

УДК: 32.105.44

THE TRADE UNIONS AND PRODUCTION MEETINGS. ASPECT OF A POLITICAL NARRATIVE OF THE THAW

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ПРОФСПІЛКИ ТА ВИРОБНИЧІ НАРАДИ. АСПЕКТ ПОЛІТИЧНОГО НАРАТИВУ «ВІДЛИГИ»

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The article studies the problem of determining the place and role of trade unions in the organization of production meetings, which are considered as derivatives of the Soviet system of economic management and the mobilization nature of its economy. The political component of the process is singled out to prove the direct interest of the authorities in the functioning of production meetings. In this connection, it is explored the significance of production meetings as a means of controlling the administrative activity of enterprises, their ability to act as a kind of fuse against the possible excess of the level of workers' protest and the implementation of specific actions to improve production.

Each of the aspects was based on the political principles of the Soviet model of totalitarianism, but was initiated by various circumstances. The first was activated by the management reform, the second – by the reformist dashing aside of the Thaw, and the latter, according to the author, served as a formal pretext for the existence of the first two, which covered the activity of the workers' self-management bodies with a thick layer of latency. It is proved that it was impossible to implement the production meetings' decisions, which gives grounds for tracing them as a grand political project ordered by the party-state power of the Thaw. Thus, trade unions, as its direct performers, did not protect the interests of the working people, but strengthened the political foundations of the government, which fundamentally altered their original functional purpose. The latter gives grounds to characterize the Thaw not as a fundamentally new stage in totalitarian development, but only as an upgraded version of classical Stalinism.

Key words: *administration, the Thaw, production, production meetings, power, trade unions, Soviet model of totalitarianism.*

Production meetings system occupied a special place in the Soviet management. Their nature was based on the fundamental principle of socialist economic management, proclaimed by the Constitution, - the socialist form of ownership of the means of production. The latter served as a ground for economic development of the country, whose leaders in 1917 took the courage to declare the development of a new type of industrial relations. In principle, it would be possible to agree with

the condition of legally issued property rights of citizens to the tools and the correct development of the mechanism for its implementation. The Basic Law, adopted in 1936, proclaimed that the USSR was a state of workers and peasants, that all power in the person of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies belonged to the working people. That is, obviously, it should be understood that, according to the Constitution, all political power belonged to the people. As for the means of production, land and its subsoil, water and forest resources, large agricultural enterprises and machine-tractor stations, as well as communal enterprises, they were declared state property, that is, the national property [5].

Consequently, the constitutional right to property was not formalized directly with each worker or peasant, but through the political institute, which the state advocated. It is the right of every individual in this mix of political and legal equilibrium to simply dissolve, which simultaneously creates the illusion of its presence in the complete absence of such. Under these circumstances, the activities of production meetings, which set the task of attracting workers to production management, from the position of today it was not enough to certify not so much the effectiveness of the Soviet system of management, but the legitimacy of its existence. In view of the above, already in the very fact of the existence of production meetings contained a significant proportion of the political component. He was not so pronounced in Stalin's times, since the workers were only the executors of the will of the "genius" of the war. Under these circumstances, the activity of the production meetings could not have a significant effect, but not on political processes, but not on the production itself. This Stalinist model did not require effective participation of workers in management. In fact, their function was only to denote this participation.

The philosophy of "thaw" revived the idea of production meetings as a form of participation of workers in management, which by itself actualizes the problem,

since it allows us to more clearly trace the distinction between Stalin's and Khrushchev's approaches to the role of a person in society. The logic of the coming leaders, who completely denied the cult of the person differed from Stalin's. In the first place in it there is a team that led to the growth of the role of the party, which was considered by them not only as the vanguard of society. However, the individual, a separate individual, was still in the deep rear of their conceptual constructions. Undoubtedly, in comparison with Stalin's methodology, this was a serious theoretical shift towards liberalization of society, which was widely used in the propaganda arsenal. The collective, first of all, its productive variety, and the party, were those social categories, which at least somehow, albeit with a large part of the conditionality, could be opposed to the ever-increasing democratic foundations of the Western world. From this point of view, the development of the idea of production meetings in the propaganda arsenal of the party of power was intended to convince the entire outside with the entire insider community in the ability of the Soviet political system to civilized transformations. Consequently, the aim is to defend the political system both in the middle of the country and beyond. This explains the existence of a significant political component in the process of restoration of production meetings as an element of the improvement of the Soviet system of social relations.

