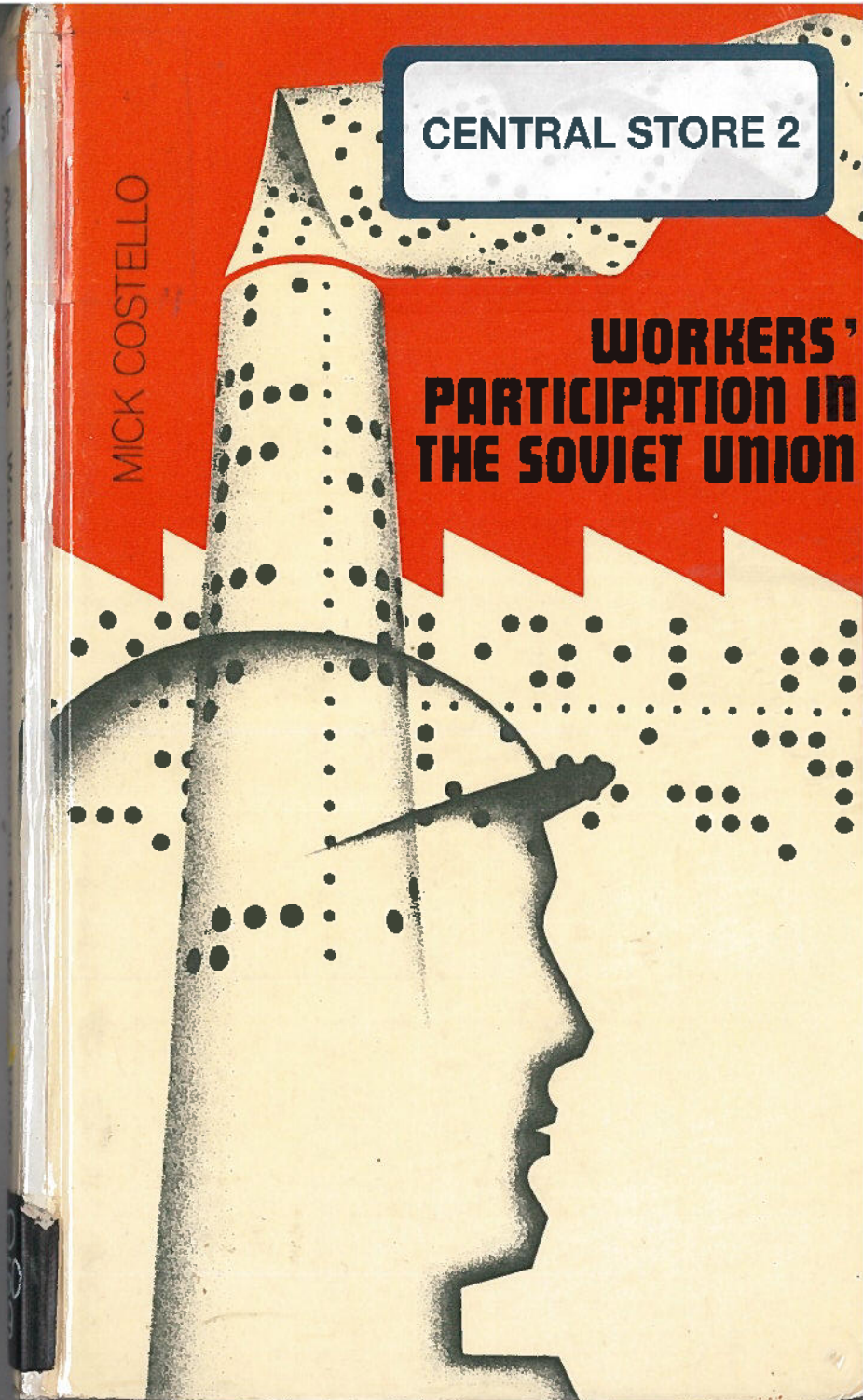


CENTRAL STORE 2

MICK COSTELLO

**WORKERS'
PARTICIPATION IN
THE SOVIET UNION**



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PART ONE

1. Introduction

Trade unions in the Soviet Union exist to promote the interests of their members, to improve their working and living conditions. Increasingly they involve workers in the management of production and link better working output with improved housing and communal facilities outside the workplace.

They consciously stimulate the development of the country's economy, involving workers on a massive scale in "socialist emulation"—the drive to improve production and work methods through application at plant, local and national levels of the most advanced skills and techniques.

The biggest organisations of the working class, while not being state institutions, they nonetheless draw the largest number of people into the administration of public and state affairs.

In the specific conditions of the Soviet Union, where the means of production, distribution and exchange are publicly owned, Lenin, the first head of the Soviet state, formulated the unions' role of involving workers in their millions in controlling their working environment through direct workers' participation in administration as making the unions "schools for communism." This phrase has often been the subject of distortion by those who have either not been able to appreciate the specific conditions in which unions function in a socialist society, or have been unwilling to present a true picture.

Lenin spelt out the role of trade unions in the USSR as "...an organisation designed to draw in and to train; it is in fact a school; a school for administration, a school for economic management, a school for communism."

This aspect of the Soviet trade unions' functions became the prevalent view only after challenges to it were defeated following a nationwide debate and the 1921 congress of the Bolshevik (Communist) Party. The other principal views were that trade unions should simply be state bodies administering state policies at the workplace; some opponents would have ascribed to trade unions under a socialist government virtually the total

administration of industry, as opposed to state-appointed one-man management; and a third view was that the unions should confine themselves to defending the narrow interests of workers as wage-earners, having nothing to do with the management of production.

Lenin's views won through and they apply today. The trade unions, while directly defending the interests of their members, campaign to raise production, improve social consciousness and change workers' outlooks, as active participants in building a communist system of society. It is in this sense that they are seen as "schools for communism," and "communism" in this context means involving all people in the direct administration, through representative bodies, of all affairs which affect them directly and indirectly.

"Communism" is also the aim of Soviet society as a whole, the goal where the material needs of working people will be supplied by highly-productive industry and agriculture and the planned development of all aspects of society is at such a level that one can speak about man truly controlling his environment.

Thus, trade unions teach communism at the point of production and in fields related to it; *Soviets* (councils of local and central legislation and government) teach communism in the fields they cover; the education system teaches communism where it has its function, and so on, in all spheres of life and human activity, under the na-

tionally guiding role of the Communist Party.

Lenin's concept of different roles for different bodies in socialist society rejects both the Trotskyist and "anarcho-syndicalist" approaches which, each in its own way, does not recognise the existence of essentially specific functions of a trade union distinct from those of the state in socialist society. Clearly, workers' participation in the management of production, "workers' participation," is intrinsic to Lenin's teaching. This book is intended as an introduction to the theory and practice of this participation in the USSR, based on Soviet sources and on the author's personal observations in the USSR. It also relates to the current debates in Britain about the possibility of workers' control while the capitalists still directly own 80 per cent of industry and, indirectly, control the remaining 20 per cent through their state apparatus.

After background introductory material, the book gives the main aspects of workers' participation in the administration of production and the related living conditions of a Soviet worker, and then gives an illustration by citing a typical collective agreement from a Soviet enterprise.

* * *

Nothing in this book could have been written without the assistance given to me during my recent visits to the Soviet Union. The first was in mid-1972, organised by the Soviet "TUC" (the

All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, AUCCTU). * This visit took in 14,000 miles, covering eight towns and cities outside Moscow. Speaking Russian, I was able to have direct discussions with Soviet TUC leaders at national, local and plant levels, with trades council members, representatives of factory management as well as rank and file workers. The visit included iron and steel and aluminium works, two engineering plants, a large port, a pit, a paper mill, power stations and, for good measure, a wine-bottling establishment. I was also able to visit an industrial health research centre, palaces of culture (that is, factory of locally-based all-interest cultural, sports and study centres run by the unions), youth pioneer camps and factory health resorts, prophylactoria (24-hour dispensaries) and a seamen's club.

In 1975 I went on a three-week visit at the invitation of the Novosti Press Agency (APN), and was able to meet people in several republics in the winter. The visit took in Zaporozhye (the Ukraine), Tashkent and Samarkand (Uzbekistan), Baku (Azerbaijan) and Ulan Ude (Buriat-Mongolian Republic). Establishments visited included two car works, a textile mill, cellulose and cement works, a fish-breeding establishment, a steel works, a water-purification plant, an oil-field, and an oil refinery. As well as seeing cul-

* For the convenience of British readers we shall use the letters "TUC" to describe this body.

tural facilities I spent evenings in workers' houses engrossed in discussion of wages and conditions.

Literally hundreds of people at all places I stopped at did everything possible to assist my fact-finding, in searching for what the Russians refer to colloquially as being so close to one's person as to be found only under one's fingernails. It is impossible to mention all names, but a special word of thanks must go to Yevgenii Arapov and Vladimir Kirillov, who accompanied me on the first visit, on whose endurance and knowledge I often depended, and whose patience I certainly frequently abused.

In writing this book I was helped by Edgar Cheporov, the Novosti Press Agency correspondent in London, who did much to arrange my second visit and third and who dug out statistics and publications I needed.

After my return from the tours the *Morning Star* carried two four instalment series of my articles (July 27, Aug 1, 4 and 8, 1972; Mar 14, 20, 27 and Apr 3, 1975).

2. Relevance to Britain

Workers striving in a capitalist society to improve their standards of living and their working conditions have always come into conflict with the powers of management.

In a class-divided society, where the means of production, distribution and exchange are owned by individuals whose only purpose in investing is to extract profit, management means management for the benefit of those individuals. In such a society, as in Britain today, the workers' struggle for a say in management has meant, in fact, challenging, at one level or another, the very objective which private ownership of industry entails, whether the workers realise this or not.

The earliest trade-union organisation had as its only aim to maintain the price workers could force their employers to pay for their labour power. It restricted the employers' powers to hire and fire, as the bosses' freedom to hire anyone at the "free market" price was limited. In many industries today unions either control the actual intake of labour (as in the national newspaper industry), or have won mutuality (the right to an equal say with management) as in the ports industry, for example. With the ever increasing complexity of modern industry and the raised expectations which workers have derived from a lengthy post-war period of full employment and greater organised strength, new steps to limit managerial freedom of action have been taken by the unions. Thus, it is not unusual today to have agreements between unions and employers on a whole host of matters which were once unilaterally decided by employers. These include agreements on manning levels, the speed of the line in assembly shops,

the volume of expected output in a given time, the number of hours of overtime to be worked, and many similar points.

The whole debate and fight within the engineering industry over drafting a new national dispute procedure (from December 1971 to February 1976) hinged on differences between employers and unions and, indeed, among the employers also, on the famous "status quo" clauses. The unions have insisted that virtually no new contested work practices should be introduced by management without the matter first going through the dispute procedure. The principle underlying the demand for status quo clauses is that all management decisions which are displeasing to the workers are subject to challenge as a matter of workers' right, and shall not be implemented before an agreed dispute procedure has been exhausted. Only after that can management try to introduce them and they are then open to the sanction of industrial action if the workforce does not accept management's arguments (or offers in terms of cash, shorter hours, etc.) to justify the change. By 1976 the unions won on this.

But now new demands are being posed by working-class organisations, of a very different character from the kind referred to above. The demands so far mentioned are of a defensive character. They are reactions to management initiative. Some workers' leaders are now seeking more

than just a say about management plans at the point of production, more than just the power to react to management intentions which have long been drawn up and are about to be implemented at the shop-floor level. They often express this in demands for seats on the boards of management and a voice in the initial stages of planning, including a say in how companies should spend their investment capital. The broad implications of such demands are clear to the bosses, who are resisting a real direct "say at the top" for the unions.

The only real form for workers to "have their say at the top" is through public ownership, and workers' participation in running the enterprise. But the employers are putting forward proposals which would ensnare the workers in taking part in "judging how best to exploit themselves" under capitalism, by suggesting that a number of workers' representatives should sit on the management boards of private companies. They would perpetuate the myth, so popular among ruling-class ideologists and those of Right-wing Labour, that it is management and *not* ownership that matters. They would create an atmosphere of collaboration between working and owning classes with the only result of giving the system of private ownership an added lease of life. All manner of phrases are used to cover these collaborationist proposals, from an acceptance of the existence of some undefined "national interest"

to talk of creating a permanent "social contract." Their proposals for a workers' say in management (but not ownership) would leave entirely in the hands of the owners, the ruling class, the ultimate decision in all matters.

A whole number of trade-union leaders have fallen for this employers' snare, including the majority leaders of the British TUC general council. Their views are most clearly set out in a book entitled *Labour, the Unions and the Party*, published late in 1973 and written by Bill Simpson, the then chairman of the Labour Party, and general secretary of the Foundry Section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, now a state employee in charge of industrial safety.

The employers' resistance to real workers' control can sometimes take the form of giving away something that is not essential, in order to retain real control. So it has been for over a decade with the British steel industry, in the British Steel Corporation, its nationalised sector. The steel industry has a long history of close collaboration between leaders of unions who believe that working hand in glove with management is the way to promote the interests of their members, and management, on the other hand, which has benefited from this in the form of relative industrial peace in the industry. In the BSC there are what have come to be known as "worker directors." They are talked about as representa-

tives of the workers—the last thing they are. The worker directors of the BSC are simply workers recruited to management with the assistance of the unions. They have no powers to represent the shop floor. There is no reason to doubt that they are as efficient managers as any of the ex-owners of the industry and the superannuated military gentlemen who sit beside them on the board.

Now the TUC, with increasing backing from individual trade unions, has put forward a policy, in line with policies put forward by the Common Market Commission (through the Government) for union-based co-operation on a system of boards of management which would have a say in determining investment plans and rationalisation—not unimportant matters for the unions. And the debate rages on whether this is a way of limiting the powers of the bosses, or whether this is a way of dragging the unions into the management of the exploitation of their own members and away from the socialist demands for complete nationalisation.

The importance of unions gaining forward information on company plans is highly rated by the unions. Indeed, one of the grains of sugar on the pill of the Tory Industrial Relations Act was the (unfulfilled) promise that the Act would also give unions company information. Clearly, in these days of the scientific and technological revolution, of the giant conglomerate company

and the multinational firm, information is a weapon in the class war.

It is the demand for representation rights at all levels for the trade unions which has come to be called "workers' participation" or even "industrial democracy" in Britain. Workers' control is not seen as a halfway house to socialism because ownership of the means of production is not challenged by it, although some of its advocates are not very precise on this matter (see, for instance, *Workers' Control*, by Ernie Roberts, London, 1973). It is an attempt to allow the unions to deal with some of the problems raised by the increasing complexity of conducting the worker-employer battle in a country with an advanced capitalist industry. However, the very idea of workers' representatives having a say in all aspects of management, and being answerable to their fellow-workers does indirectly raise the whole question of ownership of the means of production while bringing with it the danger of divorcing, in the minds of workers, the functions of management and ownership. In any discussion of worker participation in management, a clear and concise distinction must be drawn between its operation and purpose under capitalism and under the public ownership system of socialism. In the first it carries with it grave dangers. Worker representatives on boards, even union representatives under a system of answerability for their actions to their mem-

bers, can be separated from the workers they are to represent; inter-company rivalry imposes confidentiality; worker representatives in possession of information they feel they cannot impart to their constituents can be more of a menace than a boon. In all this the question is raised of whether there is anything to be gained by workers sending their representatives to the boards where they must play the game according to the rules of capitalism however much they might try to soften the impact of closures and trade wars on the workforce. Absorption of the trade unions into private company boardroom activities could be politically corrupting.

* * *

In this volume we shall be concerned with the very different conditions in a socialist society where the workers have the real opportunity to control their environment. The basic antagonism between trade unionist and employer which is found under capitalism no longer exists. In a socialist country there are no individual or company owners of enterprises. They are jointly owned by the workers, the management and the government. But while the basic antagonism disappears, distinctions do exist between social groups which have a different place in the production process, different pri-

mary roles in industry. The trade unions retain a role as defenders of the interests of workers and employees.

To prevent conflicts, for instance, between the state-appointed manager of an industrial enterprise and the workers employed in it from reaching strike proportions (or the threat of a strike) Soviet industry has a framework of legal procedures for settling disputes.

In essence this works as follows. An aggrieved worker first raises the matter with his immediate superior. If he is dissatisfied with the outcome, he asks for adjudication by the establishment's disputes commission, which is composed of equal numbers of representatives of the union and of the administration. If he is again dissatisfied with this parity commission's ruling, the matter goes to a higher commission, which is *entirely composed of union representatives*. Beyond that he can appeal to the local court—and there the matter ends. The administration can similarly pursue the matter through the same channels.

I was assured in all places I visited that the number of conflicts which go through the procedure is tiny and declining as a result of the better operation of day-to-day mutuality between union and administration.

This is not to say that the process is always a smooth one. There are instances of management abuse of powers reported in the Soviet

press. On union recommendations (made at district level) individual managers have been sacked for this. Local union leaders have on occasion also been shown to be weak in fully using the rights they have under the law to protect the interests of their members. It is a fact that the ever-extending powers accorded to unions and their members are not always fully utilised. On my visits national trade-union leaders were at pains to point out that the rights of the unions change and develop as society itself develops, and a constant campaign is waged to explain to workers and local union leaders what their new powers are, with insistence that they use them.

When a union decides, at district level, that the administration has violated a collective agreement laying down the conditions of employment in an industrial enterprise* it has the power to declare the agreement null and void.

As socialism becomes more and more advanced in the Soviet Union, so the interests of the different groups in society come closer together and the possibilities for conflict become fewer.

It might be mentioned here that collective agreements, which are concluded annually at workplaces between union and management, are one of the means through which the Soviet worker takes conscious part in the management of production. They are designed to modernise produc-

* See Appendix I.

tion, develop the conditions of work at an enterprise, improve the enterprise's performance and increase the wages and other material benefits of those employed there.

3. Background

In the course of the relatively short period of history since the Russian working class, under the leadership of the Bolshevik (Communist) Party, broke the power of capitalism in the old Russian Empire, only 60 years ago, many forms of "workers' democracy" have been tried in the Soviet Union. These broadly corresponded to the different levels reached in building an industrial society on socialist lines on the basis of the tsarist legacy of backwardness, and now, to constructing the foundations for a communist society, a society of plenty.

While allowing for a certain amount of experimentation at every stage, the essential point to bear in mind about each stage is that the forms of democracy were intended to correspond with the level of industrial and political advance. At all stages the policy of the Soviet state was one of improving the conditions of living of the working people. At each stage, the state planned for the maximum workers' involvement corres-

ponding to the level of development achieved.

In this sense the forms of democracy were designed to meet the demands of circumstances which arose within the planned organisation of society. At all stages economic considerations went hand in hand with political ones, modified and affected by the availability of trained personnel and the quality of leadership at all levels.

Among the general "stages" which Soviet society's industrial organisation has gone through are the following.

a) The first eight post-revolutionary months in 1917-1918, when the state nationalised a small number of industries and factories which were of national importance or where the old management was engaged in sabotaging production, or where the owners had fled the country.

During this period there was also a considerable amount of plant takeover by local Soviet or workplace organisations. The Communist Party at the time placed great emphasis on having workers' control of a kind similar, but more advanced, to that being advocated today in Britain—giving the workers' enterprise committee rights to be consulted on buying and selling by the enterprise, setting the output programme and deciding on selling prices. The company books were opened to the workers and the employer was made accountable for his actions to the employees. But the employer retained the powers of actually running the enterprise.

b) After mid-1918 total state control became imperative, with the outbreak of civil war. Industry was nationalised wholesale. Individual state-appointed management was introduced, responsible to the state economic bodies which appointed them. State management became general throughout the Soviet Union by 1920. The state took over the financing of enterprises and became the receiver of their product through an industry-wide central apparatus.

