

employment policies. In the final part of the chapter, he discusses the possibilities for increasing the effectiveness of the coordination of European employment policies.

EU Socio-Economic Governance in Central and Eastern Europe: The European Semester and National Employment Policies is an important publication and a great contribution to the EU policy-making academic field. The research was conducted in four European countries and is one of the first studies showing comparatively the impact of the soft-law-based EU coordinating policies on domestic public policies in the former socialist countries, now members of the European Union. Starting from a theoretical approach based on the new intergovernmentalism followed by a systematically applied qualitative research methodology, Munta offers a valuable and pioneering study when it comes to the Europeanization of public policies. Evidence of it can be seen in the fact that it was published in the *Routledge Studies on Government and the European Union* series, edited by Professor Andy Smith (University of Bordeaux, France), a distinguished researcher of the European policy-making process. The publication of this book will certainly be a great impetus for research into European policies in political science and other social sciences in Croatia and abroad. Thus, with his first book, Mario Munta established himself as an internationally relevant researcher. While we can look forward to seeing more similar research from Munta in the future, this book is highly recommended to all who are interested in the field of Europeanization of public policies.

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Book Review

Goran Musić
**Making and Breaking
the Yugoslav Working Class.
The Story of Two Self-Managed
Factories**

CEU Press, Budapest, 2021, 257 pp.

The book by Goran Musić looks into self-management and the myth of nationalist working classes' responsibility for the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Brilliantly pedagogical in explaining self-management as theory and as practice, even to the freshest of beginners in economic history and theory, this book is an important puzzle piece for furthering our understanding of the dissolution of Socialist Yugoslavia. Standing among the works of Catherine Samary¹, Susan Woodward², Vladimir Unkovski-Korica³ and Gal Kim⁴ – to mention but a few – Musić's work brings an innovative outlook from the very factory shopfloors, bringing the subjectivity back to the work-

¹ Samary, Catherine (1988) *Le marché contre l'autogestion: l'expérience yougoslave*. Paris: La Brèche.

² Woodward, Susan (1995) *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia 1945-1990*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

³ Unkovski-Korica, Vladimir (2016) *The Economic Struggle for Power in Tito's Yugoslavia: From World War II to Non-Alignment*. London: I.B. Tauris.

⁴ Kim, Gal (2019) *Partisan Ruptures. Self-Management, Market Reform and the Spectre of Socialist Yugoslavia*. London: Pluto Press.

ing classes and taking up the factory as level of analysis. Published as part of the new series on Work and Labor at CEU Press, and awarded the Michael Mitterauer Prize 2021 for social, cultural and economic history in Vienna, minutely bringing together historical, but also economic and political expertise, Musić's book stands strong as a must-read for everyone interested in the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

Goran Musić is a social historian of labor in East-Central and Southeast Europe, who has earned his PhD degree from the European University Institute and held positions at the University of Graz, Central European University and the University of Vienna. Currently, Musić is a Research Fellow within research platform "Transformations and Eastern Europe" at the University of Vienna.

Through 257 pages and seven chapters, we witness Musić's successful attempt of "bringing class back into history" following the Thompsonian⁵ theoretical frame, and remaining focused on the processes of creation of working class on the ground. In two carefully chosen case studies of Industrija motora Rakovica (IMR) in Serbia and Tovarna avtomobilov Maribor (TAM) in Slovenia, Musić provides an in-depth analysis of the self-management practices, its successes and failures and their final aftermath and entanglement with nationalist politics which brought the country into the war. The trope of "They came as workers, and left as Serbs"⁶ is being deconstructed with each chapter depicting us a complex picture of market socialism, Cold War de-

velopment dilemmas and one of the key Yugoslav contradictions of unequal development. Brining into the light the tensions between blue collar and white collar workers, without banalizing the importance of the theoretical and practical impact of self-management, the book successfully depicts a historical development, but also analyzes the advantages and failings of the system and the state. The methodological approach of going beyond the largely lacking, archival materials, complementing them with factory newspapers and comics, as well as interviews of former workers, brings an abundance of empirical materials to substantiate Musić's arguments.

