

YUGOSLAVIA'S 'SELF-MANAGEMENT' EXPERIMENT

SOCIALISM WITH A DIFFERENCE

By Wilfred Burchett

YUGOSLAVIA and the Socialist camp are drawing closer together and this is something ardently desired by every Yugoslav with whom I have spoken during a ten-day visit to the country.

Some of the things which were criticised in the past are still open to criticism, but this is recognised and weaknesses are now openly discussed.

For instance the white elephant of the grandiose New Belgrade project still exists. The giant, unfinished framework of the new administrative buildings remain as they stood in 1949 when I last visited Yugoslavia. They will probably never be finished as they were built against expert advice on shifting sands.

Collapse Of Co-ops

Agriculture is in a critical condition because early errors in forced creation of co-operatives were made on terms that placed the ordinary peasant members at the mercy of the wealthy farmers. The co-operative movement has now collapsed and a new start is being made.

These are some of the negative aspects which progressive journalists criticised in the old days and which still exist. But on the other hand enormous strides have been made in industrial construction and new ground has been broken by workers' self-management of factories.

There can be no doubt that Yugoslavia is a State which is well along the road of Socialist construction. The idea of neutralism or of sponsoring a "third force" is absolutely rejected.

'Building Socialism'

"We entirely reject the idea of neutralism," a high Government official told me. "We are building Socialism."

"We reject the idea of a third force," said a Foreign Office spokesman, "we cannot play a neutral role between Socialism and capitalism. We are building Socialism."

With industry, transport, wholesale and retail trade almost exclusively in the hands of the State and being managed by the workers themselves, there is no question that the claims of building Socialism are correct.

I was told at the highest level that relations with the Soviet Union are now very good indeed, that they are on a solid basis and that President Tito was extremely satisfied with his visit to the Soviet Union.

Belgrade I found transformed since my last visit in 1949. Streets spotlessly clean, many new buildings to replace the gaps torn in street facades by Nazi bombs, and shops filled with inexpensive consumer goods almost exclusively of Yugoslav manufacture, tastefully displayed.

I visited a tractor plant which was just preparing to celebrate its 10,000th tractor, a heavy machine-building plant and other smaller enterprises. They were all managed by the workers' councils.

Self Management

Workers at the benches, members of the workers' councils and their management committees, and the manager of the "Rakovica" tractor factory 12 miles outside

Belgrade, were all convinced about the good results of self-management.

There are well over 1,000 workers at the tractor plant and they had elected a workers' council of 120 members by secret ballot. The latter, at its first meeting, elected a management committee of 15 members which, in consultation with the trade unions and local authorities had hired a manager with the necessary technical abilities to carry out its decisions.

The workers' council and management committee met in their spare time to decide the general lines of work, how production should be organised, what its level should be, how management should be run—and at the end of the year how profits should be distributed after roughly 50 per cent had been allocated to the Central Government.

In fact, the previous financial year they had allocated more than half their remaining share to plant expansion, and the rest was divided as a wages bonus amounting to an extra two months wages.

Manager Milovan Savovic said: "This is the third plant I've man-

aged in the past ten years. Since self-management was introduced, things are much easier. My responsibility is shared with workers at the benches who know their job from the ground up. Taking orders from them is far better than from some bureaucrat sitting in an office. Increasing production figures speak for themselves."

Aser Delean, of the Central Executive of Trade Unions, was equally emphatic: "We felt that self-management without the right to share the fruits of good management was not enough. So since 1953 it is fixed that the greater the income the more the wages."

"This has been a vital stimulus for production. It has led to an improvement in quality and variety of goods. What you see now in the Belgrade shops are the first fruits of workers' self-management. We realise there are kinks to iron out but we feel we are on the right road."

Self-management of industry with corresponding decentralisation of political control is bound to be a controversial subject for some time to come.

It has dealt a heavy blow at

bureaucracy which has become a major problem in some of the People's Democracies, but it has also led to some anarchic tendencies with workers wanting to develop their own factories and split up all the profits regardless of the larger needs of the community.