In the civil war conditions, when everything had to be subordinated to defence of the republic, trade unions carried the burden of organising and mobilising workers for productive efforts. Industrial democracy was limited and the trade-union movement almost lost any independence.

Military discipline had been forced on Soviet society by the immense difficulties of the period. However, it helped the workers' and peasants' state to survive.

c) From 1921 till 1927, a controlled market economy, the New Economic Policy, was introduced, to give the country "a breather," to pull it out of the disastrous conditions brought about by the civil war and foreign intervention. The organisation of production on a war footing was ended and once again private enterprises outside the nationalised basic industries, transport, the bank system and wholesale trade were permitted. It introduced a large private sector in small manufacturing, in retail trade and throughout

agriculture. Lenin, in introducing the NEP, successfully argued for a system of *khozraschot* (efficiency accounting) whereby state industrial undertakings were judged by their profitability and efficiency. They traded directly with customers and suppliers. The introduction of NEP caused a lot of heart-searching among many members of Soviet society at the time, people who had unrealistically hoped for a more rapid transformation of the economy into one where competition and profit would not have to play a great part, who had thought that the regimentation of the economy was inherent to socialism and even communism.

Perhaps at this stage it would be correct to point out that profitability under socialism and under capitalism have quite different meanings and functions. What determines this is that any profit made by an enterprise under the system of public ownership goes back to society through direct distribution of a proportion to the workers responsible for producing it, and to the community as a whole through the state. There is no profit going to private shareholders and thus away from the producers, as public ownership has put an end to such a possibility.

As for trade unions in those years, they gained a distinctive role. Unions worked in close association with the state in carrying out production, while having special responsibility for protecting the rights and conditions of their members.

Although the state representatives (managers) had sole responsibility for the management of nationalised enterprises, the unions had to be consulted on managerial appointments and be invited to put forward their own candidates for management posts. They were represented from the outset on the highest state institutions such as Gosplan (the State Planning Commission established in 1921), the Supreme Economic Council (VSNH), the Council of Labour and Defence (STO) and the Department for Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate (Rabkrin). The unions themselves were organised on the basis of the main branches of industry—there being 23 in all.

d) In 1925 rapid industrialisation was decided upon by the state and party. A preliminary Five Year Plan to this end was published in 1927, and collectivisation of agriculture was set as a main objective for the following few years.

In 1929 the plan went into operation. Heavy industry was firmly established on a publicly-owned basis, and in the unprecedented period of four and a quarter years the first Five Year Plan industrial targets were reached. In all industrial establishments managers were responsible for the fulfilment of plans. The state, through its industrial ministries, acted as supplier of raw materials and as receiver of the products of the enterprises. Individual establishments were responsible for one link only in the overall production process. The central planning authorities decided for the enter-

prises the production figures and the type of production of virtually every detail, down to the last accountable nut and bolt. Such a system of absolute control of all steps in industry did involve the most rational use of the scarce materials which were initially available according to rigidly enforced national priorities. Under it the Soviet Union built its industry at a pace never before witnessed in any country, and conclusively proved the value of national planning when all resources are nationally owned and controlled.

During the first plan and subsequent ones the unions increased their role in stimulating production and work discipline, and came to give increasing attention to mobilisation of the mass of workers in achieving the plan targets. In the process they gradually shed something of the emphasis on "traditional" trade unionism—that of giving precedence to "defensive" functions. This was particularly strongly noted by the Central Council of the Trade Unions in its report to the Ninth Congress of Trade Unions in 1932. By this time virtually all industry was publicly owned. Increasing emphasis came to be laid on "socialist competition (emulation)" between different sections of workers, on setting higher standards of work to raise productivity, on training for higher skills. The unions fought to cut wastage, all the time striving to involve the masses of workers in the construction of socialism.

In those intensive years of industrialisation the

trade unions conducted national drives for efficient production, training millions of people who were first-generation workers, who had joined industries from peasant backgrounds. Their mass meetings discussed production questions and they assisted in ironing out problems in the process of mammoth industrialisation.

On my tours of the Soviet Union I had the chance to visit some of the "first-born" (as they are known there by the workers) of the industrialisation drive. These included, in Zaporozhye (the Ukraine) the Dneproges hydroelectric station, the Zaporozhstal steel complex and the Zaporozhets motor works, which once produced the first Soviet-made mechanical agricultural equipment; the Tashkent (Central Asia) textile complex and, in the Far East, in Ulan Ude, the site of what used to be known as "The Giant of Buriatia"—the huge locomotive works. At all of them the workers still display a pride in working at establishments where industrialisation began and where the unions played an enormous part in mobilising workers.

Since 1933 trade unions have been the main administrators of the social insurance system—an important industrial democracy factor.

In 1936 big changes were made in trade-union structures—reducing the numbers of full-time officials, increasing the number of unions to 112, according to major branches of industry, in endeavours to bring their structures more into line

with the new pattern of industry, to allow them to pay increased attention to cultural work and to improve housing and other conditions through the involvement of ever greater numbers of voluntary workers.

In 1940, faced with the danger of war, the Soviet Union again put the organisation of labour on a virtual military footing, with the agreement of the central council of trade unions. It became an offence in law for a worker either to leave his employment without management permission or to be guilty of persistent absenteeism; centralised training and placement of skilled labour was introduced.

e) When the Second World War ended new five year plans of reconstruction and further development of the Soviet economy came into force. After the war, as reconstruction proceeded, the emergency and temporary measures were gradually relaxed. In 1956 the law preventing workers changing their place of work at will was repealed.

From the early '50s many experiments were made in the running of industry as it became more complex and the variety of goods grew. Variants of the centralised system were tried in order to make it more responsive to the demands placed on it by new conditions created by the planned economy. Ministries were broken up and then reformed.

By this time the scientific and technological re-

volution swept the world. This period saw the first excursions of "Sputniks" into space—proof of the Soviet strides in science backed up by industrial progress.

Further development of industry in the USSR required stimulation within the planned economy of greater local initiative on the part of workers and management alike. It became increasingly difficult for state planning bodies to be able to calculate the increased variety of necessary products; a new situation which came with the higher standard of living of the people allowing for increased consumer demands for variety and choice. More active workers' participation became urgent. Only workers themselves could help the central planning authorities in finding out optimum production figures and type of production for the many different enterprises.

The trends which then became manifest, of increasing initiative being taken locally to overcome shortcomings in the centralised system, led to a radical change in industrial management which began in 1965. This was not a turn-away from planning or a move towards unco-ordinated or competitive local initiative, but decentralisation of administration of detail within the national planning system. This is still continuing today.

This change in management and the running of local industrial enterprises is known as the New Economic System, or, to give it its full official

name, The New System of Planning and Economic Stimulation of Production.

* * *

The Soviet Communist Party, trade-union leadership and, increasingly, the mass of ordinary trade-union members, are aware of the fact that none of the major objectives for economic expansion within the planned system can be attained without increasing participation by the working people in the management of the economy, and this on a massive scale. Since the first years of Soviet power this mass involvement has been a constant objective and is increasingly being achieved.

This is all the more true in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, where more rapid decision-making is essential and where flexibility must be the order of the day. In March 1975 the flexibility of the plan was explained to me by Professor Alexander Berman, an ardent advocate of the economic reforms, as follows: "It must be possible to adjust a ten-year plan within two days to a new situation. Scientific processes do not wait and new inventions are being made all the time."

Lenin once stressed the importance of mass participation, this condition for truly popular rule under which, as it were, every housewife should know how to take part in administering the country.

The mass organisations of the Soviet trade unions today play a large part in mobilising rank-and-file workers to join in management. In the report of the Communist Party's Central Committee to its 25th Congress in 1976 this point is stressed:

"The work of the trade unions directly furthers the exercise of democracy in production, the basic sphere in which man's creative efforts are applied.

"The trade unions have the task above all of protecting the rights and interests of the working people, and actively dealing with everyday social questions. But they would be unable to do much in this sphere if production did not develop, and if labour discipline and labour productivity did not rise. It is precisely because our trade unions are dedicated to the working man's interests that their duty is to show concern for boosting production."

Ivan Vladychenko, a Soviet TUC secretary has pointed out:

"The working people's participation in running society is carried out not only through state agencies but also through a ramified network of mass organisations of the working people, the trade unions, above all." *

Vasili Dzhelomanov, another trade unionist, put it as follows:

* *Soviet Trade Unions Ensure Workers' Participation in Socialist Production Management*, APN Publishing House, Moscow, 1972, p. 9.

"The participation of the masses in the management of industry and public affairs in a socialist state is an objective requirement and law for the successful development of a new society free from exploitation, antagonistic contradictions between different social strata of society, or between the state and individual members of society." *

And I. S. Dvornikov's 1971 *Trade Unionist's Handbook* states:

"One of the most important tasks of the trade unions is to involve the broad masses of working people in carrying out social functions." **

The 1975 edition, compiled by V. Z. Shchegelsky, expands this as follows:

"One of the main specifics of Soviet trade unions is that they take a direct and active part in the development of the whole of society, in raising production, increasing its efficiency, in the management of the economy." ***

4. The Unions

The Soviet trade unions are massive organisations uniting over 107 million members, or about 98 per cent of the workforce, in 25 industrial

* *USSR: Working People in Production Management*, APN, Moscow, n.d., p. 5.

** *Spravochnik Profsoyuznogo Rabotnika*, Moscow, 1971, p. 3.

*** *Ibid.*, 1975, p. 3.

unions. All workers, clerical, maintenance, production and administrative, in a given enterprise belong to the same union.

In this account of workers' participation it will be seen that the principle of mutuality in decision-making between unions and management is very widely applied.

Reinforcing the role of the trade unions, and demonstrating their role peculiar to a socialist society in the Soviet Union is their direct power to intervene in the legislative machinery of the state. The trade unions thus have powers to draft Bills for consideration by the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) and to take part in the work of the Parliamentary committees which process the Bills.

All trade-union bodies are elective; all posts which carry with them policy-making responsibilities are elective. All decisions are taken by simple majority vote and the decisions taken by higher bodies are binding on all those lower down.

The unions are united in the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), the nearest equivalent to the TUC in Britain. At local level the Council's bodies, the equivalent of trades councils, are the senior trade-union bodies. The wages of all trade union officials are paid by the unions. Union rules are decided by the membership in congress.

Trade union organisation at local level is in branches based on enterprises. These are further broken down into "groups" led by "group organi-

sers," the equivalent of British shop stewards. Thus, in the Odessa Port there are about 6,500 workers including 2,000 actual dockers. The rest are sailors based in Odessa, maintenance and office staff, etc. The whole labour force elects a port committee for two years (35 people), which elects an inner committee of 11 to 13 members, including a full-time staff of chairman, vice-chairman and one other. There are 25 local committees and 288 groups, each with its steward.

The Rules of the Trade Unions of the USSR * state, in the very first paragraph, the essential background to trade unionism in the Soviet Union, where the unions are operating in a socialist society:

"The rule of public ownership has become firmly established over the means of production, the exploitation of man by man ** has been forever abolished, unemployment has been eliminated..." In these circumstances, the Rules add:

"The trade unions of the USSR carry out their activity in close association and co-ordination with state organs, various public organisations,

* Adopted by the 10th congress of the Soviet trade unions in 1949, with amendments at the 11th-15th congresses (1954-72).

** Exploitation in the Marxist sense, meaning the appropriation of part of the product of a person's labour by someone else—the employer. This is what is commonly referred to as profit. Note the distinction between this definition and the common use of the word to mean what is regarded by the speaker as "unfair exploitation" or "over-exploitation."

unions and societies of the working people."*

The economy as a whole is planned on the basis of information which goes from the enterprises (on capacity, potential, etc.) to the state planning authorities. Within the plan no enterprise supplying goods which are in short supply and great demand can take advantage of its favoured position to jack up prices (and the wages of its workers) because both prices and basic wage rates are nationally determined by the state and the unions. A worker can increase his earnings through improving the "quality" of his work by improving his skill rating; through greater "quantity" of production, by increasing his output volume or cutting down on maintenance time; through improving the quality of the goods produced—the basic point about the New Economic System (see below)—through the incentive funds.

Basic to the whole Soviet wage system is the centrally-determined national wages fund.

Single industry wages funds are broken down from the nationally-set fund agreed between the union and the ministry (the state) concerned. Individual workers' earnings are then negotiated between the enterprise union organisation and the administration of the enterprise and incorporated in a collective agreement. Commissions on wages

* These include all non-state voluntary organisations, from the Communist Party, youth and women's organisations, to bodies dealing with work study methods.

and rate-setting are set up at each enterprise by the union branch. The main function of the commissions is: "to give help to the trade-union committees in bringing about, jointly with the enterprise administration, measures to raise the material incentives for workers and staff to be concerned with the results of their labour, to provide constant checking on the correct application of the established conditions of payment for workers and staff, and on seeing that legislation on wages is adhered to."*

Basic payment is according to "hourly tariff rates," which are agreed at national level. For 60 per cent of Soviet workers there is a common set of tariffs which covers skill ratings common to all industries. The remaining 40 per cent are in occupations particular to their own industries and their rates are worked out on an industry basis.

In each trade there are usually six grades, the differentials being calculated on the basis of national job evaluation. Each grade** takes into account a) the type of work (what the worker must be able to do); b) qualifications (what the worker must know); c) standard examples of the work characteristic of the given trade and grade.

Soviet workers are, in their majority, employed on systems of payment by results. The word

* *Trudovoye Zakonodatelstvo*, Moscow, 1971, p. 187.

** According to the *Bulletin of the State Committee on Labour*, No. 1, 1969, p. 15.

"norm" so often appearing in accounts of Soviet wages, means "target" or "quota" in one form or another. Thus, it might be a piece-rate target to be achieved within a certain period of time. It might be the time necessary to carry out a given task. It can be the number of operations to be carried out within a given time.

To cope with the many specific variations which exist in almost every plant, pit, port and other workplace there exist tables of "corrective coefficients" which are applied to the basic standard tariff rates for the given trades and grades. These can be almost infinite as, for example, in a port or pit, where ship standards are so varied and geological conditions cannot be all accounted for in advance. The application of the corrective coefficients have to be agreed locally and give a substantial role to the stewards.

5. The New System of Economic Planning (NES)

This reform, started in the mid-1960s, is designed to bring about a system of management which would be fully in line with the productive forces, with industrial development, utilising the level of qualifications of people, especially at local level.

It involves decentralisation to free local initiative, both for management and workers, all to promote both national and local needs. In the Soviet Union great stress is laid on the inter-relationship of those needs and, when speaking of developing local initiative, it is always pointed out that this is to be seen in no way as promoting parochial interests against national ones. Indeed, the New Economic System (NES) is designed largely to make the national plan more efficient and corresponding to current requirements at *all* levels: local, regional and national.

The reforms are designed to promote *intensive*, as against *extensive*, development, to stimulate the most intensive use of material, energy and human reserves. By reinstating management by branch of industry it has given greater powers to management at all levels, removing detailed management from the central state bodies. It has made the number of management rungs smaller and brought top management closer to production, introducing more flexibility into its work. Planning itself is thus improved.

The system of efficiency accounting (*khozraschot*) is reinforced and unions encourage more workers to take part in the drive for economies which this stimulates. A whole mechanism for increased mass democratic participation in management has been developed to promote this. There is a general tendency towards reducing the number of directives which are not dictated by

economic necessity, going to enterprises from the central planning authorities.

Previously the manager, a state appointee, represented the state as administrator of one link in the production process. The unions would see their material interest in fulfilling the ministerial demands set out in the plan. The inflow and marketing of the products of the enterprise were their concern only in an indirect sense, and they had either no interest in or no direct control over them (any more than did the manager)—these were ministerial responsibilities. Now the enterprise must function more as an integrated independent financing unit. It more and more enters into customer-buyer relations with the suppliers of its raw materials; and in producer-customer relations with the buyer of its products. The NES encourages lasting relations of this kind.

This means in practice that now *enterprises have to pay much more attention to the quality of their products*, no longer having a practically guaranteed unconditional market. But, accompanying these changes in the enterprise's contractual relations with other links in the production process, there were introduced changes to stimulate the worker to want to improve quality, through material incentives directly affecting him to a degree not known before. This is being accompanied in the Soviet Union by a massive extension of workers' participation at local enterprise level.

To quote N. K. Merkin, from the 1972 Economic Handbook for the Active Trade Unionist:

"In enterprises working on the new system of planning and economic stimulation only the volume of sold products, the most important types of goods, the total wages fund, the total amount of profit, payments to the state budget, questions of capital reconstruction, introduction of new techniques and material and technical provisions, are decided by order. Thus, the bodies responsible for economic planning decide only the principal directions governing the enterprise's activity. All the rest comes within the competence of the enterprise itself, and its activity is judged (basically) according to the volume of goods sold and profit and the level of profitability."

Writing about the reform in the same volume, T. I. Ponizov says:

"Firstly, the centre of gravity in the management of social production is shifted to economic methods, which have as their purpose a fuller use of such economic levers as profit, price, wages, credit and funds for economic stimulation. Secondly, the scientific level of planning is raised; within the framework of the planned centralised control of the national economy, the independence and initiative of the enterprise is broadened with regard to management and choice of efficient ways of running the business. Thirdly, there is set up a system of economic incentives for establishments to strive for higher targets under the plan

and to raise the effectiveness of production. Fourthly the material interest of the workers in the outcome of the activity of the enterprise is raised on the basis of a correct relationship between material and moral incentives."

The new system introduced three enterprise funds to stimulate production* in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. Their size is worked out according to improvements in the enterprise's profitability. The money in them is used for paying bonuses in cash, making special payments to workers in need, for improving working conditions and out-of-work conditions (including housing, providing holiday, child, medical and sports facilities and communal services, like laundries, hairdressing and shopping facilities on work premises and the like). If the enterprise can improve its profitability then money goes into the funds. The way the money is then spent is decided on the basis of mutual agreement by union and management, within the

* The stimulation of production in the Soviet Union has nothing to do with mere intensification of every worker's labour. The administration of a Soviet enterprise, while determining manning levels, the speed of the line in assembly shops, the volume of expected output in a given time etc., is bound to work-measured daily quotas and targets of technological processes. These quotas and targets are usually determined by industrial research institutes and are agreed between ministries and trade unions. Thus, stimulating production, raising the efficiency of production imply first of all the initiation of new progressive processes which may help workers in completely eliminating manual labour and increasing output with less resource wastage.

framework agreed nationally for the particular industry.

The funds grow at a faster rate from plan fulfilment than from overfulfilling the planned targets of production. The greater the output of production proposed by an enterprise itself for inclusion in its five year and annual plans, the cheaper the production, the greater the funds. Overfulfilment of a "small" plan will not bring an enterprise high benefits. This is a big change from the previous systems in the Soviet Union where the accent was always on overfulfilment, and now makes for more intensive plans to be adopted by enterprises.

This encourages them to uncover as many production reserves as possible to the state planners, and the consequent more economical use of all resources—material, labour and energy resources in the main.

