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Central Intelligence Agency

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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

27 December 1985

Revamping The Council of Ministers

Summary

General Secretary Gorbachev is waging a two-pronged campaign of personnel and organizational changes to mobilize the USSR Council of Ministers behind his economic program. On the personnel front, he has replaced the Chairman of the Council and six deputy premiers with younger officials more likely to support his policies. Most of these new appointees have backgrounds in defense industry, reflecting Gorbachev's intention to draw on that sector to improve the management of civilian industry. [redacted]

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More than a dozen economic ministers also have been retired or reassigned and another has died, enabling Gorbachev to appoint new officials politically beholden to him. He probably will continue to move rapidly in replacing ministers who are eligible for Central Committee membership before the elections to that body at the upcoming Party Congress. [redacted]

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On the organizational front, Gorbachev has eschewed a sweeping, sudden overhaul in favor of a more cautious approach that reduces the potential for economic dislocation. Since mid-October he has established a new bureau to oversee the machine-building ministries and embarked upon a major

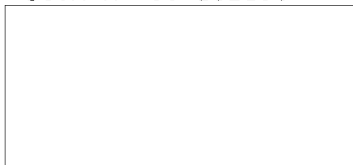
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This paper was prepared by [redacted] the Office of Soviet Analysis. Comments and questions may be directed to the author [redacted] or to the Chief, Domestic Policy Division, [redacted]

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reorganization of the agro-industrial bureaucracy. These recent actions and Gorbachev's speeches suggest that further efforts to streamline and revitalize the top levels of the economic bureaucracy are likely. [Redacted]

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The personnel and organizational changes now underway should improve the qualifications of senior economic managers and increase their ability to deal with economic tasks that cut across ministerial boundaries. If accompanied by significant reductions in the bureaucracy's size, they could also pave the way for the transfer of additional decisionmaking power to the enterprise level. They may also highlight the need to address basic Soviet economic problems caused by irrational pricing, poor incentives, chronic breakdowns in supply, and inadequate consumer input into production decisions. Because such problems arise from the centralized system of economic planning, they will be far more difficult to resolve than the organizational and personnel issues Gorbachev has addressed so far. [Redacted]

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Gorbachev's New Broom

Since succeeding Konstantin Chernenko in March of this year, Mikhail Gorbachev has frequently criticized the economic ministries for poor management and called for personnel and organizational changes to improve their performance. In June, for example, he publicly criticized four industrial ministers for wasting equipment and resources and for evading tight output targets. Several months later he openly criticized Gosplan Chairman Nikolay Baybakov for presiding over a system of economic planning that permitted such gross inefficiencies. [redacted]

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In expressing such criticism, Gorbachev has echoed the words of his last three predecessors, all of whom had described the economic bureaucracy as a major obstacle to efforts to remedy the economy's ills. In contrast to his recent predecessors, however, Gorbachev has displayed unusual ability to match his words with deeds. Under his leadership, personnel turnover in the Council of Ministers has far exceeded the pace of the Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko years and the Council has embarked upon the first major reorganization since the reestablishment of the economic ministries in 1965. [redacted]

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Changes on the Personnel Front

Gorbachev's greatest success on the personnel front has come in the Council's Presidium which, with its Chairman and a dozen first deputies and deputies, constitutes a type of economic cabinet (see table 1). Although Deputy Chairman Ivan Bodyul was retired in May, and Andrey Gromyko resigned as first deputy chairman in July upon his election as President, personnel turnover in the Presidium was slow during Gorbachev's first few months in office. Since the replacement of Chairman Nikolay Tikhonov by Nikolay Ryzhkov in September, however, turnover in the Presidium has accelerated sharply. Five of the oldest deputy chairmen have been retired and replaced by younger men--one of whom, Nikolay Talyzin, was already a member of the Presidium. Talyzin, the new Chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, who oversees the agro-industrial sector, have also had their positions upgraded to first deputy premier. A new deputy premier, Ivan Silayev, has been appointed to oversee civilian machine building. [redacted]

