

FAILURE OF THE CAPITALIST OF YUGOSLAV SELF

«ZERI I

YUGOSLAVIA IS GOING THROUGH ITS MOST DIFFICULT ECONOMIC PERIOD SINCE THE TIME THE TITOITES SET UP THEIR CAPITALIST SO-CALLED SELF-ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM. BY HAS GONE THE TIME WHEN BELGRADE SANG THE PRAISES OF ITS CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND TRUMPETED ITS «SUCCESSES», WHEN IT WANTED TO CONVINCING PEOPLE THAT THE BILLIONS OF CREDITS AND LOANS WERE MAKING TITOITE YUGOSLAVIA FLOURISH. NOW ALL POMPOUS AND MEGALOMANIAC STATEMENTS HAVE GIVEN THE PLACE TO ALARMING INFORMATION ABOUT FAILURES, INSECURITY AND EVEN PANIC. THE FARCE HAS TURNED INTO A TRAGEDY. THE PREDICTIONS OF OUR PARTY THAT SELF-ADMINISTRATION HAS NO FUTURE ARE BEING FULLY CONFIRMED, AND WHAT COMRADE ENVER HOXHA HAS WRITTEN IN HIS BOOK «YUGOSLAV «SELF-ADMINISTRATION» — A CAPITALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE» IS BEING PROVED IN PRACTICE.

Despite all the measures taken to cope with the situation, the Yugoslav economy finds itself on the brink of disaster this year. Industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy have seen their productive capacities decrease to critical levels, and the volume of their production has sunk very low. They work now at only 16 per cent of their own means of circulation. General investments, and especially those on major projects, have been drastically cut. Work has been suspended on more than 3,000 projects. Unemployment affects about 14 per cent of the able-bodied population or about one million people, one of the highest figures in Europe, without reckoning more than 600,000 people who have gone in quest of work to different countries of Western Europe. Inflation cannot be checked and prices for broad consumer goods are three to four times as high as two years ago. «The more dangerous economic and political trends in the economic development of the whole country,» writes the newspaper «Borba», «are the decline of production in industry, the general growth of unemployment and inflation and, as a

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result, the constant fall of living standards.»

Above all, a twenty billion dollar debt continues to hang like Damocles' sword over the head of Yugoslavia. With their safes empty, the Yugoslav banks are in no position to pay their debts. The deficit in the balance of payments has increased and the dinar has been devalued twice against the dollar. The Yugoslav capitalist economic system is on a downhill course towards complete paralysis.

Faced with this difficult situation, the Titoites are forced to admit publicly that the contradictions in their economic and social order have reached such a degree of exacerbation that the country is threatened with the danger of being put up to auction. To come out of this situation, to prevent the complete collapse of the crumbling structure of self-administration, the Titoites call on the working people to make heavy, indeed extreme, sacrifices. Belgrade has taken a step which few countries of the world have dared to take after the Second World War: Yugoslavia is ready to pay any prices, to accept total economic dependence on international capital provided it grants Yugoslavia more funds to save its economy from complete

bankruptcy.

On July 3, 1983, the Council of the Assembly of the Republics and Regions of the SFR of Yugoslavia and prime minister Milka Planinac declared that the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, a consortium of more than 600 commercial banks and 15 Western governments would grant Yugoslavia another loan of 6 billion dollars of which 4 billion dollars within this year. This was only oxygen to stave off immediate asphyxy. In the speech she delivered to the Council of the Assembly, Planinac said: «At the outset of this year our material situation has been clear in the sense that we are unable to cope with the obligations of 1983, no matter how much we may try, and if there is no other possibility, we must proclaim a moratorium and undertake a general re-programming of our obligations to the external world... The Western countries and their governments, as well as Yugoslavia's commercial partners have displayed their readiness to help us avoid the proclamation of a moratorium and a general re-programming.» «We must leave nothing undone,» said the Slovene Franc Setinac on July 12, 1983, «so as not to allow such a situation to develop as would force us to proclaim a moratorium unilaterally, that is, to tell the world that we are unable to pay our debts and allow the foreigners to have us by the throat.»

So, Yugoslavia finds itself under the threat of a moratorium which means putting up to auction the national interests of the country. A logical and natural moment has come in the whole capitalist development of self-administrative Yugoslavia — the failure of its weak capitalist economic system.

