



# HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY

Title	"SHAKAISHUGI KOKKA" TO RODOSHA KAIKYU : SOVETO KIGYO NI OKERU RODOSHA TOKATSU, 1929-1933 NEN ["SOCIALIST STATE" AND THE WORKING CLASS : CONTROL OVER WORKERS IN THE SOVIET ENTERPRISE, 1929-1933], By Nobuaki Shiokawa, Tokyo : Iwanami Shoten, 1984, xiv, 553+27pp., ¥7,500 / SUTARIN TAISEI-KA NO RODOSHA KAIKYU : SOVETO RODOSHA NO KOSEI TO JOTAI, 1929-1933 NEN [THE WORKING CLASS UNDER THE STALIN REGIME : THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION AND CONDITIONS OF THE SOVIET WORKERS, 1929-1933], By Nobuaki Shiokawa, Tokyo
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## REVIEWS

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SUTĀRIN TAISEI-KA NO RŌDŌSHA KAIKYŪ : SOVETO RŌDŌSHA NO KŌSEI TO JŌTAI, 1929–1933 NEN [THE WORKING CLASS UNDER THE STALIN REGIME : THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION AND CONDITIONS OF THE SOVIET WORKERS, 1929–1933]. By *Nobuaki Shiokawa*, Tokyo : Tokyo University Press, 1985, viii, 361+22pp. ¥6,800.

One of the most remarkable features of recent Soviet studies in Japan as well as in the West is a steady progress in investigation of Soviet history during the 1930s. The late E. H. Carr, as well as Yuzuru Taniuchi in Japan, have fully analyzed the process through which the Stalin regime established itself at the end of the 1920s. It may be, in a sense, a natural matter of course that more attention is being directed to studies on various political, economic, and social phenomena under that regime. Shiokawa's two volumes are among the best products of this new academic trend.

Shiokawa's primary concern is to examine how and to what extent the Soviet workers could be incorporated under the alleged workers' state. While this concern is commonly found in Western literature, the subject has not been treated as fully as it deserves. Furthermore, the period Shiokawa's monographs cover had its own peculiarities. The first Five-Year Plan period saw a rapid increase in the number of workers, which inevitably made the social composition of the labor force much more heterogenous in many aspects. As a result, the Soviet leadership was confronted with more complicated problems in controlling and mobilizing them towards an industrialization drive. In approaching this problem, the author supposes that decisions or policies adopted by the political leadership could not be immediately realized at the bottom of the social hierarchy, but must have been accompanied by various confusions, “deviations” and even “sabotages.” From this assumption, the author concentrates his attention upon the actualities at the production-enterprise level.

While the first volume is designed directly to answer the question mentioned above, the second one examines the social background which affected conditions of workers in the enterprise. Therefore we had better take up the latter first. Chapters 1 and 2 treat demand-supply relations on the labor market and *otkhodnichestvo* from the viewpoint of recruitment of labor force. Chapter 1 traces changes in the leadership's policies regulating the labor market, which experienced at first a labor shortage and then a serious excess, and it concludes that the measures to control this increase were enforced after the second half of 1932. Chapter 2 analyzes the impact by collectivization of agriculture

on *otkhodnichestvo*. Since 1931 the leadership tried to organize *otkhodnichestvo*, responding to the increasing demand of labor force and the progress in organization of *kolkhozes*, but this attempt failed. Meanwhile, the leadership changed their policy to check *otkhodnichestvo* from *kolkhozes*. This process is well described in this chapter. One of the greatest merits here is that the realities of *otkhodnichestvo* are closely examined for each respective industrial branches — the machine-building, coal-mining, construction, and other industries.

Chapter 3 makes a sociological analysis of the social composition of the Soviet workers, based upon two censuses for the years 1929 and 1932–33. It is rather widely known that workers at that time generally remained closely tied with the countryside, and that their social composition had suffered radical changes during the first FYP period. What is unique in this chapter is an interesting typology of the workers' ties with the countryside, which is made into three types according to their strength. The author observes a tendency of stratification within the working class, and argues that a core of skilled workers who supported the Stalin regime was forming itself. This point is important, but is regrettably not sufficiently elaborated on.

The fourth chapter deals with a problem of turnovers in manpower, which reflects in some way or another all the three problems discussed in the preceding chapters. Here the author also examines the problem for some characteristic industrial branches, and detects diversity among branches and various factors which brought about high turnovers, e. g. a wage differential between branches and lack of an appropriate training system in the enterprise. This chapter also reveals ineffectiveness of measures intended to prevent fluctuations of manpower, that is the limitedness of control over workers at the enterprise level. The last point is thoroughly discussed in the first volume.

This volume analyzes socialist emulations, wage policies and rationalization of production largely from the viewpoint of labor management in the first three chapters. Any socialist emulation which derives from spontaneous enthusiasm inevitably becomes polarized with control from above. Various forms of emulations such as shock-workers brigade movements, production collectives and *khozraschet* brigade movements easily lost substantial significance on the one hand, and they soon clashed with requirements of planning on the other. A vivid description of these developments leads to the conclusion that some sort of material incentives were needed in order to make socialist emulations fruitful.