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Ryzhkov comes to the chairmanship with considerable industrial experience. An engineer by training, he has worked on proposals for planning and management reform in industry and has supported ministerial restructuring to remove superfluous administrative levels. He has also had a long working relationship with other top level industrial managers that should serve him in good stead in his new position. Ryzhkov, moreover, [redacted]

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Table I

Changes in the Presidium of the Council of Ministers
Under Gorbachev

<u>Position</u>	<u>Incumbent (Mar 85)</u>	<u>Year</u> <u>Appointed</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>New Appointee</u>
Chairman	Nikolay Tikhonov, 80	1980	retired Sept 1985	Nikolay Ryzhkov, 56
First Deputies	Geydar Aliyev, 62	1982	remains in office	--
	Ivan Arkhipov, 78	1980	remains in office	--
	Andrey Gromyko 76,	1983	moved to Presidency July 85	--
	--	1985	appointed in Nov	Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, 59
	--	1985	promoted in Oct	Nikolay Talyzin, 56
Deputies	Aleksey Antonov, 73	1980	remains in office, assumed Talyzin's old job	--
	Nikolay Baybakov, 74	1965	retired Oct 1985	(Talyzin)
	Ivan Bodyul, 67	1980	retired May 1985	--
	Veniamin Dymshits, 75	1962	retired Dec 1985	Yuriy Batalin, 58
	Guriy Marchuk, 60	1980	remains in office	--
	Nikolay Martynov, 75	1976	retired Nov 1985	Lev Voronin, 57 (Murakhovskiy)
	Ziya Nuriyev, 70	1973	retired Nov 1985	--
	Yakov Ryabov, 57	1984	remains in office	--
	Boris Shcherbina, 66	1984	remains in office	--
	Leonid Smirnov, 69	1963	retired Nov 1985	Yuriy Maslyukov, 58
Nikolay Talyzin, 56	1980	promoted to 1st dep. Oct 1985	--	
- - - - -	1985	appointed in Nov, assumed Antonov's old job	Ivan Silayev, 55	

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may have an unusually free hand to put his stamp on economic policy. In requesting ratification of Ryzhkov's appointment at the Supreme Soviet session on 26 November, Gorbachev praised his experience and organizational abilities and noted that the new chairman had already submitted "substantial proposals" for improving economic management. [redacted]

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Although two members over 70 remain in the Presidium, Ryzhkov has a reinvigorated cabinet heavily weighted with men of his own generation who have similar backgrounds in industrial planning and management and, in some cases, longstanding career ties to him. Talyzin, Lev Voronin, Yuriy Maslyukov, and Ivan Silayev, for example, all have experience in defense-related industries. Presumably, their appointments reflect Gorbachev's declared intention to borrow more heavily from the more effective managerial methods of the defense sector to improve productivity and product quality in civilian industry. Voronin worked with Ryzhkov in industrial plants in Sverdlovsk in the 1950s and 1960s and later served with him in Gosplan. His selection to head the State Committee for Material-Technical Supply may foreshadow plans to change the present industrial supply system, which is often criticized as overcentralized and undependable. While head of a commission to oversee the current experiment in industrial planning and management, he was ordered to prepare proposals for improving supply. [redacted]

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Gorbachev has also had great success in renewing the ranks of economic officials at the ministry level, where 14 ministries and several state committee chairmanships have already changed hands (see table 2). The number of changes occurring in such a short period of time and so soon after Gorbachev's accession indicates a major effort to speed the pace of ministerial turnover in preparation for the Party Congress scheduled for February 1986. Gorbachev, no doubt, hopes to place men of his own choosing in positions eligible for Central Committee membership before the elections to that body at the Congress. With few exceptions, he has replaced ministers in their mid-70s with men of his own generation who have technical backgrounds, production experience, or managerial expertise. [redacted]

