R10e

A Sociology of the Soviet Union

Gary Littlejohn



Contents

Acknowledgements		ix
Introduction		
1	The Class Structure: Stratification or Relations	_
	of Production?	7 7
	Introduction	
	Stratification: Theory and Evidence	9
	Weberian Stratification	10
	Marx's Theory of Classes under Capitalism	17
	Problems with Marx's Analysis	23
	Implications for a Theory of Class	28
	'Possession' of the Means of Production	33
	Class Relations and the Division of Labour	
	under Socialism	36
	Conclusion	39
2	Hammer and Sickle: Problems of a Worker-	
	Peasant Alliance	42
	Introduction	42
	State-Peasant Relations before the	
	New Economic Policy	44
	The black redivision	44
	The Kombedy	45
	The results of the Civil War on agriculture	50
	Conclusions on the pre-NEP period	52
	State Policy on Commodity Relations with the	_
	Peasantry during the New Economic Policy	54
	,,	

vi Contents

	Attempts at the socialisation of agriculture 1918–21	55
	The land organisation programme	57
	The scissors crisis	58
	Agricultural marketing and the rural class structure The conceptualisation of socialist transformation under NEP	
	The formation of collective farms in the 1920s	64
		68
	Political work in the countryside	71
	The implementation of national economic policy The Crisis and Demise of NEP	77
	Conclusion	83
	Conclusion	89
3	Economic Units and Economic Calculation:	
	The Basis of Production Relations	100
	Introduction	100
	Agriculture	103
	The kolkhozy	104
	The convergence of kolkhozy and sovkhozy	107
	Personal plots	108
	Retail trade	110
	Overview of agriculture	110
	Industry	111
	State enterprises	111
	Production associations and Ministries	116
	The regulation of plan implementation	122
	Economic calculation and central planning	127
	The 1979 reform	131
	Conclusion	135
4	Law, State and Politics	140
•	Introduction	140
	Law	141
	Law and socialism	141
	Legal regulation of the Soviet economy	145
	State and Politics	147
	Politics and the relations of production	150
	Totalitarianism	150
	Elite theory	152
	Hough's approach to Soviet politics:	134
	institutional pluralism	154
	modelational prarations	IJT

	Cont	CIILS	V 11
	An alternative approach to Soviet politics:		
	arenas of struggle		159
	State and party agencies and economic policy		162
	Conclusion		171
	Conclusion		.,.
5	Welfare and Consumption:		
	Relations of Distribution		181
	Introduction		181
	Housing		182
	Political aspects of housing provision		184
	The social distribution of housing		191
	Effects on the distribution of income		194
	Health:		194
	Health politics: administration, finance		
	and policy		196
	Health planning		198
	Health finance		199
	Soviet health policy		200
	Health and democracy		201
	Access to health care		203
	Soviet health: conclusion		205
	Social Security		205
	Social security administration, finance		
	and policy		209
	Social security policy		212
	The effects of social security		213
	Conclusion: An Assessment of Welfare		
	and Consumption		216
c	The Ameliania of the Class Standards of the		
6	The Analysis of the Class Structure of the Soviet Union		224
	Introduction		224
			225
	Occupational Structure and Class Structure		228
	The Soviet Occupational Structure: Lane's Analy	SIS	237
	The Occupational Structure of Soviet Women		240
	Social Policy and Female Waged Labour		240
	Collective Farm Workers		242
	The 'Intelligentsia'		
	Education		250

viii Contents

The Soviet Occupational Structure, Collective		
Agents and Class Relations	253	
Industrial workers	254	
Collective farm workers	256	
Non-manual occupations	256	
The Distribution of Wages and Income Levels	261	
Conclusion: The Presence of Class Relations		
in the Soviet Union	264	
Glossary		
Chronology		
Bibliography		
Index		