

31. There is no society on earth where men don't try to compete and make profit. That type of drive and competition is of human nature.

definitely true () true ()
 to some extent true-to some extent not true ()
 not true () definitely not true ()

32. It is more natural for men to cooperate than it is for them to struggle and compete with each other.

definitely true () true ()
 to some extent true-to some extent not true ()
 not true () definitely not true ()

33. There are some values that should be observed in a society in order for people to be happy and analyze a meaningful life. A list of much values are given in the following. Please indicate their degree of importance to you:

Values	Degree of importance		
	Very important	Important	Little important
equality			
solidarity (cooperation)			
work			
self-management			
success			
productivity			
social status			
security			
wealth			
standard of living			
honesty			
freedom			

34. Do you think that there are social classes in this country.

Yes there are () no, there are not () I don't know ()

35. If you agree that there are ideological social classes in this country, with which social classes do you identify yourself?

- 1) The working class
- 2) The bourgeoisie class
- 3) The middle stratum

36. Do you believe that in principle strike is a legitimate way for workers to make their demands heard?

Yes () sometimes () no ()

37. Why do you think that prices keep rising?

- 1) Increases in the wages and salaries of working people by the collective bargaining system? _____
- 2) The profit drive of market economy? _____

APPENDIX C

TURKISH SUMMARY

YUGOSLAVYA'DA SOSYALİST ÖZYÖNETİM

VE

EMEĞİN ÇALIŞMA ÖRGÜTLERİNDEKİ KARARLARA

KATILIMI VE EMEĞİN YABANCILAŞMASININ AŞILMASI

ÜZERİNE ETKİSİ

Bu tez çalışmasının amacı, Yugoslavya'da sosyalist özyönetim sistemini ve sosyalist özyönetim kuramının temel amaçları ve potansiyellerinden emek süreci ve örgütlerinde emekçi sınıfın özyönetiminin, ve emeğin, sonuç olarak da insanın yabancılaşmasının aşılmasının ne ölçüde gerçekleştiğinin, kuramsal ve toplumsal-tarihsel pratiği bağlamı üzerine temellendirilen bir karşılaştırmalı görgül araştırmasını gerçekleştirmektir. Çalışmanın temel kuramsal tezi, kapitalist toplum sistemi ve devletçi, bürokratik, sosyalist toplum sistemiyle karşılaştırıldığında, sosyalist özyönetim toplum sisteminin emeğin çalışma sürecindeki kararlara katılımları ve emeğin yabancılaşmasının aşılması üzerine niteliksel olarak daha anlamlı olumlu etkisi olacağıdır. Tezi, gelecek kipli olarak kuruyoruz. Çünkü, tezde öngörülen sonuçların gerçekleşmesi sosyalist özyönetim toplum sisteminin toplumsal-tarihsel maddi ve bilinçsel koşullarının gereklerinin yeterince gelişmesine bağlıdır. Ama, bu tez çalışması, yaşanmış bir deneyimde, Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetim deneyiminde,

kuramda ve pratikte öngörülen toplumsal tarihsel ön koşulların ne ölçüde varolduğu ya da varolmadığını ve beklenen sonuçların ne ölçüde gerçekleştiğini araştırmaya çalışacaktır. Çalışma üç bölümden oluşmaktadır: (1) Sosyalist özyönetim ve emeğin yabancılaşması üzerine kuramsal yaklaşımların ve ilgili görgül araştırma yazınının bir inceleme ve değerlendirmesi, (2) Yugoslavya’da sosyalist özyönetim deneyiminin toplumsal-tarihsel bağlamda incelenmesi, ve (3) Yugoslavya’da sosyalist özyönetim ve Türkiye’de katılsız kapitalist yönetimin, çalışanların iş örgütlerinde karar süreçlerine katılımları ve emeğin yabancılaşmasının aşılması üzerine etkilerinin bir karşılaştırmalı görgül araştırılması.