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While moving to place his political stamp on the ministerial bureaucracy, Gorbachev has evidently also made an effort to maintain some managerial continuity in most economic sectors. Of the fourteen economic ministries where the top official has been replaced, seven have been taken over by their former first deputies. Only three--the ministries of light industry, construction machine building, and finance--have been given to men who were not serving elsewhere in the ministerial bureaucracy; these assignments went to a former regional party secretary, a

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Table 2

Turnover In Economic Organizations of the Council of Ministers Under Gorbachev

	<u>Who's Out?</u>	<u>How and When Removed</u>	<u>Who's In?</u>	<u>Former Job</u>
A. <u>Economic Ministries</u>				
Agriculture	Valentin Mesyats, 57	Reassigned to First Secretary Moscow Obkom Nov 1985	no replacement, ministry disbanded	--
Aviation Industry	Ivan Silayev, 55	Appointed dep chairman, CM Nov 1985	Apollon Systsov, 56	First Deputy
Coal Industry	Boris Bratchenko, 73	Retired Dec 1985	Mikhail Shchadov 58	First Deputy
Construction Materials	Aleksey Yashin, 66	Retired July 1985	Sergey Voyenushkin, 56	RSFSR Minister of Industrial Construction
Construction, Road & Municipal Machine Building	Vitaliy Chudin, 56	Retired Aug 1985	Yevgeniy Varnachev, 53	Director of Uralmash Production Association (Job once held by Ryzhkov)
Electrical Equipment	Anatoliy Mayorets, 56	Moved to Ministry of Power, May 1985	Gennadiy Voronskiy, 60	First Deputy
Electronics	Aleksandr Shokin, 76	Retired, Nov 1985	Vladislav Kolesnikov, 60	First Deputy
Ferrous Metallurgy	Ivan Kazanets, 67	Retired, July 1985	Serafim Kolpakov, 52	First Deputy
Finance	Vasiliy Garbuzov, 75	Died, Nov 1985	Boris Gostev, 58	First Deputy Chief of CC Economics Department

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Food Industry	Vol'demar Lein, 65	Status unknown, ministry abolished Nov 1985	--	--
Foreign Trade	Nikolay Patolichev, 77	Retired, Oct 1985	Boris Aristov, 60	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
Fruit and Vegetable Industry	Nikolay Kozlov, 60	Status unknown, ministry abolished Nov 1985	--	--
Industrial Construction	Yuriy Solov'yev, 60	Moved to First Secretary, Leningrad Obkom, July 85	Arkady Shchepetil'nikov, 55	Ukrainian Minister of Industrial Construction
Light Industry	Nikolay Tarasov, 73	Retired, July 1985	Vladimir Klyuyev, 61	First Secretary Ivanovo Oblast
Meat and Dairy Industry	Yevgeniy Sizenko, 54	Appointed first deputy chairman new Agro-Industrial Committee	No replacement, ministry disbanded	--
Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical	Viktor Fedorov, 73	Retired, Oct 1985	Nikolay Lemayev, 56	First Deputy
Power and Electrification	Petr Neporozhniy, 75	Retired, March 1985	Anatoliy Mayorets, 56	Minister of Electrical Equipment Industry
Rural Construction	Viktor Danilenko, 49	Status unknown, ministry abolished Nov 1985	--	--
Transport Construction	Ivan Sosnov, 76	Retired, May 1985	Vladimir Brezhnev, 54	First Deputy

B. State Committees

Agro-Industrial		(new committee Nov 1985)	Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, 59	First Secretary Stavropol Obkom
Foreign Economic Relations	Mikhail Sergeychik, 76	Retired, Nov 1985	Konstantin Katushev, 58	Ambassador to Cuba

Labor & Social Problems	Yuriy Batalin, 58	Appointed deputy chairman CM, Dec 1985	Not yet announced	
Material-Technical Supply	Nikolay Martynov, 75	Retired, Nov 1985	Lev Voronin, 57	First Deputy Chairman of Gosplan
Planning	Nikolay Baybakov, 74	Retired, Oct 1985	Nikolay Talyzin, 56	Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers and Permanent Representative to CEMA
Supply of Petroleum Products	Talgat Khuramshin	Fired, expelled from CP December 1985	--	
Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture	Leonid Khitrun, 55	Status unknown, Committee abolished Nov 1985	--	--

