Contents _____

List of Tables	х
Preface	xii
List of Abbreviations	xvi
Introduction	3
Workers, the State, and Perestroika	4
Workers and the Problem of Class	7
The Limits of Class Analysis	13
The Plan of This Book	17
1. Workers and Society: From Tsarism to Socialism	19
"Prehistory": Workers under the Tsar	19
Disruption and Rebuilding: Civil War and NEP	23
Stalin's Social Revolution	30
Workers: From Class to Mass	41
2. A New Working Class? Hereditization and Education	
under Khrushchev and Brezhnev	48
War and Aftermath	48
From Stalin to Khrushchev	50
The 1960s to the 1980s	52
Education: The Rising Curve	57
Work, Education, Policy: The Khrushchev Reform	59
To School Again: Brezhnev and Beyond	62
Economy and Social Structure	65
Toward the Possibilities of Class	70
3. Forming Workers: Choice, Selection, and Tracking	73
Choice and Drift	74
The Brezhnev Era	77
Jobs and Takers	82
The Vocational Track	86
The 1984 School Reform	92
"Selling" the Reform	95

The End of Reform	99
Education, Training, and Class	101
4. Work, Wages, and Welfare	103
The Working Class and Relative Rewards	104
One Class or Many? Blue-Collar Differentiation	105
Workers: Priority or Neglect?	111
Wages and Welfare: Appearance and Reality	117
Workers' Life	120
and How Workers View It	132
Gorbachev's Perestroika: Effort and Merit	143
Class and Economic Reward	152
5. Labor, Authority, Autonomy	155
Stalinism and After	155
Work: Content and Discontent	157
The Workplace: Authority and Labor	162
Negative Control: Rank-and-File Resources	171
The "Brigade Method": Autonomy or Control?	179
Pressures, Safety Valves, and the Second Economy	184
Perestroika, the Plant, and the Worker	187
Class, Work, and Authority	195
6. Regime Control and Worker Opposition	200
Politics: The Party at the Plant	201
Unions: Workers' Interests, Workers' Rights	207
From Negative Control to Collective Protest	213
Organizing Worker Opposition: The "Free Trade Unions"	225
Enter Gorbachev	235
Militancy and Class	24 5
7. Worker Politics and Economic Crisis	258
Subsidies, Prices, Poverty	258
Entitlement and Entrepreneurship	263
Populism and Social Justice	267
1989: Winter of Discontent	271
and Hot Summer	276
The Collapse of Local Apparats	280
Claims and Demands	284
Worker Power	288
The Unions: "Activism" Reasserted "Proletarian" Conservatism	290
r tulelutian Conservatism	293

CONTENTS	ix
Epilogue	303
Notes	323
Index	369

List of Tables _____

2.1	Indices of Hereditization, Various Soviet Studies	E4
2.2	Educational Levels, Sverdlovsk Plants, 1950–51, 1959	54
2.3	Percentage of Workers with Complete Secondary	58
	Education, Zil Plant, 1959-79	63
2.4	Sectoral Distribution of Labor Force, by Birth Cohort	03
	and Career Phase, 1959–79	68
2.5	Labor Force by Sector, 1959, 1970, 1975	69
3.1	Destinations of Eighth- and Tenth/Eleventh-Grade	09
	Graduates, 1965–80	78
3.2	Destinations of Eighth-Grade Graduates in 1980, and	70
	Potential Destinations under 1984 Reform	94
3.3	Student Opinion on Increase in Intake at SPTUS	98
3.4	Parental Opinion on Increase in SPTU Intake	99
4.1	Indices of Relative Pay Levels, 1932–78	104
4.2	Rank of Selected Industrial Branches by Average	104
	Wage, Various Years	106
4.3	Extremes and Ratios by Pay Levels in Selected	100
	Branches of Industry, 1962 and 1975	110
4.4	Aspects of Monthly Family Income, Workers and	110
	Employees	112
4.5	Social Composition of Three Household Types	113
4.6	Income, Property, and Living Space of Households,	113
	by Household Type	114
4.7	Wages and Family Income, Per Capita, of Workers	117
	and ITR, Taganrog, 1978	115
4.8	Index Figures, Per Capita Disposable Personal	110
	Income, Various Groups	116
4.9	Measures of Per Capita Real Consumption: USSR	110
	(1958) and USA (1890, 1958)	121
4.10	Trends in Real Wages and Consumption, 1928–58	122
4.11	Per Capita Annual Consumption of Potatoes and	
	Meat	124
4.12	Retail Prices, in Minutes/(Hours) Worked, Various	
	Cities, November 1971	126
4.13	Retail Prices, in Minutes/(Hours) Worked, Various	
	Cities, May 1976	127
4.14	Retail Prices, in Minutes/(Hours) Worked, Various	
	Cities, March 1982	128

4.15	Retail Prices, in Minutes/(Hours) Worked, Various	
	Cities, October 1986	129
4.16	Evaluations of Incomes, Siberian Workers, Late 1960s	134
4.17	Real Per Capita Income, Estimates of Adequacy,	
	Siberian Workers, Late 1960s	135
4.18	Estimates of Material Situations, Various Social	
	Groups, 1980–81	135
5.1	Ratings of Work Satisfaction Factors by Young	
	Leningrad Workers, 1962–64	158
5.2	Factors Determining a "Good Job" in Three Soviet	
	Cities	159
5.3	Motives for Leaving a Job, Lower Kama Production	
	Complex, 1978–81	177
5.4	Workers and Employees Involved in Private Work,	
	Emigré Sample, 1970s	185
5.5	Private and State-Sector Work and Wages, Emigré	
	Sample, 1970s	186
6.1	Worker's Party Membership, by Skill Level	202
6.2	Party Membership, Workers and Other Categories, in	
	Three Soviet Cities, 1967 and 1975	203
6.3	Impact of Union Activity on Wages and Worker	
	Welfare, Emigré Sample, 1970s	208
6.4	Strikes in the USSR, 1956–83	249