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PORCELAIN SELF MANAGEMENT

Report of observations in a Serbian Factory

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PORCELAIN SELF MANAGEMENT

Report of observations in a Serbian factory

This report summarizes observations in the "Elektroporcelana" plant in Arandelovac, in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Yugoslavia. A group of 5 foreigners, we were the guests of this factory for a period of three days. Even with the most competent help of an interpreter and with excellent home made vinjak as our companion, our observations remained incomplete. This is reflected in this report, which can only give a glimpse of the working of selfmanagement in the "Elektroporcelana". But also a glimpse opens perspectives. We hope that this report will be of some help for a more general discussion on self management in Arandelovac, with information on other self management units also available.

I. GENERAL DATA ON "ELEKTROPORCELANA".

1. Some history

The Elektroporcelana, a plant of Electric Porcelain Industries in Arandelovac, was put into trial operation in April 1954, at which juncture construction of the factory still remained to be completed. The firm started on production of this material practically without any previous experience in the manufacture of electric porcelain. It was very difficult to find people willing to work in the factory. First it was tried to talk young farmers into the factory, but when this did not prove succesful, young people were forced to accept jobs. Trucks were sent to the villages, young people were simply put on the trucks and brought to the factory. Whoever did not succeed in jumping off the truck before reaching the factory gates, was bound to start a career as an industrial worker. Only some years later, those who jumped off the trucks were seeking employment in the factory as they had started to realise that working in a factory had many attractions.

Now the situation is reverse: instead of the problem: "how to get people to the factory", the problem has become: "how to keep enough young people in agriculture".

Training of skills has been the job of the factory itself. When production started in 1954, there were 10 skilled workers and not one highly skilled worker. Now, 130 employees are being trained to become skilled worker, and 33 employees are studying at college and university level. Soon it will be necessary to give further training to the unskilled workers of the factory, since plans are made to introduce further mechanisation and automatisation.

The factory is in a continuous process of production development. It is now producing a whole series of articles which are applied in electrical engineering and in chemical, radio, paper, food and other industries. "Elektroporcelana" is the largest producer of electro-porcelain in Yugoslavia: yet, over 50 percent of the production is exported to different countries of Europe, Asia and Africa.

2. Occupational Structure

The occupational structure of the factory is specified in Table 1. It is important to note at this stage that the semi skilled and unskilled make up more than 50% of the total work force. Some other data: more than 3/4 of the present work force started to work at this factory less than 10 years ago. They are mostly young people from peasant families. 1200 of the 1350 employees are under the age of 40.

Table 1.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF "ELEKTROPORCELANA" BY SEX

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
University level	28	6	34
College level	34	4	38
Secondary School level	12	100	112
Elementary school with some further training)	6	30	36
Highly skilled	132	1	133
Skilled	120	192	312
Semi skilled	78	-	78
Unskilled	400	210	610
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TOTAL	810	543	1353
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3. Working hours

Working hours in the factory are as follows

First shift	06 00 - 14.00	(about 900 people at work)
Second shift	14.00 - 22.00	(about 300 people at work)
Third shift	22.00 - 06.00	(only workers on the most urgent posts)

The administrative departments work from 07.00 - 15.00 hrs.

4. Income and personal income

The total product value of the Elektroporcelana in 1971 was 67 million New Dinar (23 million in 1961). The gross income in 1971 was about 30 million. Taxes and contractual obligations being paid, an amount of 25.5 million remains that can be spent by the enterprise according to its own decisions. Most of it is spent on personal income, and over the last 7 years an increasing proportion is spent on this, as can be seen from table 2.

Table 2.

INCOME AND PERSONAL INCOME, 1961 - 1971 (IN NEW DINARS)

Year	Total net income (in thousands)	Amount spent on Personal Income (in thousands)	Average net personal income per month
1961 [±]	6.500	4.000	208
.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.
1965	17.726	10.770	311
1966	16.809	12.939	437
1967	17.328	13.108	529
1968	25.322	17.197	unknown
1969	28.323	19.060	726
1970	25.600	17.677	895
1971	25.487	22.407	1041
increase rate since 1965	6,3	13,0	20,0

± For 1961 only rounded figures available

The amount specified in table 2 as personal income is not only used for payments to the workers of the factory; from this amount, payments have to be made to social insurance funds, pension schemes, etc. Also, from this total amount two percent is paid to the commune for its educational and medical services.

Quite detailed information was obtained on individual personal income and on how it developed over the last 10 years. (See table 3). One will note the unequal growth of average incomes of different occupational categories. Some categories (notably the white collar groups) earned 7 time more in 1971 when compared with 1961, whereas some other categories only 4 times more.

The figures in table 3 indicate averages; considerable variations per individual, however, are possible, since the total individual income is composed of a basic income and some allowances. The composition in 1971, for the total income, was as follows:

Basic personal income:	17.771.163 nD.	81.57 %
Individual piece rate	2.334.868 nD.	10.72 %
Overtimework allowance	1.170.222 nD.	5.37 %
Nightshift allowance	180.463 nD.	0.83 %
"Variable"	329.559 nD.	1.51 %

Total net personal income	21.786.575 nD.	100 %
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These are total figures. In individual cases the amount of allowances can be much higher or lower. Through the individual piece rate system some people earn 37 à 40 % over and above their basic personal income. Consequently, some skilled or highly skilled workers earn sometimes more than a "university level" employee.