According to I. Vladychenko,* already in 1970 the funds amounted to 1,400 million roubles. This is almost enough to build two power stations as large as the Bratsk hydroelectric station in Eastern Siberia, which is one of the largest in the world and has an installed capacity to produce 4,100,000 kilowatts.

So, to sustain the funds a plant must economise. The funds provide the incentive for this (about one-third of an average worker's earnings are de-

* Op. cit., p. 34.

rived from them, quite apart from the amenities built with these funds)—no economy means no savings and consequently no funds.

Before the New Economic System there existed a fund in the hands of the director of an enterprise. It was smaller than the new ones and such that even had there been mutuality it would have been of little use. As several trade unionists put it to me—there was not much to be “mutual” about.

The economies stimulated by NES are principally made by improving quality, cutting down on the use of energy, and saving raw materials. To these must be added quicker throughput, self-financing mechanisation, bettering working conditions (ventilation, cleanliness, safety and health) and taking better care of equipment.

6. Workers' Participation Under NES

Worker participation in the Soviet Union is based, above all else, on the fact that all participants in the process of production have a common interest, that of increasing production for the benefit of all.

This is so because private enterprise, i.e. ownership by a minority which is concerned with profit for itself and which regards labour (the labour of

those who do not own the means of production, the workers) exclusively as a cost against profit, has been abolished and made illegal. The Soviet system's interest in profit is only to the extent to which this can be a lever to promote production of more goods for society as a whole and for its individual members, and as a stimulant to bettering the conditions of work and raising living standards.

Public ownership of the means of production thus removes the anti-social essence of profitability as found under capitalism. It opens up a great potential for stimulating a new, different kind of interest in production on the part of the workers. Co-operative principles which underlie the Soviet system are in themselves incentives for workers to increase production and productivity. The workers are the rulers of society through the state and public organisations, therefore, any benefits accruing from improved work must return to them. Such is the potential.

This potential, this opportunity afforded by the socialist system of public ownership promotes workers' enthusiasm. The moral stimulus for work is one of the two locomotives which carry the Soviet economy forward, the other being material stimulus. There can be no doubt that the major motivating force for the unprecedented development of the socialist base of the country throughout the period was the great popular enthusiasm, and the unions and other public

organisations mobilised this feeling. Wherever I travelled in the Soviet Union I came across evidence of this in the pride with which people from all walks of life spoke about. However, during part of the 1930s and the first post-war years some harsh "administrative" measures, involving violations of socialist legality, were used to press the pace of industrialisation, collectivisation of agriculture and development of outlying regions. These were recognised and rectified at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which also emphasised that whatever mistakes were made, the programme for developing the country on socialist lines always maintained the support of the vast majority of the people.

During the initial stages of building basic industries, with raw materials and skills in short supply, with little opportunity for meeting the demands of workers except in the basic necessities (such was the situation, for instance, during part of the pre-war years and immediately after the war) moral stimuli were the main active forces in shifting the country onto the new socialist rails. The Soviet people had set themselves the target, through building a powerful base in heavy industry, of laying the basis for an independent publicly-owned socialist society. Only with such a basis could the desire of the people for a higher and more cultured standard of living be achieved. The decisions to build this heavy industry base were taken by the people themselves and the

trade unions mobilised the working class to fulfil this task. The enthusiasm of the mass of the population, demonstrated from the first steps towards industrialisation, is a clear indication of the popular support for the policy. The participation of millions of workers in the fulfilment of the plans emphasises this.

The utmost priority in production was given to building this base, although living conditions, education and cultural progress also received a boost in the process, something which had not been possible during industrialisation under previous social systems. The link at enterprise level between production and meeting the individual consumer's needs was not so obvious in those days. It tended to be more on the level of the straight link between output and the wage packet.

Today, however, with industry highly developed in all fields, one of the functions of the NES is to make shorter the bridge between the worker as the producer and as the consumer, to boost material stimuli and to open new possibilities for workers in raising their living standards.

The practical objectives of the NES are as follows:

1. to promote greater social consciousness;
2. to further promote among workers and management a greater interest in improving quality of goods and productivity;
3. to stimulate a desire at plant level for higher production targets to be set in the plans;

4. to promote, at plant level, a greater interest in long-term planning; to link material advantages now to increasing potential for larger and cheaper production in the future;

5. incentive schemes which benefit both the individual worker by an ever improving standard of living, materially and culturally, and society as a whole by raising the potential for growth and development;

6. to make as direct as possible the relationship between higher output and higher wages, better working and living conditions, a shorter working week and longer holidays;

7. to turn management's attention more to productivity than to expanding the size of the workforce; to better the use, upkeep and improvement of machinery inside an enterprise instead of seeking replacement of equipment from outside sources;

8. to improve the flow of materials into and out of mines, factories, building sites, etc;

9. to link more closely the direct material incentives of white-collar and manual workers at an enterprise;

10. to make funds for development more rapidly available to a plant.

Such objectives have as a common purpose strengthening the importance of the centrally-agreed production plan, not just in the "administrative" sense (i.e. through instructions from above) but through making the plan meet more

of the requirements of the workers, and correspond more to what is realistically attainable with the minimum use of resources.

To help bring these objectives about new levers have been introduced and older ones have had the stress shifted from them. *Added importance has been given to promoting participation by workers in the process of management at local level, through new machinery.*

Soviet industrial enterprises are publicly owned by the whole people, through the state. Enterprises are built out of public funds, workers are recruited to them and are paid basic rates which are negotiated nationally between the trade unions and the state. All goods are produced for society (directly by a plant for the state or for another publicly-owned enterprise). The manager of every enterprise is appointed by the state through the appropriate industrial ministry. He or she is answerable for the performance of the enterprise to society as a whole, again through the state mechanism. The relations between workers in each enterprise and the manager are the relations between a group of workers and the representative of the whole of society, of all workers.

Democracy at work, workers' participation in management at local level is, thus, entirely conditioned to meet the workers' individual needs within the opportunities offered by the system of public ownership for meeting the needs of society as a whole. Soviet "workers' participation,"

"workers' control," therefore, are concerned not only with better pay and with better working conditions. Of tremendous importance is the workers' participation at factory level in improving such conditions as health, housing, education, transport, recreational, holiday and sports facilities, intellectual pursuits, promoting equality for women, advancing opportunities for young people, promoting better social behaviour and many other aspects of human activity, as we shall see in detail.

In the process of developing workers' participation in management, presence at the workplace becomes increasingly a "normal" part of the worker's life, and labour itself becomes visibly an entirely useful human faculty.

Before examining the mechanisms for workers' control at individual enterprises, the legislative principles for these can be given. The basic relevant law here is *The Fundamental Labour Legislation in the USSR and the Union Republics*. Its preamble states:

"Soviet labour legislation governs the labour relations of all factory workers and office employees, promotes labour productivity and efficiency in social production, thereby raising the living and cultural* standards of the working people, and strengthening labour discipline, gradually transforming labour for the common weal into the prime vital need of each able-bodied citizen. . .

* The word "cultural" includes leisure activities.

"The right of Soviet citizens to work is ensured by the socialist organisation of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, elimination of the very possibility of economic crisis, and abolition of unemployment. Factory workers and office employees exercise their right to work by signing a labour agreement to work at an enterprise, institution or organisation. The state guarantees them employment and payment for their work in accordance with the quantity and quality of the work done. . ."

The law provides for collective agreements to be signed between enterprise management and trade-union organisation. The collective agreement is renewed annually and reviewed in the course of each year. No collective agreement may contain clauses which violate laws on the maximum length of the working day, safety, protection of female and youth labour, length of holidays, etc., and which violate the basic rates of pay negotiated between the unions nationally and the state administration of industries. Individual workers sign an individual contract with the enterprise for payment and working conditions stipulated in the collective agreement, and in line with their own individual qualifications.*

The fundamental law also states: direct or indirect limitation of rights or direct or indirect preference in granting jobs because of sex, race, na-

* See Appendix I.

tionality or religious beliefs is illegal. The principle of status quo, whereby the administration cannot demand that the factory worker or office employee do work which is not stipulated in the labour agreement is also enshrined in the law. If the administration violates labour legislation, the collective agreement can be cancelled by the workers.

Article 20 of the law states:

"On the demand of a trade-union body (not below district level) the administration shall be obliged to cancel a labour agreement with an executive employee or to relieve him of his post, if he has violated labour legislation, if he fails to carry out the commitments specified in the collective agreement or resorts to bureaucratic methods and red tape.

"The executive concerned or the administration can file a protest against the demand of the trade-union body concerned, which will be forwarded to a *higher trade-union body whose decision will be final.*" (My emphasis, M. C.)

Labour disputes are settled by parity commissions representing the union and the administration, but appeals can go to *the trade-union branch committee*, whose decision is final unless the aggrieved party (worker or management) takes it to court.* Unions adopt their own rules and do not register with state bodies.

* See *Morning Star*, article by M. C., Aug. 4, 1972, on labour disputes.

In August, 1967 the Soviet TUC and the government agreed on a joint resolution "The Manner of Concluding Collective Agreements." This is given in more detail in an appendix to this book, but the principal points for our attention now are:

1. "The collective agreement should contain the obligations of the management and the mill, factory or office trade-union committee to involve the workers and staff in managing production, in perfecting rate-setting, setting the form of payment for labour and material incentive, in accident prevention, distributing privileges and advantages to workers who distinguish themselves in production, in improving housing and social and sanitation and hygiene conditions and the organisation of the working people's rest time, development of educational and mass cultural work, in providing workers on all shifts with hot food while working."

2. Mutuality, that is, the dependence on agreement between the administration and union, is embodied as a principle in relations between the two, throughout.

3. The mutuality principle extends to all levels, including agreements between unions nationally and state bodies such as ministries.

4. The breadth of coverage that the collective agreement has. Clearly, the Soviet worker, through his trade union, and the Soviet manager, representing the state or society as a whole, have

much more in common than their counterparts in capitalist society for such a mechanism of mutuality to have any chance of functioning successfully. One must now look at the mechanism which demonstrates the mutual interest and promotes it, involving the workers in the management of their enterprises.

These consist, essentially, of the following: trade-union general meetings, Standing Production Conferences, socialist emulation, collective agreements, trade-union control over the expenditure of social insurance funds, trade-union control of holiday facilities and the like, massive educational work, plans for the development of the enterprises, labour dispute commissions, the societies for inventors and innovators and for scientific and technical development.

Throughout the Soviet worker participation system, the mass organisations of the trade unions and the Communist Party play an active part. The direct running of the economy is carried out by governmental and economic institutions, in line with the general instructions of the party.

a) socialist emulation

This needs some detailed explanation, being one of the most important traditional forms of public involvement in production, a practical way

of involving working people in resolving current economic problems. All other aspects of workers' participation and raising living standards through activity at enterprise level are within the context of socialist emulation. A worker's personal conduct, how the workforce and society assess it, is also counted when the results of socialist-emulation drives are judged.

Thus, violations of safety regulations, anti-social behaviour at the workplace or outside it (at home, for instance) are taken into account when the prizes (premia) for socialist emulation results are assessed (see points illustrating this in the text of the Zaporozhstal collective agreement).

Because of the recognition by the factory union and the management alike of the common purpose of Soviet society (improving productivity, etc.) the unions agree with the management that manifestations of slovenliness when it comes to safety regulations, absenteeism, and improper conduct generally, are anti-social, as they hit at production and the aims of society as a whole. Those guilty of such behaviour are therefore deprived of premium awards.

All aspects of democracy at the place of work hinge on the development of socialist emulation. It has no parallel in capitalist countries as it can only be based on the fundamental community of interests of all sections of society, of working people in different enterprises in the first instance.

Psychologically, I think, socialist emulation may be seen as a means for giving healthy expression to people's natural desire to do better than others, whatever the field. This desire initiates cut-throat competition when the means of production are owned by individuals. To survive, owners have to ruin or destroy rivals.

That is in capitalist society. But if the means of production are owned by the people as a whole, individuals, be they workers or managers, ministerial or state officials, all have a common interest. And these desires can express themselves in the form of friendly competition, which is socialist emulation.

Basically it is a system of competition for best work results between individual workers, teams of workers and whole industries. It is entirely voluntary. The principle underlying socialist emulation is that improving the quality and volume of production at each enterprise is a contribution to raising individual and national living standards. The more is produced, the more society and all its members benefit.

The background is the national plan and the right to work—the total absence of unemployment and economic recessions. The emulation drives draw on the community of interests of all members of society in building a firm foundation for a better present and future.

The socialist emulation methods of stimulating economic expansion provide more money in the

wage packet, increase factory funds for making work easier and of a higher technological level. They provide the funds for expansion and for all-round improvement in the quality of social services. Already medical treatment is free, child facilities are on an enormous scale, retirement ages (60 for men and 55 for women) are the lowest in the world, many holiday and recreational facilities are free or subsidised and as each year goes by the overall standard of living is steadily improving.

It should be mentioned that in the Soviet Union medical care, education and pensions are provided free on a non-contributory basis. The funds for these come from industry and they are distributed in a centralised or decentralised way. The first come direct from the state; the second are in the hands of separate enterprises and organisations, and are those formed from the profits of the enterprise.

In 1975 the total worth of all social services (including education and health) was 90,000 million roubles, or an average of 350 roubles per person. This is the equivalent of 2.5 times an average worker's monthly pay. The environment in which the Soviet worker finds himself is such that there is no parallel between raising productivity in the Soviet Union and productivity bargaining under capitalism. In the USSR it involves no fears of losing one's job, no gambling of pay rises against unemployment.

In such an atmosphere of guaranteed employment and rising living standards, coupled with ever-growing social consciousness the emulation campaigns are based mainly on non-material stimulants. Outstanding contributions to improving work methods find a reward in a higher social standing of an individual or enterprise workforce. One of the purposes of socialist emulation is to overcome crass individualism in the pursuit of a better material life. At the same time, together with the honorary status which Soviet society accords to its most conscientious workers, benefits in cash and kind go hand in glove, a recognition of the continued need, at this stage of development, to stimulate more effort through personal awards.

The names of outstanding workers and those of enterprises which break new ground in production methods are publicised throughout the country. In the USSR they are the names that become famous. On January 22, 1966 the Soviet cabinet and the TUC jointly issued a resolution launching a national socialist emulation drive, stating as its objectives:

"...to fulfil the production plans; to introduce new technology, to raise the productivity of labour, to improve the quality of goods, to increase accumulation, to popularise by all available means the most advanced production techniques. The participants in the emulation must strive to raise the effectiveness of production, to improve

the use of production funds, encourage economy of financial, material and labour resources, to ferret out and utilise all production reserves, to ensure strict implementation of contracts and meeting delivery dates..."

As incentives in the drive, challenge flags, flags of honour and money rewards were introduced for the best performers. In September of the same year, and again on July 16, 1969 the leadership of the Soviet TUC issued statements to encourage the emulation drive to be kept up. The latter statement already referred to a drive for a more advanced, Communist style of labour, as the most advanced form of socialist emulation. The statement noted the significance of the scientific and technological revolution and took to task enterprises which were not rationalising and modernising at a sufficiently rapid rate.

Responsibility for keeping the drive going has throughout been held jointly by management and the unions.

Thus, on September 14, 1971 the Soviet TUC launched a further all-country political campaign to improve the work methods of all its members following a call from the Communist Party's Central Committee to improve the organisation of socialist emulation.

Mass meetings, conferences and seminars were held throughout the country with the aim of urging workers to take on output targets to raise

production. In this, as in other campaigns, company books are open and management has to put *all* the facts of the workings of enterprises before the workforce.

The TUC's guidelines for the drive specified that in every workforce there must be created "an atmosphere of searching for mass creative work, of intolerance towards technological and scientific conservatism. . ." The voluntary scientific, technical, and inventors' and innovators' organisations were to be fully involved.

The emulation has taken on many of the forms of a nationwide competition between different enterprises for better production performance. It is important to stress that the emulation drives are no "speed-up" mechanism under a different name. They are regulated in such a way as to bring payments and awards to their participants only to the extent to which results from the competitions benefit society as a whole, by their contribution to strengthening the economy.

Socialist emulation is seen in the Soviet Union as a powerful stimulant to economic development, to perfecting machinery and harmonising relations between all sections of the workforce, an expression of the powers of initiative of ordinary people. It is founded on co-operation among workers, team spirit on a national scale, promoting the widest dissemination of the most advanced working methods.

It is a form of generating ever improved pro-

ductivity which has been intrinsic to Soviet society since its inception, resulting not only in more production but also in improved working conditions and shortening the working day and week.

It is thus not surprising that today something like 78 million people are involved in socialist emulation. In each enterprise "agreements" are made on the conditions of the competition between work groups. Each plant and the ministries contribute to paying out awards to those winning at the end of each year. Such competitions take place between the enterprises and even on an international level, between enterprises in different socialist countries.

Thus, in the port of Odessa I was told of how relations between the port trade-union committee and the manufacturers of Ganz cranes in Hungary led to competition to improve productivity on the cranes at one end (in Odessa) and competition to improve the quality of the cranes themselves at the other (in Hungary).

The involvement of the workers, through their union branches, in determining the size of awards, the conditions of the contest and the like, involves millions of people in learning not only the intricacies of the workings of their own enterprise but also those of the workplaces they are competing with. A secretary of the Soviet TUC, Vasili Prokhorov, writing of the importance of these forms of competition at the current stage of Soviet development, said: "Socialist emu-

lation is the main means of mass participation in economic management and trade-union influence on economic development." And, in an interview given in 1971 Ivan Vladychenko said: "Socialist emulation is the main method used by the trade unions to exercise their influence on the economic development of the country." In judging the results of the emulation drive, the July 1968 Soviet TUC resolution laid down that the following should be taken into account:

"...the intensity of the plans (of the competing enterprises or work groups), the level of production, work methods, the accident rate..." and the basic indicators on which an enterprise or group would be judged were: "...growth in the productivity of labour, plan fulfilment for the total volume of marketed production, for the production of specified goods, for quality of production, export supplies according to the total sum of profit, the utilisation of fixed assets and productive capacity and the introduction of new techniques." The most successful work groups were awarded titles like "Communist labour shock worker," "Communist labour workforce," etc. *The financial awards are a great stimulus to workers to insist on the most efficient use of their plant and, together with this, on the most efficient management of the works.* The Standing Production Conference is an avenue for workers to voice their views in these matters. But the work of general meetings, of voluntary societies of invent-

ors, innovators and better work methods all dovetail in the socialist emulation scheme.

In the smaller enterprises the material awards for good performance are entirely financial, on an individual and group basis. In larger enterprises up to 60 or even 70 per cent goes in cash and the rest is used for improving the enterprise's cultural and communal services, and on house-building. The money for all these comes from savings made in the course of improving methods of production or in production above planned levels. Premia are paid to workers in proportion to their basic rates. It all comes from the Material Incentive Fund (see below).

b) the standing production conference (SPC)

Workers' conferences on production have a long history in the USSR, starting from 1921. They are part of a systematic national drive for participation of workers in production management and planning. But only relatively recently have they ceased to be ad hoc bodies.

The important characteristics of the SPCs which concern us here are that they bring together representatives of all sections of an enterprise to resolve current production problems and, like so many other forms of workers' participation in management in the Soviet Union, are in-

conceivable outside a socialist society. They are a demonstration of the sense of community within Soviet workforces, where a problem facing any part of an enterprise is increasingly seen by the workers as of concern to all.