The political aspect of the VAT Code lies in the mobilization nature of the Soviet economy. The latter, in the opinion of a number of specialists, affected the state form of ownership and the use of categories of non-material interest, as, say, in its market analogue, and the use of a combination of non-economic mechanisms, compulsory and mobilized. And yet, as writes the well-known researcher A.C. Senyaevsky, these factors were not enough. "For the success of the tasks set forth, their voluntary and energetic support by the society, the majority of the population, mass enthusiasm, and the forms of organization uniting and directing the broad strata was necessary" [18, p.26].

This complex of questions seemed to us so interesting and important for understanding the post-war metamorphosis of the Soviet system of totalitarianism that we were expecting due attention from him and from colleagues-historians. However, this assumption is not destined to cope. The problem of the activities of production meetings, as well as their analogue of the era of "thaw" - the constant working meetings (VAT), did not cause them significant interest. And yet, for the sake of justice, let's call some of the works. The closest to us according to the chronology is the work of the researcher of the second half of the 70's of the twentieth century GF Maryskovich [6]. Her author tried to construct an archetype of this form of participation of workers in production management, somewhat different than his colleagues from the 1950's to the 60's. However, written at the time of the heyday of "stagnation", the work copied all his flaws. Therefore, for us, it may be of interest only as a material for comparing the views formulated in similar works by the historians of the Khrushchev era.

More than fifteen years ago, the author of this publication turned to the problem of production meetings, trying to evaluate their activity from the point of view of historiography that stood at the turn of the millennium [2]. However, due to the lack of complexity in evaluating this form of participation of workers in production management in terms of today's understanding of the historical process, it needs to be substantially refined. Using a clear gap in this area, we will emphasize the importance of the workings of our predecessors of the Soviet era, which we are considering not from the point of view of historiography, but from the point of view of source studies as a possible source for studying the history of the totalitarian era.

For modern researchers, they are, in essence, a source of personal origin. Of course, we do not allow the idea of the possibility of discussion with their authors regarding the presentation of the material, its selection, the nature of the filing, the more assessments of those or other events. It was a different era, other conditions and other realities, estimated from the standpoint of historians of another historic school. We consider this approach to be fully justified. After all, nobody will fall into the thought of discussing with the authors of works, for example, the ancient epoch or the era of the Renaissance, although much of the historians, based on their analysis, develop their own vision of that era. Given this fact, it would be fair to mention at least one collection of documents and some of the most important studies on the problems that are part of our scientific interests [16]. In this circumstance, we also emphasize the fact that now this group of historical literature stands on the verge of complete disappearance. Unfortunately, its source value is not fully taken into account even by those libraries that have the status of scientific. They mercilessly write it down in the waste paper, causing irreparable harm to a whole group of historical sources of personal origin. We confidently emphasize that this considerably reduces the possibilities of historical search in the field of research of social relations of the era of totalitarianism, with the negative consequences of which we have fought unsuccessfully for more than a quarter of a century.

If we proceed from the fact that the declared topic reproduces the subject of research, and its object is the most numerous public organization, as an important component of the Soviet model of totalitarian relations, whose analysis in Ukraine will not lose its relevance for a long time, and also taking into account the undeniable fact of the absence of modern the scientific development of the problem, the said advocates a solid basis for further scientific tracking of the problem. The purpose of the article is to analyze the activity of production meetings as a form of participation of workers in the management of production, with a distinction of its political component in the context of the activities of the most massive trade unions. To accomplish the goal, the author plans to perform a number of local tasks. These include tracking the use of production meetings as a form of control over the administration's activities, investigating their role as a safety valve for preventing a critical level of social tension, as well as proving or denying the

futility of their proposed economic development measures.

First of all, we note that in its entire history, the Soviet authorities have made several attempts to intensify production meetings. The first took place in May 1929 and is associated with us only with the implementation of the first five-year plan and the process of industrialization. It was July 18, 1929, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR adopted a Resolution proposing measures to improve their effectiveness. Building the economy by mobilizing the principle and carrying out appropriate mass actions in this direction, it was imperative for the authorities to involve the widest sections of the working class in this process. Therefore, the said Decree obliged the state and economic authorities to register all the proposals received from the production meetings. At the same time, they were divided into two categories: those that were immediately executed and those that had to be executed in accordance with the economic and financial terms. The management of the economic bodies was obliged to submit all necessary documentation to the meeting of the production meetings [10]. Consequently, the intensification of the activities of production meetings in 1929 was unambiguously connected with the intensification of mobilization measures aimed at implementing the first five-year plan as a stage of industrialization.

