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ALEXANDRIE, CAPITALE LITTERAIRE DU MONDE HELLENISTIQUE

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Au commencement du troisième siècle avant J.C., le génie de la Grèce propre semble avoir perdu sa puissance productrice. (1) La poésie grecque avait jusqu'alors connu un riche développement surtout à Athènes. Mais elle est maintenant déchuë, et c'est dans de nouveaux centres, que, après les conquêtes d'Alexandre, va se poursuivre le mouvement littéraire. Alexandrie, Pergame, Antioche, devenues de grands centres politiques et commerciaux, sont aussi des capitales intellectuelles.

Mais la capitale des Ptolémées est le type le plus complet et le plus brillant de ces centres; (2) c'est la ville dont l'action s'est exercée sur la littérature avec le plus de continuité. Egalement favorisée par sa position et par le commerce, elle hérite de toute l'influence de la classique Athènes et l'Égypte devient sous les premiers Ptolémées le siège des sciences et des arts de la Grèce; elle brille d'un éclat sans égal, le bien-être y est général. Donc, ce n'est pas sans raison que la période comprise entre la mort d'Alexandre et la bataille d'Actium, s'appelle dans l'histoire de la littérature grecque — la Période Alexandrine (3) —.

En Égypte, Alexandre, en 332 av. J.C., avait fondé la ville qui porte son nom; celle-ci jouissait d'une situation merveilleuse, presque à égale distance de la Grèce, de l'Asie Mineure et de la Syrie. Alexandrie se trouvait, donc, au point de contact des différentes civilisations de l'antiquité. Elle devint rapidement une ville commerçante, cosmopolite et la plus riche cité du monde.

(1) Croiset (M. & A.), *Hist. de la litt. grec.*, T. V, p. 4.

(2) Legrand (Ph. E.), *La Poésie Alex.*, p. 13; Lang (A.), *Theocritus, Bion, Moschos*, p. 12; Tarn (W.), *Hellenistic Civil.*, p. 493.

(3) Pourtant quelques scholiastes et commentateurs allemands ont la coutume de l'appeler "Hellenistique", mais nous pensons que le titre "Alexandrine" convient mieux. Cf., Barber, *The Hellenistic Age*, p. 36. Legrand, *La Poés. Alex.*, p. 14: "Si dans le domaine de l'histoire générale, l'appellation de période alexandrine, appliquée aux trois derniers siècles avant notre ère, peut sembler abusive et doit céder la place à une autre appellation plus large — celle d'hellénistique — dans le domaine de l'histoire littéraire elle est parfaitement justifiée".

Aussi peu de villes ont-elles été plus vantées qu'elle. En célébrer la grandeur et la magnificence, c'était une sorte de lieu commun. (4)

Les écrivains anciens l'appelaient "La Grande" et lui donnaient beaucoup d'épithètes brillantes. "La plus grande, la riche, la Cité par excellence, la métropole du monde". De tels éloges n'ont rien d'exagéré. Écoutons la description d'Alexandrie par Héronidas : "Voici les merveilles d'Alexandrie — cité de la lumière, de l'élé-gance, du raffinement, des festins et des plaisirs; n'est-elle pas la capitale de l'Égypte —, la demeure d'Aphrodite où on peut trouver tout: fortune, sport, pouvoir, ciel bleu, gloire, spectacles, philo-sophes, or fin, jolis garçons, temple des dieux frère et soeur, le roi qui est si bon, musée, vin, toutes les bonnes choses dont on peut avoir envie et des femmes?" (5) Ainsi la description du couronne-ment de Philadelphie nous donne-t-elle une idée claire de l'opulence et de la somptuosité de la ville. (6) Mais sa renommée était due surtout à son importance littéraire. Au 3ème siècle et pendant la plus grande partie du 2ème, grâce à l'action des Ptolémées, le génie grec, bien que déraciné, reprend à Alexandrie une vie nouvelle. Les Ptolémées étaient très intelligents et ambitieux. Quand ils virent leur capitale devenir la plus grande cité du monde, ils voulurent qu'elle en fût aussi la plus savante et la plus lettrée. (7) Sôter, fin politique, habile chef d'armée et le plus capable de tous les généraux d'Alexandre, prit l'Égypte comme part du butin. Au commencement de son règne il fut obligé d'avoir soin surtout de la force militaire. Il était préoccupé de conserver son royaume, attaqué par des rivaux redoutables. L'empire affermi et une sorte de paix établie entre les royaumes de Macédoine, de Syrie et d'Égypte, il a pu se tourner plus librement vers les travaux de la paix et faire prospérer les oeuvres littéraires.

Il cultivait les lettres avec amour et succès, appelait les savants à sa cour, aimait à s'entretenir avec eux, à correspondre avec ceux qu'il n'avait pas pu attirer dans ses palais. En effet, il avait appelé auprès de lui des poètes, des historiens, des philoso- phes, des mathématiciens, des médecins et des artistes, les uns

(4) Conat (A.), *La Poésie Alex. Sous Les Trois Premiers Ptolémées*, p. 1.

(5) Héronidas, *Mime I*, v.v. 26-32.

(6) Athénée, V, 195-196 citant Callixène de Rhodes.

(7) Cf., Jouguet (P.), *Trois Études sur l'Hellénisme*, p. 89: "C'est la période créatrice, et peut-être Alexandrie n'a-t-elle jamais eu plus d'éclat ni plus d'action que dans ces trois siècles d'effervescence intellectuelle, alors qu'elle était, sans contestation, la première ville du monde".

pour leur permettre de prendre soin de sa grande collection de livres et pour s'éclairer de leurs lumières (Démétrios de Phalère et Euchide furent de ce nombre), les autres pour leur confier l'éducation de son successeur (Philétas, Zénodote et Straton de Cos donnèrent des leçons à Philadelphie), d'autres encore pour les charger des constructions qu'il méditait. Son but était de faire d'Alexandrie non seulement l'entrepôt du commerce international, mais aussi un foyer de civilisation dont l'éclat devait contribuer sans doute à la gloire des Lagides, mais plus encore aux progrès de l'esprit humain. (8)

Pour centraliser à Alexandrie tout le mouvement scientifique et littéraire de l'époque deux institutions furent fondées: Le Musée et la Bibliothèque pour lesquels les Ptolémées ont droit à la gratitude éternelle de tous ceux qui pensent. On a souvent attribué le mérite et l'honneur de ces deux créations à Ptolémée II, mais la critique moderne se croit autorisée à faire remonter au premier Ptolémée l'initiative et le projet de ces créations mémorables. (9)

En effet, Demetrios de Phalère, fugitif, vint demander asile à Sôter qui l'accueillit avec faveur et mit à profit ses connaissances et son activité en lui confiant la direction de la bibliothèque; c'était un esprit éminemment organisateur et c'est à lui, dit-on, qu'il convient d'attribuer le premier projet des notables fondations qui prirent leur forme officielle et définitive sous le règne de Philadelphie. En tout cas, il est juste d'attribuer à Démétrios cette idée de grouper des savants et de mettre à leur disposition une bibliothèque; c'est lui qui conseilla à Sôter d'acheter et de lire les ouvrages traitant de la royauté et du pouvoir souverain, car disait-il, "les conseils que les amis n'osent pas donner aux rois se trouvent écrits dans les livres." (10) C'est pourquoi Sôter qui avait déjà commencé à réunir des livres, chargea Démétrios de diriger le mouvement littéraire. Les hommes de lettres étaient encouragés,

(8) Conat, op. cit., p. 7.

(9) Conat, op. cit., p.p. 8-9: "L'honneur de ces deux fondations revient-il à Sôter ou à Philadelphie? Il est impossible de le décider avec certitude. Les textes semblent se contredire. Nous croyons cependant qu'on en pourrait tirer, sinon des preuves, au moins des présomptions en faveur de Philadelphie"; Cf., Matter (M.), *Hist. de l'Ecole Alex.*, p. 75. Contra, Wright (F.), *A. Hist. of Later Greek Lit.*, p. 47. Voir Parsons (E.), *The Alexandrian Library*, London, 1952. C'est le plus récent ouvrage sur le sujet. On y trouve une étude détaillée et profonde p.p. 83-230.

(10) Matter, op. cit., p. 74.

ils trouvaient là une atmosphère convenable, une cour galante. Au temps de Sôter, tous les grammariens et philologues, comme Philétas, s'ingénierent à tirer des livres de vieilles légendes compilées par les logographes, de façon à suppléer aux passions qu'ils n'éprouvaient guère. C'est ce jeu laborieux qui a produit la littérature alexandrine : élégie, comédie, tragédie, épopée même — littérature reconnaissable jusque dans les imitations romaines, à son caractère artificiel et souvent pédantesque.

Si importante que fût l'oeuvre de Ptolémée, Sôter, son fils, la fit tellement progresser qu'on a pu, sans trop exagérer, le considérer comme le véritable créateur des institutions scientifiques et littéraires d'Alexandrie. (11) Il augmenta infiniment la collection de livres réunis par les efforts de son père, la fit classer avec le plus grand soin, en régla parfaitement l'administration. Il ordonna des traductions, appela des savants et des professeurs, prit part à leurs discussions, les encouragea par des prix, fit explorer les régions éloignées dans l'intérêt des sciences, prodigua aux arts et à la religion les mêmes encouragements qu'aux lettres, et par ses libéralités et ses travaux, orna sa dynastie d'un tel éclat que, selon la tradition générale, il éclipsa jusqu'au nom d'un père, dont le génie avait été si supérieur.

Evergète, après Philadelphie, continua d'enrichir la collection avec une ardeur passionnée qui ne reculait devant aucune dépense. Il chercha les livres et les manuscrits les plus rares. Il prodigua les fonds pour acheter tout ce qu'il trouvait. Il ordonna que tous les passagers qui s'embarquaient à Alexandrie, y laissassent leurs livres. Ceux-ci étaient gardés pour la bibliothèque et on offrait à leurs propriétaires des copies de papyrus. C'est ainsi qu'ayant emprunté aux Athéniens, moyennant une caution très considérable, l'exemplaire officiel des Tragiques, copié autrefois sous l'orateur Lycurgue, il abandonna sa caution et garda l'exemplaire. (12) Bref, la bibliothèque finit par comprendre environ sept cent mille volumes et aucune bibliothèque n'était comparable à celle d'Alexandrie.

Et comme la bibliothèque et le musée étaient les plus importants appuis du mouvement littéraire, les Ptolémées avaient soin de choisir les personnes les plus qualifiées pour les diriger. Un bibliothécaire en chef, assisté sans doute de nombreux collabora-

(11) Matter, op. cit., p. 74.

(12) Conat, op. cit., p. 20.

teurs, surveillait ce trésor. Il s'appliquait aussi à le rendre plus accessible et plus utile, à l'accroître aussi, par des catalogues, des commentaires, des éditions nouvelles, des études lexicologiques et grammaticales de toutes sortes. Chaque bibliothécaire était nommé à vie. Tous furent des savants illustres. Le premier en date est Zenodote, viennent ensuite Callimaque, Eratosthène de Cyrène, Apollonios de Rhodes, Aristophane de Byzance, Aristarque. ⁽¹³⁾ Leurs oeuvres constituent un abrégé de l'histoire de la littérature alexandrine pendant une période d'un siècle et demi: les études de Zénodote sur Homère, les poèmes de Callimaque, les Argonautiques d'Apollonios, les recherches d'Eratosthène en histoire, en géographie, en astronomie et finalement la critique des textes faite par Aristophane de Byzance et par Aristarque, sont les plus importants ouvrages de la production alexandrine.

En outre à Alexandrie, comme dans les autres ports de la Méditerranée, beaucoup de gens s'efforçaient de répandre leurs idées et le nombre des lecteurs augmentait. La production des livres s'accroissait et ceux-ci devenaient moins coûteux grâce aux quantités considérables de papyrus égyptiens distribués sur tous les marchés, grâce aussi aux encouragements que les écrivains recevaient des rois.

Mais de cette activité peu de productions au total ont survécu jusqu'à nos jours. Car la période alexandrine, comparée à la période classique, est incontestablement une période de décadence parce que la vie était alors moins complète et moins noble que dans les vieilles cités grecques. Jusqu'alors la littérature grecque avait été profondément nationale et populaire. Elle s'était adressée avant tout aux membres d'une cité particulière, et à tous les membres de cette cité sans distinction de classe ni de culture. Dans la poésie, dans l'éloquence, ce caractère était naturellement bien plus fort encore. Au contraire, la littérature alexandrine s'adresse aux lettrés et aux savants du monde entier et ne s'adresse guère qu'à eux. Ce caractère cosmopolite et savant de la littérature apparaît dans le fond et dans la forme. La langue de la prose et du vers, le style, comme l'inspiration fondamentale, présentent des caractères nouveaux. L'érudition est la marque propre de cette période, ce qui la distingue entre toutes les autres.

(13) Conat, op. cit., p. 22; *Contra*, Tarn, op. cit., p. 237.

Le poète classique sacrifiait volontairement sa liberté et quelquefois son originalité aux conventions traditionnelles pour exprimer des idées hautes et universelles et pour cette raison ses oeuvres étaient encouragées par la générosité des princes et des rois, par l'enthousiasme du peuple. Quant aux Ptolémées, s'ils protégeaient les lettrés pour satisfaire leur ambition, leur autorité arbitraire fut aussi un danger. Les premiers Ptolémées usèrent de leur pouvoir pour augmenter la splendeur de leurs cours; les successeurs en firent mauvais usage. Ces tyrans furent généralement capricieux, bizarres et fantasmagoriques. Philadelphie acheta des manuscrits à prix d'or, il pensionna Callimaque et Théocrite ; mais Sotades ⁽¹⁴⁾ périt parce qu'il osa se moquer de ce roi qui avait fait bâtir des temples et ériger des statues en l'honneur de sa maîtresse. Sôtades avait oublié que, si Ptolémée récompensait le talent, il punissait la franchise et que la flatterie devenait nécessaire.

Ajoutons que l'amour des petits genres était le premier précepte des Alexandrins. Ils avaient peu de goût pour les longs poèmes et préféraient les courtes narrations mythologiques, des idylles, et des élégies. Il n'y a rien de plus probant que la querelle entre Callimaque et Apollonios de Rhodes. Le premier condamna les grandes compositions et s'abstint d'écrire une épopée. Mais son élève Apollonios le renia ouvertement et rompit avec sa doctrine. Dans une lecture publique (vers 243-242) il lut des passages de son poème épique où il avait l'ambition d'imiter Homère par l'action, les caractères, les passions. Cette témérité reçut aussitôt sa punition. Callimaque, appuyé par la majorité, assailit Apollonios de critiques, et gagna enfin la partie. Son élève fut obligé de céder. Il prit le parti de quitter Alexandrie, sa ville natale, et de se réfugier à Rhodes, qui fut pour lui une seconde patrie.

Ainsi la poésie alexandrine se composa de quelques épopées artificielles, de petits poèmes personnels ou savants hymnes, élégies, idylles, épigrammes. Dans tous ces genres, elle est érudite, livresque, raffinée, pauvre de sentiments. Plusieurs poètes, manquant de véritable inspiration, égarés par leurs efforts pour dire quelque chose de neuf et d'ironique, ont été également malheureux et dans le choix du sujet et dans la manière de le traiter. Ils cherchaient à exciter l'admiration par des jeux laborieux ou par la forme étrange de leurs poésies. Le petit nombre même de ceux qui

(14) Athénée, XIV, p. 620 et suiv.

s'attachèrent à imiter étroitement les anciens ne sut pas s'affranchir entièrement du mauvais goût de l'époque.

La prose renferme aussi toutes les formes d'érudition que facilite et provoque l'existence de grandes bibliothèques: critiques et commentaires des textes classiques, métrique, biographie, mythologie, histoire érudite ou éloquente. La cour, les érudits, les lettrés, les poètes, ne cherchent au fond que leur propre amusement sous des formes différentes. Les hautes sources d'inspiration sont taries. En outre les Alexandrins ne cherchèrent pas seulement la précision de la forme, ils ne se contentèrent pas d'être gracieux, ils s'attachèrent aussi à une régularité absolue, au raffinement de la diction, à une érudition qui dégénérât en pédanterie et en obscurité. Leur goût pour le travail minutieux les amena à traiter de nouveau les légendes non pas avec la fraîcheur d'inspiration des grands devanciers mais avec un sens critique; ils s'efforcèrent de briller par l'habileté technique.

