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COMMUNIST AREA

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0638

● USSR: Party

1 July 1970

THE NEW SUPREME SOVIET

Summary: The following report examines the personnel in the new Supreme Soviet according to social groups and determines whether or not -- compared to the 1966 Supreme Soviet -- any significant changes have been registered in regard to the structure of the governmental body. Mention will also be made of those better known personalities who were not re-elected.

On 14 June 1970, the elections of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR took place. On 17 June, Izvestia and the other Soviet dailies printed a report from the Central Election Commission on the results, together with a list of the deputies elected to both chambers of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. A total of 1,517 deputies were elected, 767 of them to the Council of the Union and 750 to the Council of Nationalities. According to official statistics, 31.7% of the deputies are workers and 18.6% kolkhoz farmers. These two social groups thus account for 50.3% of all the deputies. 72.3% of those elected are members or candidates of the CPSU, the remaining 27.7% are non-affiliated. 281 or 18.5% are younger than 30 years old and 30.5% of the deputies are women.

The following table indicates the professions and social positions of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at the time of their election:

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Newly elected</u>
<u>Party (total)</u>	<u>243</u>	<u>68</u>
Secretaries of CC CPSU	10	--
Section heads, CC CPSU	10	3
Misc. functionaries, CC CPSU	7	--
Secretaries, Union republic Central Committees	33	5
Provincial Secretaries	6	2
Territorial Secretaries	140	38
City Secretaries	23	8
Rayon and District Secretaries	14	12
<u>State Apparatuses</u>	<u>171</u>	<u>27</u>
Members of government USSR	75	7
Members of Supreme Soviet	5	--
Misc. higher functionaries of USSR	11	2
Members of government in Union Republics	42	9
Members of Supreme Soviet in Union Republics	17	1
Misc. higher functionaries in Union Republics	2	--
Members of government in autonomous republics	19	8
<u>Administrative officials</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>13</u>
<u>Security organs</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Newly elected</u>
<u>Army</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>Komsomol</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Trade Unions</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Transportation</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>Justice</u>	<u>2</u>	--
<u>Intellectual professions</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>74</u>
Scientists	44	16
University and institute rectors	7	4
Doctors	20	19
Teachers and school directors	22	20
Authors	27	8
Composers	6	2
Artists	12	4
Designers in various ministries	12	1
<u>Industry</u>	<u>395</u>	<u>320</u>
Plant directors	32	21
Highly-qualified specialists	14	7
Industrial workers	347	291
Employees	2	1

Affiliation	Number	Newly elected
<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>409</u>	<u>333</u>
Kolkhoz directors	80	51
Sovkhoz directors	12	11
Directors of experimental stations and breeding farms	4	4
Agricultural specialists (kolkhoz)	20	19
Agricultural specialists (sovkhoz)	1	1
Directors of kolkhoz farms	12	9
Directors of sovkhoz farms	1	1
Kolkhoz farmers	170	136
Sovkhoz workers	96	89
Workers at experimental stations and breeding farms	6	6
Industrial forestry workers	7	6
<u>Cooperatives</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Cosmonauts</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Others</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	1517	889

The two groups with the largest number of members in this highest organ of state power in the Soviet Union play very different roles in the Supreme Soviet. The first group is that of the Party and state functionaries who form the real political center of the Supreme Soviet and, in the course of the last several legislative terms, has remained a stable group within the legislature. The second group, the "representatives of the people," is strong in numbers, but not in political importance, and its members have fluctuated greatly during the last several terms. Thus, 83.8% of the industrial workers and 80% of the kolkhoz farmers were newly-elected representatives, while in the party functionaries group only 27% were newly elected and in the state functionaries group a mere 15.7%. This striking difference in the rate of renewal between the two groups is not without significance. In the election of "people's representatives" to the Supreme Soviet, less emphasis is placed on continuity of function of the legislature than on creating the image of a truly broad representation and the chance for all to serve in high state organs.

In the new Supreme Soviet, 243 Party functionaries have seats, as compared to 263 in the 1966 Supreme Soviet. While the number of high functionaries of the CPSU (CC secretaries, section heads and other high CC functionaries) increased by only 6 seats compared to 1966, the number of territorial secretaries increased somewhat more and the number of rayon and district secretaries sank considerably (10%). The group of representatives from state organs, on the other hand, grew somewhat (by seven deputies) and has remained more stable from the standpoint of the personnel elected (see above). The number of deputies from the USSR government rose by seven deputies, while the members of the Union republic governments sank by 22. These changes within the individual groups reflect a growing centralism, which has become especially typical since the beginning of the economic reform.

