

**POLITICAL REFORMS IN SOCIALIST
SYSTEM: An Assessment of Soviet
And Chinese Reforms In The 1980s.**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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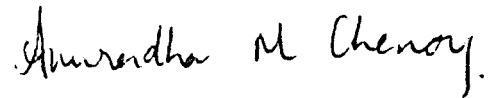
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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the dissertation
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"Gratitude is the memory of the heart!" When all is done and the twilight of labour has passed through the night of toil, one welcomes the glow of happiness like one does the rays of the morning sun. In this moment of joy, one is not alone, but is surrounded by the many who made this endeavour possible, to them these words of thankfulness are given.

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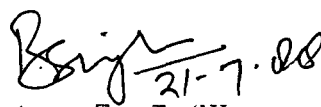
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Any errors that remain are mine.


21-7-08
RAJAT SINGH

INTRODUCTION:

Human history is a history of slavery, war and sacrifices. The affluence of few has caused untold miseries for the majority. The labour of the majority has been expropriated by a few. Almost in every epoch, society is evidently divided into two classes, in which a minority had flourished at the cost of majority; for the majority a dignified life remained merely a day dream and all talk about human emancipation could not touch to this class. Ironically, it has been a common practice that the galaxy of intellectuals (in all ages) confined themselves to eulogize the Kings and heroes. The fate of majority remained a black'hole'in history. To have a glimpse of the underdogs was considered blasphemy. The whims & fancies of few, always moulded and governed human history. The process of subjugation went on uninterrupted and is evident even today, despite all talk of democracy, rule of majority, rule by law etc.

Historically, the inauguration of agriculture institutionalized the dichotomy and the existence of two classes, whose interest were against each other. In the process of fortification, in fact, rights of the majority were mortgaged and the minority monopolized all fruits of human history.

Hitherto all the philosopher and thinkers could not divulge the real character of social contradiction. This has been the case of all including the 'Utopian' thinkers like Saint-Simon, and Fourier. Karl Marx was the first to analyse the social contradiction and could come up with a scientific theory of human history, which emphasised that in each phase of human history, there are and had been two contending classes whose interests are and had been at loggerheads and the continuous fight between these two classes can be classified as human history. The abnoxious domination of a few had been a permanent feature of human existence, no doubt the ruling classes changed with the coming into existence of new social forces.

Karl Marx, anticipated that the capitalist system of the West would give way to socialism and this would be realized by the revolution of the working class. Western society did possess all the characters which could have given way for a change. However, the first socialist state came into being in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, in 1917.

During the 19th century, Russia passed through great upheavals, the farmers were reeling under ignominious poverty, the newly emerged working class too was in no way

better off than the farmers. The authoritarian rule of Alexander III and Nicolas II was oppressive on the toiling masses. The corruption of the ruling classes and the growing revolutionary movement in Russia, was the last nail in the coffin of the mighty empire. The communists, who had been struggling since 1885, to reveal the ineptitude of the ruling classes and thereby invoke a revolutionary movement, were strengthened because of their correct position on the situation.

After the split Lenin became the leader of the Bolshevik party since 1903, his emphasis upon the role of the party as the vanguard of the toiling masses, played a role of catalyst and he was successful in bringing out a well knit-and disciplined party, imbued with Marxism, this eventually made the revolution a succes in 1917.

The October revolution of 1917 revolution-ized the Soviet system, people's enthusiasm and the guiding role of communist party laid the foundation of a new society, the foremost concern of the communist party was to restructure society on socialist grounds.

Unfortunately, Lenin could not survive long to practice what he spelled out. Joseph Stalin came into power

in 1924, and ruthlessly eliminated his own rivals and the forced collectivization brought havoc in the life of Soviet people. The policy formulation and its implementation became a prerogative of the party and in that way that of Joseph Stalin.

With the passage of time, the people gradually lost initiative and the party bureaucracy became too powerful. Due to the absence of feed back system, its action could not be checked - as a result, the party started moving away from the people's cause and indulged in all sorts of anti-people activities and created new barriers between its self and the people.

Nikita Khrushchev tried to expose the misdeeds of Stalin but this process could not succeed as it was supposed to. The Brezhnev's era is known as one of inertia and stagnation. Production was its lowest ebb and people got disenchanted. The party was flourishing at a great cost and the black market was once again making inroads into Soviet society. This made, the present leadership to^{re}think their priorities. Mikhail Gorbachev is the leader of new generation who has called for Perestroika and Glasnost, which he thought would overcome irregularities in Soviet society and restore people's initiative and confidence.

The Chinese revolution of 1949 is another step in the direction of socialism. In China, the path of revolution was full of hurdle. China has been the victim of imperialist rivalry which carved out the territory of China as its own

area of influence. The warlords of China were no way different from the outsiders, who were also benefiting from the exploitation of the people. The poor people were an unorganised lot, divided among themselves. The 1911, the bourgeois democratic revolution led by Sun Yat Sen could not generate any hope, rather it added to the agonies of the people. The aura of Sun Yat Sen got eclipsed even before he died. The very talk of democracy, republicanism etc. remained one that of a by gone decade. As a consequence people were butchered by warlords again. Soon, Tchian Kai-Chek emerged in the scene in the guise of republicanims, who helped with united action on the part of feudal lords.

The weakness on the part of republic to provide a strong government, in fact paved the way for foreign intervention. This time in a gigantic fashion, the Japanese forces humiliated the unorganised working factions of the Chinese army and Japan became the new rulers of China (Manchuria). In this phase of uncertainty, collousness and indecisiveness the communist party of China came into being to spearhead the cause of the people. The communist party's united action with Tchian Kai Chek against the Japanese failed miserably when in 1926 -27 Tchian Kai Chek butchured thousands of communist cadres. This made the communists re-think and revitalize their own strategy. Now they had

to wage war at two fronts - one against the government and another against the Japanese. Mao Tse Tung's 'long March' saved the communist from extinction and gave them a new life. Henceforward, Mao in fact became the unopposed party Supermo till his death. Under Mao's leadership, in the second world war, the fall of Japanese, Roosevelt's mild approach towards Mao's party and the help from the Soviet Union in the form of arms and ammunition helped the Chinese Communist Party to give a last blow to the decadent social order ushered into a new era in 1949.

Mao's china tried to follow the foot step of the Soviet Union. But this could not proceed for very long. Nikita Khrushchev's exposure of Joseph Stalin could not be digested by the Chinese leadership. Neither peaceful coexistence was accepted by the Chinese. Soviet's tilt towards non-aligned, India^{too} was seen in a different perspective. To practice its own form of socialism, Mao-Tse Tung gave a new plan in the form of 'Great leap forward' which resulted in the much criticised commune system and its failue invited volley of questions and criticisms.

Detente of the 60s, the acquisition of nuclear power by China and its victory over India, indirectly boosted Mao's morale. The theory of continuous revolution culminated into Mao's call for 'cultural revolution' to

cleanse the party and government from bourgeois elements. Mao's intentions were quite well meant, nevertheless, this brought havoc into Chinese society. This policy was used as pretext to remove the adversaries of the CPC from the party by the Linbiao, group who even made attempts to kill Mao in 1971/^{but} who himself died in a plane crash in 1972.

With the passage of time, Mao lost control over the party the communication of the party with the people got disrupted. A new caucus led by Madam Chiang Ching usurped all the powers. Mao died in 1976 leaving behind a shattered economy and demoralised party. His successors thought it other wise, they thought that Mao's experiments with communism were a big failure, hence they should experience a new form of socialism in which the vagaries of market forces have been given full play. In addition professionalism no longer remained a dirty word and the USA became a friendly nation worthy of trust. It is these current changes which both these socialist societies of USSR and China have been experimenting with, that our present study will make an attempt to analyse.

In the first chapter, we will make an attempt to deal with the debates on socialism and the nature of transition to socialism. We will also examine the nature of socialist construction, particularly, during Chernenko's

interregnum period, In the case of China the Maoist model of socialism, great leap forward, cultural revolution and other important economic-political issues will be looked into. Precisely this chapter would deal with the background of the ongoing reforms in Soviet Union and China.

In the second chapter, we would discuss Gorbachev's reform initiative. Here we address ourselves to what perestroika and Glasnost is all about, how it is being implemented? How it is going to effect the Soviet life as well as the world community. Broadly economic, political reforms and disarmament initiatives.

The third chapter would discuss post Mao China's economic-political developments, modernization, open door policy etc. The last chapter provides the summary of the study and concluding remarks.

In this dissertation the question raised are whether socialist systems of China and Soviet Union needed reforms? Are these reforms necessary or are they unnecessarily opening up a Pandora's box.

Are the socialist systems succumbing to Western - Capitalist measures by turning their reforms to efforts as operationalising amount of market mechanism etc?. Would these reforms strengthen or weaken the socialist systems. This dissertation would make a modest effort to analyse and answer these questions.

CHAPTER - I

ANATOMY OF BUILDING SOCIALISM

ANATOMY OF BUILDING SOCIALISM

Socialism is only a possible future.¹

Tom Bottomore

The concepts of socialism and democracy have been responsible for shaping political goals and the destinies of nations in the 19th and 20th centuries. Scientific socialism as based on the theories of Marx and Engels and further developed by Lenin and other Marxists, formed the theoretical foundation for the socialist vision. The various radical changes which have taken place in the socio-economic and political sphere, have headed towards the goal of socialism. The ideology of Socialism has played an unprecedented role in shaping today's world. Along with Soviet Union and China, the two giant socialist countries, Eastern Europe and a number of Third World countries have been undergoing the process of socialist construction. Some other countries are progressively adopting Marxism Leninism, or they are on the verge of socialist revolution. Specially after Second World War the number of Socialist countries has rapidly increased.

Today at the close of the 20th century, the world is

1. Tom Bottomore, Sociology & Socialism, Harvester Press, 1984, p.190.

divided on the basis of ideology. With all these developments, debate among the adherents of Marxism and Socialism have also escalated. As a result various schools of Marxist thought have come into being, all contributing to the debate and enhancing Marxist philosophy in an attempt to analyse the complexities of the world and more importantly to change it. Thus the debates have also arisen within the established socialist states of Soviet Union and China on the question of change and reform.

Historically, socialism arose as a reaction to the reality of capitalism, which in itself was born in the womb of feudalism; but the founders of socialist theory, Marx and Engels envisaged that the transition from capitalism to socialism would take place after the victory of proletarian revolution, only after the acquisition of political power by the working class. The initial and abiding preoccupation of Karl Marx was the improvement of human condition. He used the term alienation to describe the degradation and dehumanization of mankind, in a capitalist society where human beings were reduced to a mere commodity as a result of being forced to sell his labour power simply to keep alive. Marx showed in his extensive writings that capitalism was destroying itself and that out of its ashes there would

emerged a society in which man would realise the truly human quality of his being. Historically speaking, the proletariat was seen as a 'new man' formed by capitalism and possessing the interest, the will and the ability to overthrow the system to lead the way in the construction of a new socialist society.²

At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relation of production or that is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations within which they have been at work hither to.³ Karl Marx saw the movement towards socialism as a necessary outcome of conflict within capitalist society. Marx placed the socialist project within the course of historical development by specifying two driving forces within history, first the evolution of Socio-economic techniques and structures, leading to concentration of ownership and wealth, and the recurrence of social crisis and a sharpening of class conflict, the gathering and rising consciousness of the working class, derived from or enabled by its crucial position within the capitalist economy.⁴

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2. Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme", Selected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p.327
 3. Karl Marx, "Preface to a contribution to the Critique of Political Economy", Selected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p.181.
 4. Irving Howe, "Thinking About Socialism, Achievements, Failures & Possibilities" Dissent, 1985, No.51-54, p.509.

The dependence of individual upon society is a fact of nature. In order to live production and distribution is an essential requirement. This is the crux of our whole economic-political structure, production relations of any historical age are invariably determined by the mode of production of that age. Society is organised around this very process of production. Man's relation to the means of production determines one's class position in society.

Analysing capitalist society, Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy pointed out that in capitalist society man does not produce things which he wants to satisfy his own needs, he produces things to sell to others, the workers do not own the means of production but only his capacity to work is his labour power.⁵

In capitalist society, means of production are not cooperatively owned. This leads to basic contradictions. The fact that while production is social, the result of collective efforts and labour go to private owners, the product produced is thus appropriated by owners of the

5. Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, Introduction to Socialism, Progressive Book Depot, New Delhi, 1969, p.24

means of production - the capitalist. The only remedy as envisaged by the Marx was the socialization of production and abolition of private ownership of the means of production.⁶

Socialist production relations emerge after a proletarian revolution. The working class liquidates capitalist production relations and attempts socialist construction. With the proletarian revolution socio-economic system as also a new, political superstructure is erected laying the foundation of a new society and a new socialist man. The idea of socialist man is a projection of the social man who already exists within us potentially, but is distorted, crushed and stultified by the condition in which he lives. It was envisaged that under socialism man will not be the product of antagonistic society.⁷ He (Socialist man) would be able to realize his full potential under unalienated conditions and could thereby be able to make full and better use of nature in interaction with society.

The first socialist state founded in USSR in 1917, followed since then by a succession of differing socialist

6. Ibid., p.50

7. Isaac Deutscher, Marxism, wars and Revolution, theford Press ltd., Great Britain, 1984, p.265.

states in East Europe, China and other Asian countries have established themselves as important models of alternate socio-economic systems. However questions such as the nature of transition of socialism, model of development and methods of socialist construction still lack satisfactory answers. These issues require urgent discussion and debate amongst observers, academics of socialist systems as also between those involved in the actual construction of socialism.

Presently Perestroika (restructuring) and Glasnost (openness) in Soviet Union have become crucial issues and similarly 'modernization' in the People's Republic of China.

Before discussing the nature of socialist development of Soviet Union and China, it is imperative to concentrate on a few points about socialist transition:

TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM AND THE FUTURE SOCIETY:

The establishment of socialist state, after the overthrow of semi-feudal/capitalist relations, necessitated the foundations of a new system of social relation and production. This extremely complex and difficult stage of transforming outdated and exploitative structure and

replacing them with new institutions to establish socialism, required time, experience and innovation. This period was thereby classified as the stage of socialist transformation. Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of revolutionary transformation of the one into the other, this corresponds to a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the Proletariat.⁸

On the process of transition to socialism Paul Sweezy made some important remarks:

- i) There is no such thing as a general theory of the transition between social systems, each transition is a unique historical process.
- ii) A comparative study of transition nevertheless, can be extremely valuable, in particular the study of past transitions can help us to ask fruitful questions about present and possible future transition, to recognize similarities and differences.
- iii) Transitions are never simple and brief processes. One aspect of their complexity is what may be called multi-directionality. Movement in one direction may turn back on itself and resume in a forward direction from a new basis. In some places the reversal may be prolonged or conceivably even permanent.⁹

8. Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme". Selected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p.327.

9. Paul Sweezy, "On the Transition to Socialism", Monthly Review, 1971, p.107.

One of the most important thing is that the nature of transition to socialism is determined by the structure of class relations of pre-socialist society (capitalist or feudal). It implies that the road to socialism cannot be the same. For instance if the pre-socialist social formations are feudal or semi-feudal, then in the first period of social transition to proletariat state attempts at completing some of the tasks of the bourgeois - democratic revolution, abolition of land lord system in all forms and in case bourgeois democratic revolution is accomplished before the proletarian revolution, then directly socialist measures could be adopted. The Communist Party plays a significant role, in this regard, Lenin has clearly stated about tactics that it means the Party's political conduct or the character, direction and methods of its political activity. Tactical resolutions are adopted by Party Congress in order to accurately define the political conduct of the Party as a whole with regard to new tasks or in view of a new political situation,¹⁰ the aim is to bring revolution.

Marx has said revolutions are the locomotives of history. In Lenin's own words revolutions are festivals of oppressed and the exploited. At no other time are the mass of the people

10. Lenin, Two tactics of Social-democracy in the Democratic Revolution (Progress Publishers Moscow), Selected Works 1977, p.430

in a position to come forward so actively as creators of a new social order, as at a time of revolution.¹¹

A political revolution after overthrowing the bourgeoisie acquires that power to establish dictatorship of the proletariat - the working class cannot seize political power and accomplish socialist construction without revolutionary Party. The Party guides the process of maintaining state power and building socialism according to concrete social conditions and requirements. In order to manage the new system, the working class has to smash the bourgeois state apparatus and all its institutions of state rule. In this regard, Lenin wrote "The key question of revolution is undoubtedly the question of state power. What class holds power decides everything", the state was thus described as an organ of class rule as long as society was divided into two antagonistic classes.¹² Lenin views the dictatorship of the proletariat as the continuation of the class struggle of the proletariat in new forms and the state being only a weapon of the proletariat for the purpose of class struggle. The dictatorship of proletariat has to perform two historical tasks, first to defeat the exploiters and to uphold the power of exploited, second establishing new socio-economic relations (Socialist relations).

11. Ibid., p.504.

12. Lenin, "One of the fundamental questions of the Revolution" Selected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p.219.

One of the characteristics of socialism as opposed to capitalism is not the existence of market relationship and of the dictatorship of proletariat. Only through this domination in the sphere of economic, political, ideological relations that Market relations can be progressively eliminated.¹³

In the Communist manifesto Marx and Engles have underscored that abolition of property in general is not only a distinguishing features of communism, but the abolition of bourgeois property viz private property.¹⁴ Socialism in post revolutionary society cannot be defined only in terms of private property abolition, there are several other issues which determine and shape the political character of a regime such as the nature of the class interest served by this party/ ruling class in power also who is served by the state power, the concrete relation between the organs of state power and the labouring masses.¹⁵

However, analysts of socialist societies feel that elements of exploitation may exist even under circumstances of socialist relations in instances where the party exercises centralized control of the government, without sufficient

13. Paul Sweezy & Charles Bettelheim, Op. Cit., p.19.

14. Marx and Engles, Communist Manifesto, Selected Works, Progressive Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p.47.

15. Paul Sweezy & Charles Bettelheim, Op. Cit., p.57.

interaction with the mass of people; in such cases the bureaucracy subsumes the power of the people, without relating to the actual demands of the people. This belief has led to conceptualising the Soviet State at certain period of time at a 'degenerate' workers state or 'state capitalism'-controlled by a communist bureaucracy. Charles Bettelheim classified this as 'state bourgeois' in such a situation. According to him the communist party bureaucracy rules not through private ownership of the means of production as in capitalist society, but through occupying decision-making positions in the party, the state and the economy.¹⁶

Such a state functions and is identified as an authoritarian state. Therefore the need is to maximize democratization, there should be a real form of economic political democracy in practice as it is in the theory, so that people can influence affairs in their capacity as producers. Similarly the means of production should be in the hands of the workers, and practically so even at management levels. Such state would be ruled by the working class, and would be classified as a genuine socialist state. Paul Sweezy has pointed out features of socialist production structures and socialist society.