Ce fut donc une période studieuse, passionnée pour la lecture, s'intéressant à l'érudition pour elle-même. Ses écrivains publièrent livres sur livres. Ils furent des critiques, des interprètes, des oeuvres anciennes; leur habileté consista dans l'exécution, non dans la création. ⁽¹⁵⁾

L'extrême individualisme fut un autre trait de la période. Il se reflétait dans toutes les oeuvres alexandrines où dominant l'expression personnelle, le caractère subjectif de l'écrivain, le penchant pour les biographies. Tous ces traits caractéristiques donnèrent naissance à une littérature où manque, dit-on, le souffle de la vie et, qui est généralement condamnée comme étant le résultat d'un effort plus que le fruit de l'inspiration.

Mais ce jugement, à notre avis, est excessif car il est facile de démontrer que la littérature alexandrine n'était pas dénuée de toute valeur et que les défauts de ces écrivains ne doivent pas fermer les yeux à certaines de leurs qualités.

Imitateurs de la poésie antérieure, les alexandrins créèrent pourtant une poésie nouvelle. Ce n'était pas chose sans mérite que de reprendre dans les poèmes, d'un travail curieux et d'une science raffinée, tout ce que l'antiquité avait légué aux âges nouveaux.

(15) Duff (J.), *A literary history of Rome*, p. 307; Simpson (F.), *Select Poems of Catallus*, p. 27.

Aussi bien y a-t-il chez eux une part d'originalité personnelle et ils ont cherché et trouvé quelques unes des voies que la poésie personnelle que l'on rencontre surtout dans l'épigramme, dans l'épigramme où elle se concentre en courtes analyses psychologiques. Les Alexandrins ont fait de l'amour l'objet principal de la littérature d'imagination; ⁽¹⁶⁾ grâce à eux, il régna dans la grande poésie comme dans la poésie légère; il est surtout sensuel, quelquefois passionné. En outre, en étudiant les secrets des difficultés de la langue et de la métrique, les poètes alexandrins ont rendu ce travail plus facile à ceux qui leur ont succédé. C'est sur la poésie latine surtout que les Alexandrins exercèrent une influence notable et particulièrement sur Catulle et son cercle. ⁽¹⁷⁾ Ces grands poètes ont emprunté aux Alexandrins leurs procédés de style, comme ils leur empruntaient leurs légendes et leurs idées.

Au surplus, les Alexandrins ont légué à tous les temps des oeuvres pleines de charme. Après les précurseurs dont seuls les noms sont passés à la postérité, Philétas, Hermesianax, commence un véritable âge d'or avec Callimaque, son rival Apollonios, Héronidas et Théocrite. Parmi ces poètes, initiateurs du goût nouveau, créateurs des formes nouvelles, il y en a très peu qui n'aient été à quelque moment de leur carrière dans la clientèle des rois égyptiens, ou qui n'aient habité quelque temps ou visité Alexandrie. Car nulle part les belles-lettres ne reçurent un encouragement aussi constant et aussi efficace; nulle part ne furent mis à la disposition des lettrés des facilités d'existence et des moyens d'étude comparables à ce que leur offraient le Musée et la Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie.

Il est donc bien juste d'appliquer, dans le domaine de l'histoire littéraire, l'appellation de période "alexandrine" aux trois siècles avant J.C.; il faut aussi admettre que les Alexandrins, tels qu'ils sont, ont un titre particulier à notre sympathie; ils nous ressemblent. En dépit de l'écart de tant de siècles, il y a moins de différence entre eux et nous qu'entre eux et les Grecs de l'âge classique, ils sont eux-mêmes les premiers des modernes. Plusieurs aspects

(16) Legrand, *La Poés. Alex.*, p. 64. Cf., Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 3: "They were organisers of the love novel which has gradually occupied so vast a field in modern literature".

(17) Cousin (J.), *Etude sur la Poésie Latine*, 55: "Catulle est le représentant de cette poésie novatrice, cependant il n'est pas isolé, autour de lui l'histoire a retenu les noms de grands poètes".

de leur sensibilité, leur individualisme, leur complaisance à dire tout ce qu'ils éprouvaient les rapprochent de nous. Dans leur société nous nous sentons à l'aise; nous leur savons gré d'avoir exprimé, il y a si longtemps, des aspirations, des sentiments, des regrets, des désirs que nous trouvons en nous-mêmes, et qui nous remplissent d'une tendresse fraternelle pour eux. (18)

(18) Legrand, *La Poésie Alex.*, p. 167-168.

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FARM LABOUR'S USE AND ITS WAGE POLICIES IN YUGOSLAV AND DUTCH AGRICULTURE

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General Data Concerning Yugoslavian Agriculture

Towards the end of 1961 Yugoslavia had a population of about 18,538,150. The density of population is below the European average of 73 inhabitants per 1 sq. km. The active population includes 46.3 per cent inhabitants. Of the total, 60 per cent are engaged in agricultural pursuits. The manpower policy of the government forms an intrinsic part of its program of industrialization. There is in Yugoslavia a great reserve of manpower, even though the active population engaged in agriculture has dropped from 76 (pre-war) to about 60 per cent of the total. There has been considerable post-war migration to the towns. There is not at the moment much demand for manpower for industry, and it is not expected, in view of the planned decline in investment in heavy industry, that this demand will increase. Of the total area of 255,804 square kilometers 89 per cent is productive land. This includes 150,000 square kilometers agricultural area (arable land alone 78,270 sq. km.) and 88,700 sq. km. of forests. Geographic and climate conditions facilitate cultivation of most diverse kinds of crops and fruits including numerous subtropic cultures and products. In some parts of the country two and even three harvests are possible in the course of one year. The abundance of pasture lands, meadows, and the possibility of high yields of animal feed plants on the arable land makes possible raising of large numbers of livestock. The forests have considerable mass of wood of a high technical quality, some of which are well known and highly demanded throughout the world (oak, walnut, pine). In the country's national income agriculture participates with about 30 per cent. Its exceptional importance is also derived from the fact that it is able to meet domestic needs and to produce significant quantities for export. During the postwar period the increase of agricultural production did not correspond to the rate of population increase and consumption in the country. As a result of this there was not only an absence of exports of white grain and fats, but these products had to be

imported from other countries. However, the Agricultural Development Program expects to increase production by 35 per cent as compared to average postwar production. This will do away with present imports of white grain and fats and increase exports of other agricultural products. (*) Total agricultural area amounts to about 15 million hectares distributed as follows: arable land and gardens 7,600,000 hectares (51 per cent), orchards 390,000 hectares (3 per cent), vineyards 273,000 hectares (2 per cent), meadows 1,940,000 hectares (12 per cent), pasture lands 4,730,000 hectares (31 per cent), marches and reeds etc. 74,000 hectares. With regard to the technical equipment of agriculture, Yugoslavia is only just at the door step of the new period. The small holdings and the price policy pursued before the war did not permit the greatest number of farm holdings to purchase and use modern agricultural machinery and tools. During the war large quantities of agricultural inventories were lost so that a long time was required after the war to make up losses, and at the same time to replace worn out items. All this led to inadequate and untimely cultivation of arable land. Lack of capital during the postwar period until recently did not offer the possibility of introducing a large number of agricultural machines, tractors and other up-to-date technical equipment into production. The structure of agricultural holdings in Yugoslavia is characterised by two factors. On one hand, there are three property sectors, and, on the other, atomized small holdings and the exploitation of about 90 per cent of the available land by holdings smaller than 10 hectares. These circumstances produce determined results regarding cultivation and the pattern of production.

Number of farms by property section, year 1957

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Area in ha *</i>
a) State farms	883	603,000
b) Cooperative farms :		
1. General co-ops	5,851	181,000
2. Working peasants co-ops	578	213,000
3. Holdings of the members of the peasant working coope- ratives	35,655	34,000
c) Private owned farms	2,331,840	10,933,000

(*) The targets of the agricultural development program were fulfilled recently.

* ha = hectares

The technical equipping of agriculture has only recently assumed an accelerated rate of progress. However, this is still below the needs of modern production.

The farmer cooperative organisations.

The farmer cooperative organisation has been developing into two basic directions. One, which was previously particularly emphasized and since 1952 has been stagnating, is based on the collective farming with collective facilities (the so-called Peasant Working Cooperatives). The other form is based on a completely private ownership of land and livestock, but the members of the cooperatives use, against payment, cooperative agricultural machinery, particularly large technical equipment, trained personnel and other services. These are the so-called Farmers' Cooperatives. They at the same time carry out other cooperative functions. The farmers' cooperative movement in Yugoslavia is meant to play the principal role in the promotion of agricultural production in the future. The greatest part of capital investment in agriculture will be effected through them using either public or cooperative funds, particularly in providing the agriculture with modern technical equipment, carrying out major reclamation projects etc.

STATE FARMS

Farm labour's use, its wage policies and organisation :

The State farms are usually very large, and their means of production belong to the society, while farms operate along much the same principles as the state economic organisations. These farms were of notable significance for agriculture, particularly during the first post-war years when agricultural producer cooperativism was still underdeveloped. They served as model farms in which all advantages of large scale commodity output were manifested: the organisation and division of labour, application of mechanization and agrotechnical measures, suitable cropping patterns etc., and consequently the achievement of a high level of labour productivity. Apart from their educational purpose, the state farms were also confronted with the practical task of producing selected seed and livestock for breeding purposes, supplying cities and industrial settlements with the necessary foodstuffs, and thus helping the reduction of prices of these products on the market.

The transition of the new economic system was accompanied both in agriculture and industry by far reaching changes in the system of remuneration. The system of hired labour on the state agricultural farms was abandoned in favour of the system of earnings. Thus the level of income of the personnel employed was closely linked with the economic success of the agricultural holding, and the immediate producers became directly interested in the increase of output.

According to the Law on Economic Enterprises of 1950 which was led to the transformation of state ownership into a form of socialist ownership, the enterprises were handed to the workers for management. This Law included the state farms because they operate along much the same principles as the state economic enterprises. This event had been preceded by a tremendous collective effort both towards settlement of the theoretical premises on the basic questions of the construction of socialist relations and the problems of an organisational political character connected with the introduction of Worker's Councils.

Workers' Councils of the economic enterprises in Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia no doubt, is a socialist country but is characterised by her decentralized, nonadministrative, non-bureaucratic socio-economic system. The country is marching very rapidly towards progress and prosperity despite its very backward economic background which has been disreputed by frequent wars and exploited by foreign capitalists. All republics are divided territorially into districts and districts into communes.

Both districts and communes are governed by the elected representatives of the people and are responsible for all the socio-economic activities in their respective jurisdictions. A commune may be composed of one or more than one village which makes a compact socio-economic unit. The towns are also divided into communes if they are sufficiently big otherwise one commune in each town may also cover the adjoining villages.

The peoples' committees of the districts and communes and their administrative organs enjoy considerable control powers on all the economic and social organisations whose planned develop-

ment and coordination is one of their principal tasks. The republics at their levels coordinate the activities of districts and the federation of the republics. All social and economic organisations are managed by the collectives of their workers through elected organs and the State has very little to interfere in their day to day work.

Workers' Councils in the Yugoslavian Legal Plan.

According to the current legal prescriptions, the working collective of an enterprise exercises its right of management through the Workers' Council, which performs the most important tasks of the enterprise, and through the Managing Board, which performs certain major current tasks of the enterprise. The council is elected and removed by the working collective through universal equal and direct suffrage by secret vote. In this election, or removal, there lies to-day, practically speaking, the largest right of the whole working collective. The council is elected for one year, but the council as a whole or its individual members may be recalled even before the expiration of this term. Where an enterprise has under thirty employers, the Council is made up of the working collective itself. The members of the Managing Board are elected by the Workers' Council for a one-year term, with the whole Board or its individual members being recalable even sooner. Three-fourths of the Board's members must be workers who are directly engaged in production, in the basic economic activity of an enterprise; only one-third of the members from the preceding year are eligible for election to the new Managing Board, and no one may act as the member of the Board more than two years running. The Managing Board is directly responsible to the Workers' Council for its work. Among the remaining organs of an enterprise its director commands a special importance. For his appointment and removal, the Workers' Council of an enterprise is only partially competent. Discounting the small enterprises (wherin the whole working collective exercises the direct function of the Workers' Council and Managing Board), the right of the whole working collective to manage an enterprise narrows down formally to election of the Workers' Council. In life the working collectives exercise another jurisdiction, too, in the individual enterprises.

On the Interrelationship of Economic Enterprises

It exists in Yugoslavia a definite relationship of superiority and subordination between the organs of an economic enterprise;

at the same time, there exists also specific powers of each of these organs which no other organ may interfere with. The Workers' Council is the highest organ of an economic enterprise. In relation to the Workers' Council, the Managing Board is an inferior organ, which fact is manifest in the fact already that the Workers' Council, as the representative of the working collective, is the one which elects and removes the Managing Board. Further, the Managing Board is accountable to the Workers' Council of its work. Besides that, the relationship of superiority and subordination between the stated organs, i.e. the Workers' Council and the Managing Board, is also revealed by the division of competencies between them. The Workers' Council decides regarding all the major matters in an enterprise, while the Managing Board acts as an operational organ, on the one hand, and which only prepares proposals serving the Workers' Council as the basis in bringing conclusions, on the other. Thus it prepares the draft basic plans of an enterprise, the proposal on the inner organisation of an enterprise, the proposal concerning the classification of jobs and so on. Also, the Managing Board presents to the Workers' Council reports on its activity, and the Workers' Council deliberates on these reports and reaches conclusions regarding the approval of its work. — However, additionally, the Managing Board has an independent sphere of action and responsibility as fixed by the law. The Managing Board manages an economic enterprise and is accountable to the Workers' Council and the appropriate State organs for its work. It is responsible for the fulfilment of the plan and the proper operation of the enterprise. — The director of an enterprise again, is subordinated to the Managing Board. True, he is not in a relationship of subordination toward the Managing Board as regards his appointment, as is the case with the Managing Board in its relationship toward the Workers' Council. The director, though, he is appointed neither by the Workers' Council nor the Managing Board, so these organs do not relieve him of duty either. Applications for the appointment of directors of enterprises shall be issued and handled by a commission formed by the People's Committee of the Commune. One-third of the members of the commission shall be nominated by the People's Committee of the Commune, and the remaining members, in an equal number, shall be determined by the Workers' Council of the enterprise and the appropriate Committee of the Commune that candidate for appointment who meets the conditions stipulated by the competition and is best fitted to act as director of an enterprise, and the decision on the

appointment of the director shall be made by the People's Committee of the Commune. However, even though the director is not placed in that position of subordination toward the Managing Board in the matter of his appointment and removal from office as is the case with the Managing Board toward the Workers' Council, we could still not say that he is not subordinated to the Managing Board as a result. The director is an ex-officio member of this collective organ and he also carries out the decisions of the Managing Board of the enterprise. Further, the Managing Board decides regarding the complaints of the workers and office employees against the director's decisions terminating employment, regarding the internal assignation to jobs, etc. From the method of appointment and removal of the director of an enterprise it is seen that he occupies a special position in the enterprise: he is not only a representative of the working collective, but a social representative in the enterprise. He carries out not only the decisions of the Managing Board, but the orders of the appropriate State organs. He is directly responsible for the enforcement of laws, other legal prescriptions and orders of the State organs and ensures their application in the enterprise. If the director considers that a conclusion of the Managing Board is against the law, the legal prescription, the plans or the ordinances of the appropriate State organs, he is required to inform the appropriate State organ accordingly without delay and to suspend its enforcement temporarily, until the appropriate State organ issues a definitive decision. The appropriate State organ is required to issue its decision immediately, and not later than within 10 days. A director may undertake the measures necessary for the carrying out of the plan and the proper operation of the enterprise from the sphere of action of the Managing Board, in case the Managing Board did not issue them in good time. The director shall advise the Managing Board of the measures taken at the first next meeting. So, seeing that the status of the director has been determined by the individual prescriptions and his rights and duties fixed, it is clear that neither the Workers' Council nor the Managing Board of an enterprise may change this in any way. The matter would stand differently, to some extent at least, if the director were to be appointed and removed by the Workers' Council or the Managing Board of an enterprise. Then they could at least indirectly and factually influence a widening and narrowing of his sphere of action. But since such is not the case, it is to be taken that they can expand the director's powers and impose upon him duties over

and above those expressly provided by the positive prescriptions, but that they cannot free themselves thereby of the obligations prescribed for them by the law. On the other hand, it is to be taken that they cannot deprive the director of his rights and exempt him of responsibility for the obligations pertaining to the director under the law. He organises the work process in the enterprise and directly conducts the realisation of the plan and the operations of the enterprise. So, the Managing Board could not deprive him of this. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to assume that the director may reject the controlling and directive activity of the Managing Board in this respect. For much as the director organizes the production process in an enterprise, performs direct conduct and so on, in this he must abide by the laws and other prescriptions, and even the decisions of the Managing Board of the enterprise as well. In general, it can only be said that some sharp boundary is not be set between the competency of the one and the other body in the stated direction. Further, the director of an enterprise hires the workers and appoints the office employees in the enterprise, except those for whom it was differently provided by special prescriptions, and he issues the decisions concerning their labour relations in the enterprise. The director issues decisions regarding termination of employment of workers and office employees, unless this right was delegated to other persons in the enterprise on the basis of general prescriptions. So, these rights of his could not be withheld by the Managing Board either. However, the workers and office employees have the right to appeal any decision on termination of employment or assignation to another job through the Managing Board of an enterprise, and this Board issues the final decision. The director of an enterprise assigns the workers and office employees to different tasks and determines their duties. The workers and office employees are accountable to the director for their work in the enterprise. The director of an enterprise safeguards discipline in the work and operations of the enterprise and so on.