The next major effort to intensify production meetings was made more than a quarter century. In 1955, the Presidium of the All-Union Soviet Socialist Republic adopted the Resolution "On the Work of Production Meetings" [11]. The Resolution, in our opinion, was the reaction of the supreme body of trade unions of the USSR to the July 1955 Resolution of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which considered the problems of the rise of the industry of technological progress and improvement of the organization of production [9]. And although the participation of workers in the activities of production meetings at the Plenum was not even mentioned, he played a significant role in their development. It is the first time after the death of JV Stalin was tasked with expanding the role of public organization in society. The plenum demanded "to raise the work of trade unions to a new, higher level." This sentence is regarded by us as the first decisive statement about the need to replace the stalled Stalinist methods of managing a new one that would more fully meet the demands of the post-war world.

In the Decree of the WCRPP, production meetings were qualified as "the most accessible and effective form of increasing the activity of workers and engineering workers and employees." By its very nature, it was a detailed instruction for the FZMK and the workshops on the organization and holding of production meetings. According to our estimates, the range of the agenda of the latter was quite broad and included 14 possible options for raising the question: from the observance of cleanliness in the workplace and the struggle with the storming area before the introduction of new technology, advanced technology and lower cost of production. In order to ascertain the political nature of this trade union ruling, it is enough to compare the list of issues that

were proposed for consideration at meetings of production meetings with the tasks set forth in the Resolution of the aforementioned party forum. In fact, they coincide in the smallest detail. Thus, the Soviet trade unions reanimated the activities of production meetings on the threshold to overcome the serious challenges that arose before the Soviet society and were formulated at the Central Committee Plenum. Their realization was to change the form of the Soviet economy, by replacing it with the rails of extensive forms of development that were increasingly exhausting itself, on the intense, at which time most of the countries of the world passed.

In addition to these tremendous shifts, the Soviet system of economic management had to overcome the consequences of the alienation of workers from the means of production, which was all the more important. To some extent, to overcome them was the force of the Law "On Further Improvement in the Organization of Industrial and Construction Management" of May 10, 1957 [7], the main principles of which were previously considered by the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in February 1957. So, just mentioned Plenum opened for production conferences new opportunities. In his resolution, in particular, it was noted that the new structure of management "will create the best conditions for involving a wide range of workers, engineering and technical intelligentsia and other sectors of society in the active management of enterprises, individual industries and the entire national economy [8, p.172]

This quotation from the Resolution was quite enough to ensure that on July 9, 1958, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Economic Union of the Russian Federation adopted the Statute of permanent working meetings [14], which will be discussed in much more detail. Let's pay attention to one regularity. The mentioned document was again offered to the society in a very responsible, even critical moment, when the nature of the management of the whole industry and the construction, which was formed more than 40 years, changed fundamentally. And although some of his former colleagues MS Khrushchev, as, for example, the former chairman of the VTSRPS VV Grishin, considered him "a reformer in nature" [1, p.9], to reduce the initiation of the management reform solely as the initiative of the First Secretary, it is still not worth it. Obviously, for such radical changes he had to have other, considerably more weighty grounds. Following a series of researchers, the reason for the reform of governance, we see in the crisis of policy management and complex, caused by it, negative for the whole economy of consequences [21].

If we proceed from these circumstances, then the MS team Khrushchev, for the implementation of the reform of governance, which was at the center of his reformation, needed broad support from the broad strata of workers. Only with their help, she could overcome the serious resistance of the bureaucracy, which, with the creation of the Soviets, lost a serious lever of influence. Under such circumstances, active involvement in industrial management and construction of production meetings seems not only a logical, but also a crucial step. Moreover, in our opinion, in its basis, it was laid

not so much economic as political expediency. On the truth of this statement we will dwell a little later. At the moment, we will only emphasize that without such support, by the forces of only their supporters to overcome the resistance of ministerial officials and their subordinate structures whose interests it was significantly restricted, MS Khrushchev would hardly have succeeded. Undoubtedly, the leader of such a campaign was not in force during the time of classical Stalinism. Then the bureaucracy, intimidated by the arbitrariness of the security forces, would not have dared to deny such grandiose perturbations.