Apart from variations within occupational categories caused by various allowances, there are also differences in basic personal income, within the occupation categories. These differences are the most conspicuous in the two highest paid categories. The general director gets nD. 3800 monthly, the vice general director nD. 3450 and the director of the various sectors get something between nD. 3000 and nD. 3350.

But there are other employees with university education who get nD. 1620 monthly. And people coming fresh from university will have to start at least for the first 6 months (but this period may be extended to 2 years) with an income of nD. 1200 per month.

The lowest personal income in Elektropercelana is earned by cleaners who get nD. 720 monthly. Thus, the highest income is $5\frac{1}{4}$ times more than the lowest. All this refers to permanent workers. Sometimes lower amounts are paid to seasonal labour but no information on this category was made available.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that special allowances are offered to workers who work for a long period with the company. After 10 years of employment one extra monthly personal income is paid, and a silver medal offered. After 20 years two extra monthly incomes are paid, and a gold medal is the reward for such loyalty.

TABLE 3. AVERAGE MONTHLY PERSONAL INCOME BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, 1961 - 1971 (In New Dinars; Index: 1961)

CATEGORY	1961		1968		1969		1970		1971	
	amount	index	amount	index	amount	index	amount	index	amount	index
University level	587	100	1556	265	1610	274	1947	332	2241	382
College level	347	100	1179	340	1199	346	1452	419	1630	470
Secondary school level	166	100	888	535	858	517	997	600	1143	689
Elementary school with further training	117	100	638	545	637	545	744	636	861	736
Highly skilled	255	100	1007	395	1040	404	1209	474	1398	548
Skilled	225	100	770	342	800	356	906	403	1058	470
Semi-skilled	164	100	640	390	676	412	751	458	908	554
Unskilled	140	100	622	444	652	466	735	525	872	623
Average	208	100	Unknown	Unknown	726	349	895	430	1041	500

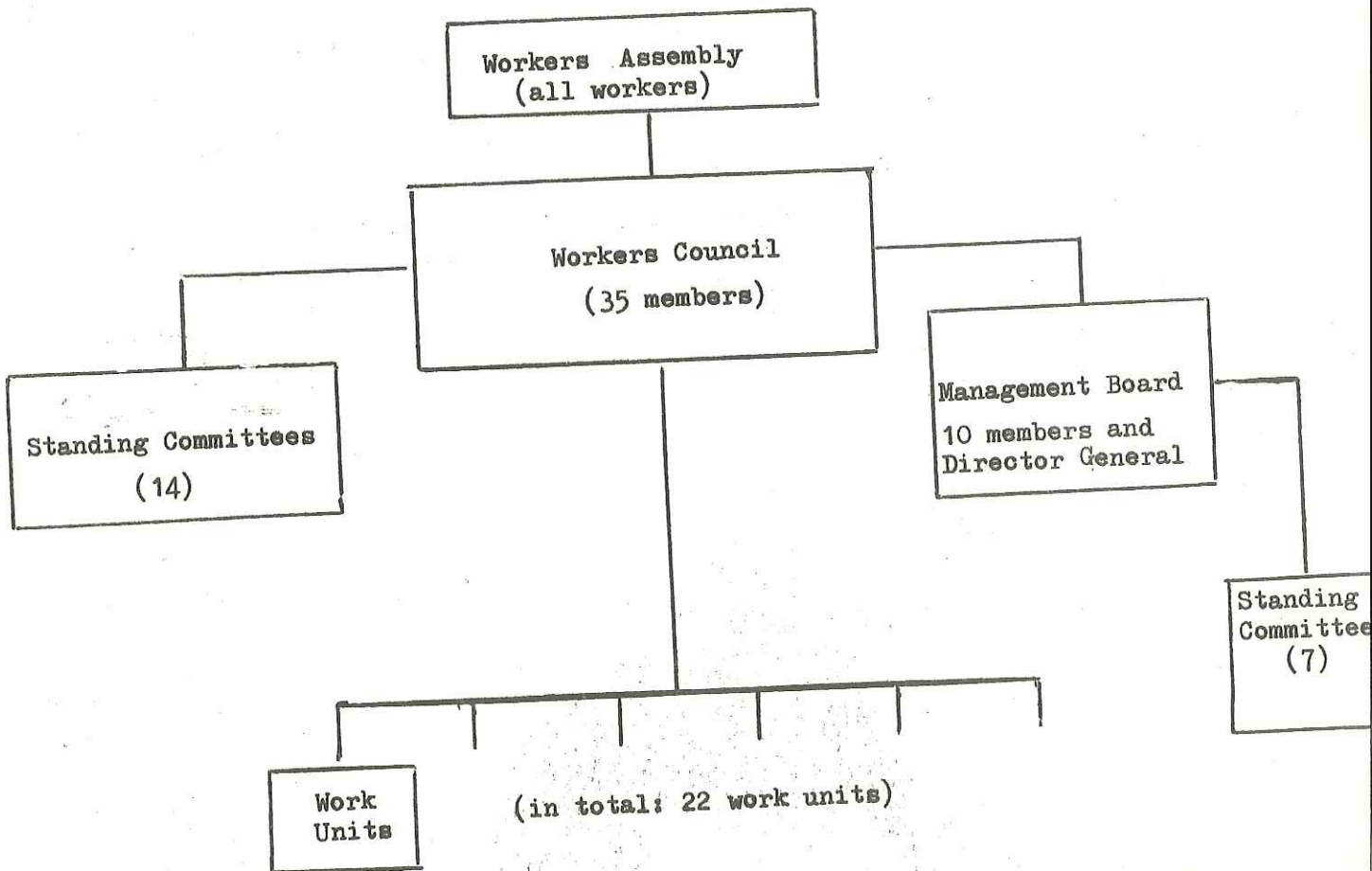
II. STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF SELF MANAGEMENT