Some Anarchy

The Yugoslav authorities are aware of the weakness, but feel that self-management is basically right. Some link needs to be built into the machine, they say, to better co-ordinate local production with over-all planning.

The results in the building of industry and in producing consumer goods cannot be underestimated. Steel production is well over three times the prewar figure with over 800,000 tons produced last year, coal production has been doubled, petrol trebled and electric energy output quadrupled.

Yugoslavia is building tractors, trucks, cars, heavy machinery, and a wide variety of other industrial products never before produced.

Most important of all, the morale of the people is high, an optimism and confidence that I remembered from my first visit to Yugoslavia a few months after the end of the war but which was totally absent in four visits I made in 1948-49.

Soviet Deliveries

The fact that the Soviet Union will immediately start delivering wheat—Yugoslavia's major import item in recent years—is a guarantee that aid will be available even if the Western Powers follow the American lead and cut their aid to Yugoslavia proportionately to the growing together of Yugoslavia with the rest of the Socialist camp.

While working for the closest relations with the countries of the Socialist camp, Yugoslavia still intends to pursue her own independent road of development toward Socialism.

It seems that the thesis that the proportion of investment in heavy industry must always exceed the investment in light industry has been discarded.

Leaders with whom I spoke said that the first phase of building heavy industry has now ended and that beginning from next year emphasis will be placed on housing, light industry and agriculture.

What seemed to be the most important thing for all Yugoslavs with whom I spoke was that they felt they were back as honoured members of the great Slav family and were moving toward the closest relations with the countries of the Socialist camp and the progressive movement throughout the world.

LIFE IN NASSER'S EGYPT

LONDON.

"WHAT real changes has Nasser made? One thing is certain: revolution has yet to come to Egypt," writes Olga Pugh in the Bevanite paper Tribune. She has recently returned from Cairo.

The hereditary corruption of Farouk has been replaced by a military, middle-class junta which the new constitution has done little to broaden, she says.

The "revolution" Nasser likes so much to speak about has done nothing to change the vast economic differences, the tremendous gap between classes which marks modern Egypt.

It is in Cairo and Alexandria that the impact of the new regime is most obvious. Fine new roads have been built, some slums pulled down and workers' flats built. Liberation Square and the Nile bridges are illuminated at night.

IN CAIRO

Cairo is alive with construction, not least being the immense apartment blocks going up all over the city for the middle-class householders.

The modern Egyptian bourgeois, who stands to gain most so far from the "revolution," is a cosmopolitan. He talks English or French with his friends. He has had English or French Christian schooling and has assimilated a superficial European culture which has no roots in anything apart from a rather crazy Cairo sophistication.

He has no more in common with his Muslim fellow-countrymen, the fellahen, than any Englishman or Frenchman. He has probably never done more than ride in a car through the main mud street of a rural village.

REPRESSION

THE progressive intellectual movement is fragmented, confused, under observation or in prison.

Some support Nasser's regime on the grounds that it is the first inevitable stage towards the real democratisation of Egypt. Others fear the basic fascist tendencies of a military regime which deals summa-

rily with any political opposition. All agree that there is no alternative to Nasser.

Again, very few even of the politically conscious are aware of the conditions of their people living in rural areas.

Seventy-five per cent of the Egyptian population lives in the villages. The fellahen have felt no change in their mode of life since 1952, or any other date one cares to mention.

In the last half-century the population has doubled from 10 to over 20 million. The area available for cultivation has increased by only 50 per cent. A report by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation has estimated that there is a disguised unemployment in the rural areas of 30-40 per cent.

Yet even so, the villages are the

backbone of Egypt. Some are "towns" of up to 30,000 inhabitants with no electricity and no sanitation.

Disease, malnutrition, ignorance, form the usual vicious circle. 70 per cent of the population is illiterate.

NEW PROJECTS

THERE is of course some movement on the class fringe. And the government is carrying out a number of projects.

One of the finest achievements of the new regime has been to provide pure water pumps in every village. Social centres, schools, hospitals exist and are being built.

But the latter are pitifully understaffed and conditions are appalling. Too many people with too many diseases and too much dirt inevi-

tably harden the finest medical staff after a few years exile in a rural area. And there is no co-ordinated drive or depth in Nasser's projects.

