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USSR: Politburo and Secretariat Changes Under Gorbachev

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Summary

At the conclusion of the 27th CPSU Congress on 6 March 1986, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev announced the composition of the new Politburo and Secretariat--the leading organs of the ruling party apparatus. Eight Soviet officials received promotions to these bodies: one full Politburo member (Lev Zaykov), two candidate Politburo members (Yuriy Solov'yev and Nikolay Slyun'kov), and five new party secretaries (Anatoliy Dobrynin, Georgiy Razumovskiy, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Aleksandra Biryukova, and Vadim Medvedev). These eight officials, plus one other new candidate Politburo member (Boris Yel'tsin) named a week before the congress convened in February, constitute a full third of the total current Politburo and Secretariat lineup. [Redacted]

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This paper presents a review of all of the leadership changes made during Gorbachev's first year in office [Redacted]

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[Redacted] a table delineating the entire new membership of the Politburo and Secretariat is also attached. [Redacted]

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This memorandum was prepared by analysts from USSR-EE Division, Office of Central Reference. Information available as of 13 March 1986 was used in its preparation. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, Political Branch, USSR-EE Division, OCR, [Redacted]

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What a Difference a Year Makes

When Gorbachev succeeded Konstantin Chernenko as General Secretary a year ago, he inherited a Politburo and Secretariat that as a group was clearly not attuned to his plans for redirecting the nation's political and economic course. Besides Gorbachev himself, the Politburo and Secretariat ranks consisted of 20 other men, 14 of whom were incumbents from the Leonid Brezhnev regime (1964-82). [redacted]

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The leadership picture now looks dramatically different. The Politburo and Secretariat have 26 members, including Gorbachev. While 10 of these officials were initially brought into the Politburo or Secretariat under Brezhnev, only six (besides Gorbachev himself) retain the same positions on those bodies that they assumed under Brezhnev:

- **Andrey Gromyko**, full Politburo member since 1973; "promoted" from Foreign Minister to President of the Supreme Soviet Presidium in July 1985.
- **Dinmukhamed Kunayev**, Kazakh Republic party boss; full Politburo member since 1971.
- **Vladimir Shcherbitskiy**, Ukrainian Republic party boss; full Politburo member since 1971.
- **Petr Demichev**, USSR Minister of Culture; candidate Politburo member since 1964.
- **Vladimir Dolgikh**, party secretary for heavy industry since 1972; candidate Politburo member since May 1982.
- **Mikhail Zimyanin**, party secretary for culture and propaganda affairs from 1976 until at least early March 1986; he may now have changed portfolios and have responsibility for Bloc relations affairs. [redacted]

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The 19 remaining members on Gorbachev's current Politburo and Secretariat can be divided into three tenure groupings:

- Three received their current seats during Yuriy Andropov's term as General Secretary (November 1982 - February 1984) and appear by nearly all indications to be comfortably on board with Gorbachev's leadership and policies (full Politburo members **Geydar Aliyev**, **Mikhail Solomentsev**, and **Vitaliy Vorotnikov**).
- Seven received their current seats during Gorbachev's first 10 months in office (March 1985 - January 1986).
- Nine new leaders received their promotions just before or at the conclusion of the 27th Party Congress. [redacted]

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With the appointment of these nine most recent additions--one-third of the total leadership grouping--Gorbachev has further consolidated his backing in the party leadership, particularly in the Secretariat, which is now clearly dominated by incumbents beholden to him for their current seats. Of equal import, these new appointees--as far as their known backgrounds and activities can tell us--seem to be politically and ideologically in accord with Gorbachev's policies and goals. This may allow them to support Gorbachev's initiatives out of conviction, in addition to traditional political expediency and obedience, though the facade of unanimity imposed on all leadership statements and policies will continue to make this difficult to judge. [Redacted]

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Who's Out and Who's In: A Summary

Full Politburo Members.

Of the nine men besides Gorbachev who were full Politburo members in March 1985, only three have been removed. [Redacted]

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Grigoriy Romanov. Politburo member during 1976-85 and party secretary for defense industries during 1983-85, he retired for "health" reasons last July. The former Lenin-grad party boss [Redacted]

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[Redacted] the consensus among both Soviet and Western observers is that Romanov, widely regarded as a rival and contender to Gorbachev for the party leadership, was removed for political reasons--a significant personnel coup in Gorbachev's young administration. [Redacted]

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Nikolay Tikhonov. Politburo member during 1979-85 and Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Premier) during 1980-85, he retired last October. While there were several indications of some economic policy differences with Gorbachev, the 80-year-old Tikhonov appears to have received an honorable retirement; he was one of several retired high party officials reelected to the Central Committee at the recent party congress. [Redacted]