Konuyla ilgili teolojik, yazınsal, felsefi ve bilimsel kaynaklarda, yabancılaşma insanlığın temel varoluşsal (ontolojik) ve toplumsal-tarihsel olarak yaratılmış bir sorunu olarak kabul edilir. Yabancılaşma düşüncesinin izleri antik ve orta çağlar teolojik ve felsefi kaynaklarında da varolmakla birlikte, insanın yabancılaşması üzerine araştırmaların, ancak Hegel’in çalışmalarında felsefi bir kuram düzeyine ve başta Marks’ın erken dönem çalışmaları ile klasik dönem toplumbilimcilerinin ve çağdaş eleştirel toplum kuramcılarının çalışmalarında bilimsel bir kuram düzeyine ve 20. yüzyılda da bir görgül araştırma alanı düzeyine gelişmiş olduğu görülür. 19. ve 20. yüzyıl toplumsal felsefe ve toplumbilim yazınında, insanın

yabancılaşması üzerine başlıca iki temel kuramsal perspektif geliştirildiği görülmektedir. (1) Klasik Toplumbilim Kuramsal Perspektif: Bu yaklaşım, yabancılaşmayı endüstri toplumunun bir sorunu, çözümleme ve eleştiri aracı olarak görür ve işler. (2) Marksist Kuramsal Perspektif: Emeğin yabancılaşmasını, endüstri toplumunun değil, endüstriyel kapitalizmin temel bir sorunu, çözümleme ve eleştiri aracı olarak görür ve işler. Bu perspektif, temelde, sömürü gibi yabancılaşmayı da sınıflı toplumun sorunsalı ve sonucu olarak kavramlaştırır.

Araştırmacının yabancılaşma kuramına ilişkin yazını incelemesi, Veblen, Durkheim, Simmel ve Weber gibi toplumbilimcilerin, endüstri toplumunun yabancılaştırıcı alanları ya da sonuçları olarak, ussallaşma, uzmanlaşma, bürokratikleşme, kentleşme ve tüketim alanlarını keşfetmede özgün katkıları olduğunu göstermekle birlikte, Marks'ın emeğin ve insanın yabancılaşmasına toplumsal tarihsel bağlamda, temelde sınıflı toplumun sonucu olduğu, sınıflı toplumun sınıfsız topluma dönüştürülmesiyle birlikte, emeğin ve insanın yabancılaşmasının da niteliksel anlamda-ölçüde aşılacağı temel tezi, insanlığın bu en temel sorunsalını bütüncül bir toplumbilim perspektifi ile çözümleyen ve çözüm önerisi geliştiren sonuç olarak da 20. ve 21. yüzyılda da bu konudaki kuramsal çalışmalarda en etkili kuramsal perspektif olma özelliklerinin aşılmadığını göstermektedir.

Öbür yandan, gelişen toplumsal felsefe ve toplumbilimler ışığında, emeğin ve insanın yabancılaşmasının aşılması amacıyla, 19. yüzyılda endüstriyel devrimin yabancılaştırıcı sonuçlarına karşı ütopyik sosyalistler, anarşistler, lonca sosyalistleri daha sonraki gelişmelere esin kaynağı olabilecek düşünceler geliştirmişler; kimi kısa süreli uygulamalar-deneyler de gerçekleştirmişler. Ancak, **bu düşünce ve deneyler yeterince bilimsel temelli olmadığı ve sınıf temelli sorunun çözümlenmesi ve çözümünde sınıflı toplum gerçeği göz ardı edildiği için, geliştirilen görüşler ve uygulamaları çözüm olamamıştır.** 20. yüzyılda ise, endüstrileşmiş ve giderek endüstrileşmekte olan ülkelerde, daha bilimselleşen-gelişen toplum ve yönetim bilimleri bilgileri ışığında, başat olarak sermaye sınıfının üretkenliği ve kârı artırma amacıyla ya da emek-sermaye ilişkisi baskısı altında, emeğin yabancılaşmasının azaltılması amacıyla da yönelen örgüt ve yönetim çerçeveli yöntemler geliştirilmeye başlanmış ve yüzyılımızda da sürdürülmekte bulunmaktadır bu uygulamalar: iş tasarımı, iş genişletme ve zenginleştirme, çalışmanın insancılaştırılması, kalite çemberleri, toplam kalite yönetimi ve katılımlı yönetim gibi. Bu yönetim seçenekleri uygulamalarına ilişkin araştırmalar, bu yöntemlerin, işte üretkenlik-etkinlikle birlikte, çalışanların iş doyumunu, çalışma morali, çalışma motivasyonu ve işte yabancılaşmanın azaltımı yönünde olumlu etkileri olduğunu

