CONCLUSION
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The new system of administration that was established after Bolshevik Revolution was highly different in its nature and scope from the administrative system of the Tsarist regime. It was widely believed that the new administrative system was drawn theoretically as well as philosophically from the Marxian ideas of the state.

During its evolution, the Soviet system of administration became highly centralized. A striking feature of this system was the control of the Communist Party on the administration network. The huge gigantic structure brought almost the complete range of human activities of the Soviet people under its control, leaving no scope for their freedom.

The newly established institutions after the Bolshevik revolution had to be manned by the old Czarist bureaucracy since the revolutionaries lacked skilled personnel. These bureaucrats did not possess the vision and objectives of socialism. Apart from this, the bureaucracy was to undertake certain tasks, like War Communism and forced collectivization. The administration was also involved in arresting and punishing many factional leaders within the party. All these activities of the administration did not allow the bureaucracy to grow as a democratic institution but it became rather, an oppressive, anti-people institution.
The level of oppression increased when Stalin consolidated his power. Various illegal arrests, tortures, and trials, forced exiles or deportations were some of the powerful tools which were used to deal with highly uncertain situation that prevailed in Soviet Union. Though this had helped maintain law and discipline, and state control, it did not help democracy flourish. The oppression was confined not only to society, in general, but it also engulfed the Communist Party within its ambit. While it was claimed that "democratic centralism" was being practiced, in reality, "centralism" minus democracy was practiced. During the crisis period of World War II, Stalin created an institution - State Committee of Defence - through which he gained enormous control over every aspect of Soviet society. Socialist ideology was, in fact, a means to legitimize rule by dictatorial methods.

Under Khrushchev, the security organs, which played a very decisive role of stalinist terror, came under severe attack. Those security officials who misused their power and created so much havoc and hardship for the Soviet people were punished. Arbitrary power of the security organs were considerably curtailed and the K.G.B. was placed under the control of party organs. Thousands of Stalinist victims were released and rehabilitated.
Khrushchev, in 1962, established a new institution called the Committee of the Party and State Control, with stringent powers to prevent and remove inefficiency and illegality in administration. As a result, repression was considerably reduced. But bureaucracy did not like all these reforms. For the time being, it accepted the command of top political leadership under Khrushchev to relinquish power and authority in relation to masses. But internally, bureaucrats were waiting for appropriate moment to regain all power and privileges which were available to them before Khrushchev.

In the field of economic management a highly decentralized economic administration came into existence to replace the previous inefficient centralized administration. According to the new system the Soviet Union was divided into 108 economic zones. Each zone had its own autonomous branch of Sovnarkhozy, which was to direct the economic activities of the particular region. Another innovation was introduced in agricultural management by establishing a collective and State Farm Directorate, under which a hierarchy of committees were also formed at oblast, republics and central level. In short, Khrushchev did bring decentralization in the administration of agriculture and industrial sectors despite strong resistance from bureaucratic elites within and without the party.
In the field of general administration Khrushchev gave more autonomy to the republican administration with the transfer of some ministries from Union level to the republican level. Local administration became more democratic, independent and genuine than they were before Khrushchev. Despite all this democratization and decentralization in administration the powerful organs of control such as the procuracy, the State Bank, the Security Service and the Supreme Court remained as centralized as before Khrushchev's rule. They continued to possess tremendous power which they exercised in the form of direct control over all citizens cutting across the republican and local authorities. Moreover, the CPSU remained completely centralized and intervened at all points of national life.

Lack of support from elites in the party and in the government who were highly critical of Khrushchev's reforms ultimately led to the removal of Khrushchev from power. The new combined and strong leadership of Brezhnev-Kosygin initially reversed most policies of administrative reform of decentralization and democratization brought by their predecessor Khrushchev. To recentralise Soviet administration and to accumulate more authority and control, unification of Central Committee and soviets at regional levels was done. Apart from this, Khrushchev's innovation of the joint party-state institutions, Committee of Party and State Central, were replaced by the single institution

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of Peoples Control with limited power to check state organs only. Another important change was that the party was placed beyond any formal control and lots of powers were entrusted with it.