In their present general form the SPCs were established in all industrial enterprises with at least 300 workers (and in agriculture and service industry with at least 100 workers) by agreement in 1958. The agreement was between the Council of Ministers of the country and the Soviet TUC. Though they were first institutionalised in 1958 it was in the mid-sixties that the New Economic System gave them a new impetus and meaning. This was largely because the reforms of the NES made the results of improvements in quality of work immediately appreciated by the workforce, through better working conditions. The new material incentive funds enabled this to happen. New regulations governing their purpose and functioning were agreed between the Soviet TUC and the Council of Ministers on June 18, 1973.

The SPCs are "...one of the basic forms of mass involvement of workers and employees in managing production"* and are concerned with economic management of enterprises.

The 1973 regulations state that the SPCs are "an important form of socialist democracy, of public control, of practical involvement of the working masses in management."

* Regulations on SPCs, July 9, 1958.

The membership of the SPCs is composed of workers and staff, representatives of the factory, office, local and shop trade-union committees, the management, Party and Young Communist League organisations, branches of the Scientific and Technical Societies and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators. These are all elected at general meetings in shops and departments (remembering that virtually every eligible Soviet worker is a member of his appropriate trade union) and the corresponding public organisations. At smaller enterprises there is no SPC and questions of production are usually dealt with at general meetings of the whole workforce.

The SPC meets "as required" but not less than quarterly. Its work is prepared by a committee it elects, responsible for daily checking on decisions taken. It should be noted, in connection with the importance of workers' participation, that this representative gathering (the SPC) can take decisions on matters of production (within the plan and in accordance with the law) which are binding on the management. Thus, the 1973 regulation governing the SPCs states:

"The management of the enterprise, organisation, shop or other structural subsection is bound in all ways to assist the standing production conference in its work, to get rid of shortcomings which have been pointed out by the standing production conference in the activity of the enterprise etc., and also of individual employees. It

must also respond to proposals for strengthening the personnel of sectors which fall behind." * Decisions are taken by simple majority vote as long as at least two thirds of the SPC members are present.

When one considers that such a system of control operates in a situation where the trade-union district committees have power to demand the sacking of any member of management, including the general manager, and that it is common practice that an insistent demand results in dismissal, it would be a foolhardy manager who tried for too long to ignore the wishes of the SPC. On my visit in 1972 I came across examples of managers being sacked in heavy engineering, rail transport and agriculture for taking a highhanded approach to the SPC. By 1972 there were almost 160,000 SPCs in the country. Most of their six million members were industrial workers. About 50 million workers of all kinds took part in the work of the SPCs by 1974. Some two million recommendations and proposals are made annually for improving work at enterprises.

c) incentive funds

Under the New Economic System these are three, the Material Incentive Fund (MIF), the Social-Cultural Undertakings and House-Building

* See fuller text in Appendix II.

Fund (SUHF) and the Production Development Fund (PDF). These are all at the disposal of the individual enterprise or combine. The money is paid out into the first two according to a scale related to plan fulfilment by the enterprise and depends on production and profit being increased through greater efficiency. Overfulfilment of the plan also leads to money going into the funds. The third fund is in part made up from profits made by the enterprise.

The enterprise must concentrate on the quality of its output and on economies. The administration and workforce are encouraged by the funds to watch continuously over production and not just to see that the annual output targets are fulfilled and then to collect the centrally-determined bonuses.

As it was put to me by the director of the Abakumov pit in Donetsk, Vladimir Shupenko: "Previously it was: produce coal and then go to the bank to collect money for wages and premia." Things were simpler but with less direct incentive for a continual interest in all aspects of production both by workers and management alike. Prior to the new system there existed the "director's fund" which he controlled and used as he thought appropriate. Often the director consulted with the union representatives on how this was to be spent, but the principle of mutuality was not binding. The present funds can only be used by mutual agreement between management

and union. Their size alone gives some idea of their importance, totalling now between three and five times the size of the average director's fund of earlier times. In different industries the size of the three funds varies in proportion of one to the others, according to agreements concluded between the industry's ministry and the national union leaders representing the workers in the industry. They are all calculated as percentages of the total wages fund for the establishment concerned; however, enterprises have the right to transfer some of the money from one fund to another in exceptional cases.

The results of decentralising control of a large proportion of the wage packet (amounting, on average, to about one third of earnings) through the funds, and the local control by the enterprise on sums of money which could be spent on modernisation were evident from the words of management, union and shop floor workers alike at the enterprises I visited. One very attractive point to the unions was the introduction of mutuality in the control of the funds. The following recorded conversation in a large textile mill north-east of Moscow, at Ivanovo, illustrates this in a typical fashion:

Mill trade-union committee chairwoman:

"The NES untied the hands of the factory. It stimulated more interest in production among the workers. Previously the centralisation made this difficult."

Mill director: "The size of the funds we dispose of, compared with the previous (director's fund has increased tenfold. The old fund was worth 120,000 roubles. Now the material fund is 1,250,000; the social-cultural one is 330,000; the internal development fund, 800,000 roubles."

Area trade-union official: "There was really no money before. The new situation makes mutuality a law."

Chairwoman: "We now control it all, but the main thing is that there is more money to control."

Area official: "It encourages the workers to take part. Previously, for instance, we had the problem of shortage of children's facilities."

Chairwoman: "There is now less labour turnover and a greater number of women participating in union affairs and in getting higher qualifications."

That brief exchange raises a host of features about the operation of the new system—it helped both management and workers to have a bigger say locally; it made it worthwhile to discuss the use of locally-controlled funds; it released funds for use by the enterprise to deal with problems they felt were the most urgent—in this case the illustration was the provision of children's facilities (kindergarten and creche places for a largely female labour force). Discussion at the enterprise showed that the funds had already been used

to build 1,400 kindergarten places, dormitory accommodation for 1,500 young workers, a Young Pioneer club for 1,100, a holiday centre and a youth camp.

The money in the MATERIAL INCENTIVE FUND is spent on: "...bonuses to workers, technicians and white-collar employees according to the bonus systems worked out by the enterprises in line with the model regulations confirmed by the State Committee for Labour and Wages, and the TUC; rewarding workers, technicians and white-collar employees for the overall annual results of the enterprise's work; premia to work groups and individual workers-victors in the internal factory socialist emulation campaigns; once-only payments of material assistance to workers at the enterprise." *

Over the country as a whole the average worker's earnings are made up two-thirds from centrally-agreed rates (the basic wage according to skill grading) and one-third from the enterprise MIF. This one-third figure is interesting as it is roughly the same proportion of the wage packet which is made up by local piece-work agreements in British engineering establishments. And, where it is at all possible, piece-rates operate in the Soviet Union.

The MIF can only be spent according to a distribution pattern agreed between the local trade-union committee and management. The enter-

* Ponizov, op. cit., p. 7.

prise's collective agreement for the year lays down the proposed spending pattern, based on estimates of income. For instance, at the mill referred to above, in Ivanovo, the 1971 collective agreement* allowed for the following spending (8,000 workers, including 72 per cent women): 400,000 roubles for premium payments (bearing in mind that the average monthly earnings at the enterprise were about 114 roubles) on the year's results. Socialist emulation** payments came to 50,000 roubles; once-only material assistance, 65,000 roubles (material assistance is made to workers as marriage gifts, presents when a child is born, on a request for help to overcome some particular family misfortune, etc.); once-only payments, 20,000 roubles (once-only payments are for special inventions and ideas for innovations in production).

In many ways the SOCIAL-CULTURAL UNDERTAKINGS AND HOUSE-BUILDING FUND is the most interesting of the three. It provides *indirect* stimulus, not through the wage packet, to increase production and take part in management. What is perhaps most important for the long-term system of promoting workers' control is that its scope covers much more than anything a worker can have in capitalist society. Whereas the MIF covers matters on which even en-

* *Kollektivnyy dogovor na 1971 god Ivanovskogo ordena Lenina kamvolnogo kombinata* (subsequent statistics are also from this).

** See chapter above on this.

lightened management in capitalist society sometimes seeks workers' opinions, the SUHF goes well beyond this, because its features are intrinsic only to a socialist society, where the barriers between ownership and control of production, distribution and all services, on the one hand, and doing the actual work of producing, distributing and manning the services, on the other, are being broken down, within the system of total public ownership and control of all spheres of human activity made possible only by a socialist system.

The SUHF stimulates a worker's control both of his workplace and of his non-work environment. This is done by the simple mechanism of building a fund which is dependent on plan fulfilment and cutting costs, and which is spent on: "...improving cultural, social and medical services for the workers, technicians and staff of the enterprise; obtaining medicines for the medico-sanitary institutions, places in rest homes and sanatoria for convalescent workers; furnishings for enterprise canteens and snack-bars, rest homes, sanatoria, clubs, children's facilities (kindergartens, nurseries and creches) and acquiring for them means of transport and equipment, physical training undertakings, improving the food for children in nurseries, creches, pioneer camps, and on other cultural and social needs;

"building, extending and repairing living accommodation, clubs, rest homes, sanatoria, prophylactoria, pioneer camps, nurseries and creches,

canteens and snack-bars, sports buildings and other buildings used for cultural and social purposes;

"the enterprise can use the means in this fund to pay part of joint construction of living accommodation and buildings to be used for cultural and social purposes."*

What all these "cultural and social" facilities mean can be illustrated once again from the Ivanovo mill collective agreement. This allocated the following spending in 1971:

For building a prophylactorium	150,000 roubles
(24-hour dispensary)	
> sleeping wing	44,000 roubles
For upkeep of young pioneer camp	20,000 roubles
> tourist centre "Seagull"	5,000 roubles
> Anglers' centre	1,000 roubles
> young pioneer house	9,000 roubles
> children's institutions	15,000 roubles

For obtaining holiday places 13,000 roubles were set aside. A further 75,000 roubles were to be spent on furnishings and equipment for the young pioneer house and camp, amateur art and dramatic societies, physical education, broadcasting and film studio, library, clinic, children's institutions, canteen, prophylactorium, dormitory and schools. For "developing mass cultural and physical educational and health-promotion work" went another 14,000 roubles, and 30,000 roubles

* From the *Methodological Instruction in Transferring Enterprises, Combines and Branches of Industry to a New System of Planning and Economic Stimulation*, Dec., 1966.

to subsidise communal eating facilities; 2,000 roubles for New Year presents for workers' children; 90,000 roubles for workers' overalls, 20,000 roubles for transporting people to and from the rest centres and on excursions, trips and outings; in addition, 791,000 roubles was set aside for the construction in 1971 of a 90-flat house, 75-bed prophylactorium, sleeping quarters for 100 children in the pioneer camp and for a communal laboratory building, and 369,000 roubles for major repairs to housing and canteens. The facilities mutually controlled by the union and management at that enterprise included their own technical secondary school with 850 places and 250 in a textile institute; 1,400 places in pre-school nurseries and creches; 1,500-bed dormitory accommodation; 65,000 square metres of private living quarters; a young pioneer house with 1,100 members in its interest circles; a young pioneer camp for 400 children at a time, some 25 miles away from the town." * Wages increased from an average of 90 roubles a month in the mid-sixties to

* Similar examples can be quoted from all enterprises visited. Thus, at the aluminium plant in Shelekhov (near Irkutsk, Siberia) a young pioneer camp was built the year before my visit, also a boarding school, 11,000 square metres of living accommodation, a kindergarten for 280 children, and so on. One benefit from these, it was stressed, was that they promoted a more stable workforce and also stimulated increased productivity. Everywhere I met workers, trade-union officials and management, who alike stressed their belief that improvements in living conditions promoted by the enterprise funds also stimulated higher productivity.

114 roubles in 1972 and went up to 146 roubles by the end of the last five-year plan, in 1975. And as I mentioned, principal social services in the country are free, the total worth of them being 350 roubles per person. This is a highly perceptible addition to the wages. That is why Soviet trade unions prefer to speak not about salaries, but about "real incomes" which include all moneys and facilities received from an enterprise and the state. Real incomes must be measured against the extremely low rents (4-5% of average wage), income tax, public transport fares, etc. Prices are, of course, stable in the Soviet Union.

In order to judge whether this establishment was typical, the following statistics about the Ivanovo region might be given. There are 650,000 trade unionists (240,000 of these in the textile industry). The unions have three tourist centres, 11 sanatoria and rest homes and 100 young pioneer camps with an annual capacity for 90,000 children, plus 40 holiday centres with an average capacity at any one time of between 40 and 50 each. There are 12 prophylactoria in the region, with from 50 to 100 places in each.

The importance of the SUHF in the national programme for raising living standards was spelt out at the Communist Party's 24th Congress in 1971. And on July 15, 1970, the presidium of the Soviet Parliament ratified a law including the following: "The trade unions maintain supervision and control of labour legislation and the rules

governing labour protection (accident prevention) and control the question of workers' and staff's living and social facilities" (my emphasis, M.C.).

The introduction to the 1971 edition of "Housing and Social Questions" states that the 9th Five Year Plan (1971-75) included: "the construction of living accommodation totalling 565-575 million square metres and children's pre-school facilities with a capacity for taking two million children." And indeed, according to the documents of the 25th CPSU Congress (1976), 11 million flats and individual houses had been built. Since the enactment of a law on September 27, 1971 factory and office trade-union committees are given power "to check on the fulfilment of the plans for housing, cultural and social building, to follow how the housing and communal-social undertakings fund is being used." The local union is represented on the commissions which set the standards of construction for all these facilities. Furthermore, the mutuality principle applies: *All* forms of housing can be passed as suitable for use only with the permission of the local trade-union organisation.

Changes of prices of meals and food sold at work, changes in the hours of work of canteens, snack-bars, shops and stalls on the grounds of an enterprise can only be made with the participation of the trade-union organisation.

The third fund, the PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT FUND, is a further practical means to in-

volve trade unionists in the management of their enterprise. It is derived in part from money paid because of plan fulfilment, from sale of surplus machinery and from money allocated for re-equipment. It is used by the enterprise for capital re-equipment, putting new techniques into operation, for mechanisation, automation, etc. and is money which can speedily be put to use without clearance from a ministry. Its direct interest to the workers is an investment which will allow them in the future, as a result of more modern working conditions, to be able to earn more and to improve living conditions through the other two funds. It involves workers directly in taking decisions on plant investment. Above all else, it is designed to allow speedy improvement of working conditions. Thus, at the Ivanovo mill the agreement provides for money from the fund to be used to mechanise the loading and unloading of raw materials in the store, to repair ventilation, build a lavatory in one shop and footwashers in another, to mechanise the removal of working parts from one machine, to replace one type of equipment with another, to introduce hot-air systems for drying hands, instead of towels, etc. These matters, together with many others dealing with extending annual leave, revision of production quotas, and so on, are all mutually decided between union and management in the annual collective agreements.

To stimulate interest in the funds and all the

consequences of their utilisation on earnings, working conditions and workers' control, is not a simple matter and is certainly not gained for the asking, without problems. In some branches of industry there are temporary drops in income or even production in the transition period. At the Abakumov pit in the Donetsk region, for example, in 1969, the first year of transition to the new system the workers' average wages showed a dip: *

Year	Average earnings, all workers, roubles/month	Year	Average earnings, all workers, roubles/month
1965	211	1969	229
1966	211	1970	241
1967	220	1971	246
1968	231	1975	269 (estimate)

At Zhdanov, an industrial town on the Sea of Azov, a local trade-union chairman argued that the SUHF was the most important fund. As he saw it, the funds raised the standards of all, from the shop-floor worker to the plant director, largely as a result of the Material Incentive Fund. Since the mid-sixties the plant he worked at had gone over to a five-day working week (from 5.5); a palace of culture, a sports palace and a swimming pool had been built by the workers in their free time, using materials provided out of savings under the SUHF at his enterprise. A rest centre in the Caucasus mountains and a young pioneer

* From discussion at the pit, with union and management.

camp had been paid for. It is true that his plant's expansion coincided with the early years of the new reform; however, as he put it: "Earlier the fund was centralised—now we decide what is built."

d) auxiliary agencies

Promoting innovation, new inventions and quality control are trade-union responsibilities jointly held with management under the Soviet system of workers' participation. In close association with, and working under the direction of the trade unions, Scientific and Technical Societies (STS's) and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators (AUSII's) do much to enlist massive workers' participation in management.

By January 1976 more than 7.5 million workers belonged to the over 110,000 branches of STS's in industry. There were over 780,000 conferences and 183,000 competitions in the five years up to 1972. The STS's are primarily concerned with work organisation, covering everything associated with work methods. They handle the introduction at enterprises of more efficient work methods and possess their own laboratories and testing facilities—all designed to streamline and rationalise.

N. K. Merkin gives the general definition of their work as follows:

"The study and analysis of the existing state of work organisation; collection and working out of

proposals to improve the organisation of work; compilation of the results of research and analysis, drawing up draft plans for STS work; putting forward STS plans for examination, discussion and final adoption, and checking on the fulfilment of commitments entered into."*

The socialist emulation drive (see above) is one of the principal stimulants for workers to involve themselves in the STS's. STS work also figures in collective agreements and its activity is broken down to shop levels. The Standing Production Conferences naturally pay great attention to STS's, and their work is carried out in close co-operation with bodies responsible for rate-fixing, the AUSII's, and the like.

Both societies arrange visits of workers to other establishments, introducing them to the most up-to-date techniques and work methods. For the purpose of this introduction to workers' participation in the Soviet Union it is interesting to note that Ivan Vladychenko says:**

"The greater reliance placed on public effort in shaping technical policies in production can be seen from the decision to transfer the functions of the production and technical councils (consultative bodies under the chief engineer) from the management of enterprises to the councils of Scientific and Technical Societies."

* *Economicheskyy Spravochnik dlya Profaktiva*, Moscow, 1972, p. 74.

** Op. cit., p. 38.

At every factory, mill, port and pit I visited in 1972 and 1975 the notice boards carried news of progress made by the local branches of both the STS's and the AUSII's. Ivan Vladychenko* writes that in 1970 in the engineering industry alone 456,000 workers of all kinds took part in mass-attended public reviews of the progress in introducing new technology stimulated by the STS's, submitting 332,000 proposals for improvement, of which 205,000 had been implemented within a year or so, leading to savings worth over 346,000 roubles.

The All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators has a membership of about 8,336,000 and works in close association with the state body responsible for inventions and discoveries. It is self-financing. With 78,552 local branches the AUSII is another instrument for mass participation of workers in gaining technical experience, something essential if workers are to play a useful and informed part in managing a modern industrial society.

As already mentioned, the unions at local level play the largest part in mobilising workers to participate.** The local branch activity of the AUSII

* Op. cit., p. 38.

** At the paper mill in Bratsk (Siberia) which I visited, one in eight of the labour force was involved with saving in 1970—1,074,000 roubles, 1971—1,200,000 roubles, 1972—1,250,000 roubles (estimate). The labour force numbered over 10,000.

is closely related to the conditions in each enterprise and workers are encouraged to see the relationship between innovation promoted by the AUSII and the STS's to their own immediate and long-term working conditions.

Its aims are primarily to draw masses of working people into active participation in invention and innovation work, designed to accelerate technical progress, to increase production efficiency and promote new inventions, "to ensure public inspection of the timely consideration, elaboration and introduction of inventions and innovation proposals into production."*

The first AUSII congress was held in 1959 and its first seven years' experience saved 11,270 million roubles through the application of over 18 million innovations and inventions.** This is equivalent in value to 14 Bratsk power stations.