*The system of remuneration per unit of product
on the State farms.*

Without going more deeply into the system itself of wages and salaries in the economy, here it suffices to indicate, but its basic principles, which are that the pay of the workers and employees is determined on the basis of the rates prescribed in the

pay scale : that pay depends upon the success of each individual worker and upon the successful operations of the economic organisation meaning that the direct individual interests of each particular worker is linked to the interests of the economic organisation as a whole; that the worker has the right to participate in the division of the profits and to share partial risk, i.e. if the income realized by an enterprise proved insufficient to pay the full amount of pay for the work performed, the pays of the workers are subject to reduction in proportion to the income realized, with the proviso that the workers shall have guaranteed to them, from the resources of the People's Committee of the Commune, the payment of up to 75 per cent of their wages as due to them according to the pay scale (the fixed social) minimum salary); that the inner pay relations in an enterprise are regulated by the working collective proper, the workers' managerial organ of the enterprise, on the basis of the pay scale; and that the worker shall be entitled to the amount of pay due to him for a definite yield, work time, under the pay scale and the regulations governing production standards and bonuses. These, in the main, would be the basis of the pay system in economic organisations.

In Yugoslavia after World War II till year 1956 they had different forms of paying wages to workers on the State farms in which they endeavoured to pay according to the effect or time for most kinds of work. This system did not produce good results, so it had to be changed by another system that stimulates the workers to do better work by tying their earnings directly with the production. The new system introduced in 1957 on the greater part of the State farms was the paying per unit of product for all workers and employees who directly or indirectly participate in the production. The system of paying per effect was kept as a base for paying advances to the workers.

The organisation of work :

According to the size of the farm the whole organisation is divided into convenient number of units in plant and livestock production. For instance in plant production if the area is divided into more than one unit, then each unit has a definitive area in its command with the necessary number of workers, machines, livestock, and so on. The chief of the unit is called brigadir and is appointed by the worker's council. The action plan of the farm is split up according to the units and the brigadir is responsible

to execute the plan and distributes day to day work among the workers of his group. He is helped by a bookkeeping assistant in recording the progress of work who also maintains accounts of all operations and of all the workers.

System of payment.

Except for the seasonal workers, the wages of the permanent workers are linked with the production achieved by them. The plan of production provides all details about probable cost of production including the share of manual labour in that cost. If the targets of the plan are achieved, the workers are entitled to receive full payment as previously agreed upon. Their remuneration varies in accordance with the deviations in the realisation of target. If the attained yield exceeds its target, the workers receive proportionally more wages, otherwise less if the yield falls below the target. For instance, the planned yield for barley is 24 mc. (*) for a hectare. If it is produced 28 mc. for a hectare, that is 16.66 per cent above the plan, the payment for every mc. would be increased by 16.66 per cent. Instead of 145.63 dinars for 1 mc. (for the planned yield) the working group would receive 169.90 dinars for every mc. The total paying fund of barley will be raised in this occasion. Due to this principle are made the table scales of payments for all the branches of production on the farm. During the year it will be done the payment of advances (*) for the agricultural group according to the norm of work and to the kinds of work. When the plan of production is not accomplished till a 100 per cent the paying fund decreases. For instance, if the planned production of wheat is 23 mc. for a hectare, 152 dinars per 1 mc., and the plan of production is accomplished, the workers will receive per 1 ha. 3,496 dinars. If the plan of production is accomplished by only 20 mc., the workers will receive per 1 ha. 3,040 dinars or 456 dinars less per 1 ha. because the plan of production was failed. The failing of plan involves the decreasing of the paying fund for this group too. If the plan of production is not accomplished because of objective reasons (the unfavourable weather conditions) the workers council of the enterprise can bring a decision that the paid advances during the year according to the price list and the salaries per month or hour have to be treated

(*) mc = 100 kilograms.

(*) advances = wages per hour, day, or month.

as final ones and in this occasion the paying fund would not be calculated according to the unit of product. It is clear that the former payments can be treated as final ones only in the occasion when the enterprise can cover the paid paying fund from the gross return, and in the occasion of loss from the reserve fund. If it is not possible, the workers and employees will be paid their paying fund in the hight of the realisation, that is at least till 60 per cent of their tarrif payments.

The basis of the new system of remuneration is, that all the workers working directly in the production, are paid per 1 mc. of plant product or hl. (*) of milk product of the chief agricultural or animal products, while the workers and employees, who are not participating directly in the production, are paid according to the value of gross production for the chief products. As the basis in calculation are the planned prices. The basis for calculation of the direct payment per 1 kg. or 1 litre of product is the necessary working days according to the existing norms of work for certain crops or kinds of animals calculated according to the working hour of 35 dinars, and for the indirect working places the established tarrif payments according to the tarrif regulations for 1955. The total direct paying fund of a crop or group of animals, got on the described way, is divided by the planned production of the chief products and in that way it is established what it will amount the direct payment per 1 kg. or 1 litre of product. If the planned quantities of products are exceeded, it is introduced the progressive payment and the calculation would be as follows: The more percentage the plan is exceeded, the more percentage the payment is increased for every produced mc. or hl. of plant or animal product.

In livestock production, if we want to calculate the earning of a worker in milking the cows, the method is done as follows: During the year he receives the advances for 300 days of work. At the end of the year the payment fund is calculated according to the production of milk. If the group of this worker realizes the anticipated production, then at counting the realized production they have nothing to receive, but if the worker in the group realizes more than the anticipated production, he receives the difference between the advances paid to him and the exceeded realized production.

(*) hl = one hecto-litre of milk.

The season workers will be paid according to tarrif regulations and according to norms of work and its kinds. The performed payments of the season workers employed till six months will be treated as final and they will have no right to participate in the distribution of the realised paying fund calculated on the basis of the realised production. The more realised fund of payment, achieved on the farm by the work of season workers must be brought into the reserve fund of payment of sections of the farm. The season workers employed over six months are remunerated by the same principle as the permanent workers. The workers who are not directly connected with the production (craftsmen and others), the personnel for the management of the enterprise and its sections, are paid during the year the permanent monthly amounts and at the end of the year when the final calculations of the realised paying fund on the basis of the realised value of production of the main products are made they shall have more if the production permits. If the gross production plan is exceeded, the payment for every million dinars of gross production will be increased by so much a percentage as the gross production plan is exceeded. The quoted system of payment will achieve that the indirect working places are connected with the payment according to the production for it is logical if the quantity of production is exceeded, in the same time it is exceeded the money value of product and that causes the increasing of the paying fund.

Tarrif Regulations :

These regulations are not uniform on all the State farms, but the general principles are the same. Each State farm has its own tarrif regulations and the main principles of this tarrif include the following items :

- A — The basic rules: They insure the regular distribution of wages to all the workers and employees.
- B — The establishment of the tarrif payments to all workers and employees working in the different branches of production on the farm.
- C — The methods of establishing the work effect, and the treatment of workers when they perform inadequate work and their right to make a complaint to the managing board for the refusal of their work.

D — The calculation and payment of wages : It includes the time and the method of the definitive calculation of wages for the permanent workers and employees.

E — Various Regulations: They include the additional allowances paid to workers for the care for tractors and combines, for cleaning and grooming horses, for the hours of extra time, for work on Sundays, for the work on days of national and State holidays, and for the days of yearly holidays. It also includes the rules for paying the allowances for official trips and the expenses of transport for official works.

F — *Working Time*

It includes the daily working time for workers and employees on the farm which is between 8 and 10 hours daily for the different groups of workers and employees.

G — *The Giving of Land and Breeding Livestock*

It includes the rules of giving a small parcel of land to be used as a kitchen garden for the permanent workers and employees living on the farm and also for giving them some pieces of pigs, poultry, ducks, and bee-hives for breeding.

H — *The Complaints*

It includes the rights of the workers and the employees for complaint against the resolution of the distribution of their working places, the regulations of payments of the advances, the regulations of the tariff payments, the calculations of the effect of work and wages, and the calculation of their extra time and night work.

Premiums

The systems of paying premium are not uniform on all State farms, but the general principles are the same.

According to the documentations of the proposed regulations about the premiums for workers and employees of the Agricultural

Combinat Belgrade for 1957 (*), the proposed regulations about the premiums are made as follows :

I — Agricultural Production

If the planned cost price for the branches of production concerning crop, vegetables, cattle, and hog production, was decreased by 5 per cent by better organisation of work, saving material costs, increasing of yields, and the increasing of gain and milk, then it would be realised more favourable financial results than the planned one. If we suppose that this decreasing of cost price would be realised, then it could be set aside for the premiums of permanent workers in production, the engineering technical staff, the other workers and employees, and the employees of the central administration of the farm. According to this principle the premiums are distributed by a certain established percentage in average per one worker — employee on the basis of the average number of permanent workers and employees on every holding separately. By these regulations it is also anticipated that every milk-man receives for every cow that will give birth to a calf over 85 per cent of all cows that the milk-man takes care of, and milks, 2,000 dinars as premium. The veterinary doctor or the veterinary technician will receive according to regulations for every cow that will give birth to a calf over 85 per cent of all cows on the holding 500 dinars as premium. The veterinary service at the central administration of the farm gets the premiums on the basis of the greater number of cows that will give birth to calves over 85 per cent and the created fund is distributed by applying the anticipated percentage for premiums on the members of that service.

II — The Sections

They include the dairy, the slaughterhouse, meat processing, reparations, and auto-transport. If the planned cost price for these sections was decreased by 2.4 per cent by better organisation of work, by saving material costs, by choosing different kinds of products, and by better organisation of selling, then a more favourable financial result than the planned one would be realised, and the planned income would be increased by a certain sum of money that increases the financial result of the sections in a positive sense.

(*) This State farm is one of the largest in Yugoslavia, and it is divided into several holdings and sections.

If the decrease in cost price is realised, then the premiums for workers and employees of sections will be distributed according to the anticipated percentage for premiums in average per one worker-employee, and according to the number of workers — employees and to the planned amounts of cost prices. Also according to the regulations all the employees of book-keeping, and the office for selling meat products and cattle, receive the premiums from the decrease in cost price.

III — The Commercial Sector

According to the plan of production for 1957, the commercial sector of the farm should execute the realization of 1,005 wagons of cereals and 38 wagons of different seeds. If at the selling of cereals the commercial sector achieves a higher price by only one dinar per kg., than it was planned, then it would be effected a greater realization than the planned one by 10,050.000 dinars. If at the selling of seeds the higher price of 5 dinars per kg. is realized, then a greater realization by 1,950.000 dinars would be created than the planned one, and the total realization would be greater by 11,950.000 dinars. Such a realization will be reflected favourably upon the financial result, and if we deduct 4 per cent for premiums for the employees of the commercial sector, the amount would be 478.000 dinars. This amount of money will be distributed to the employees of the commercial sector by applying a certain percentage and according to the principles mentioned in I and II.

Distribution of Income.

According to the Law of 1958 in order to calculate the net income of any organisation the following four categories of expenditures are taken out from the income.

1. Material expenses and cost of services rendered by others.
2. The value of amortization on basic assets.
3. Interest on the basic and working assets, land tax, membership fees and contributions to higher bodies.
4. Turnover tax.

The balance thus left is called the net income of any economic organization. This is subject to further distribution. One part of it goes to the social community towards common social needs,

another is utilised towards the personal income (wages) of the workers and employers, the third part goes towards the funds of the organization concerned. From the part of the income appropriated towards the wages and salaries of the workers and employees, the contribution towards social insurance, housing construction and the budget of the political territorial unit i.e. Commune and the district etc. are also payable.

Hired Labour on Private Holdings

Due to the abolishment of a large number of Peasant Working Cooperatives, many of their former members which belonged to the ranks of landless and poor peasants would have been forced, if no other assistance were extended them, to seek employment as hired labourers on the properties of those peasants who, owing to the size of their holding were unable to cultivate it without the help of hired labour. After the enforcement of the Law on the Land Reform and Colonization of August 23, 1945, there remained about 90,000 holdings on which hired labour relations still survived to a certain extent. In order to prevent the landless peasants who were formerly members of the Peasants Working Cooperatives from reverting to their former status of hired labourers of the wealthier peasants, and in order to limit the possibilities of exploitation in agriculture still further, the Law on the Agricultural Public Fund and the Distribution of Land to Agricultural Organisations was enacted on May 27, 1953. This Law fixed the maximum size of holdings in private ownership to 10 hectares of arable land (fields, vegetable gardens, orchards, vineyards, meadows and pastures raised on arable land), or 15 hectares for communal families and households in the less fertile areas. According to this Law which provided for compensation to the former owners, land in excess of the maximum stipulated above was incorporated into the public agricultural land pool and subsequently allotted for permanent use to peasant cooperatives, collective farms, and other economic organisations and institutions engaged in agricultural activity. Apart from the already existing economic organisations, groups of agricultural workers and peasants who intend to create an agricultural organisation may also apply for land from the Public Land Pool. Thus an invaluable pointer was given for the solution of the problem of employing the landless peasants, as many of them were given the opportunity to

create better living and working conditions by their concrete action and with the assistance of the community.

On the peasant private holdings the majority of work is accomplished by the members of the family, but if they need additional help through hired labour, a free agreement should be made between the owner and the hired worker about payment in cash or in kind because there is no fixed wages for that sort of work.

General Agricultural Cooperatives.

These co-ops are developing into strong agricultural organisations and serving a large number of peasant holdings and extending the social sector steadily into agriculture. In year 1957, their number was 5384 and the number of cooperators was 1,462,000. In year 1957, 52% of all agricultural households in the country were members of the general agricultural cooperatives.

Membership :

Under the rules, all agricultural households are eligible to become members of general agri-co-ops if their application is accepted by the board of management. Similarly the persons who are in the permanent employment of the co-ops, may also become members. All members have to pay at least 1,000 dinars as membership fees and their liability is limited to only ten times the value of their shares. Thus the share of co-ops is symbolic as compared to their business turnover. It was estimated in 1957, that the amount of share money was only 1,1% of the total resources with which the co-ops worked during that year.