At the time of the "thaw", a new political leader, building up his own political line, based on a liberal idea, even the Soviet model, could not resort to such methods. And, consequently, he had to invent, a control element that would not allow the bureaucratic reforms raging them to challenge them, and obediently accepted the elimination of ministries and the formation of Soviets. Production meetings fit perfectly. They did not have to invent, they had their own long history. They needed to provide only a new impulse to development, directing their activities to the necessary course. Therefore, the adoption of the Regulations on permanent production meetings took place shortly after the adoption of the relevant Law [7]. The Joint Decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Center for the Social-Democratic Labor Party made some adjustments in their organization. Now they were created in shops and in enterprises in which the number of workers and employees prevailed by 100 people, which transformed them into massive collective control bodies. Secondly, production meetings, in accordance with the wishes of the Party Plenary, were transferred to the category of constantly acting, which provided their activities of a continuous nature. These two important features of the renewed meetings of workers and employees were of fundamental importance and directly confirm our assumption of their political orientation. In fact, they put under control of the central party power the work of the administration of shops and enterprises throughout the country.

Of course, in the joint decree of the Council of Ministers and the WCRPD, the term control is not used at all, but it only created the illusion of its absence. By this document, the administration was obligated not only to contribute in every way to the successful work of the meetings, but also to eliminate the shortcomings identified by it in the work of the enterprise or the workshop, and even "individual workers, and respond to suggestions on strengthening the staff of the lagging sections." At first glance, there may be a misleading impression that the latter generally goes beyond the understanding of the Soviet recruitment policy, since it was previously considered to be the exclusive competence of party organizations. However, the connection to this process of production meetings certainly should not be considered as the beginning of the party's demonopolization in the field of personnel work. It was only a clumsy imitation of the influence of the artificially created collective body on personnel policy. Historical experience shows that in the most difficult time for power,

the Soviet system went even further. During the period of "perestroika", for example, she agreed to hold the election of shop managers and even enterprises. Therefore, the value of "impact" of VAT on personnel policy should not be overestimated.

Therefore, it is more appropriate to consider continuously functioning production meetings not as a body of influence on the personnel policy of the party of power, but as an instrument of public control over the activity of the administration of enterprises and their structural divisions. With the help of the meetings, the party was going to strengthen its control over their activities, that in the conditions of decentralization of management, from the point of view of the interests of the authorities, there was no idea devoid of meaning. Moreover, with Jesuit cruelty, this document required management companies to help themselves in their conduct, as well as to familiarize members of the meetings with the actual state of affairs in the workplace.

Taking into account the importance of this issue, preparation for the VNU's governing body has begun everywhere. On November 29, 1959, the Presidium of the Ukrprofrada approved the Measures of Trade Union Organizations to improve their work, which included 9 points. The first place was the completion in December of this year of the presidium of the presidium of production meetings at enterprises and workshops. The list also included the organization of training new heads and secretaries of the VAT, studying and sharing their experience. It was planned to provide assistance in their organization in the Kherson, Lviv and Stanislav regions. The report on the work of the regional prospect had to be filed by December 20 [15, ark. 13]. In a short time only in Dnipropetrovsk region 586 general-industrial and 946 permanent workshops of workers and employees were created, in which about 72 thousand people took part [19, ark.38]. In Poltava region, more than 11,000 workers, engineers and employees were involved in their work [4, pp. 46]. In total, in the Ukrainian SSR, at the time of protection of trade unions formed 9,106 VAT on enterprises and 7,942 in shops. The total number of their permanent members reached - 694 430 people, of which 72% were workers [3, ark. 1].