The party organs were placed in commanding position to direct and regulate their activities up to the oblast and below oblast levels in the agricultural and industrial sectors. All economic ministries were re-established, which had been abolished earlier in 1962 during the Khrushchev period, with the sole aim of strengthening primacy of the Party.

Power to the security organs and police were more strengthened during Brezhnev regime. The revival of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) that existed during the Stalin era with its jurisdiction over personal affairs evolved fear of repression and threat in the mind of Soviet masses.

Brezhnev also created a large number of military industrial complexes through which enabled military bureaucracy to intervene in all spheres of Soviet life. Brezhnev era also witnessed enormous growth of bureaucracy of every type and they were in a commanding position and became a highly privileged class in Soviet society.

Brezhnev created a new myth by introducing theoretical innovations: the concept of "developed socialism" and "all people's state", the former one for
characterising the Soviet variety of socialism and the latter for characterizing the Soviet state. Brezhnev repudiated Khrushchev's doctrine that Soviet Union was on the verge of entering into full-fledged communism shortly. He did not, however, clarify how long the duration of "developed socialism" would continue, and therefore, extended a longer lease of life to Soviet administration to rule much more authoritatively. These very measures in fact legitimized many undemocratic and basically repressive acts towards the so-called deviationists.

During the Andropov and Chernenko regimes no major administrative changes took place. Though Andropov felt the need of reforming the Soviet command administrative systems but his tenure was too brief to carry out any far-reaching change. However, he tried to impose discipline on party and state bureaucracy by minor reshuffling as well as imposing stricter code of conduct on both institutions. His efforts at reforming the administrative system, at least, showed the way for the coming leadership to introduce far-reaching charges. His successor Chernenko did not find structural deficiency in the system and he was in no hurry to reform it. He believed in status quo and tended to move in continuity with the Brezhnev regime. He brought back many Brezhnevite regional secretaries, factory directors and other bureaucrats who were purged by Andropov.
When Gorbachev took over as General Secretary, he inherited a crises ridden administrative system reflecting the general economic crisis and degeneration in other important spheres of Soviet society; various levels of bureaucracy were sinking in corruption and Soviet society was moving at a rapid speed towards degeneration. There were unprecedented and record level of corruption from the higher to lower levels of Soviet bureaucracy. Culturally, Soviet society was in the process of speedy degeneration.

Revelations of facts and secrets (during Gorbachev period) brought into light the various types of heinous crimes and mounting corruption by the party, state officials, KGB and militia. Surprisingly Brezhnev's immediate family members and close circles were involved in numerous types of corruptions and racketeering. So was the case of republican and regional secretaries. At higher level misappropriations of money and taking of sizeable bribe was the general norm, while at lower levels all possible known way were adopted including theft, robbery, taking bribe and collecting protection money etc. It was an irony that Soviet media was totally silent on these issues, while extensive reporting of such negative phenomena appeared in the other Western or African countries.

The corruption and crimes by the bureaucracy only alienated them further from the people they were
supposedly in place to serve. This situation led to the following consequences: depoliticisation, cynicism, hopelessness and passivity developed in the minds of Soviet citizens as a shield against the hated authorities. Political mobilization became very difficult in the Soviet society against any issues.

Gorbachev realized that the various problems facing the Soviet society lay in the demerits of command administrative system. Therefore, the system came under severe attack in a number of Gorbachev's speeches and writings. Gorbachev created an open atmosphere and people began to discuss or criticize various crimes committed by Stalin, bureaucratization and stagnation of Brezhnev era without the fear of state repression. Interestingly, Khrushchev's reforms were taken as a positive steps to correct the ills of Soviet society. Apart from granting freedom of expression to Soviet people, Gorbachev's government rehabilitated posthumously thousands of Stalinist victims including Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoview, Radek, Sergei Sedov etc. and some of the prominent personalities who were denounced earlier were now given membership of the party as well as the Academy of Sciences. The persons who served as instruments to perpetuate the oppressive system during Stalin era, like police, informers, judges, security officials etc. were exposed and dishonored. Historical records like
official data, archaeological evidence relating to the crimes were brought to the notice of the people. In addition to this many mass graves of helpless victims were also discovered. It was estimated that the number of people who lost their lives could be around thirty thousand. The Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, with its secret protocols providing for the annexation of Baltic republics, were published.