- 1) State ownership of means of production and comprehensive planning is not sufficient.

16. Paul Sweezy & Charles Bettelheim, Op.Cit., p.57.

- ii) Work should not be treated as mere means of acquiring income and consumer goods but as life's most creative activity .
- iii) Just as the workers should participate in management the manager should participate in work.
- iv) The producer must have complete freedom of discussion and criticism.
- v) Agriculture and industry must be combined and also there must be a radical decentralization of industrial production based on modern technology.¹⁷

Indeed in a socialist society, if the above criteria are not strictly applied, There is the distinct possibility that the workers might get depoliticized and they would no more remain committed to their historic task. This would be a set back to the cause of socialism and the implication would be quite astonishing and contradictory to the socialist goal and system. Therefore, the need is workers participation in the various functions through the process of democratic centralism and decision making. Similarly, the political life of workers should be more active as this alone would lead to a healthy interaction between the mass^{es} of the people and state institutions and thereby avoid the pitfalls of bureaucratism.

17. Ibid., p.135

SOVIET UNION: THE NATURE OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT:

Post revolutionary Soviet Union was the first socialist state in the world and for a long time it was the only socialist state. Never before had a working class become the ruling class. In the 19th century, Marxism and socialism were essentially identified as an European phenomena, after the October Revolution Marxist ideology and practice however rapidly developed into a universally popular ideological and political movement all over the world.

Post revolutionary Soviet Union after Lenins establishment of the socialist state passed through certain important historical phases (1) 1924 to 1929 (2) 1930 to 1953 and (3) 1953 to present day. Broadly speaking Stalinization and de-Stalinization. However, currently the Brezhnev period is also being classified as 'Semi Stalinist'.

The period of civil war began after 1917. For some years civil war dominated life in Soviet Union. The new economic policy (NEP) was formulated to overcome the crisis. NEP was termed as the temporary stabilization of capitalism. The swing to the left came in 1928-29, when forced mass collectivization and rapid industrialization started and this task was to be completed in 1935. In the 20s, Stalin eliminated and ousted one by one many of his comrades. It was a period of struggle for power in which ultimately Stalin succeeded. During this period Stalin propounded the theory 'Socialism in one country'. Needless to say,

Stalin formulated the so called theory of 'Socialism in one country' against Trotsky's theory and proposal of permanent revolution. Stalin and Trotsky's disagreements were real to certain extent but they also involved a personal struggle for power, though some critics consider that, the two ideas for power, never amounted to two independent coherent theories.¹⁸ Yet a review of historical evidence shows that necessity of establishing socialism in one country before spreading a revolution. However, Stalin's method of closing the debate with Trotsky needs condemnation.

In the 20s, the debate on industrialization was undoubtedly of a great significance, concerning industrial and agricultural policy of Bolsheviks. But certainly, it was a doctrinal dispute between Stalin and Trotsky, regarding the path of development. Trotsky's political writings are full of attacks on bureaucratic rule within party, for him Soviet Union had become degenerate workers state. Leninist policy, he said was befitting the theory of permanent revolution was borne out by events and the socialism in one country was pernicious error.¹⁹ Marx had postulated that in socialist society, with the abolition of classes and in the absence of class antagonism state apparatus of coercion i.e. army, police and prison, etc., would become superfluous and gradually cease to exist. To make the necessary conditions for building socialism in

18. Leszek Kolakowski, Main Currents of Marxism: Clarendon Press Oxford, 1978, p.6.

19. Ibid., p.190.

one country (As Stalin had assumed), the consolidation of state power by every means was the main thrust of the Communist Party.

The 1935 during the Seventh Party Congress Stalin declared that private ownership of the means of production has been abolished the capitalist class and the Kulaks had ceased to exist and transformation of ownership had taken place. All exploiting classes had been eliminated. Thus there remained no class struggle in Soviet society. Bettelheim, refuting the official position of the Soviet Union, argues that changes in legal forms of ownership do not suffice to cause the condition for the existence of classes for class struggle to disappear.²⁰ Marx and Engels emphasised the role of proletarian dictatorship, not only changing the forms of ownership but also the transition of the social process and production relation. For the abolition of classes, dictatorship of the proletariat was a necessary condition. Lenin has also said that classes still remain and will remain in the era of the dictatorship of proletariat. It is a continuation of the class struggle in new forms. Questioning Stalins claim Bettelheim remarks that if exploiting classes have ceased to exist merely because there is a dictatorship of proletariat - over what class would the proletariat be exercising its dictatorship

20. Charles Bettelheim, Class Struggle in the USSR, Monthly Review Press, New York - London, 1976, p.21.

in that case.²¹

During the period 1930 to 1953, it is evident that Stalin in the Soviet Union held a unilaterally powerful position, without almost unlimited control over decision making. The entire period is known for Stalins personal tyranny and authoritarian^{ism} in the country. In fact Isaac Destcher believes that it is futile to portray Stalins Russia as the realm of democracy.

After Stalins demise in 1953, followed the brief period of struggle between those who wanted to pursue the pre 1953 line and those who wanted to reverse it. In this struggle members of Stalins Central Committee were present. Mikoyan, Bulganin and Khrushchev being the Central characters, Stalins infamous chief of the KGB Beria was skillfully outmanoeuvred by Khrushchev, who slowly but surely gained greater control of the Central Committee. Once Khrushchev gained control over the Central Committee at the 20th Party Congress 1956 he denounced Stalins 'personality cult'. During Khrushchev earlier phase in power certain domestic and foreign policies practiced in the Soviet Union shackling Stalins time were changed, this marked a crucial turning point in soviet history.²²

21. Ibid., p22

22. R.W. Peltbridge, A History of Post War Russia, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1966, pp.121-122.

Assessing Stalins role the Party leadership attributed Stalins errors due to neglect of the collective leadership. The concentration of unlimited power in the hands of Stalin was considered the main source of error and distortion.²³ Some orthodox analysts of Soviet Society however relate historical circumstances, the industrial and cultural backwardness before and after 1917. The failure of the hoped revolution in European countries, external trusts to the Soviet Union and political exhaustion after the civil etc. In fact all these factors contributed to the necessity of Stalins rule. Here however, one can also take a more medietive position. We would be inclined to fact that the historical circumstances were such which necessitated quick decision making for the survival of the social state. Also the necessity of building socialism under adverse circumstances in the face of intervention, isolation, poverty and fascist threat etc led to an unnatural increase of power in the hands of Stalin. Yet he was also responsible for building a state structure which did not allow for debate and discussing either between the cadre of the Communist Party or between the people and party. Such a situation naturally led to the so called distortions of socialist legality and socialist democracy.

23. Leszek Kolokowaski, Op. Cit., pp.1-2.

Khrushchev's rise to power by 1964 and the reforms he initiated were quite dramatic. After the 20th Congress drastic changes took place in the domestic front as well as in the sphere of foreign relation of the USSR, slowly the Stalinist inheritance was rejected, thus the destalinization process began in Soviet Union, which had wider implications even beyond the Soviet Union and East Europe. In fact in process extended into the politics of Communist Parties all over the world.

Khrushchev introduced reforms in various spheres of Soviet life, economic, political, social, education and in the legal field. The aim was to reject the darkest aspects of the Stalinist past. By laying stress on socialist legality, throughout the years 1953-61 numerous bodies were appointed to investigate the case of persons unjustly punished during Stalin's life time, and many of his victims were freed from prison or else posthumously rehabilitated.²⁴

However, it is interesting to note that Khrushchev who had reached political heights after decrying Stalin's policies, he himself could not fulfil the aspiration of masses of separating a party and government leaders. Some of Khrushchev's economic reforms were controversial. His very competence

24. R.W. Perthbridge, Op. Cit., p.221.

was being questioned. united monetary reform carried out in 1961 was also unpopular, disappointed with the slow growth in labour productivity. Khrushchev tried to get production norms and pay scales revised in many branches of industry, which caused serious workers discontent and much labour tension.²⁵

Khrushchev economic liberalization policies which introduced the concept of decentralization and decision making at the industrial plant level. The introduction of material incentive to collective farmers etc., raised controversies within the Party. Moreover, the increasing rift of the CPSU under Khrushchev with the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) under Mao heightened tension in the international communist movement as a whole. Thus a variety of factors led to the removal of Khrushchev, who retired into obscurity.

After Khrushchev's removal Leonid Brezhnev, became the leader of the Party and government. He strengthened the conservative elements in power structure, thereby once again the party bureaucracy got stabilized. He had carefully avoided the experimentation of structural reforms, in the economy despite pressure to adopt new approaches.²⁶ 1965 onwards, a kind of atmosphere, with regard to introducing

25. Roy Medvedve & Zhores Medvedve (eds.), Khrushchev, Columbia University Press, New York, 1976, p.145

26. William G. Hyland, 'Brezhnev & Beyond', Foreign Affairs, Vol. 58, 1979-80, p.510.

certain economic reforms, was articulated, the economic reformers argued for greater rationality and profitability.²⁷

For some time during September 1965 Kosygin initiated certain economic reforms, but this was an abortive attempt as the proposed reforms were not endorsed by the conservative faction of communist party. This led to long years of 'stability' which encouraged stagnation in the socio-economic and political life of the Soviet Union.

Post Brezhnev, Soviet Union entered a radically new phase. Yuri Andropov, former KGB Chief, became the CPSU General Secretary after Brezhnev's death. He survived only 15 months. Nevertheless during this short period there was a new movement in the Soviet Union. Yuri Andropov started his tenure with the announcement of new reforms and at the June 1983 Central Plenum he criticized his preceders for irrationally managing the Soviet economy. The measures he undertook consisted on the one hand of a campaign to combat corruption, cliquery and general inefficiency. On the other hand, it was linked with a call for more discipline ,order and hard work. The attempt was initiated to introduce limited reforms in industry and agriculture.

27. Boris Meissner, *Soviet Policy from Andropov to Chernoko, Asissen Politik*, Vol.35, 1984, p.251.

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Since Andropov inherited a troubled economy from brezhnev, it was logical for him to make some pronouncements for the resolution of economic problems, and to accelerate the rate of economic development. The initial thrust was for a better national planning process. Each area in Soviet Union was experiencing crisis of shortages. Better management of distribution was expected to meet the requirement, as it was felt that the country had plenty of natural resources to satisfy economic needs.

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Andropov was well aware of the gap between productive forces and production condition in the Soviet Union. He wrote an article in 1983 in 'Kommunist' on the eve of Karl Marx's death centenary, in his article he assumed that non-anatagonistic contradiction in socialism could attain great intensity.²⁸



Yuri Andropov during his brief tenure, several times, indicated his concern about evils like excess use of liquor, adherence to an old style of working, inertia etc. In this interrgnum Andropov's initiative is like a Mile stone in this decade, which is known for the phenomenon of change i.e. - economic and political restructuring.

Konstantin Chernenko, the protege of Brezhnev succeeded

28. See "Soviet Union under Andropov", Orbis, 27(1) Spring, 1983, pp.5-34

Andropov for a short period. Chernenko always emphasised, that he was speaking on behalf of the 'Collective leadership'. He was aware of the possibility of the explosive nature of the nationalities issue - within Soviet politics. Once in a Central Committee, he highlighted the need of perfecting relation between nationalities.²⁹

Andropov and Chernenko's tenure was a transition phase prior to the Gorbachev era. During the Post-Stalin era all general secretaries have mentioned the necessity of reforms.

Once again we find that what critical, leftist analysts of Soviet Union have argued, are proving important and correct remarks, and are in fact relevant to the understanding of socialist development, especially during Stalins period if viewed with proper perspective - the foundation of socialist construction. Tony Cliff, for instance, classified the Soviet Union as being no more a workers state, he argued that immediately after the revolution it was decided that the management of every industrial plan would be in the hands of trade unions. The 8th Party Congress (March 18 to 23rd, 1919) declared that the trade unions must in the fullest possible measures encourage the workers to participate directly in the work of economic administration. But in September 1929, the Party Central Committee resolved that workers committee may not intervene

29. Hatstead (John), Chernenko in Office, International Perspective, May-June, 1984, pp. 22

directly in the running of the plant. Thus industrial plant management was replaced by management. The manager was placed in full and sole charge of the plant. His orders were unconditionally binding on his subordinates staff and on all workers.³⁰ Wages were also decided by the head of the industry. Cliff gives instances to show the steady bureaucratization of Soviet economy. In the late twenties another decision was taken. It was this regulation which prohibited strike and strikers were rendered liable to the death sentence.³¹ Another fact in this regard is that 1938, 42.3% of all students in higher education were children of intelligentsia.

After the October Revolution, within the span of a few years a backward economy was transformed into a major industrial power, despite all military and foreign constraints. But in the meantime Soviet Union had deviated in the sense that functioning of a socialist society was not based on the appropriate institution for the active participation of the working class in economic and political life. Consequently, the workers tended to get depoliticized over time, work tended to be loaded upon them as something imposed from outside and hence to be shirked.³²

30. Tony Cliff, Russia: A Marxist Analysis, Socialist Review Publishing Co. Ltd., p.p. 17,21 (n.d.)

31. Ibid., p.61.

32. Prabhat Patnaik, Bose Memorial Lecture in St. Stephen College, Delhi (in January, 1988).

Analysing failures, the fault might be found in specific method of planning and implementation or the very economic mechanism of Soviet Union. But the post revolutionary Soviet Union has been experiencing perpetual crisis—the crisis of shortage, stagnation, productive efficiency, structural imbalances etc. Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Kosygin, Andropov and Chernenko's reform proposals give the indication of some inherent problems of Soviet economy i.e. the command economy. Exactly this is the background of Gorbachev's revolution in the Soviet Union.

CHINA: THE EXPERIENCES OF MAOIST ERA:

In 1949 the triumph of 'New Democratic Revolution' in China marked a new phase and revolutionary break in history. It initialled a transition from struggle against Semi-feud-alism to socialist construction. Before 1949 China was not only the most populous and backward country but among the poorest, yet it was led by a communist party professing a Marxist outlook and committed to establishing a socialist society with some 22% of the world's population living 5% of its erable land.³³

33. Carl Riskin, China's Political Economy, Oxford University Press, 1987, pp.1.2.

Immediately after the revolution, Chinese leaders did not have a blue print of socialist development. Almost three decades back the first socialist country in the world i.e. Soviet Union had established its existence, the Chinese communist Party was very impressed by the October revolution as well as the Soviet road to socialism. They were also impressed by Soviet Union's material achievements. Therefore it seemed quite natural for the Chinese to adopt the Soviet model of economic development.

Post liberation Chinese history is full of convulsions and problematic times. Great many ambitious projects were launched during this period. But one by one they failed. This resulted in great disaster and irreparable loss. The great leap forward (rural communes) and proletarian cultural revolution are eye opening experiments still imprinted in the minds of Chinese people.

With the help of the Soviet Union, the aims of the First Five Year Plan were laid down to establish the foundation of a comprehensive industrial structure as quickly as possible. Priority of investment funds (over 50%) was given to capital goods industries which were planned to grow faster than consumer goods industries.... The Economic strategy followed was that pioneered by the

Soviet Union. The slogan was 'learn from the Soviet Union'.³⁴ Another slogan was 'Today's Soviet Union is our future' etc. Thus Soviet was viewed as a model.

In the beginning, planning was highly centralized. This highly centralised nature of planning caused certain amount of waste and dislocation. As a result, by the end of 1956, Chinese leadership had realized that the Soviet model was not completely applicable to their country. They realized the fundamental problems of China was quite different from that of Soviet Union. Hence the control of industry was considerably decentralized at the end of 1957. Consumer goods industries came under the control of provincial authorities. The Central authorities continued to control directly the capital goods industries and exercised broad supervision over the rest of the economy, fixing the rate of investment, allocating raw materials and determining wages and employment levels.

Soviet Union had agreed to entirely provide in the course of three Five Year Plans (1953-1967) about 300 modern industrial plants of all kinds, and train the Chinese to run them at the estimated total cost of about \$3billion in the form of loans by the end of 1957-68 of these projects had

34. E.L. Wheelwright & Bruce Mc Farlan, The Chinese Road to Socialism, Monthly Review, New York & London 1971, p.35

been completed and by 1960, when Soviet technicians were withdrawn, 154 had been finished.³⁵

China's economic backwardness was a striking feature prior to Chinese revolution. At that time more than 70% of the people were engaged in agriculture, trying to make a living of too little land using primitive technology. The low productivity was directly related to technological backwardness. In 1954 People's communes were established in rural China. It was a corner stone in Communist China's rural organisation. They were a part of great leap forward movement by which it was intended to lift China's agricultural backwardness into modernization and industrialization, through the leap and rural people's communes, Chinese Communist believed that they were going to achieve a breakthrough in economic development and catch up with advance countries of the world in few years time.³⁶

A movement was unleashed in agriculture, all over the country, resulting in the establishment of the rural people's communes, each commune was divided up into production brigade, thus nearly 750,000 agricultural cooperatives were regrouped into about 26,000 communes, each having on an average 3,000 peasant households. The communes were larger economic

35. Ibid., p.35

36. Gargi Dutt, Rural Communes of China, Asian Publishing house New Delhi, 1967, p.VII.

units, these became the basic administrative unit of the country and combined agriculture with industry and education with military training. Peking claimed to have discovered its own road to communism.³⁷

In 1957 Mao said that the growth of agriculture was of crucial importance and that it would in fact speed up the growth of industry too. Concentration on agriculture by any means would not hamper industrial advancement, would act as catalyst to industrial production.³⁸

The philosophy behind establishment of People's communes and great leap forward was to overcome, the backwardness of the country. For that they put enormous thrust on mechanization of agriculture in order to accelerate agricultural development. The aim of the commune system was the intensification of agricultural socialism to increase the marketable agricultural surplus and widen local agricultural and other investment opportunities.³⁹ Great leap forward was thus the creation of communes and establishment of an industrial policy, due to this two fold nature the Chinese called it 'walking on two legs'. The incentive system of great leap forward was dominated by the idea of

37. Ibid., p.1

38. Maotse-Tung, "On the correct handling of contradiction," Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1977, p.100

39. E.L. Wheelwright & Bruce McFarlan, Op. Cit., p.43

politics in command, which meant politics should command economies, economic politics must not only ~~expand~~ production but also contribute to the realization of more fully socialist relations of production. According to Mao, this meant weakening the bureaucracy, the approach of the leap movement to technology and management was consistent with the concept of politics in command. as it was in the case of farming people's commune.⁴⁰

While Mao had anticipated that communes would eliminate the distinction between city and village, workers and peasant, mental and manual labour, and release great productive energies, within a short span of time, the overall picture that emerged after initiation of leap movement, had shattered Mao's Utopia.

