

Togliatti Cites Yugoslavia's Way of Building Socialism

On returning from his visit to Yugoslavia, Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party was interviewed by the Italian Communist newspaper, *l'Unita*. Among the questions asked Togliatti was this: "Are the same methods being used in Yugoslavia as in the USSR and the Peoples Democracies for the building up of socialism?" Togliatti's reply was as follows:

No, they are not the same, and just for this reason it is necessary to know and to study them.

Let me explain. There exist in Yugoslavia certain basic conditions which are almost the foundation for the building up of socialism. Private property in large-scale industrial production and exchange no longer exists. Industry and trade have therefore been nationalized. On the other hand, artisan-production survives and is protected by the state.

In the countryside private property in land may not exceed ten hectares. Within these limits there are free buying and selling and inheritance of land. There is also a network of agricultural cooperatives, which are developing on a large scale but which differ from the Soviet *kolkhoz*.

The point of widest divergence, however, is in the system of economic planning and in the running of enterprises engaged in the productive process. The power is everywhere vested in the management councils which

are elected in each place by the workers and which are responsible to them. Appointment to the post of manager is competitive and is made by these councils; they have the right to dismiss the manager and replace him if they deem it necessary.

With regard to planning, the central Government establishes only the general lines and objectives of the plan. Within this framework, each industrial concern makes its own plan on the basis of the particular circumstances involved. In the development and organization of production a big part is played by the local bodies as well.

The Yugoslav comrades hold that the system they have established (which I have sketched in the merest outline) eliminates the danger of bureaucracy and emphasizes the democratic nature of the whole structure of society. It aims to bring about the participation of the masses in the management of economic life, giving them an immediate part to play in its direction.

ON THE OTHER HAND, as every business maintains direct contacts with the market the law of value continues to operate, not through the evaluations of central authorities but in a direct manner. The management councils have the legal responsibility for fixing wages, among other things, and for deciding the use to which a part of the profits shall be put (the rest goes to the state and to the local bodies).

The whole system is worth studying thoroughly and judging carefully, above all at a time when we are emphasizing the tendency to go forward to socialism by different roads and when there is a determination in the working class to strengthen and develop democracy, at the same time as developing socialism from the economic point of view.

In this field, the danger lies in our not seeing new things and in our inability to appreciate them, in remaining bound to schemes and institutions which cannot be suited to every country, to all situations and to all needs.

Naturally, on the other hand, the Yugoslav comrades appear to be far from attributing to their present experiences a universal and fixed value. Progress towards socialism demands—and the more we broaden the movement the more it will demand—a spirit of initiative and originality in seeking new forms and unfolding new experiences. Herein lies one of the guarantees of its success.

Daily Worker

Published daily except Saturday and Sunday by the Publishers New Press, Inc., 36 E. 12th St., New York 2, N. Y. Telephone ALgonquin 4-7854.

Registered as second class matter Oct. 22, 1947, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

3 mos. 6 mos. 1 year
Daily Worker only \$4.00 \$7.00 \$12.00
SUBSCRIPTION RATES
(Except Foreign)
Daily Worker & Worker 4.75 8.00 13.00
The Worker 2.00 3.00