## **INDEX**

accounting	sophisticated conceptualization
concealment/distortion and, 97-99	through, 56
economic, 61-62	subordinates' diaries and, 47
suspicion and secrecy of, 92–96	
agencies	bargaining
Five-Year Plan and, 175 <i>n</i> , 175–76,	control figures and, 21
187–91.	defense production and, 104
See also commissions	model for, 32
agriculture, 13, 69-71.	national vs. industry interest and,
control figures for, 16–22, 17 <i>table</i> ,	22–24
19 table	political influence and, 24
destruction of peasants' farms and,	bartering, 148-49
125–26	Beria, 164–66, 165–66 <i>n</i> , 169
Five-Year Plan and, 176, 182 <i>table</i>	Bolsheviks, 40, 134
arbitrariness, 8	bribery, 150–53
archival research, 1, 6, 174.	Bukharin, N. I., 40
access from, 39	bureaucracy
classified, 82	control of, 60
confirmations from, 9–10	
economy and, 63	canals, 115–16, 119.
generalizations and, 7–8	incompetence of, 122–23
ý	military/economic value of, 121–22
Gulag, 9, 111–13	capitalism, 3, 168, 190
high administrative organizations	cars, 26
and, 7	censorship, 1
KGB closed, 82	Central Committee, 7, 13, 135, 162.
knowledge prior to, 35–39	annihilation of, 38
military, 9–10, 81–83, 86, 89, 97,	decrees/directives of, 29, 43, 50–51
102, 110	decline of, 36
sector vs. level of society and, 9	dispatching of members of, 53
small organizations and, 7	economic oversight of, 30

Central Committee (continued)	purging within, 36
Organization of Leading Party Or-	recruitment for, 36
gans (ORPO) and, 54	self-criticism in, 168-69, 190
Politburo and, 39.	separation of government and, 49-50
See also Communist Party	serving purpose of, 4.
Central Control Commission-Rabkrin	See also Central Committee
(TsKK), 41.	concealment, 97–99
party discipline enforced by, 42,	Congress of Soviets, 49
53–54.	consumer, 12
See also Commission of Party Control	control
(KPK)	commissions of, 53-55, 134-39
Central Executive Committee (TsIK),	difficulty of, 56
49–50	problems of, 59
civilian resources	control figures, 16–22, 17 table, 19
military vs., 90–93, 95–96, 110, 175	table.
coal, 175, 176, 178 <i>table</i>	bargaining over, 21-24
coercion, 57–59	Council of Labor and Defense (STO),
collectivism, 11, 33, 36, 67, 114, 126	51–52, 55.
commanding heights, 13, 24	Committee for Agricultural Procure-
Commissariat of Finance, 9	ments and, 52
commissariats	Council of Ministers, 27, 164, 165 n,
control of, 54–55	170.
economic, 36, 50	ruling by, 11
increased investment desired by, 64, 66	Council of People's Commissars, 6.
	See also Sovnarkom; Council of Min-
specific economic issues by, 68	isters
Commission for Hard Currency, 44	courts
commissions	lack of responsibility of, 137-38
control, 53–55, 134–39	Moscow-directed criminal justice and,
Commission of Party Control. See KPK	133, 137
Committee of Reserves, 117	precedent principle of, 157
communication, 26–28.	currency circulation, 73
"need to know" basis of, 79	currency reform, 77–78
Communist Party, 11.	CVPSU, 50
changes in, 36	
consolidation of government and, 59	deception
decline of department's powers in,	Gulag, 126
44–47	managers and, 132
defeat of Left and Right of, 36, 40–41	military and, 84, 97–100
inner democracy of, 168–69, 190	decision making
internal opposition in, 46–47	arbitrariness of, 8
limiting of staffing of, 13–14	collective, 41
military ruled by, 92	knowledge with, 52
obscuring of boundaries between gov-	Politburo and, 41–43, 46
ernment and, 52–53	Stalin's process of, 47–49
party congresses of, 160-61	power and, 38–39
party member discipline of, 135	decrees/directives, 27–29, 32, 43, 50–
public events of, 2–3	52, 63

defective products, 142, 147	types of, 145–53.