But how was Yugoslavia brought to

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this condition? What ideology, what political system, what political programs and what leaders led Yugoslavia into this blind alley within a few decades? The Titoite chiefs give no direct reply to this obvious question from every Yugoslav working man. Some of them say that the cause of the present situation should be sought in mistakes of political orientation, others claim that the world economic crisis has badly affected the Yugoslav economy, that foreign loans have been taken irrationally, that errors have been made in investments, etc. There are some who say that the interests of the Federation as against those of the individual republics were not taken in due account in the working out of the economic policy, that the unified Yugoslav market has not functioned, etc. Some go so far as to claim that the essence of self-administration has not been implemented in a creative manner, as its architects — Tito and Kardelj, conceived it, and that there have been deviations in its practical implementation.

Of course, the Yugoslav revisionists can find many such plausible and implausible reasons for their failure, and formulate them as they like. Demagoguery has been and remains the favourite weapon of the bourgeoisie to deceive the masses.

Now, however, the capitalist system of self-administration has lost all its splendour. The present ills of «Yugoslav specific socialism», this model of the «most authentically socialist» system, as the Titoites once claimed it to be, are caused neither by mistakes in investments nor by failures in the so-called basic organization of unified work, nor by shortcomings of the Yugoslav unified market. Yugoslavia did not land in this situation because

it was a socialist country. It is going bankrupt because it is a capitalist state. The Yugoslav «system of self-administration» has brought about a permanent confusion in the economy, a weak and unequal development among the republics and regions, disproportions among and within the branches of the economy, breaks in the cycle of production, and a major social polarization. The journal «NIN» writes, «The millionaires are an economic power to be reckoned within Yugoslavia. They possess about 5 billion dollars in the different banks of the world.» This system has accumulated an endless number of unsolved problems. There is an uninterrupted string of failures from one decade to the other. And they have boiled down to the present situation.

The Yugoslav economy, according to the open door policy of the Yugoslav government, has linked itself closely with the capitalist economy of the West. Its main sectors have developed according to the neo-colonialist strategy of international big capital not only in regard to credits, technology and raw materials, but also in regard to markets. Now that the crisis is wreaking havoc in the main capitalist countries, the Yugoslav goods destined for their markets find no customers. As a result, factories have closed and workers have remained without work. And as if its bondage to the West were not sufficient, Yugoslavia has put its neck in the noose of Soviet and Comecon capital. Now self-administrative Yugoslavia is paying a high price for its open door policy. Its capitalist economy is dependent both on the West and on the East, which tighten the rope around Yugoslavia's neck as often as they want.

Many complaints are made now in

Belgrade about the catastrophic situation of the economy. But who is to blame for it? Why were so many debts incurred? This was done to keep up the decaying system of self-administration, to fulfil the ambitions of the Titoite bourgeoisie, to deceive the masses with the illusion of a «prosperity» created with alien money.

However, Yugoslavia is obliged to continue on its road of debts in the future, too. It will become ever more dependent on Western capital and on the Soviet market and oil. It has landed in a blind alley and is incapable of coming out of it. In order to receive a new loan the Yugoslavs have accepted stringent and, indeed, offensive conditions for a country that considers itself the Mecca of the uninvolved countries. The magnates of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other Western banks and consortiums have imposed the condition that if the Yugoslav bank and government do not pay their debt 15 days before the term, then the laws of the capitalist jungle will come into force: the property of the Yugoslav state outside the country will be confiscated. The Belgrade newspaper «Politika» admits that this confiscation may involve the assets of Yugoslav embassies, Yugoslav military orders placed with foreign firms or Yugoslav merchant ships.

These confiscations would be done by a New York and London tribunal, whose decisions would be mandatory in Belgrade as well. All comment is superfluous. But what is admitted by the Yugoslav leaders themselves is that the future conditions of the Western banks may be even more stringent. The Yugoslav Secretary of Finance, Joze Florančić, has said: «These conditions are very hard». With the

road of debts the Yugoslav self-administration has taken it is no wonder that these conditions may become altogether enslaving tomorrow.» Planinć herself admits: «I can say that these agreements have no, I repeat, no guarantee in themselves.»

The essence of the measures envisaged in the «long-term program of economic stabilization» worked out by the so-called «Krajger Commission», which is presented as the magic wand that will save Yugoslavia from disaster, is based on conditions imposed by the Western banks. Their first conditions directly affect the decentralizing principle of self-administration. In order to ensure the repayment of their debts they consider the Central Yugoslav Bank, and not the banks of the republics and regions, as their only partner unlike what was done previously. On the other hand, they demand that a whole system of economic-financial control be imposed on Yugoslav enterprises, as well as a number of taxes, especially on the working people, which also imply changes in the political system of representation.

