

expansion of the consumer sector of the economy and an equally radical transfer of investment resources from other sectors of the economy for this purpose. To ensure its implementation, this emergency programme will require, over the five-year period concerned, the retention of traditional methods of state planning and of strong centralized control of the economy. It thus seems to mean a corresponding interruption in advancing the major objectives of economic *perestroika*, particularly the movement towards a market-oriented economy.

Among the subjective factors might be noted the confusion, uncertainty, and even resistance generated among Party and economic ministry bureaucrats to the stern and often contradictory exigencies of the many reforms being promoted simultaneously, and involving radical changes of functions and responsibilities. Managers are largely lacking in the kinds of training and experience required for the successful implementation of the important marketing and self-financing features of the new economic system. At the same time the workers, facing increasingly difficult working and living conditions, remain alienated and unmotivated, and their intense dissatisfaction helped stimulate in 1989 the dangerous extent of the massive strike of miners, and the strikes and transportation blockades associated with the inter-ethnic troubles. In reaction there is growing public and parliamentary controversy over the tempo and aims of economic *perestroika*, particularly as a widening and disillusioning asymmetry is perceived between the troubled economy and the rapid advance of political reform.

On the objective side, possibly the most formidable challenge to the economic agenda is the complex character of the transition to a new economic system. To support this system Gorbachev must build a completely new infrastructure that will establish and bring about what does not now exist: for example, the self-financing and self-management of industrial and agricultural production; a network of wholesale and retail relations; the related financial and credit institutions, price mechanism and entrepreneurial freedom -- all to be underpinned and sanctioned by a comprehensive new corpus of law now projected in over fifty statutes to be considered in the new Soviet Parliament. The climate of confidence and clarity that will allow the economy to move towards its new structural goals apparently depends on the enactment of all these important legislative measures.