It is clear that if the basic rural problem is to be solved, rather than merely patched up on the surface, two things are necessary—an increase in the amount of land available for cultivation, and industrialisation.

This requires a considerable capitalisation programme. Liberation Province (reclaiming the desert on the edge of the Delta) and the High Dam at Aswan are the two most publicised projects of the regime.

According to the official hand-out, the Dam should produce 10 million k.w. of electricity a year, and bring two million acres under cultivation.

INDIA SAYS "NO" TO FOREIGN CAPITAL

NEW DELHI.

The Indian Government has decided to reject pressure from Anglo-American interests to permit them to exploit Indian oil resources. It will set up its own oil refinery in the rich Assam fields.

Behind the decision lies the story of a long tussle with the British-owned Assam Oil Company which is linked with Shell.

Lacking the resources to develop the fields rapidly itself, but determined to keep oil development within India's "socialist sector" of ownership, the Indian Government had proposed a joint company with the foreign interests, India to retain 51 per cent of the shares. But the companies were not prepared to agree.

The Indian Government's determination was strengthened by the Soviet offer, made during Mikoyan's visit, to help in manning the refineries and training personnel.

Soviet experts who on India's invitation surveyed the area were able to assure the government that it was the richest oil-bearing region in India.

The American Time magazine,

mouthpiece of Wall Street, last week commented: "While Western businessmen watched with apprehension, the Soviet Union in less than two years has succeeded in penetrating virtually every key industry in India. Yet Moscow contributes little to India's economy: barely 1 per cent of India's imports in the past year has come from the Iron Curtain countries v. 25 per cent from Britain, 8 per cent from West Germany. While the U.S. has handed Nehru's government 500 million dollars in gifts and loans since 1950, Russia has doled out farm machinery and one Ilyushin-14 airliner, worth in all no more than 2 million dollars."

"How then does Russia earn its welcome? Though private enterprise still has a vital stake in India's backward economy, the government is heavily committed to state ownership of industry and natural sources. Thus Russia, the first socialist state to emerge as a major industrial power, is solicitously helpful in mapping a nationalised economy for India. U.S. pharmaceutical firms have long been anxious to build plants in India, but have balked at the prospect of investing money and

technical secrets in a government-controlled industry. Last week the government announced that a ten-man Indian delegation would leave soon for Moscow to get Russian help in developing its domestic drug industry.

"What worries U.S. and British industrialists—who have 800 million dollars invested in India—is that Moscow's profits-be-damned business philosophy may eventually squeeze out all free enterprise. Oil companies, with a greater investment than any other foreign industry, are already seeing Red."

FOOTNOTE: American investors and companies earned the record total of 3,100,000,000 dollars from their investments in foreign enterprises and securities last year, the Commerce Department stated in Washington last week. This was 20 per cent higher than the previous year. Of this total, only 870,000,000 dollars, or 28 per cent, was kept abroad, the rest going to the United States investors for distribution.

SPOTLIGHT on SPORT by Robert Resha



African Soccerites Sink Their Differences

Saturday, August 25 will go down as a historic day in the annals of this country. After a very brief meeting in Johannesburg attended by officials of both the S.A. African Football Association and the S.A. Bantu Football Association as well as by representatives of the S.A. Soccer Federation, both the African and Bantu national associations agreed to sink their age-old differences and to affiliate as one single unit to the S.A. Soccer Federation.

They will affiliate under the name of the **South African All Blacks**. Mr. L. K. Ntlabati (president S.A. African) and Mr. H. M. Nthakha (President S.A. Bantu), backed by officials of their respective associations, assured the Federation of their fullest support and loyalty. The officials agreed to summon an early joint meeting of their executives to formulate a constitution for the new association—the South African All Blacks.

Federation Commands 60,000 Players

This decision has brought to an end the rift between the Bantus and Africans. The South African Federation hitherto represented 47,000 players. Now with 10,000 players from the Bantu Association, it has under its jurisdiction about 60,000 players. In other words the Federation completely and fully represents the entire non-White soccer-playing world in South Africa.