One of those measures was an incentive wage system, which is examined in Chapter 2. After reviewing the history of wage policies since the NEP period, the author points out that the main goals of the wage policy in the early 1930s were to widen wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers, and between the key industries and others, and to let wages serve as a lever to raise the labor productivity. But these policy objectives were not realized, because in defining wages of individual workers some room was left for discretion by enterprise managers, which tended to be regarded as "deviations" by the political leadership. In a sellers' market of labor force, managers had to raise wages to secure to their own enterprises a sufficient amount of labor force. As a result wage funds in general went beyond a planned limit. Furthermore various forms of a piece rate plan, whose introduction had been recommended since 1931, could not

produce satisfactory results, as was expected, for norms of work were not fixed so as to give an incentive to efficiency. Irrational setting of norms was, in the author's judgement, primarily due to the fact that production process was not rationally organized.

Chapter 3 scrutinizes the rationalization of production for four industrial branches respectively, each of which was characteristic of the Soviet economy at the time, i. e. machine-building, cotton, coal-mining and construction industries. It is Shiokawa's original attempt to examine the problem of control over workers at the enterprise, relating it to the organization of work and the technical process of production. Incidentally, this chapter seems the most brilliant in this volume.

Chapter 4 treats the triangle in the enterprise consisting of a manager, the party, and the trade union organizations, which was charged with labor management. According to the author, the principle of one man management was not observed, and at the same time the triangle was far from able to control workers. While during the first FYP period there was achieved some progress in organization of the party and the trade union organizations and a kind of institutional prototype had been produced, disorder within the enterprise could not be overcome.

Both volumes demonstrate a good command of an impressive array of primary sources, and provide us with vivid images of the Soviet workers in the early 1930s. At the same time I am left with the impression that chaos had governed totally in the enterprise and no improvement had been achieved in terms of labor relations during the first FYP period. Although the author detects a positive factor for the Soviet regime such as formation of a core of cadre workers in Chapter 3 of the second volume, this factor does not seem to be taken into serious consideration in the analyses in the first volume.

The author considers rationalization of the production process to be the most fundamental factor in the problem of controlling workers in the enterprise. In his opinion, if socialist emulations were to be fruitful, a proper wage policy had to be implemented, and in order to make efficiency wages effective, the production process needed to be rationalized. It may be this logic that has led the author to a careful scrutiny of the rationalization of production. But on the other hand, it has resulted in an underestimation of the significance which the first two factors had for labor management, although the author pays sufficient attention to these factors and analyzes them. The logic seems to breed a more serious difficulty in the question of periodization.

The author regards as a landmark the years 1932–33, when checking employment increases and laying emphasis on qualitative indices became important policy objectives. This policy change must have made it somewhat easier for the triangle to control workers in the enterprise. But if rationalization of production has the fundamental significance for labor management, the question of periodization will need to be reconsidered. In 1932–33, as is elucidated in detail in Chapter 3 of the first volume, confusions inherent in the initial stage of industrialization had settled down, and yet various attempts for rationalization scarcely produced noticeable results, in terms of mechanization, standardization and proper organization of work and others, except in the machine-building industry.

In spite of some minor doubts, I believe Shiokawa's two volumes contribute greatly to our understanding of the Stalinist system. They range over nearly all the important

problems of labor relations, including *arteli* and real wages during this period. We are now provided with reliable information on these subjects.

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SOREN KEIZAI NO SAISEISAN KŌZŌ : SONO TŌKEITEKI KENKYŪ [THE REPRODUCTIVE STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY: A STATISTICAL STUDY]. By *Kiichi Mochizuki*. Tokyo: Taga Shuppan, 1984. 475pp. ¥6,800.

The direct source of the statistical information on Soviet economy is limited to the statistical Yearbook published by the Soviet Central Statistical Administration (TsSU). The Yearbook has been published yearly from 1956, following the post-Stalin era. The Yearbook contains some widely known defects; namely, it is based on exaggerated performance results, while negative economic performance is not included. It also contains many inconsistencies in nominal and real statistical terms. These characteristic features of the Yearbook result in the creation of unreliable forecasts and concepts.

In his book Mochizuki has attempted to compensate for these deficiencies by developing his own estimates and by using other reliable, politically non-biased sources for statistical information, provided by American and Soviet scholars.

By using this methodology, Mochizuki seeks to describe an overall picture of the reproductive structure and national income flow structure of the Soviet economy. The methodology employed, and the results obtained, are unique and thought-provoking. If Mochizuki's efforts were limited simply to a description of a macro-empirical analysis, it would be a scholarly accomplishment. In addition Mochizuki also provides the reader with a description of Soviet input-output analysis, as well as his own estimates of Soviet military expenditures, which are related to the most important issue of contemporary politics; namely U. S.-Soviet military competition.

The book, which includes over 150 statistical figures and tables, can be divided into four primary areas. The first area is concerned with the theoretical framework on which Mochizuki bases his statistical estimates. (Chapters 1, 4 and 5.) This framework is based on the Belkin Income-Commodity Model, which connects the standard input-output table with the income distribution table. The author introduces and explains this new system of accounts and presents comparisons with the United Nations SNA. He also attempts to convert the SNA into the Belkin System of Accounts. It may be the first time that this has been attempted. It will be apparent to the informed reader that the author has based his research on "Measurement With Theory."

The second area is concerned with statistical estimates of income-commodity models from 1970 to 1975 (Chapter 4), and the reconsideration of the Soviet investment-related statistics employing the Kazantsev Macro-Economic Model. It should be noted that the author's estimations are based on the controlled totals which are found in the