defense. See military	See also managers
Defense Commission, 44	economy
defense production	commanding heights of, 13, 24
bankruptcy and excess, 88	control of only large industry in, 13,
bargaining in, 104	24
cash limits of, 99–101	currency reforms and, 77-78
civilian resources vs., 95–96, 102,	economic accounting of, 62
110, 175	experimentation of flexibility in, 62
contractors for, 9	lower production costs of, 188-89
costs of repression on, 107–9	market economy vs., 12
distortion vs. concealment in, 97–99,	market elements and, 62, 136-37
110	planning by value units in, 17
Five-Year Plan and, 183, 184-86	price fixing and, 74–75
table	production capacity of, 168
forcing of information on, 96	purge of officials for, 75–76
Gulag and, 119	rationing in, 73–75
increase of, 84–86, 85 table 1	reform proposals and, 77–80
innovation essential to, 103-4	relative poverty of, 81, 109
inspection of, 101, 104	reserves for, 187, 187 <i>n</i>
local mobilization assignments for, 86	special interests and, 64
mistrust and, 103-7	stable finance and, 73
nonreplication of foreign technology	Stalin's hands-off approach to, 68
and, 107–9	stop/go, 72
scientists, innovation and, 102-3,	supplies for, 187
103 <i>n</i> , 106–9	trial-and-error with, 11
suspicion, secrecy, accounting and,	wartime meltdown of, 100
92–96	Eismont-Tolmachev group, 46
tariffs on U.S. weapons and, 99	Ezhov, N. I., 47
value of money and, 83, 99-101	6.1
World War II costs of, 85 table 1, 89.	failure
See also military	system vs. administrators and, 12
dekulakization. See terror	falsification, 4–5, 7, 10
dictator, 37.	famine, 71, 126
control figures, Gosplan, and, 18-20,	Fifth Five-Year Plan, 7.
32	as agenda at XIX Party Congress, 169
Gosplan vs., 33	approval of, 171, 191
mandatory self-interest of, 33	chronological process of, 171,
priorities of, 25, 32.	172–73 table, 174
See also Stalin	defense budget and, 183, 184–86
dissension, 44	table Cosplan and 171 172 73 table
,	Gosplan and, 171, 172–73 <i>table</i> ,
Economic Council, 55	175–76, 177–82 table, 183, 184–86 table, 187
economic crimes	Gossnab and, 172–73 n, 176, 177–82
managers and, 133–34, 139, 140–42,	table, 187–88
153	growth of industry in, 183
100	5-0 min or madon j m, 100

Fifth Five-Year Plan (continued)	specific economic issues by, 68
Ministry of Finance and, 171, 172–73 <i>table</i> , 176, 177–82 <i>table</i> , 188–89	specific production targets of, 25, 176, 177–82 <i>table</i> , 183
physical targets of, 176, 177-82 table,	staffing of, 14
183	statistics, military, and, 96–98
preparation of, 169-71	transportation opposition by, 24
Five-Year Plan, 7, 51, 160.	Gossnab (State Supply Committee), 7,
economic commissariats vs. NKVD	171, 175.
and Commissariat of Defense and,	Five-Year Plan and, 172–73 n, 176,
50	177–82 table, 187–88
exaggerated expectations of initial,	formation of, 175 n, 175-76
19–20, 22	Gosplan vs., 175 n, 187-91
versions of, 18-19, 19 table	government
food	central control of, 53–55
rationing of, 73–74	consolidation of party and, 59
	control in commissions in, 53–55
GARF, 82	institutions of, 50–53
general secretary, 38, 40, 44	militarization of, 53
Geneva disarmament negotiations, 84	political vs. administrative realm of
Germany, 88.	52–53, 56
See also Nazis; State Planning Com-	publications and, 1-3
mission; World War II	reforms/improvements in, 74
Gosplan (State Committee for Material	grain collection, 69–71
and Equipment), 7–8, 64–65,	Great Purge, 67
175 n.	Great Terror, 31, 57–59, 164.
