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DIRECTORATE OF
INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence Report

*An Analysis of the Current Composition of
the Soviet Central Party Organs*

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
January 1972

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

**An Analysis of the Current Composition
of the Soviet Central Party Organs**

Introduction

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) met in Moscow from 30 March to 10 April 1971. It elected 241 full (voting) members of the Central Committee (up from 195 elected at the 23rd Congress in 1966), 155 candidate (alternate) members (down from 165 in 1966) and 81 members of the Central Auditing Commission (up from 79 in 1966). The results of this vote mirrored the personal power of the individual Soviet leaders and the influence of specific interest groups participating in the decision-making process. The election results also provide some clues as to how many functional specialists the Soviet leaders are bringing into the political elite as they grapple with the challenge of modernization. This study of the newly elected Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission has been undertaken to gain a better understanding of the power balance within the Kremlin, of the Soviet leadership's ability to deal with modern problems, and hence of the stability of the Soviet political system.

Note: This report was prepared by the Office of Current Intelligence and coordinated within CIA.

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Background

The functions of the CPSU Central Committee are defined as follows in the Party Statutes adopted at the 22nd Party Congress in 1961:

Between congresses, the Central Committee...directs the activities of the party, the local party bodies, selects and appoints leading functionaries, directs the work of central government bodies and public organizations of working people through the party groups in them, sets up various party organs, institutions and enterprises and directs their activities, appoints the editors of the central newspapers and journals operating under its control, and distributes the funds of the party budget and controls its execution.

The Central Committee represents the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its relations with other parties.

The Central Committee...elects a Politburo to direct the work of the Central Committee between plenary meetings and a Secretariat to direct current work, chiefly the selection of cadres and the verification of the fulfillment of party decisions....

Most of the functions assigned to the Central Committee are actually carried out by officials of the central party bureaucracy, whose day-to-day activities are supervised by the Secretariat rather than by the Central Committee. One of the most important of these tasks is the selection, assignment, and training of personnel for virtually all positions of real responsibility in the USSR. The Secretariat's approval is a necessary condition for all appointments to upper echelon posts in the "national security" apparatus and elsewhere in the government bureaucracy, for all appointments to leading party positions in Moscow and in the provinces down to the oblast level, and for all appointments to a vast array of other jobs deemed politically sensitive or otherwise of critical importance. Primary responsibility for this process rests with the Organizational-Party Work Department of the Secretariat headed by CPSU Secretary Kapitonov, although the other offices of the central party bureaucracy have a say in personnel matters affecting the areas of Soviet life which they supervise. The Secretariat receives guidance from the Politburo in carrying out its personnel responsibilities, and its appointments are subject to approval of those top leaders whose interests are most directly affected.

The Central Committee meets in plenary session at least twice a year to discuss and act on resolutions dealing with the most important problems of party and state business. During the period between Khrushchev's ouster in

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October 1964 and the 24th Party Congress, 22 such plenary meetings were held to deal with party business or changes in the Soviet leadership and to take up such questions as the world Communist movement, foreign policy, economic plans, agricultural programs, and industrial reorganizations. Many of the plenums involved little more than formal approval by the Central Committee of policies already established by the Politburo. At least half of the sessions, however, took place at times when there was tension within the Soviet leadership, and several appear to have produced free-wheeling debates on the questions under discussion. The October 1964 plenum ousted Khrushchev. At least one of the more recent sessions—the June 1967 plenum, held shortly after the six-day war in the Middle East—brought a challenge, albeit a futile one, to General Secretary Brezhnev's leadership of the party. The Central Committee is, therefore, a potential court of last resort in the struggle for power in Moscow, even though the present-day leaders have narrowed the scope of its authority on day-to-day matters.

Only full members of the Central Committee are entitled to vote on the resolutions adopted at plenums. Moreover, only rarely in recent years has anyone but a full member been given a chance to speak at such sessions. Those who hold full membership are thus an elite within an elite. This "inner circle" includes the members of the CPSU Politburo and the CPSU Secretariat, the leaders of the largest regional party organizations, and the top-ranking officials of the executive and legislative branches of the government. It usually also includes leaders of important mass organizations—for example, the trade unions—and the heads of other institutions and agencies, such as the Academy of Sciences and the unions of creative artists. A few party veterans are re-elected even after they retire or have been moved to less important jobs. A few members who owe their seats primarily to the patronage of one or another Politburo member are given full membership although they have yet to assume responsibilities meriting such status.

Candidate membership on the Central Committee does not carry an assurance of future promotion to full membership. Only slightly more than a third of the current full members ever have held candidate membership seats before. And none of the postwar Congresses has brought promotions for as many as one fourth of those who had been given candidate membership at the preceding Congress. The impression that candidate members are one rung down the ladder of Soviet officialdom from the full members is reinforced by the jobs which most candidate members hold. As a rule, they are the first secretaries of the smaller regional party organizations, the governmental leaders of the less important republics, or the heads of national ministries dealing with matters having relatively low priorities. Some are "men on the

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rise" soon to move into more important jobs, and a few will find their current jobs upgraded as national priorities shift. Most, however, are men who have reached the peak of their careers and thus have little reason to expect promotion to full membership at a future Congress. Most of the candidate members are neither members nor candidates in the true sense of these words.

The role of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission is considerably more obscure than that of the Central Committee. The Party Statutes adopted in 1961 merely state that the commission "inspects the speed and correctness of the conduct of affairs in central bodies of the party, and the treasury and institutions of the CPSU Central Committee." Judging from reports on the commission's activities, it audits the party's finances, checks on how the various Central Committee departments are handling communications within the party bureaucracy, and coordinates the work of the regional auditing commissions. It has also been reported that the Auditing Commission will participate in the review of party membership cards called for at the recently concluded Congress.

Most of the commission's work is presumably carried out by its own full-time staff, working closely with the CPSU Secretariat and its bureaucracy. Commission members, who are fully employed elsewhere, seem to confine themselves to approving the housekeeping and bookkeeping of the party organs. In any event, there is no pretense that the commission has any real importance in the policy-making process. It is seldom mentioned in the press or in official statements except for the necessary references during party Congresses. Only a few members of the commission are likely to be promoted to Central Committee candidate membership at a later date, and even fewer have any chance of obtaining a full membership seat. The make-up of the Auditing Commission is nevertheless deserving of notice since its members also participated, along with both the full and the candidate members of the Central Committee, at the July 1957 plenum which ousted the "anti-Party group" and at the October 1964 session which removed Khrushchev.

The 1971 Elections

The Impact of Patronage

Judgments about the relationships between the members of the Central Committee or the Central Auditing Commission and one or another Soviet leader are usually highly speculative. It should be recognized that conclusions of this section are based on slim and tenuous evidence. (For those who

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wish to join in the game, Appendix I listing the members of the Central Committee and the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission shows the assignment of allegiance on which these tentative conclusions are based.) Only Central Committee full members are considered in depth, but patronage ties involving Central Committee candidate members and Auditing Commission members are also taken into account in those cases where these connections appear to have significance.

Brezhnev's primacy within the Soviet leadership is underscored by the number of Central Committee full members who can be tentatively identified as political allies or supporters of the General Secretary. (See Table I.) His associates appear to make up the largest group of those who were re-elected to Central Committee voting membership at the 24th Congress, and his strength among the freshmen full members apparently surpasses that of the other Soviet leaders to an even greater extent. Premier Kosygin seems to be the second-ranking Politburo member in terms of such support. Politburo member Kirilenko—Brezhnev's ally and right-hand man in the CPSU Secretariat—apparently is holding down third place. On the other hand, none of Brezhnev's major rivals—Politburo members Mazurov, Shelepin and Shelest—seems to have even half as many supporters among the Central Committee full members as the General Secretary.

Many Central Committee full members have ties with more than one Soviet leader, but only a few seem to have been close to both Brezhnev (or his allies—Politburo members Kirilenko, Podgorny and Polyansky, and recent additions Kulakov, Kunayev and Shcherbitsky) and one or another of the General Secretary's rivals or critics (Politburo members Kosygin, Mazurov, Shelepin, Shelest, Suslov and Voronov). Thus, Brezhnev and company apparently have a rather solid majority within the "court of last resort." None of the General Secretary's potential challengers appears to have the sort of support on the Central Committee that would enable him to launch a drive to oust Brezhnev from the party leadership. Indeed, the current balance of the Central Committee's voting members suggests that the weight of that body will be felt in favor of Kirilenko should the question of succession arise within the next few years.

Brezhnev's success at the 24th Congress becomes all the more apparent when the ties of those who were not re-elected to the Central Committee's full membership are taken into account. (See Table II.) Kirilenko's status as the most likely successor to the General Secretary is just as clearly shown. None of the other Politburo members registered significant net gains in terms of the number of supporters they now have in Central Committee voting

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seats, and a few appear to have fewer supporters among the full members now than they did after the 23rd Congress. Brezhnev and his allies clearly did quite a bit better than the other Soviet leaders when it came to squeezing people onto or off of the central party organs.

This is probably best illustrated by the distribution of seats among the officials of the party's central bureaucracy. The promotion of G. E. Tsukanov from the Auditing Commission to Central Committee full membership establishes Brezhnev as the only Soviet leader with one of his personal assistants a full member. Another Brezhnev assistant, A. M. Aleksandrov-Agentov, was added to the Auditing Commission. Nine other officials of the party's central party bureaucracy were added to the central party organs or promoted to more prestigious seats on them. Only two—K. U. Chernenko and G. S. Pavlov—were elevated to Central Committee voting membership, however, and both appear to be Brezhnev men. N. N. Organov—the only official of the central party bureaucracy who was dropped from Central Committee full membership—may have ties with Suslov. And the three such officials who were dropped from candidate membership—A. S. Panyushkin, P. K. Sizov and S. A. Baskakov—probably have ties with Suslov and Shelepin, Shelepin and Kosygin, and Party Secretary Ustinov respectively. (Baskakov may also have ties with Kirilenko, however.)

