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PARTY AND STATE (XIV)

The release of N. G. Ignatov from his duties as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet,¹ after only 7 months in office, was effected almost exactly in the manner of his appointment.² Although the nominating speech of A. Aristov, his colleague in the Presidium and Secretariat of the CC, CPSU, attributed special importance³ to Ignatov's assumption of the role of nominal head of state of the RSFSR, the record of his appearances during this short incumbency has thrown no light on the reasons for the temporary shift of his main activities from Party to state work. Nor does the following explanation and nomination of Ignatov's successor, as made by P. Pospelov, Candidate Member and Secretary of the CC, CPSU -- and member of the CC Buro for the RSFSR -- furnish the slightest hint as to Ignatov's future sector of responsibility in the Central Committee secretariat:⁴

"The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation today elected Deputy Nikolai Organov* as President of the Presidium of the Federation's Supreme Soviet. The proposal was moved by Pyotr Pospelov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on behalf of the Supreme Soviet's Party group and the Council of Elders. The Central Committee of

¹ Tass, 26 November 1959.

² Tass, 16 April 1959; see Party and State IX -- Background Information, 16 April 1959; Party and State XI -- Background Information, 3 Aug. 1959.

³ Pravda, 17 April 1959. "In connection with the great tasks which the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR is called upon to resolve, the Central Committee of our Party has considered it necessary that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation be headed by a leading personality from the membership of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

⁴ Tass, 26 Nov. 1959.

* See biography, p. ii.

the CPSU, Pospelov said, has found it necessary for Member of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee Nikolay Ignatov to work at his main job in the Central Committee. In view of this, it is proposed to relieve him of his duties as Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation."

The surrender of the state post by Ignatov once again demonstrates the concentration of Party-State power in the person of N. S. Khrushchev. Although the chairmanship of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is a relatively unimportant post, it did place Ignatov in the position of simultaneously occupying state and secretariat posts, a privilege previously permitted only the First secretary-⁵ Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Frequently forgotten, and almost never mentioned in the Soviet press, is the fact that N. S. Khrushchev is also Chairman of the CC Buro of the RSFSR and in this capacity is, in reality, the head of the "party organization of the RSFSR." The significance of this personal control over the Party organization of the RSFSR is obvious and, as the historical explanation for the non-existence of a separate central committee for the RSFSR shows,⁶ the resultant power to appoint the oblast secretaries in the RSFSR is the most effective method of ensuring an unchallengable majority on the Central Committee of the CPSU. With the "Central Committee" packed with secretaries of his choice, Khrushchev has already won his victories in the intra-Party struggle in the first phase of the post-Stalin era; through the same methods the First secretary-Chairman of the Council of Ministers will obtain approval for his plans -- in personnel (anti-Party group) and policy matters -- in the next, -- hr

⁵ Kozlov, Mikoyan, and Voroshilov are the only Presidium members holding state or governmental offices.

⁶ See below, p. 1.

ORGANOV, Nikolai Nikolaevich. Member, CP, since 1925; since 1938 in Party-state work in Siberia and Far East.

Since 1951 first secretary, Krasnoyarsk Krai Party Committee (reelected 1956 and Dec. 1957); voting delegate, 19th and 20th Congresses of CPSU, Oct. 1952 and Feb. 1956; elected member, CC, CPSU, at 19th and 20th Congresses; 1954 criticized by "Pravda" for inadequate supervision of harvest and of compulsory deliveries of grain to the state; elected deputy, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1954; member, Editorial Commission and Commission for Drafting 20th Party Congress Resolutions, 20th Congress of CPSU; Deputy Chairman RSFSR Council of Ministers, Feb. 1958, Chairman Presidium Supreme Soviet, RSFSR, .Nov. 1959.

QUESTION OF SEPARATE PARTY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR RSFSR DISCUSSED

Vysshiye i Mestnyye Organy Partii, 1958
by L. Slepov, Department of Party
Structure, Higher Party School, Central
Committee CPSU

...This question arises: Why was a Bureau of the Central Committee CPSU created for the Russian Federation, while other union republics have central committees of (their own) Communist parties? This is explained by the fact that the party organization of the Russian Federation makes such a large share of our party that the creation of a central committee would signify, in essence, the creation of two centers within the Party. The Communist Party, from its very inception, was created as one central organization with a single central committee.

The decisions of the Eighth Party Congress (March 1919) held that the question of state structure were settled in such a fashion that there would be separate union republics; this did not mean that the Communist Party, in turn, should be reorganized on the basis of a federation of independent parties. The Communist Party is a single political organization, built on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, and not the principle of autonomous federalism. The central committees of union republic Communist parties "enjoy the rights of oblast party committees" (KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh. /The CPSU in resolutions and Decisions/ Vol 1, p. 443). All decisions of the CPSU and its directing organs are unconditionally binding on all units of the party, regardless of their national composition.

The question of a Russian Central Committee arose at the 14th Party Congress (December 1925), in connection with the change in the name of the party. A. A. Andreyev, the speaker on the party statutes, in speaking of the doubts which had arisen in connection with the change of the Party's name /from the RKP (b), Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) to the VKP (b), or All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)/, and in connection with the new structure of the party pointed out that:

"The principle doubt, which we heard even at meetings of the plenums of the Central Committee, is one of whether or not the time has come to raise the question of the formation of a Russian party and a Russian central committee. This is the chief objection which has been brought forth. If this were actually so - if, together with the renaming of our party, we must inevitably proceed to the formation of a parallel Russian Central Committee - then this would be a great detriment to our party, for it would actually signify the existence of two central directive organs for our party, because the Russian unit's large share in an all-union party is self-evident...

"Is there a need for the formation of a separate Russian central committee? There never was such a need, and nobody ever put forth the idea. Why should it be raised now that we have renamed our party? It seems to me that absolutely nothing has changed, either in the structure or the tasks of our party. That means the need for the formation of a Russian party and a Russian central committee in no way arises either."

All of this taken together explains why the party organizations of the RSFSR are directed by the Central Committee CPSU through its Bureau for the RSFSR...