1. Self Management Structure

The most important decision making body is the Workers Council, which has 35 members. They are elected as follows. At a meeting of workers ("Workers Assembly") held before elections, candidates can be proposed. At least 5 people are needed to propose a candidate, and all work units have to propose at least one candidate from amongst its own members. When the list of candidates is completed at the meeting of workers, at least 30 people have to approve of the list as a total. The list carries mostly 25 & 30 names.

Scheme 1.

STRUCTURE OF SELF MANAGEMENT BODIES IN ELEKTROPORCELANA



Note: A detailed scheme of the self management structure is provided in Appendix I.

The list of candidates is fixed on the bulletin board for 10 days, so that names can be added if people so desire. When the list is finally completed, an election day is announced and by secret ballot every worker casts his vote. Elected workers will be members of the Workers Council, for a period of two years. Every year elections are organized for half of the places in the Workers Council. Somebody who has served for two years on the Workers Council cannot be reelected immediately; but a year later his candidature can be put up again.

The Workers Council is directly responsible to the Assembly of all workers. This body can ask one member or even all members of the Workers Council, to resign.

At the first meeting after elections the Workers Council elects a chairman and vice chairman from among its members and elects and appoints members of its standing committees. At this meeting, also the Management Board is elected; this Board is to be composed of 50 % Workers Council members and 50 % managers. Managers who are heads of departments cannot be elected. The Director General of the enterprise is ex officio member of the Management Board. On the Board, members serve one year.

The Workers Council has 14 standing committees, a complete listing of them is given in Appendix II.

The presidents of these committees are always members of the Workers Council, otherwise the members can be freely chosen from all workers in the enterprise. As can be seen in Appendix II, 5 committees are in majority composed of workers who are also member of the Workers Council or Management Board. This overlapping of representative functions is less conspicuous in the committees of the Management Board (Appendix III).

The smallest self management units in the factory are the "economic units" or as they are usually called, the "work units" They are coinciding with functional sectors of the work organisations (see again Appendix I). The size of these units varies from 13 to 250 members.

Every year at a meeting of all workers of a unit, a manager is elected for a period of one year. He can be reelected every year. The Workers Council has to confirm the nomination of the elected manager, who derives his responsibility from the Workers Council, but is, on the other hand, responsible to the work unit members- Also the work unit can install committees. The most important areas of decision making by the work units are employment of manual workers and (partly) determination of personal income.

2. Representation in the self management bodies

Tables 4, 5 and 6 give some information on various characteristics of the members of the Workers Council and Management Board and of the standing committees.

MEMBERSHIP OF WORKERS COUNCIL AND MANAGEMENT BOARD, BY LENGTH OF SERVICE, YEAR OF BIRTH, FREQUENCY OF ELECTION, AND MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

Number of years employed	(a) Length of service		(b) Age		(c) Frequency of election			(d) Membership of Socio-political organisations		
	Elected in Workers Council	Elected in Management Board	Elected in Workers Council	Elected in Management Board	Times elected	Elected in Workers Council	Elected in Management Board	Member Membership	Elected in Workers Council	Elected in Management Board
Up to 5 years	4	3	4	-	1	23	8	League of Communists	22	7
6 - 10 years	10	3	5	2	2	8	1	Socialist Alliance of Working People	13	3
11 - 15 years	15	2	13	3	3	2	-	-	-	-
more than 15 years	6	2	6	3	more	2	1	Trade Union	35	10
			6	2						
			1	-						
TOTAL	35	10	TOTAL 35	TOTAL 10	TOTAL	35	10	TOTAL	35	10

Table 5. REPRESENTATION OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN THE WORKERS COUNCIL, MANAGEMENT BOARD, AND STANDING COMMITTEES

Category	Number	Average monthly income (nD.)	Members in Workers Council	Members in Management Board	Members in committees of (a) Workers Council	(b) Management Board
University level	34	2240	3	2	17	10
College level	38	1630	4	1	19	8
Secondary school level	112	1140	3	1	7	2
Elementary school with further training	36	860			1	
Highly skilled	133	1390	14	5	16	11
Skilled	312	1060	11	1	9	5
Semiskilled	78	910				
Unskilled	610	870				
TOTAL	1353		35	10	69	37
AVERAGE		1041				

Table 6.

REPRESENTATION IN WORKERS COUNCIL, MANAGEMENT BOARD, AND STANDING COMMITTEES, BY SEX

Sex	Number	in Workers Council	in Management Board	In Committees of	
				(a) Workers Council	(b) Management Board
Male	810	33	9	64	34
Female	543	2	1	5	3
TOTAL	1353	35	10	69	37

Note that most representatives in the Workers Council are young (below 35 years); that nevertheless the majority of the Workers Council members are already more than 10 years employed in Elektroporcelana (Table 4, a + b). Quite conspicuous is the high number of members of the League of Communists in both the Workers Council and the Management Board. We have no information on membership of the League of Communists with respect to all workers in the enterprise, but we can assume that the League is highly overrepresented.

