AMENDED DISTM 27. UNCLASSIFIED FM MOSCOW TO IMMEDIATE F C O **TELNO 929** OF 301315Z JUNE 87 INFO PRIORITY PARIS, BONN, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS INFO PRIORITY MODUK INFO ROUTINE EAST EUROPEAN POSTS, HELSINKI, PEKING, TOKYO Absoluty fuscinations

don't am I have a

ECONOMIC REFORM

OPENED ON 29

COV DELIVERED

JON CHARLES

MENT AT THE

Line. SIC EMA/EME/EMC MODUK FOR DACU USSR SUPREME SOVIET SESSION: REPORT BY RYZHKOV ON ECONOMIC REFORM 1. AT THE SESSION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET WHICH OPENED ON 29 JUNE THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS RYZHKOV DELIVERED A REPORT IN 'THE RESTRUCTURING OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE COUNTRY'S DEVELOPMENT' .. 2. THE FOLLOWING WERE THE MAIN POINTS A. RYZHKOV STATED THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF CENTRALISATION IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT HAD BEEN ABSOLUTIZED AND HAD ACQUIRED HYPERTROPHIED FORMS. THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM NOT ONLY FAILED TO MAKE THE ECONOMY RESPONSIVE TO SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ACHIEVEMENTS. IT ACTIVELY REJECTED THEM. AS A RESULT THE SOVIET UNION HAD FALLEN BEHIND IN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT AREAS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. B. HE REFERRED TO THE CLUMSY INFLEXIBLE MANAGEMENT MACHINE, TO ADMINISTRATIVE/COMMAND METHODS AND A SYSTEM WHICH HAD REJECTED INITIATIVE, ENCOURAGED A SAFETY-FIRST ATTITUDE, BLUNTED RESPONSIBILITY AND BRED AN ATMOSPHERE OF APATHY AND INDIFFERENCE. C. PAST EXPERIENCE SHOWED THAT A SERIOUS IMPROVEMENT IN THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED BY PARTIAL CHANGES. "'A CARDINAL COMPLEX REFORM IS ESSENTIAL". D. THE MAIN DIFFICULTY OF THE EXISTING ECONOMIC MECHANISM WAS THAT IT DID NOT LINK THE RESULTS OF AN ENTERPRISE, WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY AND SOCIAL AMENITIES. THE NEW LAW ON THE SOCIALIST ENTERPRISE WOULD MAKE THE PRODUCTIVE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENTERPRISE DIRECTLY AND STRICTLY DEPENDENT ON THE RESULTS OF ITS WORK. E. IN FUTURE STATE ORDERS WOULD REPLACE DETAILED TARGETS FOR PRODUCTS AND WOULD INCLUDE ONLY THE MOST IMPORTANT ITEMS. THE ENTERPRISE WOULD BE FREE TO DETERMINE THE REST OF ITS PRODUCTION ON THE BASIS OF DIRECT LINKS WITH CONSUMERS. IT WOULD THUS BE NECESSARY TO STUDY THE MARKET PROPERLY, WIN CUSTOMERS AND MAINTAIN HIGH

HIGH QUALITY. THERE WOULD BE ECONOMIC COMPETITION BETWEEN
ENTERPRISES AND ON THIS ECONOMIC COMPETITION WOULD DEPEND IN
LARGE MEASURE SATISFACTION OF THE NEEDS OF THE SOCIALIST MARKET.