göstermektedir. (Blumberg, 1968; 1-13, 123-139; Nightingale, 1979: 310-321; Israeli, 1971; 205-238). Bu çalışma-örgüt-yönetim yöntemleri ve teknikleri uygulamaları üzerine araştırmaların olumlu sonuçlarının bilimselliğinden kuşku edilemez. Ancak, soruna sınıfsal açıdan bakıldığında, bu tür sermaye ve sermaye yönetiminin tasarladığı - geliştirdiği - uyguladığı yöntemlerin çalışanların öznel algıları, bilinçleri üzerinde yanıltıcı etkilerle yaratılmış yeni davranış ve tutumlar üzerine ölçümlere dayandırılan istatistikler olduğu gerçeğinin unutmamak gerek, birçok bilim insanının haklı olarak vurguladığı gibi. (Braverman, 1974; Markowitz, 1996; Zimbalist, 1975; 50-59). Çünkü bu uygulamalarda, çalışan, yaşamını sürdürmek için, üretim araçlarına sahip sermaye sınıfının işyerinde, emek gücünü bir meta olarak bir ücret karşılığında satarak, üretim sürecinde ve üretimin sonucunda, üretimi bölüşümünde gerçekten belirleyici olmadığı, çalışmasının amacının kendisini gerçekleştirmek olmadığı, dolayısıyla nesnel anlamda emeğine yabancılaşmış, sonuç olarak insanın öz niteliklerine yabancılaşmış olarak yaşadığı bilimsel bir gerçektir. Hem de insanlığın, sınıflı toplum dönemi yaşamının olumsuz etkili en trajik gerçeği. Sınıflı toplumun temel özelliklerinde sınıfsal dönüşümü öngörmeksizin emeğin üretkenliğinin en üst düzeye çıkarılması amaçlı iş doyumunu sağlayan yöntemlerin yoğunlukla uygulandığı Almanya ve Japonya toplumlarındaki emek-sermaye

ilişkinin durumu, bu iş doyumu yöntemlerinin manuplatif (yanıltıcı), herkesin anlayabileceği açıklıkta ortaya koyduğu kanısındayız. Çünkü, başka etkenlerle birlikte, Almanya’da ve Japonya’da ülke ölçeğinde uygulanmakta olan birlikte yönetim (co-determination) ve kalite çemberleri (quality circles) ve benzeri yönetim teknikleri Japonya ve Almanya’nın Dünya’nın ikinci ve üçüncü zengin kapitalist toplumu haline gelmesine katkıda bulunmuş, ama bu iki ülkede de emekçilerin sömürülen ve yabancılaşan kaderi nesnel anlamda aşılmamıştır.

Bu nedenle, eleştirel toplum kuramcıları emeğin yabancılaşmasının sonucu olarak da toplumsal yabancılaşmanın niteliksel aşılabilmesini sosyalist özyönetim toplumsal sisteminde gerçekleşebileceğini öngörmektedirler. (Marks, 1964, 1971; Lukacs, 1976; Fromm, 1963; Markovic, 1982).

Bu nedenlerle, biz Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetimi deneyimi ile insanlığın insanlaşma yolunda en temel bu sorunsalının bir bütünsel tarihsel toplumsal sınıfsız topluma dönüştürme projesi içinde aşılmasının ne ölçüde gerçekleştiğini bilimsel olarak araştırmaya değer bulduk. Çalışmanın görgül araştırmasının temel ilgi alanı, Yugoslavya’da sosyalist özyönetimin çalışanların örgütlerinde karar verme süreçlerine katılımı ve emeğin yabancılaşmasının aşılması üzerine etkisini araştırmak olmakla birlikte, görgül araştırma projesi, Yugoslavya sosyalist özyönetim sistemi ile Türkiye’deki katılımsız

kapitalist yönetim sisteminin çalışanların iş örgütlerindeki karar alma sürecine katılımı ve emeğin yabancılaşmasının aşılması üzerine etkileri açısından karşılaştırmalı bir görgül incelenmesi olarak tasarlanmıştır. Araştırma projesinin iki toplumsal sistemin karşılaştırılmasına olanak sağlayan biçimde tasarımılanışının nedeni, hem emeğin yabancılaşması kuramı hem de özyönetimsel sosyalizm kuramının özde endüstriyel kapitalizmin çözümlenmesi, eleştirisi ve aşılmasını ve hem de ekonomik alanı üretim araçlarının sahiplerinin mutlak otoritesine bırakan burjuva liberal demokrasinin çözümlenmesi, eleştirisi ve aşılması temelinde geliştirildiği için, iki kuram ve uygulama açısından Yugoslavya ve Türkiye'nin tam karşıt toplumsal sisteme sahip olması nedeniyle, sonuç olarak da sosyalist özyönetim kuramının tezlerinin gerçekte geçerliğinin sınanmasına daha uygun bir araştırma alanlarını oluşturmalarıdır. Çünkü, kuramda, ideolojide ve uygulamada birbirlerine radikal olarak karşıt nitelikli iki toplumsal sistemden birisine ilişkin tezler sadece sistem içi karşılaştırmayla yeterince sınanamaz, sistemler-arası (cross-societal systems) karşılaştırmalara olanak veren iki sisteme ilişkin verilerin de edinilmesini zorunlu kılar.

