Contents

| | List of Figures and Tables | vii |
|---|---|--------|
| | Preface | ix |
| 1 | The historical origins of the Soviet planning | |
| | system | 1 |
| | Introduction | 1 |
| | Centralization and the command principle | 1 6 |
| | The theory and practice of resource mobilization | 12 |
| | The command principle and the work-force | 20 |
| | Conclusion | 23 |
| 2 | Soviet planning in practice | 24 |
| | The 'ratchet' principle | 24 |
| | The Micawber principle | 26 |
| | Ratchet and Micawber and managerial behaviour | 27 |
| | Ratchet, Micawber, and the long term | 27 |
| | The classical Stalinist planning system in historical | |
| | perspective | 30 |
| | The slow-down | 40 |
| 3 | The reforms of the 1960s and 1970s and why | |
| | they failed | 45 |
| | The 'pre-reforms' | 45 |
| | The 1965 planning reform | 48 |
| | The 1965 planning reform in retrospect | 54 |
| | Going through the motions: the Brezhnev ascendancy | 66 |
| | The 1979 'mini-reform' | 73 |
| | Gorbachev's perestroika programme | 79 |
| | Andropov sets the scene | 79 |
| | Gorbachev in command | 83 |

Index

| _ | | |
|---|---|-----|
| | The foreign trade reforms of 1986-7 | 89 |
| | Restructuring the CMEA | 92 |
| | The pace quickens | 93 |
| | Perestroika and the planning system | 98 |
| 5 | The special problem of agriculture | 103 |
| | General assessment | 103 |
| | Strategy and stagnation 1964-82 | 104 |
| | Intra-farm centralization and decentralization | 110 |
| | Gorbachev and Chernenko | 113 |
| | The evolution of administrative structure 1985-6 | 114 |
| | The price of decentralization | 118 |
| | Private agriculture: another road | 120 |
| | The conceptual breakthrough | 121 |
| | The new legislative framework of 1989 | 122 |
| | The new policy blockage of the 1990s | 124 |
| | From blockage to blueprint | 126 |
| 6 | The special problem of construction and | |
| | investment | 129 |
| | The hierarchy of investment planning from Stalin to | |
| | Brezhnev | 129 |
| | 'The more costly, the better' | 143 |
| | The construction industry and the pattern of the traditional | |
| | Soviet planning system | 149 |
| | Investment planning and investment pay-offs - the | |
| | pre-perestroika record | 152 |
| | Gorbachev's reconstruction of the investment planning system | 161 |
| | Investment policy 1985-90: acceleration versus reconstruction | 166 |
| | An interim conclusion | 170 |
| 7 | Perestroika in crisis | 171 |
| | Profile of a policy failure | 171 |
| | Anatomy of a policy failure | 176 |
| | The price of budget deficit | 180 |
| | The price of external deficit | 182 |
| | The price of democratization | 185 |
| | What is to be done? | 191 |
| | Conclusion: can the Soviet Union do it alone? | 204 |
| | Postscript | 206 |
| | Glossary | 210 |
| | References | 212 |
| | | |

224