There is no doubt that such, with the permission to say boisterous activity, was deployed solely due to direct political interest in this issue by the party of power. The latter is quite relief in the decree of December (1957) to the Plenum of the Central Committee, which considered the problems of the post-war organization and the activities of trade unions, which requires the identification of certain appraisal markers of this interest. The most successful unit of measurement, from our point of view, is the printed character. Of course, he is not able to demonstrate the quality aspect of the question. But the count of their number and comparison with other aspects of trade union activity will make it possible to conclude on the importance of the party of power of this or that nuance of the practice of unions. So, in a long list of their tasks set forth in the document, the production meetings did not yield to the primacy of even the notorious socialist competition. According to our calculations, 1326 characters (with spaces) were

used in the party resolution to state the idea of socialist transformation, and 1550 for production meetings respectively. If we completely formalize this issue, we note that the problem of socialist competition in this document took about 51% of the page. text, while production meetings - 59%. In our opinion, it is rather eloquent evidence that, as of the end of 1957, the activity of production meetings for power may have even more significance than the competition that has always been exposed in the red corner of the whole system of Soviet management.

Of course, these calculations can be skeptical. However, continued work with the documents of the Soviet era convinced us that scrupulous calculations of the number of signs - far from being an empty formality. The system of party leadership was arranged in such a way that most party instructors carried a deeply latent, hidden from a third-party character. Therefore, sometimes the ruling ringleader was enough to hint at some kind of circumstance or to add an additional emphasis on a particular detail, so that the subordinate structures immediately rushed to fulfill it. Therefore, more than half the page of the hard-copy printed text in the Resolution was not just a hint, it was an order that was subject to immediate execution. The fact that the production meetings are called to perform a kind of function of overseeing the administration's activities, in fact, did not hide the party itself. This form of participation of working people in management was considered by it so that it allowed "to combine unity with the exercise of control from below" [12, p.218].

In this way, there are every reason to believe that, in the context of the implementation of the government's reform of governance, it was primarily the control of the control of the bottom. More precisely, there was no real control, and the one with which it was possible to maintain the administration of enterprises and workshops within the established limits, but which could not have been used to the slightest harm to the power policy. In view of this, the production meetings were brought to the competence of trade unions, which, in turn, acted under the patronage of the ruling party. Consequently, with the help of production meetings, during the material production, the system of multi-stage control over the activity of the administration of enterprises was intensified. The VAT rates themselves could not have been at least a threat to the government's policy, but they greatly increased the control over the management of enterprises and shops, which, in a context of mass decentralization, was of paramount importance. Under these conditions, at a meeting of a permanent production meeting, even a hypothetical question could not appear that would not suit the party organization. The agenda of its meetings was determined by the Presidium, whose composition, depending on the number of employees, varied from 5 to 15 people. It is clear that the nominee for the post of chairman and secretary of permanent production, even if this function was carried out on a voluntary basis, was consistent with the trade union committee, which, in turn, was agreed with the party.

However, the consolidation of the activation of the activities of production meetings exclusively to the

problem of control of the activities of the administration would mean an underestimation of the Soviet model of totalitarianism which, in our opinion, provided them with another, much more complex function. The control was only situational, largely activated by the management reform. But no less important was the other side of the question of the organizational potential of this form of participation in the management of production. It was based on an extremely controversial and declarative right of ownership of workers and employees to the means of production, which generated not only their alienation from the latter, but also caused numerous disputes in this process. All taken together negatively affected the rhythm of production, forced stagnation, overtime work, and the involvement of workers to work on weekends and holidays. Of course, this indicated inevitably led to a decrease in wages, which caused fair dissatisfaction of the workers. At the same time, we would like to note that all this took place against the backdrop of a general reformist sharakhanin, which further exacerbated social tension. Under these circumstances, the authorities clearly needed a safety valve that could release a critical mass of a couple of people's protest, thereby warning of a possible massive social blast. At the same time, we will emphasize again the fact that with its limited liberalism, the "thaw" rejected Stalin's rigorous control methods, which immediately intensified the level of society's protest in its various forms.

In essence, the team MS Khrushchev had to respond both for his sins and for Stalin's, and for the failures of the entire system. Indicative in this respect is the reaction to a lecture by one of the responsible party workers on the conviction of a person's cult. Artylnik from Khersonschiny S.P. Staryuk (1956). after her in a voice said: "Thirty-eight years, you deceived the people with their promises, but did not do anything. There is nothing in the shops, people are hungry. Why do not you tell the people how many people were shot, and now you try to smash someone. Where were you then and what did you do?" [20, p. 32]. Consequently, for the majority of the community, both regimes combined the powerful notion of "power." The owners could not hope for a high level of class consciousness of society, which was so loudly calling, "building" communist tomorrow. It should not be apparent from the accounts and the fact that at that time the authorities were also considerably limited in their ability to use force. This contradicted the methodology of "thaw" and could discredit it in the eyes of millions, and, as a result, weaken the positions of power. However, in the most critical moments of this opportunity, she did not rub, as evidenced by the events in Russian Novochoerkassk, and in the Ukrainian Kryvy Rih. However, it was the last years of Khrushchev's regime.