Tezin, bu genişletilmiş Türkçe özetinin bundan sonraki bölümünde, karşılaştırmalı görgül araştırmanın önemli bulgularının bir özeti verilecek ve bu araştırma sonuçlarının, öbür ilgili araştırma

sonuçları ile birlikte, Yugoslavya'da sosyalist özyönetim deneyiminin içinde gerçekleştiği makro-toplumsal-tarihsel koşullara ve sosyalist özyönetim kuramının temel amaçları-tezleri bağlamında bir yorum ve değerlendirmesi yapılacaktır.

Çalışmanın görgül araştırmasının önemli bulgularını şöyle özetleyebiliriz:

1. Sosyalist özyönetimin, bu yönetim sisteminin en önemli karar organı olan İşçi Konseyi üyelerinin karar alma sürecinde algılanan katılım ve çalışma örgütlerindeki hiyerarşik yapılanmanın karar alma süreçlerine etkisinin aşılması üzerine etkilerine ilişkin araştırmanın iki önemli tezinin sınanması ile ilgili istatistikî değerler, ilgili kuram, ideoloji ve siyasal-yasal yapılanmayla çelişkili olarak, İşçi Konseyi üyelerinin kendilerini karar alma süreçlerinde en etkili olarak algılamadıklarını, kendilerini yöneticilerden daha az etkili olarak algıladıklarını, ve sosyalist özyönetimsel sistemde de çalışma örgütlerindeki hiyerarşik yapılanmanın karar alma süreçlerinde ayrıcalıklı güçlerinin aşılamadığını göstermektedir.

2. Öbür yandan, sosyalist özyönetim kuram, ideoloji ve siyasal yasal yapılanmasına uygun olarak, sosyalist özyönetim, emeğin yabancılaşması düzeyini düşürücü olacağı yönündeki hipotezlerin sınanmasına ilişkin istatistiksel değerler, Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetim sisteminin emekçilerin genel olarak işten yabancılaşması

düzeşini ve işte yabancılaşmanın bir boyutu olan işte güçsüzlük düzeşini düşüren istatistiksel olarak anlamlı olumlu bir etkisi olduğunu göstermiştir.

3. Çalışanların sosyalist özyönetim sistemine ve işleyişine ilişkin değerlendirme ve tutumlarına ilişkin araştırma sorularına verdikleri yanıtların istatistiksel çözümlenleri değerleri, çalışanların genelde (yöneticiler, emekçiler ayrımı yapılmaksızın), sosyalist özyönetim sistemini ve işleyişini olumlu değerlendirdiklerini göstermektedir. Örneğın çalışanların % 52'si sosyalist özyönetim sistemini kendi toplumlarının gelişmesi için uygun bir model olduğu yönünde değerlendirmekte; “çalışma örgütünüz ve ülkenizde yaşadığınız sosyalist özyönetim sistemi deneyiminiz ışığında, aşağıda belirtilen yönetim modellerinden hangisini gelecekte de çalışma örgütünüzün yönetim modeli olarak seçerdiniz? sorusuna verdikleri yanıtlarda, çalışanların % 68'inin piyasa ekonomisinin kaldırıldığı, siyasal müdahalelerin zorunlu meşru durumlarla sınırlandırıldığı yeniden yapılandırılmış bir sosyalist özyönetim sistemini tercih ettikleri görülmektedir.

4. Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetim sistemi ile Türkiye'deki kapitalist katılımsız-yönetim sisteminin çalışanların iş örgütlerindeki karar alma süreçlerinde algıladıkları katılımları ve emeğın yabancılaşması üzerine etkilerinin karşılaştırılması amacıyla

düzenlenmiş önemli araştırma hipotezlerinin sınanmasına ilişkin istatistiksel çözümlene değerleri, ilgili kuram, ideoloji ve siyasal-yasal yapılanma öngörülerıyla tutarlı olarak, Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetim sisteminde emekçilerin karar alma süreçlerine katılımlarında, Türkiye'deki kapitalist katılımsız-yönetim sistemindeki emekçilerden istatistiksel olarak anlamlı daha üst düzeyde algılanan bu etkileme gücüne (perceived influence) sahip olduklarını göstermektedir.