- E. RYZHKOV REFERRED TO THE INTOLERABLE INFLATION OF THE STAFF OF MINISTRIES AND THE EXCESSIVE NUMBER OF MINISTRIES WHICH HAD BEEN SET UP. THERE WAS A NEED FOR NEW MORE MOBILE AND FLEXIBLE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES WHICH WOULD INCLUDE STATE PRODUCTION ASSOCIATIONS. THEIR FORMATION WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE GRADUAL ABOLITION OF THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATIONS OF MINISTRIES. (GLAVKI).
- F. A NUMBER OF REPUBLIC MINISTRIES INCLUDING THOSE FOR POWER AND ELECTRIFICATION, COAL, FERROUS AND NON-FERROUS METALLURGY AND OIL AND PETRO-CHEMICALS WOULD BE ABOLISHED AND THE MINISTRIES WOULD BECOME ALL-UNION MINISTRIES.
- G. RYZHKOV STRESSED THAT THE REVAMPING OF THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE CARRIED OUT WITHIN A VERY SHORT PERIOD IE 1987 1988.
- H. RYZHKOV SPOKE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF OVERCOMING THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIER AND THE PREJUDICE AGAINST COOPERATIVE AND INDIVIDUAL FORMS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. 'WE HAVE ALREADY CONVINCED OURSELVES THAT WHERE THESE FORMS ARE SUCCESSFULLY APPLIED, SOVIET POWER HAS NOT SUFFERED IN ANY WAY FROM THE FACT THAT PEOPLE HAVE BEGUN TO LIVE BETTER AND EARN MORE'.
- I. IN FUTURE THE 5-YEAR PLAN WOULD BECOME THE BASIS OF PLANNING.
 THE GREATER IMPORTANCE OF THE 5-YEAR PLAN WOULD LEAD TO A NEW
 APPROACH TO ANNUAL PLANNING. FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 13TH
 5-YEAR PLAN IT HAD BEEN DECIDED TO ABANDON THE PRACTICE OF SETTING
 ANNUAL PLANS. ENTERPRISES ON THE BASIS OF THE 5-YEAR FIGURES WOULD
 INDEPENDENTLY PLAN THEIR DEVELOPMENT FOR EACH YEAR.
- J. IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT 4-5 YEARS WHOLESALE TRADE WOULD BECOME THE BASIC FORM OF MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPLY. THIS SHOULD INVOLVE EXTENSIVE USE OF CONTRACT PRICES, SOCIALIST COMPETITION FOR PURCHASERS AND THE POSSIBILITY TO CHOSE BUSINESS PARTNERS.

 ''IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THIS WILL CREVTE A SOCIALIST MARKET IN THE MEANS OF THE PRODUCTION REMOVING THE DICTATORSHIP AND MONOPOLY OF THE PRODUCER''.
- K. HE REFERRED TO A PROPOSAL TO SET UP 6 INDEPENDENT BANKS: THE STATE BANK: THE FOREIGN TRADE BANK: THE INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTION BANK: THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL BANK, A BANK FOR HOUSING AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: A SAVINGS AND CREDIT BANK FOR THE POPULATION.
- L. RYZHKOV SAID THAT THE FIRST STAGE OF THE REFORM WITH A
 TRANSITION FROM OLD METHODS TO THE NEW WOULD BE THE MOST
 DIFFICULT. THIS STAGE COULD NOT BE PROLONGED AND HAD TO BE COMPLETED
 WINTIN THE CURRENT 5-YEAR PLAN. 'THERE IS NO TIME FOR US TO TAKE
 A BREATHER. THE ECONOMY CANNOT STOP AND CANNOT SLOW DOWN ITS
 DEVELOPMENT'.

M. ENORMOUS ECONOMIC WORK WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLETED IN THE REMAINING YEARS OF THE 5-YEAR PLAN, PRIMARILY THE PRICE REFORM AND LARGE-SCALE REORGANISATION OF THE SUPPLY SYSTEM AND OF THE FINANCE AND CREDIT MECHANISM. BIG CHANGES WOULD BE MADE IN THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE - THE SETTING UP OF VARIOUS LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION ASSOCIATIONS, THE TRANSITION TO THE TWO-TIER SYSTEM OF BRANCH MANAGEMENT AND A REORGANISATION OF THE STRUCTURE OF ALL-UNION AND REPUBLIC MINISTRIES.

N. ''WE CANNOT PERMIT THE REPETITION OF THE UNFORTUNATE EXPERIENCE
OF THE 1965 REFORM WHEN DELAY AND THE HALF-HEARTEDNESS OF
DECISIONS BROUGHT TO NOTHING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEW
MECHANISM. THE FORCES OF INERTIA AND STAGNATION THEN PREVAILED
AND EVERYTHING WENT BACK TO THE WAY IT WAS BEFORE EXCEPT PERHAPS IN
A WORST FORM''.

3. COMMENT IN MIFT.

CARTLEDGE

YYYY

MXHPAN 1653

EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

(COPIES TO NO TO DOWNING ST.)

LIMITED . SOVIET D.