C. Other Organizations

Central Statistical Administration	Lev Volodarskiy, 74	Retired, Dec 1985	Mikhail Korolev, 54	First Deputy
Military-Industrial Commission	Leonid Smirnov, 69	Retired, Nov 1985	Yuriy Maslyukov, 58	First Deputy Chairman of Gosplan

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director of a major industrial association for machine building, and the first deputy chief of a Central Committee department. [redacted]

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Several of the ministerial changes were clearly aimed at improving industrial performance by replacing ministers who were considered to be inefficient managers. The retirement of the 75-year-old Minister of Power and Electrification, Petr Neporozhniy, for example, followed sharp public criticism of him in the press and paved the way for his replacement by Anatoliy Mayorets, who seems to share Gorbachev's commitment to managerial reform. As Minister of the Electrical Equipment Industry, Mayorets had headed one of the first five ministries to participate in an experiment in industrial management that Gorbachev has recently extended. In addition, Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy Ivan Kazanets and Minister of Light Industry Nikolay Tarasov had been under fire for producing low quality output as far back as Brezhnev's day, and Minister of Petroleum Refining and the Petrochemical Industry Viktor Fedorov had been publicly criticized by Gorbachev in a speech in June. [redacted]

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Structural Reorganization

Although organizational change has yet to match the pace of personnel turnover, Gorbachev--having put his people into key positions--has recently embarked on a program of major structural changes in the ministerial system. The General Secretary had indicated his intention to undertake such changes in his speech at the April Plenum when he criticized the ministries for pursuing a "narrow departmental approach" to economic problems and for excessive interference in day-to-day decisionmaking at lower operating levels. In later speeches he called for measures to improve interagency coordination, reduce the size of the central bureaucracy, and increase the rights and responsibilities of industrial and agricultural enterprises. He indicated that such steps would be taken first in the agro-industrial and machine-building sectors. [redacted]

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On 17 October the Politburo announced the creation of a "bureau" attached to the Council of Ministers to oversee and coordinate the machine-building industries (see table 3). The bureau, which is headed by recently appointed Deputy Premier Silayev, was given authority both to give instructions to the ministries and to redistribute resources among them. The limited information available on the bureau suggests that it may be intended to be civilian machine building's counterpart to the Military Industrial Commission, the body which coordinates the work of the defense industrial ministries. [redacted]

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The creation of the new coordinating bureau seems to be a first step in Gorbachev's efforts to improve top-level management of civilian machine building. The General Secretary's speeches suggest that additional changes are in the offing--in particular [redacted]

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Table 3

Ministries Likely To Be Affected by the
New Machine-Building Bureau

- Ministry of the Automotive Industry
- Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building
- Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building
- Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry
- Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building
- Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems
- Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production
- Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances
- Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool-Building Industry
- Ministry of Power Machine Building
- Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building



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he has hinted that he intends to consolidate ministries engaged in the manufacture of similar or related products. In his speech to the Central Committee Conference on Science and Technology in June, for example, Gorbachev noted that poor coordination among the ministries producing computers, peripheral equipment and software was hindering computerization of the economy and implied that consolidation of planning and other functions within this sector would help in alleviating this problem. In the same speech he stated that the civilian sector should draw upon the managerial talent and superior technology available in the defense industrial sphere. Ministerial reorganization might facilitate pursuit of this goal but would not by itself duplicate the success of the defense sector, which is primarily due to priority access to resources and a strong link between producers and consumers. [redacted]