İki sistemin emeğin yabancılaştırılması üzerine etkilerinin karşılaştırılmasında, emeğin yabancılaştırmasının öbür boyutlarında olmamakla birlikte, sosyalist özyönetim sisteminin öngörüleni ile tutarlı olarak, Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetim sisteminde çalışan emekçilerin işte yabancılaştırmanın bir boyutu olan işte güçsüzlük açısından Türkiye'deki çalışma örgütlerindeki emekçilerden daha düşük düzeyde bir yabancılaştırılmalarının olduğu görülmektedir. **Ancak, vurgulayarak belirtmek gerekir ki, böyle bir karşılaştırma farkı, sosyalist özyönetimin emeğin yabancılaştırmasının niteliksel ölçüde aşılması anlamında bir etkiye sahip olduğunu göstermemektedir henüz.**

Yukarıda belirtilen görgül araştırma bulguları, sosyalist özyönetim sisteminin emekçilerin çalışma örgütlerindeki karar alma süreçlerine katılımı ve emeğin yabancılaştırmasının düzeyini düşürme

yönünde görece olumlu etkileri gerçekleştirdiğini göstermekle birlikte, **Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetim deneyiminin, çalışma örgütlerinde gerçek anlamıyla bir sosyalist özyönetimsel sisteminin kuruluşunu, işleyişini ve devletin toplumun üstünde dışsal denetleyici - ezici bir güç olarak varlığının aşıldığı, emeğin ve toplumun sömürsünün ve yabancılaşmasının niteliksel olarak aşıldığı gerçek anlamıyla bir özyönetimsel sosyalist toplum düzeninin kuruluşu ve işleyişinin gerçekleştirilebildiğine henüz tanık olamıyoruz.**

Konu üzerinde görgül ve kuramsal çalışmalar yapan önde gelen bilim insanlarına göre, özellikle özyönetimsel sosyalist toplum kuramsal perspektifine içten bağlı, bu kuramsal çalışmaları sadıkları deneyimleri ışığında geliştiren **Praksis eleştirel toplum kuramcılarının değerlendirmelerine göre**, Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetim deneyiminin gerçek bir özyönetimsel sosyalist toplum kuruluş ve işleyişini gerçekleştiremeyişinin temel nedenleri olarak şu etmenler vurgulanmaktadır: (1) en önemlisi, kapitalist üretim biçiminin bir temel bileşeni olan piyasa ekonomisinin sosyalist özyönetimsel sistemle bütünleştirilmesi, (2) devletçi-bureaucratic sosyalizm perspektifinin uygulamada sürmekte olması, Sovyetler Birliği modelinde olduğu kadar olmasa da, ve (3) buna da bir üçüncü belirleyici etmen olarak eklersek özyönetimsel sosyalist toplum deneyiminin sosyalist blokla

dayanışmadan yoksun, kapitalist sistemin kuşatması altındaki koşullarda denenmeye çalışılması diyebiliriz.

Yugoslav özyönetmel sosyalizm deneyiminin gerçel özyönetmel sosyalist toplum deneyimine evrimleşmemesinin makro-toplumsal nedenlerine ilişkin bu değerlendirmelerin daha doğru ve somut anlaşılması için Yugoslav özyönetmel sosyalizm deneyimi ile Marks'ın toplum ve özyönetmel toplum kuramları arasındaki olması gereken içkin ilişkilendirmeleri daha yeterlileştirmek-açıklamak gerekiyor: Marks'ın toplum kuramına göre, gelişmiş sosyal üretim ilişkilerinin belirlediği yeni bir toplumsal formasyonun ortaya çıkışı, buna uygun bu üretim güçlerinin gelişmiş olmasına bağlıdır. Başka bir anlatımla, bir yeni toplumsal formasyona içkin üretim güçlerinin tam gelişmesi gerçekleşmeden, var olan bir toplumsal formasyon aşılmaz (Marks, 1977: 177, Işıkılı, 1980: 69-79 da belirtilmekte). Yugoslavya, sosyalist devrim savaşımında başarılı sonucu gerçekleştirip, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonunda sosyalist toplumu kurma sürecine girdiğinde, yarı-feodal bir toplumdur. Bu nedenle eş zamanlı olarak, bu dönemde hem üretim güçlerini endüstrileşme yönünde geliştirmek, hem de bir sosyalist toplum dönüşümünü-kuruluşunu gerçekleştirmek zorundaydı. Ne var ki, daha 1948'lerde, bir yandan yarı-feodal, gelişmemiş üretim güçleri koşulları, bir yandan da Kominform'ca Sosyalist Blok'tan uzaklaştırılıp, bunu izleyen ekonomik ve siyasal

