

POWER IN THE PARTY

Also by Graeme Gill

PEASANTS AND REVOLUTION IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
STALINISM

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SINGLE-PARTY SYSTEM: The
Disintegration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

THE ORIGINS OF THE STALINIST POLITICAL SYSTEM

THE POLITICS OF TRANSITION: Shaping a Post-Soviet Future (*with
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THE RULES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET
UNION

TWENTIETH-CENTURY RUSSIA: The Search for Power and
Authority

Power in the Party

The Organization of Power and Central–Republican Relations in the CPSU

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Preface

Work on this book began in the months leading up to the March 1989 election to the Congress of People's Deputies, an event which many saw as presaging the Communist Party's loss of control over Soviet society. It was completed in the week following the election to the State Duma in December 1995, an election which many at this time believe signals the return of the Communist Party to a more prominent place in the Russian political system. One thing which links these two events is what they seem to suggest about the informal structure of power at the heart of the party. The first election seemed to suggest that that structure had been significantly weakened. The second may indicate that, although weaker than it was before 1985, that structure has been sufficiently strong, particularly outside the major cities, to sustain the party through the assaults mounted on it in the wake of the August 1991 coup and the dispersal of the parliament in autumn 1993. During the six and a half years between these elections there were major changes in the personnel, formal organisation and professed ideology of the party in Russia, but the pragmatic core of the *modus operandi* of the party, reliance on personal networks to handle an uncertain environment, remained. This informal structure of power was always of fundamental importance in the Soviet Union, but it has rarely been adequately understood. It is the aim of this book to examine that structure.

This work was generously supported by the Australian Research Council, and without the funds provided by that body, it would not have been completed. Some of the ideas in this book have been tried out on colleagues too numerous to mention, and although those ideas did not always receive a positive response, we appreciate the time and effort people put into discussing them. We have been greatly assisted by librarians in Sydney, Moscow and Washington, and particularly those in the Australian National Library in Canberra, and we offer them our thanks. Finally, the Department of Government and Public Administration at the University of Sydney

has housed us both and given us various sorts of support without which this project would have faltered. Finally our most important debt is to our respective families, without whose support and love we could not have continued.

Glossary and Abbreviations

administrirovanie	a preoccupation with administrative details above all else
aktiv	section of the public taking on leadership and/or organisational roles in the conduct of political activity
BCP	Belorussian Communist Party
CC	Central Committee
CPSC	Committee for Party-State Control
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CPT	Communist Party of Tajikistan
CPU	Communist Party of Ukraine
CPUz	Communist Party of Uzbekistan
glasnost'	openness; one of the elements of Gorbachev's reform policies
gorispolkom	executive committee of a city soviet
gorkom	city party committee
ideinost'	strong moral commitment to and belief in the official ideology, Marxism-Leninism
ispolkom	executive committee of a soviet
KCP	Kazakh Communist Party
kolkhoz	collective farm
komsomol	Young Communist League – Soviet youth organisation
KP	<i>Kazakhstanskaia Pravda</i>
krai	territory
kraikom	territory party committee
KT	<i>Kommunist Tajikistana</i>
nomenklatura	official personnel system; also used to refer to people in privileged or responsible positions
obkom	provincial party committee
oblast	province
oblispolkom	provincial executive committee of the soviet
otdel	department

perestroika	restructuring; one of the elements of Gorbachev's reform policies; sometimes used to refer to his entire policy of reform
podmena	substitutionism; usually party organs taking over the functions of other bodies
pokazuka	a situation in which things are arranged purely for show
PPO	primary party organisation
PU	<i>Pravda Ukrainy</i>
PV	<i>Pravda Vostoka</i>
raispolkom	executive committee of a raion soviet
raikom	district party committee
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
SB	<i>Sovetskaia Belorussia</i>
sovkhoz	state farm
sovnarkhoz	regional economic council
vozhd'	leader; similar connotations to the German führer
vozhdism	leader dominance