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Gorbachev has already moved to consolidate ministries in the agro-industrial sector. On 22 November, Soviet media announced the creation of a new State Agro-Industrial Committee, headed by recently appointed First Deputy Premier Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, a Gorbachev protege who succeeded him as first secretary of Stavropol' Kray in 1978. In the June issue of Partiynaya Zhizn', Murakhovskiy supported Gorbachev's call for unifying agricultural management and carrying the 1982 reorganization to its "logical conclusion." [redacted]

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The new agro-industrial agency replaces five ministries* and a state committee and will assume control of some of the enterprises and organizations formerly under the control of three other USSR ministries (see table 4). It has also been given authority to plan and finance the activities of three other agro-industrial ministries and the USSR State Committee for Forestry--all of which are to continue to exist as separate agencies. The restructuring thus creates a high-level committee headed, in effect, by an agro-industrial tsar. All government organs with agricultural responsibilities are subject to the committee's authority, providing for management of the agro-industrial complex as a single entity--a step intended to overcome departmental barriers between producing, processing, and servicing branches. [redacted]

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For all the boldness of Gorbachev's recent moves on the organizational front, the steps he has taken toward reorganization indicate a careful, methodical approach that stands out in distinct contrast with Khrushchev's brash attempt

*Yevgeniy Sizenko (54), former head of the now defunct Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, has been named a first deputy chairman of the new committee and a member of the Council of Ministers. Former Minister of Agriculture Valentin Mesyats (57) has been reassigned to a high-level party post. The fate of the other 3 former ministers is unknown. [redacted]

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Table 4

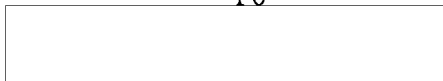
The New State Agro-Industrial Committee

- A. Organizations Merged in the New State Agro-Industrial Committee
 - Ministry of Agriculture
 - Ministry of the Food Industry
 - Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry
 - Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry
 - Ministry of Rural Construction
 - State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture

- B. Ministries Transferring Some of Their Functions to the Committee
 - Ministry of Procurement
 - Ministry of Light Industry
 - Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources

- C. Ministries and Agencies Planned and Financed as Part of Agro-Industrial Complex
 - Ministry of Grain Products (previously the Ministry of Procurement)
 - Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources
 - Ministry of Fish Industry
 - State Committee for Forestry
 - Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives

- D. Coordinating Ministries
 - Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building
 - Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production
 - Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances
 - Mineral Fertilizer Production
 - Medical and Microbiological Industry



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[redacted]

to redo the ministerial system in one fell swoop (see box, "The Khrushchev Analogy"). A gradual series of moves to break up established organizations may be a more effective means of dealing with bureaucratic resistance to change. Nonetheless, the creation of the new agro-industrial committee is evidently an unsettling development for the bureaucrats affected.

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The Khrushchev Analogy

The changes in the organization and personnel of the Council of Ministers introduced by Gorbachev have been more rapid and more extensive than any enacted under Leonid Brezhnev, Yuriy Andropov, or Konstantin Chernenko but pale in comparison with those that were made by Nikita Khrushchev. In 1957, for example, Khrushchev abolished almost all the industrial and construction ministries at both the national and republican levels and replaced them with 105 regional economic councils (sovnarkhozy). The creation of the regional councils made the bureaucracy more attentive to local needs and enabled Khrushchev to place his political allies and supporters in influential posts. Ultimately, however, the reorganization was counterproductive in both economic and political terms. It worsened the already poor coordination among institutions responsible for the implementation of economic policy and increased political opposition to Khrushchev among elements of the Soviet elite.

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Prospects

Gorbachev's speeches suggest he believes much more remains to be done and is likely to continue to press for additional changes in the Council's membership and organization. On the personnel front, there are several likely candidates for retirement. Among the economic ministers, for example, Minister of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building Konstantin Brekhov (age 78), Minister of Medium Machine Building Yefim Slavskiy (87), and Minister of Nonferrous Metallurgy Petr Lomako (81), have held their posts since the ministries were reestablished in 1965. On grounds of age alone, they are probably incapable of playing the energetic roles required by Gorbachev's economic game plan.