It was not all of a sudden that peasants felt alienated from the state; contradictions were already growing between peasantry and the state, these contradictions became more acute when peasants refused to sell all the grain to the state. The Chinese regime faced numerous problems in tackling the intricate situation. The Communist leadership was helpless due to the lack of understanding with the peasants who were reluctant to sell their products to the

40. Carl Riskin, Op. Cit., p.121.

state because of the low prices. What state wanted them to grow, the peasants were reluctant to grow and what the peasants wanted to grow the state did not provide plans for.⁴¹ Similarly the peasants refused to grow agricultural products according to state plan, leading to a complete lack of coordination between peasantry and state. Consequently, China witnessed the atmosphere of confusion and great unrest, all around, resistance took a violent turn and disturbance and discontent was reported from amny part of the country. Incident of food poisoning and other forms of sabotage were admitted by the Peking authorities.

There were many factors that had contributed to the transformation of grandise claims into sheer disillusionment. The communist leadership immediately realized the hallowness of ushering in communism without taking into account the general level of Mass consciousness and feelings. In December 1958, the central committee of Chinese Communist Party reviewed the situation of communes and passed a resolution on the time span when the transition from collective ownership by the whole people could be affected. It was felt that this would be determined by objective factors and not by mere plans or wishful thinking, thus this transition would have to be realised by stages.⁴²

41. Gargi, Dutt, Op. Cit., p.12.

42. Ibid., pp.57,58.

The excess of collectivization and communization had created an unexpectedly explosive situation in the country side of China. Overzealous^{ness} also led to chaos and distorting. For the peasants, even the good intends of the leadership were also understood as malevolent intent. The major obstacle in this regard was the hearty dislike of the peasant for the communal-living and eating arrangements. The CCP underestimated the value of material incentive and with the renewal of the private plots and down grading of family life, the peasant moral fell, they worked lethargically, slaughtered farm animals and productivity declined.⁴³

Evidently it was too hasty decision on the part of C.C.P. Moreover the agricultural collapse naturally had serious effect on industry which was also showing sign of stagnation. In the mean time Sin-Soviet dispute reached at its heights. Soviet technicians, advisers were withdrawn. China was caught in the grip of an acute food and economic crisis and a sharp reversal of previous policies had to be ordered. Material incentive had to be given to the peasantry on a meaningful scale in order to

43. Derek J. Waller, The Government & Politics of People's Republic of China 3rd edition, Vikas in Association with Hutchinson, 1984, p.151

encourage an increase in agricultural production. Sharp reversal had to be ordered in the organisation of production and the utilization of labour in 1962 the tenth C.C. Plenum declared agriculture as the foundation of national economy.⁴⁴

The conflict between the Soviet Union and China has been marked by mutual provocations, border clashes, sabotage and anti-imperialist solidarity and an abandonment of any pretence of the principled debate of political differences.⁴⁵ The first visible cracks between the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties already appeared in 1956-57. Initially they concerned only ideological issue but gradually they become wider and deeper and involved economic and political matters and domestic and foreign policy. The Chinese leaders were particularly displeased with the nuclear-test-ban agreements. Economic relationship between the countries were almost completely disrupted. The Soviet Embassy in Peking was besieged by red guards, during the cultural revolution.⁴⁶ In the 8th Congress of CPC, the Soviet model of development was decided to drop and evolve a new model. Mao neither accepted destalinization process which

44. Ibid., p.153

45. See Editorial, New Left Review, November-December, 1983.

46. Ray Medvedov, "The USSR & China: Confrontation or dentente" New Left Review, November/December, 1983, p.6

going in Soviet Union under Khrushchev's revisionist leadership, nor did he accept theory of peaceful co-existence. Moreover, the two countries had differences on question of Third World.

After this disaster which resulted from the great leap forward; policy was supposed to transform China into an advance country, China virtually plunged into an economic quagmire and there were some deep shocks to be economy. Thus Mao's economic strategy was considered a failure.

The economic set back in China led to a new strategy of economic development and new series of economic policies with greater scope given for market forces and free price movements, the shift to profitability as a motive force in agriculture and historical production and the increase authority of managers, planners and technical personal. One of the first moves in this process was the gradual introduction of a free market in rural areas. This included (i) restoration of small plots to the farmers. (ii) the use of the household as the main accenting unit in communes. (iii) the assumption by enterprise in communes of sole responsibility for profit and out put quotas.⁴⁷ With these

47. E.L. Wheelwright & Bruce Mc Farlan, Op. Cit., pp.66,67

new developments, a debate also began about the role of profits in the Chinese economy. These rightist economic policies were tremendously supported by academics and intellectuals.

Mao's call to combat 'revisionism' and promote class struggle was endorsed in ^{the} tenth plenum of the Eight Central Committee, which saw rightist trend in cultural and economic fields. To counterpose the revolutionary tradition of the masses he emphasised the need to train reliable successors of the revolution who would not follow the Soviet road, the need for every one to be a soldier and the need to implement, whenever possible the line of 'free the masses to the masses' was organised the Chinese communist party under Mao. By 1965 tension was overflowing the China between official ideology of Chinese revolution i.e. Maoism and state organisations and enterprises and large sectors of cultural and ideological life. This was beginning of sharp struggle that led to the new concept of the great proletarian cultural revolution.⁴⁸

Since Mao believed that the contradiction in Socialist economy were still between relation of production and the

48. Ibid., p.93.

productive forces and between the super structure and the economic base.⁴⁹ He therefore, considered that human values, People's thoughts and motivation were the crucial factor in the functioning of society, that even a political revolution in which state had been captured and an economic revolution, in which all major productive assets were collectively owned, were not enough to ensure the success of the revolution unless there was also a revolution in People's mind.⁵⁰ These ideas were, precisely the origin of the concept of great proletarian cultural revolution. Which were a culmination of Mao's concept of continuous revolution. This was thus an attempt to driven out the bourgeois and feudal ideas from the minds of people and inculcate new ideas suitable for the Chinese revolution as envisaged by Mao.

An unexpected frenzy came over China in the summer 1966, Series of articles appeared in the leading newspapers, magazine, attacking anti-party, anti-socialist elements. The first place that became turbulent were universities.

The 'Red Guard' a new youth organisation emerged to spear head the cultural revolution. Red Guards were offered

49. Mao Tse Tung, Five Essays on Philosophy, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1977, p.92

50. E.L. Wheelwright, Op. Cit., pp.99,100.

free rail transport anywhere in China, free food and free accommodation in Middle Schools, Universities. Mao's little 'Red Book' became a symbol of this phase, and was kept by the supporters of these ideas as a Bible to be constantly quoted from, during the cultural revolution 'Peking Review' reiterated in every issue that Mao's Red Book, now available in the leaflet form, Hand Book of Mao's quotations etc.

The youth and Red Guards were taught that whenever they come across a new problem consult Mao's Red book, Mao was portrayed greater than Marx and Lenin.⁵¹ There were more than clear indications of a cult of personality being woven around Mao, which were leading to severe problems in China.

On 18th August a massive rally of students was held in Peking. Students from all over the country attended the rally. Mao, Linpiao and Chou -Enlai were also present there. The latter two leaders addressed the rally. Some of the city and province Party Committees were paraded. Local party leader around the city in tracks, the incidents of firing against party official, was also reported.⁵²

⁵¹ See Gargi Dutt Cultural Revolution Asian Publishing House, New Delhi

⁵² Franz Schluromann & Cvilleshelleded, Communist China, Penguin Books, 1971, p.517.

Peking University was covered with Posters many academics and intellectuals were humiliated and tortured by the Red Guard on the pretext their rightist leaning. A number of writer, historian and artist were given 'Red Guard' treatment only because of this alleged dissatisfaction with Mao's policies. In many cases there were also collisions with the party machinery generally in all the big cities and towns of China. An even more grave situation occurred when hostility grew between workers and peasants on the one hand and student and Red Guard on the other - and at many places workers had beaten up the students.⁵³

It is quite difficult task to make objective assessment of cultural revolution, as many things are either unknown or complex. Gargi Dutt has rightly remarked "What happened in China, is the interplay of complex factors, emotions, personality clashes over policies, ambitions and rational calculation and irrational impulses are intertwined in the drama."⁵⁴

After undergoing stormy years of the cultural revolution, Chinese Communist Party leadership divided in certain domestic and foreign policy issue. It is a truism

53. Gargi Dutt, Op. Cit., p.60

54. Ibid., p.1

that two line struggled continuously in China since 1958. Mao and Chou-Enlai formulated new foreign policy with regard to Soviet and American struggle for world hegemony. The issue was how China should exploit the contradictions between them. During same in summer, border clashes with Soviet union continued.⁵⁵

In 1970s there was debate on educational reforms in China. In January 1975, Deng Xiaoping earlier one of the top leaders was demoted to the 8th position in the CPC hierarchy. But again dramatically he acquired prominence after Mao's death, especially in 11th CPC Congress. Deng Xiaoping and Zheng Chunqiao both received senior post in People's liberation Army.

Following Mao's death, Hua Guofeng became the Chairman of the Party and head of its military commission in addition to his post as a Premier.⁵⁶ Immediately, a massive campaign was launched which was to accuse the 'Gang of a whole host of crimes'. Some untoward incidents also took place, such as the unauthorised arresting of senior cadre. For some time 'Gang of four' and Deng Xiaoping attacked and counter-attacked each other. At the 3rd Plenum

55. Bill Brugger, Op. Cit., p.135.

56. Peking Review, 29 October, 1976, pp.7,11,21.

of the tenth Central Committee in July Deng was reinstated as Vice-Chairman of the Party.

The Eleventh Party Congress was held in August 1977. In this Congress Hua emphasised the need of developing productive forces known as 'Four Modernization'. A nation wide serious debate was initiated in the question of China's course of development.

From 1979 onward developments which have taken place in China have puzzled the world. A number of doubts stir the minds whether China is leading towards capitalist restoration and departing from the socialist path or are they on the road of socialist development. These perplexing issues require further exploration of recent development inside China, specially in the light of modernization programme and political reforms.

To sum up, in Soviet Union, particularly in the Brezhnev era, corruption had set in public life and overwhelming power at the hands of party stifling of any initiative from below, stagnation at every walk of life had been quite pervasive. Now the rising questions of nationalities are trying to reassert themselves. This is also a reaction against the attitude of the moscovites and the sectorial development which caused wide difference

between cities, towns and the countryside and the unwanted increase of middle class which has been viewed by consumerist culture and unaware of the plight of the life at the lowest rank of society. Gorbachev's initiatives are precisely the realization of such drawbacks which have been prevailing in Soviet Union.

Since liberation, China has made rapid economic development and great achievements in many areas. Yet it is under developed, a backward country in comparison with Western countries. Even today, education health and transport facilities are inadequate and scientific and technological, agricultural and industrial development is still far from satisfactory. Hence, China's modernization drive has been an attempt to overcome poverty and backwardness. Exactly this feeling has necessitated reforms in China - popularly known as the four modernization.

Soviet Union and China being avowedly socialist state - cannot opt for a society that exists in the west. Rather these two countries would have to bring out the best under the paradigm of Marxism-Leninism.

If Soviet Union and China have to exist, they would have to respond to all these problems, the pressing needs suggest that this is the high time to start responding.

CHAPTER - II

THE POLITICS OF GORBACHEV'S REFORM

THE POLITICS OF GORBACHEV'S REFORM:

"Those who hope that we shall move away from the socialist path will be greatly disappointed. Every part of our program of Perestroika and program as a whole, for that matter - is fully based on the principle of more socialism and more democracy".¹

Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the Soviet political system, great power is vested in the office of General Secretary and hence with the change of the Kremlin guard important political changes generally also take place in the Soviet system. The New General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev represents the present wave of economic - political reforms. His courageous efforts and unusual style of working has drawn the attention of the whole world. Today no one seems to be indifferent towards the new developments in the Soviet Union. For the about last three years we have been constantly hearing and reading about Gorbachev's reforms. Moreover his ascendancy is being marked as a turning point in the history of USSR. Gorbachev's personality is characterized in terms of - a man of formidable energy, comparative youth, consummate political skills and strong commitment to reform.

1. Mikhail Gorbachev, Perestroika: New Thinking for our country and the world, Collins, London, 1987, p.35

Gorbachev has upset the popular Western myth about the Communist Party i.e. the Communist Party is monolithically united and does not contain people having different ideas and view points. Therefore, any change in its character and outlook is not possible. As a matter of fact, Gorbachev is a glaring example of reversing the Western falsity and the entire world recognises him as a 'Man of New Thinking'.

When Gorbachev became the Party General Secretary on March 11, 1985, at the age of fifty four, Soviet Union acquired as its foremost leader - a reform minded man of the younger political generation that come of age after Stalin died. Soon he was speaking of the need of New Thinking for acceleration of socio-economic development and for deep seated changes.²

Not for the first time reforms are being initiated in the Soviet Union. Nikita Khrushchev had stressed the necessity of reform, but he lacked a concrete programme and adequate model for initiating and implementing reforms. Ultimately he was ousted from his post. After Khrushchev, Brezhev - Rosygin also tried to bring out some economic reforms, but they were not very successful precisely because

2. Robert C. Tucker, Political Culture and leadership in Soviet Russia: From Lenin to Gorbachev, Wheat Sheat Press, 1987, p.140.

they had initiated reforms half-heartedly. Moreover, they could not visualize the actual problems they were likely to confront. There was a similarity among all these reform minded leaders, that they were unable to make out the necessity of fundamental - structural change in order to operationalized reforms, they proposed as a result their exercise proved a futile. But today there is remarkable difference while Khrushchev had to face a turbulence and world wide opposition. On contrary, Gorbachev's reform programme has been gaining world wide applause and a green signal from large section of Soviet masses.

In 1961, 22nd Party Congress Khrushchev had declared that the present generation of Soviet people will live under communism and by 1980 the main building of communist society will be accomplished. Later Brezhnev's concept of 'developed socialism' became quite popular, this was his ideological formulation introduced in 1971 to describe the USSR which supposedly was on the road to complete communism. Interestingly enough, Gorbachev has ostensibly buried the utopian concepts of his two predecessors. His reform programme implies this reality - which has refuted the Utopia of his predecessors.

During 27th Congress February-March 1986, the

Soviet media had been seeking to portray the policy decisions as a major 'turning point' in Soviet history. Such an impression was undoubtedly derived by Gorbachev and his colleagues and it was probably true that a significant proportion of the Soviets - were ready for major changes.³ Gorbachev on January 27-28, 1987 plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU announced a land mark programme of political reform. This programme is a sequel to the extensive reforms Gorbachev has proposed since becoming General Secretary. Now the wind of change is slowing in Soviet Union. Observers and statemen are watching new development with intense curiosity.

Post - revolutionary Soviet Union under went several phases of development. Today after seventy years of October revolution, the Soviet Union is once again at a juncture. People have different speculations and expectations as regard Perestroika and Glasnost - the ideas mooted by the new General Sectetary, Mikhail Gorbacnev. Undoubtedly, the present phase is very crucial from the stand point of shaping the destiny of socialism since it involves many other questions such as, whether it is the repudiation of

3. R.F. Miller, J.H. Miller & J.H. Ryby (eds.), Gorbachev at the Helm: A New Era in Soviet Politics? Croom Helm, London, 1987, p.1

Marxism-Leninism and opens the road to capitalism into socialist society as Western media have been trying to project it or do these reforms reaffirm the need to stick to the principles enunciated by Lenin.

What is going on in Soviet Union? What makes Gorbachev initiate reforms? Is he an individual phenomena, or does he represent a 'wind'? Whether he will succeed or fail? What is the potential threat to Mikhail Gorbachev? These questions could be understood precisely in the context of Gorbachev's understanding of Soviet Political - economy and its inherent problems and the method he has opted in order to overcome the crises which envisages new developments in Soviet society, to put it in Gorbachev's own words 'What is Perestroika or restructuring? Why do we need it? What are its substance and objectives? What does it reject and what does it create? How is it proceeding and what might be its consequences for Soviet Union and the World community'.⁴

Time and again Gorbachev has been identifying certain pitfalls and darksides prevailing in the Soviet political economic system. He perceives that the economy had growing

4. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., p.9

problems and external situation in some respects is getting worse. Gorbachev genuinely reacted to these problems in a positive manner, emphasising the need for reforms. Thus on June 19, 1986 in a closed meetings with a group of Soviet writers, Gorbachev said that the society is ripe for change. If we step away, society will not agree to a return. The process must be made irreversible. If not us, then who? If not now then when?⁵

Gorbachev recognises that Soviet society has reached a level of maturity that requires a new approach to its governance. His leadership has launched an effort to cut down the smaller state bureaucracy and reinvigorating the society. Gorbachev has become the champion and the 'new thinking in international relations' that address global problems of a super class nature and recognize that security in the nuclear age 'can only be mutual'.⁶

Before being elected for the post of General Secretary Gorbachev's political life could be traced from his activities in Komsomol organization. He was born in

5. Robert C. Tucker, Op. Cit., p. 140.

6. Robert C. Tucker, "Gorbachev & the fight for soviet Reform", World Policy Journal, 1987, Spring, p.179-204

a peasant family of Stavropol in 1931. He attended 20th Party Congress 1950 as a young Komsomol delegate. In 1968 he became second Secretary of its party committee, responsible for agriculture. Two years later he was its first Secretary and as the top-ranking leader of an important province, in line for membership in the all - union party central committee to which he was elected at the Twenty-fourth Congress in 1971. His transfer to Moscow to take the post of Central Committee Secretary responsible for agriculture came in 1978. In the following year he became a candidate member of Brezhnev's politburo and in 1980, at forty-nine, a full member and by far the youngest one. Gromyko while nominating Gorbachev for the post of General Secretaryship in March 1985, said in his appreciation "This man is able to approach problems analytically. That is the honest truth, he can take a question apart into elements before drawing a conclusion. Not only is good at analysing problems, he also draws generalization and conclusion".⁷

During the twenty-seventh CPSU Congress, held in Moscow in February 1986, Gorbachev gave a keynote address by defining the state of Soviet Union as unsatisfactory.

7. See Gromyko quoted by Robert C Tucker, Political Culture & leadership in Soviet Russia: From Lenin to Gorbachev, Wheat Sheat Books, 1984, pp.144, 147.

He said that particular improvements would not do, radical reform was needed. Analysing the main tendencies and contradictions of the contemporary world Gorbachev noted that the modern world is complicated, diverse and dynamic... It is a world of the most intricate alternations, anxieties and hopes never before has man exacted so much tribute from nature, nor has he ever been so vulnerable to the forces he himself has created.... The main trend of struggle in contemporary conditions consists in creating worthy, Truly human material and spiritual condition of life for all nations ensuring that our planet should be habitable and cultivating a caring attitude towards its greatest treasures, with all his potentials, and that is exactly where we invite the capitalist system to compete with us in a setting of lasting peace.⁸ cursorily reading General Secretary's political report reveals the deep noted concern of Soviet leaders about the future of whole humanity. In addition, Gorbachev put enormous stress on a new strategy of accelerating socio-economic development of the country and highlighted the requirement of revamping enterprises and all round-democratization of society.