Organisational structure :

The people's committee of the commune enjoys power regarding the approval of the resolution for the establishment of any agri-coop, its by-laws, and adoption of any economic activity. The economic undertakings, establishments and independent enterprises or departments, can only be established by the co-ops on the approval of the people's committee. The people's committee has the right to inspect the accounts of the co-op, and if necessary pass orders to liquidate or reorganise it. The people's committee has the right also to dissolve the cooperative council and the board of management if it had reasons to do so and order fresh elections.

(*) See Cooperatives in Yugoslav Agriculture by Singh. S. Belgrade 1958.

Administrative organs :

The administrative organs of the general agricultural co-ops are the general assembly, the co-op council, the managing board, and the manager. The general assembly is the highest organ, it meets once in a year or even earlier if needed, discusses the annual report, approves the perspective plan, calls upon the members to pay for the losses, if there are any and finally can change or amend the by-laws of the co-ops if desired.

Co-operative council :

It is the second important body which consists of 30 — 80 members, elected every second year, and meets once during 3 months. If the total number of members of any co-op is less than a hundred, then all the members together constitute the co-op council.

Its functions are as follows :

1. Prepares the yearly economic plan.
2. Approves the annual accounts.
3. Decides the limit of the credit.
4. Brings in tariff payment to the workers of the co-op and its departments.
5. Elect the members of the managing board.
6. Take decisions on the reports of audit and inspection. Actually, this is the organ which controls the affairs of the co-op and with few exceptions exercises all powers of the general assembly of the co-ops.

Board of management :

The board of management has 5 to 11 members including the manager and is elected by the co-op council in the beginning of each year out of the cooperators and workers of the co-ops and its department. It directly manages the affairs of the co-ops according to the decision of the general assembly, cooperative council, or by the laws of the co-ops. Its functions are as follows :

1. Proper maintenance of accounts.
2. Authority to take loans within the prescribed limits.
3. Must hold a meeting at least once a month.

Manager :

The manager is the chief executive organ of the co-op, and is identical with the director of any economic enterprise. His election will be explained later. (*) Apart from other duties an important duty of the manager is to take part in all the meetings of the various organs of the co-ops. If he thinks that any of the decisions of the co-op council or the managing board is against the law, he must inform the competent organ of the peoples committee concerned and withhold the execution of the decision for ten days within which the peoples committee must discuss the matter.

Economic activities :

The economic activities of the general agricultural co-ops are as follows in the various fields :

1. Agriculture: Production on co-op holdings, machine stations, nurseries, etc.
2. Processing of agricultural produce. Dairies and milk collecting centers, drying of fruits and vegetables, processing of fruits, wine cellars etc.
3. Industries : Saw mills, stone breaking, brick kilns, lime factories etc.
4. Agricultural marketing : Purchasing of farm produce and then selling it to other enterprises or organizations.
5. Handicraft : Blacksmithly, carpentry, cart building and repairing, barber saloons etc.
6. Trade : In industrial goods and reproducing materials.
7. Catering : Cafeteria, coffee houses, restaurants, hotels etc.

(*) The election of the manager was explained on page 7.

8. Community services : electric power houses, water supply etc.
9. Others : Transport services, saving banks etc.

Agricultural Production.

These co-ops are busy in direct production either on their own holdings or on the holdings of member peasants or the producers. Their capacities are not only sufficient to realise production on their own holdings, but have surplus enough to let them out to individual producers.

Agricultural land : As in the case of peasant working co-ops, the majority of the land of general co-ops also belongs to the social land fund which has been given to these co-ops for use only. They also receive land on lease from the peasants, which, however, is a small fraction of their total land.

Organisation of production on the farms of the agricultural co-ops : The agricultural farm of the general co-ops is managed directly as an economic department of the co-op. The organization of work, planning of production, and payment to the workers is done exactly in the manner described in connection with the peasant working co-ops. The only difference which can be noticed is that all the workers on the peasant working co-ops except the seasonal workers, are cooperators, whereas here relatively a smaller number is on the list of cooperators. As a matter of fact the farm of general agricultural coops resembles more with the State farms rather than the farms of peasant working co-ops in structure and administration, the superior administrative organ here as well may be the workers council and not the co-op-council. Another difference which one can mark with regard to the farms of general agricultural coops, is that these farms do not usually have their own agri-machines. They depend for the agricultural machinery on the general co-ops of which they are a part or a department.

Agricultural production on peasant holdings :

Development of peasant agriculture is the main task entrusted to the general agri-co-ops in Yugoslavia. A large number of these

(*) The election of the manager was explained on page 9.

co-ops are, therefore, functioning as organizires of agricultural production in their respective territories. The co-ops accomplish this task by supplying the individual producers in agriculture with reproducing materials, technical advice, extension of various services and enter into agreement with them for joint production in various ways. The last method of serving the private producers by the co-ops is unique in Yugoslavia. The production may relate to crops, orchards, vineyards or livestock, the principle everywhere is the same. There are numerous forms and extents of cooperation between the two parties, which both the parties mutually decide for adoption. Usually the co-op provides services of the agri-machine, improved seed, artificial fertilizers, plant protection services and technical advice. The peasant provides land, farm yard manure, livestock services and manual labour. The prices of various reproductive materials and services are previously agreed upon and an agreement deed executed. Both parties abide by the terms of the agreement. The peasant receives the rent for his land which could also contribute his share in the cost of production. Thus the share of both parties in the production cost can be known. The harvest is then shared between the coop and the peasant producer in the same proportion. In the same way livestock is also produced jointly by the coop and the individual household. The coop supplies livestock of improved breeds to the individual producer and the latter maintains, feeds and breeds according to the instructions of the coop. The product is then shared according to the already settled terms through an agreement deed. This method has been practised since 1956. The co-ops lays down some conditions for certain agrotechnique to be practised by the individual producer and returning the credit in kind.

Basic assets of the co-ops:

The basic assets of the cooperatives are land, buildings and objects, transport means, machines tools and installation, heavy implements and instruments, long term plantations, productive livestock, and others.

Working assets:

The working assets of the cooperatives are the amount of short term credit fund, saving deposits and the share money of the members.

Net income of the co-ops:

The income of the co-ops comes after deducting, material expenses, outside services, depreciation, interest on capital, taxes and other contributions, etc., from the gross return. It includes the surplus of the co-ops and the wages and salaries of the people in working relation with the co-ops.

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

It follows the same course as described in connection with the peasant working co-ops. There are, however, some privileges granted to agricultural organisations including the general agri-co-ops * by the State as follows:

1. All agri-organisations are exempted from the payment of interest on basic assets. The amount of interest according to rate is calculated and transferred to the investment fund of the organization from the total income.
2. The agri-organisations are also not required to pay the contribution from their income to the social community for all social needs as other economic organisations have to do. Instead this amount too is transferred to the investment fund of the organisation concerned. This facility, however, is not granted to the peasant working co-ops. The net income of the general agri-co-ops is shared by three parties which are the co-op funds, cooperators and workers or employees. The workers and employees of the co-ops receive their wages or salaries according to the pay-scale and per decision of the co-op council.

Premiums or bonus, etc.:

The cooperators receive some redress or rebate on the volume of marketing business done by the co-op with them. The amount and rate of redress is every year determined by the chief co-op union of Yugoslavia. The policy of allowing rebate to cooperators is being given up.

Financial investment:

According to the plan total investment in agriculture in 1957 for example have been 41.6 billion dinars but the investment rose

* agri = agricultural.

to 57.5 billion dinars in that year. Out of this 18.3 billion dinars were invested in the basic resources of the general agri-co-ops. Out of this 8.5 billion dinars were received on credit from the State, 5.3 billion dinars were the co-ops own funds, 1.4 billion dinars were utilized from the working resources funds of the co-ops and the rest 3.1 billion were received from other sources.

The most of the investment has been made into the basic resources connected with the agricultural activities of the co-ops like tractors, transport means economic buildings, livestock, etc. The policy of investment is perfectly in line with the State policy of agricultural development. Since the co-ops have to socialize the processes of production on peasant holdings purchases of more tractors and agricultural machines is indispensable.

SPECIALIZED AGRI-CO-OPS.

This is the third type of agri-co-ops in Yugoslavia. It deals with only one activity in the sphere of agricultural production and processing. Their history is pretty old since pre-war. There are different kinds of activities for these co-ops, those dealing with viticulture, fruit growing and processing; stock breeding, dairying; wine cellar; seed rising, etc. The members of these co-ops are individual producers and workers who are engaged with the same activity which is the principal business of this type of co-ops. The other cooperative and agricultural organisations may also become members of a specialized co-op. A member of these co-ops is also free to become simultaneously a member of other types of agri-co-ops. In the matters of organization, administrative organs and other co-op principles, there is no difference, whatever, between a general agri-co-op and a specialized agri-co-op. The sole difference lies in the number and nature of activities with which each of them engages. The number of these co-ops is very small and is constantly on the decline. Since the activities of general agri-co-ops took a swing towards the agricultural side, these co-ops started losing importance. The formation of business unions of co-ops gave a further blow to specialized agri-co-ops. A number of them merged with general agri-co-ops or transformed themselves into general agri-co-ops and another number was liquidated when their functions and assets were taken over by the business unions. In year 1957, there number was 145.

PEASANT WORKING COOPERATIVES

Peasant Working Cooperatives are economic organisations which usually comprise larger number of farmer individual or landless peasants, with the purpose of collective cultivation of the land entered in the cooperative, i.e. collective agricultural production in general. Due to their characteristic they were considered the most suitable means for the introduction of socialist producer relations in agriculture and the socialist transformation of the village in general. When joining these cooperatives the members are due to enter all their means including land, while only retaining an individual land plot for their personal use. The individual land plot or household plot is the individual property of members, on which they are entitled to work only during their spare time, and can consist of a maximum of one hectare of cultivable surface, or up to one hectare of pastures in livestock raising areas, a dwelling house with courtyard, out-building for individual farming, one or two cows with calves, hogs for breeding with pigs and the necessary number of fattened pigs for the requirements of their families, a maximum of 5 sheep or goats, ten beehives and an unlimited number of poultry and rabbits. The means of production entered in the cooperative are paid off to the cooperative members according to their value assessed within a 10—15 years period. The organisation of work in cooperatives was based on the brigade-group system consisted in the fact that the members were divided into brigades, i.e. groups which were assigned individual plots of land for cultivation and the necessary agricultural implements and draft animals for this purpose. The remuneration of cooperative was carried out according to the work-day system. The establishment of peasant work cooperatives proceeded at a rapid rate. Under such conditions it was inevitable that a certain number of peasant working cooperatives were formed, which economically speaking, lacked the necessary conditions for development, and as shown by subsequent events, proved more a burden than a benefit to the social community.

The history of the Peasant Working Cooperatives can be divided into two different phases. The first phase beginning with year 1945 ends in year 1953 and the other after year 1953. The decree of 1953 of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia on cooperatives acts as a bridge between the two phases. The above mentioned type and some other types of these cooperatives were met with only in the first phase. In the second phase all the

Peasant Working Cooperatives in Yugoslavia have an identical pattern from that point of view.

*Present phase: **

The present phase of Peasant Working Cooperatives in Yugoslavia flows from the decree of Federal Executive Council of March 1953 on the "reorganisation of Peasant Working Cooperatives and their property relations." This decree confirms and secures the principle of complete voluntariness and complete freedom in joining or leaving the co-ops. It also directs that the property relations between the co-ops and the cooperators have to be decided by a free and mutually agreed contract. In the same contract the obligations of both parties should be stipulated. The third directive of the decree is regarding the protections of cooperative property which is in its funds. It could not be alienated or divided. Thus this decree revolutionised the concept of co-ops farming in Yugoslavia. With the introduction of this decree it was no longer necessary to pool the land or any farming inventory for the membership to any Peasant Working Cooperatives. If somebody wants to pool his land or any farming inventory for the membership to any agricultural co-ops, the terms regarding this transaction would be mutually agreed upon and both parties would abide by these terms. The mere giving of land to co-ops does not confer the status of a cooperator on the peasant. For acquiring the status of a cooperator he has to seek membership and has to pay membership fee usually of 1000 dinars in a lump sum. For the land the peasant receives annual rent as agreed upon and for the inventory receives the mutually agreed price and in agreed instalments. In other words all members of Peasant Working Cooperatives in Yugoslavia have the same status. There no longer exist owners and non-owners of land and all co-ops represent only unified producers having equal rights and duties. Thus the property relations have been separate from the working relations in Peasant Working Cooperatives. In a large majority they were disorganised some were re-organised into general agricultural co-ops and some continued as working co-ops but under new conditions. The reduction in number of these co-ops continued even in the subsequent years. The seasonal workers employed by the co-ops are not eligible for the membership though they are in working relations with the co-ops. Similarly the employers of Peasant Working Cooperatives who work in the offices are usually not members.

(*) See Cooperatives in Yugoslav Agriculture by Singh, S. Belgrade 1958.

Trend in crop Yields.

The present phase of Peasant Working Cooperatives is characterised by the application of modern technique to the processes of production. Every year the farming is being mechanized with rapid speed, higher doses of artificial fertilizers, crop protection measures, better quality seeds, etc. All these measures are reflected in the higher output of crops.

ACTIVITIES OF PEASANT WORKING COOPERATIVES.

Peasant Working Cooperatives are directly producing crops and hence are primarily engaged in the production of all types of agricultural produce. This is their principal business.

Administrative Organs are as follows:

1. Assembly of the co-ops
2. Co-op council
3. Managing board
4. Manager.

1. *Assembly of co-ops:* It is the highest organ and composed of all members. It meets at least once a year, reviews the work of co-ops for past year, approves the distribution of income, discusses and approves the action and prospective plans of co-ops. It elects from its members the co-op — council whose number of members is not fixed but should range between 30—80 according to the number of members.
2. *Co-op council:* It meets 3—4 times in a year and reviews the work of the board of management and decides other policy issues which spring up during the course of the year. It approves the annual plan of the co-ops and decides norms and rate of payment to the workers. The council once elected lasts for two years. It elects the managing board and its own president. The co-op council is equivalent to the workers councils in other economic enterprises.
3. *Managing board:* It is the operative organ of the co-ops and consists of 5 to 11 members which are all elected by

the co-op-council. The board meets frequently according to need, but at least once in a month. The board also holds office for two years. Execution of the decisions of the general assembly and the co-op-council is the main responsibility of this body. The board of management is responsible for proper maintenance and use of co-op funds. It submits the annual balance sheet before the council. For the activities of the cooperative, the board is authorised to take loans from the bank within the limits fixed by the co-op-council.

4. *Manager* is the chief executive organ of the co-op and is selected and appointed in the same way as the manager of general agri-co-op or director of other economic enterprises. His rights and duties are also identical to the director of any enterprise.

THE ORGANISATION OF WORK AND THE SYSTEM OF PAYMENT

On the agricultural farms of the peasant Working Cooperatives, the organisation of work, planning of production, and the devision of income, is done nearly in the manner described in connection with the State farms. The only difference which can be noticed is that all the workers on these farms except the seasonal workers, are cooperators. In addition to this funds are maintained in the cooperatives to pay bonuses to the workers who produce good results but exercise economy in the use of reproductive material through more rational use. The cases eligible for consideration in the category of workers, are usually tractor drivers who consume less fuel per unit of work, plant protection workers who consume rationally the reagents, etc. — all payments in cash.

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME.

Funds of the co-ops.

In addition to the system of calculating the net income of any economic organisation which was mentioned on page 15, each peasant working cooperatives like other economic organisations maintains the following funds of its own and regular contributions

are paid towards these funds cut of the net income realised by the co-op each year.

1. Reserve fund
2. Investment fund
3. The working assets fund
4. Fund for free disposal of the co-op.

The amount of the net income to be paid into these funds is decided by the general assembly. There is no law on this point except for the reserve fund of the co-op must be 5% of the value of the total available working assets of the co-op during the year. It further provides that the contribution to the reserve fund will stop as soon as its amount equals to 25% of the average available working assets of the co-op during the past three years. The reserve fund is maintained to cover the probable losses and the investment fund is to promote the activities of the co-op. The working assets fund provides the resources for day-to-day work of the co-op. The fund for free disposal is desired to meet the miscellaneous social needs of the co-op and is consumed towards the raising of the standard of its workers or of the community.