No less significant is the degree to which the Brezhnev group apparently made its views prevail during the voting on seats for the officials of the national government and legislature. For example, although two of Premier Kosygin's assistants—A. K. Gorchakov and M. S. Smirtyukov—were added to the Auditing Commission, another two seats on that body went to men who are close to Chief of State Podgorny—L. M. Shevchenko and P. F. Pigalev. None of the other Politburo members placed any of his personal assistants on the central party organs, and the voting on the remaining state officials suggests that the Brezhnev group pulled strings on behalf of a number of government officials whose jobs have not merited Central Committee voting seats in the past. The most blatant examples of such favoritism are probably the addition of Ye. Ye. Alekseyevsky, A. A. Yezhevsky, and S. A. Skachkov to the list of full members and the re-election of T. I. Sokolov, S. G. Lapin, V. N. Titov and A. A. Kokarev to full membership despite their transfer to somewhat less important jobs during the period between the 23rd and 24th Congresses. Among these government officials, only Kokarev appears to be outside the Brezhnev camp.

The few changes in the status of RSFSR officials which clearly smack of partisan politics also seem to have worked to the advantage of the General

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Secretary and his allies. The most noteworthy cases were the restriction of A. F. Gudkov, B. V. Popov, A. N. Smirnov, I. P. Bespalov, V. I. Cherny, M. A. Ponomarev and F. I. Loshchenkov to Central Committee candidate membership rather than the voting seats to which they would appear to have been entitled. The most blatant instance of favoritism in the voting on men holding office in the Ukraine was the promotion of V. F. Dobrik—almost certainly a Brezhnev-Kirilenko man—to Central Committee full membership. The underrepresentation of the Ukrainian republic's party secretariat, the ouster of V. Ye. Semichastny from the central party organs, and the restriction of N. K. Kirichenko and V. N. Taratuta to Central Committee candidate membership probably also worked to the Brezhnev group's benefit. The ouster of N. A. Sobol from the Central Committee and the restriction of A. M. Muzhitsky to candidate membership were probably blows to Podgorny, however, and M. N. Vsevolozhny's failure to move up to Central Committee full membership suggests that Brezhnev and Kirilenko did not have their own way entirely during the vote on the officials from the Ukraine.

The sharp increase in the allocation of seats to officials in Kazakhstan which brought gains for men who had been appointed to their jobs during Kunayev's tenure as party boss there, is almost certainly a result of Brezhnev's patronage of the Kunayev-led faction within the republic's leadership. The best examples of such string-pulling are the election of V. K. Akulintsev, Sh. K. Kospanov and A. M. Borodin to Central Committee voting seats and the failure of Chimkent Oblast party boss V. A. Liventsov to gain a seat on the central party organs. Factional considerations probably also influenced the vote on several other Central Asian officials. For example, the promotions for V. N. Rykov and S. N. Usmanov, the continued discrimination against M. M. Musakhanov, and the restriction of T. N. Osetrov to a seat on the Auditing Commission all probably worked to the Brezhnev group's advantage. The vote on Baltic republic officials N. A. Belukha, A. P. Vader and K. V. Lebedev, however, probably was a victory for Shelepin and a setback for Brezhnev and Kirilenko.

The top-ranking Belorussian leaders, who are holdovers from the period when Mazurov was party boss there, were all seated on the Central Committee or the Central Auditing Commission at the 24th Congress. None of the men who were added to the Belorussian leadership after March 1965—when Masherov became the republic's first secretary—was seated on the central party organs. Consequently, Belorussia lost a full membership seat previously held by one of the republic party secretaries, and V. A. Gvozdev and A. N. Aksenov were again kept off the central party organs. The passing over of

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Aksenov is particularly striking in view of his promotion to the second-highest party post in the republic shortly thereafter. The explanation probably lies in the existence of rival factions in Belorussia similar to those thought to exist in Kazakhstan. In this case, however, there seems to have been a standoff during the voting at the Congress: the vote against Gvozdev and Aksenov was probably a blow to Mazurov and Shelepin, while the other Belorussian leaders' failure to gain seats on the central party organs was certainly a setback for Masherov. Masherov has shown signs of being close to Brezhnev at times during the last few years, but, on the other hand, seems to share some of Suslov's views on domestic matters and some of Shelest's attitudes on foreign policy problems.

It is especially difficult to say how the changes in the status of individual military leaders affected the fortunes of any particular Soviet leader. Most of the changes involved men appointed to their current posts since Marshal A. A. Grechko became Defense Minister, and Grechko's relationship with Brezhnev suggests that the General Secretary and his allies have not been damaged by the upgrading of the military's representation. The failure of General S. M. Shtemenko to obtain Central Committee candidate membership has overtones of partisan politics. His checkered career may have disqualified him for a seat on the central party organs, but it seems likely that his existing allegiances were no less important than his controversial past when the decision was taken to keep him off the Central Committee. It is at least conceivable that Shtemenko is one of the high-ranking military men with ties to Shelepin rather than Brezhnev, even though solid evidence on this point is lacking.

The Brezhnev group also seems to have flexed its political muscles during the voting on various security and law enforcement officers. The result of this exercise was the addition of S. K. Tsvigun and V. M. Chebrikov to the Central Committee as candidate members and the addition of G. K. Tsinev to the Auditing Commission. All three KGB officials have ties to Brezhnev in one way or another, and the 1971 vote underscores the degree to which that agency is now under the control of men whose loyalties lie with the General Secretary. Brezhnev noted during his report at the Congress that the state security organs had in recent years been "strengthened by cadres who are politically mature." This would seem to have been an allusion to the turnover in the KGB leadership when Shelepin's associates were weeded out after the 23rd Congress and replaced by Brezhnev men. At the same time, the post-Congress "retirement" of another Shelepin client, P. V. Kovanov, was foreshadowed by his failure to be re-elected to his Central Committee seat. The loss of seats by several other Shelepin associates who

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had been transferred from Moscow to relatively unimportant diplomatic posts during the last few years was not unexpected.

Turnover and Tenure in the Political Elite

The 1971 vote ratified the Brezhnev group's victory over those "Young Turks" who had moved up into the political elite during the last few years before Khrushchev's ouster in October 1964. Several members of this faction missed out on re-election to the central party organs. Nevertheless, the survival rate for Central Committee full members was only slightly lower than the corresponding figure posted five years ago, and it was well above those posted in 1956 and 1961. (See Table III.) Moreover, the survival rates for Central Committee candidate members and Auditing Commission members were higher than they had been at any of the previous post-Stalin Congresses. As a result, the survival rate for the total membership of the outgoing central party organs was higher than that posted at the 23rd Congress, as well as those posted at the 20th and 22nd Congresses. (There were no elections at the 21st Congress in 1959.)

Survival rates are generally higher during periods of collective leadership than when job security depends heavily on the dictates of one person. And, although the survival rates for Central Committee full members are generally higher than those for the central party organs' other members, the gap widens during periods of collective leadership. (See Table IV.) Judging from the figures for the post-Stalin Congresses, power was less evenly distributed among the individual Soviet leaders in 1971 than it had been during the 23rd Congress. The balance of power among individual Soviet leaders apparently has yet to become as uneven as it was at the time of the 20th and 22nd Congresses, however. This impression is reinforced by the percentage of "veteran" full members among those who now hold voting seats on the Central Committee. (See Table V.) It is also strengthened by the percentage of the voting seats now held by people with no prior service on the Central Committee or the Auditing Commission. (See Table VI.) The distribution of "newcomers" at the three levels of membership on the central party organs is now more akin to that following the 20th and 22nd Congresses than to the pattern in 1966, when an overwhelming majority of the "newcomers" was restricted to Central Committee candidate membership or Auditing Commission seats.

Only a few vacancies were created at the Central Committee full membership level in 1966, and most were filled by people who had already served on the central party organs in less prestigious seats. The lessening of the constraints of "collectivity" during the last few years, however, enabled

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Brezhnev and company to create a larger number of vacancies at the full membership level in 1971 and to display a greater measure of "favoritism" in filling them. This expansion of the Central Committee's voting membership is unlikely to prevent the majority within the Politburo from continuing to conduct the affairs of state with little, if any, interference from the Central Committee, at least for the time being. To the contrary, it may even permit Brezhnev and company to launch programs that have been blocked in the past by the lack of a clear-cut majority at the Central Committee level, as well as within the Politburo itself.

In time, the newcomers could acquire a better understanding of the methods and shortcomings of those who now appear to hold a majority of the votes within the Politburo—i. e., Brezhnev and company. Debts of gratitude may be forgotten, and at least some Central Committee members could eventually become as critical of the General Secretary and his allies as did a few of the members who were ousted from their seats at the recent Congress. This could be manifested by a transfer of support to one of the Politburo's junior members. It is worth noting that the 20th and 22nd Congresses—sessions which produced high influxes of new members—were followed, in due time, by substantial changes in the Soviet leadership.

The percentage of holdovers from the Stalin era among the members of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission is now only slightly more than half of that in 1966. (See Table VII.) Moreover, the "Old Guard" holds only seven of the 15 voting seats on the Politburo; in 1966, it held six of 11 voting seats. In the past, the interests of the veterans of the Stalin era (some of whom may have been converted to more progressive thinking by now) have coalesced with those of the neo-Stalinists (some of whom may have had no connection with the crimes and errors of the Stalin years). Although inherently unstable, this coalition has remained strong enough during the post-Khrushchev years to bring de-Stalinization to a halt. Whether it will remain that strong is another question, however. The answer will depend upon the outlook of the people who have been added to the central party organs since Khrushchev's ouster. It seems at least possible that the coalition between the holdovers from the Stalin era and the younger neo-Stalinists will become more strained. The unsettling Stalin issue, therefore, could well come to the fore once again.