With the amalgamation of African football associations, the Federation finds itself in a stronger position than it was when it applied for affiliation to F.I.F.A.

Rebuff to White Association

This progressive step taken by the Africans is a rebuff to the overtures that were recently made by the (White) Association to entice away from the Federation some of the Reef associations. Fortunately not a single unit on the Reef responded to the offer to accept affiliation to the Association on an apartheid basis, despite the offers of financial assistance and the obtaining of passports.

Full loyalty to the S.A. Soccer Federation by all non-White bodies in the country must certainly make the case of the Federation irresistible when F.I.F.A. Congress meets in Stockholm in 1958.

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Federation Soccer

The South African Coloured eleven will meet the S.A. Indian eleven in Cape Town this Saturday, September 1, to decide the fate of the coveted Kajee Trophy.

There is no change in the Coloured teams which beat the Africans 3-1 in Johannesburg on July 7. The team, which has eight Transvaal players and three from Western Province, is:

Vernon Julies, G. Francis, C. Black, Dave Julius (capt.), Frank Smith, Polly de Jongh, H. Rasdien, Tossie Crowder, G. O. Adams, Gerald Francis and Kalie Page.

There is no doubt that the Coloureds have a strong team. In Dave Julius, the captain, and Frank Smith they have a formidable back line. The front line is Kalie Page and Gerald Francis, who is the best inside forward in this country.

The Indians have made drastic changes in their team that lost 5-0 to the Africans in Durban. The six players that have been brought in to strengthen the side are F. Pillay (Tvl. right-half), Ivan Naidoo (Tvl. centre-half), A. F. Williams (right-wing, Tvl.), D. Mohan (inside-right, Natal), T. "Links" Padaychee (inner left, Tvl.) and S. Mohan (centre-half, Natal).

These changes are most welcome and the selectors must be congratulated for their wisdom, especially in bringing in S. Mohan to lead the forwards in place of Alf Thomas (Tvl.) who, by the way, deserved a place in the Indian national side. What is more, the inclusion of the popular and dependable "Links" Padaychee will build the morale of the team.

Explanation Overdue

But what I cannot understand — and will never understand until the officials of the S.A. Indian Football Association explain

—is why Natroom Soobramoney is left out of the team. Let us face it, the Indians have no equal to Soobramoney in the centre-forward position.

Surely no committee of selectors or the association for that matter has the right to nip in the bud the bright future of the 20-year-old Natroom? The association must give the fans a reason for this sort of thing. In fact, an explanation is long overdue.

Coming to the game itself, it promises to be a good match. The Coloureds will enter the field with confidence, for they have two chances. If they win or draw they still get the £500 Kajee Trophy. If they lose then there will be a replay. The competition will be started afresh because the teams will be equal in points. The Coloureds are hot favourites.

21 Africans On Strike Charge

CAPE TOWN.

Over 150 African men and women overflowed from the Wynberg court-room into the passage when 21 African men were charged last week with taking part in an illegal strike.

The charge arises out of an alleged strike at a box factory in Retreat about a month ago.

Mr. C. H. Purkins, manager of the factory, giving evidence said that the Conciliation Board meetings had broken down on July 23 for "various reasons."

Cross-examined by Mr. Sam Kahn, for the defence, Mr. Purkins said the chairman of the Conciliation Board declared a deadlock when the Labour Department ruled that Mr. A. Sibeko could not represent the workers at the meeting.

The hearing was adjourned to September 18. Bail of £5 was allowed to stand.

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INDIANS ABOLISH RACE BARRIERS IN SOCCER

DURBAN.—The Natal Indian Football Association, the most powerful provincial Indian soccer body, took a bold step to end racial barriers amongst the teams affiliated to it, when, at a meeting held last Sunday at Ladysmith, the full Council of the Association unanimously decided to permit non-Indians to play for any team or club under its jurisdiction.

This move follows a decision taken at the last biennial general meeting of the S.A. Indian Football Association to amend its constitution to permit any Provincial or Divisional unit to play non-Indians in its teams.