DEFENCE D. RESEARCH DEPT. PLANNING STAFF EED NAD

SAD
WED
ACDD
CRD
NEWS DEPT.
INFO DEPT.
ECD(E)
POD

FED NEGD CSCE UNIT PROTOCOL DEPT. ESSD PS ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
PS/LORD GLENARTFUR ARMS CONTROL TALKS
PS/MR MELLOR
PS/MR EGGAR

SIR.J. FRETWELL
CHIEF CLERK
MR BOYD
MR MUNRO
MR GILLMORE
MR RATFORD
MR FALL
MR FEARN
MR LONG
MR BRAITHWAITE
MISS PESTELL
MR WINCHESTER
MR KERR

PS/PUS

985 BAZ RESTRICTED FM MOSCOW TELNO 930

TO IMMEDIATE F CO AMENDED DISTRIBUTION 27

OF 301300Z JUNE 87

INFO PRIORITY BONN, PARIS, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS INFO PRIORITY MODUK

INFO ROUTINE EAST EUROPEAN POSTS, HELSINKI, PEKING, TOKYO

SIC EMA/EME/EMC

MODUK FOR DACU

MIPT: USSR SUPREME SOVIET SESSION: RYZHKOV'S REPORT: COMMENT

- 1. RYZHKOV'S REPORT STRONGLY REINFORCES GORBACHEV'S MESSAGE AT THE PLENUM THAT RADICAL CHANGES MUST BE MADE URGENTLY IN AN OUT-MODED AND INEFFECTIVE SYSTEM AND SPELLS OUT A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME OF REFORM EMBRACING EVERY ASPECT OF THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE.
- 2. THE SCALE OF THE TRANSFORMATION GORBACHEV PLANS TO ACHIEVE IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM FOR THE MOST PART WITHIN THE NEXT 2-3 YEARS IS REMARKABLE. IT WILL PLACE ENORMOUS STRAINS ON PARTY AND STATE OFFICIALS, MANAGERS AND WORKERS AT ALL LEVELS WHO WILL BE REQUIRED TO ADAPT RAPIDLY TO A KIND OF ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT FOR WHICH THEY HAVE NO TRAINING, QUALIFICATIONS OR LIKING. BOTH GORBACHEV AND RYZHKOV ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE INITIAL PERIOD WOULD BE FRAUGHT WITH DIFFICULTIES AND THAT A DEGREE OF ECONOMIC DISRUPTION WAS INEVITABLE. BUT ACCORDING TO RYZHKOV THE REFORM HAD TO BE CARRIED OUT ''ON THE MARCH'' AND GROWTH MAINTAINED: AND THE EXPERIENCE OF 1965 SHOWED THAT HALF-MEASURES CAME TO NOTHING.
- 3. IN THE EVENT THE ROAD TO A COMPLETED ECONOMIC REFORM WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE LONGER THAN GORBACHEV HOPES AND IT WILL BE A BUMPY RIDE.

RESTRICTED

4. THIS WAS THE FIRST MAJOR SPEECH BY A POLITBURO MEMBER SINCE THE PLENUM AT WHICH GORBACHEV SECURED A VISIBLE MAJORITY IN THE POLITBURO. IT IS CERTAINLY THE MOST FORTHRIGHT AND CRITICAL PERFORMANCE SO FAR BY RYZHKOV. THE MESSAGE SEEMS FAIRLY CLEAR THAT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE COURSE OUTLINED AND THAT THE ORDERS ARE FULL STEAM AHEAD.

CARTLEDGE MXHPAN 1652

YYYY

MXHPAN 1652

EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS LIMITED

PS

(COPIES TO NO TO DOWNING ST.)

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

PS/LORD GLENARTHUR ARMS CONTROL TALKS

SOVIET D.
DEFENCE D.
RESEARCH DEPT.
PLANNING STAFF
EED

NAD SAD WED ACDD CRD NEWS DEPT. INFO DEPT. ECD(E) POD FED

CSCE UNIT

ESSD

SIR.J. FRETWELL
CHIEF CLERK
MR BOYD
MR MUNRO
MR GILLMORE
MR RATFORD
MR FALL
MR FEARN
MR LONG
MR BRAITHWAITE
MISS PESTELL
MR WINCHESTER
MR KERR

PS/MR MELLOR

PS/MR EGGAR

PS/PUS

RESTRICTED