In the first chapter the author presents the historical development of the two factories chosen as case studies, emblematic of two different approaches to implementation of self-management, largely defined by their historical heritage and origins. Continuous democratization and decentralization processes of the ruling party, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), as well as the structural deficiencies of the applied self-management practices, as Musić strongly argues, influenced the lack of trans-Yugoslav working-class unity. In the second chapter Musić portrays the 1970s, with the development of market socialism, as "the most prosperous and peaceful decade of Yugoslav socialism" in parallel to portraying everyday life in factories, with their diverse cultures in each of the two factories, and in both with a strong relationship of trust in President Tito.

In the third chapter, the author focuses on the two key elements of the blooming crises – social inequalities and the generation gap. The process of making of the working class in Yugoslavia remained unfinished, accentuating the gaps between

⁵ Thompson, E.P. (1964) *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Pantheon.

⁶ Đukić, Slavoljub (1992) *Kako se dogodio vođa*. Belgrade: Filip Višnjić, pp. 265-266.

the workers reflected in their housing issues, double working obligations beyond the factory – whether in the fields or in the city, the shop floor workers and office employees as well as the so-called veterans and the youth. With much nuance, Musić introduces skills, gender and the place of origin as key to these internal inequalities. The fourth chapter further shows the devastating effects of the 1980s economic crisis, accompanied by so-called stabilization and austerity measures and the dependency upon foreign loans and the policy directives of the International Monetary Fund.

Musić succeeds in announcing the nascent roots of the dissolution: unstoppable economic liberalization of the country, supported by middle classes and professional management and the impotence of the LCY in finding a common reform direction which opened the Pandora's Box of connecting workers' grievances to nationalism. In the fifth chapter, juxtaposing the developments in Slovenia and in Serbia, Musić elaborates the changing dynamics between class and ethno-national identity. Diving into the innumerable strikes taking place in the late 1980s throughout Yugoslavia, accompanied with the changes in the top layers of the Party in Slovenia and Serbia, Musić explains parallel processes of workers' mobilizations against the economic downfall and the appearance of Milan Kučan in 1986 and Slobodan Milošević in 1987. In search for the culprits of the vertiginous deterioration of the life standard, Musić elucidates the arrival of state bureaucracy in the spotlight.

Continuing into the seventh and final chapter, the author ends his analysis in the culminating events of the summer and fall of 1988. As workers were pouring into the streets, in Serbia their grievances were

hijacked by the top-down imposed "anti-bureaucratic revolution" through media framing and political sharpness of Slobodan Milošević, directing the anger of the working class towards, first, bureaucratic elements of the state and, second, the lack of willingness of other Yugoslav republics to participate in socialist solidarity and much needed reforms towards centralization. However, in Slovenia the grievances were directed towards the backwardness of the other Yugoslav republics, lagging in development, and successfully introduced balkanist outlooks on the need for a Slovenian future in the West, as author argues.

Keeping the critical outlook on the socialist state's successes and failures, the author brings a much-needed understanding of the internal paradoxes of the Yugoslav state that contributed to the violent dissolution. Having the courage to show historical processes as open-ended, Musić concludes with a discussion about how much agreement on the need to reform the state, but disagreement on the reforms' direction were at the core of the initial dissolution spark between Slovenia and Serbia. Some of the analytical insights would have benefited from an analysis of the wider political context, in terms of at least a brief contextualization of similar processes in other Yugoslav republics, but also by bringing in a deeper understanding of where these events stand in relation to the wider European conditions of economic crisis and disappearance of socialist ideologies and welfare state of the 1980s. Nevertheless, the book stands as a critical contribution to the scholarship of the Yugoslav history and violent dissolution of the state.

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