balancing of resources by, 16	purpose of, 117–18
bargaining and, 31	Gulag
chairman of, 46	determination of use of, 114–15
complaints within, 14n	dismantling of, 128
Five-Year Plan and, 19–20, 51, 171,	economy and, 112, 118–19, 124–25
172-73 table, 175-76, 177-82	effect on labor market by, 128–29
table, 183, 184-86 table, 187,	incompetent projects of, 123–24
189–91	inefficient use of technology by, 127
Gossnab vs., 175 n, 187–91	inmates of, 114
industry <i>vs.</i> national interests for, 22–24	large-scale special projects of, 115–17, 119–22
local interaction with, 31	OPPU/NKVD and economics of,
ministries and, 132	124–25
Ministry of Finance and, 190	population in, 112, 116, 117–18
planning of, 11, 15, 169	repression/deaths in, 118, 126
Politburo implementation by, 13	scams in, 126–27
price reforms by, 74–75	uneconomic costs of, 125–27
purge of, 15, 164, 165–66 <i>n</i>	workable size of, 112
raising of investment budget by, 21	
reforms and, 76	heavy industry, 19-20, 23, 29, 62, 64,
restraint of investment budget by, 19-	74, 170, 176, 177–82 table, 183,
20, 66–67	187.

faulty calculations by, 146 military rivalry with, 90–93, 95, 110 statistics of, 17 <i>table</i> , 98	Kazak Regional (Party) Committee, 26 Khrushchev, N., 37–38, 164 Kirov, S. M., 10, 38, 41, 55
independent thinking, 21–22	Korolev, 106–7, 108 Kosygin, A. 164
industrial ministries, 46.	KGB, 82
control figures for, 16–22, 17 <i>table</i> , 19 <i>table</i>	KPK (Party Control Commission), 6–7, 54, 134.
bargaining by, 31–32	controllers of, 144–45, 145 n
national interests vs. interests of,	courts and, 137–38
22–24	expulsion from party by, 154–55
Politburo implementation by, 13	imprisonment and, 154
resistance of specific targets by, 25	interrogation ability of, 132
staffing of, 14	less punishment for elite, 137, 155
industrialization, 159	managers, economic wrongdoing and,
inflation, 20, 72–73	135–36
information, 3–4.	nonuniform punishment by, 144–45,
accuracy of, 5–6	157
governmental public events as, 3	party discipline $vs$ . punishment and,
publications and, 3–4	135, 138–39
self-criticism and, 3	party-state authorities punishment by,
suppression of, 4	153
intervention, 25–26, 32–33	
invention (research)	penalties against managers by, 9, 142–
distrust of, 102–3, 103 n, 106–7	46, 149, 150, 153 potential excusing of wrongdoings by,
implementation of, 106	142–44
nonreplication of foreign technology	
and, 107–8	pragmatic <i>vs.</i> hard-line views of, 142–
penal colonies and, 101–2	44, 157
scare resource for, 104–5	publicizing of penalties by, 146
selection phase of, 105–6 <i>n</i>	punitive powers of, 142
value of money and, 100–101	rehabilitation of managers by, 153
investment budget	reversal of penalties by, 154–57
bargaining and, 23–24	types of offense found by, 145–53
concentration of resources in, 19	KSK, 54, 134
Five-Year Plan and, 183, 187, 189–90	Kuibyshev, V.V., 45, 46, 50–51, 54, 64
goods costs vs., 18	
limitations on, 65–66	labor camps, 9, 36, 62. See also Gulag
planning of, 71–72	laws, 133. See also courts
restraint of, 66–67	the Left, 36, 40–41
stretching of, 187–88	Lenin, 50.
judges	after death of, 43
expelling of, 137–38	death of, 10, 40
expening of, 157 50	economic theory of, 13
Kaganovich, L.M., 41, 45, 46, 47, 48-	elite organization view of, 14
49, 50, 54, 64, 135, 143, 163, 171,	self-criticism, society and, 3
172 <i>n</i> , 175 <i>n</i> , 176	literature, 168
,	

local officials	Mezhlauk, 65–67
bribes for, 151–52	Mikoyan, A., 163-64
distrust of, 33	military, 36, 48, 62.