Thus Gorbachev era reversed the old approach of hiding the information not only in the field of administrative crime by previous regimes but in the field of social, economic and culture also. It began to publish annual statistics with a wealth of information that had not been available for many decades.

Banned books for the last twenty or more years were allowed to be published in Soviet Press including Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago, Mandelshtam's Hope Against Hope and Hope Abandoned, Andrei Sakharov's Intellectual Freedom, Thought on Progress, Sotzhenitsyn's Cancer Ward Gulag Archipelago, George Ormell's 1984, Animal Farm, Raybackov's Children of the Arbot and many more.

In the realm of culture the same open policy was adopted with the release of banned cinemas, plays and paintings. Moreover, glasnost gained momentum, on the one side, it faced greater resistances not only from the minor party secretaries and lower bureaucrats but also from the upper level of bureaucracy and even from politburo members on the other.
Relaxation of the public media from the bureaucratic control, favorable environment for free debate and discussion further accelerated the process of reform of Soviet society. Democratic elements were inserted in the CPSU. It was decided that the process of selection and placement of cadres would be open and on a competitive basis. Electoral process within the party further democratized with the introduction of competition and secret ballots among the various candidates. Decomocratisation in the party further advanced when the 28th Congress rejected the principle of 'democratic centralism' which was the main instrument of command administrative system and rigid centralization. Individual communist was allowed to express his/her views freely on the platforms of party. Following this, various formal platforms emerged within the CPSU with different types of aims and objectives, some of them inimical to the basic ideas of socialism.

Many administrative departments of the party apparatus were completely abolished or merged and the functions of such departments were transferred to governmental institutions. Now party committee officials were not in a position to command since they no longer had privileged access and distribution of resources. At every level of Soviet society the CPSU had to compete with various socio-political groups and newly formed parties for the control of government and its policies.
Legal reforms were essential so that officials of various departments including judiciary could be prevented from illegal and arbitrary action. To achieve this goal greater independence to the courts was provided. From January 1988 a system of judicial review of administrative action was established up to the jurisdiction of district and city level administrative bodies and courts. But it had serious limitations due to not extending its jurisdiction at higher levels of administration.

To some extent procuratorial power was enhanced on 30 June 1987 by the Supreme Soviet. Procurator was empowered to issue written instruction in a case of clear breach of law and even issue written warnings in advance against an imminent violation of law. But these legal reforms were limited and too inadequate to satisfy the need and aspiration of Soviet people in a highly vitiated charged political atmosphere.

The need for extensive legal reforms was felt in the 19th party Conference of the CPSU in 1988. On December 1, 1988 a twenty-three member Committee of Constitutional Review was established with the responsibility to examine the constitutional validity of the executive branch's decisions and draft bills by the legislature. This was in fact the establishment of the great democratic principle of separation of powers among legislature, judiciary and executive in concrete
organisational form. It, up to certain degree, satisfied the demand of the Soviet people. In 1990, with the amendment of the court law for the first time in the history of Soviet Union, the principle of the presumption of innocence of the accused was established. At the same time functioning of the KGB was democratized and brought into the line suitable to the requirements of glasnost.

Legal reforms did not stop here only. In 1991, the first for thirty years, criminal code was modernized and also humanized with the adoption of a new one.

A greater emphasis on the rule of law, introduction of relevant reforms, establishment of autonomous voluntary organisations and the emergence of various movements all equally contributed to the development of citizen based autonomous politics. Infact, the formation of new organisations and movements was an answer to the overly formalized nature of official youth and other organisations and the expression to the wide range of minority interests — environmental, philosophical, artistic, etc. It was also a reflection of Gorbachev's notions of socialist plurality of opinion towards law governed state.

It was quite natural that these reforms had to face serious challenges from the privileged sections of Soviet society especially from the party and state bureaucracy because it required the shattering of the ideological stereotypes and the command administration
method. Therefore, August 1991 putsch can be seen in this sense.