askeri abluka ve tehditlerin altına girdiği kořullarda, Sosyalist Yugoslavya, Kapitalist Batı'nın ekonomik örgütleri ile ilişkiler kurmak ve giderek 1960'larda sosyalist özyönetim sistemine piyasa ekonomisini tam anlamıyla yeniden aşlamak zorunda bırakıldı. Hemen belirtmeliyiz ki, bu yöndeki olumsuz gelişmeler, yalnız nesnel kořulların mutlak belirleyiciliği ile açıklanamaz. Bunda, sosyalist devrim önderlerinin bilincinin sınırlılığının ve bu devrimsel dönüşümde emekçi sınıfın nesnel gelişiminin ve devrimci sınıf bilinci sınırlılığının payı olduğunda kuşku yoktur kanısındayız. Öbür yandan, Marks'ın özyönetmel sosyalizm kuramına baktığımızda, sosyalizmin ve özyönetmel sosyalizmin ideallerinin gerçekleşmesi için, piyasa ekonomisi değil, bir demokratik merkezi planlı ekonomi modeli öngörüldüğünü görürüz. Marks, yeni toplumsal düzeninde ekonomik ve siyasal bileşenlerini özgün yeni bir sentezde (sivil toplum-siyasal toplum çelişkisini aşmayı amaçlayan bir sentezde) bütünleştirilen kuramsal anlatımında şöyle kurgular:

Yeni toplum düzeni... endüstri ve tüm üretim dallarının yönetimin birbirleriyle yarışan bireylerin elinden alıp, üretimin tüm alanlarının yönetimini toplumsal yarar amacına uygun olarak, bir toplumsal plana göre, toplumun tüm üyelerinin katılımıyla tüm gerçekleşecek şekilde olmak üzere tüm toplumun yönetimine vermeyi sağlar (Marks ve Engels, 1975: 348).

Bu kuram-pratik ilişkisini göz önüne alarak, görgül araştırma bulgularını yeniden anlamaya-anlamlandırmaya çalıştığımızda görülür ki, piyasa ekonomisi tüm üretim ve bölüşüm ilişkilerinin temel düzenleyici sistemi (The market economy as the central regulatory mechanism of the relations of production and distribution in the capitalism) olarak toplumsal ekonomi politikaları ve kararların bir ön-meta belirleyici konumu, buna aracılık eden ve bütünleyen piyasa ekonomisinin profesyonel yöneticileri ve uzmanlarının gerekli bilgi ve beceri donanımlarındaki ayrıcalıklı konumlarıyla da birlikte, piyasa ekonomisi ile bütünleşmiş bir özyönetmel sistemde, emekçilerin karar alma süreçlerindeki algılanan katılım düzeylerinin niteliksel anlamda yükselmeyişi araştırma bulgusu gerçeğinin anlaşılır bir sonuç olduğunu düşünöyoruz. Bu konudaki tüm önemli araştırmaların da bulgusu ve yorumu bu yönde olduğu belirtilmeli (Supek, 1979; 253-54; Pasic, 1980;49, Markovic, 1988: 169-170).

Yugoslav özyönetmel sosyalizminin giderek piyasa sosyalizmine dönüşen özelliğinin, araştırma bulgularında ortaya çıkan özyönetmel sosyalizm deneyiminde emeğın yabancılaşmasının niteliksel anlamda aşılammış olması gerçeğinin ana kaynağı olduğu kanısındayız. Çünkü, üretimin, emeğın, insan ilişkilerinin, insanın temel yaşam etkinliğinin (emeğın) metalaşması, insan yaşamının anlamını belirleyen, insanı insanlaştıran, insanın kendini

gerçekleştirmesinin temel aracı olan emeğin bir değişim değerine indirgenmesi, pazar ekonomisinde herhangi bir nesne gibi alım satım konusu (wage-labor=commodification of labor) olması, Marks'ın emeğin yabancılaşması kuramında da konuyla ilgili 19. yüzyıl ve 20. yüzyıl birçok toplumbilim kuramcılarının çalışmalarında da (eleştirel toplum kuramcılarının hemen tümünün çalışmalarında, Simmel'de) kapitalist sistemde emeğin ve insanın yabancılaşmasının evrensel türü olarak nitelenir. Bu araştırmanın kuramsal ve görgül araştırma boyutlarında emeğin yabancılaşmasının kavramsal ve işlemsel tanımlamalarında bu kuramsal perspektif belirleyici olmuştur. Bunun bilimsel gerekçeleri, ilgili bölümlerde belirtilmiş bulunmaktadır.

