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Cadre Policy Under Andropov and Chernenko

SUMMARY

The choice of Chernenko to fill the top party post emphasizes the strong reluctance of the Politburo seniors to pass the leadership baton to a younger leader. Yet, this same "old guard" has participated in major personnel decisions that have begun to rejuvenate the party and governmental bureaucracies. Andropov gave impetus and momentum to the process of change but did not conduct a purge. Most of his personnel moves were largely due to deaths, "honorable retirement," and internal transfers. Only a few dismissals were because of corruption or job ineffectiveness. [redacted]

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Dimensions of Change

In the Party hierarchy, there has been about a 30 percent turnover within the Central Committee Secretariat and apparatus and about a 20 percent turnover rate among republic and provincial party leaders.

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The scale of this renewal--the most extensive in 20 years--is comparable to the turnover that took place during Brezhnev's first year of power. The changes include:

- o Three new CPSU Secretaries (out of 10).
- o Eight new CPSU CC Department Chiefs (out of 23).
- o Thirty-five new Oblast Secretaries (out of 158).

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In the government, changes began to accelerate in Andropov's last months resulting in a 30 percent replacement rate among the 100-plus members of the USSR Council of Ministers. These include:

- o Two new First Deputy Chairmen (out of 3).
- o One new Deputy Chairman and the retirement and transfer of two more (out of 12).
- o Twelve new Ministers (out of 64).
- o Eleven new State Committee Chairmen (out of 24).

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The cadre changes under Andropov also affect the present composition and future shape of the Soviet Party Central Committee (CC). In total, 70 (more than 20 percent) of the 300 plus full members of the CC have had a change of status. More specifically, eight died, 18 retired, 42 were transferred to other positions, and two were expelled. The net result of these changes has been to create room for new additions to the CC. Some 45 officials have already moved upwards into posts whose previous incumbents had CC status and are thus likely to be elected at the next party congress in 1986.

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Characteristics of Change

Rejuvenation. These changes represent belated movement towards some rejuvenation of the elite.

- o The average age of the three new CPSU Secretaries is 59 while the "pre-Andropov" Secretaries have an average age of 68.
- o The average age of the eight new CC Department Chiefs is 61 while the average age of those they replaced was 72.

- o Data on the new Oblast First Secretaries is incomplete but, on the whole, they include many 45 to 55 year olds while the average age of the retirees is just over 65.
- o The average age of the 12 new ministers is 55 while the average age of the men they replaced was 70.
- o The average age of the 11 new State Committee Chairmen is 57 while the average age of their predecessors was 70. [redacted]
- o Within the Central Committee, for example, the average age of retirees among full members was about 71 years old while their replacements have an average age of 56.

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Honorable Discharge. Cadre changes under Andropov were handled generally with a "gold watch" treatment and do not represent a "purge." Several ministers, high CC apparatus officials and oblast first secretaries were retired "honorably" with special and public Politburo thanks for past services. [redacted]

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Turnover among provincial party leaders was handled, for the most part, in the context of "routine" party elections held every 2-3 years. The election campaign, which lasted from late August 1983 to late January 1984, resulted in 22 new Oblast or Kray First Secretaries. Thirteen changes had already been made under Andropov before the elections. As comparison, in the 1978/79 election campaign some 10 changes were made, and in 1980/81 only about five changes. [redacted]

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Technocrats. Besides being younger and possibly more energetic, some newcomers--not a majority--bring considerable technical and managerial expertise to their positions.

- o Such individuals as Nikolay Ryzhkov and Nikolay Slyun'kov, who have no or limited experience in party work have been catapulted into leadership positions in the CPSU Secretariat or key regional party organizations because of their managerial skills and expertise in high technology.
- o Proven defense industry managers, such as Sergey Afanas'yev and Anatoliy Reut, have been transferred to critical or lagging sectors of the civilian economy. [redacted]

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Implications for the Future Under Chernenko

The personnel changes carried out under Andropov are not likely to be reversed under Chernenko. [redacted] [redacted] the Politburo agreed during the recent succession not to change any of the major personnel decisions of the past 15 months. [redacted]

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The pace of cadre changes under Chernenko may be slower in the party due to the conclusion of the party election campaign. On the other hand, the pace of turnover may continue and even accelerate in the government, especially if--as rumored--Premier Tikhonov retires. [redacted]

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**Examples of the New Breed of Party Technocrats
Promoted to Key Party Posts Under Andropov**

Leader	Age	Previous Posts	New Position	Comments
Nikolay Ryzhkov	54	1st Deputy Chairman of USSR Gosplan; 1st Deputy Minister of Heavy and Transport Machine Building; General Director, Ural'mash Production Association	CPSU CC Secretary; Chief, newly created CC Economic Dept.	Has never held a party post; Strong Enthusiast of Automation
Yegor Ligachev	63	Engineer-designer at Chkalov Aircraft Plant; Tomsk Oblast Party Secretary for 18 years	CPSU CC Secretary; Chief, CC Organizational Party Work Department	Has long involvement in scientific and military R&D; Has been Deputy Chairman of the Science & Technology Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet since 1979
Nikolay Slyun'kov	54	Deputy Chairman of USSR Gosplan in charge of machine building Director, Minsk Tractor Plant	First Secretary Belorussian Communist Party	Only experience in party work was a two year stint as Minsk City Party Boss; Won State prizes for introducing Computer Technology in Minsk. His present party post traditionally has merited a candidate seat on the Politburo.
Lev Zaykov	60	Mayor of Leningrad since 1976; Entire Career prior to this spent in Defense Industry Establishments	First Secretary Leningrad Party Organization	Romanov's successor has never held a party post; Extensive experience in defense industry management and advanced electronics. This party post also has merited Politburo status in the past.

Soviet Defense Industry Managers Transferred
to Key Positions in the Civilian Economy under Andropov

Leader	Age	Previous Posts	New Position	Comments
Sergey Afanas'yev	65	Minister of General Machine Building, 1965 to April 1983	Minister of Heavy and Transport Machine Building	The Minister of General Machine Building is responsible for missile production.
Georgiy Kolmogorov	54	First Deputy Minister of the Communications Equipment Industry, 1975 to January 1984	Chairman of USSR State Committee on Standards	He comes from a ministry where standards and quality control have been much more important than in the civilian economy as a whole.
Anatoliy Reut	55	First Deputy Minister of the Radio Industry 1975 to February 1983	Chairman of the Belorussian Gosplan and Chairman of the Republic Council of Ministers	His transfer is part of major ongoing effort to rebuild the republic leadership under new party boss Nikolay Slyun'kov.



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