To push the Soviet political system towards more democratic and greater autonomy, Gorbachev introduced a new political process in the realm of elections. According to this, the Soviet people can elect a candidate of their own choice who need not be a member of the CPSU. Since a long time Soviet citizens did not have such a choice, they had to accept or 'reject' a single candidate in the elections. At every level, from party to government, Gorbachev reformed the electoral process. An independent Election Commission was established, multi-candidate and secret ballot system was introduced. In the first national election of Congress of Peoples Deputies and republics' many ministers and leaders of official candidates were defeated notwithstanding overwhelming endorsement by voters. This was a definite sign of Soviet Union entering in the new phase of real democracy. This was further strengthened with the repeal of the article 6 of Soviet Constitution which provided CPSU monopoly over Soviet Political system. Now the CPSU had to compete with various groups and political parties to gain the control and influence of government and its policies.

More autonomy to the Soviets was granted with its increased duration, more privilege to its deputies from
the burden of their workplace, and real power of administrative decision and regulation within the areas of its jurisdiction. Now from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the Soviets of settlement (polisek), they became really autonomous and democratic institution in their respective jurisdiction. Deputies became more powerful than earlier and were in a commanding position to influence and mould the official policies and decisions. This situation can be observed from the episode of the rejection of some ministers by the Congress of Peoples Deputies which was nominated by the Prime Minister Ryzhkov; and various decisions of Republican Supreme Soviets. Almost all republican Soviets rejected the command of central authority and declared themselves sovereign.

With the introduction of multiple political processes at various levels, and snatching of power from the privileged sections led to the development of a chaotic situation. In such a situation disintegration was not impossible. To prevent the possibility of disintegration of Soviet Union, a new Presidency similar to USA was established. Gorbachev was elected the new President with greater power, in principle, than Stalin had. But in reality Soviet Union never had seen such a weak political leader as Gorbachev.

Due to August coup, and pressure from the conservative Communist leaders on one hand, and the
emergence of Yeltsin as Russia's leader and aspirations of various nationalities in the Soviet Union, and the rejection of the communist party's role as a leader and guide of Soviet society by the Soviet people, the process of disintegration could not be stopped.

To overcome the serious economic problems like perennial shortages of consumer goods, imbalances, stagnation, and also declining growth rate and corruption in the economic management Gorbachev introduced several measures of economic management in all spheres with the elements of democratization and decentralisation.

The long-term and short-term planning system were modified and rationalised. Enterprise managements were given more freedom to choose suppliers and also to make operational decisions without having any consultations with the centre. Pricing system and resource allocation was formed and element of competition among different type of enterprises was introduced as a move from administrative or command form of management to indirect or 'economy' control based upon financial and other regulations. The principle of profit and loss accounting was introduced and enterprises were made independent from the dictates of ministries and higher levels of economic bodies.

All these economic reforms and autonomy of enterprises and lower economic bodies were consolidated
with the democratization by the 'Law on the State Enterprise' which provided workers direct participation in the decision making processes. Now workers were to elect their managers at all levels from the director down to workshop head, 'as a rule' on a competitive basis. The law also established the Council of Labour Collective which was elected by workforce for two or three years at a time.

A wide variety of forms of non-state economic activity, on both an individual and a group basis was legalized in order to do away with the excessive political control in the local collective forms. In 1988 a new law on cooperatives was enacted by which cooperative movement gained momentum. The new cooperatives were genuine and independent which engaged in a wide variety of activities. They were competing among themselves and also with state enterprises.

Even families, groups and individuals were granted long-term lease on the land and factory. This was certainly a radical step after NEP. However, the economy did not show any improvement despite a large scale of reforms. What was witnessed was a deterioration in the two major sectors of Soviet economy i.e. agriculture and industry. Deterioration in economy was due to chaotic political situation in the Soviet Union. Republican governments were trying to gain control of economic activities over its territories and defying and nullifying every laws and
directive of the federal government. Various enterprises and mines were facing prolonged strikes by the workers. The workers were raising many economic demands. This was coupled with a political demand: the resignation of Gorbachev from Presidency. Gorbachev's inability to tackle the economic problem was an important factor that led to August coup and Soviet disintegration.

Clearly then, the bureaucracy had evolved as the mainstay of the Soviet system. It had during the various Soviet regimes, starting after 1917 became a monolith which controlled every other structure and institution of Soviet society and political system. Any attempt at reforming this bureaucratic structure, necessarily implied bringing down the pillars which held up Soviet society. Removal of the command and control system was similar to breaking the systems' backbone. The attempt by Gorbachev to do so led to the collapse of the system itself.