8. Mikhail Gorbachev, "27th CPSU Congress, Political Report". Reprints from the Soviet Press, 20-February, 6 March, 1986.

Western analyst remarked about Gorbachev that he seemed to embody the energy, hopes and aspirations of the new generation of soviet officials. He had also been associated with Andropov's brief time attempt to bring new blood into the central and regional party apparatus.⁹

Since Gorbachev became General Secretary, he made some remarkable changes in the top echelon of Soviet leadership, first of all, Nikolai Tikhonov, the aging chairman of the council of ministers was replaced by Nikolai Ryzhkov, the most well known among the Kremlin's economic technocrats, an engineer with long experience, the second change was made by removing Nikolai Bailokov, chairman of Gosplan, who had held this post since 1965, was replaced by Nikolai Talyzin, a specialist in telecommunication and military technology who had served as a deputy chairman of USSR Council of Minister as the Chairman of the Supreme Soviets Commission on COMECON affairs.¹⁰

Despite all good gestures and enthusiastic response from the General populace, Gorbachev also faces

9. Kelley Donald R, "Soviet Politics from Brezhnev to Gorbachev", New York, London 1987, p.159.

10. Ibid., pp.179,180.

several political dilemmas, these are indication that some conservative elements continue to oppose the new leadership. But then Gorbachev also seems to have clear picture in his mind as what sort of problems will be ahead and he is not scared of undertaking any giant experiment. Says he "not every body will agree with me. As a matter of fact, neither will I agree with everything others say on various issues. This makes dialogue all the more important this is what Gorbachev wants today - an open debate on vital international relations, Particularly Soviet and American relations to attain atleast the minimum of mutual understanding needed to resolve issues crucial to the world's future."¹¹

GLASNOST: A NECESSARY PRECONDITION FOR DEMOCRACY & SOCIALISM:

In the Soviet Union, which has generally been identified as a closed society, Glasnost has become extremely popular. In fact, this is the first and foremost contribution made by Mikhail Gorbachev, to a great extent which has been translated into reality. Reflections of Glasnost are becoming visible in every sphere of soviet life. Now

11. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., pp 11,12.

the practice of Glasnost has put an end to the all pervasive monotony of soviet media. Gorbachev feels that the policy of openness is the only way to feel the pulse of masses, to get reactions, frank opinions and undercurrents in the soviet society. And it will enable him to develop proper out look for going ahead. Therefore, he reiterated that we want more openness about public affairs in every sphere of life. People should know what is good and what is bad, too, in order to multiple the good and combat the bad, that is new things should be under socialism.¹²

Glasnost is necessary because in Soviet society the Stalinist legacy still prevails - which is unnecessary and inhuman, e.g. the personality cult and the psychological climate of secrecy, mistrust and espionage. In a way Stalin's excesses in fostering the personality cult and the mutual suspicion and mistrust among people gave ample material to socialism enemies to generate a climate of anti-communist public opinion.¹³ Now new soviet leadership doe not hesitate to admit that there has been some alienation of the workers due to undemocratic centralism and the climate of mistrust created by too much regulating and control of the personal

12. Ibid., p.75

13. Paulos Mar Gregorious, "Restructuring & Openness in USSR", Mainstream, November 21, 1987, p.11.

life and thought of individual persons. A culture of repression will thwart economic productivity on the one hand and can introduce an element of fascism inside socialism.¹⁴

However, these are many soviet elites, who recall the erstwhile Stalinist system as a period of glory and great success. For victory over Nazi Germany and large scale industrialization of Soviet Union. Neo Stalinist admit errors but argue that there were an inevitable by products of revolutionary construction. As far mass terror and economic aberrations they caution against over statements. Today there is no denying that the development of Glasnost and the expansion of democracy are leading to definite results.¹⁵ Glasnost has fundamentally changed the intellectual milieu, it occurred as a revolution of expression, the resultant, free discussion, mutual trust and cultural creativity is seen flourishing.

MEDIA:

Glasnost has lifted the curtain of secrecy over many facts, For the first time since the revolution of

14. Ibid., p.11

15. Vladimir Tismaneanu, "Friends & foes of Glasnost", Orbis, 11 1987, pp 3 -78

October 1917, and on the eve of its seventeenth anniversary - censorship has been virtually abolished in the Soviet Union. Editors of various publications, who are assumed to know just how far they can go, have sole responsibility for what they published, the Soviet press and mass media are suddenly enjoying immense public popularity.¹⁶

Obviously there are so many innovations in the field of mass media. One of the most striking feature is that the discidents are allowed to register their journals and seek state help to run them. Several other evidences of Glasnost are clearly manifest in official soviet mass media. Day to day critical articles are being published. Given the boundaries of permitted criticisms have been extended and there are articles now being published in the Soviet Press which only a few years ago would have landed their authors in serious trouble or which could easily dubbed as anti-Soviet slander. Today the changed atmosphere could be seen in the field of art, literature and journalism. Soviet Journalist are also now campaigning for 'greater freedom of action', in their investigative forays against official incompetence, corruption and misdeals. A concerted attempt to promote greater reliance

16. Relph Miliband, Leo Panitch, John Saville (eds.) Socialist Register 1988, The Merlin Press, London 1988, p.12

on the mass media, as a agent of public advocacy was evident in the assurances of a prominent journalist, that concerned citizens should not hesitate to contact the press when 'state methods and concepts go against the voice of society.'¹⁷

Politically sensitive films which were gathering dust in the shelves are now being shown all over the country.¹⁸ Of late, an anti-Soviet propaganda film 'Amerika' made by American Government, was screened through-out Soviet Union.¹⁹ Another significant development is that press conferences are being held in Soviet Union, in the recent part one could not dream about it.

Now people are free to speak out, so much so that a Soviet author and son-in-law of Nikita Khrushchev, Nikolay Shemelyov has stated the Soviet economy is not only 'unplanned' but also unplannable and on this ground demands its dismantling.

DISSIDENTS:

Within the last two years, about 150 dissidents

17. Ibid., p.106

18. Jayashekar, "Dogmas crumble as Glasnost unfolds" Indian Express, October 10, 1987.

19. See 'Glasnost Full Stream Ahead in 2nd year" in New Age, March 8, 1987, p.13.

have been released and more are expected to be pardoned soon. A new approach to the problem of dissenters and human rights, which began some time back with the permission to Sakharov to come back to Moscow and resume normal work, is developing. The law relating to mitigation is being reviewed and it is expected that it will be changed in the direction of moderation. And apart from this other logical development in the new atmosphere of openness and free expression of criticism could be apparantly seen. Leading newspaper and T.V. are presenting uncensored and full text of articles and interviews of Americans and Western anti-Soviet leading politicians and journalist. From a pragmatic point of view Glasnost is a bold attempt by Gorbachev to radically alter the superstructure in Soviet Union.²⁰

GLASNOST AND PARTY:

The debate on Perestroika is vigorously going on among Party cadre and other sections of society. This reminds one of the 20s debates on industrialization debate. Glasnost is also seen in the deliberation of the Party

20. Jayashekar, Op. Cit.

and in the functioning of the enterprises. Discussions in these organisations are no longer one sided, they have their say on rejecting or rectifying decisions and they are not considered mere rubber stamps. Unfortunately, till the recent past media, literature and science kept the Soviet People and leaders largely ignorant of the Malaise afflicting their society. So much so that in the academic field philosophy became symbolic with dogmatism. Ideology presented fantasies as facts. Vast areas for criticism and research were closed. In order to set right, the wrong tendencies and continuing past mistakes the policy of 'Glasnost is designed firstly to facilitate an open acceptance of past mistakes and existence of crisis in the country. Secondly, to enable the rejection of vague notions diverted from reality and the renunciation of all those outdated methods. Thirdly, to help the creation of an atmosphere for creative thinking and innovative ideas so that strategy and tactics for restructuring of society can be evolved.²¹

While in English 'Glasnost' has been translated as openness, its literal meaning is 'say as it is'. Understandably, Glasnost makes it possible for people to understand better what happened to them in the past and relate

21. Ibid.

it to what is taking place now. What are they striving for and what plans for the future are. Gorbachev believes that people are becoming increasingly convinced that Glasnost is an effective remedy for public control over the activities of all government bodies. The mass media are playing and will continue to play a tremendous role, although they are not only a channel for expressing the people's will for reflecting their views and moods, but they are the most representative and massive rostrum of Glasnost.²²

THE DEBATE ON HISTORY:

Gorbachev, once meeting leading media representatives, touched a very significant aspect - that of the approach to history and literature. He said there should not be any blank spot, history should not be presented as an artificial and time-serving structure. It is necessary to assess the past with a sense of historical responsibility and are the basis of the historical truth. People's initiative should be promoted, in making them more exacting, more critical and self-critical in enhancing Glasnost and in paving the way for tangible changes in people's thinking and attitude.²³

22. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., pp 76,77.

23. Mikhail Gorbachev, "October Revolution & Perestroika: Revolution Continues", Soviet Review, Nov.5, 1987, p.39

Glasnost is not a mere political rhetoric, the very fact that there are debates going whether broad openness is needed and whether democratization will have undesirable consequences. In Gorbachev's view the development of Glasnost as a way of accumulating the various diverse views and ideas which reflect the interest of all strata. It will be difficult to advance if there is not criticism from below, there cannot be democracy without all this.²⁴

Without Glasnost there cannot be democracy and without democracy there cannot be socialism. Gorbachev's perception is that Glasnost is necessary prerequisite to make democracy and socialism more viable.

NATIONALITY QUESTION:

In the Soviet Union, once again the nationality question has become a burning issue. Some analyst attribute it to the policy of Glasnost. To some extent, Glasnost has made the Soviet people fearless in asserting themselves. Though theoretically, the nationalities problem was resolved and all kinds of national oppression eliminated in Soviet

24. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., p.78

union. Soviet claim proves to be ridiculous when the appointment of a Russian as Party Secretary in Kazakhstan in December 1986 led to riots in Alma Ata. Since then, several intellectuals from the Asian Republics have condemned such excesses, but they have also observed with some bitterness that the tendency of certain muscovite historians to glorify Russian's past, encourage Uzbekhs and Kazakhs to do the same for their own past.²⁵ A second instance, the recent developments in Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Region stirred up two neighbouring towns - caucasian Republics - Armenia and Azerbaijan - because Karabakh, wheree the Armenians make up 75 per cent of the population, forms part of Azerbaijan as an ethnic sub-unit - an autonomous region.²⁶

For a multinational state like the USSR, the rise of nationalism represents a terrible threat, particularly the resurgence of Russian nationalism can affect the distribution of power in Soviet Union and alter the whole future course.²⁷ However, the Soviet leadership

25. Ralph Miliband & others, Op. Cit., p.32

26. "Will Nationalism "Rock" Soviet Union" Soviet Features Information deptt., USSR Embassy, India, April 13, 1988.

27. Vladimir, Tismaneanu, Op. Cit.

believes that nationalism cannot hamper Soviet Union. Though no problems are solved without errors. The strength lies in the ability to admit and correct them.

THE SOVIET POLITY & PERESTROIKA: THE DEBATE ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY:

Assuming the creativity of the masses as a decisive force in Perestroika, Gorbachev's aim is to promote democracy in economy, politics and within the party itself. In a way Gorbachev and his supporters are criticising the undemocratic way of functioning of the Soviet Political structures and the lack of autonomy within economic and production enterprises. There is a need for basis reforms in institutional functioning, however, this does not mean that socialism is in crisis and there is no way out but to adopt capitalist methods. Reforms can be conducted in accordance with socialist choice, In other words, Soviet leadership is working within socialism rather than outside it.²⁸ Gorbachev's reform proposal begins with some significant political reforms, i.e. democratization of electoral process,

28. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., p.36

so that the traditional 'control from above' may be balanced with 'more control from below', that can be done only after restructuring and increasing rank and file participation in party, government and economic decision making.²⁹

There are no two opinions that Gorbachev's proposal suggests willingness to risk challenging the entrenched position and privileges of the party and state apparatus by giving the public increased say, in political life - a departure for traditional soviet practice. Gorbachev is apparently motivated by the realization that masses should feel that they are involved in every social-political activity that is going on in the country.³⁰ Every citizen and rank and file must be given a greater sense of participation in governing the country and the party in influencing decision effecting their lives if they are to be expected to work harder and more efficiently to help overcome the country's current socio-economic malaise.

Gorbachev has evidently decided that Perestroika must acquire fresh impetus, becoming something of a reform

29. Weyner Haln, "Electoral Choice in Soviet Block", Problems of Communism, March-April 1987, pp29-39.

30. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., p.37

movement in soviet society, so far there is no clear indication whether Gorbachev wants to replace the one party political system by the multi party one. Though some soviet intellectuals believe that the time has come to introduce political pluralism into the system. They set forth their views in a manifesto addressed to the citizens of the USSR. Signed 'movement for socialist review' dated November 21, 1985. The manifesto states that the crisis of the soviet economic order is closely linked with political crisis, freedom of speech, press and assembly personal imunity, private correspondence and telephone concersations and the freedom to join organization. Further, the menifesto asserts the need of an 'alternative political organisation.'³¹

Yevgeny Yevtushenko, a leading poet of soviet union has underscored the need of people's front, a part of Perestroik or the party of non-party people. The poet says this people's front is not just a front of resistance to bureacracy, but a front of attack on it. It is a front of struggle against the dark shost of the past so that they will not be reborn at the present. The party of non-party

31. Rober C Tucker, "Gorbachev & the Flight for Soviet Reform", World Policy Journal, 1987, Spring, p.178-204.

is bigger than the communist party and has as yet fully recognised itself as a historical force. Further criticising consist party he says whether or not a person is a party member does not define him morally. The party card is not yet a reference on advance thinking, or a pure conscience.³² Gorbachev also realizes it when he says 'We do not have an opposition, how then can we monitor ourselves, only through criticism and self criticism and must of all through Glasnost.'³³ This realization led him to make some innovating experieient in various political fields.

So far a significant change has been introduced in the electoral system i.e. secret ballot and multi-candidate election. Almost party organisation, Gorbachev assented that party leaders including first Secretary, should be elected by secret ballot and that party committee members should be allowed to nominate several candidates. This would increase the responsibility of secretaries

32. Yevgeny Yevtusnenko, "The Party of non-party People", Mainstream, July 2, 1988, p. 31.

33. Sowergri Bialer, "Gorbachev's Move", Foreign Policy, pp. 59-87.

to the party committees that elected them. As regard the election of deputies for the soviets, the politburo has decided that multiple candidate should be fielded rather than just one.³⁴ Till the recent past not a single assignment to an executive post could be filled without party approval, but now this practice has been altogether changed, since non-party members would also be allowed to contest election, if elected, he might hold a key public post. With this change the director of industrial and agriculture enterprises, heads of departments within enterprise and production team leaders and foreman would be elected rather than appointed from above. Recently, for the first time in Soviet Union, secret ballot and multi-candidate election has been experimented successfully. In Latvia the party first Secretary Boris Pugo in an interview to Pravada said that for a plant director in Latvia, a contest was held between two candidates as well as the election of an agriculture academy rector by secret ballot form a field of five candidates.³⁵ In the same interview Pugo revealed that some Komsomol organisations have begun holding multi-candidate election in their own, for the first time in the country.

34. Robert C Tucker, Op. Cit.

35. Ibid.

Gorbachev's political reforms appear aimed at arming ordinary citizens and party cadre with some weapons against unresponsive officials, there by reducing the perception of gap, eventhough limited in their effective scope, multi-candidate elections may give ordinary citizens some sense of being able to influence their leaders either by directly voting out unpopular one or by making the unpopular modify their actions to avoid alienting the electorate.³⁶ This practice would enable to establish a new relationship between the leaders and the led so as to close the gap between them and gradually the process of democratization would also be geared up.

The 19th all-union party conference, which was recently held in Moscow, categorically states 'All party committees starting at the district and city level shall be elected for a standard term of 5 years. Simultaneously a communist shall not hold an elected position in the CPSU for more than two terns in a row. To ensure better continuity and effieiciency in the performance of deputies, the standard term of all soviets of people's deputies

36. Ibid.

in the country should be fixed at five years.³⁷

This proposal has been approved by the 19th Party conference. In the conference Gorbachev asserted that the reform is based on the transfer of real power into the hands of the people and their representative bodies as also distribution of power between the party and the state. The idea of granting full power to the Soviets is being re-emphasised the speciality of this conference was that a new supreme body, the congress of People's deputies of the USSR will be elected comprising 2,250 people. It would elect a standing body of highest authority, the supreme soviet of the USSR (400-450 members). One of the most important changes Gorbachev suggested, was instituting the post of President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to be elected and recalled by secret ballot by the congress of People's deputies.³⁸

Now the president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet would enjoy real powers and handle the issue of domestic and foreign policy.³⁹ This it would be

37. Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference", Moscow News, June 5, 1988, p3

38. "News & Views from the Soviet Union", Vol. XLVIII, N. 116, 29 June, 1988.

39. Ibid., pp4,5

some sort of presidential form of Government.

It is an established fact that democracy in socialist society begins with democracy in the party itself. If the Communist party can tolerate diverse groups and factions within the party, certainly it will open a new chapter of party democracy. To democratize and modernize the Soviet political system which is so deeply entrenched in the economic and social fabric of Soviet society - first requires, reforming the Communist party. One of the reasons of ongoing changes in the electoral process is that the outcome of the realization that accountability of Communist leaders to party members is an urgent necessity bureaucratization from top to lower echelons of local leaders has generated cynicism towards the top leadership in the Communist Party.⁴⁰ It has often been stated that the dictatorship of the proletariat was really replaced by the dictatorship of bureaucracy. Within the party, in general mediocrities triumphed.⁴¹ Therefore democratization of Politburo and Secretariat is first and foremost necessity.

40. Silvice Brucan, "Political Reform in the Socialist System" World Policy Journal, Summer 1987, pp.515-526

41. Yevgeny Yevtsuhenko, Op. Cit., p.32

In order to understand the mechanism and dynamism of the present political system and its potential for changes, as Gorbachev has envisaged, a clear distinction needs to be made between leadership and apparat, Those who hold commanding positions in the Socialist system in the government and administration, the military and the states coercive forces are recruited from the apparat. Though those who are working commanding position in Soviet union, do not constitute a separate class in Marxist terms, the apparat is nevertheless an observable, differentiated interacting social strata, made up of full time party and government officials who run all the state institutions, civil and military, they would well be described as the ruling social group in the Soviet Union.⁴²

Some analyst have pointed out that the Soviet political system lack any feed back. It has no tray of correcting its mistakes, its principle historical fault lies in its states quo inclination - its resistance to change and progress - which is probably the greatest paradox in history, for a society that is supposed to lead and march into the future.⁴³

42. Silvice Brucan, Op. Cit.

43. Ibid.

These problems may well be changed as the new leadership is aware of soviet political and therefore prepared to breakaway from the dogmatic past by throwing the soviet system into open practice with a determination to reinvigorate and revamp its social, political and economic scene. Certain recent initiatives of soviet leaders has resulted in some significant changes in the system, which has sparked off new development that are being watched with intense interest in the world.