The members of the Central Committee and of the Central Auditing Commission who joined the political elite between 1956 and 1964 pose the most immediate threat to those whose tenure of office predates the 20th Congress and the start of de-Stalinization. Time, however, is not necessarily

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working in favor of the party's "middle generation." It is no longer the largest group seated on the central party organs, and it no longer holds a majority of the Central Committee's voting seats. Its survival rates, although still higher than those posted by the holdovers from the years prior to the 20th Congress, are already much lower than those of the members who rose to political prominence subsequent to the October 1964 plenum. (See Table VIII.)

Some members of the "middle generation" are, of course, still eager to move higher in the party hierarchy. Most, however, are probably mainly concerned about the challenge which they face from members of the "post-Khrushchev generation," two thirds of whom have yet to move into a job granting access to a voting seat on the Central Committee. The "middle generation" probably realizes that the newcomers won their seats on the central party organs largely at the expense of people who had gained theirs during Khrushchev's last years in office. They must be worried that another "squeeze play" may be made against the remaining holdovers from the Khrushchev years. Such an operation would probably work to the advantage not only of the more recent additions to the Central Committee and to the Central Auditing Commission but also of the Soviet leaders who became prominent prior to the 20th Congress. The recent vote, therefore, may have created the preconditions for a new round of jockeying for power within the Kremlin, though it gives no sign that a leadership crisis is brewing in Moscow.

Representation of Institutions and Interest Groups

The 1971 elections suggest that the institutional balance of forces in the Soviet Union has remained quite similar to that reflected by the 1966 vote. The percentage of the seats on the central party organs held by the representatives of specific institutions and interest groups was altered somewhat, but the changes were not sufficient to affect the traditional balance of power. (See Table IX. For a comparison of the status conferred on specific party and government jobs in 1966 and 1971, see Appendix II.)

Although party officials remain the largest group seated on the central party organs, the cutback in their share of the seats and the addition of more government bureaucrats have left the gap between the level of representation of the two groups—particularly at the Central Committee full membership level—narrower than it has been at any other time during the post-Stalin period. (See Table X.) This trend raises questions about the degree to which

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the "supremacy of the party" is likely to be accepted in the future by members of the Soviet political elite who hold jobs outside the party bureaucracy. Meanwhile, there are signs that the party is in a transition period. Specialists have been moving into key positions in the party hierarchy, replacing those with broader backgrounds. Meanwhile, the redistribution of seats between regional party leaders and party functionaries working in Moscow has been to the functionaries' advantage. Provincial party bosses still greatly outnumber officials of the central party apparatus on the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission, but the influence and authority of the central bureaucrats appear to be on the rise.

The share of the Central Committee's voting seats held by soviet (legislature) officials is now slightly smaller than after the 1966 vote. This is the result of the death of an Old Bolshevik who was a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a position which usually does not merit even a seat on the Auditing Commission. Regional legislative officials actually have a larger share of the voting seats than they had after the 1966 vote. Officials of the national legislature, on the other hand, profited at the expense of their regional counterparts during the reshuffle of the other seats on the central party organs. No clear pattern emerges from these shifts, but the results hardly bespeak an increased role for the soviets in the Soviet political system.

The increased representation for the officials of the government's executive branch benefits only the people who work with the national government. The percentage of the seats held by the regional governments' executives is now somewhat smaller than it was after the 1966 vote. As a whole, executives of the national government who are engaged in economic management or related fields did rather well at the 24th Congress. Moreover, the governmental component of the agroindustrial complex appears to have kept up with the state officials who supervise the other spheres of the national economy, even though the cutback in the percentage of the seats given to regional party leaders and farm directors may mean that the "farm bloc" is not as well represented as it was after the 23rd Congress. Few, if any, of the promotions went to officials who are likely to represent the Soviet consumer, while those with a vested interest in promoting further expansion of the "heavy industry" sector of the economy apparently have an even larger share of the seats now than they had after the 1966 elections.

The military's share of the full membership seats in the Central Committee increased significantly at the 24th Congress, in spite of its decreased share in the central party organs' total membership. Several noteworthy

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developments took place in the distribution of seats among the various components of the military establishment. The Defense Ministry's acquisition of three additional full membership seats no doubt reflected decisions on the organizational structure of the armed forces that Moscow had reached during the years after the 23rd Congress. A third first deputy minister slot was recreated, the Ground Forces were re-established as a separate command, and the PVO Strany continued as yet another separate command. But the General Staff's loss of a Central Committee candidate membership seat probably reflects less on the General Staff than on the personal acceptability of General S. M. Shtemenko, the Warsaw Pact Forces' Chief of Staff.

The representation of the regional military commanders was upgraded somewhat, and the reshuffle of their seats produced a few significant changes. Among the most noteworthy was the upgrading of the commanders of the forces stationed in the Leningrad region and in the areas adjacent to China. In addition, the voting membership of the commander of the Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG) was restored, the commander of the recently created Central Group of Forces (CGF) in Czechoslovakia was elected to Central Committee candidate membership, and a similar seat was assigned to the chief of the Soviet military mission in the UAR. However, three "Old Soldiers" who died during the last five years did not pass on their Central Committee candidate membership seats to surviving colleagues at the Defense Ministry's Group of General Inspectors. Thus, a larger percentage of the military's seats on the central party organs is held by men who are active, rather than by semiretired military leaders. The 1971 vote, therefore, points up the present increased stature of the USSR's active professional soldiers. It also reinforces the impression that the High Command now wields more influence in decision-making than during the Khrushchev era.

Other advisers on Soviet foreign policy matters also profited from the 1971 vote. For example, one deputy foreign minister slot was advanced from Auditing Commission membership to Central Committee voting membership thanks to the transfer of an incumbent full member from his regional party command to the ministry. Moreover, the ambassador to the United States was promoted from candidate to full membership, the ambassadors to Chile and Cuba are now also full members, and the ambassadors to Finland and the UAR are candidate members. On the other hand, the ambassador to Algeria was dropped from the list of Central Committee voting members, and the ambassador to the UN no longer sits on the Auditing Commission. The slight increase in the Foreign Ministry's representation may be a sign that the professional diplomats have more influence now than during the Khrushchev era. The assignment of Central Committee candidate membership to N. N. Inozemtsev, Director of the Institute of World Economics and

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International Relations, and Auditing Commission membership to G. A. Arbatov, Director of the USA Institute, points up the enhanced role of the semiofficial advisers from the USSR's "think tanks."

The KGB received three of the four additional seats given to the security, intelligence, and law enforcement agencies at the 24th Congress. Only the KGB chairman holds Central Committee voting membership, but two of his deputies are now candidate members and another sits on the Auditing Commission. All three deputies have ties to Brezhnev, so their addition to the central party organs signifies no increase in the KGB's autonomy vis-a-vis the party, but merely the enhanced role of the agency in Soviet domestic and foreign affairs. The head of the MVD had been promoted from candidate membership to full voting membership in April 1968, but none of his deputies has a seat on the central party organs. No judicial agency has more than one official on the Central Committee or the Auditing Commission, and the assignment of the head of the recently resurrected Ministry of Justice to only the Auditing Commission suggests that he will be unable to counter any illegal excesses of the KGB or the MVD without higher party backing. Indeed, the sole investigatory agency which comes close to rivaling the KGB in representation on the central party organs is the Committee of People's Control, headed by Politburo member Voronov.

"Ordinary" workers and peasants profited from the 1971 elections, but the representation of the trade union leaders and the directors of farms or enterprises was somewhat downgraded. About the same percentage of the seats went to scientists and creative artists as in 1966. The enhanced status of the workers and peasants, which conforms to Brezhnev's stress at the Congress on the importance of increasing the proportion of workers and peasants in the party, is probably little more than cosmetic. But treatment of the trade union leaders, farm and enterprise directors, and—to a lesser extent—scientists and creative artists is another matter. It smacks of an attempt by the party hierarchy to remind these individuals that the real power of decision-making remains in the hands of those who hold office in the party bureaucracy.

Regional and Ethnic Minority Representation

The regional representatives' share of the Central Committee voting seats increased slightly as a result of the 1971 elections, even though their proportion of the central party organs' total membership is now smaller than after the 23rd Congress. (See Table XI.) The party organizations in the RSFSR's Urals, Northwest, Far East, and Central economic regions all

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profited from the redistribution of seats, as did the Kazakhstan and Latvian republic party organizations. The big losers were the party organizations in the RSFSR's Central - Black Earth economic region, in Belorussia, and in the Ukraine's Southern economic district. (See Table XII.) The Turkmen, Estonian and Latvian party organizations are the most overrepresented, particularly at the Central Committee full-membership level. (See Table XIII.) The Georgian, Kazakhstan, Belorussian, and Uzbekistan party organizations are also overrepresented. The representation of the regional organizations in the RSFSR is, on the whole, still less than what it should be, and the Ukraine is even more underrepresented. The republic party organization most discriminated against, is that of Azerbaydzhan, which has been undergoing a vigorous--albeit bloodless--purge during the last two years.

Ethnic minority representation on the Central Committee--measured by the nationality claimed by each member, rather than by the region in which he resides--remained very similar to that resulting from the 1966 vote. (See Table XIV. The lack of information for a number of Auditing Commission members makes it necessary to restrict this section to the Central Committee's full and candidate members.) The 1971 elections favored the Turkmen, Latvians, and Estonians, and discriminated against the Georgians and Azerbaydzhani. The Belorussians and Russians did rather well but the Uzbeks probably have some grounds for complaint. The extent to which the treatment of these major ethnic minorities reflects the Soviet leaders' concern over national separatism remains obscure. The upgrading of the representation given to several autonomous republics and oblasts, however, was almost certainly designed to foster a greater sense of belonging among the lesser minorities.