The Transvaal Indian Football Association was the first to take advantage of this provision in the constitution, when it approved of a resolution similar to the one taken at the Ladysmith meeting of the Natal Association.

Commenting on the decision of the Natal and Transvaal Associations, Mr. George Singh, Secretary of the S.A. Soccer Federation, said that the decisions of the Indian Associations meant the end of ra-

cial barriers in Non-European soccer. The African and Coloured bodies have no racial barriers and in a number of centres players of different races are actually playing together in individual teams.

It will be recalled that earlier this year the Transvaal Indian Cricket Union also amended its constitution to open its doors to players of all races, and it is learnt that the President of the Durban Indian Cricket Union, Mr. E. I. Moola, is submitting a notice of motion to the next meeting of the Natal Union proposing the removal of race barriers.

Cricketers interviewed by New Age were unanimous in their support for such a motion and indications are that the Natal Indian Cricket Association will fall in line with the general trend in Non-European sporting bodies.

ANTI-PASS RALLY IN CAPE TOWN THIS WEEK-END

CAPE TOWN.—A mass rally—part of the anti-pass campaign—will be held on the Cape Town Grand Parade on Sunday, September 2 at 3 p.m. under the auspices of the Co-ordinating Committee of the African National Congress (Cape Western).

Delegates to the recent mammoth demonstration in Pretoria will report back, while other speakers will deal with the next phase of the campaign.

"We appreciate the stand taken by African women and women of other nationalities on August 9, but we cannot sit back now," Mr. G. Ngotyana, assistant secretary of the co-ordinating committee of the ANC (Cape Western), told New Age.

"We must put all our effort into the next phase of the struggle to make it a success. The resolution of the recent conference of the Federation of S.A. Women points the way. We must go all out to obtain pledges from African women throughout South Africa that they will not accept the reference books. We must have more anti-pass demonstrations."

"There are thousands and thousands of women to organise in the Cape Peninsula, and we need the help of every democrat in our struggle."

"We call on all members of the Congress movement and on all people who are opposed to the Nationalist rule of tyranny and apartheid, to be at Sunday's meeting."

Mr. Ngotyana also made a special appeal to the people not to be deterred by the weather, but to rally to the Parade in their thousands, rain or shine.

Racing At Kenilworth

The following are Damon's selections for next Monday's racing: Settler's Day Handicap: MODERATION. Danger, Filarix, Wynberg Handicap B: FIRST DEGREE. Danger, High Shine. Kenilworth Handicap B: COLLABORATE. Danger, Summertide. Owners' Handicap: DE KLERK'S SELECTED. Danger, Acontius. Kenilworth Stakes: CONGENIAL. Danger, Compere. Wynberg Stakes: REX. Danger, Hurricane. 3-Year-Old Handicap: LITIGATION. Danger, Crown Witness. Maiden Plate, 7 furlongs: DE KLERK'S SELECTED. Danger, Last Word. Maiden Plate, 5 furlongs: HIGH POINT. Danger, Queer Love.

Welcome Back To John Motloheloa

CAPE TOWN.

About 200 adults and 60 children gathered in a hall in Elsie's River on Sunday to welcome Mr. John Motloheloa who recently returned from Europe. Among them were 30 Coloured residents of Elsie's River.

The party lasted from 12 noon to 5 p.m. the guests being entertained with choir singing, community singing, dancing, as well as speeches from leaders of the Congress movement.

On the previous Sunday, over a hundred people from Qobosha, Elsie's River, stood in the rain to listen to women delegates reporting back on the August 9 demonstrations and to pledge their support in the anti-pass struggle.

Worcester Workers Fined For Striking

WORCESTER.

Over one hundred Worcester workers—all members of the Food and Canning Workers' Union—were fined £1 each in the Magistrate's Court here last week, following a strike in a canning factory last March.

The strike was the result of the sacking of one of the workers when he complained about an alleged assault on him by a European foreman. All work in the factory stopped until the dismissed man had been reinstated and the foreman transferred.

Passing sentence the magistrate said that he was taking into account the fact that the workers had struck because of a genuine grievance against their treatment, and he was imposing a "nominal" fine.

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