Besides, the co-op has also depreciation fund or amortization, but the contribution to it is not received from the net income but from the gross income as is clear from the policy of allocations of receipts described before. This fund is consumed for the creation or expansion of only basic resources.

* * *

THE NETHERLANDS
GENERAL DATA CONCERNING DUTCH AGRICULTURE

Land use

Period	Total area	Land area	Arable land and land under tree crops	Permanent meadows and pastures	land	Unused but potentially productive	Other land	
							Built on area	wasteland and other
1956	3,245	—	1,054	1,251	—	249	691	
				1000 Hectares				

N.B.: Land area refers also to total area, but excludes inland water bodies. The definition of inland water bodies generally includes major rivers and lakes.

Source — Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics — Production 1957 — United Nations.

The Netherlands is generally flat with hills only in the East and the extreme South. The highest elevation of the land is only 328 metres above sea level. From there towards the West the country slopes down very gradually, and a large part here lies below sea level, one fifth of the total area of the Netherlands. Along the shores of the North Sea the land is protected against floods by dunes and seawalls. There are also dykes along the rivers. Not less than 40—50 per cent of the whole area of the country would be under water if it were not for these dunes and dykes. The Netherlands is the most densely populated country in Europe. The total population on January 1, 1953 was 10,434,900. This amounts to 319 people per sq. km, or 666 per 100 ha of cultivated land (180 per 100 acres). The rural population derives its livelihood mainly from agriculture. Economic factors, were a reason for Dutch agriculture developing into an industry producing products of high value requiring intensive labour, of which a large proportion can be exported.

Small holdings predominate; about 60 per cent of the farms are between 2.5 and 25 acres, nearly 40 per cent of the horticultural holdings being smaller than 2.5 acres. The average area of cultivated land utilized per occupier (being those whose main income is derived from the land) is 8.93 ha (22.07 acres). If the agricultural workers and those who pursue farming or horticulture as a side line are also counted as occupiers, the average area per occupier is 5.6 ha (16.06 acres). The available labour-force on these small farms is usually large, and therefore the development of small holdings engaged in intensive farming, and producing animal products of a high value is well adapted to the conditions prevailing in Dutch agriculture.

The development of intensive agriculture in the Netherlands.

The economic evolution was very seriously disturbed during the depression which set in about 1930 when the prices on foreign markets slumped to such a low level that it became impossible for Dutch farmers and growers to carry on without serious losses.

Measures were taken by the Government to safeguard agriculture. The policy pursued did not include direct financial assistance to individual farmers or growers, but the industry was supported by regulation of prices. The provisions enforced were also directed to raise farming standards and increase production of better quality

produce. After second world war the damage done to soil, live-stock, farmbuildings and equipment was soon restored due to some extent to Marshall aid. At present the agricultural industry has not only once more attained the high level of efficiency of pre-war days, but in several respects this level has been exceeded.

Yet the conditions prevailing in agriculture to-day are not quite comparable with those obtaining before the war. The following changes have taken place.

1. — Since December 1940 the population has increased by 1.5 million people and therefore a large quantity of food required by the Dutch population has to be raised from home farms. It can be deduced from recent calculation that Dutch agriculture supplies about 60 per cent of the food requirements of the Dutch nation, expressed in calories. This rate could certainly be much higher, if the industry was not called upon to supply commodities for export, an indispensable contribution to the national economy of the country.

2. — Due to difficult economic and financial position of the Netherlands, imports of feeding stuffs had to be restricted, and to-day vigorous attempts are made to raise the production of home grown feeds as much as possible. For that reason improvements are introduced in grassland farming by daily rotational grazing, ploughing up and reseeded of grassland coupled with heavy manuring, whilst silage making is expanded and improved by the erection of more silos. In addition such grass is dried artificially. At the same time the cultivation of potatoes for stockfeed and of fodder beet was stimulated, and the same applies to maize growing.

3. — Higher labour costs, the shortage of labour on the larger farms during the first post-war years and, moreover, the increased interest in the machine have greatly encouraged mechanization in agriculture.

4. — Due to the ever increasing agricultural population and the shortage of farming land it is necessary to foster industrialization and emigration as much as possible. Emigration has been stimulated more vigorously since the war.

In spite of the different conditions prevailing before the war, it can be stated that Dutch agriculture has basically not changed. Next to catering for the home population, agriculture can produce

a large quantity of livestock and other high value products for export to all quarters of the globe.

Utilization of land.

The utilization of land by agricultural labourers has been — and still is — regarded as a means of improving their social and economic status.

The Agricultural Labourers' Act of 1918, which made it possible for agricultural labourers to acquire land on comparatively easy terms, was intended primarily to bring about an improvement in their economic position. The act was particularly effective in the first ten years of its application. Nowadays, however, the sum laid down in the act as the maximum advance to be paid is inadequate to secure a piece of land which answers to the requirements of the act.

About half the agricultural labourers appear to be utilizing land for cultivation purpose. Of the married labourers two-thirds use land in this way. The utilization of land is most widely spread among casual labourers, while the surface areas they occupy are also larger than in other cases. A comparison of the different districts shows that land utilization is less frequent in the marine clay areas than in the peat colonies. In the pasturelands less than a third of the labourers have land of their own under cultivation.

It appears from the area the labourers have in use and the crops cultivated that in most districts their production is intended for their own consumption. Historically, it is thus possible to detect a change in the significance of land utilization, for while the emphasis was formerly an *economic need*, land utilization is now mainly a *hobby*. The cultivation of a piece of land still represents, even today, an important aspect of the agricultural labourer's way of life.

FARM WORKING FORCE

There are three organizations of agricultural workers: The General Netherlands Union of Agricultural Workers, The Netherlands Protestant Union of Agricultural Workers, and The Netherlands Catholic Union of Agricultural Workers. These organizations have a total membership of 80,000. The membership represents only the workers who have full-time jobs in agriculture or horti-

culture. Seasonal workers are not included in this number. During the first years of their existence the organizations of agricultural workers acted as independent units. Later, under pressure of economic conditions, the tendency has been towards closer cooperation out of which has developed the over-all Agricultural Workers Unions Councils. The *Stiching voor den Landboum* (a cooperative body of workers and farmers) was set up directly after the war and all those engaged in agriculture or horticulture — farmers as well as workers — began working together in economic, social, and technical fields. Through its efforts, labour conditions throughout the country have been improved. Steps have been taken to get for agricultural workers wages and various social measures comparable to those in industry. This program, though not fully realised, has attained for farm workers — both full time and seasonal — vacations with pay and an old age insurance, a plan under which annuities will be paid to retired workers and eventually to their widows and orphans as well. Without this cooperation and the support of the agricultural workers in the Unions Committees, there would not be the degree of economic balance between farm and industrial prices that farmers now enjoy.

It can be calculated from the 1947 census figures that agricultural labourers form about 7 per cent of the employed population in the Netherlands. In the course of time this percentage has undergone considerable change. In contrast to the growth in size of the employed population in the Netherlands, and also in contrast to the increase in the number of independent farmers the number of agricultural labourers has so far declined during this century. The total male employed population has increased by 65 per cent since 1909 and the total number of male employed in agriculture by 12 per cent. The number of independent workers in agriculture however, has increased by as much as 25 per cent in the same period; thus during the present century there has been a decline in the number of agricultural labourers.

Labour force on small holdings in grain harvesting.

The labour force on these farms consists mainly of members of the farmers' family with supplementary casual labour, men-servants (young men who are living in at the farm) and day labourers who supply supplementary labour for a few days in labour peak periods. The members of the family of the small

farmer comprise the farmer and his wife, with or without children or parents. School children often lend a hand in the holidays (harvest time). The young men of the rising generation, who are highly valued by the farmer as auxiliary workers are gradually withdrawn from the small holding, because it is so small that it does not allow of further division. Normally one of the children can take over the farm and the others will already at any early age no longer participate in farm work, because they have chosen another vocation. Though this state of affairs is not yet general, it is rapidly spreading so that ultimately 1 1/2 manpower remains available of the family. It is getting more and more difficult to obtain extraneous labour, such as men-servants and day labourers, the first because the farm does not offer them a career and the second because they are getting scarcer and scarcer. Besides, the wages are so high that the farmer only takes them in case of need. The 1 1/2 manpower of the small holding is particularly in harvest time insufficient. At least 2 adult workers must work together to reap and gather in the grain crop at a reasonable rate. Thus the small farmer is compelled, also by the weather risks, to cooperate with his neighbours. This accounts for an increasing desire for rationalization, particularly in the grain harvest.

THE SYSTEMS OF EMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR, AND THE AMOUNT OF WAGES PAID TO WORKERS

General wage policy in the Netherlands after the end of World War II was aimed in the first place at establishing a certain stability of wages so as to avoid as much as possible disturbances in rehabilitating the country and getting production going after the apparatus had been largely paralyzed during the war. A government-planned wage policy was to secure coordination of wages and other labour conditions in the various branches of trade and industry, which was considered indispensable. A specially created government body, the Board of Government Conciliators, was charged with this task for which it received advice from the Foundation of Labour. (The Foundation of Labour provides the framework for the cooperation in respect of social affairs of all the free employers' and trade unions in the Netherlands, included farmers and farmworkers). Since these endeavours towards coordination did not affect the presumption that differences in wages according to the nature and significance of the work performed should be

considered justified, they necessitated the application of a fixed standard to compare various kinds of work in various branches of trade and industry. The basic points originally adopted were an average hourly wage for the unskilled worker and an average hourly wage for the skilled worker, whereby a skilled worker was taken to correspond with the "averagely" skilled worker in the metal industry. Based on these two fixed points was a scale of possibilities to fit in the other workers. In order to find, in a scientifically justified manner, the places the various categories of workers were to occupy in this scale in accordance with their work in the various branches of trade and industry, the labour classification system was used, which made it possible to compare the functions in various branches of trade and industry as the co-ordination policy required (notably the so-called standardizes method). Immediately after the war organized agriculture sought to demonstrate that wages of farm workers lagged relatively behind those of equivalent workers in various other comparable branches of trade and industry. These endeavours did not meet with complete success, however, partly because opportunities were lacking to advance conclusive evidence in support of this claim. Following the advice of the Foundation of Labour it was assumed in 1946 that the skilled farm worker was to be compared with an industrial worker placed in the middle of the scale between unskilled and skilled industrial workers (the so-called *semi-skilled* industrial worker). In 1951 a labour classification investigation was also instituted in agriculture, which showed that the view taken by the Foundation of Labour in 1946 was untenable, and that it was justified to grade agricultural labour higher than had been done on the basis of the Foundation of Labour's viewpoint. Extensive investigations by several Committees established for that purpose and intensive discussions within the Public Board for Agriculture * led to agreement to proceed to the institution of remuneration on the basis of the results of the labour classification investigation as from May 1, 1958. The Foundation of Labour and the Board of Government Conciliators finally agreed to this decision, with the understanding that the country's financial position did not allow an immediate full introduction of the new remuneration, but made a graded introduction necessary. The in-

* In this Board are cooperating on an official basis the free farmers' organizations and the free farmworkers' organizations, as well as on economic questions as on social questions in agriculture.

roduction of the work classification made it possible to classify the workers in a greater number of grades which resulted in wider differentiation in the remuneration of farm workers. Except for the unskilled workers, this also generally entailed an increase in the wages of farm workers. This remuneration may now be regarded as comparable with what applies in this respect in other branches of trade and industry. This new classification was of course fitted in with the existing situation as far as possible in order to prevent as far as possible undesirable repercussions in practice.

Farm wage rates.

Table — Farm wage rates

Year	Wages in local currencies Index per hour
1934-38	30
1947	—
1948	76
1949	80
1950	87
1951	93
1952	96
1953	100
1954	111
1955	119
1956	126

All workers, adults, male; index base 1953 = 100.

C = Complete wage (worker remunerated only in cash).

It is clear from the above table that the wages are increasing gradually.

The time wage, as a rule the hourly wage, is the dominating method of payment in Dutch agriculture.

S U M M A R Y

In Yugoslavia the structure of agricultural holdings is characterised by two factors. On one hand, there are three property sectors, and, on the other, atomized small holdings and the exploitation of about 90 per cent of the available land by private owned farms smaller than 10 hectares. These circumstances produce determined results regarding cultivation and the pattern of production. On the peasant private holdings the majority of work is accomplished by the members of the family, but if they need additional help through hired labour, a free agreement should be made between the owner and the hired worker about payment in cash or in kind because there is no fixed wage for that sort of work. In Yugoslavia now the idea is to make the general agricultural cooperatives a complex organisation, economically very sound technically up-to-date, so that it may be the centre of all economic activities in the village and may carry the State agrarian policy efficiently. Now the owners of the private small holdings who are mostly without adequate means of production will not go to other peasant in search of their help and will not be exploited by them. Moreover, these holdings will be also tempted to use the social resources for increasing their production and thus more number of holdings will come to the hold of co-ops in time to come. These co-ops are day by day developing into strong agro-industrial organisations in villages which should hold the entire process of production in their hands.

The other 10 per cent of the available land is exploited by the State and cooperative farms. The system of paying wages on these farms was till 1956 per effect or time. This system did not produce good results, so it had to be changed by another system that stimulates the workers to do better work by tying their earnings directly with the production. The new system introduced in 1957 on the greater part of the State farm was the paying per unit of product. The system of paying per effect was kept as a base for paying advances to the workers. The results showed that in 1957 when this new system was introduced accompanied by new organisation of work, there was an increase in the productivity of labour, the production, the profitableness of farms, and the earnings of workers. To strengthen this system for achieving better results, recent changes were introduced after year 1959. A weakness of this system in plant production is that weather conditions

play a large part in determining the manner in which an operator and the labour force may be able to accomplish timely operations, and exceed the planned yields.

Agriculture in Yugoslavia has only recently assumed an accelerated rate of progress. However, this is still below the needs of modern production.

The Netherlands:

In the Netherlands, measures to increase agricultural productivity, however, are most developed. The agricultural production is one of the highest in the world, and the economic factors were a reason for Dutch agriculture developing into an industry producing products of high value requiring intensive labour, of which a large proportion can be exported. At present the agricultural industry has not only once more attained the high level of efficiency of prewar days, but in several respects this level has been exceeded. General wage policy after the end of World War II was aimed as establishing a certain stability of wages. The introduction of the work classification made it possible to classify the workers in a greater number of grades which resulted in wider differentiation in the remuneration of farm workers. Except for the unskilled workers, this also generally entailed an increase in their wages. This remuneration may now be regarded as comparable with what applies in this respect in other branches of trade and industry. Of course, this developed agriculture was caused by the development and spread of agricultural technology, and the high degree of efficiency and education of the Dutch worker. But it could be supposed that the high wages paid to workers (especially if we observe that they increased by 26 per cent since 1953), the improvement of labour conditions that insured for agricultural labourers wages and various social measures comparable to those in industry, can to a certain extent influence the productivity of labour and stimulate the worker to do better work.

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COOPERATIVE EFFORTS IN PROMOTING FOOD CONSUMPTION IN THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

Foodstuffs, domestic or imported, are mainly agricultural products which seek their way to their ultimate consumers. Meeting the latter's most possible satisfaction in connection with the food consumption is a major activity of the nation's agricultural marketing system. It is, for instance, the responsibility of that system to insure that foods, offered and afforded, reach consumers in relative top-quality forms. In fact, changes that contribute to high levels of food consumption fall partially on the agricultural marketing structure. This means, of course, that the agricultural marketing is very much concerned with numerous food aspects of a particular population.

To a certain extent, food expenditures are highly and positively correlated with both consumers' personal and per capita incomes. In general, the higher the incomes the higher the expenditures on food, but later on the second would gradually cease to respond to further increases in the former. This is another way of saying that levels of living are generally associated with food expenditures and consumption. Better foods are a very much desired end in a framework of any sound and progressive national public policy.

In its consistent and persevering attempts towards self-development, the United Arab Republic had come to appreciate more the importance of achieving better food consumption levels for its peoples. Our per capita incomes are still considerably low as com-

pared to the corresponding incomes in many other countries. In turn, our per capita food consumption would be rather low and the quality of our average diet would not be very well rounded. This study is, therefore, an attempt to provide a factual, though partial, understanding of the contemporary food consumption status in the United Arab Republic.

