



**IOS**

Institut für Ost- und  
Südosteuropaforschung

# The Impact of Transition on the Legitimization of Workers' Self- Management from a Comparative Perspective

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# Transition and Self-Mangement

object: a historical and comparative institutional analysis of workers' councils in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in the Polish People's Republic with an emphasis on the transition period

grassroot  
movements



Workers'  
control

revolution



Ness, Immanuel; Azzellini, Dario (Hg.) (2011): Ours to Master and to own. Workers' Control from the Commune to the present. Chicago, New York: Haymarket Books

# „Self-Management as a State Paradigm“

Musić, Goran (2011): Workers' Self-Management as State Paradigm. In: Immanuel Ness und Dario Azzellini (Hg.): Ours to Master and to own. Workers' Control from the Commune to the present. Chicago, New York: Haymarket Books.



contingent origin



self-management



economic legitimation

moral legitimation

# Impact of Transition

legitimation crisis in the 1980s



**trade unions backed the dismantling of workers' councils**



nationalization

# Self-Management as an Oppositional Tool

Solidarność' „social spaces“-  
strategy



Solidarność' 3 „S“  
demands



# Impact of Transition

„Normalization“-  
discourse



Capitalism

Socialism

~~Third Way~~

# Self-Management in Transition

Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Polish People's Republic

workers' councils as state paradigm

workers' councils as oppositional tool

↔ associated with the Yugoslav past

↔ associated with the (opposition to) Soviet state socialism

↓ failed to fulfill its ideological task

↓ fulfilled its oppositional task

↘ dissolution by nationalization