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Viktor Grishin. Removed from the Politburo on 18 February 1986, just a week before the party congress convened, he had been a Politburo member since 1971 and Moscow city party boss during 1967-85. His ouster from the Politburo was a foregone conclusion following his removal as Moscow city party boss last December. Grishin was generally regarded as one of the "old guard" rivals to Gorbachev's new leadership, but he was also seriously tainted by charges of widespread corruption and inefficiency within his Moscow party apparatus. [Redacted]

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During this past year, five new Politburo members were added. Two were elevated from candidate member status. [Redacted]

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Viktor Chebrikov. KGB chief since 1982, he became a full member in April 1985, restoring full Politburo membership to the position of KGB boss, a status attained by Andropov during his tenure. Chebrikov had been a candidate member since 1983. [Redacted]

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Eduard Shevardnadze. Georgian Republic party boss since 1972, he was elevated to full membership and replaced Gromyko as Foreign Minister in July 1985. He had been a candidate member since 1978. []

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The other new Politburo members--now generally regarded as the three most powerful men behind Gorbachev in the leadership--were all elected directly to full Politburo membership under Gorbachev, bypassing the traditional candidate member stage. []

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Yegor Ligachev. A party secretary since 1983, he was elected a full member in April 1985. He remains on the Secretariat, overseeing ideology and cadre affairs, and is the widely acknowledged "second secretary" and the clear number-two man in the current leadership. []

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Nikolay Ryzhkov. Party secretary for economics during 1982-85, he was also elected a full member last April. He served briefly as a senior secretary until he was named to replace Tikhonov as Premier in September 1985; he relinquished his Secretariat seat a month later. []

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Lev Zaykov. One of the nine new leadership members, he was elected a full member at the close of the party congress on 6 March. He continues to serve as a party secretary for the defense industry (and possibly for broader economic oversight), a position he also assumed under Gorbachev in July 1985. He thus joins Gorbachev and Ligachev as the only men to presently sit as both full Politburo and Secretariat members. []

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Candidate Politburo Members.

There were six candidate Politburo members on board when Gorbachev took office. Two, as mentioned above (Chebrikov and Shevardnadze) have been elevated to full membership. Two Brezhnev holdovers (Demichev and Dolgikh) still remain as candidate members. The remaining two, 85-year-old **Vasiliy Kuznetsov** (First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium) and 80-year-old **Boris Ponomarev** (longtime chief of the Central Committee's International Department), were retired from the Politburo at the conclusion of the party congress. Like Tikhonov, however, both were singled out as honorary retirees in good party standing by their reelection to the Central Committee members. []

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Two new candidate Politburo members were added during Gorbachev's first months in office. []

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Sergey Sokolov. USSR Minister of Defense since 1984, he was elected a candidate member in April 1985. For now, his position as only a candidate member represents a loss of status for the military, which was represented by Minister of Defense Dmitriy Ustinov as a full Politburo member from 1976 until his death in December 1984. []

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Nikolay Talyzin. Deputy premier during 1980-85, he became a first deputy premier and Chairman of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) in October 1985. His election the next day as a candidate member brought a new political status to the position of Gosplan chief never attained by Talyzin's veteran predecessor Nikolay Baybakov--a clear indication of the political importance the Gorbachev regime has placed in the area of economic planning and management. []

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Three additional new candidate Politburo members--all representing regional party organizations--are included among the nine new leaders who emerged just before or at the recent party congress.

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Boris Yel'tsin. Elected a candidate member on 18 February 1986, one week before the party congress, he had replaced Grishin as Moscow city party boss in December 1985, Yel'tsin was simultaneously released from his position as a party secretary for construction affairs, a post he had attained earlier under Gorbachev in July 1985. Yel'tsin's dynamic personal qualities, combined with the traditional political importance of the Moscow party boss position, suggest that he will probably be elevated to full Politburo membership in the near future.

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Yuriy Solov'yev. Leningrad party boss since July 1985, he was elected a candidate member at the close of the party congress, thus restoring Leningrad's traditional representation in the party leadership bodies. Some of Solov'yev's predecessors, including Romanov, had risen to full Politburo membership during their terms as Leningrad party chief.

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Nikolay Slyun'kov. Belorussian Republic party boss since 1983, he was also elected a candidate member at the close of the party congress, similarly restoring the traditional representation of that important republic's party organization on the Politburo.

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The Party Secretariat.

In March 1985 there were seven junior party secretaries--those who were not full Politburo members. Two (Ligachev and Ryzhkov) were elected full Politburo members, with Ryzhkov subsequently relinquishing his Secretariat status. Two others remain in place among the holdovers from the Brezhnev lineup--Dolgikh and Zimyanin. The remaining three were all removed just before or at the recent party congress.