Age and Length of Party Membership

People born between 1911 and 1925 probably control a larger majority of the seats on the central party organs now than after the 23rd Congress. (See Table XV. All judgments on this question must be tentative because of the lack of information available on tenure and ages of the newly elected Central Committee candidate members and Auditing Commission members.) In any case, the members of that generation now control a majority of the Central Committee's voting seats. Those who were born before 1911 have a much smaller percentage of the central party organs' seats as a whole, and they no longer hold a majority of the voting seats. There was a modest increase in the total representation of those born after 1925, and an even more modest increase in their share of the Central Committee's voting seats. The survival rates and recruitment ratios (the percentage of seats given to

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those with no previous service) for full members reinforce the impression that the people who are now 45 or younger did not fare very well at the 24th Congress. (See Table XVI.)

The people who are now over 55 profited most from the 1971 vote, primarily at the expense of those who are between 46 and 55. (See Table XVII.) Consequently, even though the majority of the voting seats is currently held by people born between 1911 and 1925, rather than by those who were born before 1911, the voting members are older, as a whole, than their predecessors were in 1966. The impression that the Soviet political elite has somewhat "aged" is reinforced both by the protection provided at the 1971 elections to people who joined the party during 1936-45 and by the limited increase in the share of the seats awarded those who joined the party after World War II. (See Table XVIII.) The survival rates and recruitment ratios also make clear that the people who became party members after the 20th Congress and the start of de-Stalinization were discriminated against the most. (See Table XIX.) They show, too, that the vote worked to the advantage of the people who were between 26 and 30 when they joined the party. (See Table XX.) Most of the people in this group are career party or government bureaucrats, rather than specialists, such as research scientists, working elsewhere, and neither ardent revolutionaries nor men who became party members out of an upsurge of patriotism during the war. Instead, they are the carefully screened executors of commands issued by the top-ranking Soviet leaders—functionaries in the true sense of the word.

Education and Career Background

People with highly specialized training in the natural sciences and graduates of the military academies or party-operated educational institutions profited from the elections at the 24th Congress. (See Table XXI. The lack of information about the educational backgrounds of many Central Committee candidate members and Auditing Commission members restricts this part of the study to Central Committee full members; even here some conclusions remain tentative.) The 1971 vote would appear to have worked against the interest of people with polytechnical educations, those educated in the humanities, and people with less than a complete higher education. This trend is one sign of the degree to which specialists are replacing generalists in the political elite. Another is the decline in the percentage of the voting members who have served as regional party bosses or officials of the party's central bureaucracy at some point during their careers. (See Table XXII.) Such officials now have less upward mobility in the party, in the government, and in the USSR's various mass organizations than before

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Khrushchev's ouster. Such party officials are very apt to remain in place until they retire or are moved to relatively unimportant jobs elsewhere.

The survival rate and recruitment ratio of one-time regional party leaders indicate that these officials enjoy as little job security now as in the past. (See Table XXIII.) Corresponding figures for those who have been Komsomol (Youth Organization) officials during the postwar years suggest that the Komsomol remains a training ground for party and government jobs meriting seats on the central party organs, in spite of the 1971 vote which struck hard at ex-Komsomol officials with particularly close ties with Shelepin. The figures for the one-time trade union leaders reinforce the impression that the trade union bureaucracy is not an independent power base. The trade union apparatus is merely an institution enabling the authorities in Moscow to control rank-and-file workers and an instrument for exerting leverage on plant managers, creative artists, and others whose activities might be influenced by pressure from the "proletariat." On the other hand, the figures for the people who served as partisans in the underground during the war suggest that the bonds among those who shared that experience still bear some political significance.

The 1971 elections marked a continuation of the co-optation of leaders of the specialized elites into the political elite. (See Tables XXIV and XXV.) The percentage of professional politicians—people who became party officials relatively early in their careers—decreased, as at each of the previous postwar Congresses. But the percentage of specialists—people who worked in nonparty jobs for several years before becoming party officials and those who still hold jobs in the state bureaucracy or elsewhere outside the party apparatus—has again risen. The best evidence of this is increased representation for officials of the executive branch of the Soviet Government and professional soldiers, and the low level of turnover among Central Committee voting members who are scientists or have worked in communications, transportation or the fuel industry. The specialists, therefore, seem to have gained more responsibility than before, and probably have somewhat more influence on the policy-making process than they had during the Khrushchev era. Professional politicians retain their majority in the CPSU Politburo and Secretariat, however, and real power will remain concentrated in their hands at least for the near term.

Co-opting of the leading figures of the specialized elites into the political elite is likely to have a significant impact on the Soviet system. For one thing, it is likely to enhance the legitimacy of the political system in the eyes of those specialists who must cooperate with the regime if it is to

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achieve its policy goals over the next decade or so. By and large, the leaders of those elites recognize that political decisions must be made by the political leaders. At the same time, they are likely to feel that their increased representation on the Central Committee will improve their chances of withstanding unwarranted intrusions by party generalists into the settlement of technical questions. Their improved status will, therefore, probably reduce the degree to which they feel alienated from the political system. In other words, such recruitment not only gives the authorities more access to the skills necessary for running the Soviet Union, but also reduces the problem of keeping the people with those skills under control.

The upgrading of the military establishment's representation on the central party organs has probably reduced the sense of frustration and alienation the military, probably the most in-bred of the USSR's interest groups, felt during Khrushchev's last years. Seating the top-ranking members of the High Command on the central party organs has been one way to fix the military establishment in its allotted role in the political scheme of things, and there is no reason to believe that the situation in this regard has changed dramatically from what it has been in the past. On the other hand, the extremely low recruitment ratio for people who served as political commissars during World War II suggests that the civilian authorities will find it increasingly difficult to maintain the same degree of political control over the Soviet military establishment in the future. The military prestige and authority of the top-ranking civilian has been an important factor in preserving the institutional relationship between the Politburo and the military High Command during the postwar period. Brezhnev seems to have found it difficult to project himself as knowledgeable about military matters in spite of his service at the front during World War II, and future Soviet leaders may find it all but impossible to play the role of military expert. Civilian authorities may therefore find it increasingly difficult to resist the military's pressure on defense-related questions.

The changes in the representation for the KGB, the MVD, and the Committee of People's Control apparently stem from maneuvering by the Brezhnev group to wrest control over the police, security, and intelligence organs from its rivals within the party. More than half of the people involved in the turnover on the central party organs are party officials who were, or are now, chiefs or deputy chiefs of one or another of these agencies. Only one of the recently elected Central Committee voting members has ever served as a professional staff officer with any of these agencies, and he transferred from the KGB to a regional party command almost two years before the 24th Congress convened. None of those who missed out on re-election to Central Committee voting seats had worked as a professional

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policeman or a security or intelligence officer at any point during the postwar period. Consequently, the most immediate impact of the changes is the upgrading of the political status of those who have been assigned the task of tightening the Brezhnev group's control over these agencies, particularly the higher-ups at KGB headquarters. Their enhanced political status will probably enable them to become more powerful spokesmen than their predecessors had been, so that the professionals who staff the KGB, the MVD and the Committee of People's Control will probably find their own interests represented somewhat better than in the past.

Finally, the 1971 elections suggest that the Soviet leaders are neither hostile to talented specialists nor opposed to innovation, provided that the leaders foresee no adverse political consequences. Additional cautious reforms will probably be undertaken in the future, but far-reaching changes bringing any significant alteration of the existing political system are unlikely as long as the make-up of the Politburo and the Secretariat remains similar to what it is today. Whether innovations that merely tinker with the party's mechanisms and leave the political system unchanged will satisfy the USSR's most talented specialists is another matter. For the time being, however, the relatively cautious character of the 1971 vote indicates that the Soviet political system remains stable. Not all of the more significant political tendencies within Soviet society are absorbed by the system, and its methods of administration and succession still leave a great deal to be desired. But the system is not rigid and is not ossifying and is unlikely to come suddenly apart at the seams. Rather, the system will probably continue to evolve as slowly as the leadership can manage.

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APPENDIX I

SECTION A

FULL MEMBERS, CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

<u>Name</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Position at Time of Election (April 1971)</u>	<u>Comment</u>
BRASIMOV, Petr Andreyevich	Mazurov Masherov	Ambassador to East Germany	Full member since 1961
RANAS'YEV, Sergey Aleksandrovich	Ustinov Kosygin Voronov	USSR Minister of General Machine Building	Full member since 1961
KULINTSEV, Vasiliy Kuz'mich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, Karaganda Obkom (Kazakhstan)	New; position noted in <i>Kazakhstanskaya Pravda</i> , 17 February 1971
LEKSANDROV, Anatoliy Petrovich	Ustinov	Director, Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy	Full member since 1966
LEKSEYEVSKIY, Yevgeniy Yevgen'yevich	Brezhnev Podgorny Sheherbitsky	USSR Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Economy	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
LIYEV, Geydar Alirza'ogly	Brezhnev	First Secretary, CC CP Azerbaydzhan	New; position noted in <i>Bakinskiy Rabochiy</i> , 20 February 1971
NDROPOV, Yuriy Vladimirovich	Suslov Ustinov	Chairman, USSR Committee for State Security and Candidate Member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee	Full member since 1961
NTONOV, Aleksey Konstantinovich	Kosygin Ustinov	USSR Minister of the Electrical Equipment Industry	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
RISTOV, Boris Ivanovich	Kirilenko Suslov Voronov	First Secretary, Leningrad Gorkom	New; position noted <i>Kazakhstanskaya Pravda</i> 16 February 1971
SHIMOV, Bayken Ashimovich	Brezhnev Kunayev	Chairman, Kazakh Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 8, April 1971