Piyasa ekonomisinin sosyalist özyönetim sistemine eklenmesinin bir başka olumsuz sonucu da ekonomik alandaki özyönetimsel çalışma örgütlerinin üretim amaçları kaynaklarının anayasal-yasal olarak toplumsal mülkiyet nitelikte olmalarına karşın, özyönetimsel çalışma örgütleri üretim araçları kaynaklarını uygulamada bir grup mülkiyeti konumuna dönüştürücü etkisi, yaptığı gerçeğidir. Böylece, piyasa ekonomisi sosyalist toplum sisteminin temel bileşenlerinden birisi olan toplumsal üretim araçlarının kolektif mülkiyetli oluşu kazanımının görece nitelik değiştirmesi ile yeniden özel mülkiyete doğru bir dönüşüm sürecine girdiği görülür. Bu değerlendirme değişen nüanslarla konuyla ilgilenen tüm Yugoslav bilim insanlarınc

paylaşılmaktadır. (Supek, 1919; 25-254). **Sonuç olarak da, kapitalist üretim biçiminin iki temel bileşeni (piyasa ekonomisi ve üretim araçlarının özel mülkiyetli niteliği) Yugoslav sosyalist özyönetim sistemine girerek sosyalist toplum düzenin temel niteliklerinde bozulmaya neden olması, özyönetimsel sosyalist sistemin emek güçlerinin çalışma örgütlerinin kolektif özyöneticisi olması ve emeğin yabancılaşmasının aşılması amaçlarının gerçekleşmesini olanaksızlaştırıcı bir etki yaptığı sonucuna varılabilir.**

Yugoslavya'da özyönetimsel sosyalizm toplum projesi uygulanmaya başladığında, üretim araçlarının yarı feodal nitelikte az gelişmişlik düzeyinde olması ve daha sonraki dönemlerinde de ancak gelişmekte olan ülkeler düzeyine erişebilmiş olmasının özyönetimsel sosyalist toplumun bu araştırmanın konusu olan emeğin yabancılaşmasının aşılması üzerine olumsuz etkisine gelince, sömürü ilişkilerinin aşılmasının sınıfsız topluma doğru dönüşümün daha ilk evresinde (sosyalist toplum aşamasında) gerçekleşmesi gerçekçi olarak olanaklı ve kuramda öngörülmüşken, emeğin ve insanın yabancılaşmasının aşılması ve insanın kendisini gerçekleştirmesinin makro-toplumsal koşullarının geliştiği, başka bir anlatımla yani üretim güçleri ve üretim ilişkilerinin daha geliştiği, sınıfsız topluma doğru daha ileri ölçüde dönüştüğü, insanı köleleştiren işbölümünün ve zihinsel ve kol emeği karşıtlığının aşıldığı, emeğin sadece yaşamın bir

aracı olmaktan, yaşamın temel amacı haline geldiği, üretim güçlerinin bolluk toplumu koşullarını yarattığı, bu toplumsal zenginlikten herkesin gereksinimine göre yararlanabildiği, insanın zorunlu çalışma süresinin insanın zamanının büyük bölümünü, tüm potansiyelinin geliştirmeye verecek şekilde kısaldığı, komünist toplum aşamasında gerçekleşebileceği öngörülmektedir. (Marx and Engels, 1974; 325).

Sonuç olarak, Yugoslav özyönetmel sosyalizminin bu aşamasında, emeğin yabancılaşmasının niteliksel anlamda aşılmasını beklemek gerçekçi olamaz. Sınıfsız topluma dönüşümün ikinci aşaması olan komünist toplumda gerçekleşmesi gerçekçi bir öngörüdür ilgili kuramda.

Yugoslavya'da özyönetmel sosyalizmin amaçlarını gerçekleştirmede başarısızlığın ikinci nedeni, devletçi bürokratik sosyalizm geleneğinin pratikte daha örtülü biçimde sürdürülmüş olmasıdır ve Yugoslavya'da özyönetmel sosyalizm dönemiyle birlikte, federal hükümet yetkililerinin önemli bir bölümünü cumhuriyet ve yerel yönetimlere devretmiş, ekonomik örgütleri doğrudan devlet eliyle yönetme yetkisinden vazgeçerek, ekonomik örgütlerde çalışanların özyönetimine bırakmıştır. Ancak, yetkililerin cumhuriyet ve yerel yönetimlere devri, desentralizasyon niteliğinde kalmış bir siyasal özyönetime dönüştürülmemiştir. Çünkü, federal yönetimin devrettiği yetkiler, cumhuriyet ve yerel yönetimlerde yine toplumun

