

management was adopted in Yugoslavia. Accepted under the banner of 'Factories to the Workers' the law ensured the rights of workers in the administration of most industries and business enterprises. By 1956 the self-management system had passed its organisational stage and was firmly established in the economic structure of the country. By 1971 when the Second Congress of Self-Managers was held, self-management had grown to include schools, hospitals, and housing developments. Nearly two-thirds of the total labor-force have been, in the past twenty years, elected to different kinds of self-management organs. This indicates that self-management began to serve as a mechanism for worker involvement in industrial management as well as a system of citizen participation and the foundation of the Yugoslav socio-political system."

Professor Adize's analysis of the pure market economy, pure, centrally-planned economic systems, the regulated market system, the socialist market system and the ideal self-management market systems is an important contribution to the conference. His analysis of the differences between enterprise (he uses the description "enterprise" rather as we would "corporation") and community organisational types of structures results in a valid and useful table of comparisons. Elizabeth Mann Borgese's introduction on "The Promise of Self-Management" draws on her experiences in property

relations reaching their national limits at the shores and shelves of oceans and in the upper atmosphere and outer space. She poses the issues - With the growth of new nations and the identification of coast lines and air space: who does and who should own the resources under oceans and in the air and, moreover, within nations, who should own the oil and coal-beds reaching under cities and states?

Yugoslav theoretical material available in English is voluminous and, of course, the real treasure-house of post World War II socialist writing by Europeans, but the American contributions do add something to what comes forward regularly in English translations from Yugoslavia's Socialist Alliance of Working People, its League of Communists, Confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions and the newsagency Tanjug. It adds up to a real rebuke to the English school of Yugoslav experts, who still rely on the very thin pamphlets of Tony Topham, Fred Singleton, Ken Coates and the Fabian Society; pamphlets which were mainly out of date and inadequate, or just plainly wrong, when produced mainly before 1963.

If you can buy the book it will leave you uncomfortably challenged; if you borrow it, you'll probably try, also, not to return it. It's one of those books, which any serious student of socialism should read. It's a book which is likely to turn the sceptic into a serious investigator of what's new and developing.

- J.S. Baker.

Cities for Sale by Leonie Sandercock, Melbourne University Press, \$14.40.

Cities for Sale is a well-researched and documented account of the failure of town planning in Australia.

Dr. Sandercock's thoughtful thesis poses questions which take town planning beyond the mere technique of guiding land use, and examines its historical growth under the influence of prevailing social, political and economic forces. She readily identifies the private sector's initiatives for development as the only ones to be considered valid and hence to receive the backing of state services in opposition to the principle of public participation; and the growth ideology versus conservation. Town planning thus becomes an essentially negative part of legitimising the development process.

Pronounced support for reform lacking, the conservative forces, using the usual tricks of land shortage, spurious advertising and speculation, have been able to have plans accepted as a fait accompli. Some juicy examples - Westernport, the Victorian Housing Commission and the Melbourne Underground railway - are classics of their blatant kind. Meantime, it was a device to allow the continuing transfer of the benefits of the wealthy at the expense of the poor.

The more fundamental questions she finds less clear; whether a marxist model provides a comprehensive explanation of the structure of Australian society; whether public involvement (and hence public support) versus more expert guidance would ensure a fairer redistribution of the benefits for human welfare from town planning, or would they still tend to serve middle class or elitist ends; and whether capitalism can be civilised.

The history of town planning is split into two clear parts, 1900-1945, and since World War II. The change which heralds the second is also fundamental. It is the period in which planning has been lifted to a national priority along with economics and resources regions, and considerations of population growth. Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney are the cities whose developments in town planning are detailed.

In the early part, tribute is paid to the pioneers who saw the need and pressed for town planning reform which sprang from the appalling slums much as did the English town planning movements. Few saw it necessary to examine the social and political reasons for poverty. The early proposals were a pale imported version which used the additional recreational and health facilities of a garden city for background. They had no desire to change the

order; merely to make it tidier, healthier or more convenient.

During the war, the Department of Post-war Reconstruction set about producing a blueprint for a better world when the fighting ended. A great deal of discussion centred on full employment planning, decentralisation, Commonwealth-State Housing Agreements. The conservative forces claimed that while it was necessary in war time, they would fight the forces of reform when peace returned. The banks, the High Court, the oil companies, the medical profession and state upper houses resisted, wherever possible, those parts of Labor's reconstruction program.

"The re-distributive approach to city planning required changes in the system of property rights and ownership, regional and participatory planning required redistribution of power as well as resources."

All that was left when Menzies came to power was the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement. In the opinion of Dr. Sandercock, the Housing Agreement produced more equity for the poor than any act before or since.

Yes, town planning Acts have been introduced into three cities since the war. What did they achieve? That can be gauged from a contemporary planner's remark: "A development plan must be based on what can or cannot be done in the prevailing economic, social and political situation. Planners themselves, while not often espousing social values, have attempted to regulate thorough zoning and subdivision control of the worst abuses of a free market and its consequences for urban growth".

Dr. Sandercock states: "This failure of political support stems from the politics of a property-owning democracy. The structure of political power has been and is such to protect property owners and pamper rural interests; both lower and upper houses at the direction of both powerful business and property and rural property, city councils with vested interest in protecting existing property and privileges in real estate and development, local councils in private development because of the interest in ratable value."

The return of the Labor government to political power in 1972, and the creation of the Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD) meant a

return also to the redistributive process of correcting the inequities and lack of resources which characterise the western suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne. It meant sums of money to tackle sewerage, and land for growth centres. It tried desperately to devise, through the Else-Mitchell Report, the establishment in each state of a commission to acquire and develop land, to prevent land speculation in the growth areas on the metropolitan and country fringes. But the machinations of the hostile Senate, implacable opposition from State Ministers, and the joint power of property owners working on the Liberal Party and their media connections, frustrated these objectives. The public either didn't understand, or misinterpreted, what the changes were attempting to do.

The author also feels that part of the failure is due to the fact that the public became attracted to giant office buildings on the city skyline, the freeways as an extension of the car; the consumer ethic and the bright package ethos of the supermarket which saturates the media waves without any countervailing influence.

"Reformers and large corporations do not compete on equal terms."

In an industry like the automobile industry where both bosses and workers want to sell more cars, we obviously still have a long way to go.

While Dr. Sandercock's summary minimises the hope for radical solutions, she believes that the left can demonstrate that the passive days are over by putting its energy behind practical reforms to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor - in playgrounds, better public transport, better libraries, more attractive areas, swimming pools and so on.

"We need to project, more than ever, a worked-out conception of the good society - that is, an ideological stand - if we are to discuss policies intelligently."

As a student of town planning, I believe the book will be required reading and a standard text wherever urban problems are discussed for many years to come.

- Howard Hodgens.

(Howard Hodgens is an architect/town planner working in Melbourne.)

Late Capitalism. Ernest Mandel, *New Left Books*, 1975, pp. 599. \$27.80.

"One of the central purposes of this book", Mandel writes, "is to provide a Marxist explanation of the causes of the long post-war wave of rapid growth in the international capitalist economy, which took both non-Marxist and Marxist economists by

surprise; and at the same time to establish the inherent limits of this period, which ensured that it would be followed by another wave of increasing social and economic crisis for world capitalism, characterised by a far lower rate of overall growth." To achieve this formidable aim the author criticises, refines and accounts for the notion of the Kondratieff wave, convincingly providing it for the first time with Marxist legitimacy. It will be here