Seminar discussions play an important part in the work of local branches of the AUSII, and the society promotes extensive publication of findings and workers' involvement in acquiring technical knowledge, thus raising the general level of technical education and professionalism *to assist people in meaningfully exercising the many rights they have within the mechanism of workers' participation.* Clearly, such knowledge is a prerequisite for workers to be able to play a real role in management. By 1971, according to Ivan

* V. Dzhelomanov, op. cit., p. 43.

** Ibid., p. 46.

Vladychenko, there were some 200,000 volunteer design offices and "technical ingenuity teams" and 7,000 local patent bureaux.

e) protection of labour (health and safety)

Trade unions supervise what is known as "protection of labour" at work. They are responsible for this jointly with the state. In the USSR this term covers a whole field affecting enforcement of labour laws governing the length of holidays, of the working week, protection of women and youth labour, industrial safety and hygiene.*

The unions took over supervision of these questions from the state in 1933.

Made up of representatives of all sections of the workforce at an enterprise covered (they may be on an enterprise or shop level) the unions now carry out their functions in this sphere through labour protection commissions, working under the local union committee. The regulation which established the commissions specifically laid down that their senior member, the chairman, "cannot be part of the administrative personnel."**

The commissions meet at least monthly and

* Excerpts from the October 1963 Soviet TUC regulation on the commissions dealing with these are given in Appendix III, taken from *Spravochnik*, 1971.

** *Spravochnik*, 1971, p. 269.

their proposals are passed on to the management for implementation. "Disagreements between administration and the commission are dealt with by the factory or local (shop) trade-union committee," according to the regulations governing the commissions.*

Like all other bodies working under the trade unions in a Soviet enterprise, the commission's programme of work includes receiving reports from the management, holding mass meetings, raising questions with the union organisation, holding seminars, etc. As a matter of course it is answerable and accounts for its actions to the trade-union committee. The involvement of workers in the work of the commissions gives them insight into the workings of their own establishments and of others. Furthermore, it makes them familiar with the legal rights they are entitled to; thus once again, *their participation here raises the level of their consciousness about management functions.*

Anatoly Semenov, head of the Soviet TUC's department responsible for labour protection, states:

"The controlling function of the trade unions flows from their essence as an organisation called upon to protect the legal and economic interests of the working people and represent them in all questions of work, day-to-day life and cul-

* *Spravochnik*, 1971, p. 271.

tural activity."* One thus has here an interesting dual relationship between the union and the management. On the one hand, the unions negotiate improvements in safety conditions with the management, and the results are incorporated in the enterprise's collective agreement. On the other, the union supervises the observance of safety and has powers to enforce its will by legislative means. For such a "double edge" to be presented to the state management of an enterprise, and for it to work, there would need to be a high level of social responsibility on the part of the unions and of involvement of the workforce in the enterprise which elects the trade-union committee. In all examinations of this question one must bear in mind that a trade-union body at district level has virtual powers to dismiss administrators (management) who resist the workers' reasonable demands.

Semenov also says:

"State-authorized supervision of labour legislation by trade unions means essentially that they apply, along with education, persuasion and explanation, legal means of coercion such as directions to the management that they should eliminate various infringements, suspension of work where workers' health and safety are endangered, imposition of fines on defaulting executives, etc."**

* *Labour Protection in the USSR*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1970, p. 38.

** *Ibid*, p. 38.

While enforcement and supervision of safety is an important aspect of enterprise work for the unions, the commissions for the protection of labour are responsible also for safeguarding the law on the length of the working week, holidays and annual leave, overtime, and have a lot to do with eliminating heavy manual labour. Overtime is strictly governed in the Soviet Union, where it is permissible only in the exceptional circumstances of a breakdown or in order to prevent a breakdown in an essential service (e.g. in electricity or water supply). The maximum length of the working week is 41 hours and for most workers it is a five-day week. For workers engaged on the heaviest jobs (e.g. in mining, parts of heavy industry) and those where long hours could be injurious to health (e.g. in parts of the chemical industry) the working day can be as short as six or even four hours. At different industrial establishments new conditions of work can raise the question of locally cutting the length of the working day or week for workers asked to do heavier work. Additional holidays can also be negotiated on such grounds. The complexities of these questions give plenty of scope to the labour protection commissions. They also see to it that the laws on overtime payments (time-and-a-half for the first two hours and double time for longer periods) are observed, and that the national maximum permissible of 120 overtime hours a year is not exceeded.

They also see to it that full weekly rates are paid to young workers, even though they work a shorter week; and that women are protected and considerable benefits for pregnant and nursing women are accorded fully in line with their rights. For instance, there can be no night work for women other than as a temporary measure in extraordinary circumstances. Pregnant working women and those with children up to one year old, may do no overtime or rest-day working; nor may they be posted on jobs away from their normal workplace. Women with children up to eight years old cannot be put on overtime or posted without their consent. There is no loss of wages for women transferred to lighter work because they are pregnant, nursing or have children less than a year old. Paid leave from social insurance funds for pregnancy is 56 calendar days before and another 56 days after giving birth. Further, unpaid leave of any duration within the next 309 days can be taken without loss of seniority and the woman is guaranteed her old job on return. Similar benefits exist for women who adopt new-born babies.

f) social insurance

Since 1933 the unions have had direct responsibility for managing social insurance, including pensions and social-security benefits. Joint res-

ponsibility with management for these was ended over 40 years ago.

The running of social insurance correctly comes within the scope of a discussion on workers' participation in the Soviet Union because it is closely linked to enterprise-based management in that country, is improved upon by collective bargaining, and the levels of social insurance indirectly (and in some cases, directly) depend on the extent of trade-union participation in management.

This is recognised officially and can be illustrated by one Soviet author, K. Isayev:

"A worker's earnings are supplemented by substantial sums which society pays in the event of temporary disability, for annual holidays, disability and retirement pensions, student grants, maternity allowances, etc. Medical aid and education are free and the state bears a substantial share of the cost of rent and essential services."*

The point being made here is that these items figure large at enterprise level and are in part negotiated at that level in the USSR. Some levels of benefit depend on the individual worker's contribution (not in the cash sense) through his length of service and on how arduous his work is assessed to be. And this assessment is decided locally. Pensions to those who go on working after reaching pensionable age are, for instance,

* *Soviet Trade Unions and Workers' Welfare*, APN, Moscow, 1971, p. 20

paid in addition to their earnings. As a whole, social security benefits are negotiated nationally between the Soviet TUC and the state, with the unions having legislative power to draft bills and take part in the work of the parliamentary committees which process them.

Trade unions employ their own doctors, supervise the building of clinics, rest homes and children's facilities. Every branch elects social insurance delegates who are a vastly expanded equivalent of the social worker in Britain. As in all other aspects of workers' participation, the unions ensure massive voluntary participation of the rank and file in insurance work. The numbers engaged in 1970 reached about six million. All enterprises pay funds to the state budget for social insurance and the state then allocates these to the unions to administer. The objective set in 1912 by the Russian Bolshevik (Communist) Party to bring about a unified social insurance organisation on a territorial basis and with the entire administration in the hands of those coming under the scheme, on a non-contributory basis, has been realised.*

g) mass participation

Throughout this examination of the state of workers' participation in the USSR attention has

* Referred to by M. Kaziev in *Social Insurance in the USSR*, APN, 1971, p. 7.

been given to the broad rights conferred by law on workers to participate increasingly in industrial administration, and to the various mechanisms workers and their trade unions possess to exercise their rights. Attention has also been paid to workers' management of production, both long-term and short-term, affecting the overall planning of the country's economy and also the immediate work environment. In many places it must have been evident that industrial democracy can in no way be viewed in the Soviet Union within the relatively narrow horizons it is being considered under capitalism, in Britain. Housing, medicine, holiday and children's facilities, safety, etc, etc. are all embraced by the meaning of workers' participation in the USSR. This is only natural in a society where all spheres of life are becoming integrated around the workplace; and the corresponding integration of the workplace into all other spheres of life is taking place.

This process is opening up so many prospects for development that no limits for it can be seen at present. It is in this way that the say and powers the workers have in the Soviet Union to control their social and communal facilities through linking them with the place of work, give enhanced importance to the role of the unions as schools for management, "schools for communism." The educative and propaganda work of the unions becomes immensely more important in contributing to the process of integrat-

ing and harmonising the various aspects of a working person's life.

From the collective agreement given in the next chapter we shall see that this side of trade-union activity is certainly of the greatest importance and of no less consequence than the actual material inducements and encouragements given to workers to take part in the management of industry.

The collective agreements which are concluded annually throughout the country between workplace management and employees are unique documents which sum up all the foregoing. Not only do they enumerate improvements in working conditions and pay which are planned for the current year. They spell out the details of responsibilities for workers' participation in management for the same period. The agreement is a programme for perfecting production, developing communal facilities for the workforce, improving the work of the enterprise and increasing the material and intellectual wellbeing of the workers in all spheres.

In out-of-work hours the palaces of culture and trade-union clubs propagate workers' participation. Apart from the political, cultural and social value of the Soviet system which they propagate, one reads in the Soviet TUC's resolution of August 1964:

"The daily activity of the club is indissolubly linked with the life, concrete tasks of the work-

force in the enterprise, building site, state farm and institution for carrying out the national economic plans and socialist commitments, with developing the movement for communist labour,* for popularising and introducing the most advanced production experience, for raising the cultural and technical level of the working people." **

The clubs provide a service for maintaining reading rooms and libraries at the place of work, organise a wide variety of amateur dramatic activity, interest societies (hobbies), outings, assist local schools and provide a forum for discussion of all questions affecting the enterprise. They are run on democratic lines by the unions, and without outside interference. The clubs engage in widespread *shetstvo*, that is, patronage of local collective and state farms and schools, to encourage interest in their enterprise, to attract future workers for the enterprise and to strengthen the school-factory and farm-factory links in Soviet society. There is a conscious promotion of what are called in the Soviet Union "workers' dynasties," which is the practice of encouraging children to follow parents in the same place of work, thereby, in their opinion, fostering closer integration of the workplace within the community, and, at the same time, promoting stable industrial workers' communities.

Of no mean importance at each enterprise is

* See chapter on socialist emulation above.

** *Spravochnik*, 1971, p. 466.

the union's *Commission on Cultural and Mass Work*. It has as its aim:

"...to involve the broadest masses of trade-union members in educational and cultural and mass work among manual and staff workers and their families." *

Among its aims, the commission propagates Communist Party and state policies through all available means of mass propaganda, popularises all the objectives in the constitutions of the various inventors' and innovators' organisations, argues for introduction at the enterprise of the latest techniques developed by science and technology and fights anti-social behaviour.

Also, directly impinging on workers' control, it:

"Jointly with the administration works out and puts into practice long-term plans for raising the general and technical knowledge of manual and white-collar workers, involves them in technical circles (groups), on courses, at evening and correspondence institutes of education; strives to obtain for them the necessary conditions for successfully accommodating study with work, checks that the privileges set for those who study without interruption of work are accorded them." **

The commission also prepares the briefs for

* Soviet TUC resolution, April 10, 1964, quoted in *Spravochnik*, 1971, p. 492.

** *Ibid.*, p. 493.

drawing up those parts of the enterprise collective agreement which deal with the cultural side of workers' activity. These commissions are at enterprise, local or shop levels, with membership appointed by the corresponding trade-union committee.

Similar in structure and composition are the trade unions' amateur sports and tourist organisations.

PART TWO

"Zaporozhstal" Iron and Steel Plant*

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT, 1975 **

(Abridged)

In order to ensure the fulfilment of the plan ahead of time, to draw more workers, engineers, technicians and office employees into production management and to raise the level of responsi-

* This complex in the Ukraine has a workforce of 19,000.
** Where in the collective agreement it states that one party or the other has powers to do a certain thing, the rule is that this is done on the strict basis of mutuality between the parties—M.C.

lity of the executive bodies and trade-union organisations in matters concerning further improvement of the performance of the personnel in production and better provision of cultural and welfare services for the working people, the management of the "Zaporozhstal" Plant as represented by its director, on the one side, and the workers, engineers, technicians and office employees as represented by the Plant's trade-union committee of the Iron and Steel Industry Trade Union, on the other, have concluded the present collective agreement for 1975.

Henceforth the sides shall be referred to as the "Management" and the "TU Committee."

Fulfilment of the Production Plan and Commitments and Promotion of Scientific and Technological Progress

The Management and the TU Committee undertake to ensure the fulfilment of the production plan and commitments with regard to the output and sale of all types of products and the achievement of higher profits and a higher level of profitability and labour productivity by introducing new machinery, improving production processes, further promoting the practice of cost accounting, encouraging socialist emulation, and drawing increasing numbers of employees into production management through enhancing the role of workers' meetings and standing production conferen-

ces and placing greater emphasis on economic incentives at all levels, and in all production sectors of the plant.

The Management and the TU Committee undertake to give wide scope to socialist emulation for the fulfilment ahead of time of the production programme for the fifth, concluding year of the five-year plan period and thus to ensure the fulfilment of their socialist commitments in all aspects of production, and specifically the commitments:

to overfulfil the plan, by making better use of the available production facilities and all fixed assets and improving production processes, and produce additionally (in tons):

agglomerate	80,000
iron	20,000
steel	30,000
rolled metal	30,000

to save, by making thrifty and better use of material and power resources:

ideal fuel	5,000 tons
electric power	3,000,000 kwh
coke	2,000 tons

The Management undertakes:

to overfulfil the plan for the sale of products and ensure an additional profit of 9 million roubles by producing iron, steel and rolled metal over and above the plan, improving the quality of products and economising on raw materials and electricity;

to raise labour productivity by 0.5 per cent against the plan by improving the organisation of production and labour and using the available reserves more fully. The increase in output is to be achieved solely through the increase in labour productivity;

to master the production of 15 new standard cold-bent shapes;

to produce not less than 35 per cent of rolled metal with minus or narrow tolerances and in this way to save 4,500 tons of metal.

The Management shall carry out a series of organisational and technical measures as planned in order to fulfil the production plan and socialist commitments ahead of schedule.

The Management undertakes to carry out the planned measures for mechanising and automating manual operations and production processes, including (following is a list of measures and the names of people on the managerial staff responsible for their realisation).

The TU Committee shall organise public control over capital construction in order to ensure that new projects are put into operation in due time and operated effectively.

In order to fulfil the plan for introducing new machinery, advanced methods, and means of mechanisation and automation of production, the Management undertakes to form a production development fund by deducting part of the deprecia-

tion allowance from the profits and by selling discarded and redundant equipment.

The Management and the TU Committee shall continue to work out and implement measures to mechanise and automate economic, design, engineering and accounting operations.

In order to carry out planned assignments and raise the effectiveness of production still further, the Management and the TU Committee undertake to introduce cost accounting on an ever wider scale in shops and production sectors.

The Management undertakes to encourage workers to submit inventions and make innovation proposals. All such innovation proposals shall be examined not later than 15 days after the day they are submitted. In 1975, innovation proposals are to save the enterprise 4.5 million roubles.

Jointly with the TU Committee the Management shall set up in the shops creative teams responsible for working out and implementing plans for scientific organisation of labour (SOL) * and production management, and shall review the progress of the realisation of the SOL plans once every three months.

The Management undertakes to carry out within one year the plan to train workers, engineers and technicians and raise their qualifications, specifically:

to train 1,030 new workers;

* I.e., work-study methods

to raise the qualifications of 6,645 workers, including:

1,600 people to be instructed at advanced methods courses;

to train 1,140 workers in a second trade;

to train 800 skilled workers at vocational technical schools;

to raise the qualifications of 500 engineers and technicians, and

to organise economic studies of all types for 5,000 people in order to improve their general economic background.

The Management and the TU Committee undertake to establish fixed days for technical and economic studies, to provide adequate conditions for all workers who are taking classes at educational institutions and to see to it that the worker-students do not have to stay for conferences or for overtime on their days of study, and also to see to it that rooms are provided for technical studies in all the shops.

In order to ensure the fulfilment of the plan for the training and technical advancement of the personnel, the Management undertakes to allocate 130,000 roubles.

The Management and the TU Committee undertake:

to develop in every way the existing forms and methods of organisation of socialist emulation, the movement for the communist attitude to work, for the fulfilment, ahead of time, of the

production plan and the socialist commitments taken by every factory shop, every team and every individual worker, for raising labour productivity, for intensifying production processes, for reducing the consumption of metal and other materials, for meeting production orders in time, for cutting the idle time of the workers and the equipment they operate, and for improving the quality of the products;

to ensure that wide coverage is given to the progress of the socialist emulation;

to give the workers the widest possible opportunities for fulfilling the commitments they have assumed, and to help laggards improve their performance.

The Management and the TU Committee shall sum up the results of the socialist emulation at the Steel Plant not later than on the 10th to 12th day of the month immediately following the month under review. To promote the socialist emulation still further the Management and the TU Committee have announced the terms of this emulation between teams and shop collectives, also between workers in the principal trades, between engineers, technicians, and office employees.

Under these terms the collectives of the shops which have won first place in the socialist emulation for one month are awarded the title of "Best Shop of the Plant," the Red Banner for that month and a sum of money as a bonus.

Individual workers or whole teams of workers which have, over a month, fulfilled their commitments and, in accordance with the terms of the competition, had the best showings, are awarded the titles of "The Best Worker," or "The Best Team," and the challenge pennant for that month. On the fulfilment of the terms of the socialist emulation over a three-month period, individual workers and whole teams of workers are awarded, jointly by the shop committee and the shop management, the titles of "Best Worker" and the "Best Team," and their photographs are mounted on the shop's Board of Honour. If they have fulfilled the terms of the socialist emulation over a period of six months, the plant trade-union committee and the plant management jointly mount their photographs on the plant's Board of Honour; they are also awarded a Certificate of Honour. If the terms of the emulation have been fulfilled for a 12-month period, the names of the workers are entered in the plant's Book of Honour; they are also entitled to cash bonuses.

The best workers at the plant are awarded the honorary title of "Veteran of Labour of Zaporozhstal" for their long and exemplary service. This title is conferred once a year (on Metal Workers' Day) on workers, engineers, technicians and office employees by a joint decision of the Management and the TU Committee.

The Management shall spend the money received by the plant as a bonus for good showings

in the country-wide or republican socialist emulation between enterprises and individual shops in the Iron and Steel Industry, only by agreement with the plant's TU Committee.

In summing up the results of the emulation the Management and the TU Committee shall take into account, along with production showings, and as a major emulation indicator, the observance of labour discipline by the personnel of work teams, sections, shifts and shops and of the rules of public and personal behaviour in keeping with Soviet laws and communist ethics.

The best of the front-ranking workers and the best collectives (teams, production sections and shifts) that have fulfilled their commitments in the movement for the communist attitude to work and who have set good examples of behaviour in society, among their colleagues and in their everyday life, are awarded, on the recommendation of the shop trade-union committee and by the decision of the general meeting of the shop personnel, the titles of "Collective of Communist Labour" and "Shock-Worker of Communist Labour." The title of "Shop of Communist Labour" is conferred by the plant TU Committee, jointly with the plant management.