üstünde konumlanan çoğunluğu Yugoslav Komünist Partisi üyesi olan profesyonel politikacılar ve bürokratlarca kullanılmaya devam edilmiştir. Öbür yandan, tez çalışmasını 4. bölümündeki tablolarda gösterildiği gibi Komünist Parti'nin özyönetimsel ekonomik örgütlerinde kurduğu şubeleri aracılığı ile İşçi Konseyi üyelerinin çoğunluğunu, özyönetim çalışma örgütleri genel yöneticilerin % 73'lere varan bölümünü Yugoslav Komünist Partisi üyeleri arasından seçtirerek Komünist Parti'nin özyönetim çalışma örgütlerinde karar alma süreçlerinde asıl etkili güç olma özelliğini sürdürdüğü görülmektedir. Sonuç olarak, bu faktörün de etkisiyle hem ekonomik anlamda hem de siyasal anlamda gerçek anlamda bir özyönetimsel sosyalist toplum düzeni gerçekleştirilememiştir henüz.

Yugoslav özyönetimsel sosyalizm deneyinin gerçek anlamda bir özyönetimsel sosyalist toplum düzenini gerçekleştiremeyişinin bir önemli nedeni de, bu deneyimin, bir sosyalist enternasyonal dayanışmasından yoksun, kapitalist sistemce kuşatılmış koşullarda gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılmış olmasıdır. Kanımca ilk iki faktörün olumsuz varlığını sürdürmesi ya da özyönetimsel sosyalizme entegre edilmesinde (piyasa ekonomisinin) 20. yüzyıl sosyalist toplumuna geçiş deneyimlerinin kendi aralarında bir **sosyalist blok dayanışması yaratamayışları nedeniyle, kapitalist sistemce kuşatılmış konumda olma temel** nedeniyle açıklanabilir.

Dođal ki bu nedenlere, 20. yzyıl sosyalist toplum devrim ve inřasının, nderliđin ve iřçi sınıfının geliřmiř bir devrimci sınıf bilinci temelinde gerekleřtirmediđi, Yugoslavya'nın zynetsel sosyalizm dzenine geiři de iřçi sınıfının bilinci rn olmadıđı ve hem 20. yzyıl sosyalist toplum inřası srelerinde hem de Yugoslav zynetsel sosyalist toplum inřa srecinde eleřtirel bir Marksist felsefe ve bilimsel perspektifin pratiđe ynveriř iin hep iř bařında olduđu bir kuram-pratik iliřkisinin geliřtirilemeyiři- bunun kurumsallařtırılamayıři da, bařarısızlıkları aıklayan bařka nemli etmenleri oluřturduđu kanısındayım.

Sonu olarak diyebiliriz ki, grece uzun mrl tarihin ilk zynetsel sosyalizm deneyimi gerek anlamda da bir zynetsel sosyalist toplum yaratmakta-geliřtirmekte bařarılı olamamıř; kısmen bu nedenle de emeđin ve insanın yabancılařmasının niteliksel dzeyde ařıldıđı yabancılařmasız (de-alienated) bir toplum geliřtirmede bařarılı olamamıřtır, belirtilen makro-toplumsal tarihsel olumsuz kořulların etkileri nedeniyle.

Ancak, bu deneyim bize gelecekte, gerek bir zynetsel sosyalist toplum kuruluř ve geliřimi iin hangi temel kořuların sađlanması gerektiđine iliřkin yarım yzyıllık deneyime dayalı pratik geerlikli dersler sađlamıřtır.

APPENDIX D

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name : Millioğulları, Ali
Nationality : Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth : 1 January 1939, Malatya
Marital Status : Single
Phone : 090 312 283 78 92
e-mail : amilli@metu.edu.tr

EDUCATION

<u>Degree</u>	<u>Institution</u>	<u>Year of Graduation</u>
MPA	USC Public Administration, USA	1970
LLB	Istanbul University - Faculty of Law	1964
High School	Akçadağ Elementary Teachers School-Malatya	1958

WORK EXPERIENCE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
1986 - 2004	METU Department of Political Science and Public Administration	Instructor
1978 - 1982	Zonguldak State Academy of Engineering and Architectural Sciences	Instructor
1982 - 1986	Hacettepe Univ. Zonguldak Faculty of Engineering	Instructor
1958 - 1959	Halenze Village Elementary Education School	Teacher