In the 1966 Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 56 of the deputies came from the military; in the 1970 Supreme Soviet, their number has increased by two. Among the newly-elected representatives are six high officers, including the commander of the Baltic Fleet, Admiral V.V. Mikhailin, the supreme commander of the air force, Air Force Marshall P.S. Kutakhov (who took over his air force post in March 1969 from K.A. Vershinin), the commander of the Soviet forces in Germany, General of the

Army V.G. Kulikov, the commander of the Transbaikal defense district, General of the Army P.A. Belik, the commander of the Black Sea Fleet, Vice-Admiral V.S. Sysoev, and the commander of Far Eastern defense, General of the Army V.F. Tolubko. The rest of the newly-elected military men are either colonel-generals or lieutenant-generals.

The state security agency is represented in the new Supreme Soviet by 10 deputies. The Committee for State Security in the Ministerial Council of the USSR is represented by its Chairman. Yu. V. Andropov and his first deputy, S.K. Tsvigun. The other eight are the chairmen of the KGBs of the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, Latvia, Armenia and Turkmenia.

The intellectuals in the new Supreme Soviet are represented in approximately the same numbers as in 1966. The small number of scientists in the legislature is striking.

The absence of such an important industrial group as engineers from the Supreme Soviet stands out, as does the small number (three less than in 1966) of plant directors.

While the number of Komsomol representatives has decreased by one deputy in the new Supreme Soviet, the number of trade union representatives has increased by four.

Deputies Not Re-elected

As noted above, the largest number of deputies not re-elected to the Supreme Soviet can be found among the industrial workers and kolkhoz farmers, whose election to the Supreme Soviet is generally a one-time performance. In addition, however, there are among the deputies not re-elected, representatives who were purged or demoted during 1970, including the former First Secretary of the CC of the Turkmenian CP, B. Ovezov; the former Chairman of the Ministerial Council of the Azerbaidzhan SSR, E.N. Alikhanov; the former First Secretary of the CC of the Azerbaidzhan CP, V. Yu. Akhundov; the former director of the propaganda section in the CC of the CPSU, V.I. Stepanov; the former Chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations Abroad in the Ministerial Council of the USSR, S.K. Romanovsky, etc. In addition, among those not re-elected were the Secretary of the CC of the Kazakhstan CP,

G.A. Melnik; E.F. Loginov, who was relieved in May 1970 of his post as Minister for Civil Air Transportation of the USSR; the secretary of the CC of the Estonian CP, L.N. Lentsman; the secretary of the CC of the Kazakstan CP, A.S. Supreme Soviet in Azerbaidzhan, M.A. Iskenderov; A.F. Diorditsa, who was relieved in April 1970 of the post of Chairman of the Ministerial Council of the Moldavian SSR; and the Secretary of the CC of the Armenian CP, G.A. Arsumanyan.

Also not re-elected was a group of functionaries from the Ukraine, including the former chairman of the Committee for State Security in the Ministerial Council of the USSR and present first deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council of the Ukrainian SSR, V.E. Semichastny; the secretary and candidate member of the Politburo of the CC of the Ukrainian CP, F.D. Ovcharenko; the secretary and member of the Politburo of the CC of the Ukrainian CP, V.I. Dorzdenko; the chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Trade Union Council, V.K. Klimenko, and the agricultural minister of the Ukrainian SSR, P.E. Doroshenko.

Others not elected were the former first secretary of the Komsomol of the USSR, S.P. Pavlov, and the director of the Institute on the Peoples of Asia in the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, B.G. Gafurov.

Finally, the military men not reelected include: General of the Army V.A. Penkovsky, Marshall K.K. Rokossovsky, V.C. Sokolovsky, S.K. Timoshenko, K.E. Voroshilov (all deceased); General of the Army M.I. Kazakov, General of the Army I.A. Pliiev, Air Force Marshall K.A. Vershinin, General of the Army P.K. Koshevoy (all pensioned); and the former commander of the Baltic Fleet, Admiral A.E. Orel, the former commander of the Southern Army (Hungary), Colonel General K.I. Provalov, the former commander of the Transcaucasian defense group, General of the Army A.T. Stuchenko, and the former commander of the Black Sea Fleet, Admiral S.E. Chursin (all re-assigned).

In summation, one can say the following about the new Supreme Soviet: no shifts have taken place in favor of any one social or professional group. Party and state functionaries are still the solid middle point of the organ. A certain improvement in their position and a higher stability of the state functionaries confirms the trend, which became evident during the last legislative period, toward stronger cooperation between the party bureaucracy and the ministerial bureaucracy. The strengthened position of the state bureaucracy -- especially

that of the governmental apparatuses (union ministries -- is typical of the politico-economic strategy of the party leadership, which sees to it that such groups as plant directors, social scientists and chief engineers are not represented as they would be in a truly representatives parliament during a period of great scientific, technical and economic change such as the present.

Aside from the inexplicable exclusion of a group of Ukrainian Party functionaries, there were no striking political changes in the Supreme Soviet. However, it cannot be discounted that in the near future, personnel changes will take place at the leadership level.

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