The TU Committee undertakes:

to organise mass workers' control over the process of introducing advanced methods in production;

to draw the council of the scientific and techni-

cal society of the iron and steel industry into participation in the study and dissemination of advanced methods of work;

to see to it that proposals made at production conferences are given effect;

to hear at production conferences reports by executives on the realisation of proposals made by working people;

to help the plant council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators to promote in every way the movement for building up the innovation fund with the money saved through the adoption of innovation proposals;

to see to it that the advanced experience of workers-winners in the socialist emulation-is discussed at production conferences of teams, production sections and shifts, and that this experience is demonstrated in practical work at the plant;

systematically to verify the fulfilment of the management's decisions on the realisation of inventions and innovations; to help inventors take out patents, to see that they receive remuneration for their inventions in accordance with the law, to encourage more and more workers to invent and make new innovations, and regularly to hold conferences and meetings of innovators and inventors.

The Management and the TU Committee undertake:

to study, sum up and disseminate in every way

the advanced experience of the best collectives of factory shops, teams and innovators; to study, sum up and disseminate 34 advanced methods of work as planned;

to draw foremen, engineers and technicians of shops, laboratories and managerial offices into the study and dissemination of advanced experience; to raise their responsibility for the prompt dissemination and introduction of advanced experience which was originated both at factory shops and at their individual sections, also at allied factories and plants;

to send advanced workers to other plants for exchanging and gaining experience; to discuss at enlarged conferences reports on such exchanges, and also proposals for introducing advanced methods borrowed from other factories and plants, and to issue orders for the introduction of those methods;

to encourage the participation of workers in production management on a public basis, to draw them into such participation through the organisations of the scientific and technical society, the All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators, the design bureau operating on a volunteer (public) basis, groups of economic analysis and rate-setting, and other technical groups made up of workers and other employees;

to give creative associations (groups engaged in technical quests) all possible assistance in conducting economic research, to enable them to fa-

miliarise themselves with the fiscal and accounting documentation, also with the production plans of the enterprise and the estimates of production outlays;

to hold monthly production meetings in teams and sections, to prepare all the necessary material on questions under review.

Rate Setting and Payment for Work

The Management, by agreement with the TU Committee, undertakes:

to organise payment of the employees of the plant on the basis of the existing standards and the official rate-and-payment manuals, and in this way to increase in every way the importance of the systems of payment for raising labour productivity and improving economic indicators;

to establish rates of work and to award skill grades to workers in accordance with the rate-and-payment manuals;

to specify time-rate trades for which piece-rate wages are fixed;

to draw up, if necessary, individual assignments at fixed pay in establishing for time workers the wage rates of piece workers.

The Management undertakes to provide the full complement of workers for operating the main units of machinery and equipment. If the main metallurgical units (blast furnaces and open-

hearth furnaces, rolling mills, pickling and cutting lines, heat-treatment furnaces and heating furnaces, wells, cinderling belts, electrolytic tinning and hot dip-tinning equipment) are undermanned, those operating them are compensated for in accordance with a scale of payments agreed upon by the Management and the TU Committee and ranging from 50 per cent to 100 per cent of the payment for the amount of work that would otherwise be done by the absent worker, plus the amount of money he would get in the form of a production bonus. However, this bonus is paid on condition that the full amount of work is done within the scheduled period.

The Management and the TU Committee undertake to ensure the fulfilment of the plan for raising labour productivity by carrying out technical measures and measures to relieve personnel of some of the less rewarding jobs and switching them to more promising and better jobs by introducing a number of organisational and technical measures, also measures involving the use of new machinery and means of mechanisation and automation of production processes.

The Management undertakes to carry out measures to enable the workers to fulfil and overfulfil the fixed quotas of work, to organise on-the-job instruction, to remove obstacles preventing them from fulfilling their work quotas, to take measures to prevent and eliminate idle time, to ensure prompt repairs and adjustment of equip-

ment, and to ensure the uninterrupted supply of raw material, fuel and tools.

As new technical, economic and organisational measures are introduced to ensure the planned growth of labour productivity, the Management, by agreement with the TU Committee, shall replace the outdated quotas of work by new progressive ones, in accordance with the schedule fixed for a six-month period.

The Management shall announce new quotas, piece-work rates of payment and changes in the payment regulations to the workers not later than two weeks prior to their introduction.

The Management shall establish interim output (time) quotas or servicing quotas for a period of up to three months in order to enable the workers to master new production, new machinery and production processes, and to streamline the organisation of production and labour. In some cases this period can be extended by agreement with the trade-union committee.

The Management undertakes:

systematically to carry out research into production processes in order to improve the organisation of production and labour; to ascertain technical specifications of the machinery and equipment; to develop and introduce technically sound output quotas; *

to bring, by the end of the year, the proportion of piece-workers with technically-sound output

* i.e. work-study based

quotas to 85 per cent for the entire plant and 79 per cent in auxiliary shops.

to issue assignments to workers prior to the beginning of work if their work is paid for on a piece-rate basis but fixed output quotas have not been established;

to add to the piece-rate payment of piece-workers put on individual pay schedules, who do the work generally paid for at rates lower than those they are entitled to, the balance between their fixed rate of payment and the actual payment of the work they are assigned to do. This extra payment is due provided all the quotas have been fulfilled and only if the worker's qualification is more than one grade higher than that required for performing the work he is doing.

All the draft output quotas, pay rates and rules concerning labour remuneration and bonuses as proposed by the Management shall be submitted for discussion at meetings of shop TU committees and put down on record in due course.

Output quotas, piece-rates and rules concerning labour remuneration for workers, engineers, technicians and office employees are subject to approval by the administration, by agreement with the trade-union organisation.

As the skill of workers improves and they successfully complete their advancement courses, the Management shall promote them, within the limits of the personnel schedule, to jobs that require a higher qualification, and, after putting

them through a proficiency test, raise their skill grade. In awarding a higher skill grade preference is given to workers who have for three months been doing work normally done by specialists with a higher grade of qualification than themselves, and who have been successfully improving their educational and professional background.

The skill of workers is established by shop qualification commissions which include the chairman of the shop TU committee.

To increase the material interest of the workers in the results of their work and in the performance of the plant as a whole, a Material Incentive Fund is formed made up of allocations from profits. This fund is used by the Management jointly with the TU Committee in keeping with the approved estimate.

Moreover, by agreement with the plant and shop TU committees, the director of the plant and the heads of shops may pay lump bonuses to workers for the fulfilment of important production assignments.

The rules concerning bonus payment to workers, engineers, technicians and office employees of the plant, and the rules concerning bonus payment out of the material incentives fund become effective after they have been endorsed by the director of the plant by agreement with the TU Committee.

The payment of bonuses to employees, in keep-

ing with the existing rules, for innovations and inventions, for the development and application of new machinery, for the evolvment and introduction of efficient methods of organising production, and for the promotion of scientific organisation of labour, for the supply of quality products for export, for the manufacture of consumer goods out of industrial waste material, is done by the Management, also by the heads of shops and sections by agreement with their respective trade-union organisations.

The size of bonuses paid to the heads of shops and sections, and to their deputies, is established by the administration by agreement with the TU Committee, while the payment of bonuses for inventions and innovations is, in addition to that, agreed upon with the shop council or the plant council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators.

No bonus is payable for the actual time worked during the given month (quarter) to workers, engineers, technicians and office employees who have not completed a full month (quarter) and have been discharged at their own wish, for absenteeism, systematic failure to perform their duties, because of arrest, etc.

As a rule, new workers are taken on with the approval of the members of the team they have been assigned to. The Management presents to the newly-engaged worker a memo about the traditions of the Zaporozhstal plant and familiarises

him with the rules of labour discipline binding on all employees. Such rules are put up on the walls in all the shops and sections of the plant.

To eliminate labour turnover, the Management and the TU Committee undertake to examine reasons for leaving the plant. This is done at meetings held by shop commissions made up of representatives of the Management, the shop TU Committee, and front-ranking workers.

The workers and office employees who have been discharging their duties in good faith enjoy privileges with regard to cultural and social benefits (accommodation at sanatoria and rest homes, improvement of housing conditions). Such workers are also given preference with regard to promotion. The names of workers, engineers, technicians and office employees who have acquitted themselves well at their jobs are put forward for citations and awards such as orders, medals, Certificates of Honour, badges, and titles of "Best Worker" in a particular trade.

In order to strengthen labour discipline and raise the level of consciousness of workforce members guilty of violating the rules of behaviour in socialist society the Management and the TU Committee undertake:

to examine every infringement of labour discipline (absenteeism, tardiness, breakdown of equipment, production of faulty goods, etc.) and breach of public order at meetings of trade-union groups and shop trade-union committees;

to apply other disciplinary measures to persistent absentees and others guilty of violating labour discipline, i.e.

not to give material assistance out of the incentive fund to such workers;

not to provide them with accommodation at holiday homes, sanatoria and the plant's profectorium;

to defer the granting of housing to a later date and the annual leave to winter.

Disciplinary measures shall be applied by the Management in concert with the trade-union organisation.

42. In order to raise the efficiency of production and improve the use of working time the Management and the TU Committee undertake:

to ensure the reduction of the loss of working time through timely servicing the equipment, machines and mechanisms, uninterrupted supply of raw materials and tools, and improving the organisation of labour;

to instil an intolerance of shirkers among the personnel of the plant's shops, departments and services;

to resolutely fight wastefulness, slovenliness, lack of discipline, absenteeism and shirking.

43. The Management has the right* to withhold, fully or partially in the case of production

* In practice by agreement with the TU Committee—M.C.

bonuses and fully in the case of bonuses out of the incentive fund, in the event of:

absence from work or arrival at work in a state of intoxication;

administrative or penal prosecution or application of public sanctions for hooliganism;

application of sanctions for drunkenness for the second time within one year.

Workers guilty of major defaults in work, absenteeism, having been taken to a sobering-up station or convicted for hooliganism* shall not be paid the bonus on the results of work in the given year out of the material incentive fund.

Workers guilty of absenteeism shall have their seniority bonus cut by 25 per cent.

Improvement of Working Conditions and Social Insurance

In order to improve the conditions of work, safety techniques and industrial hygiene, the Management undertakes:

to spend 1,282,000 roubles on labour-safety measures, specifically on labour-safety techniques and industrial hygiene;

to prevent any dangerous concentration of gas in shops, to provide the gas hazard places with safety devices and gas-fighting experts;

to keep production buildings, structures and units in good order as regards sanitation and hy-

* i.e. disorderly conduct in public

giene, paying attention to industrial esthetics;

to provide safe conditions for work;

to keep the workplaces warm and properly lit, and to provide the personnel in hot shops with an uninterrupted supply of soda-water, vitaminised kvass* and hot tea;

to provide workers with work clothes of good quality and with special footwear of adequate size, protective devices and free milk and soap, according to the existing standards. The workers sent to do jobs requiring work clothes different from those issued to them before, are provided with work clothes from inventory stocks for the duration of the working period.

The laundering and mending of the work clothes and the mending of the footwear are at the plant's expense.

The time of wear of the work clothes and footwear is counted from the day they are issued to workers. If the work clothes or footwear issued for the established period of time and in accordance with the standards have become unfit for use for reasons beyond the control of the worker or the office employee, they shall be exchanged for gear that is good and fit for use;

to organise storage of work clothes in shops of the plant;

to issue work clothes and soap according to the list endorsed by the TU Committee;

* A weak rye beer

not to allow a newly-engaged employee, or one that has been transferred from one job to another, to start work without first instructing him in the safety rules; to give all workers on-the-job instruction in safety techniques on specified days; to run a crash course on safety techniques once a year, with workers required to take an examination in safety regulations;

to examine engineers and technicians in safety techniques before they are allowed to start working at a new place. Once given a permanent job, a newly-engaged specialist is again examined in safety techniques in compliance with the instructions;

to display a sufficient number of posters illustrating safety rules and to keep them in the proper condition; to work out safety instructions in due time and distribute them among the workers;

to include questions of safety techniques and labour protection in all the programmes of the advancement courses for workers, engineers and technicians;

to carry out routine repairs of the premises and utilities;

to ensure trouble-free operation of the ventilation systems and installations; to take necessary measures to reduce the contamination of production premises with dust and gas;

to keep sidewalks, bridges and approaches to the shops in good repair;

to complete seasonal preparations of the shops

for the summer by May 1 and for the winter by November 1.

The Management undertakes to provide: workers engaged on difficult and hazardous jobs with additional leave, in accordance with legal regulations to this effect;

workers operating on a non-specified time schedule* with additional leave by agreement with the TU Committee;

all the workers of the plant (except personnel of the housing maintenance department, child-care institutions and foremen's school) with additional annual paid leave, depending on their length of service. Thus those who have worked more than two years are entitled to an additional three days off, and to one day off extra for every additional year at work; those who have worked more than five years are entitled to six days off in addition to their regular annual leave.

Those who work on an alternating long shifts schedule (four-team schedule, schedules with two days off a week, etc.) are entitled to regular annual and additional leave whose length is counted in terms of working days, depending on the number of calendar working days.

The TU Committee undertakes:

to exercise, through the labour-protection commission and through public inspectors, control over the observance of labour legislation, safety regulations, industrial hygiene and planned health

* i.e., management personnel and some office staff.

measures (for this purpose the Management shall place in factory shops suggestion books for use by public inspectors);

to take into consideration, as one of the most important indications in summing up the results of the socialist emulation in the shops, the general state of labour protection and the rate of industrial injuries;

to make periodic examinations of the quality of work clothes, footwear, and the free meals to which workers of specified professions are entitled.

The Management and the TU Committee undertake:

to make a monthly examination, carried out jointly with the medical-sanitary service of the plant, of the sickness incidence and the incidence of industrial injuries of workers and office employees, to investigate the causes thereof and to take measures to bring them down to a minimum;

to take all necessary measures to create adequate conditions of work for physically handicapped persons and for workers in poor health; to provide them with work on a reduced day or weak schedule, to find jobs for them in accordance with the recommendations of the medical-labour commissions.

In order to improve the medical-sanitary service, medical treatment and prophylactic care for the personnel, the Management undertakes to pro-

vide the medical post at the plant with free premises, heating, water and power supply, and undertakes to carry out all the necessary maintenance work there.

The TU Committee undertakes:

to organise at the shop medical posts, jointly with the medical service of the plant, special stands with posters and literature on questions of hygiene and to organise a series of lectures on disease prevention;

to exercise permanent supervision over the work of medical institutions, kindergartens and nurseries;

to organise, with the help of local insurance activists, visits to workers reported ill;

to discuss once every three months, at meetings of the insurance activists, reports of the management, heads of shops, medical institutions and shop trade-union committees on the state of health of the personnel, on the utilisation of the funds allocated in accordance with the state social insurance estimate, on the implementation of the measures to cut down the incidence of sickness and injuries; to work out measures to further improve the working conditions of the personnel.

The Management undertakes:

to provide the prophylactorium centre with transport facilities for supplying food, and to see to it that its premises are kept clean and the territory around it is organised for the comfort and

convenience of the patients, and to pay all expenses involved;

to provide transport facilities for carrying patients to the prophylactorium centre and holiday-makers to the vacation camps on Hortitsa Island and at the village of Kirillovka, * the fares being paid by the passengers themselves in accordance with the adopted rates;

to do the necessary repairs at the prophylactorium and replace equipment and furniture unfit for use.

The TU Committee undertakes:

to provide workers, engineers, technicians and office employees with 1,650 places at rest homes, 770 at sanatoria, and 350 at tourist camps in 1975.

These are to be given first of all to workers who need medical attention, also to those who are engaged in hot and difficult jobs and who exceed their work quotas regularly. Not less than 80 per cent of this accommodation will be given to workers, ** 15 per cent to engineers and technicians, and 5 per cent to office employees;

to provide the employees, within the sum allocated in the estimate, adequate sums of money to cover the expenses involving transportation to sanatoria and rest homes;

* The island is nearby, on the river Dnieper; the village is on the Sea of Azov.

** "workers" means *manual* workers in Soviet writing.

to set aside 7,000 roubles of the money in the social insurance funds for special diets.

In order to make the working conditions more healthy, the Management and the TU Committee shall introduce a "health pause" (calisthenics) in production sections, wherever possible, and in managerial offices.

Improvement of Housing and Living Conditions and Cultural Services for the Workers and the Members of Their Families

In order to further improve the living conditions and meet the cultural requirements of the working people, the Management undertakes to build, through allocations from profits, a fund of social and cultural development and housing construction, and to spend it as per estimate.

Drawing on this fund and the state capital investments the Management will build 6,000 square metres of housing.

Flats in new buildings and also those that have been vacated shall be allotted by joint decision of the Management and the TU Committee.

The Management undertakes to carry out capital repairs of housing, utility buildings and cultural and other facilities to the sum of 515,000 roubles, and running repairs to the sum of 520,000 roubles.

All the building and repair work will be done in accordance with the annual schedule endorsed by the Management and the TU Committee. Preparation of the housing for the winter shall be completed by October 15.

The TU Committee shall establish public control over the progress and quality of construction and repairs of housing, utility buildings and cultural facilities, trading establishments, public catering enterprises, health institutions and services.

The Management undertakes:

to charge the workers and office employees living in apartments belonging to the plant a rent and service payment in accordance with the rates established by the Executive Committee of the Zaporozhye City Soviet of Working People's Deputies;

to fit out and maintain hostels for workers and office employees in accordance with the sanitary rules approved by the Chief Sanitary Inspection of the USSR on May 19, 1969;

to provide the workers and office employees of the plant with 11.5 thousand tons of household fuel.

The household fuel is issued free to workers and office employees of the plant, the employees of the child-care institutions and the Housing Maintenance Department, also to workers sent by the Management to study on a full-time basis and to elected members of the TU Committee.

The fuel is issued for cash at the 1948 prices

(in new currency) to workers of the cultural centres, stadiums, the Voluntary Sports Society, technical schools No. 1 and No. 8, and the TU Committee who are not elected for their jobs,* also to disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War, to those incapacitated on the job, to the families of those who were killed in action, to the families of servicemen, to the families which have lost the breadwinner who at one time or another worked at the plant, and to people who have retired from the plant.

The families of workers receiving household fuel in accordance with the rates fixed for family men and living in houses heated by stoves shall continue to get it in the same amounts after the head of the family is called up for service in the Soviet Army.

The Management, by agreement with the TU Committee, undertakes to ensure centralised delivery of coal to the workers' homes;

to render technical assistance to workers building individual homes, to provide them with transport facilities for delivering materials to the construction sites, also to sell them timber, brick, cement and lime.

In order to provide more comfort and improve both internal furnishings and the plant's grounds the Management undertakes:

to keep the grounds and shops clean, to make the surroundings pleasant to work in;

* i.e. technical staff such as typists.

to plant trees and shrubs and to lay out lawns and flowerbeds on the grounds.

In order better to service the workers the Management undertakes:

to use 30 tons of vegetables from the plant's subsidiary plot in the plant's canteens and for sale to the workers;

to stock up for the 1975/76 winter 4,000 tons of potatoes and 2,400 tons of other vegetables;

to carry out running repairs of canteens, snack bars, auxiliary premises and storage facilities according to the approved schedule in order to make them meet the existing sanitary requirements;

to provide the workers of all shifts with hot meals during breaks agreed upon with the TU Committee;

to complete the construction of facilities for cleaning potatoes and other vegetables at the rate of 8 tons a day;

The TU Committee undertakes:

to ensure daily control over the work of the canteens and the shopping network;

to conduct consumers' conferences with the workers of the plant's catering establishments.

The Management and the TU Committee undertake:

to help workers and office employees in their individual and collective gardening and market gardening pursuits by placing at their disposal tilled land, supplying them with seeds, lending

them farm implements, and helping them to transport the produce;

to provide the Gardening Societies with reclaimed building materials.