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
ASKAROV, Asanbay	Brezhnev Kunayev	First Secretary, Alma-Ata Obkom (Kazakhstan)	Full member since 1966
AVRAMENKO, Stepan Stepanovich	Voronov	First Secretary, Amur Obkom	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
BAGRAMYAN, Ivan Khristoforovich		Member, Inspector General Group, USSR Ministry of Defense	Full member since 1961
BAKHIREV, Vyacheslav Vasil'yevich	Ustinov	USSR Minister of Machine Building	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 16 June 1970
BANNIKOV, Nikolay Vasil'yevich	Suslov Solomentsev	First Secretary, Irkutsk Obkom	Full member since 1968
BASOV, Aleksandr Vasil'yevich	Polyansky Brezhnev Kirilenko	USSR Ambassador to Chile	Full member since 1961
BATITSKIY, Pavel Fedorovich	?	USSR Deputy Minister of Defense, Commander-in-Chief, Air Defense Forces	Full member since 1966
BAYBAKOV, Nikolay Konstantinovich	Kosygin	Chairman, USSR State Planning Committee; Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers	Full member during 1952-1961 and since 1966
BESHCHEV, Boris Pavlovich	Kosygin Solomentsev	USSR Minister of Railways	Full member since 1952.
BLESKOV, Aleksandr Alekseyevich	Kulakov Brezhnev Polyansky	Chairman, Kolkhoz <i>imeni</i> Lenin, Sovetskiy Rayon, Stavropol' Kray	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> 16 April 1971
BODYUL, Ivan Ivanovich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, CC CP Moldavia	Full member since 1961
BONDARENKO, Ivan Afanas'yevich	Voronov	First Secretary, Rostov Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Komsomol'skaya Pravda</i> , 14 January 1971
BORODIN, Andrey Mikhaylovich	Brezhnev Kunayev	First Secretary, Kustanay Obkom (Kazakhstan)	Full member since 1966

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ame	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
ERODIN, Pavel Dmitriyevich	Kosygin	Director, Likhachev Automobile Plant	Full member since 1966
ATCHENKO, Boris Fedorovich	Brezhnev Kunayev	USSR Minister of the Coal Industry	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
LEKHOV, Konstantin Ivanovich	Kosygin	USSR Minister of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
LEZHNEV, Leonid Il'ich		General Secretary, CPSU Central Committee, Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1952
IGAYEV, Boris Pavlovich	?	USSR Minister of Civil Aviation	New; position noted in <i>Trud</i> , 10 February 1971
ILGAKOV, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich	Grishin Podgorny Shelest	Chairman, USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
TOMA, Boris Yevstaf'yevich	Ustinov Kosygin Shelepin	USSR Minister of Shipbuilding	Full member since 1966
ERNENKO, Konstantin Ustinovich	Brezhnev	Chief, General Department, CPSU Central Committee	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
ERNYY, Aleksey Klement'yevich	Kirilenko Brezhnev	First Secretary, Khabarovsk Kraykom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 23 February 1971
ERVONENKO, Stepan Vasil'yevich	Brezhnev	Ambassador to Czechoslovakia	Full member since 1961
IRYAYEV, Gavriil Iosifovich	Voronov	First Secretary, Yakutsk Obkom	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
UYKOV, Vasilii Ivanovich	?	Chief, Civil Defense Forces, USSR Ministry of Defense	Full member since 1961
GTYAREV, Vladimir Ivanovich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, Donetsk Obkom	Full member since 1966

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
DEMENT'YEV, Petr Vasil'yevich	Ustinov Kosygin	USSR Minister of the Aviation Industry	Full member since 1956
DEMICHEV, Petr Nilovich	Shelepin	Secretary, CPSU Central Committee; Candidate Member Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1961
DOBRIK, Viktor Fedorovich	Brezhnev Kirilenko	First Secretary, Ivano-Frankovsk Obkom (Ukraine)	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
DOBRYNIN, Anatoliy Fedorovich	Kosygin	Ambassador to the United States	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
DOLGIKH, Vladimir Ivanovich	Kosygin Voronov Kirilenko	First Secretary, Krasnoyarsk Kraykom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 11 March 1971
DROZDENKO, Vasiliy Ivanovich	Shelepin Shelest Podgorny	Ambassador to Romania	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
DRYGIN, Anatoliy Semenovich	Voronov	First Secretary, Vologda Obkom	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
DYMSHITS, Veniamin Emmanuilovich	Kosygin	Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Chairman USSR State Committee for Material-Technical Supply	Full member since 1961
DZHAVAKHISHVILI, Givi Dmitriyevich	Mzhavanadze	Chairman, Georgian Council of Ministers	Full member since 1956
FEDOSEYEV, Petr Nikolayevich	Kosygin Brezhnev	Director, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CPSU Central Committee	Full member since 1961
FILATOV, Andrey Dmitriyevich	Brezhnev Kirilenko	Director, Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine	New; position noted in <i>Zarya Vostoka</i> , 7 November 1969
FLORENT'YEV, Leonid Yakovlevich	Voronov	RSFSR Minister of Agriculture	Full member since 1966
FURTSEVA, Yekaterina Alekseyevna	Brezhnev Grishin	USSR Minister of Culture	Full member since 1956

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
GALANSHIN, Konstantin Ivanovich	Kosygin Voronov	USSR Minister of the Pulp and Paper Industry	Full member since 1961
GAPUROV, Mukhamednazar	Suslov	First Secretary, CC CP Turkmen	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
GARBUZOV, Vasilii Fedorovich	Kosygin	USSR Minister of Finance	Full member since 1961
GEORGIYEV, Aleksandr Vasil'yevich	Polyansky	First Secretary, Altay Kraykom	Full member since 1961
GOLDIN, Nikolay Vasil'yevich	Kosygin	USSR Minister of Construction of Heavy Industrial Enterprises	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 23 November 1970
GORBAN', Grigoriy Yakovlevich	Brezhnev	Steelworker, Zhdanov Metallurgical Plant <i>imeni</i> Ordzhonikidze, Donetskaya Oblast' (Ukraine)	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 9 April 1971
GORBACHEV, Mikhail Sergeyeovich	Shelepin Brezhnev Kulakov	First Secretary, Stavropol' Kraykom	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 3 October 1970
GORSHKOV, Sergey Georgiyevich	?	USSR Deputy Minister of Defense; Commander-in-Chief, Naval Forces	Full member since 1961
GORYACHEV, Fedor Stepanovich	Brezhnev Kirilenko	First Secretary, Novosibirsk Obkom	Full member since 1956
GRECHKO, Andrey Antonovich	Brezhnev	USSR Minister of Defense	Full member since 1961
GREKOV, Leonid Ivanovich	Brezhnev Kirilenko Grishin	Second Secretary, Moscow Gorkom	New; position noted in <i>Vechernyaya Moskva</i> , 13 March 1971
GURISHIN, Konstantin Nikilayevich	Shelepin Voronov	First Deputy Chairman, CPSU Party Control Committee	Full member since 1961
GURISHIN, Viktor Vasil'yevich	Kirilenko Brezhnev	First Secretary, Moscow Gorkom; Candidate Member Politburo, CC, CPSU [Elected Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU, on 9 April 1971.]	Full member since 1952
GURISHMANOV, Ivan Aleksandrovich	Kosygin	USSR Minister of the Construction Materials Industry	Full member since 1961

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
GROMYKO, Andrey Andreyevich	Kosygin Suslov	USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs	Full member since 1956
GRUSHETSKIY, Ivan Samoylovich	Brezhnev	Chairman, Party Commission, CC CP Ukraine	Full member since 1961
GRUSHIN, Petr Dmitriyevich	Ustinov	Aircraft Designer; Active Member, USSR Academy of Sciences	Full member since 1966
IVANNIKOVA, Mariya Sergeevna	Grishin	Weaver, Cotton Fabric Factory <i>imeni</i> Frunze, Moscow	New; position noted in <i>Moskovskaya Pravda</i> , 10 June 1966
IVANOVSKIY, Yevgeniy Filippovich	?	Commander, Moscow Military District, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 4 April 1971
KALMYKOV, Valeriy Dmitriyevich	Ustinov Kosygin	USSR Minister of the Radio Industry	Full member since 1961
KAPITONOV, Ivan Vasil'yevich	Kirilenko Brezhnev	Secretary, CPSU Central Committee	Full member since 1952
KATUSHEV, Konstantin Fedorovich	Brezhnev	Secretary, CPSU Central Committee	Full member since 1966
KAVUN, Vasiliy Mikhaylovich	Podgorny	Chairman, Vinnitsa Oblast' Executive Committee	Full member since 1961
KAZAKOV, Vasiliy Ivanovich	Kirilenko Suslov	Second Secretary, Leningrad Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Komsomol'skaya</i> <i>Pravda</i> , 2 December 1970
KAZANETS, Ivan Pavlovich	Podgorny Shelest	USSR Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy	Full member since 1961
KEBIN, Ivan Gustavovich	Shelepin Suslov	First Secretary, CC CP Estonia	Full member since 1952
KELDYSH, Mstislav Vsevolodovich	Ustinov Kosygin	President, USSR Academy of Sciences	Full member since 1961
KHITROV, Stepan Dmitriyevich	Voronov	USSR Minister of Rural Construction	Full member since 1966
KHRAMTSOV, Aleksandr Ivanovich	Shelepin Voronov	Worker, Urals Heavy Machine Building Plant, Sverdlovskaya Oblast'	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 2 April 1971