Underrepresented in the self management bodies are the female workers (Table 6). And not represented at all are the semiskilled and unskilled workers although they make up for half the total work force (Table 5).

The problem of under- or overrepresentation of different categories, in the self management body was discussed with our spokesmen of Elektroporcelana. We got a manifold answer. First and foremost, it was argued, one should not underscore the importance of the work units. There all categories are represented and fundamental rights such as hiring and firing, production standards and personal income are for decision at their meetings. Also, in every work unit there is at least one member of the Workers Council who has the obligation to consult the work unit on important issues in the Workers Council.

Then, the unskilled and semiskilled workers, mostly from village background, lack both the will and the competence to participate in the deliberations of the Council. During elections the workers choose representatives who are knowledgeable, one prefers to elect people who have a good judgement.

In the case of women the same arguments hold to a large extent, since most of them are unskilled and with a low degree of education. Besides, women have their work at home and feel they have no time to study the documentation for the meetings of the Council and the committees. That is why most of them do not even want to stand for election.

Thus were the clarifications given by our informants; the problem of representation in the self management bodies will come at different other places in this report.

3. Some observations on the operation of the Workers Council

The Workers Council deals with all problems which are vital for the enterprise. Some examples: the annual plan, proposals for long term development, personal income, the selection of the general manager, association with other enterprises, and, of course, the obligations of the members of the Workers Council and all procedural matters, including the statutes and regulations of the Workers Council. Of course, not all decision making is concentrated

in the Workers Council. Typically, the Workers Council lays down the strategy and leaves the tactics to the committees, and the execution of its decisions and also the day to day decision making to the Managing Board.

In exceptional cases the Workers Assembly can request to take the decision making in its own hands, by asking the Workers Council to hold a referendum. Only for very important questions, e.g. on a merger with another enterprise will a referendum be held.

The necessary material for meetings of the Workers Council or the Managing Board is prepared by expert services. All the material has to be ready and distributed at least three days before the actual meeting, and on important issues preferably three alternative solutions should be offered to the Workers Council. Meetings of the Workers Council usually are held two times in a month, and take place during the normal working hours. The discussions are tape-recorded so that reliable minutes can be provided.

To illustrate the function of the Workers Council, we will summarize the agenda of a meeting held on the third of March 1972 in Elektropercelana.

1. Discussion on the draft plan for 1973.
2. Decision on the amount of minimal personal income per hour.
3. Decision on proportion of total income to be allotted to "business funds" and to "joint consumption funds".
4. Decision on how much each work unit will be entitled to receive from the business funds- (proposal: each work unit about 1600 nD per year, but the sales unit 60.000 & 70.000 nD per year because this unit has to meet costs of sales advertisements, drinks, representation costs, etc.).
5. Decision on total amount of money to be spent on representation.
6. Decision on a proposal to demand permission to have women work in night shifts. (Because of the particular technology of Elektropercelana some female workers are needed during the night shift to continue the production efficiently. Permission is needed from the Central Secretariat of Labour to include women in night shifts. The women concerned in Elektropercelana were "informed" about this discussion in the Workers Council; they were not "consulted").

7. Decision on financial participation in the construction of a new dam in the Bukoja. (Water supply in Arandelovac is not sufficient, certainly not for all work organisations in the commune and other nearby communes. It so happens that Elektroporcelana has enough water. But the issue came up in a social agreement on the communal level where the standard was set also enterprises not in need of water should contribute to the construction of the dam since after all their workers would benefit privately quite much; they will have enough water at home and in case they should have to be in hospital etc. The standard set by the social agreement was that enterprises not in direct need of water should also contribute. In the case of Elektroporcelana 400.000 nD were asked per year, this was now up for decision).
8. Current questions. Three bills of 1971. (When the final account of a certain year has been approved by the Workers Council, any financial matter related to that account year detected later, must be discussed in the Workers Council, according to law).
9. Decision on the allocation of an apartment. (The Management Board allocated an apartment to a worker, but another worker who was sure that the apartment should have been allotted to him instead, went to the grievance committee requesting them to revise the decision of the Management Board. In this case the Workers Council was asked to make a final decision. The complaining worker was present at the Council meeting).
10. Decision on compensation. (Somebody who could not go on holidays in 1971 since he could not be missed at work, requested a salary compensation for this period).
11. Other business.

This meeting lasted something more than two hours.

Decisions made during Workers Council meetings are published in summary in the bulletin of the enterprise.

If a worker is not satisfied with the decision of the Council he can appeal to higher organs. The nature of the grievance is important here. For instance, if it is on employment he can appeal to the communal court. If the grievance is of a socio-political nature, he has to appeal to the communal, republic or even federal trade union organisation.

III EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING AND HOLIDAYS

1. Employment

In the course of our discussions at Elektroporcelana some issues came up rather recurrently. On most of them not enough systematic information was obtained. However, in order to give some better perspective to the observations of other groups in Arandelovac, three issues deserve mentioning here: employment, housing and holidays.

Employment is decided on at two levels in Elektroporcelana. The employment committee of the Workers Council takes decisions on recruitment or resignation of highly skilled workers and employees of secondary school level and higher. Special committees of the individual work units deal with the recruitment and resignation of all other categories of personnel.