An assessment of all retrospective reforms in Soviet union, clearly shows that in the case of Soviet Union, the leadership is not in independent variable. Here the example of Khrushchev and Kosygin would suffice. Khrushchev's policies and initiative came into conflict with the vested interest of the apparat, even Kosygin's moderate reforms were sabotaged and eventually nullified.

The 80s Soviet union is a modern industrial country, dominated by an educated working class and several million scientist, engineers and managers, consequently it cannot be governed in an old fashion. This is where two generation part ways, one generation

is emotionally attached with old ways and is a victim of tradition, while the other is not.⁴⁴ Gorbachev represents the mood and aspirations of the new generation, explicitly, which are a supporting force to Gorbachev's initiative, if any miscalculation is made, Gorbachev might meet the fate like of his precedent technocrats who dominate this new generation would judge policies pragmatically and one of their whose top priorities are economic reform.

THE SOVIET ECONOMY: PROBLEMS AND RESTRUCTURING:

Under Gorbachev, multi-dimensional reform process, could be seen in three major areas in the Soviet Union, policy reforms, organizational administrative reforms and structural - institutional reforms. The first is directed at changing long standing policies & its major instrument is the redistribution of resources. The second is directed at changing and streamlining the decision-making process, its major instrument in over organisation of the existing administrative units. The

44. Ibid.

third is directed at changing the economic structure, its major instruments are fundamental reorientation of priority and major shift in the power of existing institutions. Only the third type of reforms can be called radical and fundamental - it is these reforms that cross the parameters of existing Soviet economic system.

The Prime motive behind Perestroika is the need to improve economic performance. The Soviet leadership has recognised that the existing system of economic planning and management is the hyper centralised 'command system' established under Stalin.⁴⁵ At 27th CPSU Congress, Gorbachev identified certain deep rooted problems like stagnation and inertia in Soviet economy. Attacking the wrong tendencies prevailing in the system as bribery, abuse of official position for personal gain, alcoholism, absentecism, systematic theft of public property. The illegal underground economy (second economy) which has over the years become a basic provider of service to the population, and other malpractices, Gorbachev stressed the need of accelerating and all round intensification of the Soviet economy. He also focused on the need for eliminating from

45. Ralph Miliband & others, Op. Cit., p.132.

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society of the distortions of socialist ethics and the importance of the consistent implementation of the principles of social justice.⁴⁶ Sidney Ploss, a Sovietologist has noticed that Soviet Union is on the cross roads in its evolution, Soviet Society is increasingly afflicted by anomie and a wave of individualism from top to bottom is eroding the traditional values of collectivism and self-sacrifice for building national power and there are symptoms of a wide spread lack of belief and purpose. Massive apathy in the work force resulted in an adverse impact on economic performance, rumors of corruption tainted even Brezhnev's family circle.⁴⁷ Against corruption, Gorbachev has launched a campaign. His disciplinary measures is - disciplining managers, tightening up administration and serving notice to corrupt bureaucrats, dismissing them and then efficient punished. Since he came to power, 200,000 party officials have been investigated for corruption and 100,000 corrupt and ageing officials dismissed.⁴⁸

One of the most alarming features of apathy in Soviet Union is with respect to per capital consumption

46. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., pp34, 35.

47. Sidney Ploss, "A New Soviet Era"? Foreign Policy, 1986-87, pp. 46, 60.

48. Achin Vanaik, "The Gorbachev Phenomenon" The Times of India, August 1, 1987,

of alcohol in the form of strong alcoholic beverages the USSR ranks first in the world. Consequently, people's health has faced hazards and mental disorders, chronic and acute poisoning, violence and accidents have resulted due to alcoholism. Another striking feature of alcoholism in the Soviet Union is the very rapid growth of consumption per person fifteen years and older.⁴⁹ Price hike of vodka was essentially a result of understanding the danger of using excess alcohol, so that alcoholism may be controlled.

Gorbachev's strategy for economic development of the USSR and changes he intend to bring about in key economic sector such as agriculture and industry are also equally significant, along with these superstructural reforms. Whether Gorbachev intends to modify the Stalinist economic model of Soviet Union. Will Gorbachev succeed where Kosygin failed? What are some of the vital issues which will have global consequences whether Gorbachev succeeds or fails.

Announcing economic reforms, Gorbachev proposed certain managerial, agricultural, marketing reforms. He feels that it is the high time to put an end to the practice

49. Vladmir G. Treml, "Alcohol abuse and quality of life in the USSR", Selmut Sormenfeld (ed), Soviet Politics in the 1980s, A West view, Replica Edition, pp 55,56

of ministries and departments exercising petty tutelage over enterprises. Ministries should concentrate their attention on technical policy, on inter sectoral proportions and on meeting the demands of the national economy for high grade output by their industries. Enterprises and organisations should be given the right to sell products to one another independently of what they produce over and above the plan.⁵⁰ Analysing the Soviet economic problems the present leadership found that economic growth was slowing down. In the last fifteen years the national income growth rates had declined by more than half and by the beginning of the eighties had fallen to a level close to economic stagnation.⁵¹ In the April plenum 1985 Gorbachev asserted that real possibility existed for accelerating growth rate and a substantial growth is quite feasible.

The new leadership understands the labour productivity and product quality will not increase significantly if workers, engineers, managers and peasants are denied significant incentives designed to reward their labour. Thus the necessity for material incentives is to be given a new focus.

50. Mikhail Gorbachev, "Political Report, 27th CPSU Congress" February 25, 1986, Reprints from the Soviet Press, New York.

51. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op Cit., p.19

The leadership recognise the need to accelerate the consumer revolution in order to preserve socio-political stability. It is also necessary to stop peoples alienation from the regime and to raise the productivity of labour and capital.⁵² In the Soviet Union, the system of work place participation inherited from the Brezhnev period is based upon an explicit rejection of both the pluralist and self-management models. Soviet theorist have traditionally rejected the notion that the pluralist idea of conflicting values and interest is casually applicable to socialist society. The actual institution that exists to facilitate collectivist participation by Soviet workers are quite numerous. They include such socio-political institutions as peoples central committees, comrades' courts, the local soviets and Komsomol and Party organisation. A law on labour collectives was legislated on 1984, the law specifies that general meetings and the members of the labour collective must take place at least twice a year to discuss matters related to labour discipline. Technical innovation, training and economic development use of resources, collective agreements, organization and remuneration of labour and the working social and cultural conditions of employees.⁵³

52. Seweryn Bialer, Op. Cit.

53. Russel Bora, "On Perestroika: The Role of work place participation", Problems of Communism, July-August, 1987, pp. 76-107.

WORKER MANAGEMENT:

According to Soviet law, all economic institutions employing more than 300 people are required to elect a 'production conference'. The function of these production conferences are that every thing is to be considered, within the purview of the general workers meeting. The trade union is another significant institution in the USSR. Shortly after 27th CPSU Congress, a law on state enterprises was adopted, reemphasising the desirability of increasing the participation of the entire labour collectives in the management of enterprise activity. This law proposes the creation of two new mechanism.⁵⁴ The first mechanism is the election of managerial personnel. The second one is to create a new institution in the enterprise called the 'collective labour council'. Gorbachev sees workers active participation as means of monitoring and controlling the Soviet economic bureaucracy.

Some Western observers consider that the main factor that can impede the extensive reform and decentralization of the soviet economy is the fear of a loss of political control at the centre. On the contrary,

54. Ibid.

Gorbachev has succinctly put forward the views that all efforts towards changing the structure of the national economy and transferring it to the track of intensive development and accelerating scientific and technological progress prompted even more urgently the need for a radical reform of the economic mechanism and for reformulating the entire system of economic management.⁵⁵ But the Western understanding does not seem to be correct because from the very beginning Gorbachev has stressed the need of democratization and decentralization of economy, especial industrial management, ongoing reforms, are gradually paving the way for more flexible limited competitive economy.

Reviewing past mistakes regarding management reforms Gorbachev opined that those attempts were neither radical nor consistent. The concept of the June 1987 plenary meeting is completely new and provides for fundamental changes in every aspect, for example, from transfer of enterprises to the complete cost accounting a radical transformation of the centralized management of economy, fundamental changes in planning a reform of price formation systems and the financial and crediting mechanism. One

55. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., p.83

might ask where from Perestroika will be started? From the centre or from primary levels? As Soviet economy is a planned and over centralised one, Gorbachev sees the rationale in starting restructuring from the centre and then management level to the primary level enterprise.⁵⁶ Thus this seems to be 'Changes from above.'

The CPSU Central Committee has already endorsed all the principle innovations of Gorbachev's reform proposals, in the June 1987 plenum. Now with the implementation of the new law on state enterprise, decentralization would begin in the hierarchal administration system. The Communist Party will not be able to fully control the outcome of elections and elected officials no longer subject to dismissal by the party organs. Thus decentralization of the economic decision-making process would lead to the development of self-management.

THE ISSUE OF PRICES:

One of the weakest links in the Soviet economic system has been the system of price setting. It has been the subject of much debate and controversy among Soviet economists and planners. Some of whom have come to accept the

56. Ibid., p.84

concept of scarcity pricing and marginal costs and fundamental components of an efficient economic system. One price issue the 1987 June plenum could not arrive at any consensus. Therefore it is left for further discussion on a country wide basis.⁵⁷

One of the most dangerous, sensitive and contradicting aspects of the restructuring project is the issue of price. Soviet economy needs radical price reforms and cannot progress without it. For the simple reason that price reforms in the Soviet Union must not encompass simply consumer goods but also internal commodity and industrial prices. As a result Price reform will inevitably raise the cost of living for the people and when that happens a dangerous anti-Perestroika climate will be formed and exploited. Some economists are sensitive to this dilemma facing Gorbachev. Here to cite a relevant example is what M. Alexandrava wrote in *Literaturnaya gazeta*, August 12, 1987, "I fear that in the event of an increase in the prices of food products people could turn away from Perestroika, considering it to be nothing but a "Chatter box" which only makes prices jump beyond all limits and then the true opponents of Perestroika will raise their heads, in whose threats Glasnost and democratization stick."⁵⁸

57. John E. Tedston, "On Perestroika: Analysing the Basic Provisions' Problems of Communism, July-August, 1987, pp. 93-98

58. Dev Murarka, "Battle in Russia Still on Stalin, *The Times of India*, April 7, 1988 p.4.

REFORMING THE AGRARIAN SECTOR:

Agriculture is a major problem for Soviet Union. Over the period of time the nature of problem and the soviet governments attitude to it have been changing significantly. Agricultural share in Soviet gross national product has been consistantly declining. Low consumer prices for food were only maintained through the use of a large growing level of subsidies.⁵⁹ Since the March 1965 plenum, agricultural reform has been on the political agenda in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev had been in charge of the party's agricultural department since 1978 and was probably involved in the food programme from its inception. As for some years he had been supervising the country's problem of agriculture, so it is natural to assume that he is aware of the food problem, which is of great concern to him.

At 27th CPSU Congress Party's agrarian policy was outlined, which was more or less based on May 1982 plenum, which gave top priority to the issue. In this plenum, broadly the food programme policy of USSR was formulated

59. R.M. Miller & others (eds.) Gorbachev at the Helm?
Croom Hew, London, 1987, p.161

so as to solve the food problem. It is evident from the political report that a decisive turn is needed in the agrarian sector. There is a noticeable improvement in the food supply already during the 12th five year plan period. Gorbachev stressed the need for an increased growth rate of farm production and to insure a substantial increase in the per capital consumption of meat, milk, vegetable and fruits.⁶⁰ The focus is also on the effective use in the agro-industrial complex which are a necessary supplement to the agrarian sector.

A principle characteristic of the Soviet system is the primacy of politics over economy. Though economic growth is of crucial importance to the leadership but it cannot be left to the managers who directly administer the Soviet economy. Economic priorities are set in accordance with the political priorities of the leadership. The administration and implementation of the economic plans is designed in such a way that will not impinge on the political power of Soviet leadership. While economic factors and consideration in themselves do not determine the formulation of their goals and the methods by which they are to be attained.

60. See 27th CPSU Congress document.

Thus some observers have intered that redical economic reform in the normal sense are impossible in the Soviet union, what is possible are radical political reforms that have fundamental economic consequences.⁶¹

Though, as yet a complete, concrete and comprehensive model for reform does not exists, however, measures for reforms particularly personnel changes and cuts in size of supervisory economic cadres have been creating healthy tensions within the bureaucracy. The limits of Gorbachev in fully committed to revitalizing the country. He knows the potential and formidable threat to his success lies ahead. At a meeting of the Leningrad Party organization on May 17, 1985, Gorbachev made his position clear and warned we must of course, give all our cadre the stage and they must adopt themselves accordingly. But any one who is not prepared to adopt and who, moreover, impedes the resolution of these new tasks should get out of the way and not interfere.⁶² The important theme of Gorbachev's first year as a General Secretary, was that no ministry and no republican or regional party organization should remain

61. Seworyn Bialer, Joan Afferica, "The Genesis of Gorbachev's World", Orbis, Vol.64, 1985-86, pp 605-609.

62. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit.,

beyond criticism. It was pointedly reiterated. One could argue that so far he has not gone beyond rhetoric, but practice shows that he has successfully created a climate of opinion for change. Frequently open on reform also appeared in the leading soviet newspaper. Undoubtedly, it a healthy sign and this is exactly what Gorbachev wants.

While speaking on economic restructuring, Gorbachev not only used the term reform rather he terns this as radical reform is needed. We are only at the start of the journey.. to restructure the economic mechanism in the condition of our country with its immense, complex economy requires time and energy. He knows the constrain to both covert and overt opposition to economic reform.⁶³

However, a scholar on soviet affairs, has observed that the stalinist economic model which characterized by high level of centralization in planning and management over emphasis on heavy industry, autarchy in economic development has been undergoing some changes for nearly two decades⁶⁴ and Gorbachev's new policy and programme

63. Ibid.

64. R.G. Gidadhubli, "Economy Breaking with the Past", World Focus, 1986, Vol. 17, pp13, 18.

might speed up the process of change.

Gorbachev is against 'market socialism' but at the same time he does not believe that the Soviet economy can dispense entirely with the Market.⁶⁵ So far the goal of radical soviet economic reformers - explicit recognition of a role for the market as well as for central strategic economic decision making have been recognised only at the level of legalizing small scale private enterprise. But of great importance for the economy as a whole will be the extension of market principle into areas of the socialised economy. Gorbachev has clearly mentioned that an attempt to fix all price administratively leads to many problems, moreover it is not feasible also. So far his support for a market element within the soviet economy has been in the coded language of advocating a greater role for 'commodity-money relations.'⁶⁶ Gorbachev's measures in the economic field so far, have been directed more at improving human performance than at promoting structural change. Agricultural production and marketing are two important areas of reforms. Agriculture already contains a significant private section in Soviet Union given the opportunity this sector can grow

65. Archie Brawn, "Changes in the Soviet Union", Orbis, 1986, Vol.64, pp.1049 & 1065.

66. Archie Brawn, "The Gorbachev's offensive", Marxism today, June 1987, London, pp26-50.

quickly and deliver the required goals by expanding private plots and land. Encouraging private activities, creating the so called family brigade'. On the collective farms, Gorbachev is determined to provide such opportunities, these measures are meant to stimulate the farmers to produce more. The marketing of farmers produce is to be improved by expanding cooperative enterprises and by tying the farms to the urban market.⁶⁷

In the Soviet Union, there is a possibility for expanding private enterprise in a limited way so as to encourage creativity and autonomy. Items as restaurants, repair shops and small production units of basic consumer goods are being encouraged. By implication it could make a difference for the urban living masses, this system will be replaced by a new administrative methods of management and economic instruments that will abolish central planning and the management of enterprise will enjoy independence. Thus leading to a new system of quality control price formation encouragement of completion and increase of the role of money, credit and profit in economic activity.

67. Seweryn Bialer, Op. Cit.

According to one school of Marxist interpretation, the changes in the base leads to corresponding affects in the superstructure. In the case of the Soviet Union, shaking up of the economy cannot be accomplished without a parallel shaking up of the political system. The economic battles have hardly began yet, it is the political battle which are preoccupying the antagonists as well as the protagonist of Perestroika. However, we would cater to the belief that there is no exact replica of base - superstructure relations. The relations are so closely interlinked that socio-political changes can change the bas as easily as economic changes influencing the super structure.

One can see the limits of Gorbachev's liberalization. There is always a danger that if Glasnost survives, the popular pressures for greater democracy may become over stronger and more difficult to control. This is what the anti-reformers in the bureaucracy are scared of. there is a hypothetical question that what sections of society are likely to resist Gorbachev long term project? There is first to bulk of the bureaucracy, the conservative element, the most powerful force in the sense of numerical strength is enormous. If the working class and other section give their allegiance to the new leader, though

even then, there is likely to be a fierce struggle. However, the bureaucracy alone will not be in a position to nullify the whole reform programme initiated by Gorbachev. Because the rising expectations of Soviet peoples in the event of sporadic opposition by conservatives. Ultimately, the Soviet people will have to take a position. It is the people who are to reject or accept Perestroika. Gorbachev stated at 19th Party conference that 'it is our party and civic duty to rehabilitate those who in the past fell victim to unjustified political accusations and lawlessness', is a crucial one. This statement is just the beginning but bound to propal far reaching effects in assessing and in the rewriting of the history of communist movement. One should not be surprised if the Soviet Union sends shock waves, in the process of exposing Stalinist period.

PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT AND NEW THINKING:

Gorbachev has also shown his profound concern over nuclear weapons, the long standing tension in the international relations and the very future of our planet. Analysing deep noted international conflict, Gorbachev

suggest that a scientific policy must be built on strict assessment of reality of the world today due to the accumulation of vast military arsenals, both conventional and nuclear of the United States and Soviet Union. This places on those two countries a special responsibility to the whole world. It is impossible to move toward more harmonious relations between the USSR and USA while mesmerized by ideological myths.⁶⁸ Gorbachev feels that there is a connection between the way in which Soviet Union works at home and the way the West respond. Moreover, due to lack of communication between the Soviet and American people, they do not respect or understand one another well enough. This is the root of the problem. This type of relationship needs to be overhauled and there exists the need to infuse a great amount of feeling, for mutual understanding and mutual communication in the world.