The TU Committee undertakes to spend 46,000 roubles out of the trade-union budgetary funds in the form of assistance to workers with large families, disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War * and other categories of employees.

The Management shall allocate from the social and cultural development and housing construction fund 130,000 roubles to buy accommodation at sanatoria, rest homes, and tourist camps, foreign tours, and to reward front-ranking workers.

The TU Committee, jointly with the Management, shall organise excursions to industrial establishments, museums and historical sites of the city for employees and their families.

Education and On-the-Job Training of Young People

The Management undertakes:

to assign young people who never held industrial jobs before to front-ranking teams for proper training; not to give teenagers difficult or hazardous jobs;

to establish a shorter working day for adoles-

* Second World War.

cents of 15 to 18 years as stipulated in Soviet labour legislation;

to set time limits for the training of adolescents;

to give adolescents qualification tests, to establish job rates for them and provide them with jobs at the plant;

to give all young workers and office employees under 18 a 30-day vacation in summer or, if they so wish, at any other time of the year, regardless of the type of work they do. Additional leave shall be given them over and above the statutory vacation period, considering the health hazard involved in some of the jobs;

to give workers who study at school the annual leave in summer or, if they so wish, during their examination sessions;

not to give workers or office employees under 18 years overtime or night work;

to carry out medical checkups of young workers once every year.

In order to draw young people into socially useful activities, and to make their free time more interesting, the TU Committee shall encourage them to raise their general educational level and to attend classes at evening schools for the working youth and at the evening departments of technical schools and institutes; it shall also check their attendance and their progress there. The TU Committee shall encourage them to take part in the activities of various technical circles and clubs

and in the work of amateur art groups, in sports competitions and tourism.

The TU Committee shall allocate 230,000 roubles (including the subsidies given to clubs and the Voluntary Sports Society) for mass sport and physical activities.

The Management undertakes:

to carry out the volume of work on the building of the track-and-field indoor stadium planned for 1975;

to keep the sports and cultural facilities, cultural centres, stadiums, parks, and children's playgrounds in proper order and to do repair work whenever necessary and in amounts and within time limits agreed upon with the TU Committee.

The TU Committee undertakes:

systematically to conduct political, educational and cultural work among workers, office employees and the members of their families at cultural centres and in recreation rooms at factory shops and hostels; to set up amateur art circles, to arrange in 1975 not less than 3,000 lectures and talks;

to organise not less than 470 concerts at the plant's shops, at hostels, at political education centres and prophylactoria using for this the amateur art groups of the plant.

The Management and the TU Committee undertake:

to create conditions for the workers and the members of their families to engage in physical

culture and sport, and to provide replacements for workers taking part in cultural and sports activities, provided this does not have an adverse effect on production.

Improvement of Working and Living Conditions for Women

The TU Committee undertakes to see to it that expectant and nursing mothers and mothers with babies under one year of age will have good conditions for work, that they will be given leave for the duration of the nursing period, in accordance with labour legislation.

Under the decree of the Soviet Government promulgated on July 5, 1968 (No. 517) nursing mothers may at their request have an additional leave at their own expense until their children have reached the age of one year. During this additional leave the women retain their jobs and the time is automatically added to their seniority record.

To help women bring up their children, the Management undertakes:

to provide playgrounds around the child-care centres with equipment necessary for the physical development of children;

to carry out running repairs of children's country homes and kindergartens in cities for the summer period.

The TU Committee and the Management undertake:

to take care of the health of the children of workers and office employees by accommodating them in the summer at young pioneer camps in cities and in the country, also at special country homes;

to subsidise improvements in the diet of the children at young pioneer camps (30,000 roubles) and at kindergartens (5,000 roubles).

The TU Committee undertakes:

to discuss questions relating to the upbringing of children at general meetings of workers and office employees;

to look into the conditions of the upbringing of schoolchildren in families and to use its authority with those of the employees who are remiss with their parental duties.

The Management and the TU Committee undertake:

to ensure that the implementation of this collective agreement will be supervised by the standing commissions of the shop and plant TU committees, jointly with the heads of the shops and managerial departments;

to make sure that the implementation of this collective agreement will be supervised also by the employees themselves, that the director's reports and the reports of the chairman of the TU committee of the plant on the results of its implementation over a six-month period and over a

period of one year will be discussed at general meetings and conferences.

The Management shall have the text of this collective agreement printed and circulated among the employees within a month.

This collective agreement is considered effective for a period of one year from the day of its signing.

Director of the Plant

L. Yupko

Chairman of the TU Committee

V. Galko

PART THREE

APPENDIX I. On the Conclusion of Collective Agreements

Text of The Manner of Concluding Collective Agreements, agreed on August 20, 1971 between the Council of Ministers and the Soviet TUC.

"1. Collective agreements are concluded annually, not later than February, at industrial, building, agricultural, forestry, transport and communications undertakings, in prospecting, topographical and geodesic undertakings, at trading, catering and social-service enterprises which have their own account and are juridical persons.

A collective agreement is concluded by factory, mill or local trade-union committee in the name of the workers and staff, with the enterprise or organisation's management.

In a productive combine (complex, firm) the collective agreement is concluded by the overall director (general manager) and the trade-union committee for the combine (complex, firm) representing the interests of all the productive units embraced by the combine (complex, firm). In the case where an enterprise, member of a combine (etc.), has its own independent account and is a juridical person, the collective agreement is concluded by the trade-union committee with the management of the enterprise. At the same time the trade-union committee of the given enterprise concludes with the overall director of the combine an agreement on questions of labour protection, social and cultural undertakings and house-building which are carried out at the expense of the manufacturing combine.

In a state industrial *khozraschot* (efficiency accounting) combine (all-USSR or regional), collective agreements are concluded at the level of the enterprises and organisations which make up the combine, by the trade-union committee of each enterprise or organisation in the combine, with the administration of that enterprise or organisation. The head of the combine may conclude an agreement with the corresponding trade-union body—district, regional, republican or central trade-

union committee—on questions of disseminating advanced experience, introducing inventions and innovations, for the creation of pleasant and safer conditions of labour, social and cultural undertakings and house-building which are carried out at the expense of the centralised funds of the *khozraschot* combine.

2. The conclusion of a collective agreement at an enterprise or in a combine or organisation is preceded by the collection of workers' proposals for inclusion in the new draft collective agreement.

The drafts of the collective agreement at enterprises, in manufacturing or industrial combines and organisations, and the appendices accompanying the collective agreement are worked out by the head of the enterprise, combine or organisation and the trade-union committee on the basis of the plan for the forthcoming year, the estimates for the trade-union budget and the budget for the state social insurance and other documents in accordance with the letters of instruction from ministries, departments and central and republican trade-union committees. The preparation of these documents is carried out with the participation of standing factory or office trade-union commissions, the Standing Production Councils and the Scientific and Technical Society and All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators' bodies.

3. The letters of instruction which determine

the fundamental guidelines for collective agreements, taking into account the specific objectives for the development of the national economy, and the manner of carrying out the collective agreement campaign, must be reviewed annually, not later than October, by the ministries and departments together with the central and republican trade-union committees.

4. The collective agreement should contain the basic regulations on questions of labour and wages which have been set for the given enterprise or organisation corresponding to current legislation, and also regulations affecting the working week, breaks, labour remuneration and material incentive, safety at work and health protection which have been worked out by the management and the trade-union committee, and carry a binding commitment.

The collective agreement determines the mutual obligations of the management and the workforce to carry out the production plans, modernisation of the organisation of production and labour, the introduction of new technology and raising the productivity of labour, improving quality and lowering the cost of production, the development of socialist emulation, strengthening production and labour discipline, raising qualifications and training skilled workers directly at the point of production.

The collective agreement should contain the obligations of the management and the factory or

office trade-union committee to involve workers and staff in managing production, in perfecting rate-setting, determining the method of payment for work and material incentive, in accident prevention, distributing privileges and benefits to workers who distinguish themselves in production, in improving housing and the social, sanitation and hygiene conditions, and in the organisation of the working people's rest time, development of educational and mass cultural work, in providing workers on all shifts with hot food.

The collective agreement also includes the corresponding undertakings in the plan for social development of the enterprise's, combine's or organisation's workforce in the given year.

Collective agreements must contain the mutual commitments of the management and workers and staff to reduce labour intensity, to raise the quota levels and the productivity of labour, including undertakings to increase substantially the proportion of technically based (scientifically calculated *) output and services quotas and the proportion of jobs expressed in quotas at enterprises and organisations. These are to be calculated on the basis of sectoral, inter-sectoral and other more progressive quota-setting systems.

5. Collective agreements should not include conditions which worsen the position of the workers and staff compared with the conditions laid down by the labour legislation of the USSR and

* i.e. based on work-study methods.

the union republics, or in other ways contradict this legislation. Responsibility for seeing to it that the conditions in collective agreements correspond to current legislation is that of the higher economic and trade-union bodies.

6. The draft collective agreement, taking into account comments and corrections introduced in the course of its discussion at workers' meetings in shops, sections, departments and productive units of a combine, which are agreed upon with the management of the enterprise, combine or organisation, is put for discussion at the general meeting (conference) of workers and staff.

7. After adoption of the draft collective agreement by the general meeting (conference) the management of the enterprise, combine or organisation and the trade-union committee sign its final text.

8. The collective agreement comes into force as soon as the sides have signed it.

9. A mass* process of checking the collective agreement at the enterprise, in the combine or organisation is carried out not less than twice a year by the trade-union committee together with the management, with widespread trade-union activist participation. The results of the check are discussed at meetings of the workers and staff at shop, enterprise, organisation and combine levels (with the participation of the workforces of all the productive units which compose them).

* i.e. wholesale, in detail.

The management and the trade-union committee examine any critical comments made by workers and staff in the course of discussing the results of implementing the collective agreement and within two weeks bring to the notice of the workforce of the enterprise, combine or organisation what has been done. If fulfilment of the workers' and staff's proposals falls outside the competence of the management of the enterprise, combine or organisation, they are sent to the higher economic and trade-union bodies (sectoral committees, ministries, district, regional, republican and central trade-union committees) for appropriate measures to be taken.

10. Changes in, and supplements to, the collective agreement may be made during its life. All changes and additions to the collective agreement must take place with the approval of the general meeting (conference) of workers and staff, and then be officially included as appendices to the collective agreement and be signed by the management of the enterprise, combine or organisation and by the corresponding trade-union committee.

11. Disagreements between the management of the enterprise, combine or organisation and the trade-union committee during the conclusion of a collective agreement are settled within two weeks by higher economic and trade-union bodies with the participation of both sides. The decision is minuted.

12. Checking on the fulfilment of the obligations and undertakings included in the collective agreement is carried out by the management and the trade-union committee of the enterprise, combine or organisation and the higher economic and trade-union bodies.

The management of the enterprise, combine or organisation and the trade-union committee report to the workers and staff on fulfilment of obligations in the collective agreement.

Fulfilment of the proposals introduced by workers and staff in the course of discussion of the draft collective agreement, but not included in it, but accepted by the management for implementation as soon as feasible, are checked on by the trade-union committee.

The results of carrying out collective agreements in various sectors of the national economy are discussed annually at a joint session of the presidium of the central committee of the trade union and the board of the corresponding ministry or department.

13. Annually, not later than April 1, the national executive of the trade union submits to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (TUC) a report and gives information on the results of carrying out and concluding collective agreements according to branches of industry, on the organisational and mass work undertaken in connection with this, on the reasons for not fulfilling obligations and the steps taken to rectify this, etc.

Every factory or office trade-union committee which concludes a collective agreement gives a report on form 16-KD, and this is submitted within a set time to the higher trade-union body. The trade-union councils annually, not later than August 15, submit to the AUCCTU information on the results of mass checking on the fulfilment of collective agreements at enterprises, combines and organisations for the first half year.

14. The management and the trade-union committee of the enterprise, combine or organisation must bring to the notice of the workers and staff the text of the collective agreement (not later than a month after it has been signed), systematically report on how it is being executed, using for this wall newspapers, posters, booklets, newspapers and journals and other means of mass communication.

When a worker or staff employee is engaged the management is obliged to let him know about the current collective agreement operating at the enterprise, combine or organisation.

15. The central committee of the trade unions together with the ministries and departments, taking into account the specifics of particular branches of industry may, with the agreement of the AUCCTU and the State Committee of the USSR on Labour and Wages, introduce changes in the present method of concluding collective agreements."

APPENDIX II. The Production Conference

Text of the *Content of the Work and Rights of the Standing Production Conference*. Regulation issued jointly by the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Soviet TUC on June 18, 1973.

"The Standing Production Conference

– directs its work to guaranteeing the fulfilment of the targets in the state plan for the enterprise, organisation, shop and other structural subdivision, to revealing reserves and the productive potential for intense plans and for raising the efficiency of production, and also for carrying out the plans for the social development of the workforce, for perfecting socialist emulation, for the all-round raising of the productivity of labour on the basis of a wider use of the latest achievements of science and technology, the most advanced practices, scientific organisation of labour and of industrial management;

– takes part in the discussion of drafts of cur-

rent and long-term plans for the enterprise and organisation, of the plan for social development of the workforce, of proposals for improving planning within the factory and the use of material incentive funds;

– hears reports of the heads of enterprises, organisations, shops and other structural subdivisions on the way the plan is being fulfilled and on the results of financial and economic activities for the corresponding period;

– examines questions relating to modernising the organisation of production, labour, wages and technical quota-setting, and also suggestions for guaranteeing the fulfilment of quotas by every worker, improvement in quality and reduction of unit costs of production, takes part in the discussion and introduction of the most advanced methods of stimulating increases in the efficiency of production;

– takes part in drawing up and putting into practice measures to combat the production of defective goods, holdups, lack of smooth production flow, to ensure the efficient use of work areas, farm land, premises and implements, machines and equipment, the economy of raw materials and other materials, energy resources and fuel;

– assists the quickening of scientific and technological progress, strengthening the links between science and production, discusses plans for organisational and technical undertakings, for the

introduction of new techniques, of the most advanced work methods, mechanisation and automation of production and putting into operation the suggestions of innovators and inventors;

- examines plans for industrial, housing and cultural construction, for the efficient use of capital investment, for bringing into action and mastering productive capacity ahead of schedule;

- makes proposals for concentration and specialisation of production, simplifying and streamlining of the management of the structural subsections of enterprises and organisations, for improving the work of its personnel;

- examines measures for improving safety, raising standards and design of production, of safety devices and for the purposeful use of funds for these;

- examines the ways of improving communal services for the working people, shops and public catering;

- examines questions related to the training and raising of qualifications and technical standards of personnel and to economic education, to the proper employment of workers in keeping with their speciality and qualification, discusses measures to retain personnel, to strengthen labour discipline.

The SPC takes decisions on the questions it has discussed in strict accordance with the present regulations, with current legislation and the plans

established for the enterprise, organisation, shop or other structural subdivisions.

The members of the SPC take an active part in explaining to workers and staff current and long-term production plans, in the preparation for, and discussion of, matters that come up at the sessions of the SPC, inform the workers on decisions taken at those sessions, are active in carrying out those decisions and periodically report on their work to the workforce.

With the agreement of the factory or office trade-union committee, the SPC may, if necessary, put its own proposals for improving the functioning of the enterprise or organisation to higher industrial and trade-union bodies.

The management of the enterprise, organisation, shop or other structural subsection is bound

- in all ways to assist the standing production conference in its work, to get rid of shortcomings which have been pointed out by the SPC in the activity of the enterprise, organisation, shop or other sub-section, and also of individual employees. It must also respond to proposals for strengthening the personnel of sectors which fall behind;

- to see to the implementation of decisions and proposals that have been adopted by the SPC, to issue, when necessary, instructions or directives stating the time by which certain tasks must be performed and naming the individuals responsible for carrying out these decisions and propo-

sals. It must report on their implementation to a session of the SPC.

In cases where the management of the enterprise, organisation, shop or other structural subsection disagrees with particular proposals that have been adopted by the SPC, the matter is examined by the corresponding TU committee together with the head of the enterprise, organisation, shop or other structural subsection, with the participation of a representative of the SPC, after which the enterprise head takes a decision on the substance of the disputed matters.

In order that questions that are discussed at the SPC can be examined fully and from all aspects, the management of the enterprise etc. is obliged to help in preparing for them, to acquaint members of the SPC with the actual state of affairs and to produce the necessary information material."

Decisions are taken by simple majority, as long as at least two-thirds of SPC members are present. SPC's must report to a mass meeting or conference of delegates of their constituents (enterprise) at least once a year.

A mass meeting or conference of the enterprise can recall individual members of the SPC and replace them with others before their full term is over.

APPENDIX III. Labour Protection

From the *Regulation on the Labour Protection Commission at Enterprise and Local Level*, adopted by the Presidium of the Soviet TUC on October 4, 1963

The commission:

- a) checks on the administration's observance of legislation on the length of the working week, days off and holidays, protection of female and youth labour; checks on the legality of the use of overtime;
- b) checks on the state of industrial safety and hygiene at work places, in production departments and shops and strives to introduce measures which will create healthy and safe conditions of work; actively participates in preparing and putting into practice labour-protection measures which involve the rank and file (public checkings, competitions, etc.);
- c) assists the administration in introducing into

production modern technology, new techniques, automation and mechanisation of production processes aimed at removing hard manual work;

d) takes part in drawing up and checking on the implementation of agreements on labour protection and the corresponding section of the collective agreement, and also checks on the use of funds earmarked for carrying out measures for making the working conditions more healthy;

e) checks on the organisation and quality of instruction and training of workers in safe work methods;

f) looks into the causes of industrial accidents and diseases and demands removal of the causes by the administration; checks on the timeliness and correctness of investigations and the account taken of accidents connected with production;

g) puts forward conclusions on the degree of guilt of the accident sufferer when there is a case of mixed responsibility, for determining the extent of compensation for loss caused by maiming or any other damage to health connected with his work;

h) strives to improve conditions of hygiene at workplaces, demands ventilation equipment which meets the sanitary standards, proper lighting for work benches and production buildings, cleanliness and exemplary order on the benches, and also the carrying out of necessary measures to remove dust and gases and eliminate overheating at work places;

i) takes part in passing for use newly built and rebuilt enterprises, shops and separate productive units;

j) checks on the condition of hygiene and communal rooms and sees that they are used for what they were designed for, checks that there is the necessary number of places in the cloakrooms, showers, washrooms, women's hygiene rooms, that there is uninterrupted supply of hot water in the showers and washrooms, all in line with the corresponding sanitary standards;

k) examines plans at the enterprise (shop) in preparation for work in winter and summer conditions, checks on their implementation;

l) sees to it that there is timely supply of overalls, footwear, goggles, respirators and other protective appliances for individual protection of the workers, that washing and mending of overalls is carried out with the necessary frequency; nominates its representative for the commission which checks on the quality of new overalls and footwear; maintains a check on the distribution of overalls and special soap, on the provision of drinks at the point of production.

The labour protection commission has the right to inspect shops and work benches, and also to see documents related to labour protection.