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ame	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
HUDAYBERDYEV, Normukhamed Dzhurayevich	Rashidov	Chairman, Uzbek Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Vostoka</i> , 28 February 1971
IRILENKO, Andrey Pavlovich		Secretary, CPSU Central Committee, Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1956
IRILLIN, Vladimir Alekseyevich	Kosygin Ustinov	Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman USSR State Committee for Science and Technology	Full member since 1966
SELEV, Ivan Ivanovich	Brezhnev	Director, Gor'kiy Automobile Plant	Full member since 1961
SELEV, Tikhon Yakovlevich	Mazurov	Chairman, Belorussian Council of Ministers	Full member since 1961
LEPIKOV, Mikhail Ivanovich	Polyansky	Brigade Leader, Kuban Kolkhoz, Krasnodar Kray	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
UCHINYAN, Anton Yervandovich	Brezhnev Kosygin	First Secretary, CC CP Armenia	Full member since 1966
UKAREV, Aleksandr Akimovich	Kosygin Voronov Suslov	Chief, USSR Main Administration of State Material Reserves	Full member since 1961
UNEV, Ivan Stepanovich	?	Member, Inspector General Group, USSR Ministry of Defense	Full member since 1952
NOTOP, Vasiliy Ivanovich	Brezhnev Polyansky	First Secretary, Moscow Obkom	Full member since 1964
NOVALOV, Nikolay Semenovich	Voronov	First Secretary, Kaliningrad Obkom	Full member since 1961
RNEYCHUK, Aleksandr Evdokimovich	?	Secretary, USSR Union of Writers	Full member since 1952
ROTKOV, Boris Fedorovich	Shelepin	First Secretary, Perm' Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 19 January 1971
RYTKOV, Nikolay Gavrilovich	Voronov	First Secretary, Kalinin Obkom	Full member since 1961
SPANOV, Shapet Kospanovich	Brezhnev Kunayev	First Secretary, Ural'sk Obkom (Kazakhstan)	Full member since 1966

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
KOSTANDOV, Leonid Arkad'yevich	Kirilenko Kosygin Demichev	USSR Minister of the Chemical Industry	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
KOSTOUSOV, Anatoliy Ivanovich	Kosygin Ustinov	USSR Minister of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry	Full member since 1961
KOSYGIN, Aleksey Nikolayevich		Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers, Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1939
KOVALENKO, Aleksandr Vlasovich	Podgorny	First Secretary, Orenburg Obkom	Full member since 1961
KOZHEVNIKOV, Yevgeniy Fedorovich	Kosygin	USSR Minister of Transport Construction	Full member since 1961
KOZLOV, Nikolay Timofeyevich	Kirilenko Demichev Kapitonov	Chairman, Moscow Oblast' Executive Committee	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
KOZYR', Pavel Panteleyevich	Podgorny	First Secretary, Odessa Obkom (Ukraine)	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
KRAKHMALEV, Mikhail Konstantinovich	Voronov	First Secretary, Bryansk Obkom	Full member since 1961
KRYLOV, Nikolay Ivanovich	?	USSR Deputy Minister of Defense; Commander-in-Chief, Strategic Rocket Forces	Full member since 1961
KULAKOV, Fedor Dmitriyevich	Brezhnev Polyansky	Secretary, CPSU Central Committee Elected Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU on 9 April 1971.	Full member since 1961
KULICHENKO, Leonid Sergeyevich	Voronov	First Secretary, Volograd Obkom	Full member since 1966
KYLIKOV, Viktor Georgiyevich	?	Commander-in-Chief, Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG), USSR Ministry of Defense; Chief of General Staff of Soviet Armed Forces and 1st Deputy Minister of Defense 22 Sept 1971	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 30 October 1970
KUNAYEV, Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, CC CP Kazakhstan; Candidate Member Politburo, CC, CPSU (Elected Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU on 9 April 1971).	Full member since 1956

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me	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
ITAKHOV, Pavel Stepanovich	?	USSR Deputy Minister of Defense; Commander-in-Chief, Air Force	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 29 January 1971
ITSEVOL, Vasilii Stepanovich	Podgorny	First Secretary, L'vov Obkom (Ukraine)	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
IZNETSOV, Vasilii Vasil'yevich	Kosygin Suslov	USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs	Full member since 1952
PIN, Sergey Georgiyevich	Brezhnev	Chairman, USSR State Committee for TV and Radiobroadcasting	Full member since 1966
BEDEV, Yevgeniy Ivanovich	?	Worker, Kirov Plant, Leningrad	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 7 April 1971
ONOV, Pavel Artemovich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, Sakhalin Obkom	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
SECHKO, Milhail Avksent'yevich	Ustinov Kosygin	Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Chairman USSR Commission for CEMA	Full member since 1961
MAKIN, Viktor Pavlovich	Shelepin	First Secretary, Primorskiy Kraykom	New; position noted in <i>Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta</i> , January 1971
MAKO, Petr Fadeyevich	Voronov Suslov	USSR Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy	Full member since 1961
MONOSOV, Vladimir rigor'yevich	Kirilenko Demichev	Second Secretary, CC CP Uzbekistan	Full member since 1966
FAK, Ivan Kondrat'yevich	Shelest	Second Secretary, CC CP Ukraine	Full member since 1964
ASHCHENKO, Nikolay igor'yevich	?	Commander, Central Asian Military District, USSR Ministry of Defense	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
ASHKO, Aleksandr Pavlovich	Brezhnev	Chairman, Presidium, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet	Full member since 1961

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
MANYAKIN, Sergey Iosifovich	Voronov	First Secretary, Omsk Obkom	Full member since 1961
MARISOV, Valeriy Konstantinovich	Ustinov	First Secretary, Udmurt Obkom	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
MARKOV, Georgiy Mokeyevich	?	Secretary, USSR Union of Writers (Elected 1st Secretary, USSR Union of Writers on 2 July 1971).	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
MARYAKHIN, Sergey Stepanovich	?	USSR Deputy Minister of Defense; Chief of Rear Services	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
MASHEROV, Petr Mironovich	Mazurov Brezhnev	First Secretary, CC CP Belorussia, Candidate Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU.	Full member since 1964
MASLENNIKOV, Nikolay Ivanovich	Brezhnev Kirilenko	First Secretary, Gor'kiy Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 11 March 1971
MATCHANOV, Nazar Matkarimovich	Podgorny Shelepin Rashidov	Chairman, Presidium, Uzbek Supreme Soviet	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Vostoka</i> , 21 February 1971
MATSKEVICH, Vladimir Vladimirovich	Brezhnev Podgorny	USSR Minister of Agriculture	Full member during 1956-1961 and since 1966
MAZUROV, Kirill Trofimovich		First Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU.	Full member since 1956
MESYATS, Valentin Karpovich	Brezhnev	Second Secretary, CC CP Kazakhstan	New; position noted in <i>Kazakhstanskaya Pravda</i> , 27 February 1971
MIKHAYLOV, G.L.	Podgorny Shelest	Turner at Kharkov Transportation Machine--Building Works	New
MIKOYAN, Anastas Ivanovich	?	Member, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet	Full member since 1952
MODOGOYEV, Andrey Urupkheyevich	?	First Secretary, Buryat Obkom	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966

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name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
OSKALENKO, Kirill Semenovich	?	USSR Deputy Minister of Defense; Chief Inspector	Full member since 1956
ZHAVANADZE, Vasilii Pavlovich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, CC CP Georgia; Candidate Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1956
ASRIDINOVA, Yadgar Sadykovna	Shelepin Kirilenko Rashidov	Chairman, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet	Full member since 1956
POROZHNYI, Petr Stepanovich	Kosygin Brezhnev	USSR Minister of Power and Electrification	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
KOLAYEVA-TERESHKOVA, Valentina Vladimirovna	?	Cosmonaut; Chairman, Soviet Women's Committee	New; position noted in <i>Komsomol'skaya Pravda</i> , 7 March 1971
YAZBEKOV, Sabir Bilyalovich	Brezhnev Kunayev	Chairman, Presidium, Kazakh Supreme Soviet	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
VIKOV, Ignatii Trofimovich	Kirilenko Kosygin Mazurov	Chairman, USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs; Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers	Full member since 1961
VIKOV, Vladimir Nikolayevich	Ustinov Kosygin	Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers	Full member since 1961
RIYEV, Ziya Nuriyevich	Voronov Polyansky	USSR Minister of Procurement	Full member since 1961
ARKOV, Nikolay Vasil'yevich	?	First Deputy Chief, General Staff, USSR Ministry of Defense	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
LOV, Vladimir Pavlovich	Brezhnev Polyansky	First Secretary, Kuybyshev Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 20 February 1971
OLICHEV, Nikolay Semenovich	Suslov	USSR Minister of Foreign Trade	Full member since 1941
ON, Boris Yevgen'yevich	?	President, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences	Full member since 1966

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
PAVLOV, Georgiy Sergeevich	Brezhnev	Administrator of Affairs, CPSU Central Committee	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
PAVLOV, Vladimir Yakovlevich	Shelepin Demichev	Ambassador to Hungary	Full member since 1966
PAVLOVSKIY, Ivan Grigor'yevich	?	USSR Deputy Minister of Defense; Commander-in-Chief, Ground Forces	Promoted; elected Central Auditing Commission in 1966
PEGOV, Nikolay Mikhaylovich	?	Ambassador to India	Full member since 1939
PEL'SHE, Arvid Yanovich		Chairman, CPSU Party Control Committee; Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1961
PILOTOVICH, Stanislav Antonovich	Mazurov Shelepin Masherov	Ambassador to Poland	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 10 March 1971
PODGORNIY, Nikolay Viktorovich		Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet; Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1956
POLYAKOV, Ivan Yevteyevich	Masherov Mazurov	First Secretary, Minsk Obkom (Belorussia)	Full member since 1966
POLYANSKIY, Dmitriy Stepanovich		First Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1956
PONOMAREV, Boris Nikolayevich	Suslov Shelepin	Secretary, CPSU Central Committee	Full member since 1956
POPOVA, Mariya Georgiyevna	?	Crane Operator, Primorskiy Kray	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
POPOVA, Nina Vasil'yevna	?	Chairman, Presidium, Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries	Full member since 1961
PRITYTSKIY, Sergey Osipovich	Shelepin Mazurov Masherov	Chairman, Presidium, Belorussian Supreme Soviet (Died 13 June 1971)	Full member since 1961; deceased, <i>Pravda</i> , 14 June 1971