II. BACKGROUND

Generally speaking, patterns of food consumption would vary over the time with various degrees for various nations. Money expenditures for food would customarily increase with higher incomes because of the purchase of better foods in terms of both calorie values and varied diets. A country's national diet would tend, with rising levels of living, to supply the human energy needs with a greater variety of foods which are more likely capable of providing good nutrition than a limited diet. In other words, as incomes increase the greatest increases in food expenditures would rather be found in the somewhat expensive food items, such as fruits, meats, eggs and dairy products. On the contrary, money expenditures in this respect would not vary much on the cheaper food items such as bread, potatoes, rice, macaroni and sugar. Stated in another way, the higher income groups are inclined to seek balanced and healthy diets in the forms of higher proteins and vitamins with less sugar and starchy items. Of course, there are other more or less pronounced food consumption changes which would take place with varied levels of living in a particular nation.

The passage of time is usually accompanied with certain overall changes which must be taken into consideration in this respect. In the first place, habits of food purchasing may change but in a rather slow pattern. These habits are generally based on price, quality and convenience and the latter two have usually more relative weights in the highly developed national economies. Secondly, the food consumers get over the time more nutrition-conscious and the complete and meaningful market information becomes, therefore, increasingly necessary. Thirdly, non-farm, suburban and urban markets tend to develop and increase along with the economic development because the latter would usually result in a greater dependence of a country's population on the market for their food items. Beside these general overall changes minor food consumption developments will also take place. For instance, there will be an increased dependence on packaged and

processed foods, a greater emphasis on food safety as well as an ever-increasing value placed on foods with quick cooking and easy handling characteristics. With a full certainty, the field of agricultural marketing would have to share considerably through various means in meeting these overall changes in the food consumption patterns.

III. DISCUSSION

The 1952 revolution year has been chosen here as a benchmark for the dispersion of the annual per capita food consumption in the United Arab Republic. Data embodied in tables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 pertain to the ten-year post-revolution period and are mainly based on both weight and calorie values of the per capita food intakes over that time period. Inspection of tables 6 and 7 would reveal that grains rank as the biggest food item on both quantity and calorie basis. They are of a greater importance as an energy source than they are as a quantity item, in the average diet, since they averaged about 71% and about 46% respectively for the period under consideration. On the average energy value, grains are followed, in a descending order, by sugar foods, dairy products, fruits and plant oil, seeds, legumes and nuts, meats, vegetables, starches, fish and eggs. The quantitative descending order would look, however, somewhat different than the order figured on the calorie importance. Grains are followed, in this second case, by vegetables, fruits, dairy products, sugar foods, meats, seeds, legumes and nuts, starches, fish and plant oil and eggs. This would mean, of course, that on both calorie and weight basis grains are the most, and eggs are the least, important food content of the per capita daily diet in the United Arab Republic.

The eleven food items studied may be also classified according to their proportional calorie-weight values (tables 6 and 7). These proportions are relatively higher for each of the grains, sugar, seeds, legumes and nuts and plant oil than for each of the other seven food items. On average basis, the former four items weigh about 54% of the per capita diet but furnish about 86% of the per capita calorie intake. This means, of course, that on average basis, the other seven items weigh about 46% and furnish about 14% energy in the per capita food share.

Inspection of charts 1a, 1b, 2a and 2b would reveal the nature of the consumption dispersions for the food items includes through-

out the 1952/53 — 1961/62 period. Chart 1a indicates that the general weight dispersions have been pronounced for fish, vegetables and fruits but according to chart 2a vegetables, fish and starches have had the more remarkable general calorie dispersions. This means, in general, that the individual has been eating lately more fish and vegetables, but less fruits, than he ate in 1952/1953 or shortly afterwards and that he has been getting recently more energy from vegetables, starches and fish in comparison to the earlier period. Charts 1b and 2b indicate that throughout the 10-year period of study grains were the most stable food item on both weight and calorie basis. The remainder of the food items studied have been going through continuous fluctuations with variable degrees. The total daily per capita weight and calorie food consumption has been generally increasing slightly but with less average variations on calorie basis. More per capita food consumption would mean, of course, a higher per capita food real income. The latter could probably have resulted, in general, from an increase in the per capita overall real income and/or an increase in the per capita expenditure on certain food items. More specifically, the slight general increase in the per capita food consumption in the U.A.R. over the 1952/53 — 1961/62 period was most likely caused by the combined effects of an increase in personal incomes, within certain income groups, and a somewhat notable general increase in our total agricultural food production. The latter's index numbers were for instance 115 in 1953, 129 in 1954, 128 in 1955, 131 in 1956, 133 in 1957, 134 in 1958 and 141 in 1959 in comparison to the 1948/52 annual average of the total agricultural food production. (1)

Our average per capita food consumption seems to rank substantially below the average per capita nutritional needs. An average daily intake of about 2500 calories per person, as shown in table 3, seems inadequate under our general circumstances. The per capita calorie requirements would vary according to the combined effects of numerous factors such as basal metabolic rate, activity, age, body size and climate. A person's daily energy expenditure would vary on the whole from 500 to 4000 calories and probably more, above basal, depending upon the factors involved. (2) For a person

(1) *The 1960-1964 Five-Year Development Plan for Agricultural and Animal Production*, Ministry of Agriculture, Cairo, Egypt, Arabic, p. 4.

(2) Best, C.H. and N.B. Taylor, *The Living Body*, 4th edition, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1958 pp. 399-400.

with a moderate work occupation a daily calorie expenditure would range from 1200 to 1500 calories in addition to the daily basal metabolism of about 1700 calories which will put his daily calorie requirements to about 3050 calories. (3) Most likely, the authors have meant by these figures the western world and the United States of America in particular. Therefore, considering all the comparative phases of this matter, it can be safely stated that our people have been getting, on the average, a lower calorie share as compared to the better fed peoples of the world.

In order that the dietary standards can be proportionately balanced, a little over 50% of the total daily calories should be obtained from carbohydrates, about 35% from fats and about 12% from protein foods. (4) In a rather rough estimation, the carbohydrates furnish, on the average, about 80% of our people's daily calorie intakes and in the meantime both fats and protein foods supply only a little less than 20%. (5) This means that altogether our contemporar per capital daily food consumption is neither sufficient nor complete and that effective measures need, therefore, to be taken to raise our average calorie intakes and to improve our common dietary patterns as well.

IV. THE COOPERATIVE EFFORTS CONSIDERED.

Improvements that need to be undertaken in this respect are activities which would usually fall under two main categories, namely, production measures and marketing measures. The former would cover all attempts possible to increase the production of the needed foods such as making the best use of the cultivated area, bringing new land into cultivation and the promotion of the fishing industry.

The marketing measures sought would be rather complex and quite variable. The most urgent marketing needs are, in a general sense, for economical transport and storage facilities, price stabilization and the development of better food consumption patterns. The first three items can best be achieved, under our circumstances, through a governmental framework of action but the undertaking of the fourth item can be more effectively done on coopera-

(3) Ibid. pp. 399-400.

(4) Ibid. p. 399.

(5) Table 7.

tive basis. In the less developed national economies, such as ours, a reformed food consumption pattern should be accomplished through consumers' cooperative actions rather than through other non-cooperative ones. It is provided here that these consumers' cooperatives would, like many other cooperatives, receive the enthusiastic and the concrete support from their respective governments especially in the former's earlier stages.

In these sorts of economies, including our own, cooperatives would tend to guide, rather than solely regulate, the various essential production and consumption activities. This means that the Egyptian consumers' cooperatives would be required, in this connection, to carry on at variable extents both guiding and regulatory tasks in the two broad fields of food production and consumption. The guiding consumption activities will have to be the major area of concentration for these consumers' cooperative associations. The latter's line of activity concerning the improvement of our food consumption patterns should mainly center around the following items :

1. Our food shortages will most likely tend in the near future to be too great to be substantially overcome through the channel of the international trade. Domestic production should be the biggest source of our food supply with a minor share to be obtained through the international channel.
2. The two main methods of attack on the animal protein shortage, in our mode diet, lie in the development of reasonable vegetable protein mixtures and the enrichment of cereals and certain vegetables with the badly needed essential amino acids. ⁽⁶⁾
3. The nutritional needs should be made as available as possible to all our consumers especially to infants, expecting and lactating mothers and the more active population groups. The food make-ups should not only be proportionate but their total costs should also be in line with the purchasing powers of our food consumers.
4. A large-scale nutritional campaign should be cooperatively carried out all over the country with a greater emphasis on our

(6) *International Journal of Agrarian Affairs, Contemporary Problems in the Economics of Agriculture*, Vol. III, No. 3, Oxford University Press, London, September 1962, p. 155.

rural population. Our people seem to lack in general enough knowledge in connection with the relationships between diet and health. The fundamental causes and cures of the existing food inadequacies need, therefore, to be brought to their attention. People normally base their food buying habits on what they like, what is available and what they can afford but they would usually take, with a better food consciousness, the proportionate food make-up concept into consideration.

The cooperative educational measures should also provide, formally or informally, for educating our food consumers regarding the better methods of household food preparation. For instance, they need to be taught that substantial food losses can be avoided through better washing and cooking procedures and that considerable portions of their food nutrients can be provided through better processing and cleanliness methods. These sorts of cooperative educational efforts would most likely result, if successfully planned and put into practise, in promoting the nutritive improvements of our food intakes.

5. These consumers' cooperatives should always push, through the proper means, for the betterment of the existing food marketing system. This would help for instance: to reduce the food wastage, achieve a well-organized food distribution and supplement the food production adjustments with the necessary food consumption adjustments at various times and places. On its part, the government should always strive for sound food policy which would bes fit the whole of our nation.

V. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS :

Throughout the 1952/53 — 1961/62 period covered in this study our per capita food intakes had been neither calorically nor nutritionally balanced. The per capita daily calories which averaged about 2500 would rank low in comparison with the better fed nations of the world. According to the standard proportionate food make-up, a little over 50% of a person's total daily calories should be obtained from carbohydrates, about 35% from fats and about 12% from protein foods. About 80% of our per capita total daily calories has been mainly furnished by carbohydrates and we seem also to have been eating, on the average, smaller proportions of fats and proteins.

Since the population's dietary levels are of primary importance in determining the former's desired qualities, and since the levels of their productivity are greatly dependent upon their dietary levels, the United Arab Republic must strive, in its contemporary self-development attempts, for promoting the dietary consumption patterns for its population.

In fact, numerous production and marketing measures need to be taken in order that the food consumption patterns in the U.A.R. can be improved. The consumers' cooperative marketing activities can be, in a less-developed economy like ours, an effective means for raising the calorie intakes and improving the dietary patterns for the population. These cooperative marketing activities should wisely take into consideration the necessity of feeding our domestic food market mainly from the domestic production with a minor share to be obtained through the channel of international trade.

Or common food animal protein shortage should mainly be attacked through the development of vegetable protein mixtures and the enrichment of certain food items. Adequate food supply should be also assured for our various population groups especially infants, expecting and lactating mothers and the more active population categories. A large-scale cooperative teaching campaign is badly needed all over the country — with emphasis on our rural population — to bring about certain nutritive improvements of our food intakes.

Our food marketing system would also have to be reorganized so that it can largely share in solving substantially our common food shortage problem. The government's rôle is also of primary importance in framing and working out an overall sound food policy for the whole republic.

TABLE 1. — Daily per capita consumption of various agricultural food items, U.A.R. 1952/53—1961/62 (Grams):

Agricultural food items	1952/	1953/	1954/	1955/	1956/	1957/	1958/	1959/	1960/	1961/	Aver-
	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	ages
Grains	456.4	518.7	519.4	510.2	514.0	514.1	501.9	522.2	510	541.4	510.8
Starches	20.2	21.3	23.6	27.5	26.7	25.1	14.5	21.6	27.3	23.8	23.2
Sugar foods	46.0	44.4	47.9	47.9	48.0	48.6	48.2	51.0	42.3	38.3	46.3
Seeds, legumes & nuts	27.9	27.7	28.8	32.1	26.1	32.9	27.7	25.5	33.5	20.8	28.3
Vegetables	139.7	161.1	165.2	177.7	167.3	175.3	178.1	196.4	201.4	208.8	177.1
Fruits	167.7	172.6	178.9	179.7	116.5	122.2	113.7	110.3	120.9	117.8	140.0
Meats	31.7	30.7	32.6	36.8	27.9	38.8	27.7	26.2	25.9	27.7	30.6
Eggs	2.5	2.7	2.7	3.1	3.4	3.3	2.7	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.9
Fish	7.4	7.4	8.0	16.7	15.0	15.8	12.0	12.3	12.9	13.5	12.0
Dairy products	120.3	116.2	124.5	161.9	120.3	118.9	109.3	121.7	117	122.0	123.2
Plant oils	10.7	10.1	9.8	10.8	11.6	14.3	13.2	12.6	14.3	11.8	11.9
TOTALS	1030.5	1112.9	1141.4	1204.4	1076.8	1109.5	1049.0	1102.8	1108.5	1128.9	1103.4

SOURCES:—

1952/53 to 1955/56: The Agricultural Marketing (Z. M. Shabana) 1959, Dar Nashr El Thakafa, Alex., p. 93 (with a few adjustments for percentages).

1959/60 The Monthly Agricultural Economics Bulletin — Ministry of Agriculture, Jan. 1962, pp. 27-31.

1956/57 and 57/58: The same bulletin Jan. 1961 p. 25.

1958/59 computed from the kilograms table (table 2).

1960/61 Ministry of Agriculture (preliminary data)

1961/62 Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Agricultural Production — Jan. 1963.

TABLE 2. — Annual per capita consumption of various agricultural food items, U.A.R. 1952/53—1961/62 (Kilograms):

Agricultural food items	1952/	1953/	1954/	1955/	1956/	1957/	1958/	1959/	1960/	1961/	Aver-
	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	ages
Grains	166.6	189.3	189.6	186.7	187.6	187.6	183.2	190.6	186.1	197.6	186.5
Starches	7.4	7.8	8.6	10.1	9.7	9.2	5.3	7.9	10	8.7	8.5
Sugar foods	16.8	16.2	17.5	17.5	17.5	17.7	17.6	18.6	15.5	14.0	16.9
Seeds, legumes & nuts	10.2	10.1	10.5	11.7	9.5	12.0	10.1	9.3	12.2	7.6	10.3
Vegetables	51.0	58.8	60.3	65.0	61.1	64.0	65.0	71.7	73.5	76.2	64.7
Fruits	61.2	63.0	65.3	65.8	42.5	44.6	41.5	40.3	44.1	43.0	51.1
Meats	11.6	11.2	11.9	13.5	10.2	14.2	10.1	9.6	9.5	10.1	11.2
Eggs .....	.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Fish	2.7	2.7	2.9	6.1	5.5	5.8	4.4	4.5	4.7	4.9	4.4
Dairy products	43.9	42.4	45.4	59.2	43.9	43.4	40.9	44.4	42.7	44.5	45.1
Plant oils	3.9	3.7	3.6	4.0	4.2	5.2	4.8	4.7	5.2	4.3	4.4
TOTALS	376.2	406.2	416.6	440.7	392.9	404.9	383.9	402.7	404.6	412.0	404.1

SOURCES:—

1955/59 to 1959/60 (The Agricultural Economics) monthly bulletin (Ministry of Agriculture) Jan. 1962 p. 25.

1952/53 to 1957/58 computed from the grams table (Table 1)

1960/61 Ministry of Agriculture (preliminary data)

1961/62 Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Production, Jan. 1963.