The major problem that stands in the way of good Soviet-American relations is the arms race and the belief that strategic parity is necessary. In the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress February 25, 1986, Gorbachev decried the theories of 'containment' and deterrence and over-whelmingly emphasized that the objective conditions have taken shape in which confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed only and exclusively in the framework of peaceful competitions

68. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., pp 12,211.

89

and peaceful control.⁶⁹ Gorbachev believes that at the present level of technological and organisation of production, the demilitarisation of economy is feasible and capitalist countries can be persuaded to pursue a rational, human and equalitarian foreign policy while their home policy continue to be based on safe guarding ruthless monopoly, capitalist exploitation? The Soviet Union is extremely critical of the American strategic defence initiative (SDI) programme and have put forward far reaching disarmament programmes. This is a matter of life and death for all of mankind, and Mikhail Gorbachev has advanced a number of proposals not only for eliminating intermediate range nuclear missiles altogether, for cutting the strategic nuclear arsenal by 50 per cent as a first step towards their elimination and to reduce conventional forces and weapons, but also to create a new climate of mutual trust and cooperation in which a new system of comprehensive global security can be developed.

Disarmament, development and the establishment of a comprehensive system of global security—these three aspects are inter-dependent and have to be fostered as a programme for humanity as a whole — this is an ethical

69. Mikhail Gorbachev, 27th CPSU Congress, Political Report reprint from the Soviet Press, 25 February, 6 March, 1986.

issue, it is a matter of society the vision of a new united, disarmed humanity working in scientific, technical and cultural collaboration to make life on this planet worthy of the dignity of human being.⁷⁰

Gorbachev openly accepts the fact that no doubt they are doing all that is necessary to maintain an upto date and reliable defences system but it is not out of their choice, rather it has been imposed upon them, . . . Nevertheless the soviet leadership feel that in today's situation of strategic statement it would seem logical to halt the arms race and get down to disarmament.⁷¹ If practically the process of disarmament is not started the very existence of mankind will be on a precipice.

In the present international situation with the nuclear arms race at it is followed conflicts and the war danger growing, Gorbachev has emphasised that making international relations more human is the only way out - and though that is a difficult thing to do, the need is to rise above ideological differences to make the world a safer place to live, let every one make his own choice and let us all respect that choice and for that a new mode of political

70. Pavlos Pav Gregomios, "Restructuring and openness in the USSR", Mainstream, November 21, 1987.

71. Mikhail Gorbachev, Op. Cit., p.218.

thinking is necessary.⁷² Gorbachev is fully convinced that all realistic minded people in America and elsewhere, genuinely want cooperation, not confrontation. After becoming General Secretary, Gorbachev's peace initiative at the Summit Meetings in Rykjavik and Geneva have been good beginning in this direction.

Equating Gorbachev's peace initiatives with that of Khrushchev, would help us to understand, Potential and limits of their new phenomenon. Khrushchev's failed attempt at reform grew out of a legitimation crisis that is the crisis of the regime. Gorbachev's drive for change' is an extremely incomplete story as yet, It has been emerging out of an economic crisis, a crisis of ruling stratum with wide sociological implications as well as a demographic crisis.

A very simple fact lay at the root of the legitimation crisis Khrushchev inherited - Stalin had become authoritarian and to sole ruling man in the Soviet Union supported by a self-interested bureaucracy. Gorbachev has inherited the management of a state with an economic crisis and economy whose growth rate was deteriorating. Within a short period of time, Gorbachev's offensives have been

72. Ibid., p.221.

successful to some measure and a triumphal march almost without resistance. It is precisely this self accepting pace of the new line that creates our of radicalism and thorough going change around Gorbachev.⁷³

There is another apparent difference under the policy of Glasnost, Gorbachev's opponents do not fear for their lives so did Khrushchev's. In order to be successful, Gorbachev will have to detach conservatives in the state and party apparatus without major-social upheavals. Gorbachev and his supporters are aware that for this they need to gain popular support of the Soviet people to implement the new strategy. Thus in the whole Gorbachev's chances for success seem better than Khrushchev.

Basically, it is difficult to differentiate between Khrushchev's policy of peaceful-coexistence and Gorbachev's New thinking for disarmament. Needless to say Gorbachev seems to follow a similar path which Khrushchev had cherished. Once Khrushchev responded to an American Journalist in 1961 we (the Soviet Union and the United States) are the strongest countries in the world and if we unite for peace there can be no war, than if any madman wanted war, we would but have

73. Agnes Heller & Ferenc Feher, "Khrushchev & Gorbachev: A contrast", Discent, Winter 1988, pp 6,10.

to shake out fingures to warn him off.⁷⁴ The entire world knows what happened of those fantancies, just after one year the 42 place of USA was found to be spying over the Soviet Union and consequently the Cold War between the two countries continued.

Similarly, in the late 1980s, Gorbachev is also trying the same. Some critics feel that this is idealizing US imperialism. The pitfall lies in war expecting co-operation from United States, we would consider that if at all USA adopts realism and stops the militarization of space and nuclear armament. It would do so under popular pressure and not because of surrender to human considerations. Moreover, new soviet leadership does not take into account the vested interest of elites, military and industrial nexus in the United states. In fact, to ignore the very economic system of America, will really lead to an un-Marxist assement of today's world in the name of new thinking and realism.

However, there is not denying that Gorbachev has launched a new era, while the final outcome cannot be predicted at this moment. Yet Gorbachev's efforts are dau nting in their scope. They are also highly uncertain

74. See Pravada (September 1961), quoted in Liberation, February, 1988.

in their prospects. Gorbachev faces resistance from bureaucrats and regional leaders, who do not favour his attempts to re-emerge the Soviet economic political and cultural life, Western observers might see boyish enthusiasm in Gorbachev's new thinking but he is the man who earnestly wishes his country to turn into a model of highly developed state and into a most advanced economy and social democracy. Human and lofty ethics where the working man would feel he is a master of the world and would enjoy benefits of material and spiritual culture, where the future children would be secure, where they would have everything that is necessary for a full and interesting life.⁷⁵ Some one has rightly said that to re-build the Soviet Union, Gorbachev is in need of Bolsheviks who are softers and dedicated and would be committed for redefining communism. Perestroika and Glasnost could be well under noted in the very spirit of Gorbachev's dream. This campaign for democratization and restructuring needs to be encouraged, because the reversal of current trends and the defeat of Gorbachev would not be in the long term interest neither of the people or Soviet Union nor of the world.

75. Jeweryn Bialer, "Gorbachev Move", Foreign Policy, Fall 1987, p.59-87.

If Gorbachev fails or succumb to his opponents, that will indicate that Stalins tyranny hurt the country so deeply and pervasively that there is little hope for success of a reform movement in Soviet Union.

Certainly this break-through was imperative for soviet society. Gorbachev, the most thoughtful and sensitive leader has shown his political will to go further come what ever may. Some one has remarked, whether Gorbachev's policy and programme succeed or not, will be judged by the inevitable march of history, but his sincerity of purpose and determination appear to provide his country man a beacon of hope for a better life, if not a workers paradise.⁷⁶ Of course, the outcome of the Gorbachev's reform programme remains to be seen, the whole world is watching it with intense curiosity.

76. Ibid.

CHAPTER - III

THE POST-MAC CHINA'S POLITICS OF
SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION

THE POST-MAO CHINA'S POLITICS OF SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION

"The day the four Modernization Programme is realized will mark the day of Capitalist restoration" Gang of four
 "Backwardness must be recognized before it can be changed. One must learn from those who are advanced, -----Independence does not mean shutting the door on the world, no does self-reliance mean blind opposition to every thing foreign. Science & Technology are part of the wealth created by all mankind.¹ Deng Xiaoping

In the post liberation history of China, Mao -Tse-Tung's death in 1976 and subsequently arrest and Purge of the "Gang of four" brought immediate and stupendous changes in the entire development strategy and political orientation of the new leaders, particularly since the rise of Deng Xiaoping in 1987, and with the rehabilitation of a number of cadres who had been suppressed earlier.

Having experienced a series of convulsions and setbacks China embarked on an enterprise, the aim of which is the Modernization of China. Soon after Mao's death, his successors started reassessing the whole course of Post Liberation China's development as well as Mao's role. Reviewing the disastrous cultural revolution, the 'Gang of four' was held solely responsible for the excesses and

1. Deng Xiaoping, "Speeches & Writings," Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1984, p.45.

atrocities. As a reaction, the new leadership (Dengist) waged a propaganda war and a slander campaign against the 'Gang of four'. This practice continued for years in China.

But along with all these dramatic developments a striking feature also emerged i.e. the revival of many original Marxist concept and Orthodox Marxist-Leninist Perspective and the re-examination of the basic laws of economic development.² Since the 12th Congress, Modernization has become the control issue and Mao's doctrine of the continuous class struggle under Socialism has been replaced by the belief of the withering away of class struggle. After initiating an open door policy, China sought new relationships with Western Countries, especially with the United States. In the domestic field the commune system has been dismantled (officially called restructured) and replaced by the contract responsibility system.

Many China watchers have suspected the new leadership as revisionist and capitalist roaders. Precisely this is what the Gang of four has been arguing against new leadership. Meanwhile China's new leadership has also advanced arguments to justify new political line and new course of economic development, of course, every thing is debatable in politics, so is China's new development strategy.

Since China adopted the Modernization Programme, her economic structure has been considerably changed and by

2. Maurice J. Meisner, "the Chinese Rediscovery of Karl Marx: Some Reflection on postMaoist Chinese Marxism,"

Bulletin of concerned Asian Scholars, July 1985 p.2.

implications political reforms are also underway. Today Chinese are ready to abandon even Marxist tenets in favour of 'Pragmatism', Naturally China's new ideology has raised several relevant questions, some of them are : What has changed in China? Why? Is it because of any political-economic crisis? All such questions have stirred up unusually strong reactions throughout the world and have caused sharp division of opinion about China's new policy. One interpretation of recent developments in China is that the multitudes of innovations since the death of Mao do not represent a reversal of basic policy. Rather were designed to cope with newly arising problems or to correct former mistakes and excess.³ Post Mao leadership has been grappling with all kind of political-economic problems. And, there is no denying that China has raised so many questions as they have solved.

In order to grasp the politics of Modernization it is imperative to analyse later complex developments as the necessity for reform, reasons and problems in policy shifts in China.

In China as a result of rediscovering Marxism, China's feudal Past is no more recognised as a boon to China's Socialist Construction. China still suffers from the weight of its long history, a past which manifests itself in the present both in the form of a heritage of economic backwardness and the persistence of a deeply ingrained 'feudal

3. China since Mao (Editorial), Monthly Review Summer 1978

consciousness'. New Chinese leadership has realized that the economic and ideological burdens of the past make the development of Socialism far more difficult & lengthy process than hitherto anticipated.⁴ Lenin had remarked that the more backward the country, the more difficult its transition from capitalism to Socialism. Contrary to this, Mao believed that the backwardness were destined to soon overtake the advance. However, today this popular Maoist nation is being refuted and condemned as 'utopian' and reactionary. The Post Mao leadership sees the main contradiction between advanced production relation and backward productive forces. Hence, to develop productive forces is an objective necessity. To develop the social productive forces is one of the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to bring about such development with technical innovation & technical revolution as the prime mover, constitutes an important aspect continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship.⁵

Indeed, the Chinese revolution had by-passed capitalism, in the life time of Mao, it was believed that yet uncorrupted by capitalism China was closer to the realization of socialism than the industrialized countries of

4. Maurice J. Meisner, op cit p.9.

5. Linkang, "Is it necessary to develop the productive forces in the continuing the revolution," Peking Review, January 27, 1978. p.6.

west. Now the Chinese no more cherish such a nation, rather the absence of a full & genuine capitalist phase of development in modern Chinese history is regarded as a great historical tragedy. If China avoided many of the evils of capitalism, it suffered all the more because the abortiveness of capitalism facilitated the persistence of its pernicious feudal heritage and that heritage survived into post revolutionary era, distorting the political & economic life of the new society.⁶

To overcome economic backwardness, the new leadership emphasised the need to speed up economic construction under the plan of four Modernizations'. Deng Xiaoping highlighted the four Modernization at the opening ceremony of the National Science Conference of China, asserted that the crux of the four Modernization was the mastery of Modern Science and technology. Without modern science and technology, it would be impossible to build modern agriculture, modern industry or modern national defence. Without a high speed development of science & technology it is impossible to develop the national economy at high speed.⁷ Moreover, Marxism consistently hold that science & technology are part of the productive forces.

Modernization is not simply an economic question, it is a serious political question. Socialist construction in post revolutionary China has not reached to a dead end.

6. Maurice J. Meisner, op.cit, pp9.10.

7. Deng Xiaoping. op.cit, p.10.

Strategy & policy shifts suggests that China is looking for its own course of development. Marxist believe that socialist systems are superior. In the final analysis this is because the socialist system can created higher labour productivity & make the national economy develop faster than capitalism. Slogans like 'catching up with west' & overtaking the industrial achievements of advanced capitalist countries, are apparently based on this understanding. After having accomplished socialist Modernization. China could complete with western countries and supersede them.

Some observers have criticised policy shift in China, they pointed out that the radical revolutionary slogans have been replaced by the four modernization and the present leadership no longer places much emphasis on the purity of ideology. The revolutionary party has become a construct-ional party & China is no longer a revolutionary country. In this regard, the Chinese intellectuals Ren tuo & zheo: Ting Sheng have tried to answer these question. They argued that can China be a socialist country without modern industry, Modern agriculture and modern Science & Culture? Moreover, the old relations of production which hamper the development of the productive forces to develop social production so as to eventually eradicate the social sources of poverty, ignorance & backwardness.⁸ China's long Cher-ished ideal is to turn this poor & backward country into an independent, prosperous & powerful state.

8. Rentao, zhen tingsheng; "Why a change in emphasis", Beijing Review, July 3, 1984, p.14.

Socialism can only be built on a foundation of highly developed productive forces large - scale production. That is why, in China, there is much emphasis on the necessity & desirability of inheriting both the material & cultural legacies of world capitalism. Current leadership has explicitly stressed that Chinese socialism⁹ will incorporate many of the features, forms & practices historically associated with capitalism for many decades to come.⁹ But it does not mean that China will pursue capitalist modernization. They reiterated that China's modernization will be accomplished while adhering to socialism specific question. Problems as they drop will be dealt as the problematic side effects of modernization.

Over recent years, surprisingly Chinese Scholars have turned towards original texts of Marx and Engels, they have pursued inquiries into such previously forbidden or neglected theoreticians as Kautsky, Luckas and Gramsci and in the theoretical areas. The concept of alienation, theory of the Asiatic mode of production etc. In contrast to the Mao period, when there was much Marxian ideological fervour but little study of Marx. We are presently witnessing what is undoubtedly the most intensive & serious era of Marxist scholarship in the history of China.¹⁰

Now Chinese scholars view history in a more orthodox Marxist fashion and recognise the objective laws of historical

9. Carl Rishikin; "Market, Maoism & Economic reform in China" In M Solden & V.L. Pitt (ed) the transition to socialism in China (M.E. Shaw) pp: 300-1

10. Maurice J. Meisner, op cit, p.7.

and economic development. As Marx noted that economic laws exist also as natural laws. This is some what in contrast to Marxism, Mao believed in a highly voluntaristic faith in the ability of people armed with the proper will of consciousness to conquer all material business & mould social reality in accordance with their ideals & ideals. But now, according to their recent discovery 'Objective laws can't be changed at will. Objective economic laws are inviolable & (those) who violate them will be punished.'¹¹

Post-Maoist Chinese Marxist theory Postpones socialism & Communism to an indefinite time in the future. The highest level of development of productive forces is essential prerequisite for the emergence of a genuine socialist society & as China is an impro-ished & backward country , The road to travel is long & arduous one & the destination lies far in the distance. In the meantime, human energies are to be devoted to productive work, not to the building of socialism but rather to the task of constructing its necessary economic foundations. Now the question is that if objective laws are 'independent of man's will' then it is in effect assured that real social changes are impossible & people cannot change their destiny. In a way this is in direct contraction with what socialism is all about. For the purpose of socialism, after all, is to create condition in which the people can consciously direct the course of social development.¹²

11, Huchiao Mu; "Observe Economic laws speed up four modernization" Peking Review, November 10, 1978 p.7.

12. See China since Mao (Editorial), Monthly Review, 1978.

Broadly, the sweeping changes taking place, specially after 11th c p c Congress, can be analysed in term of theory (Chinese Marxism) and practice. Over emphasis on Modernization is the reflection of theoretical understanding of China's Concreteobjective conditions. In certain spheres which is diametrically opposit of the Maoist- perspective of permanent revolution. As Modernization has been the crux of whole development strategy since the last one decade. precisely the entire theoretical exercise has been done to provide ideological support for the pliccy of four Modernization and above all, for the new regime itself.

THE FOUR MODERNIZATION : A NEW DIRECTION

In the wake of changes in the Chinese Communist party's leadership Mao's successors formulated new policies as a rational response to deficiencies in the Marxist experiment as a remedy for China's development goals and problems. Modernization is treated as a struggle against the past. New China is devoted to economic construction & Modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence & science & technology so as to build a powerful socialist country. Without consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie cannot be finally defeated. Socialist relation of production must be followed by its own technical & industrial revolution.¹³

Ideology, in China has been reduced to Modernization.. Economically china has been implementing the principles of readjustment, restructuring consolidation & improvement as well as the policy of opening itself to the outside world & invigorating the domestic economy. After the arrest of the left leadership (Gang of four) in October 1976, a considerable time was devoted to preparing & executing the political change of direction & rehabilitating demoted & imprisoned cadres. This was a time of much confusion : New & old ideas were in open combat & uncertainty prevailed

13. LinKang, op.cit., pp .10

about the ultimate extent & duration of the changes occurring.¹⁴ Zhou Enlai's four modernization speech to the fourth National Party Congress in 1975 to develop productive forces was referred to by Hua guafeng, later it was widely propagated.

Hua guafeng announced the ten year plan at the first session of the fifth National Party Congress in February, 1978. This plan manifested a sense of urgency about growth, Hua, attacking the policies of past, which it alleged has caused enormous economic losses, He proposed a series of ambitious targets to make up for the lost time. In a way this plan had been resurrected Zhou Enlai's four modernization and a new set of policies emerged which reverted these principles of production in several spheres economic structure, growth rate, incentive, the role of market & sino-foreign economic ties. By then, China was to have achieved parity or superiority with respect to the advanced industrial countries in output of major industrial products, basically automated their production & Mechanized 85% agriculture.¹⁵

The over ambitious ten year plan did not bring satisfactory results, rather it added to the difficulties already faced by the economy. Most economists in China, ascribe the failure of the plan mainly because imbalances in the development of the national economy. The rate of accumulation was too high & investment in heavy industry was inadequate, other factors like over centralization & bureaucratic system of economic planning & management had

14. Carl Riskin, op cit., p.258

15. Ibid, p.259

been the obvious reason of the fiasco.