Children of people now working in Elektroporcelana do have, to quite an extent, a privileged position with respect to employment opportunities. This in two ways. First, children of Elektroporcelana workers are eligible for the factory's own grants for secondary school education and vocational training in and outside the factory. Also, these children are eligible for university fellowships and for fellowships for post graduate studies, offered by the enterprise. Especially the post graduate fellowships are very important since post graduate education in Yugoslavia is not free.

Second, children of Elektroporcelana workers also enjoy a privilege when actual recruitment takes place. If they are among the applicants for a vacancy, and they have the necessary qualifications, they have priority over other candidates. But of course the general principle of the employment committees is to recruit the best person they can find. "Elektroporcelana is not going to become a family enterprise" according to our spokesman.

2. Housing

There is an acute shortage of adequate apartments in Arandelovac. Many enterprises have an active housing policy and this is also the case for Elektroporcelana. Workers can obtain credits for housing, and the factory also participates in the construction of workers colonies (simple apartments, without bathing facilities) and "luxury flats". Already for a number of years the enterprise could offer apartments for rent. For instance, in 1971, 36 luxe apartments were available.

How does the distribution take place ? Twenty five percent of the luxe flats are allocated by the general manager, mostly for experts of the factory. The remaining 75 percent of the flats and also the available apartments in the workers colonies are announced in the bulletin of the factory and a public competition is held, in which all workers of the factory can take part. The allocation of apartments is based on a system of "points" which can be obtained according to qualifications, social position, years of employment, participation in the partizan movement, etc. etc. Those who score highest get the apartments; this has to be confirmed by the Workers Council.

Points are scored as follows:

- 1. Function.
 - leadership function 35 points
 - function requiring university education 30 points
 - function requiring college or highly skilled level 25 points
 - function requiring secondary school or skilled level 15 points
 - function requiring semiskilled level 10 points
 - function requiring unskilled level 8 points

- 2. Qualification.
 - University level 30 points
 - College and highly skilled level 25 points
 - Secondary and skilled level 15 points
 - Elementary school and semiskilled level 7 points
 - Unskilled level 5 points

3. Length of service in Elektroporcelana
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| up to 5 years, for every year | 2 points |
| 5 - 10 years, for every year | 3 points |
| more than ten years, for every year | 4 points |
4. Workers who have no apartment get 20 points
 (those are: workers who rent a furnished room, who live in an uncomfortable apartment, who were not able to finish more than two rooms in the house they are building themselves, and who are living in uncomfortable apartments in certain workers' colonies).
5. A worker who has already got an apartment, but will hand it over to Elektroporcelana when he gets a bigger one instead 10 points
6. On the basis of family conditions the worker receives the following number of points:
- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| for each child | 5 points |
| for each member of the family (wife, parents) who lives in the same house for more than one year and who is a dependent of the worker | 3 points |
7. Serious invalids 15 points
 less serious invalids 10 points
8. Participation in the national liberation war, depending on time spent in the war 10 & 25 points
9. All workers whose family has been enlarged have the right to compete for a bigger flat.

3. Holidays

A scoring system is also used for a allocation of the number of holidays. According to the regulations every adult worker gets not less than 14 and not more than 31 holidays per year. Points are scored according to the following criteria (list not complete, no detailed information on scoring system available):

- Qualification
- Number of years of employment in Elektroporcelana
- Number of years of employment in any enterprise
- Mental efforts involved in work
- Effort of the senses
- Physical effort
- Contact with customers
- Work in the open air
- Danger for accidents
- Temperature and humidity
- Dirt and dust at work
- Unpleasant odours at work
- Noise disturbance at work
- Too strong or too weak light

Very important for a high number of holidays is the total number of years of employment.

Besides the scoring system proposals on a maximum of three days extra holidays can be made to the Workers Council on the basis of incidental criteria.

To illustrate the system of holiday allocation, our spokesman gave us his own score for 1971:

qualification: highly skilled	70 points
mental efforts: high	46 points
length of service in Elektroporcelana) 8 years	150 points
total number of years of employment	
effort of the senses: small	17 points
contact with customers: medium	80 points
noice disturbance at work : small	20 points
total	383 points

Now a formula is applied:

$$\frac{383 \times 30}{441} = \frac{10290}{441} = 26 \text{ working days to be spent as holidays}$$

(441 represents a constant number used for calculating the number of holidays for all categories) .

IV TWO INTERVIEWS

1. Interview with the President of the Trade Union at Elektroporcelana[⊠]

All the workers of the factory, from the lowest paid to the highest paid are members of the union, even though membership is voluntary. They are 1350 in number. The union is divided into three branches. Each branch has a president. They have annual conferences attended by 20 members from each branch making a total of 60. The president of the union is elected every two years by this Conference. They have a Committee of five members which runs the union. The union is an affiliate of the Industrial and mine Workers Union which has a total membership of 1,200,000 in Yugoslavia. At the commune level the union has a membership of 6,000, with a full time official. Three members represent Elektroporcelana at the commune level.

Membership dues is 0.60 % of the personal income. The dues are paid by over 98% of the members through check-off and by 10 members directly. The rule is that a prospective member decides whether he would like to pay his membership dues through check-off or directly.