TABLE 3. — Daily per capita consumption of various agricultural food items, U.A.R. 1952/53—1961/62 (Calories) :

Agricultural food items	1952/		1953/		1954/		1955/		1956/		1957/		1958/		1959/		1960/		1961/		Aver- ages	
	1953	1954	1954	1955	1955	1956	1956	1957	1957	1958	1958	1959	1959	1960	1960	1961	1961	1962	1962	1962		
Grains	1615	1837	1840	1808	1822	1731	1784	1856	1811	1925	1803											
Starches	17	17	20	16	23	21	16	24	27	23	20											
Sugar foods	174	163	174	174	172	162	169	180	149	137	165											
Seeds, legumes & nuts	102	102	105	116	94	113	101	93	119	67	101											
Vegetables	33	37	39	41	41	41	51	58	59	61	48											
Fruits	102	109	129	118	93	107	95	91	104	110	106											
Meats	49	47	50	57	56	56	51	48	47	53	51											
Eggs	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	5	5	5	4.5											
Fish	13	13	14	25	20	19	18	17	19	18	18											
Dairy products	108	105	110	136	108	101	100	107	103	107	108											
Plant oils	95	90	87	95	102	122	118	111	126	105	105											
TOTALS	2315	2524	2572	2590	2536	2478	2507	2590	2569	2611	2529											

SOURCES :—

- 56/57. The Agricultural Economics (Monthly bulletin) Ministry of Agriculture Jan. 1961 p. 25.
 57/58 to 59/60 The Agricultural Economics (Monthly bulletin) Ministry of Agriculture Jan. 1962 p. 25.
 55/56 The Agricultural Economics (Monthly bulletin) Ministry of Agriculture, Jan. 1965. p. 227.
 52/53 to 54/55 The Monthly Bulletin (Ministry of Agriculture) Department of Agricultural Economics, Jan. 1957. p. 67.
 60/61 Ministry of Agriculture (preliminary data)
 61/62 Ministry of Agriculture Jan. 1963.

TABLE 4. — Index numbers for annual per capita weight consumption of various agricultural food items,
U.A.R. 1952/53—1961/62
(1952/53 = 100).

Agricultural food items	1952/	1953/	1954/	1955/	1956/	1957/	1958/	1959/	1960/	1961/
	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Grains	100	114	114	112	113	113	110	114	112	119
Starches	100	105	116	136	131	124	72	107	135	118
Sugar foods	100	96	104	104	104	105	105	111	92	83
Seeds, legumes & nuts	100	99	103	115	93	118	99	91	120	74
Vegetables	100	115	118	127	120	125	127	141	144	149
Fruits	100	103	107	108	69	73	68	66	72	70
Meats	100	96	102	116	88	122	87	83	82	87
Eggs	100	111	111	122	133	133	111	122	122	122
Fish	100	100	107	226	204	215	163	167	174	181
Dairy products	100	97	102	135	100	99	93	101	97	101
Plant oils	100	95	92	103	103	133	123	120	133	110
TOTALS	100	108	111	117	104	108	102	107	108	110

SOURCE :

Table (2).

TABLE 5. — Index numbers for daily per capita calorie intakes from various agricultural food items, U. A. R. 1952/53 to 1961/62
(1952/53 = 100).

Agricultural food items	1952/	1953/	1954/	1955/	1956/	1957/	1958/	1959/	1960/	1961/
	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Grains	100	114	114	112	113	107	110	115	112	119
Starches	100	100	118	94	135	124	94	141	159	135
Sugar foods	100	94	100	100	99	93	97	103	86	78
Seeds, legumes & nuts	100	100	103	114	92	111	99	91	117	66
Vegetables	100	112	118	124	124	124	154	176	179	185
Fruits	100	107	126	116	91	105	93	89	12	108
Meats	100	96	102	116	114	114	104	98	96	108
Eggs	100	100	100	100	125	125	100	125	125	125
Fish	100	100	108	192	154	146	138	131	146	138
Dairy products	100	97	102	126	100	94	92	99	95	99
Plant oils	100	95	92	100	107	128	124	117	133	110
TOTALS	100	109	111	112	110	107	108	112	111	113

SOURCE :
Table (3).

TABLE 6. (*) — Percentages of annual per capita weight consumption of various agricultural food items, U.A.R. 1952/53 to 1961/62.

Agricultural food items	1952/	1953/	1954/	1955/	1956/	1957/	1958/	1959/	1960/	1961/	Aver-
	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	ages
Grains	44.3	46.6	45.5	42.4	47.7	46.3	47.7	47.3	46.0	48.0	46.2
Starches	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.5	2.3	1.4	2.0	2.5	2.1	2.1
Sugar foods	4.5	4.0	4.2	4.0	4.4	4.4	4.6	4.6	3.8	3.4	4.2
Seeds legumes & nuts	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.4	3.0	2.6	2.3	3.0	1.8	2.5
Vegetables	13.5	14.5	14.5	14.8	15.6	15.8	16.9	17.8	18.2	18.5	16.0
Fruits	16.3	15.5	15.7	14.9	10.8	11.0	10.8	10.0	10.9	10.4	12.6
Meats	3.1	2.8	2.8	3.1	2.6	3.5	2.7	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.8
Eggs .....	.2	.2	.2	.2	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3
Fish .....	.7	.7	.7	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.1
Dairy products	11.7	10.4	10.9	13.4	11.2	10.7	10.7	11.0	10.5	10.8	11.1
Plant oils	1.0	.9	.9	.9	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.1
TOTALS	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE :

Table (2).

* Slight adjustments have been made to round up percentages.

TABLE 7. (*) — Percentages of daily per capita calorie intakes from various agricultural food items, U. A. R. 1952/53 to 1961/62.

Agricultural food items	1952/	1953/	1954/	1955/	1956/	1957/	1958/	1959/	1960/	1961/	1961/	Aver-
	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1962	ages
Grains	69.9	72.8	71.5	69.8	71.8	69.9	71.2	71.7	70.5	73.7	73.7	71.3
Starches .....	.7	.7	.8	.6	.9	.8	.6	.9	1.1	.9	.9	.8
Sugar foods	7.5	6.4	6.8	6.7	6.8	6.5	6.8	6.9	5.8	5.3	5.3	6.5
Seeds, legumes & nuts	4.4	4.0	4.1	4.5	3.7	4.6	4.0	3.9	4.6	2.6	2.6	4.0
Vegetables	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	1.8
Fruits	4.4	4.3	5.0	4.6	3.7	4.3	3.8	3.5	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.2
Meats	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.0	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.0
Eggs .....	.2	.1	.2	.1	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2
Fish .....	.6	.5	.5	1.0	.8	.8	.7	.6	.7	.7	.7	.7
Dairy products	4.7	4.2	4.3	5.2	4.3	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.1	4.3
Plant oils	4.1	3.6	3.4	3.7	4.0	4.9	4.7	4.2	4.9	4.0	4.0	4.2
TOTALS	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

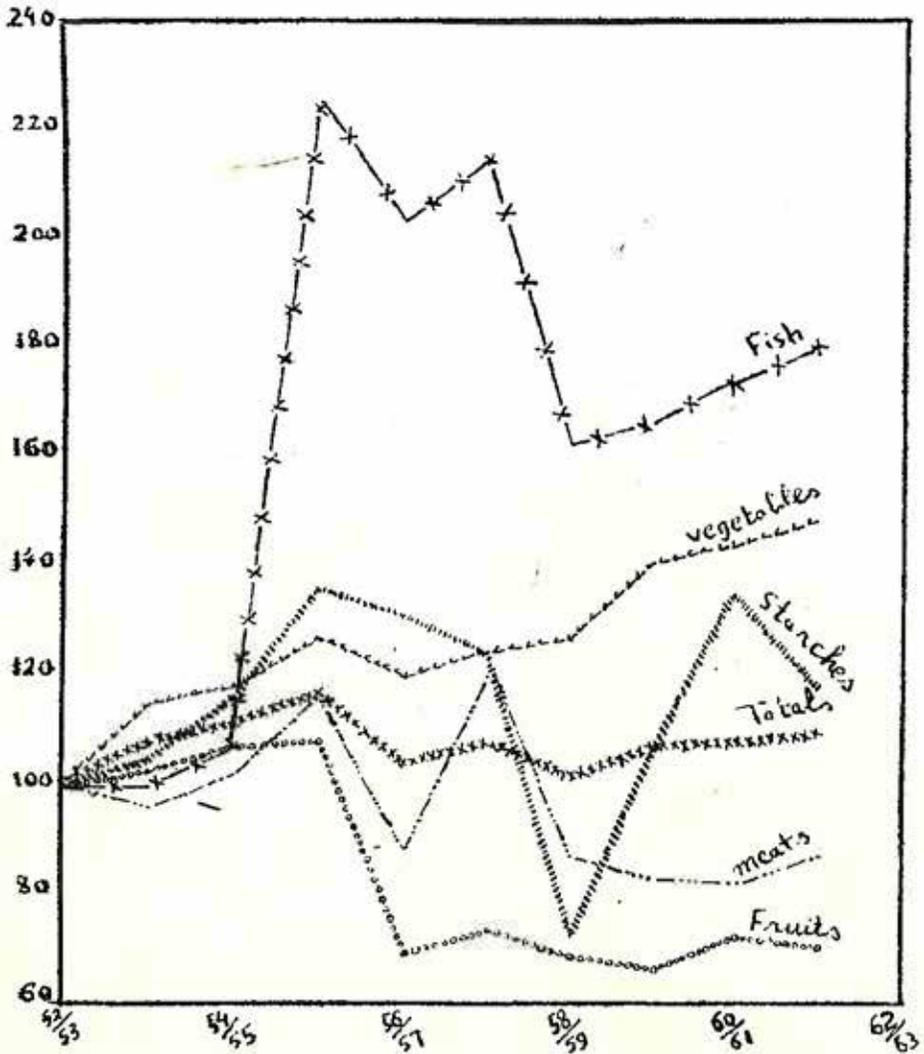
SOURCE :

Table (3).

* Slight adjustments have been made to round up percentages.

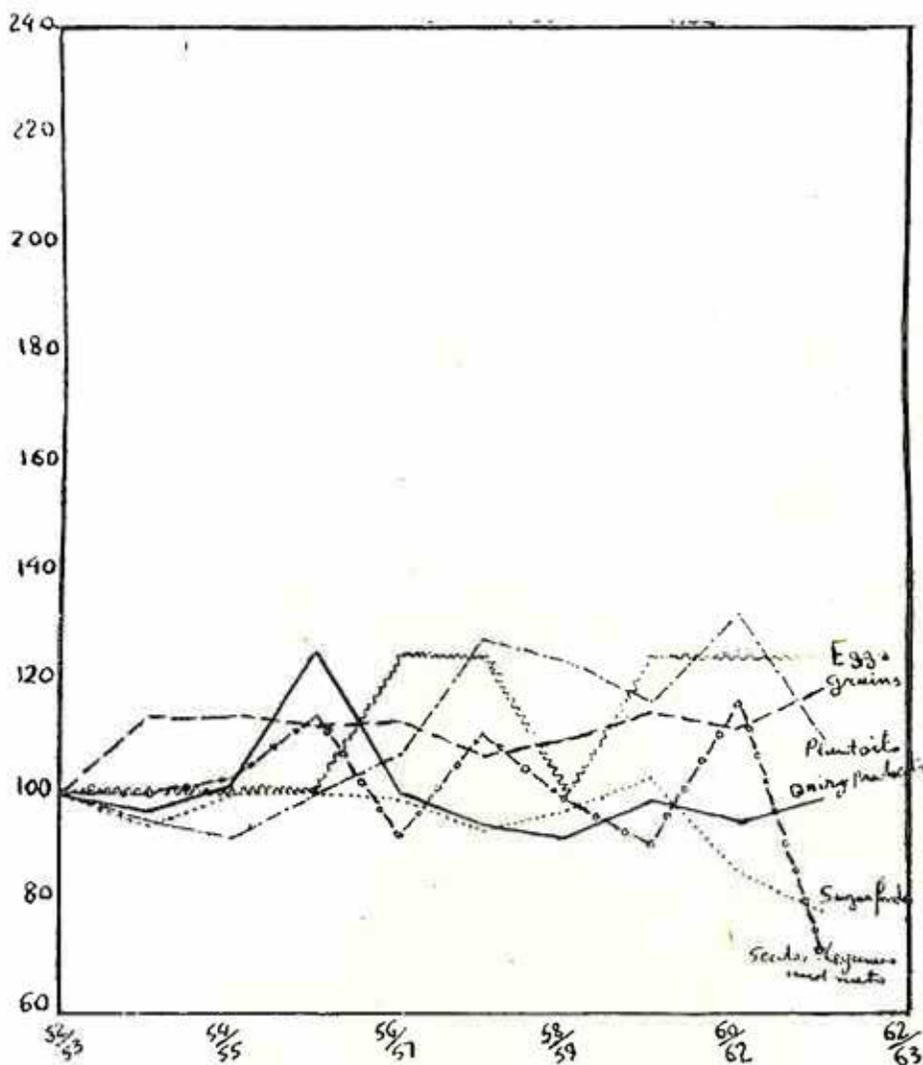
Chart 1 a

Indexes of annual per capita weight consumption
of various agricultural food items
U.A.R. 1952/1953 — 1961/1962



Source : Table 4.

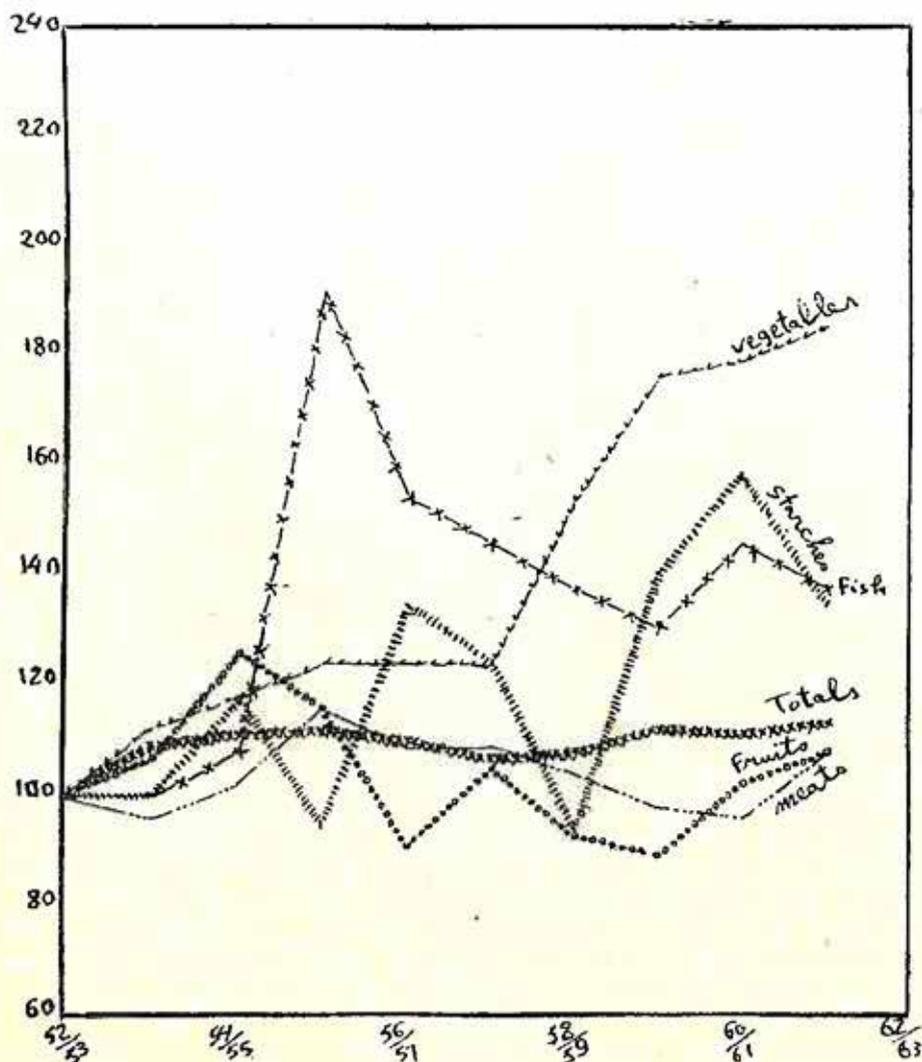
Chart 2 b
 Indexes of daily per capital calorie intakes
 from various agricultural products,
 U.A.R. 1952/1953 — 1961/1962



Source : Table 5.