managers' relationship with, 151	civilian resources vs., 90–93, 95–96,
out of control, 29–31	110, 175
Politburo defied by, 9	defense motivation of, 86-90
regional interests of, 31, 33, 69-71	defensive nature of, 88
	disastrous (1941-42) showing of, 89
Malenkov, 16, 164.	falsification of budgets for, 84
speech at XIX Party Congress by,	heavy industry rivalry with, 91-93,
166–69, 190	95–96, 110
managers, production	internal threats and, 87
above-plan output by, 140–41	politicians' influence over, 91
breaking of rules by, 132	strategy and leadership of, 83
bribery/corruption by, 150–53	supply for, 81–83
dilemma of honest, 139–42	technology increase of, 96
discretion of, 133	war scare of 1927 for, 86-87.
expediters (tolkachi) and, 139–40,	See also defense production
140 n	military-industrial complex, 86-87, 88,
expulsion from party, 155–56	89.
falsifications by, 145–48	lack of evidence for, 90-92
fulfilling of production plan by, 132,	mining, 20, 117, 119–21, 125, 127,
154, 157	176, 177–78 table
goods, unreliable supply channels	Ministry of Finance, 7, 11, 72, 171.
and, 139	archival research, 7
harassment of, 30–31, 67	Five-Year Plan, 171, 172-73 table,
illegal product exchange by, 140,	176, 177–82 table, 188–89
148–49, 152	Gosplan and, 190–91
immunity to penalties for, 153–54	Gosplan vs., 188, 191
KPK monitoring of, 136–37	reduced investment, 5-year plan and,
KPK punishment of, 142–45 less punishment for elite, 155, 157	20
	reforms and, 78
mismanagement and, 136–37 network/connections of, 150–51	tax revenue and, 188
as party members, 135–36	Ministry of Interior
plan-law crime by, 133–39, 140–42,	punitive powers of, 30–31
153–54	Ministry of Transportation
purge of, 29–30, 67	growth of, 24
quality distortions by, 142, 147–48	Molotov, V.M., 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 39,
reserve funds of, 152	41, 45, 46, 47, 48–49, 50–51, 64,
reversal of punishment for, 155–57	75, 163–64.
speculation/price markups by, 140–	economy and, 66
41, 149–50	military and, 96
target reductions by, 146	money
turnover funds utilized by, 140	cash limits and, 99–101
Mar'yasin, 74–75	monitoring of, 101–3
meetings	production, invention and value of,
Stalin and policy, 48	100–101

nationalism, xenophobic, 107 People's Commissariat for Finance. See **Nazis** Ministry of Finance Soviet purges and, 59 People's Commissariat of Defense, New Economic Policy (1920s), 40 119 - 201941 Plan, 5-6 People's Commissariat of Nonferrous NKVD (People's Commissariat of Inter-Metallurgy, 125 nal Affairs), 36, 48, 50, 53, 58, 114. People's Commissariat of Worker-Peas-Gulag and, 117-21, 123-25, 127-29 ant Inspection, 125 Great Terror and, 117–18 People's Commissariat of Timber Indusrepression against managers by, 67 try, 120 People's Commissariat of State Control, OGPU (Unified State Political Adminis-134 tration), 29-30, 132. planners' preference Gulag and, 114-16, 122-25, 129. bargaining model of, 32 See also NKVD definition of, 12 oil, 116, 119, 170 hierarchical model of, 31–32 opposition, internal, 46 monitoring of, 12 Ordzhonikidze, G.K., 20, 23, 24, 29-Politburo and, 26 30, 37, 41, 64, 67, 94. political vs. Gosplan, 31 industrial issues handled by, 64, 68 resource allocation decisions and, 26 Ordzhonikidze, Sergo, 62 Pokrebyshev, A.N., 38 Organization of Leading Party Organs Politburo, 