15% of total dues collected goes to the Confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions. 28% goes to the local union, and the remaining percentage goes to the communal union. Unfortunately, our spokesman could not tell us how the remaining percentage is distributed among the commune union and the national union. The local union, in addition to their share of the union dues also gets support from the company, to enable the union to discharge its obligations to its members. The company subsidizes the union funds by 60 - 70 thousand new Dinars annually.

⊠ This interview was conducted and reported by
Mr. S.K. Antwi

Annually the union prepares its budget covering the benefits the members get from the union. The following are the current benefits:

1. Holidays for disabled members.
2. Excursions for members.
3. Presents (New Year gifts) to children of workers (their members)
4. Presents to female members on the 8th of March, being Womens' day in Yugoslavia.
5. Assisting members with funeral grants.
6. Organising sports and recreation for workers.

This budget is presented to the Workers Council for approval. This is done because the Workers Council has to give subsidy. It is possible that the Workers Council rejects some of the items presented.

According to the president, the achievements of the union can better be known at the commune or national level. He, however, said that through the efforts of the union, transport costs to and from business is subsidized by the company. The highest percentage paid by a worker towards the cost of such transport is about 33 1/3 %. Depending upon where a worker lives, the percentage sometimes can be very negligible: the workers pay a flat rate of 12 Dinars a month, irrespective of where they live. The president mentioned workers education as one of the known areas where the union has made remarkable achievement. They have also been able to achieve one subsidized meal a day for the workers.

About 80% of the members of the Workers Council were sponsored by the union. To a question as to why out of over 500 unskilled and semi-skilled members of the union none of them is a member of the Workers Council or the Management Board or any of the committees of the self management system, we had the following answer:

"The union has always tried to get the Council to be as representative as possible of all the social groups in the company. We have tried this in practice by nominating more unskilled and semi-skilled to contest elections but surprisingly the workers always vote against candidates from their own ranks". Asked as to what they have done to ensure that their policy is carried through, he said that they are doing that through education at general meetings. He however ended up by saying that it is necessary to get people who have knowledge of, say, economics, politics, engineering and other professional qualifications, or at least who have reached a fairly reasonable standard in education, to be able to understand materials presented to the Council. He felt that much as it was necessary to get all groups represented, it was also true that all are Union members and are all working together as a team, so that groups that are not represented can be effectively represented by other groups.

As a contribution to the success of the enterprise, the union has set upon itself to fight against absenteeism: through better meals for the workers, sufficient rest, through influencing the workers to work hard and interesting them in the prosperity of the company.

The company once decided to expand the factory. The banks refused to give them credit, therefore this became impossible. According to the president when this problem was presented to the workers they agreed that in order that they could continue to have their jobs and in order that they could get jobs for their children and generations yet unborn they would sacrifice to make the project feasible. They decided therefore that for 5 - 6 years they would not receive their incentive bonus, thus reducing their personal income, so that the accumulated fund could be used for this purpose. This was successful, for as a result of these savings the company was able to raise 20 million new Dinars for the expansion and mechanisation of the factory, which is now in its third phase.

The traditional role of the trade unions to represent and defend its members exists in the factory. A worker who feels agrieved and who feels that the union should defend him, may express his complaint to union officials, who will persue the matter up to the Workers Council level. A worker may also decide to defend his own case at the Workers Council level. If the Workers Council decision does not satisfy him he may take the matter further to the Communal Court.

The Trade Union may assist him in bearing the cost at the Communal Court.

2. Interview with a worker in Elektroporcelana[⊠]

I wanted to interview the worker in the canteen in his familiar environment where we would be alone with the interpreter but we were not allowed by the Personnel Manager. He told us that we had to use the same room with our colleagues and in his presence. In fact he was present during the interview and for about four times he added, "helped or corrected the worker interviewed." Both the worker and I went first to his workplace where he demonstrated his work to me. It seemed to me that he was not an unskilled worker as I has asked for. There were other workers working under him. When I told the Personnel Manager that the worker was not an unskilled worker, he told me that sometimes he does semi-skilled work and even sometimes high-skilled work because he is under training.

Before I started the interview I explained to the worker that I was Social Advisor for industrial workers in Brazil and interview workers in order to know their problems and try to help them with advices and in this perspective I was there to interview him and know the differences and similitudes of problems. I asked him also to answer only the questions which he wanted to answer.

⊠ This interview was conducted and reported by Miss G.Graziano.