Chart 2 a

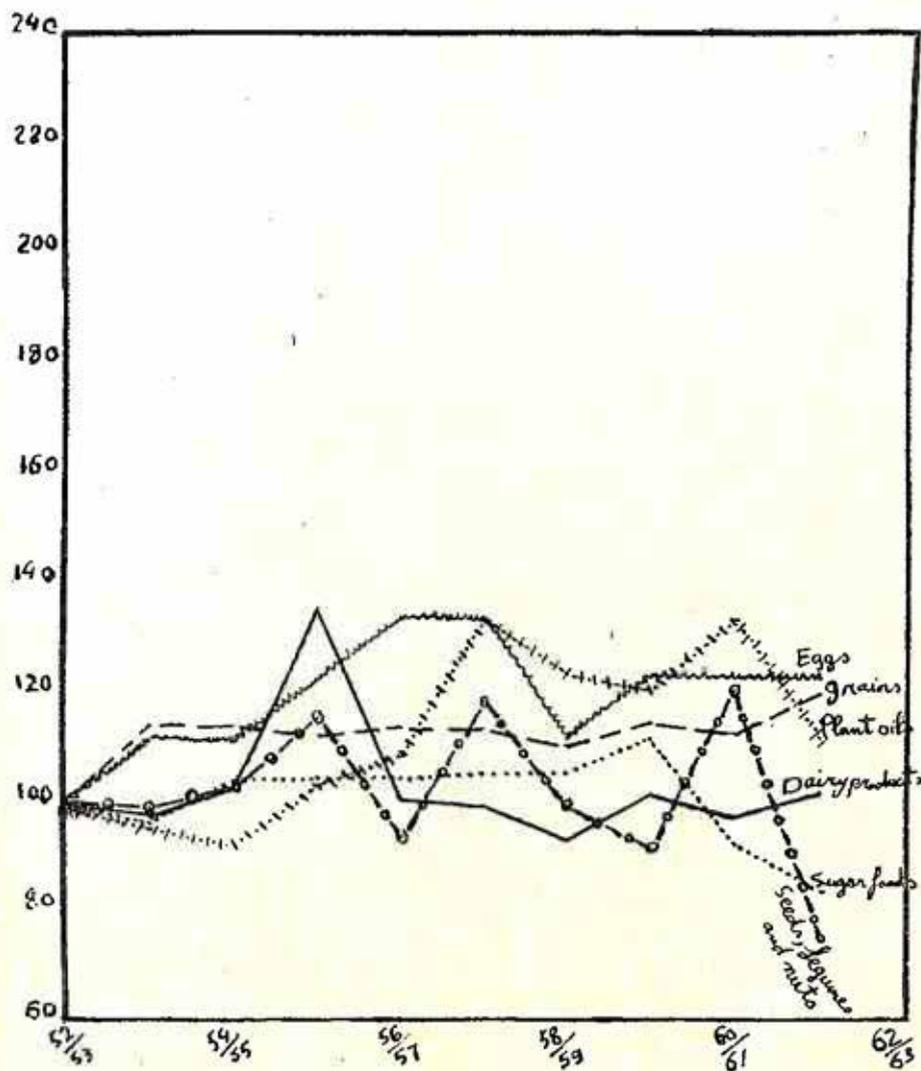
Indexes of daily per capita calorie intakes
from various agricultural products,
U.A.R. 1952/1953 — 1961/1962



Source : Table 5.

Chart 1 b

Indexes of annual per capita weight Consumption
of various agricultural food items
U.A.R. 1952/1953 — 1961/1962



Source : Table 4.



DROIT PUBLIC ET DROIT PRIVE

par

Dr. Ahmed Rifaat KHAFAGUI

INTRODUCTION

1. --- *Le droit public et le droit privé:*

Le droit fait partie des sciences sociales qui ont pour objet l'étude des hommes vivant en société. Il est divisé en droit public et en droit privé.

Cette distinction remonte à Ulpien dans le droit romain. Ulpien déclare: "*Publicum jus est quod ad statum rei romanæ spectat, privatum, quod ad singulorum utilitatem.*" Ceci revient à dire en résumé que le droit public est l'ensemble des règles qui s'appliquent à l'Etat et à ses organes dans leurs rapports entre eux, avec les particuliers et avec les autres Etats, tandis que le droit privé est l'ensemble des règles qui s'appliquent aux rapports des particuliers entre eux. Pour des raisons pratiques et notamment pédagogiques chaque branche de droit a été divisée en un certain nombre de disciplines. Ces subdivisions ne reposent pas, à notre avis, sur des bases vraiment scientifiques.

2. --- *Critère de la distinction:*

Le droit privé ne met en cause que des intérêts privés. Il est le droit des particuliers, de la liberté, de l'autonomie de l'individu, de la souveraineté de sa volonté; il est en principe plus égalitaire; sa technique juridique est fondée sur l'égalité et la liberté.

Le droit public ne met en cause que les intérêts collectifs, c'est-à-dire de l'ensemble des citoyens. Les intérêts de cette sorte ont un caractère public. Il est le droit des organes d'autorité. Il est plus autoritaire, plus inégalitaire.

C'est une considération qui découle d'une distinction philosophique entre la vie privée et la vie publique, entre les activités privées et les activités publiques.

3. --- *Plan:*

Cette distinction a un caractère relatif et parfois arbitraire. c'est-à-dire qu'il existe entre ces deux branches du droit une influence réciproque. Pour faire une étude philosophique de la valeur de cette distinction, je traiterai successivement l'influence du droit public sur le droit privé dans la première partie et dans la deuxième j'examinerai l'autre hypothèse concernant l'influence du droit privé sur le droit public.

I

L'INFLUENCE DU DROIT PUBLIC SUR LE DROIT PRIVE

4. --- *La règle de l'autonomie de la volonté :*

Le droit civil opposait foncièrement au droit public par son esprit. Alors que le droit public est pour les individus un droit impératif, d'autorité, de commandement, le droit privé était fondé sur l'idée de la liberté individuelle, d'où le principe de l'autonomie de la volonté qui est un corrolaire de cette liberté. D'après cette règle, le législateur ne pourrait pas et ne saurait pas aménager les rapports entre les hommes en vue de l'échange des produits et des services. Il appartient aux intéressés de les régler eux-mêmes par leurs volontés. C'est la volonté qui fait la loi dans les rapports juridiques entre les particuliers.

Mais depuis le XXème siècle, quel changement, quel bouleversement !

A l'aménagement libéral des relations privées avait succédé un aménagement toujours plus autoritaire. L'Etat affirme toujours davantage sa volonté, son pouvoir, sa supériorité.

Ainsi, le droit privé a perdu sa primauté et son originalité, son domaine a été envahi par le droit public. Ici encore le droit public avait mis le droit privé en tutelle.

5. --- *Atteinte à la force obligatoire du contrat:*

J'ai remarqué que la doctrine de l'autonomie de la volonté est périmée. Le respect du contrat a aujourd'hui disparu; nous sommes en présence d'un dirigisme contractuel.

On a d'abord essayé d'ignorer la loi du contrat sous l'apparence d'une large interprétation de la volonté des parties.

Le législateur a été ensuite plus hardi. Il a accordé au juge dans certaines conditions le droit de suspendre, de proroger ou de résilier le contrat ou celui d'en changer les conditions. Parfois même il a, de sa propre autorité, modifié les conditions de certains contrats comme les contrats d'adhésion pour la protection de certaines personnes sous l'empire du régime démocratique.

Alors la réglementation légale s'est substituée à la réglementation contractuelle. Il y a un développement de la législation réglementaire dans les relations entre personnes privées.

Il en résulte que toute diminution de la liberté achemine vers le droit public, éloigne du droit privé.

6. — *La notion du contrat imposé:*

Le contrat imposé ou forcé est le résultat de l'intervention de l'autorité publique dans les rapports juridiques privés.

La loi oblige une personne à conclure un contrat comme le contrat d'assurance par exemple.

Il y a plusieurs hypothèses de contrats imposés.

Parfois, une personne, tout en restant libre de s'abstenir, se voit imposer, si elle se décide à contracter, de le faire avec une personne déterminée. Tel est le cas du propriétaire d'un domaine rural qui n'est pas obligé de vendre, mais qui, s'il veut aliéner son domaine, voit son droit limité par le droit de préemption du fermier. Dans une autre hypothèse, il y a une obligation de contracter imposée à une personne même contre son gré. Par exemple l'ordonnance de 1945 relative aux prix en France, ou le décret-loi No. 163 en 1950 relatif aux prix en Egypte qui édicte que le refus de vendre certaines marchandises est assimilé à la pratique du prix illicite (article 37).

En d'autres termes, on peut dire que le contrat imposé est un phénomène du système de l'économie dirigée.

II

L'INFLUENCE DU DROIT PRIVE SUR LE DROIT PUBLIC

7. — *Le droit public est le droit de la prérogative:*

Pourquoi ce dualisme du droit public et du droit privé ? Est-ce parce que l'Etat est une personne souveraine de sorte que le droit

public s'appliquerait à une personne souveraine et le droit privé s'appliquerait à une personne non souveraine. Cette doctrine a un grand crédit en Allemagne.

La séparation absolue des deux droits y existe pour favoriser l'établissement d'une construction juridique de la toute puissance étatique, car elle lui donne une base juridique.

Mais en France et dans tous les pays démocratiques ce dualisme est justifié par l'objet de l'activité de l'Etat qui est de remplir des attributions pour assurer le fonctionnement des services publics.

8. -- *La théorie des obligations en droit public:*

Le droit administratif utilise souvent les théories civilistes, mais en les déformant. Il a utilisé la théorie civile de la propriété en créant la théorie de la domanialité publique.

Il est en de même de la théorie des obligations.

Le droit administratif l'a empruntée au droit civil, mais en lui faisant subir des altérations considérables en vue d'augmenter les moyens d'action de l'administration. Il en est ainsi en matière de responsabilité délictuelle, en matière du contrat, de l'enrichissement sans cause en exigeant la récupération des plus-values procurées par l'exécution des travaux publics.

9. -- *Application des règles civiles dans certains cas:*

Il y a des cas dans lesquels on applique les règles du droit civil. Il en est ainsi, si nous sommes en présence des services publics industriels et commerciaux qui sont comme des simples particuliers. Parfois l'administration utilise les procédés du droit privé dans son activité, et par conséquent elle sera soumise aux règles du droit privé. Comme exemple, l'administration achète des denrées, ou loue un bâtiment sous le régime du droit privé.

CONCLUSION

10. -- *Théorie du Doyen Duguit:*

Duguit dit qu'"en vérité, je ne comprends pas que veut dire que l'esprit qui doit présider à l'étude du droit public n'est pas le

même que celui qui doit inspirer l'étude du droit privé. L'esprit, c'est l'esprit de justice."

Il conclut qu'il n'y a pas de droit public et de droit privé, il n'y a qu'un droit qui doit être étudié avec le même esprit et la même méthode. Ce droit repose sur le même fondement, le même caractère.

Mais le doyen Duguit, malgré cette opinion, a adopté la nécessité du maintien de cette distinction traditionnelle et classique. Il dit que l'Etat, maître de la puissance de contraindre, monopolise la puissance de contrainte. Il ne peut l'exercer directement contre lui-même. Alors la distinction est relative uniquement au mode de sanction du droit. La sanction du droit public et du droit privé ne peut exister dans les mêmes conditions. La réalisation d'une situation de droit public ne peut être obtenue de la même manière que celle d'une situation juridique de droit privé. En cela seulement consiste la différence entre eux.

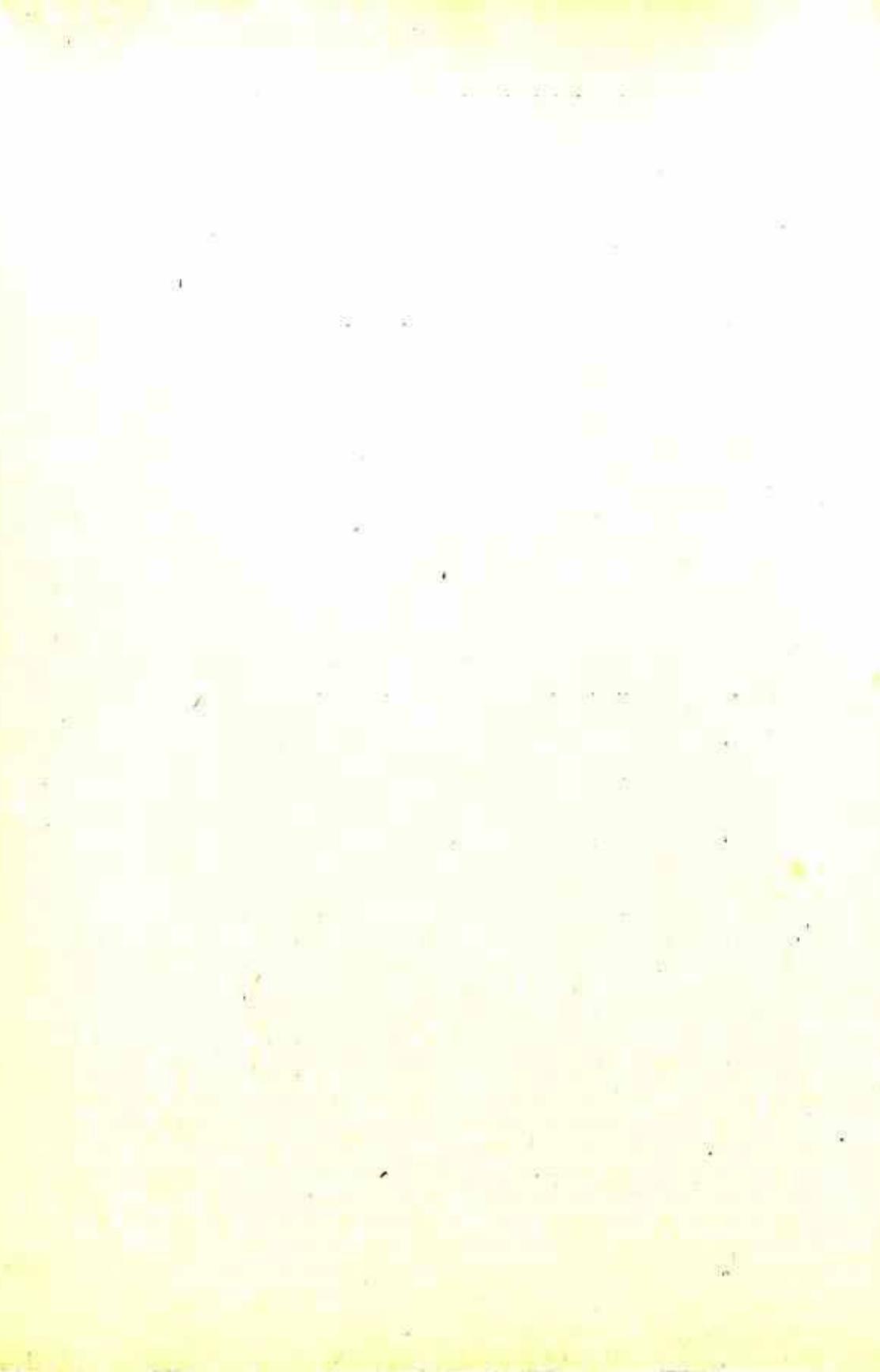
11. --- *Théorie de Kelsen:*

Lui aussi, il repousse toute distinction entre le droit public et le droit privé. C'est une distinction critiquée. On ne peut pas fonder cette distinction sur l'opposition des intérêts généraux et des intérêts privés. On ne peut, en effet, distinguer les règles de droit d'après leur but. Enfin Kelsen nie cette distinction.

12. --- Mais la plupart des auteurs adoptent la conception que les deux branches de droit ont le même esprit général. Mais chacun a ses règles spéciales, ses théories. L'action du législateur dans les deux domaines est un processus de rapprochement, d'unification.

On devrait admettre que toute branche du droit est mixte, en partie privée et en partie publique. En vérité, il n'y a pas de pur droit public et de pur droit privé. Il y a toujours un certain mélange entre eux.

Cela montre que le droit public et le droit privé finissent par se mêler.



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