APPENDIX IV. Regulations on Housing and Communal Facilities

The Work of the Trade-Union Commission on Housing and Social Questions

(Laid down in the resolution of the Presidium of the Soviet TUC, December 30, 1963, as amended August 19, 1969)

"The Commission on Housing and Social Questions (CHSQ):

- gives assistance to the trade-union committee in working out and putting into effect undertakings aimed at improving the housing and social conditions of workers and staff;
- takes part in working out and discussing the draft long-term and current plans for housing and cultural and social construction and housing repairs, puts forward proposals concerning consumer services for workers and staff, for the factory or office trade-union committee (FOC) for

inclusion in the collective agreement and strives to ensure timely fulfilment of obligations which have been accepted in the collective agreement;

- checks on the building of living accommodation, children's pre-school institutions, clubs, hospitals, clinics, canteens and other communal service establishments; organises groups for public supervision at every construction unit; works out proposals to assist plan fulfilment, to improve the quality and cut the cost of housing and communal-service construction, to improve consumer services and provide fuel for workers and staff;

- prepares proposals for the FOC* for the use of the Social-Cultural Undertakings and House-Building Fund for building living accommodation, establishments for cultural activities and consumer services, repairs of living accommodation; maintains a check on the use of these means to ensure that they are in line with the agreed estimates on expenditure;

- discusses reports by the heads of housing and communal bodies, construction organisations and others responsible for providing consumer services for workers and staff;

- takes part in the work of the state commissions which pass for use completed buildings for living accommodation, cultural and communal services;

- carries out work to organise workers and

* Factory or office trade-union committee.

staff in house-building co-operatives, groups of private house-builders, gives them assistance in obtaining plots of land, building materials, structural elements and fittings, and maintains a check on their proper use;

- investigates the living conditions of workers and staff, prepares for the FOC suggestions for placing on the books those in need of housing, for composing a priority list, and distributing living accommodation, and also puts forward proposals for the distribution of flats between factory shops, departments and other economic subdivisions;

- together with the FOC's commission on youth work assists in improving the housing and social conditions for young workers and staff;

- helps to promote communist attitudes in everyday life, to involve the public in managing housing, gives assistance to the FOC in the organisation of house committees and maintains supervision of their activity;

- works out proposals for improving the use of living accommodation, for ensuring the proper upkeep of the housing, for reducing the length of time taken for, and raising the quality of, major repairs and maintenance, for further improving the housing and housing areas;

- maintains permanent supervision over the state of dormitories, works out proposals aimed at creating better conditions for workers and staff who live in dormitories; strives for strict adhe-

rence to sanitary rules in furnishing and maintaining the dormitories, and for regular collection of payment for their use; carries out explanatory work among the residents on the necessity of looking after equipment and furnishings, on abiding by the rules of conduct in a socialist community; organises shop patronage over dormitories.

...the commission meets regularly and not less than once a month... the CHSQ works under the control of the FOC and is accountable to it for its work."

APPENDIX V. Principles for Workers' Participation at Local Level

Workers' Participation in Enterprise Management

(T. I. Ponizov, *op. cit.*, p. 23 et seq.)

"One of the most important tasks of management is to provide for the nationwide raising of creative initiative, the involvement of broad masses of workers in accomplishing various production tasks. An enormous role in developing the initiative of the workers, in involving them in managing production, is played by the trade unions. . .

"The factory or office trade-union committee represents industrial and staff workers on all questions of labour, culture and social life. The trade-union committee takes part in working out draft production plans and also plans for house-

building and repair as well as plans for cultural and communal construction linked to the enterprise; in the name of the workers and staff it concludes collective agreements with the management of the enterprise and organises fulfilment of the obligations contained in the agreement; holds mass meetings and production and technological conferences, organises socialist emulation; checks on the management's fulfilment of legislation affecting labour, the rules and standards of industrial safety and sanitation at work. Without the agreement of the trade-union committee the administration has no right to dismiss or demote a worker or to raise piece-work quotas. Together with the enterprise manager, the trade-union committee decides all questions affecting bonus payments, distribution of housing space and spending on the improvement of working conditions.

"Leading staff at an enterprise report to trade-union committee meetings, standing production conferences and mass meetings on draft technical, financial and industrial plans for the enterprise, on the results of production and economic activity, on the fulfilment of plans and obligations accepted in the collective agreement, on measures to improve work organisation and on material-social and cultural facilities for the workers and staff. When necessary, the trade-union committee has the right to raise with the appropriate organisations the question of removal or punishment of leading members of staff who have not carried

out obligations entered into in the collective agreement, who have been bureaucratic or violated labour laws. In making appointments to leading staff posts, the administration is bound to take the trade-union committee's opinion into account.

"A most important method for widespread involvement of workers and staff in managing production is the Standing Production Conference, which functions under the leadership of the enterprise trade-union committee. . .

"One of the most important all-embracing forms for workers and staff participation in management of production is through workers' meetings in brigades,* departments and shops. At these meetings the workforce's activity is discussed in the context of the particular tasks it has to deal with. The value of such meetings is that the whole workforce of the team, department or shop is involved. This allows for determining the full potential for increasing production, based on using the experience and suggestions which come from the meeting.

"Great importance for improving production is workforce participation in the basic units of the Scientific and Technical Societies and in invention and innovation.

"In many enterprises, on trade-union committee initiative, technical and economic councils are formed which act as consultative bodies for the

* work teams.

director (manager). Trade-union organisations make wide use of such experimental methods of worker participation in management as public reviews of production reserves, the state of equipment, organisation of production and labour.

"Amateur design, technological and rate-setting bureaux, innovators' councils, research laboratories, bureaux and groups for economic analysis are set up at establishments. Production, technical and economic conferences and meetings between shock workers are widely encouraged, where questions of technical progress and the perfection of the organisation of production and labour are discussed.

"The whole of this many-sided activity of the trade unions is aimed at training workers in the business of managing production and raising its efficiency. . ."

APPENDIX VI. Rights of Factory and Office Trade-Union Committees

Text of the Rights of Factory and Office Trade-Union Committees, approved by a decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR, September 27, 1971

"1. The factory or office trade-union committee, elected according to the rules of the appropriate trade union, represents the interests of workers and staff employees of an enterprise, institute, organisation in the field of production, labour, out-of-work conditions and culture, and has the rights of a juridical person.

2. The factory or office trade-union committee (FOC) promotes the workers' and staff employees' participation in the management of production through mass meetings, production conferences, discussions and various forms of social

initiatives on the part of the workers and employees.

The administration of the enterprise, institute or organisation must create conditions which allow the workers and employees to take part in the management of production. Those holding positions of responsibility in the enterprise, etc. are bound in good time to look into criticisms and proposals made by workers and employees, and to report to them on measures taken.

3. The FOC takes part in drawing up draft production plans, plans for introducing new techniques, for capital construction at the enterprise, institute or organisation, for the construction and repairs of living accommodation and cultural and communal facilities, as well as for the social development of the workforce.

4. The FOC, in the name of the workforce of workers and staff employees, concludes a collective agreement with the administration of the enterprise and maintains systematic control over the timely implementation of measures stipulated in the collective agreement, and, together with the management, organises the implementation of commitments contained in the agreement.

5. The management together with the FOC decides on the use of the material-incentive and social-cultural and house-building funds. Redistribution of money between the two funds, within the set limits, is done by the management of the enterprise and the FOC.

The size of premia and other forms of incentive, material assistance and awards for the enterprise's activity over the year, which come from the material incentive fund, are decided by the management of the enterprise together with the FOC.

Together with the administration, the FOC approves the budget for the use of the enterprise fund for improving cultural and communal conditions for the workers and for modernising production, as well as for paying out individual bonuses and affording once-only assistance.

6. Itemised lists of building projects, paid for out of the enterprise fund and the fund for making consumer goods, as well as itemised lists of projects to improve safety at work and sanitation are established by the manager of the enterprise, in agreement with the FOC.

7. The FOC has the right to receive reports from management on fulfilment of the production plan, the commitments in the collective agreement, measures to organise and improve working conditions, out-of-work conditions and cultural (leisure) facilities for the workers and staff employees, and to demand the removal of shortcomings that become apparent.

The FOC, when this becomes necessary, can raise the question of removal or punishment of managerial staff with the appropriate authority. This would be for failure to carry out the commitments entered into in the collective agreement,

for bureaucracy, red tape or violating labour law.

The appointment of staff to leading posts in the economic management of an enterprise, etc. is done by management taking into account the opinion of the FOC.

8. The FOC runs production discussions, calls general meetings, carries out a systematic check on fulfilment of decisions taken at these discussions and meetings and on workers' and staff proposals;

together with the administration it regularly convenes production-technical and economic conferences, discussions among shock workers, at which matters relating to technical progress and the economic development of the enterprise are discussed, and measures to remove shortcomings in the activity of the enterprise, of separate shops, sections and other subdivisions are discussed.

The FOC, together with the administration, organises socialist emulation, the movement for communist attitudes to labour and derives conclusions from these. It determines the victors in the emulation and awards diplomas and challenge red flags to workforces at all levels within the enterprise, decides on financial awards and also on the entry in the honorary book and the board of honour of the best workers, widely publicises the results of socialist emulation, makes known the best examples of work.

All funds for paying premia linked to socialist

emulation are spent by the head of the enterprise, in agreement with the FOC.

9. The FOC assists in every way in the development of inventiveness and innovation and maintains a check on the timely introduction into production of accepted inventions and innovations. Together with the management, the FOC examines complaints from workers and staff on their innovation proposals being turned down, and also complaints on matters relating to calculating and timing of paying awards for accepted innovation proposals and inventions.

10. The FOC makes proposals to higher economic and government bodies to improve the activity of the enterprise and also on working conditions and meeting the everyday out-of-work requirements of workers. These bodies are obliged to examine these proposals and report to the FOC on the results of their study.

11. The enterprise's internal regulations are set by the administration in agreement with the FOC, on the basis of the model rules.

12. By agreement with the FOC, within the limits set to its rights, the administration:

a) defines the piece- and time-work payment systems;

b) decides on skill grades of workers for whom, with time-rate payment the basic rates of piece-workers and monthly salaries are used instead of the basic rates of time-workers;

c) decides the grading and work of those paid

according to basic rates which have been set for workers on hot and arduous jobs, workers in harmful conditions, work under particularly hard and hazardous conditions, in line with the approved list of these trades and jobs according to branch of industry;

d) sets the grading, decides the category workers fall into, in line with the current basic rate regulations, grades workers of new trades approximately matching those with comparable jobs, as listed in the manuals, and informing the next higher body accordingly;

e) sets regulations governing bonus payment to workers and employees in the enterprise, decides on the payment of awards according to the results of year's work out of the fund formed out of the profit made by the enterprise;

f) settles matters involved in the relationship of shops, sectors and other internal subdivisions in an enterprise to the appropriate group (concerning payment) of managing, engineering and technical personnel, and also relating to moving them from one group to another in connection with changes in the volume of production;

g) output and time limits are introduced and reviewed, as well as targets in the service sector and manning levels for workers and staff;

h) in cases foreseen by the law, it confirms cases where quotas are reduced for young workers who have come to the enterprise before com-

pleting general education, vocational school and also those studying while at work;

i) allows, when reasonable, the holding of more than one job, and also sets additional payment for combining jobs in line with existing legislation.

13. The FOC maintains a check on the management of the enterprise observing labour legislation, health, safety and sanitation rules, proper use of the regulations for paying for work and the deduction of taxes from the wages and salaries.

Starting production at new or reconstructed enterprises is not allowed without the permission of the bodies which maintain sanitary and technical supervision and the technical inspectorate of the trade union and the FOC concerned.

14. In agreement with the FOC, and within the rights accorded to an enterprise, the management may:

a) establish, on the basis of the industry's list of trades for this purpose, those which are entitled to free work clothes, shoes and other items for individual protection, special soap, and where this is provided for, special cleansing and neutralising substances;

b) set, in line with medical indicators, a list of jobs and trades which entitle the workers to free milk or other foods of equal value;

c) set a list of jobs where, because of the conditions of production, there can be no rest breaks

and interruptions for meals, and the method of taking food is settled;

d) sum up the time the workers and staff employees spend on jobs involving uninterrupted production in an enterprise and in parts of enterprises, where it is not possible for the workers to observe day by day and week by week the length of time they should be spending at work according to their grade, etc. so that the length of working time over a given period does not exceed the total allowable working hours;

e) determine the order in which workers take their holidays;

f) work out the schedules for shifts on the five-day working week principle;

g) give additional holidays to personnel on non-specified time-schedule* jobs in accordance with the labour legislation and the list of occupations of workers without a limit on the length of the working day set by the ministries by agreement with the appropriate trade-union body;

h) take on youths aged 15 to 16;

i) allow doing more than one job in cases permitted by legislation.

15. Where there is lack in the safety regulations of requirements essential for guaranteeing safety of work on a particular job, the management of the enterprise with the FOC take appropriate measures for protecting the safety of working conditions.

* see note on p. 115.

16. Instruction on safety and health at work, and regulations for conduct related to these are worked out and approved by the management together with the FOC.

17. Overtime work and bringing in workers and staff employees to work on days off may take place in exceptional cases stipulated by the legislation and only with the sanction of the FOC.

18. Workers and staff employees may not be dismissed from enterprises on the management's initiative without prior agreement of the FOC, except in cases laid down in the legislation.

19. The FOC examines labour disputes at the request of workers or staff employees when agreement cannot be reached between the two sides in the grievances commission, and when the ruling of that commission is challenged by workers. In such cases the FOC may confirm the decision or quash it and take a new decision.

The FOC, on its own initiative, or following a protest from an investigating magistrate, can quash a decision of the commission if it conflicts with the current legislation, and decide on the substance of the conflict.

20. The FOC examines appeals against decisions of the management on compensation by enterprises for damages caused to the worker by maiming or other injury as a result of work.

21. The FOC fulfils the functions of the state social insurance service for workers; sets amounts

of relief, gives workers accommodation for medical cure and recuperation at rest homes and tourist and health-building establishments and provides dietary food, sends workers' children to young pioneer camps, checks on the medical service for workers and members of their families.

In agreement with the FOC, the management can give workers accommodation at rest homes, sanatoria for convalescents, holiday homes and tourist centres and offer them tours, all paid for out of the social-cultural funds.

The FOC, jointly with the management, draws up documents necessary to give workers and their families pensions, and puts them forward to obtain pensions, decides matters relating to placing handicapped persons at work, takes part through its representatives in setting the level of pensions for workers and staff by the agencies dealing with social security.

The FOC checks on the timely payment by enterprises of contributions to social insurance, and in cases which require this, deducts insurance contributions from the enterprise; this ruling cannot be challenged.

In cases where the FOC decides that maiming due to work or an industrial disease is the result of the management violating health and safety regulations, the FOC issues the management with a compulsorily enforceable instruction for the enterprise to compensate for the maiming or illness. The management has to pay the money into the

state social insurance fund and cannot challenge the instruction.

22. The FOC checks on implementation of plans for housing and cultural and communal construction, keeps an eye on the use of the housing and communal facilities. A representative of the trade-union committee takes part as a full member in the commission which accepts from the builders housing destined for the workforce of the enterprise, etc. and also buildings for use in out-of-work activities.

23. People are given living accommodation in buildings belonging to the state, co-operatives and public organisations by joint decision of the management and the FOC, and confirmed by the executive committee of the local Soviet. All living accommodation built at the expense of the social-cultural fund of an enterprise, of the enterprise fund, the consumer-service fund and other funds belonging to the enterprise (which the law allows to be used on housing) is allocated to people according to a housing list jointly agreed by the management and the FOC, with the local Soviet executive committee being informed.

24. The FOC, jointly with the administration, takes measures to see that the benefits and privileges accorded by law to women, for the protection of their health, for improving and making more healthy their working and spare time conditions are implemented.

25. The FOC and the administration of the

establishment examine questions relating to paying bonuses to young workers and staff employees, to securing for them self-contained living accommodation or space in dormitories, to the safety of youngsters, to the laws limiting their dismissal, to the use of funds for developing cultural and sports activities, involving representatives of the Young Communist League of the enterprise, etc.

26. The administration, jointly with the FOC, can decide to use part of the funds allocated to the enterprise out of the state budget for housing construction or on building pre-school facilities.

27. The FOC maintains a check on the work of state and co-operative trading organisations and catering facilities for the workers of the enterprise. Additions to the prices of foods and lunches, and also the hours of work of canteens, buffets, shops and stalls on the grounds of the enterprise are decided with FOC participation.

28. Enterprises must provide the FOC free with necessary accommodation complete with furniture, heating, lighting, cleaning and sanitary facilities for the work of the committee itself and for holding general meetings. The management also provides the FOC free with transport and communication facilities.

Buildings and other premises, installations, gardens and parks designated for cultural and educational, recuperation, physical-exercise and sports purposes for the workforce and members

of its families, as well as young pioneer camps, are paid for by the enterprise and are given for free use to the FOC. Buildings, premises, etc. leased by the enterprise also designated for use for the above purposes, are given over to the free use of the FOC.

The equipment, repairs, heating, lighting, cleaning and sanitary facilities of the premises mentioned in this section, and of young pioneer camps, are all paid for by the enterprise.

The list of equipment for the buildings provided by the enterprise to the FOC as well as for conducting cultural and educational, recuperation, PT and sport activities of the workforce and members of its families, as well as the equipment for young pioneer camps is decided by the director of the enterprise with the FOC within the limits of the funds foreseen by budget estimates drawn up for these.

The enterprise provides, without possibility of calling it back, all equipment to the FOC which is obtained from the enterprise fund, the consumer-service fund and the social-cultural funds and out of the sums of premia under socialist emulation.

The FOC guarantees the proper use of all the listed buildings, premises, gardens and parks, also young pioneer camps, keeps them in order and organises among the workers and members of their families cultural and educational, etc. activities.

29. Workers who are released from work at the enterprise following election to membership of the FOC can have their old job back when they complete their period of office; and if the job no longer exists then another job worth the same at the same or, with the workers' agreement, at another enterprise.

30. Workers who are elected to the FOC but are not full-time, cannot be moved to other work or be subjected to disciplinary punishment without the prior agreement of the FOC; and in the case of chairmen of the FOC's without the prior agreement of the next higher trade-union body.

The dismissal of non-full-timers who are chairmen or members of an FOC, by management, can only take place with the agreement of the next higher trade-union body.

31. This regulation extends also to shop trade-union committees in an enterprise, according to its applicability.

The FOC which has the status of district trade-union committee, can pass on to the shop trade-union committees certain rights equivalent to the competence of FOCs."



Мик Костелло
УЧАСТИЕ РАБОЧИХ В УПРАВЛЕНИИ ПРОИЗВОДСТВОМ
В СССР
на английском языке
Цена 41 коп.



Mick Costello was born in London, in 1936. In August, 1945, his family moved to Moscow, where his father had been appointed to a secretaryship in the New Zealand legation. For the next five years the author was enrolled in a Russian school and studied the Russian language. His interest in the history and development of the Soviet Union, stimulated by his childhood stay in that country during the first years of post-Second World War economic recovery, has been kept alive mainly by studies on his own after school and college.

Apart from private visits to the USSR, he went there in 1972, as a guest of the Soviet TUC, and in 1975 and 1976, at the invitation of the Novosti Press Agency. These trips have taken him to industrial centres in the Russian Federation and the Ukrainian, Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh and Azerbaijanian Union Republics, as well as to Yakutia and Buriat-Mongolia.

He has been an active member of the Amalgamated Society of Painters and Decorators, President of the Manchester University Students Union, Secretary of the British Youth Festival Committee and Chairman of the Labour and Industrial Correspondents Group of London-based newspaper journalists. He is at present industrial correspondent of the London *Morning Star*.