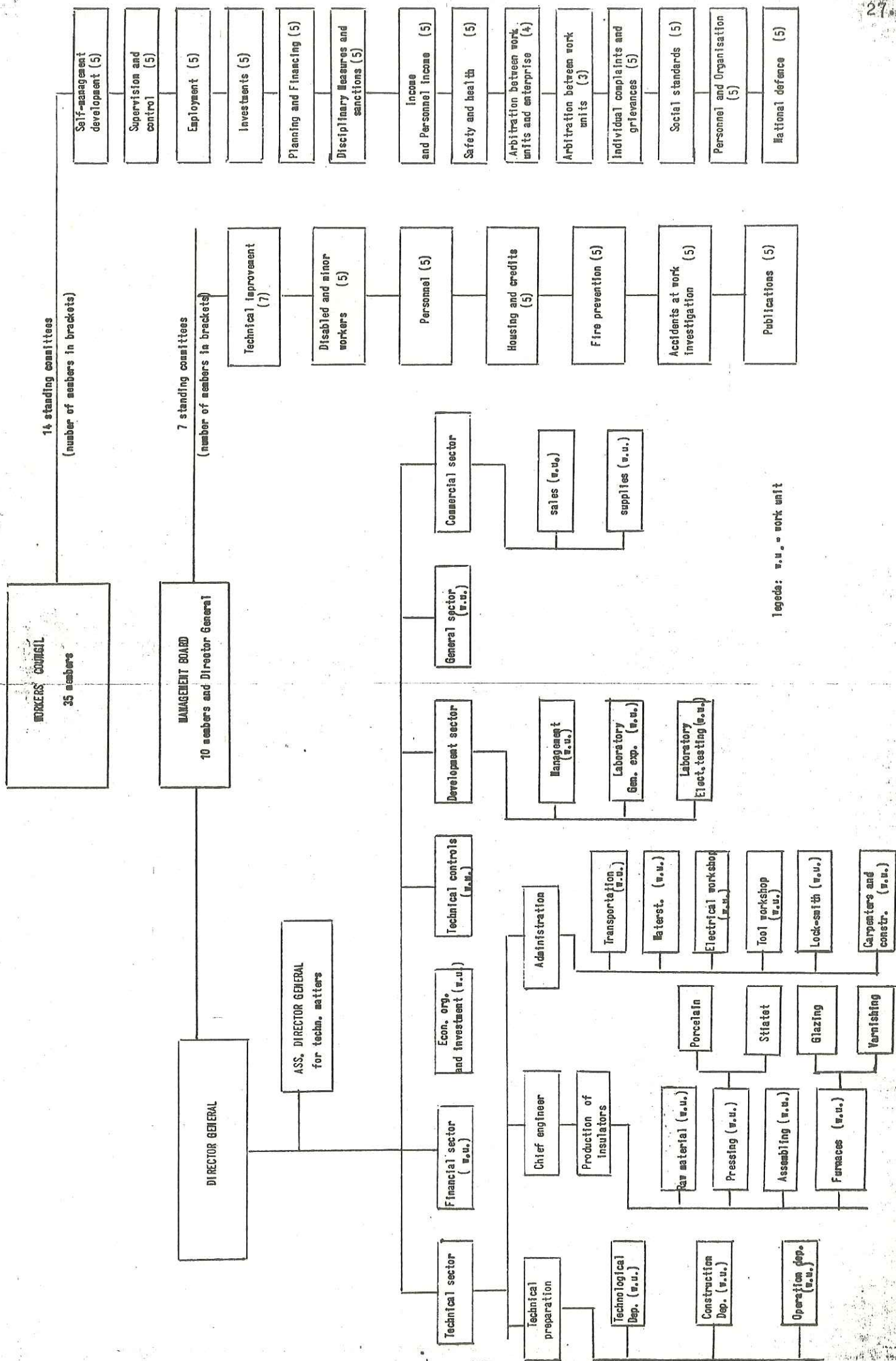
The interviewer is 28 years old - married for 8 years and has two daughters who are six and seven years old. One of them is at school. His wife does not work because "she has to take care of the children". He said that he is considered by the enterprise as unskilled worker but he sometimes performs tasks which demand skill. He said that he had not the opportunity to continue his studies. He studied only for six years. He answered that he could not continue his studies under the present conditions but he could not explain what these conditions were. He has his own house. It is five Kilometer from the factory. He wakes up at 4 a.m. to be able to go to work and goes to bed at 9 p.m. He goes to work by the Company's bus. He has worked in the factory for 12 years. He said that he makes pieces for high and low voltage. His wages are 1,000,00 Dinars per month. He was not able to explain how much he spends on his living necessities, but it is true that he spends all his wages on them; he needs not pay rent. He regards his job as a way to get money in order to live and he expects from his job the continuation of this possibility. He expects from the commune the setting up of new schools and the extension of running water. He remarked that there is no running water in his house. "Self-management" for him is a "way for the workers to express their wishes." (The way he answered seemed to me that he had prepared this answer beforehand.) Asked if he had had the opportunity to "express his wishes" before he answered "NEVER". Apart from this industry he knows only one other similar factory 5 or 6 kilometers far from Arandelovac. He had been there only once. He does not know anything about "Industrial Relations System" in capitalist countries. In his opinion other socialist countries have similar Industrial Relations Systems as Yugoslavia. He did not know the number of unskilled or semi-skilled workers in the industry. I told him the total number of workers and the number of skilled and unskilled workers. I showed him the list of the workers council members and I asked him if he knew that the unskilled and semi-skilled workers were not represented in the workers council and if he knew the reasons. He answered that he knew this situation and that "they (unskilled and semi-skilled workers) were thinking about this". He regards the workers council as representing him and the workers in general. He answered that the worker whom he voted for was elected. Why did you not vote for an unskilled worker ? To this question he answered that there