On his own take-off, when, in fact, there was the idea of activating production meetings, the situation was different. This was another time when it was easier for power structures to prevent social protests, and then to find ways to overcome them. Given the complex of these circumstances, production meetings, ranked as permanent agents, were called to act as precisely such a fuse. To reinforce the argument, we return to the analy-

sis of the joint resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Soviet Socialist Republic on July 9, 1957 [14], further elaborating on the content of the work of the meetings. They cover 9 areas of activity of enterprises and are summarized in the table below.

The table summarizes the activities of the meetings in terms of content and form of implementation, which allows for two important conclusions. First, the right-hand side of the table (content) confirms an extremely wide list of powers of these bodies of labor self-government. Even with a great desire to add to it at least one more or less significant position is practically impossible. At least, the author of this edition did not succeed. According to our convictions, this created the illusion of the full participation of workers and employees in management. At the same time, this wide range of powers and functioned as a safety valve, which was supposed to prevent unauthorized social blast. After all, now through the production meetings it was possible to hold a discussion of any topical issue, thereby releasing a couple of discontent and not putting pressure on the team to a critical point. At the same time, having received such high powers, VAT was forced to assume and have the same degree of responsibility for their implementation. In essence, they now share responsibility with the administration for the execution or non-fulfillment of each of the positions in the long list of competences "granted" to them by the Resolution, which directed their activities to prevent the least conflict.

Let us now turn to the left of the table, which reproduces the form of activity of production meetings. The analyzed document also offers 9 varieties, however each of them did not provide an independent decision. They "direct the work", "take part", "develop questions and measures", "review plans", "make proposals", but in no case do their decisions act as independent, the more final. This means that the relevant divisions of the company who were responsible for one direction or another could listen to them, and could simply ignore it. Consequently, we have a case where the form of activity is so narrow that it is not able to miss the proposed activities. The content is extremely wide, but the form of implementation is narrow. In this case, all competencies are shown on the right side of the table, turning into a declaration of insatiable wishes. However, the said could not confuse the authorities. For her, the main thing was that in the management process, an organ was created that created the illusion of participation in this process of the working people, which served as a safety valve. Any controversial issue, if necessary, could be safely brought to the discussion of production meetings without fear of its consequences. And the more workers involved in the preparation and decision-making, the more productive meetings met their latent mission. That is, the VAT was converted into a kind of working smokehouse or the same notorious Khrushchev cuisine, where similar conversations were conducted, with the exception that they were exclusively private in nature and not sanctioned by the state.

Table

Table of correspondence of the content of VAT activity in its form

Form of activity	Contents of activity
- directs work to ensure the success of the enterprise	execution and overfulfilment of the production plan, development of socialist competition, increase of labor productivity, dissemination of experience of innovators and leading figures of production;
- participates in the development and discussion	projects of current and perspective plans and proposals on issues of internal plant planning, listening to the reports of managers about the current work on the results of economic activity;
- is considering the issue	organization of labor, wages, technical regulation, proposals for implementation of norms, improvement of quality and reduction of the cost price of products;
- develops activities on	struggle against deficiency, downtime, non-rhythmic work, for better use of equipment;
- discusses	plans of organizational and technical measures, planning of introduction of new equipment, mechanization of production, introduction of proposals of rationalizers;
- is considering plans	industrial, residential and cultural-residential construction services and measures to increase the efficiency of the use of funds allocated for investment;
- make suggestions	to improve internal plant management and improve its work;
- considers the measures	on improving working conditions, safety and expediency of using funds allocated for this purpose;
- is considering the issue	related to the training of personnel training, the correct use of workers in accordance with their profession and qualifications, strengthening of labor and production discipline.