7. (ORPO) activities of, 50 regional party oversight by, 54 ad hoc interventions by, 25-26 Orgburo, 38, 53. breakdown of collective leadership of, centralized power in, 36 37 decline of meetings of, 44-46 business of, 43 loss of controlling function of, 55 central vs. regional interests and, 31, Party Congress (XIX) central vs. special interests and, 46 development of, 160-63 centralized power in, 31, 36 Five-Year Plan approval by, 169, 191 commissions of, 44 Malenkov's speech at, 166-69 control figures set by, 16-17, 24-25 postwar agenda of, 166-69, 190 control through commissions by, Stalin successor struggle and, 166 53-55 Party Control Commission. See KPK court of appeals nature of, 15 party-state apparatus, 164. daily consultations of members of, 44 central planning objectives of, 132–33 decision-making process in, 14-15, control of, 49-54, 58-60 41 - 43peaceful coexistence, 168, 190 decline of collective decision making peasants, 69. by, 40-41Gulag and, 114, 123, 125-26 decline of power of, 43, 55, 58–59, 67 penal colonies, 101-2. See also labor decrees/directives of, 27-29, 32, 43 camps; Gulag People's Commissariat for Finance, 77. dedication to socialism by, 131 abolition of rationing and, 75 details vs. general rules by, 15-16 currency reform and, 77-78 disagreements in, 10, 21-22, 64-67 "need to know" basis and, 79 dissension and, 44

Politburo (continued) economic decisions of, 67–79 government institutions reflected in, 41–42 hierarchical model and, 31–32 immediacy, mobilized rescues and, 16 industry ministers in, 22 investment budget, control and, 17– 19, 25 liberal vs. hard-line, 37, 55 local officials and, 9, 29–31 mandatory self-interest of, 33 members (1932) of, 41–42 "need to know" basis and, 79 nonchecking of Stalin by, 55 planners' preference resource allocation and, 26 protocol of, 42–43 realistic planning, 5-year plan and, 19–20 rubber-stamping by, 58 Sovnarkom control of members of, 50–51	railroads, 116, 119, 123–24, 127, 170 Red Terror of 1918, 40 regional officials, 22. monitor directives of Central Committee by, 28 Organization of Leading Party Organs (ORPO) and, 54 research. See invention resources balancing of, 16 retail trade, 73 revolution, 168. from above, 41, 54 RGAE, 82 RGASPI, 82 RGVA, 82 the Right, 36, 40–41, 50 Rostov party, 30 rubles cash limits of, 99–101. See also currency Ryutin, M. N., 37
special interests and, 64, 66	Ryutin Platform, 46
Stalin, and members of, 58 Stalin, ultimate decisionmaker of,	sales tax, 17 samokritika, 3
20–21	scientists
State Planning Commission feared by, 9	imprisonment of, 106–7, 129
as supreme decision-making body, 9,	innovation by, 105–7 mistrust of, 102–3, 103 <i>n</i> , 106–9
11, 13, 15, 39–40, 43, 46 workload of, 52.	penal colonies and, 101-2.
See also dictator	See also invention
price reduction, 65	secret police, 29–30. See also KGB
procurators, 137–38.	Secretariat, 38, 47, 53.
punitive powers of, 30–31	centralized power in, 36
profits, 61, 78	decline of meetings of, 44–46
propaganda, 4	loss of controlling function of, 55
publications, 1–3	Shakhty Affair, 29 socialism
Purge Commission, 54	doomed nature of, 12
purges, 57, 88. Communist Party, 36	Soviet economy
Gosplan, 15, 164, 165-66 <i>n</i>	managed vs. planned nature of, 8
managers and, 29–30, 67	Soviet administrative-command system.