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US Embassy officers also have heard rumors through Soviet contacts that 57-year-old Yakov Ryabov--a former associate of Ryzhkov's in Sverdlovsk and in Gosplan--may take over First Deputy Premier Ivan Arkhipov's responsibilities as overseer of aid and trade and that Deputy Premier Aleksey Antonov may be on

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the way out. Antonov's recent assumption of Talyzin's former duties as permanent representative to CEMA, however, suggests that he may be retained. There has also been speculation concerning the political future of First Deputy Premier Geydar Aliyev, who was appointed to the Presidium shortly after Andropov came to power but whose promotion was attributed [redacted] [redacted] to the influence of the Brezhnev old guard. In any event, the appointment of two new first deputies has probably weakened Aliyev's authority. [redacted]

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There will probably be additional changes on the organizational front as well. Gorbachev's calls for action to overcome ministerial barriers that have hindered technological progress indicate that a major reorganization of the top levels of the economic bureaucracy is in the offing. This may include creation of additional sectoral committees or bureaus headed by members of the Council of Ministers Presidium, similar to the two recently established in the agro-industrial and machine-building areas. Likely sectors for reorganization include construction, energy, electronics, transport, and consumers goods industries.

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The creation of new agencies with broader charters should increase the central authorities' ability to deal with economic tasks that cut across ministerial boundaries and could improve the allocation of resources within economic sectors. If accompanied by significant reductions in the bureaucracy's size, ministerial reorganization could also pave the way for the transfer of additional control over operational decisionmaking to the enterprise level. The selection of officials with broad managerial and planning experience, who have supported measures to strengthen enterprise management, to head the new economic agencies should increase the chances that the reorganization of the Council of Ministers will achieve its desired effects. Placing loyal supporters in top positions should also reduce bureaucratic resistance to Gorbachev's overall program. [redacted]

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Changes in management structures and staff, moreover, may highlight basic problems in the Soviet economy caused by irrational pricing, chronic breakdowns in supply, inadequate economic incentives, inaccurate and inefficient flow of information to central planners, and insufficient input from consumers into production decisions. Even in the best organized and well-staffed decisionmaking structures, economic decisions will often be seriously flawed as long as they are based on prices that fail to reflect consumers' preferences and on reports from officials whose primary goal is to receive low production targets. When sound decisions are made at the top, their implementation will be seriously hampered by the central

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authorities' limited ability to motivate labor and management at the enterprise level. To achieve his ambitious economic goals, Gorbachev must also deal with problems that arise from the central economic planning system itself--a task more difficult than the organizational and personnel issues he has addressed so far. [Redacted]

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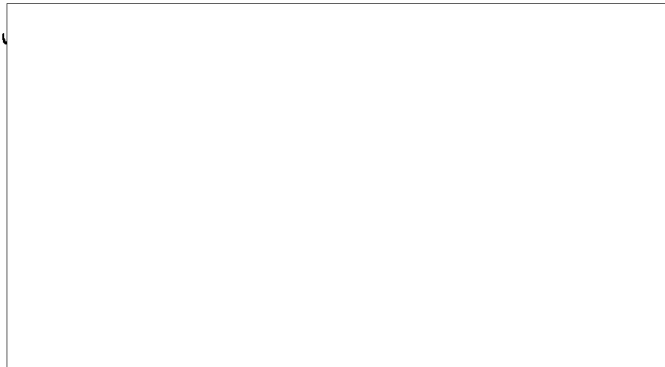
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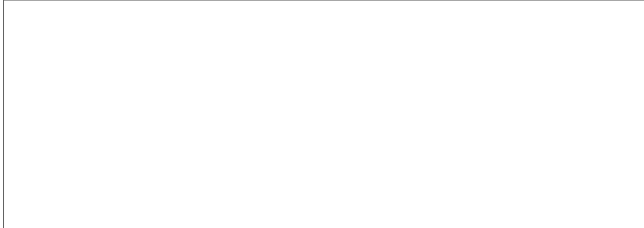
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