Finally, the third appointment of the VAT, which could fully use the power was not in their latent, but in the practical possibilities, detailed in the right side of the table. However, the analysis of their practical activity provided no reason for any optimism. From the time of its resuscitation in 1958 and until the end of the "thaw" era, archival documents are filled with helplessness of the newly created bodies of labor management. On the one hand, they testify to the crazy number of workers' suggestions made at the meetings of these meetings and introduced in the production process, and on the other hand, with careful reading and comparisons with other documents, indicate that there is no relation, and not to the introduction of these innovations, but they have no economic effect. For example, the head of the Labor and

Wages Department of Ukrprofrada reported to the highest trade union leaders of the republic that only in the first half of 1959 in the Ukrainian SSR, about 60 thousand meetings of production meetings were held, in which 3.3 million people took part. They have expressed over 650 thousand proposals, of which 540 thousand have been introduced into production [3, ark.2]. From the acquaintance with such data, it seems that all the problems of the Soviet economy are not initially inherent in the system's falsehood, but that continuously-functioning production meetings have been ineffective at the preliminary stage of historical development.

Certainly, this statistics can not be considered reliable. The party and trade union committees that took care of the VAT, in order to increase their own significance, and in order not to clasp with the shattering critique of higher bodies, were knowingly mercilessly oversteering it, curtailing the increase in indicators. At the same time, the implementation of the decisions of these bodies is associated with a number of subtleties that allowed manipulate the results. For example, the discussion of the problem at the meeting of the production meeting and the adoption of the corresponding decision did not mean at all that the director of the company or its chief engineer did not apply to this issue, for example, to the leadership of the council or the party bodies. Therefore, of course, the primacy in its decision should be given not to the VAT, but to the management of the enterprise. However, in merit, it certainly came to the meetings that were at the power of the hearing. In reality, everything was much easier. The director of an enterprise, when applying to the leadership of the council, at best, could only use their decision, as if to strengthen their own arguments, relying on the fact that the taxpayer being in a status at the time of the trend, by his decision will help solve the matter before the higher economic authorities.

In practice, none of the issues put forward for discussion at a permanent production meeting, but not at the enterprise level, nor at the workshop level, could have been resolved a priori. For example. The joint resolution of the Council of Ministers and the WCRPPS states that these authorities should develop measures aimed at combating downtime and the non-rhythmic work of enterprises. They really could develop them, but this did not solve the problem. In this, it is easy to verify, having taken in the archive of public associations of Ukraine the documents of the correspondence of the party bodies, which greatly reveal the essence of the issue. The point is that trying to save the implementation of the state plan, which was constantly threatened with failure due to the failure of supplies from the constituents of raw materials, components, units and aggregates, which were the main cause of downtime, party bodies were drawn into fruitless correspondence with the Central Committee. Shortly after convincing of the hopelessness of such appeals, they directly entered into correspondence with the leaders of the Central Committee of the Union republics and regional committees, on the territory of which there were suppliers of enterprises. Those, in their turn, informed them that short delivery was due to the

misconduct of their substitutes. So the circle was closed. It is clear that here in the country's economy was clearly marked by a systemic misery, which could not even overcome even such a powerful car, which was the party of power. Therefore, to hope that in this situation, at least to some extent, could be used to confer production meetings, would simply be the summit of naivety.

Involuntarily, the opinion suggests, and maybe no one expected from the VAT? It is possible, though the first point of their authority was the task of implementation and overfulfilment of production plans, the development of socialist competition, the dissemination of experience of innovators, etc. At the same time, trade union documents for some reason can be traced to the implementation of the plan for holding production meetings. For example, Ukrprofrada in June 1957 considered the issue "On working with a trade union activist at the enterprises of the Crimean region". In the part of the resolution, the participants of the meeting noted that in many FSMK little attention was paid to production meetings and control over the implementation of the proposals of the workers. At the plant them V. Kuibysheva, stocking factory №2 and other enterprises, noted in it, the plan of 4 months is not fulfilled, low-quality products are produced, but production meetings are held very rarely, and the proactive is not involved in their preparation [17, Ark. 5 - 7]. In this, a copy of the archive document reproduced close to the text, the dependence of the implementation of the plan from the production meetings is clearly seen. Did their leaders believe in it? Convinced that no. Of course, nowadays, from the height of the current perceptions of the nature of totalitarian relations, this is perceived only with a bitter smile, because it is now obvious that the whole hustle of trade unions on the role of production meetings was aimed at one thing: to ensure that the reform of industrial management is painless for the authorities and construction and prevent the massive social protests.