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ne	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
YEZZHEV, Nikolay Semenovich	Voronov Shelepin	First Secretary, Ryazan' Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 11 February 1971
DKHOROV, Vasiliy Il'ich	Grishin Shelepin	Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 27 December 1970
DKOF'YEV, Mikhail Alekseyevich	Shelepin Grishin Demichev	USSR Minister of Education	New; position noted in <i>Komsomol'skaya Pravda</i> , 13 February 1971
DMYSLOV, Vladimir Fedorovich	Podgorny Polyansky Demichev Ustinov	Chairman, Moscow City Executive Committee	Full member since 1966
ZANOV, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich	Brezhnev	Ambassador to Bulgaria	Full member since 1952
SHIDOV, Sharaf Rashidovich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, CC CP Uzbekistan, Candidate Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1961
SULOV, Dzhabar Rasulovich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, CC CP Tadzhikistan	Full member since 1961
DIONOV, Nikolay Nikilayevich	Brezhnev Kirilenko	USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs	Full member since 1966
MANOV, Grigoriy Vasil'yevich	Kirilenko	First Secretary, Leningrad Obkom	Full member since 1966
DENKO, Roman Andreyevich	?	USSR Procurator General	Full member since 1961
DNEV, Konstantin Nikolayevich	Ustinov Kosygin	USSR Minister of Instrument Making, Means of Automation and Control Systems	Full member since 1961
MYANTSEV, Aleksey Matveyevich	Podgorny	Vice President, USSR Academy of Sciences	Full member since 1952
SAKOV, Konstantin Viktorovich	Andropov Brezhnev	Chief, Department for Liaison with Communist and Workers' Parties, CPSU Central Committee	Promoted; elected Central Auditing Commission in 1966
ABIKOV, Vasiliy Mikhaylovich	Ustinov Kosygin	First Deputy Chairman, USSR State Planning Committee	Full member since 1961

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
RYABOV, Yakov Petrovich	Voronov Shelepin Suslov	First Secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 10 January 1971
RYKOV, Vasilii Nazarovich	Brezhnev Kirilenko	Second Secretary, CC CP Turkmen	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
SEN'KIN, Ivan Il'ich	?	First Secretary, Karelian Obkom	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
SHAKIROV, Midkhat Zakirovich	Kosygin Voronov Shelepin	First Secretary, Bashkir Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Rossiya</i> , 17 December 1970
SHAVROV, Ivan Yegorovich	?	Commander, Leningrad Military District, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 31 January 1971
SHCHELOKOV, Nikolay Anisimovich	Brezhnev	USSR Minister of Internal Affairs	Full member since 1968
SHCHERBITSKIY, Vladimir Vasil'yevich	Brezhnev Kirilenko	Chairman, Ukrainian Council of Ministers; Candidate Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU, (Elected Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU on 9 April 1971.)	Full member since 1961
SHCHETININ, Semen Nikolayevich	Shelepin	Ambassador to Mongolia	Full member since 1961
SHELEPIN, Aleksandr Nikolayevich		Chairman, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU); Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1952
SHELEST, Petr Yefimovich		First Secretary, CC CP Ukraine; Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1961
SHEREMETOV, Aleksandr Sergeevich	?	Senior Smelter, Zavenyagin Copper Plant, Noril'sk	Full member since 1968
SHEVCHENKO, Vladimir Vasil'yevich	Polyansky Kirilenko Podgorny	First Secretary, Voroshilovgrad Obkom (Ukraine)	Full member since 1961
SHIBAYEV, Aleksey Ivanovich	Shelepin	First Secretary, Saratov Obkom	Full member since 1961

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
SHITIKOV, Aleksey Pavlovich	Voronov Brezhnev Kirilenko	Chairman, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet	Full member since 1961
SHKOL'NIKOV, Aleksey Mikhaylovich	Voronov	First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers	Full member since 1956
SHOKIN, Aleksandr Ivanovich	Ustinov	USSR Minister of the Electronics Industry	Full member since 1966
SHOLOKHOV, Mikhail Aleksandrovich	?	Novelist; Active Member, USSR Academy of Sciences	Full member since 1961
SKACHKOV, Semen Andreyevich	Kosygin Podgorny	Chairman, USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
SKOCHILOV, Anatoliy Andrianovich	Voronov	First Secretary, Ul'yanovsk Obkom	Full member since 1966
SLAVSKIY, Yefim Pavlovich	Ustinov Kosygin	USSR Minister of Medium Machine Building	Full member since 1961
SMIRNOV, Leonid Vasil'yevich	Ustinov Kosygin	Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers	Full member since 1961
SMIRNOV, Vasiliy Aleksandrovich	?	Brigade Leader, Baltic Shipyard, Leningrad	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
SNECHKUS, Antanas Yuozovich	Suslov Mazurov Shelepin	First Secretary, CC CP Lithuania	Full member since 1952
SOKOLOV, Sergey Leonidovich	?	USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense	Full member since 1968
SOKOLOV, Tikhon Ivanovich	Brezhnev	First Deputy Chairman, USSR State Planning Committee	Full member since 1961
SOLOMENTSEV, Mikhail Sergeyevich	Suslov	Secretary, CPSU Central Committee; Appointed Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers on 28 July 1971	Full member since 1961
TEPAKOV, Vladimir Il'ich	Suslov Demichev	Ambassador to Yugoslavia	Full member since 1966

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
STRUYEV, Aleksandr Ivanovich	Kosygin Podgorny	USSR Minister of Trade	Full member since 1966
SURGANOV, Fedor Anisimovich	Mazurov Shelepin	Second Secretary, CC CP Belorussia Appointed Chairman Presidium, Belorussian Supreme Soviet on 16 July 1971	Full member since 1961
SUSLOV, Mikhail Andreyevich		Secretary, CPSU Central Committee, Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1941
TABEYEV, Fikryat Akhmedzhanovich	Voronov	First Secretary, Tatar Obkom	Full member since 1961
TIKHONOV, Nikolay Aleksandrovich	Brezhnev	Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers	Full member since 1966
TITARENKO, Aleksey Antonovich	Podgorny Shelest	Secretary, CC CP Ukraine	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
TITOV, Vitaliy Nikolayevich	Podgorny	First Deputy USSR Representative, CEMA	Full member since 1956
TOKA, Salchak Kolbakhorekovich	?	First Secretary, Tuva Obkom	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1952
TOKAREV, Aleksandr Maksimovich	Brezhnev Polyansky	USSR Minister of Industrial Construction	Full member since 1966
TOLSTIKOV, Vasilii Sergeyevich	Kirilenko Polyansky Shelepin	Ambassador to the Chinese People's Republic	Full member since 1961
TOLUBEYEV, Nikita Pavlovich	Brezhnev Kirilenko Shcherbitsky	Ambassador to Cuba	Full member during 1961-1966; not re- elected at 23rd CPSU Congress
TRAPEZNIKOV, Sergey Pavlovich	Brezhnev	Chief, Science and Educational Institutions Department, CPSU Central Committee	Full member since 1966
TSUKANOV, Georgiy Emmanuilovich	Brezhnev	Assistant to General Secretary Brezhnev	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966

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ie	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
'BUL'KO Vladimir Mikhaylovich	Brezhnev Podgorny	First Secretary, Kiev Obkom (Ukraine)	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Ukrainy</i> , 19 January 1971
AZHEL'NIKOV, Yevgeniy ikhaylovich	Kirilenko Brezhnev	First Secretary, All-Union Komsomol	New; position noted in <i>Komsomol'skaya Pravda</i> , 16 February 1971
AKHANOV, Magomed-Salam yasovich	?	First Secretary, Dagestan Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 20 January 1971
INOVA, Dmitriy Fedorovich	Kosygin	Secretary, CPSU Central Committee; Candidate Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU	Full member since 1952
BALIYEV, Turdakun Usubaliyevich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, CC CP Kirgizia	Full member since 1961
BER, Artur Pavlovich	Shelepin	Chairman, Presidium, Estonian Supreme Soviet	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
CHENKO, Grigoriy Ivanovich	Podgorny Shelest	First Secretary, Khar'kov Obkom	Full member since 1966
IL'YEV, Nikolay Fedorovich	Brezhnev Kirilenko Shcherbitsky	First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers	Full member since 1966
CHENKO, Aleksey Fedoseyevich	Brezhnev Kirilenko Shcherbitsky	First Secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (Ukraine)	Full member since 1966
'OROV, Aleksey Vasil'yevich	?	Brigade Leader, First State Bearing Plant, Moscow	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 4 April 1971
ONOV, Gennadiy Ivanovich		Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers; Member, Politburo, CC, CPSU. (Appointed Chairman, USSR People's Control Committee on 22 July 1971.)	Full member since 1952
DPAYEV, Mikhail Gavrilovich	Brezhnev	First Secretary, Chelyabinsk Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Komsomol'skaya Pravda</i> , 6 February 1971

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Name	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
VOROTNIKOV, Vitaliy Ivanovich	Brezhnev Polyansky	First Secretary, Voronezh Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 9 February 1971
VOSS, Avgust Eduardovich	Shelepin Suslov	First Secretary, CC CP Latvia	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Latviya</i> , 13 February 1971
YAKUBOVSKIY, Ivan Ignat'yevich	?	USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense; Commander, Warsaw Pact Forces	Full member since 1961
YASNOV, Mikhail Alekseyevich	Brezhnev	Chairman, Presidium, RSFSR Supreme Soviet	Full member since 1952
YEFREMOV, Mikhail Timofeyevich	Brezhnev Polyansky	Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers	Full member since 1956
YELYUTIN, Vyacheslav Petrovich	?	USSR Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education	Full member since 1961
YEPISHEV, Aleksey Alekseyevich	Shelepin	Chief, Main Political Directorate, Soviet Army and Navy, USSR Ministry of Defense	Full member since 1964
YERMIN, Lev Borisovich	Kulakov Brezhnev Polyansky	First Secretary, Penza Obkom	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961
YESHTOKIN, Afanasiy Fedorovich	Kirilenko	First Secretary, Kemerovo Obkom	Full member since 1966
YEZHEVSKIY, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich	Polyansky	Chairman, Soyuzsel'khoztekhnika	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1966
YUNAK, Ivan Kharitonovich	Kirilenko Shcherbitsky	First Secretary, Tula Obkom	Full member since 1961
ZAKHAROV, Matvey Vasil'yevich	?	USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense, Chief Soviet General Staff; "To Another Job" 22 September 1971	Full member since 1961
ZAKHAROV, Mikhail Yegorovich	?	Lathe Operator, Moscow Oblast'	Promoted; elected candidate member in 1961