Nazis and Soviet, 59	See party-state apparatus
1936–1938, 57, 75–76	Soviet Union
State Bank, 75–76	closed nature of, 1–2
See also terror	relative poverty of, 81, 109
Pyatakov, 72, 75	World War II invasion of, 5

Sovnarkom, 26–27, 40, 42, 43, 46, 49–	Kirov's assassination and, 10, 55
50, 64.	Lenin and, 10, 40
administrative burden of, 55	Orgburo, Secretariat and, 44-45
Council of Labor and Defense (STO)	policy, individuals and, 58
and, 51–52	Politburo nonchecking of, 55
decrees of, 50-52, 63	Politburo's communication and,
5-year plans and, 51	26–27
party and economic policy by, 50	poor military decisions of, 89
Politburo control over members of,	power of, 38–39, 40, 46, 56
50-51	priorities of, 25
reorganization of, 55	records/diary and, 39
restraint of investment budget by,	regime of, 55–60
66–67	removal movement against, 37-38
Stalin and, 59	repression against managers by, 67
workload of, 52	restraint of investment budget by,
Stalin, Joseph, 7.	66–67
absence from Politburo by, 43	ruling group of, 13, 46–47
adaptability of, 40	self-esteem of, 49
arbitrariness of, 7	Sovnarkom and, 59
attacking of old elite by, 163–64	speech review by, 167-68
backing of hard-liners of, 37	successor power struggle to, 160-66,
blocking of economic reforms by, 76–	165–66 <i>n</i>
77, 80	summer vacations of, 48, 64
and Bonapartism, 37	tyranny of, 35, 58, 60, 114
coercion of, 1, 4, 49, 57–59, 114	as ultimate decisionmaker, 20-21
control through commissions by,	worry about specialists by, 15.
53–55	See also dictator
corrections of control figures by, 16	Stalin Constitution, 55
decision-making process under,	Stalinists, 40
47–49	State Bank
	abolition of rationing and, 75
decree approval by, 50–51	credit restriction and, 72-73
as dictator, 37, 41, 46, 58, 79	false invoices for credit to, 141-42,
economic policies and, 68–69, 73,	146
76–77	"need to know" basis and, 79
fear of, 49	purge of, 75–76
fictional defense budgets of, 98–99	reforms by, 72, 76
Five-Year Plan and, 19–21, 171, 174–	table finance and, 73
75, 190	turnover funds from, 140
as general secretary, 38, 40, 41, 44, 49	turnover tax vs. profits tax and, 75
Gulag, canals and, 121–22	State Commission of Soviet Control. See
Gulag and, 128	KSK
health decline and lack of interest of,	State Committee for Defense (GKO),
163, 169, 175, 190	164
hierarchical model and, 31–32	State Committee for Material and
influence of others on, 21–22, 56–58,	Equipment. See Gossnab
79	state ownership, 11.
isolation of, 55	economic crimes and, 133, 137

State Planning Commission. See Gostransportation, 64 Trotsky, L. D., 37, 40-41 plan State Supply Committee. See Gossnab TsAMO, 82 statistics, 96 n, 96-99 TsKK. See Central Control Commission successor, Stalin Tukhachevsky, M. N., 86, 88, 100 coalition of competing groups for, tyranny, 35, 58, 60, 114 XIX Party Congress as format for, utilization shops, 142, 147 160 - 63Unified State Political Administration. old elite removed as, 163-64 See OGPU supply agents, 144 United States Lend-Lease, 99 Supreme Economic Council, 30 urbanization Supreme Soviet lower rates of, 12-13 public events of, 2–3 reports of, 6 Voroshilov, K., 64, 88, 92, 95, 163 Voznesensky, 164–66, 165–66 n, tax 169-70.sales tax, 17 independent thinking of, 21-22 turnover, 150 turnover vs. profits, 75, 188 War Communism, 40 telegrams, 49, 63 White Sea-Baltic Canal (BBK), 115–16, terror, 38-40. 121 - 22economic reasons for, 112 World War I Stalin's first wave of, 114 collapse of industry in, 87 terror (1936), 54. World War II, 46, 89-90, 107. See also purges; Red Terror Gulag and, 119-20 textbooks, 3 information during, 5 timber, 23, 31, 114, 117, 120, 127, post, 2, 159-66, 166-69, 190 181-82 table pre, 77 totalitarian regime bureaucratic politics and, 39 pyramidal structure of, 36-37. Zhdanov, A., 161–62, 164–66, 169 See also dictator; purges; tyranny Zinoviev, G. E., 40