Considering the potential possibilities of VAT from the point of view of the interests of party-state power, it seems possible to draw some conclusive conclusions. First, permanent meetings of workers and employees could only be the invention of the Soviet system of economic management, based on the mobilization nature of its economy. They existed as a means of mobilizing the broad strata of the working people to carry out party-state designs. Secondly, the entire activity of the VAT was subordinated not only to the resolution of production issues, but to the resolution of the political problems of the new government, which was in a state of permanent struggle with its political opponents of the Stalinist class. The latter makes it possible to make a third important conclusion. Trade unions, as organizers and curators of this form of labor participation in production management, served as a function of political protection for the party of power, and not for the broad strata of workers. Therefore, the "thaw" is not a fundamentally new stage in the development of the Soviet political system, but was an upgraded, rather well-disguised version of Stalinism. Further development of these conclusions the author sees possible after analysis of other forms of

mobilization of society, which were within the powers of trade unions. A highly probable version of the continuation of the study is the study of the organization of workers' meeting in their political dimension.

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Докашенко В.М. Профспілки та виробничі наради. аспект політичного нарративу «відлиги»

Досліджено проблему визначення місця та ролі профспілок у організації виробничих нарад, які розглядаються як похідні від радянської системи управління економікою та мобілізаційного характеру її економіки. Політична складова процесу виділяється, щоб довести прямий інтерес органів влади до функціонування виробничих нарад. У зв'язку з цим досліджується значення виробничих зборів як засобу контролю адміністративної діяльності підприємств, їх здатності виступати як свого роду запобіжник проти можливого перевищення рівня протесту працівників та здійснення конкретних дій поліпшити виробництво.

Кожен з аспектів базувався на політичних принципах радянської моделі тоталітаризму, але був ініційований різними обставинами. Перша активізувалася реформою управління, друга - реформістським лихом, відхиляючись від відлиги, а другий, на думку автора, послужив

формальним приводом для існування перших двох, які охоплювали діяльність робітників. органи самоврядування з товстим шаром затримки. Доведено, що неможливо було виконати рішення виробничих зустрічей, що дає підстави для відстеження їх як великого політичного проекту, упорядкованого партійно-державною владою відлиги. Таким чином, профспілки, як її безпосередні виконавці, не захищали інтереси трудящих, а зміцнювали політичні засади уряду, що принципово змінювало їх початкове функціональне призначення. Остання дає підстави характеризувати відлигу не як принципово нову стадію тоталітарного розвитку, а лише як оновлену версію класичного сталінізму.

Ключові слова: адміністрація, відлига, виробництво, виробничі збори, влада, профспілки, радянська модель тоталітаризму.

Докашенко В. Н. Профсоюзы и производственные совещания. Аспект политического нарратива «оттепели»

В статье исследуется проблема определения места и роли профсоюзов в организации производственных собраний, которые рассматриваются как производные от советской системы хозяйственного управления и мобилизационного характера ее экономики. Выделена политическая составляющая процесса, чтобы доказать непосредственную заинтересованность властей в функционировании производственных совещаний. В связи с этим исследуется значение производственных собраний как средства управления административной деятельностью предприятий, их способность выступать в качестве своего рода предохранителя от возможного превышения уровня протеста работников и осуществления конкретных действий по улучшить производство.

Каждый из аспектов был основан на политических принципах советской модели тоталитаризма, но был вызван различными обстоятельствами. Первая была активирована реформой управления, вторая - реформистской лихорадкой в сторону оттепели, а последняя, по мнению автора, послужила формальным предлогом для существования первых двух, которые охватывали деятельность рабочих органы самоуправления с толстым слоем латентности. Доказано, что было невозможно реализовать решения производственных совещаний, что дает основание считать их великим политическим проектом, предписанным партийно-государственной властью Оттепели. Таким образом, профсоюзы как их непосредственные исполнители не защищали интересы трудящихся, а укрепляли политические основы правительства, что коренным образом изменило их первоначальное функциональное назначение. Последнее дает основание охарактеризовать оттепель не как принципиально новый этап тоталитарного развития, а лишь как обновленную версию классического сталинизма.

Ключевые слова: администрация, оттепель, производство, производственные совещания, власть, профсоюзы, советская модель тоталитаризма.

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