

# Gorbachov declares war on bureaucratism

by Konstantin George

On June 16, the Soviet Central Committee held a full-membership session in Moscow, with the keynote address delivered by General-Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov. While Gorbachov used his address to make another big splash of strategic nuclear weapons disarmament "proposals," the bulk of his speech, and the main point on the Central Committee's agenda, was the question of ensuring the actual implementation of the "Plan B" high technology-based modernization and reorganization of the Soviet economy, proclaimed over a year ago by Gorbachov and the Russian military high command. In short, the "business" under discussion was the progress and problems of the industrial economic base to Moscow's war buildup.

Gorbachov was clearly heavily dissatisfied over the sluggishness exhibited by the party, government, and management apparatus, in delivering on the demands set forth by the Politburo since spring 1985. His speech was nothing less than a declaration of war against any and all bureaucratic obstacles impeding the required pre-war transformation of the economy.

Gorbachov told the 300 Central Committee members, in language taken from Stalin's lexicon: "Everything standing in the way of reorganizing the economy must be swept aside." The Soviet leader underscored that things can no longer continue in the same mode:

"There are signs of a tendency for economic growth, but, the planned restructuring of the economy [along high-technology lines] is proceeding only slowly till now." Gorbachov denounced what he termed "braking factors" blocking the reorganization of the economy, and then issued a warning to the party and government apparatus: "The past months have shown that a reorganization [of the economy] is not possible without changing the work style of the party. . . . At all levels, the party must free itself of bureaucratic elements. That holds true for all levels, from the base up to the Central Committee apparatus."

This warning that higher-ups will not be spared if goals are not fulfilled, was made very concrete in the following passage: "A special role is required of the Republic party secretaries [party heads of each Republic], Oblast [regional]

party secretaries, and city party secretaries." The party first secretaries of republics, regions, and major cities, are without exception members of the Central Committee, and were therefore in the audience Gorbachov was addressing.

Gorbachov denounced the failure of the Soviet leadership "during the 1970s and 1980s [to] make the jump from extensive to intensive economic growth." This was more than an attack on the "errors" of the Brezhnev era, as his statement also included a stinging criticism of the inability to implement "Plan B" at the required tempo up to the present time.

While the Central Committee session did not announce any personnel changes, it did adopt proposals submitted by the Politburo on "organizational questions," a sign that the three-day session of the Supreme Soviet, which began on June 18, would announce personnel changes already passed behind closed doors by the Politburo and Central Committee.

## Ryzhkov opens Supreme Soviet

The keynote address to the Supreme Soviet was delivered on June 18 by Politburo member and prime minister, Nikolai Ryzhkov. Ryzhkov, following Gorbachov's lead, lashed out against "bureaucratic elements" in the party and government apparatus, outdoing Gorbachov in the harshness of his attacks on the "complacency" permeating the party. Ryzhkov elaborated the focus on "intensive economic growth" to overhaul Soviet industry and agriculture during the current Five-Year Plan.

The Soviet prime minister also used the language of a war declaration against the way the economy has been run: "We simply cannot accept the fact that only 29% of our serially manufactured machinery products do not meet world standards. It has been decided to bring the portion of such products up to between 80 and 95% by 1990."

He detailed a program of industrial investments which shows that a crash program is underway to achieve the modernization of Russia's relatively backward civilian industrial economy. During the 1986-90 time-frame, 51% of the total planned 994 billion rubles of investments are to be for "intensive" industrial modernization of existing plant and equipment, as opposed to the previous "norm" of about one-third of all investments going for "intensive" modernization programs. The 994 billion ruble figure represents an increase of 190 billion rubles over the total investment allocation picture for the 1981-85 Five Year Plan.

Thus, in rough terms, instead of about 270 billion rubles invested in "intensive" modernization in 1981-85, 1986-90 will see 507 billion rubles in such plant and equipment modernization investments—a near doubling.

Ryzhkov went out of his way to stress the Five Year Plan's primacy assigned to nuclear energy as composing the principal addition to Russia's energy capacity during the next 5 and 15 years. The next phase of the Gorbachov "transformation" of Russia, for the crucial late-1980s peak phase of Moscow's war plan, is under way. Cadres will implement the "Plan B" Five Year Plan, or they will not survive it.