was not any unskilled worker in the list. He is satisfied with the workers council and with the management-board. The food provided by the enterprise is "good" and in his opinion the conditions of work too. When I remarked that in my opinion he had to use gloves to protect himself during his work and that the hygienic conditions of the bathrooms were not satisfactory, he replied that in fact the enterprise provide him gloves but he does not use them because it seems to him that his task does not demand this kind of protection. He answered that there was nobody in the factory to advise the workers about the necessity of using the means of protection. He agreed with my remark about the bathroom and added that, that and "other small things" should be improved. He said that he works close to the member of the workers council for whom he voted and they have opportunity to talk about "these small things", but these subjects are never brought to the workers council meetings. He feels that the enterprise belongs to him because he works in it and it provides the livelihood of himself and his family. He is a member of the trade union. In his opinion the trade union takes care of the workers' interests but he has no contacts with the trade union. He answered that there are sometimes meetings between trade union officials and workers, but he could not remember the last one. He said that he always reads the bulletin, published by the enterprise. However, he did not know anything about its economic plans, subjects discussed in the last meetings, the costs of the products, where they are sold and for how much, the amount of production nor the profitability of the enterprise. He did not know how much the managers, technicians, highly skilled workers etc. earn. He only knows that skilled workers earn 200,00 Dinars more than he earns. He answered that he knew more or less where the managers live and he once went to the Personnel Manager's house for no special purpose. What do you think about the social distinction between the Yugoslav people ? He asked me to explain the question. I gave these examples: some people have cars, better education, earn more money, have better houses, participate in workers council and others do not etc. He preferred not to talk about this. He did not know the rate of an employment in the village, in the republic or in the country. Asked whether Yugoslavia was economically developed or an underdeveloped country he answered that she is in the middle.

He knows in general the internal political situation of the country. However, when he was asked to tell us something about that he did not. He said that he did not know much about the political problems of Zagreb and Ljubljana. He said that he spends some week-ends in the mountains. He spent the last two vacations at home but he used to go to the sea in the past. When he goes back home after work he does some domestic work such as fetching water and cutting the grass. He watches television and reads newspapers. He knows Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and the Adriatic coast. For him part of the raw materials used by the enterprise come from the country (Bosnia) and part from abroad, such as Czecho-Slovakia. He read the list of the members of the workers council and said that he knew them. He had never given any suggestion to the workers council members, management board or trade union official. He knew that he can be present at workers council meetings but he had never done that. He is not a member of the League of Communists. He is thinking about the next election of members of the workers council which will take place at the end of April.

When we finished the interview which lasted about one hour fifteen minutes we shook hands and I could feel that it was completely wet.

SELF-MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE OF "ELEKTROPORCELANA" - ARANDJELOVAC - YUGOSLAVIA



Legend: w.u. = work unit

APPENDIX II.

COMPOSITION OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE WORKERS COUNCIL, BY OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORY AND MEMBERSHIP OF OTHER SELF MANAGEMENT BODIES

	(1) Committee for the working of the self management bodies	(2) Committee for super- vision and control	(3) Committee for Employment	(4) Committee for investment and investment funds	(5) Committee for planning and financing	(6) Committee for disciplinary sanctions	(7) Committee for income and personal income distributions
<u>Occupational Categories</u>							
University level	3	-	2	2	-	-	1
College level	1	1	1	3	3	-	1
Secondary school level	-	3	-	-	1	1	-
Elementary school with some further training	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Highly skilled	-	1	2	-	-	4	3
Skilled	1	-	-	-	-	2	-
Semi skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Membership of self management bodies</u>							
Members of Workers Council	1	1	2	1	2	4	3
Members of Management Board	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Others	4	4	3	3	3	3	1
TOTAL	5	5	5	5	5	7	5

COMPOSITION OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE WORKERS COUNCIL, BY OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORY AND MEMBERSHIP OF OTHER SELF MANAGEMENT BODIES (Continued)

	(8) Committee for safety and health	(9) Committee for arbitration on conflicts between work units and enterprise	(10) Committee for arbitration on conflicts among work units	(11) Committee for complaints and grievances	(12) Committee for social standards	(13) Committee for personnel and organisation	(14) Committee for national defence	(15) TOTAL
<u>Occupational Categories</u>								
University level	-	-	1	1	1	4	2	17
College level	1	3	2	-	1	1	1	19
Secondary school level	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	7
Elementary school with some further training	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Highly skilled	1	-	-	1	3	-	1	16
Skilled	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	9
Semi skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Membership of self management bodies</u>								
Members of Workers Council	1	2	-	3	3	1	?	(24)
Members of Management Board	-	-	1	-	-	-	?	(3)
Other	4	2	2	2	2	4	?	(37)
TOTAL	5	4	3	5	5	5	5	69

APPENDIX III.

COMPOSITION OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE MANAGING BOARD, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE OTHER SELF MANAGEMENT BODIES

	(1) Committee for technical improvement	(2) Committee for employment of dis- abled and miners	(3) Committee on personnel	(4) Committee on housing	(5) Committee for fire prevention	(6) Committee for industrial accidents	(7) Committee for publications	(8) TOTAL
<u>Occupational categories</u>								
University level	4	1	1	-	-	-	4	10
College level	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	8
Secondary school level	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Elementary school with some further training	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Highly skilled	2	1	3	2	2	1	-	11
Skilled	-	1	-	-	2	2	-	5
Semi skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Outsiders	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<u>Membership of self management bodies</u>								
Members of Workers Council	1	-	2	1*	1	-	1	6
Members of Management Board	1	1	2	1*	1	1	-	7
Others	5	4	1	4	3	4	4	25
TOTAL	7	5	5	5	5	5	5	37

* Overlapping membership. Same person member of both Workers Council and Management Board.