

Radio Free Europe/Munich  
Evaluation and Analysis Department

day, delivered a major report on the Bucharest conference (Pravda, 17 July 1960). In other words Kozlov, who did not go to Bucharest, was deputizing for the Party leader<sup>3</sup> in handling the most delicate problem within the bloc at present -- the issue of Sino-Soviet ideological relations. It is possible that this division of labor, as between Suslov and Kozlov, will continue in the future and in that case the choice for the succession will appear clearly to have fallen on Kozlov.

There were no signs during the Plenum that Khrushchev's authority is on the wane. Of the many, largely technical speeches, A. N. Kosygin's<sup>4</sup> was the most important. The First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers quoted his chief three times in the space of three Pravda columns, referred to Khrushchev's "indefatigable fight for peace," and ended his oratory by acclaiming Nikita Sergeyevich as "the head of the Leninist Central Committee, the inexhaustible champion of the working class, of the cause of communism." Pravda notes that "stormy, prolonged applause" followed.

As for the once-silent Suslov, the eminence grise of so many journalist speculations, he began his uninspired remarks to the I.U.J. members as follows:

"Permit me on behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and on behalf of N. S. Khrushchev to greet you..."

The only new note in Suslov's speech came when he was developing Khrushchev's thesis that owing to the growing strength of the socialist camp it is no longer clear who encircles whom. This Suslov carried so far that he observed:

"Before our eyes the so-called Western world, both in area and in population, is growing ever smaller and smaller, becoming virtually an island in the immense sea of new states and political forms which are arising on almost every continent."

Khrushchev has never in the past gone quite so far in underestimating the strength of the Western world as to refer to it as an "island," and thus Suslov's exaggeration of its weakness is reminiscent, in its gross psychological fallacy, of Mao's much-hunted but still vigorous "paper tiger." Nevertheless exaggeration is one of the attributes of the agitprop functionary such as Suslov, and the main lesson to be drawn

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<sup>3</sup> Khrushchev was attending the issue of Lenin Prizes to Sholokhov and V. S. Lebedev, a co-author of the book which glowingly describes Khrushchev's visit to the United States, "Face to Face with America."

<sup>4</sup> Pravda, 6 July 1960.

from the speech remains its secondary nature as compared with that delivered by Kozlov.

To sum up, it is notable that now Brezhnev no longer has three functions, each and every member of the Presidium fills only one other post -- either in the Secretariat, the Party or State apparatus, or in the CC Bureau for the RSFSR. One man alone has all these functions: N. S. Khrushchev,<sup>5</sup> the head of all the organizations concerned.

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<sup>5</sup> See Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 18 July 1960.