Ability to construct a reasonable micro economic plan was lacking, economist & technicians were not given an important role in plan making even most of them could not get data about the national economy. On the other hand, many planners lacked the technical knowledge and need for economic planning. In addition, most intellectuals were not party members & therefore could not make important decisions about production.¹⁶

The economic Readjustment was put forth in the middle of 1979, it meant recentralization, strengthening the central Govt. control of planning Finance & investment decision making, the Readjustment was supposed to solve the problems of imbalances in the national economy, inflation & deficit spending.¹⁷ Like ten year plan, the results of the Readjustment have not been encouraging.

Over the last ten years, if any thing has drastically changed in China, that is agricultural sector. China's reform programme in agriculture rejects the past policies of large scale labour mobilization & communal self-reliance in favour of commercialization and individual initiative for peasants diversification of the rural economy, decentralization of farm management, production specialization, crop selection in

16. Edmund lee; "Economic Reform in Post-Mao China : an insiders view", Bulletin of concerned Asian scholars 1983. pp.16-17.

17. Ibid, p.23

accord with comparative advantage expansion of free market, shift toward household based.¹⁸ Modernization of a agriculture means to raise per unit yield by a big margin so as to make China a country of all round high agricultural yields in the world to make enormous increase in labour productivity, to bring about fundamental changes in the basic conditions of farm production.

From 1958 onward, the peoples commune had been the primary organisational & economic, political & social unit in the countryside, for almost twenty years. The Commune system was the culmination of collectivization process, during great leap forward. A variety of political & economic goals were hoped to achieve through the commune. Politically, the communes aimed to establish collective social relationship in order to bring socialist ownership. Economically to achieve effective structure for accumulation & development & to mobilize & manage large amount of rural labour.¹⁹ Local government at the province used to send production target to each commune, in practice the communes directly controlled production & were responsible for completion of state purchase quotas. As cadres of the CPC were in power & as the accounting system was not efficient, Economically cadres were in advantageous position. Political people & cadre used to control production & distribution, despite the fact they knew little about agriculture. Thus the cadre received

18. Vivienne Shue; "The New Course in Chinese agriculture" Annals 476. November 1984, pp.74-84.

19. Greg O'leary & Andrew Watson; "Economic Co-operation Revisited: New directions in Chinese agriculture", in Graham Young (ed), China--Dilemmas of modernization (London) Croom Helm 1985, p.1

privileges and arbitrary leadership in the production process which gave rise to 'work slow down' & retarded agricultural growth.²⁰ Another reason for the communes failure was the question of size, as they were too big & too small at once. They were considered big because of their tendency to organize peasant labour in large groups to work on large fields or construction projects the communes actually stood in the way of the development of natural rural market of modern enterprise to serve peasants needs.²¹

Agricultural growth was far from being satisfactory, though undersocialism, chinese agriculture had developed enough to support twice the population of 1949. In the background of dismantling the commune system, evidently the rich experience of two decades worked alot particularly from the ten year plan the Chinese leadership drew some lessons such as :

- i) Bureaucratic control of the economy had to be reduced and politically oriented managers had to be replaced by technically oriented managers and worker given a significant role in enterprise
- ii) Economic planning & decision making had to make use of market mechanism & pricing system had to express the relation between social demand & supply.

20. Edmund Lee, op cit, p. 18.

21. Vivienne shue, op.c ., p.76.

iii) Enterprise needed greater autonomy in deciding what, how & howmuch to produce for the market.²²

There was no alternative except restructuring the people's communes. After realizing this quite soon production responsibility system was introduced in the agrarian sector. A number of observers have called it "decollectivization" & have even equated the development of market & production for the market with "Capitalism". The question of production incentive has always been a difficult & contentious issue in socialist planning.²³ Household responsibility system (HRSS) was introduced in China from 1979. Soon after major changes followed in the sphere of production relation under HRSS team cease to function as the basic production & accounting unit. Each household is allotted a certain amount of land for cultivation, depending on the family size. For the purpose of agricultural productive activities, the commune system is still intact & is run by an elected body, But its civil & police powers are now vested in a separate body, the town ship government

22. Edmund Lee. op.cit. p.18

23. Utsa Patnaik; "three communes & a production brigade. The contract responsibility system in China," Social Scientist November/December 1987. pp. 34-35.

which also runs industrial & other enterprises.

Each peasant household centres into a contract with village committee (erstwhile Brigade) to produce a specific amount of output of different crops. From this output the seed requirements & direct consumption requirements are deductible & only the balance is required to be delivered, which is paid for at the quota price specified in the contract. Any output produced in excess of the contracted amount belongs to the household & it can be either sold it to the state or it may be sold on the "free market" village, fairs, roadside stalls etc. Individual households are allowed to buy equipment, transport vehicles.²⁴

By the end of May 1983, some form of responsibility system was reportedly used in 98.3% of all rural production teams in China. This new system was a clearbreak from the principle of collective-production, accounting & distribution. Although this was more radical departure however, the Chinese Peasant household function within a collective structure of land ownership, collective ownership of non-land fixed assets, education, health facilities are still collective concerning communes development decisions are taken collectively.

In China agrarian reforms (incentive for work & production responsibility system) obtained great success & it became widely accepted-the agricultural production

24. Ibid, pp.36.37.

structure was adjusted to facilitate specialization. As the effect of these reforms. Rural people's quality of standard has dramatically improved. Output of major crops has increased, more than anticipated. Without question, the adoption of the responsibility system have induced an impressive spurt of growth in agriculture these reforms are actually threatening the rural cadres. The cadres are facing a dilemma, who had made party work their speciality.²⁵ Consequently its political impact is going to be far reaching.

A debate regarding the role of 'market' in socialist planning is of longstanding. A socialist economy is essentially a planned economy & a capitalist economy is a market economy. Therefore a socialist economy is incompatible with the market - A simple & absolute negation of market. Though the existence of commodity production & the law of value in a socialist economy is now recognized. It is assumed that the market would be inoperative where ever planning functioned and vice-versa. Rejecting this notion, Chinese economist Liu Guoquan & Zhao Renwei, argue that owing to onside stress on planning to the neglect of the market, what to produce & how much to produce in the enterprise, is decided by higher authorities they fix targets

25. Vivienne Shue; op.cit., pp83,84,85,

which means they fix the needs- production & production based on needs should be identical.²⁶

Obviously using the market in China is not the same as in the capitalist countries. One cannot neglect the facts that innovation in socialist planning have borne the fruits of development. Moreover the rural prosperity is sufficient to prove it. As there exist diverse economic form in China, it is difficult to make precise estimates of a vast number of enterprises.

In Mao's opinion the communes, the Maoist model of development was cornerstone of development and the great dividing line in the history of Chinese peoples' Republic.²⁷ The technical possibilities for raising per acre output were overestimated. It took passive investment and labour to attend an already highly developed irrigation system with little benefit. The second problem was the organizational utopianism of the communes. The private sector was viewed with great suspicious as a 'soil for nurturing capitalism' & virtually eliminated.

The institutional changes since 1978 have been accompanied by several other measures affecting agriculture. Such as more freedom for private activities also the producing units autonomy was increased. The main slogan has become to take the lead in getting rich.²⁸ The failure

26. Liu Guaguang & Zhao Ranwie ; "Socialist Economic Planning & the Market," Beijing Review , August 3, 1978, p.8.

27. Peter Nolan; "De-Collectivization of agriculture in China 1978-82; A longer term perspective", Cambridge Journal of Economics 1983, 7 pp 381,82,84,86.

28. Ibid , p. 394

of agricultural collective to perform adequately in terms of growth output & farmers personal income in 1960s and 70s is currently argued in favour of dismantling communes in China.

The key to the four modernization is the modernization of science & technology. They have started restructuring & modernizing indigenous scientific & technological capacities, in fact one of the many charges against the 'Gang of four' & their followers after the death of Mao was their neglect of modern science & technology. They persecuted intellectuals and professional experts. This analysis is believed to be accurate by many observers & has been supported by dismal data of technological retardation.²⁹ There can be no rapid development of the economy, for that matter, professional researches have to play an important role, for they are the mainstay of scientific work. Without these professionals & expertise it will be difficult to scale the heights of modern science & technology & experiment in a sustained way.³⁰

29. Jan.s. Psybyla, "Science & Technology in China", Current History, September 1983 p. 299.

30. Deng Xiaoping, op.cit., pp41,50.

THE OPEN DOOR : CHINA'S NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

General

Premier zhao ziyang (Now Communist Party Secretary) in 1981 denounced the idea of self sufficiency. Chinese economist began to study economic stagnation & backwardness in comparison to western countries. Chinese saw the necessity to linking China with the world market, expanding foreign trade, importing advanced technology, utilizing foreign capital & enterprises into different forms of international economic and technological co-operations. In addition to the international factors favouring the adoption of the open policy, China has domestic reasons of its own. Previously to engage in foreign trade & accepting loans from abroad was viewed suspiciously by the country's socialist leadership. The new policy is a rejection of the old idea - i. e. a socialist society should not be open to outside world, because they think that socialism might be tainted by the outside world & could lose its purity. However revolutionary this view may seem but in actuality it is very backward. It smacks of parochial nationalism & has a tint of feudalism.³¹ The 'opendoor' symbolizes China's sharp turn towards participation in the world market to speed

31. Beijing Review , April 1, 1985, p.15.

up economic growth and technological modernization.³²

Arguing in favour of the open door policy Chinese social scientists asserted that economic relation of world market might help redistribution of wealth among the competitors. In competition one may obtain what one previously lacked.³³ They ask why for instance, have Chinas bicycles had the same design for decades & why have their cost of quality fallen so far behind the level of the developed countries? One must look at productivity to answer such questions. Obviously the need of the hour is to change the labour intensive economy into technology intensive economies.

Some people legitimately doubt that the new policies within a socialist transition will create dependency & domestic policies will be avoided by capitalist penetration. In fact to see foreign trade & finance as exploitative will be a mistake, for it is mutually beneficial. It is used to import equipment & technology with both enables the country to reduce its dependence on other imports & develop its own economic capacity to improve the peoples material needs.³⁴

32. Carl Riskin op.cit p.316

33. Beijing Review April 1, 1985, pp21,22.

34. Jerry Cannon; "Chinas' open door", Third World Quarterly Vol. 6, 1984 p.720.

While expanded reliance on trade is an important part of China's new economic strategy. China has made a decision to encourage foreign private capital investment. In joint venture & even wholly foreign owned enterprises. New China has been participating in various international economic bodies, as IMF; the world bank and food & agricultural organization. Thousands of Chinese students, engineers scientist one studying western countries, especially in United States.

The open door policy is considered to be justified on the various grounds by the present leadership. They denounce the idea that open door policy will lead to dependency or capitalist penetration. They argue there is no danger of dependency, nor any real threat to socialism, because the quality of trade & foreign finance involved is small in relation to the total economy. Moreover there are adequate political & economic controls, which cannot allow foreign firms to become dominant & exploitation of the open door policy will not permit capitalist encroachment, so long as there are kept within limits second thing, the capitalist system is so discredited now. That the 'restoration of capitalism' can't be thought of in China. Of course, some of the forms in which 'spiritual pollutions are appearing, have been indentified as criminal, corruption, smuggling, embezzlement etc. are being dealt with

a concurrent campaign of prosecutions of heavy sentencing.³⁵

The new policies are a means to get increased access to foreign technology & capital in order to improve the economy. To attract foreign capital, China has to show "Mutual benefit" in such enterprises, this mutual benefits can be demonstrated only when they encouraged & concessions is given to them. Thus any form of foreign capital which brings Technology into economy is seen us as bringing benefit to China.

A series of reforms have affected almost every area of management practice. Today industrial enterprises are managed differently. Reforms could be seen, especially as the criteria for Judging enterprise success. The financing of investment the business powers enterprise managenats & the incentive offered to workers, the reforms have coincided with truly sweeping changes in the agriculture sector, that have been quite successful in raising agricultural productivity. Although a coherent reform model has not emerged as yet,³⁶ At least to date, China has developed her approach to reform industrial management system as there was the expansion of enterprise autonomy. In making business decision, various banks

35. Ibid, p.731

36. Andrew G. Walder, "China's Industry In Transition", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, November, 1984 p.53

are being constructed to scrutinize enterprises for credit worthness. Further, autonomy includes an increased proposition of their profit in excess of targeted amounts, & they can use, these funds, within certain limits for plant renovation, minor expansion of welfare and housing for their employees.³⁷ The role of the market as gaining output by motivating producers in various ways, enterprise management has been urged to stress material incentive schemes now incentive offered managers and enterprise and more importantly administrative decentralization,

China has implemented these measures and has gone some what further. Many enterprises now have the ability to market output above their quotas and to procure supplies for this above quota production independently. Reform in China, also includes changes in the index for judging enterprise performance, planning agencies, rely increasingly on indirect control over enterprise activities. Accounting for capital costs as a part of the costs of production, manipulation of interest rates on loans for investment funds, allowing enterprises to retain certain percentage of profit over targeted amounts and the use of various taxes to encourage or penalize certain kinds of management behaviour. Most notably, enterprises now retain larger portions of their profit to form an incentive fund to be distributed to employees in the form of bonuses. This effort to link

37. Ibid, pp 64,65.

employee pay to the ever all profitability of the enterprises. As regard reform, China has not blindly copied any single country but has sought to tailor its reform package to meet its own needs.³⁸ Why is reform necessary in China? It may be said that because the Soviet type of planning of china economy and the degenerated impact of cultural revolution led to a crisis, with the system not functioning at its best potential.

38. Ibid , p.69

REFORMS IN POLITICAL SYSTEM:

SOCIALISM WITH DISTINCTIVE CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

Since the demise of Mao, the Chinese have been trying to reform the political system so as to reduce the level of political coercion, increase the use of rational & legal process, put talented people into responsible positions, enhance their capacity to base decision on programmatic criteria & restore & strengthen the legitimacy of the policy. They have tried to revamp their political system since 1977, like related efforts in economies. These political changes are a reaction to the enormous problems that Mao bequeathed his successors when he died in 1976.³⁹ Since the third plenary session of the 11th central committee held in december 1978. The bureaucratic reforms & separating party from government, have been two major areas of political reforms in China.

The thrust on separating party from government means the party central committee should exercise political leadership in all fields which means that it formulates politics principles, decides the broad guide line, makes major policy decision concerning international affairs, foreign affairs, economy & defence & recommended people for leading post in state organizations. It was envisaged that the local party Committee at provincial

39. Kenneth Lieberthal, "China's political Reforms: A Net Assessment", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1984 pp.19,20.

municipal & country level should exercise political leadership by carrying out the line formulated by the party Central Committee. Moreover, their responsibility was to carry direction from higher organization & party Central Committee to ensure the implementation in the local areas, also to propose policy decision on important local issues, to recommend cadres for key post in local state organs, to Co-ordinates the activities of the various local organization. Party Committee in enterprise must play a supervisory role. 40

There are a number of problems in the system of party & state leadership, such as an over concentration of power, The confusion of responsibility between the party & government, the usurpation of government functions by the party, the existence of a patriarchal system and life-long tenure of office by leading Cadres.

The long term objective of the political restructuring & to build up a socialist political system, highly efficient, full of vigor, and with a high degree of democracy and a complete legal system. The short term objective is to overcome bureaucracy & feudal influence & build on leadership system. That helps improve efficiency & vigor & brings the initiative of various quarters into greater play.

The deepening of the ongoing reform of the economic structure makes reform of the political structure increasingly urgent. Without reform of the political structure, reforms in other Sectors can't succeed in the end .

40. Zhanziyan, "on separating party from government", Beijin Review, December, 14-20, 1987, p.14

Deng Xiaoping's speech to the politibureau of the Central Committee in August, 1980, is a guide to reform of the political structure. As the Communist Party continues to be the leading force in building Socialism in China. In the new situation party's leadership can be strengthened only by improving the system, methods and style of leadership. This time China has to solve the long standing problems, such as the lack of distinction between functions of party and government. This old problem of socialist politics required the separation of functions of the party & the government. Party should not monopolize mass organizations enterprise & institutions rather party should exercise political leadership. Deng Xiaoping pointed out that when there is no distinction between party and government, the party's position is in fact lowered and its leadership weakened. Only when the two are separated is it possible for the party to ensure its leadership.

Over concentration of power also includes the concentration of all power of grass-roots in the hands of leading organization at higher levels, on the one hand, the leading organs have taken charge of many matters which they should not, and can't handle efficiently getting bogged down in routine work. On the other hand, the grass roots units lack the power to make decisions and as a result people lack the initiative. The present leadership see the solution of this problem in delegating power to

lower levels.

Bureaucraticsm remains one of the serious problems in the political life of party and the state. The bureaucratic reforms in the most crucial for stability of the political leadership & continuity of the policy line in making the state apparatus more efficient for economic development. The central party leaders promoted to leadership positions a new set of cadres who are "revolutionized better educated, professionally competent and younger."⁴¹ To ensure the smooth progress of the structural reform, to make appropriate personnel changes to be restructured is absolutely essential.

Administrative reforms at the provincial level started in the later part of 1982. After reorganization of the Central Committee readjustment at the leadership was completed in March 1983. Provincial reform began with reorganization of the Central organs, with secretaries and provincial party Committee.⁴²

The emphasis of the current reform of the Personnel System relating to cadres is on establishing a system of Public Service. The public servants are to be Classified in two categories: those handling political affairs & those doing professional work. Public servants in the political affairs category would be those tenure in office will be for a specified period of time. The Central Committees

41. Hong Yung Lee, "Evaluations for China's Bureaucratic Reforms", Annals of the American Academy of political and social Sciences November 1984, p.34.

42. Ibid., p.36.

of the party & local party Committees at union levels will recommend candidates in the political affairs category at the corresponding levels to the national or local peoples' Congress. Public servants in the professional work category, whose tenure in office is to be permanent, will also be managed in accordance with the law governing Public Servants. For posts in this category, people will have to pass to statutory examination based on an open competition. The Job responsibility of such Public Servants will be defined & their performance will be evaluated their promotion, demotion, reward and punishment will be based mainly on their work results . Competition is also being proposed into the selection of other professionals. In all trades & profession it has been proposed diverse methods & system, with distinctive feature of their own should be developed to facilitate the growth of different types of specialist & entrepreneurs .⁴³ However the bureaucratic technocrat should be distinguished from professions who receive job-related training prior to taking bureaucratic positions.