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Konstantin Rusakov. Secretary for Bloc relations from 1977 until 18 February 1986, he was retired for health reasons a week before the party congress. During the previous several months, he had been absent from most public activities because of health problems.

Boris Ponomarev. Secretary for international relations from 1961 until 6 March 1986, he was retired from that job as well as from his position as a candidate Politburo member at the close of the congress. One of the honorary retirees, however, he was reelected a Central Committee member.

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Ivan Kapitonov. A secretary (for cadre and then for light industry and consumer affairs) from 1965 until 6 March 1986, he was also released from the Secretariat at the close of the congress. Although he was not reelected a Central Committee member like Ponomarev, he was singled out for honorary party status through his election as chairman of the Central Committee's Central Auditing Commission.

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During his first year in office Gorbachev has named eight new party secretaries. Two (Zaykov and Yel'tsin) were mentioned above. Of the six others, one--agriculture secre-

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tary **Viktor Nikonov** --was named a month into Gorbachev's administration in April 1985. (Gorbachev himself had held the agricultural portfolio on the Secretariat before his election as General Secretary.) The other new junior secretaries make up the last five of the nine new leaders who emerged at the recent party congress. [redacted]

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Anatoliy Dobrynin. Previously Ambassador to the United States since 1961, he has been brought back to Moscow as a party secretary for an as yet unspecified foreign affairs portfolio. Most reporting thus far indicates that Dobrynin has taken over Ponomarev's job as head of the Central Committee's International Department; it is not clear, however, in what form this department now exists because there may have been a reorganization of the Central Committee departments concerned with foreign affairs. (It is also possible that Dobrynin's appointment as a party secretary may prove to be a holding action toward a possible future switch that would make Dobrynin the next foreign minister and elevate current Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to a senior secretary position.) [redacted]

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Georgiy Razumovskiy. His selection continues the long-established pattern of having the chief of the Central Committee's important Organizational Party Work (cadre) Department sit as a junior secretary for cadre affairs; he has headed the department since June 1985. (Ligachev was Razumovskiy's immediate predecessor in this dual role.) At 50, Razumovskiy is the youngest (by five years) of all 26 members of the Politburo and Secretariat. [redacted]

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Aleksandr Yakovlev. Chief of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department since July 1985, he has emerged as a top adviser to Gorbachev on a wide range of political, propaganda, and ideology matters. [redacted]

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Aleksandra Biryukova. A longtime secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), she was named the deputy chairman of the council under Gorbachev in May 1985. She is the first woman since the Khrushchev era to reach the upper echelons of party leadership. A textile worker by training, she will presumably take over Kapitonov's vacated Secretariat portfolio for light industry and consumer affairs. [redacted]

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Vadim Medvedev. Chief of the Central Committee's Science and Educational Institutions Department since 1983, he will apparently have a newly created Secretariat portfolio for science and educational affairs--a reflection of the increased emphasis placed by the Gorbachev regime on this area, particularly on the intensified introduction of computerization and high technology into education. [redacted]

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CPSU Politburo and Secretariat

_____ Promoted since March 1985, when Gorbachev became General Secretary.

██████ Promoted at 27th party congress, 6 March 1986.

Politburo

Full Members

Mikhail Gorbachev	Party General Secretary
Geydar Aliyev	First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers
Viktor Chebrikov	Chairman, KGB
Andrey Gromyko	Chairman, Presidium, Supreme Soviet
Dinmukhamed Kunayev	First Secretary, Kazakhstan party Central Committee
Yegor Ligachev	Party Secretary, ideology and party personnel
Nikolay Ryzhkov	Chairman, Council of Ministers
Vladimir Shcherbitskiy	First Secretary, Ukrainian party Central Committee
Eduard Shevardnadze	Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mikhail Solomentsev	Chairman, party Control Committee
Vitaliy Vorotnikov	Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers
Lev Zaykov	Secretary, defense industry and general economics

Candidate Members

Petr Demichev	Minister of Culture
Vladimir Dolgikh	Party Secretary, heavy industry
Nikolay Slyunkov	First Secretary, Belorussian party Central Committee
Sergey Sokolov	Minister of Defense
Yuriy Solovyev	First Secretary, Leningrad oblast
Nikolay Talyzin	Chairman, Gosplan; First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers
Boris Yeltsin	First Secretary, Moscow city party

Secretaries not on Politburo

Aleksandra Biryukova	light industry, consumer issues*
Anatoliy Dobrynin	foreign affairs*
Vadim Medvedev	science and education*
Viktor Nikonov	agriculture
Georgiy Razumovskiy	party personnel
Aleksandr Yakovlev	ideology, propaganda*
Mikhail Zimyanin	culture

* Probable responsibilities.



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