In an interview to the newspaper «Politika» Aleksandër Gerličkov admits that at the foundation of the programming there are all the economic notions and categories of capital, and goods production including the mechanism of the distribution of income. These categories of the capitalist economy have been operating long ago, but now they have acquired new force and increasingly affect the Yugoslav economy and its external relations. Capitalist commodity production will remain the main factor in the Yugoslav economy, which shows that it is a typically capitalist economy. In order to cover up these openly capitalist measures, Gerličkov resorts to the thesis that commodity production is a historical category. This is more than true. However, the Marxist study of the history of commodity production and the economic categories connected with it unequivocally shows that there is no reason for any commodity production to be considered identical with capitalist commodity production. In socialism it is done within rigorously defined and controlled limits and has not the same nature and class features

as in capitalism. It is not subject to capitalist profit, but to the meeting of the needs of the whole society. And socialism is built precisely to change the capitalist mode of commodity production.

The bankruptcy of the Yugoslav self-administrative economic system is not something unexpected. In a number of Works and articles Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that self-administration is a capitalist system incapable of standing up on its feet without the props of international capital, and that it is destined to fail. The architects of this system — Tito, Kardelj Bakarić and others, have tried hard to «correct and perfect it». However no repair of it was successful, nor can it be, as the economic laws of capitalism are bound to do their work and lead the Yugoslav economy to spontaneity, competition, unemployment, dependence on foreign capital, bankruptcy. Likewise, Belgrade has no reason of rejoicing at the new credits. They may make breathing easier for a time, but it is clear that they cannot cure the patient. The process of crisis goes on in the Yugoslav capitalist economy and it cannot be stemmed either with debts or demagogy. They are the offspring of the capitalist order itself which is riddled with incurable ulcers.

«Just as they did with Tito at his last breath,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his recent major work «The Titoites», «the imperialists and social-imperialists are doing their utmost to give the Yugoslav system a new lease of life, to keep it breathing, although this system cannot be cured. No blood transfusion, either from Washington, Moscow or whatever international bank or fund, can heal it. This is the logical end of all revisionist theory and practice. The imperialist and social-imperialist creditors take the money from their safes, not because they ache to help the peoples of Yugoslavia out of their misery, but because they want to protect their political and economic interests in Yugoslavia, to expand or consolidate the domains Tito has long ago sold them in return for the credits he has received from them. But if for a period of time it seemed as if Yugoslavia was to gain in this dangerous game, now

the time has come for Yugoslavia to put itself up for auction to the imperialists and social-imperialists. A debtor of the first order, shaken to its very foundations in all respects, with no clear perspective, without the necessary means and forces to find the road of salvation — such is the present-day Titoite self-administrative Yugoslavia.»

The anti-Marxist and pro-imperialist road it has set itself out on has brought Yugoslavia to the present condition. All the evils produced for decades by this anti-popular system weigh on the shoulders of the Yugoslav working class and people. For this policy they pay a high price — their submission to the savage twofold exploitation of the local international capital. «The bigbellied», as the member of the Assembly of the Voivodina Boro Stajkov publicly characterized the Titoite bourgeoisie, will make no sacrifice for the stabilization of the economy, only the poor, the unemployed, the workers and peasants, in a word, the broad masses of the working people, which now will have to work for both the local and foreign capitalists, will be obliged to tighten their belts.

This all-round economic bankruptcy of Yugoslavia shows the political and ideological failure of the whole system of Titoite self-administration which has been passed off as «the best example of a political and social order» for both big and small countries. This is what greatly worries the present leaders of the Yugoslav state and their patrons outside Yugoslavia. At the same time the attempts to stave off the inevitable catastrophe by taking new credits and loans also fully expose the claim that Yugoslavia is an «uninvolved» country. World imperialism, the banks and monopolies of the international bourgeoisie, never have given, nor will they give, Yugoslavia loans and credits without profit for themselves and without new economic and political concessions on her part. This makes Yugoslavia dependent on them not only economically but also politically. In these conditions Yugoslav «non-alignment» is only a disguise void of all content. Yugoslavia's boasts about its «non-alignment» are nothing other than a demagogical bluff.