A structural unit lies with a political consideration that any leadership cannot avoid, no political function can pursue purely objective criteria for Personnel Management to the extend of under mining its own power position. This is true about China also, so technocrats will not be totally replaced by the red politicians. Some political Scientists

43. Zhao Ziyang, "Political report 13th Nation Congress," News From China issued by Embassy of the peoples Republic of China No 137, October 25, 1987 New Delhi.

have opined that what are needed are not only technocrats but also political managers. Industrialization does not necessarily accompany political democratization. Chinese political system, they characterize as authoritarian.⁴⁴ But Deng Xiaoping seems quite clear about this fact when he says -----of course, democratization, like modernization must advance step by step. The more socialism develops, the more democracy develop-----45

One important thing about Socialist democracy is that it is inseparable from a socialist legal system, law is viewed as a principal tool for the achievement of a socialist Justice. Social stability & economic development mainly these three Motivations seems to have triggered china's law reform movement towards regular & predicatable legal process. These Motivations are firstly a popular demand for legal protection against arbitrary behaviour by party or government officials or other citizens. Secondly the need for a systematic network of rules of procedures in civil, economic & commercial law to attract & protect foreign capital & technology. Chinese legal education has geared upto respond domestic demands for personal security. Social stability of economic predicatability & rationality and to attract foreign capital & technology through the accomplishment of these specific task.⁴⁶

44. Heng Yung Lee, op.cit, p.46.

45. Arindam Sen, "Theory & Pratic of building Socialism" liberation July 1987, p.3.

46. R. Randle Edwards, " An orderview of Chinese law & legal Education " Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences Novem r 1984 p.41.

Today the criteria of judging the bureaucracy, stem from the realization that it has become a serious obstacle to further reform. However, some form of bureaucratic structure is necessary to run any large, Complex unit, from a nation to a corporation. The trouble comes when the structure fails to serve or even impedes the very purpose for which it was established.⁴⁷ Since 1980, there has been much discussion how to combat bureaucracy and improve Socialist democracy. Some reforms have been carried out, such as eliminating the life-tenure system for officials, democratic election of a number of cadres streamlining & combining economic or governmental units and so on.

Recently, there has been much debate among Chinese economist, political scientists & officials about the exact details & structural reforms, but there is wide spread agreement on certain basic principles, the emerging system should combine some form of Central Planning with a large degree of decentralized authority . Commodity Production & market forces must be allowed to play a greater role within the planned economy. Collective enterprise & small-scale private enterprises are an important supplement to the state-run sector of the economy.⁴⁸

47. Zheng She, "Blight of Bureaucracy & some cures", Main stream April 1988 p.6.

48. Ibid, p.35.

Prior to 1978, it was common for a high ranking party official to hold a corresponding executive position in the govt. or the military, thus one key person & his follower could monopolize all the core positions between 1978 & 1983, this practice was almost abolished. one of the conspicuous development is that some educated individuals are also being brought into executive positions. Many of these had been purged & vilified during Maō's last years have now been given responsible position. Post Mao leadership believed that none of the foregoing measures is a panacea although it may contribute to the systems stability to reach good decisions and to respond quickly to changing circumstances.⁴⁹

Deng Xiaoping has put forth 'four basic principles' they demand that the communist party remain the sole leading party in China, Marxism leninism and Maozedong thought remain as the basic ideological system. The Socialist path & the peoples dictatorship remains the country's state system for the indefinite future.

there is no longer a cult of personality that permits one individuals to be the unquestioned arbiter of major policies. The position of party chairman has been abolished & four major organs the politburo, state council secretariat & Central advising commission - to make policy. In Maō's last year on the first two existed. Many peasants have benefited enormously in material terms from the recent reforms, red guards, by contract, have generally

⁴⁹ Kenneth Liebutal, op.cit p.24

been shunted aside.⁵⁰ But the same time, there are sharp conceptual limits to the scope of the reforms, as the leading reformers are basically Leninist. It will be simply inappropriate to proclaim the success or failure of China's Post Mao political reforms.

Till today, the implementation of reforms have been surprisingly successful in rejuvenating the economy. Nine years of reforms have passed in China, the policies of the reformers have brought tangible benefits to the nation & to its citizens,⁵¹ The policies themselves have become acceptable & entrenched, making it more difficult to overturn them. The Chinese leadership will probably continue. Since 1978 Deng has been the chief architect of China's reform & open door policies & the Prime Mover of China's foreign policy. 12th C P C Congress held in 1982, formally endorsed the Dengist policy line. In addition, a large number of Dengist were elected to Central Party organs, including Hu Yao bang, who assumed leadership of the party as General Secretary. Hua was instrumental in Deng's political ascendancy.

The party's high command consists of the "three echelons" of leadership. The first echelon of leaders are the most senior statesmen who are in their eighties & continue to decide "China's major policies", the second echelon of leaders comprises top party & state officials who are in their 60s & 70s & the third echelon of leaders are in their 50s or younger. The China Communist Party leadership system is based on the rule of man in which politics is highly

50. Ibid, p.30.

51. Christopher M. Clarke, "China's reform programme", Current History h

Personalized & Institutionalized.⁵²

THE PRIMARY STAGE OF SOCIALISM

The acting party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, now confirmed to the post, declared at the 13th National Congress, that China was in the 'Elementary Stage of Socialism', This entirely new concept in Marxism Leninism, Zhao Ziyang attributed its parentage to Deng Xiaoping. This concept has two meanings; China has already entered the stage of socialism & will continue in that direction & secondly, on the other hand, the Socialist system is far from perfect & it will take a long time to make it so.⁵³

The Central theme for the 13th congress was, indeed, political reform. Zhao Ziyang in his political report identified Chinese Socialism in its primary stage. Three basic characteristics of primary stage of socialism are first, China has been building socialism its productive forces have grown enormously. But productivity is still very low, & so is the degree of socialized & community production, secondly the Socialist relations of production have been established and are developing continuously but the public distribution of system according to work are still imperfect & thirdly, the basic political system of Socialism has been predominant but people's democracy is far from ample in scope & depth.⁵⁴

52. Parsis H. Chang "China after Deng: toward the 13th CCP Congress". Problems of Communism May/June 1987 p.32.

53. Bhabani Sen Gupta, "Burial of Mao thought Statesman Nov.13 1984, Friday, p.6.

54. Tang Chung, "A New Dawn in China" Statesman Nov. 24, 1987 p.6

zhao analyses the development of socialism in China, that Socialism has emerged from the womb of a semi-colonial & semi-feudal Society, with the productive forces lagging far behind those of capitalist countries, thus the development of China through a very long primary stage. During this stage, accomplishment of industrialization commercialization, socialization & modernization of production is the priority.⁵⁵

Zhao zian also raised a host of issues like China is not in the situation as envisaged by the founders of Marxism, in which socialism is built on the basis of highly developed Capitalism, nor exactly in the same situation as other socialist countries. Therefore China cannot blindly follow what books say, not can they mechanically initiate the example of other countries. Rather China is proceeding from its actual conditions integrating the basic principles of Marxism with those conditions. Hence, in China socialism will bear distinctive Chinese characteristics.

It is envisaged that the primary stage of socialism will be accomplished by 2050 and the principle contradiction during the present stage, is the contradiction between growing national and cultural needs of the people & backward production. In this stage poverty & backwardness will be put an end. The Chinese leadership ruled out the possibility of Capitalist restoration, just because limited space

55. Bhabani Sen Gupta; op.cit p.5

and scope one allowed for the Capitalist mode of production and the state permits the co-existence of two system Socialist system in the mainland & Capitalist system in Hong Kong & Taiwan. In fact both of the road to socialism has not ended with 13th Congress adoption of the Deng Thesis.⁵⁶

WHITHER CHINA? : THE DEBATE CONTINUES

After the death of Mao, the policy changes in China, have been subject to varying interpretations & lively debate. The new developments in China have been sending shock waves all over the World. The new leadership was blamed for making a reversal of the Socialist road, and was condemned as a Capitalist roader . Some of the China watchers, saw China's new development path as the burial of Mao's thought, they believe that China is no more a socialist country or it is fast ceasing to be. They are unhappy with what is happening in China today. It is a deviation from the model of Socialism as defined by Mao & seemingly a problematic deformation. They advance some arguments viz the private ownership of certain means of production. The creation of new regional imbalances, distributive inequality resulting from demographic cause, and the corruption, values & changes of attitude arising from freer contacts with other systems.⁵⁷

56. See, "Elementary stage of socialism" in Economic Political Weekly November 14, 1987.

57. Arindum sen, op. cit. p.8.

Charles Bettelheim, a French Sinologist, while resigning from France's, Chinese Friendship Association, leveled the charges against Chinese leadership that a revisionist line is presently triumphing in China, productive primacy over relation predominates. The struggle against bourgeois rights is scarcely mentioned any more the problem of the existence of the bourgeoisie in the party is juggled away factory regulations becoming oppressive, the struggle against the two superpower has gradually been replaced by a struggle against Social imperialist alone.⁵⁸

There are some people, who have remarked that the ongoing reforms in China seems reasonable in the papers, but are politically dynamic. If the world watches China, one of the reasons is that China's reforms are being interpreted as her apparent deviation from the Marxist path, the foreign press is always alert to suggest that Marxism is dead in China & sign of Capitalism are visible there.⁵⁹

Will China go Capitalist ? has been a debatable issue. One school of analyst believe that officially she may never but she may eventually adopt a structure of property rights which resembles or functions in the

58. Charles Bettelheim, "letter of resignation" Monthly Review July 1978 pp.11,12.

59. Lynn Fann, 'The New Chinese Revolution' Harmish Hamilton Great Britain 1987 p.4.

manner of a Capitalist economy. Others conclude a little differently using political Criteria China may have abandoned stalin . she may have abandoned Marx, but by the one remaining measures, Lenins China will continue to be a Communist State.⁶⁰

In fact what is happening in China cannot be understood in terms of abstract theory, neglecting the peculiar Socio-political conditions, specific features of the history of revolutionary process, Particular traits of national tradition & psychology. Those who think the Marxism - leninism is being silently discarded in China, their formulation can be counter argued that many of at present Chinese policies do accord with lenins formulation such as state Capitalism, concession to foreign Capital, industrial and economic management. As presently most extensive and serious research in Marxism is being done. China cannot opt for capitalist system for that would amount to rejecting the glorious revolution struggle and tremendous material achievements since liberation of China, put to it in the words of maurice J. Meisner, an American sinologist, China is allowing a fuller scope of Capitalist relation under Socialism. It is 'Capitalism without Capitalist'.⁶¹

60. Ibid , p.5.

61. Maurice J. Meisner ; op. cit. p.6.

Marx did not envisage Socialism under vastly different circumstances which would traversed a considerably different course than he for-saw. Marx expected revolution in advanced capitalist countries but in reality revolution took place in backward countries. So the ruling proletariat of the backward countries had to learn to Co-exist with the bourgeoisie of the advanced countries.

Currently Chinese Social Scientist are seriously studying Marxism. Su Zhaozhi's article 'developing Marxism under contemporary conditions deserves attention, for his innovating ideas. Shaozhi points out that the existing Marxist doctrine may not be necessarily adequate to explain the contemporary national & international reality, because tremendous changes have taken place in all walks of life. The shift development of Science & technology in 20th century the Post - War Capitalist economy has adopted many reforms and as a result Capitalist Politics has greatly changed. A host of questions have posed a challenges to Marxism.

But this does not mean that Marxism is in crisis or on the verge of bankruptcy, as many western analyst say so. On the contrary, Scientific analysis of these problems will provide unlimited motive forces to Marxism.⁶² What is important thus, is to use Marxist method to analyse the need for change and reform.

China is grappling with specific problems and trying to find its own path of Socialism, incorporating some of the measures of Western Capitalist

62. Dalip S. Swamy, Revi Article Marxism Today pp.3,4,5.

countries cannot be regarded altogether wrong or out and out revisionism. We are living in a World where bourgeoisie Systems also exist. As regard the bogey of bourgeoisie liberatization or Capitalist Penetration when and as the danger will crop up the communist Party must combat it politically and ideologically. China's success lies in pragmatism & adhering to Marxism leninism, Any deviation might cause a threat to the very existence of the Chinese Communist regime.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION:

The concepts of socialism and democracy have been proved to be extremely necessary in furthering the cause of the majority i.e. masses of the people. Socialism implies an equal share to each and every individual in society, and full autonomy to human beings for self-fulfilment. Democracy ensures fuller participation in the political and socio-economic processes of society. It is essential thus that democracy and socialism go together for each is incomplete without the other.

Stalin's era and the period of cultural revolution in the history of socialist societies, events which generated controversies and debates. It is indisputable that these phases led to miseries and hardships on these societies. Though for long period of time these periods were justified by socialist as "being essential" since they thwarted imperialism and strengthened socialist systems. It is evident that these phases were actually breaks in the concept of socialist democracy.

Currently the Soviet Union and China are relooking into their past and once again trying to generate discussion-debate, and analysing past problems with a view to change the present. In this study we have attempted to understand this process and try to relate these developments to the history of these societies. We have attempted to examine

the post revolutionary experiences of these societies and place them in the context of the general problems of socialism as also in the building of socialism, in the specific historical context of these societies. We have briefly discussed the views of the founders of socialism mainly V.I. Lenin and process of transition to socialism, as no work on Soviet society can be considered complete without this examination. We focussed on Lenin's views on the question of workers participation in the management of economy and state. Among the later contributors, the views of Paul Sweezy and Charles Battleheim were discussed in detail. While writers Sweezy & Battleheim are well know critics from the new left point of view their avowedly Marxist methodology makes them sympathizers of the societies and cause. Their works are all the more important today, because Soviet intellectual seem to be criticising the Stalin and Brezhnev periods from a similar point of view.

We have discussed the post 1917 historical developments in the Soviet Union, and arranged our discussion about the following eras, Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. We briefly also referred the debate about the nature of Soviet state by Tony Cliff, Charles Battleheim and Trotsky. This was meant to provide a historical and theoretical background for analysing Gorbachev's reforms.

Before proceeding on the nature of Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union, we discussed in this chapter the post liberation experience of China, broadly sketching the contours of China's developments in Mao's period. Besides discussing the internal development of China the consequences of great leap forward and cultural revolution, we also discussed some aspects of the Sino-Soviet relationship.

It was not possible for us to make 'objective assessment of Cultural revolution as many things are either unknown or complex" (p.37). However, we could conclude that the most important feature was that inspite of rapid economic development and great achievements, China under Mao remained underdeveloped and a backward country. Even today education, health and transport facilities are inadequate and scientific, technological, agricultural and industrial development is still far from satisfactory (p.40). It is in this background that China's recent modernization drive has to be seen and this is subject matter of Chapter-III.

In Chapter II we based ourselves on recent Soviet writings, specially Mikhail Gorbachev as well as Western commentary on these developments, we tried to understand the nature, content and scope of these changes. We have tried to find out "what is Perestroika and Glasnost? Why

do the Soviet People and socialist all over the world need it? What is its substance and its objective? What does it reject and what does it create? How it is proceeding and what might be its consequences for Soviet Union and the world community" (p.45).

After briefly recapitulating biographical details of Mikhail Gorbachev and certain landmark development of this period. We discussed the effects of Glasnost on various facets of Soviet life, for example, on the media, the attitude towards dissents, the functioning of the party, the necessity of reappraisal of historical experience of Soviet Union, the nationality question etc.

We are convinced that Glasnost is an essential prerequisite of badly needed reform in socialist society. Perestroika and Glasnost or the "Say as it is" movement has characterized the debate on the nature, content, pace etc. of restructuring. While discussing these debates we have also referred to the views of some major contributors to the debates other than Gorbachev. The recent 19th party conference has given a significant boost to the process of Perestroika which was launched three years back. The most significance of these changes, is a clear distinction between leadership and apparat.

Besides the political reforms which dominated recent party conference, the most significant dimension has been the Perestroika of the economy. The most severe economic problem

that Gorbachev has focused on was the falling growth rate, slow pace of technical innovation and rampant inefficiency. The step undertaken in this sphere have been discussed under various sub-sections for example, workers management, issue of price, State subsidies, agrarian sector. The 19th Party conference which has endorsed these fundamental changes in the political and economic sphere has clearly shown that Gorbachev's appeals for change since the 27th CPSU congress are being transformed into reality. Gorbachev and his supporters are committed enough to do it. Though some of the Soviet concessions in the field on disarmament were criticised by 'hard liners' and even soviet military, forces of peace all over the world have welcomed these necessary and practical steps taken by Gorbachev. In this process imperialism too has been exposed. The Soviet effort to combine disarmament with development has taken concrete shape.

Lastly, we have also discussed literature and the nature of political commentaries which has undergone tremendous change due to removal of censorship. We also discussed the problems and opposition to change including the political rightists which Gorbachev is facing and effectively debating with.

No account of the recent developments in the Soviet Union, can be complete without discussing the bold initiative in the sphere of foreign policy. Here we feel Gorbachev has ushered in an era of optimism and hope, regarding disarmament and world peace, the long discourses on peace by Soviet

leaders has been concretized through negotiation summits with the West and realist approach.

In Chapter III we discussed modernization initiated by the post Mao leadership of China. The need of modernization as highlighted by Chinese leadership and its repercussion. We also discussed that many western intellectuals have criticised the present Chinese path of development, and how the socio-political & economic scenario of China has considerably changed after adopting an open door policy and modernization drive.

Our study believes that 'Pragmatism' has become a watch word in China, and this is seen as an alternative strategy to overcome the relatively backward economy of China. In this new work culture, the emphasis is upon production without delving into the issue of production relations. This is point that critics of Chinese affairs equate with China's new course of development with that of capitalism. In this regard, we have referred the views of Charles Battleheim. However, we would feel that though China badly needed reforms, how far it is travelling away from Marxist tenets, could only be revealed by time. As these socialist systems still maintain their socialist ideology and infrastructure. In the agrarian sector the commune system in China is being restructured and replaced by the household responsibility system. We have also focused on

the political reforms initiated since Mao's death. "The Chinese have tried to revamp their political system since 1977, like related efforts in economies, these political changes are a reaction to the enormous problems that Mao bequeathed on his successor when he died in 1976" (p.121).

Separating the party from the govt., democratising leadership, inducting professional experts in the leading position of govt. and party has been discussed in this section. In other words, the process of de-Maoization and the lessening importance of the communist party is visible. The meaning and the content of some slogans as 'Catching up with the West' 'Overtaking advance' and primary stage of socialism provides a certain philosophical understanding of change and reforms undergoing in China. Which ^{has} echoes of the changes attempted at the Khrushchev period, China has generated a lot of discussion and debate whether China will go capitalist? Jettisoning Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. The views of several schools of thought on this issue were discussed and we feel that China is grappling with specific problems inherent in its system and is trying to find its own path of socialism, incorporating some of the measures of Western capitalist countries along with its socialist infrastructure. However, China's success lies in pragmatism and adhering to Marxism - Leninism" (p-136). We are convinced that the ongoing reforms

in the Soviet Union and China mark the end of orthodox Marxism and are rejecting what ever is outdated. These reforms should be thus welcomed by those who aspire to a more united and stronger socialist movement.

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