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e	Patron	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
GALIN, Vladimir Fedorovich	Kosygin Ustinov	USSR Minister of Heavy, Power and and Transportation Machine Building	Full member since 1964
YANIN, Mikhail Vasil'yevich	Mazurov Shelepin	Chief Editor, <i>Pravda</i>	Full member since 1966
OTUKHIN, Grigoriy Sergeyevich	Polyansky	First Secretary, Krasnodar Kraykom	Full member since 1966
REV, Sergey Alekseyevich	Ustinov	USSR Minister of the Defense Industry	Full member since 1966

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SECTION B

CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS NOT RE-ELECTED
AT THE 24th CPSU CONGRESS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Position when elected at 23rd Congress</u>	<u>Subsequent developments in career</u>
Akhundov, V. Yu.	Shelepin	1st secretary, CC, CP, Azerbaydzhan	Vice President, Academy of Sciences of Azerbaydzhan since 1969.
Antonov, S. A.	?	Locksmith at Electromechanical Works im. Vladimir Ilich, Moscow City	
Aristov, A. B.	Brezhnev	USSR Ambassador to Poland	Relieved from post in Warsaw in March 1971; probably retired.
Beloborodov, A. P.	?	Commander of Moscow Military District.	Seriously injured in auto accident in October 1966; relieved of command in July 1968; now probably posted to the Defense Ministry's Group of General Inspectors.
Benediktov, I. A.	Kosygin Voronov	USSR Ambassador to India	Appointed Ambassador to Yugoslavia in April 1967; relieved from post in Belgrade in January 1971; probably retired.
Beysebayev, M.	Brezhnev Kunayev	Chairman, Kazakhstan Council of Ministers	Retired on pension in March 1970.
Chernyshev, V. Ye.	Mazurov	1st secretary, Primorye Kraykom	Appointed deputy chairman of CPSU Party Control Committee in March 1969. Died in November 1969.
Churayev, V. M.	Shelepin Podgorny	1st Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Committee of Peoples Control	Identified as deputy Chairman of USSR Committee of Peoples Control in January 1968; demoted to Auditing Commission membership at 24th Congress
Daniyalov, A. D.	?	1st Secretary, Dagestan Obkom	Elected Chairman, Presidium of Dagestan Supreme Soviet in November 1967.
Gaganova, V. I.	?	Brigade leader, cotton combine in Vyshny Volocheck, Kalinin Oblast.	
Ignatov, N. G.	Shelepin	Chairman, Presidium of RSFSR Supreme Soviet	Died in November 1966

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	Patron	Position When Elected at 23rd Congress	Subsequent Developments in Career
Arizin, Ya. E.	Suslov	Chairman, Presidium of Latvian Supreme Soviet	Retired on pension in May 1970.
Arvko, V. V.	?	Steelworker, Makeyevka Metallurgical Works, Donetsk Oblast (Ukraine)	
Arko, V. K.	Podgorny Grishin	Chairman, Ukrainian Trade Union Council	Retired on pension in March 1971
Arkov, V. G.	Podgorny	Secretary, CC, CP, Ukraine	Died in October 1966.
Arshenko, D. S.	Brezhnev	Chairman, presidium of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet	Died in April 1969.
Arsov, P. V.	Shelepin	Chairman, USSR Committee of People's Control	Relieved of post in July 1971.
Arz, V. I.	Mazurov Masherov	Chairman, Presidium of Belorussian Supreme Soviet	Died in December 1967.
Arnov, R. K.	Brezhnev Rashidov	Chairman, Uzbekistan Council of Ministers	Dismissed in February 1971.
Arsov, Ye. F.	?	USSR Minister of Civil Aviation (elected a candidate member of the central committee at 23rd Congress, but promoted to full membership at the April 1968 plenum)	Dismissed from post in ministry in May 1970; probably transferred to work at USSR Ministry of Defense. Died in October 1970.
Arsovsky, R. Ya.	?	USSR Minister of Defense	Died in March 1967.
Artilov, N. A.	Shelepin	Chairman, USSR Committee for Publishing	Retirement announced in July 1970.
Arshchev, L. G.	Voronov	1st secretary, Kursk Obkom	Appointed Adviser to RSFSR Council of Ministers in April 1970.
Artyev, K. K.	Shelepin Voronov Suslov Mazurov	1st secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom	Retired on pension in January 1971.
Artyeva, T. N.	Grishin Kapitonov	Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions	Released from post in April 1971; transferred to "other work."

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Name	Patron	Position When Elected at 23rd Congress	Subsequent Developments in Career
Organov, N. N.	?	USSR Ambassador to Bulgaria	Relieved from post in Sofia in March 1967; appointed chief of an unidentified department of the CPSU Central Committee.
Ovezov, B.	?	1st secretary, CC, CP, Turmenia	Dismissed for "serious shortcomings" in December 1969.
Pavlov, S. P.	Shelepin	1st secretary, All-Union Komsomol	Replaced in Komsomol post in June 1968; appointed Chairman of USSR Committee for Physical Culture and Sports in November 1968.
Peyve, Ya. V.	Suslov Pelshe	Chairman, USSR Soviet of Nationalities	Appointed Chief Learned Secretary, Presidium of USSR Academy of Sciences in August 1966.
Popov, G. I.	Brezhnev	1st secretary, Leningrad Gorkom	Retired in February 1971.
Pospelov, P. N.	Suslov	Director, Institute of Marxism—Leninism	Retired in May 1967.
Pysin, K. G.	Voronov	1st deputy chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers	Retired on pension in February 1971.
Rudakov, A. P.	Brezhnev Podgorny	Secretary, CC, CPSU	Died in June 1966.
Semichastny, V. Ye.	Shelepin	Chairman, KGB	Appointed 1st deputy chairman of Ukrainian Council of Ministers in May 1967.
Shvernik, N. M.	?	Old Bolshevik. Had been Member of CC. CPSU Presidium (Politburo) and Chairman of CPSU Party Control Committee until conclusion of 23rd Congress	Died in December 1970.
Sinitza, M. S.	Podgorny	1st secretary, Odessa Obkom	Appointed Chief of Ukrainian Main Administration of River Fleet in May 1970.
Sobol, N. A.	Podgorny	1st deputy chairman, Ukrainian Council of Ministers	

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me	Patrol	Position When Elected at 23rd Congress	Subsequent Developments in Career
ovyev, L. N.	Grishin	USSR Ambassador to Mongolia	Relieved from post in Ulan Bator in February 1968; appointed RSFSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
ridonov, I. V.	Voronov Kosygin Suslov.	Chairman, USSR Soviet of the Union	Retired in July 1970.
ov, F. Ye.	Suslov Pelshe	USSR Ambassador to Hungary	Relieved of post in Budapest in March 1971; appointed RSFR Minister of Foreign Affairs in May 1971.
shinin, K. A.	?	USSR Deputy Minister of Defense; Commander-in-chief, Air Force	Relieved of command in March 1969; probably assigned to Defense Ministry's Group of General Inspectors.
kov, A. P.	Kosygin Ustinov	Chairman, USSR State Committee for Labor and Wages	
ronov, F. D.	?	Director, Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine im. Stalin, Chelyabinsk Oblast	Appointed USSR Deputy Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy in 1968.
roshilov, K. Ye.	Brezhnev	Old Bolshevik; Member, Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet	Died in December 1969.
remov, L. N.	Brezhnev Polyansky	1st secretary, Stavropol Kraykom	Appointed 1st deputy chairman, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology in April 1970. Demoted to Auditing Commission membership at 24th Congress.
gorychev, N. G.	Shelepin	1st secretary, Moscow Gorkom	Dismissed from post in June 1967. Appointed USSR Deputy Minister of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building in 1967. Appointed USSR Ambassador to Denmark in April 1970.
rin, V. A.	?	USSR Ambassador to France	

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SECTION C

CANDIDATE MEMBERS, CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position at time of election (April 1971)</u>	<u>Comment</u>
ALEKSEYEV, Petr Fedorovich	Chief Editor, <i>Sovetskaya Rossiya</i>	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966.
APRYATKIN, Semen Semenovich	First secretary, Checheno–Ingush Obkom	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966.
AUYEL'BEKOV, Yerkin Nurzhanovich	First secretary, Kokchetav Obkom (Kazakhstan)	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 5 February 1971.
BAZOVSKIY, Vladimir Nikolayevich	First secretary, Novgorod Obkom	Candidate member since 1961.
BEKTURGANOV, Khsan Sayakmetovich	First secretary, Kzyl-Orda Obkom (Kazakhstan)	New; position noted in <i>Kazkhstanskaya Pravda</i> , 23 January 1971
BELUKHA, Nikolay Andreyevich	Second secretary, CC CP Latvia	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966.
BESPALOV, Ivan Petrovich	First secretary, Kirov Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 11 March 1971.
BIRYUKOVA, Aleksandra P.	Secretary, All–Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 26 December 1970.
BORISENKO, Nikolay Mikhaylovich	Secretary, CC CP Ukraine	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Ukrainy</i> , 13 February 1971.
BORODIN, Leonid Aleksandrovich	First secretary, Astrakhan' Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 5 February 1971.
BOTVIN, Aleksandr Pavlovich	First secretary, Kiev Gorkom (Ukraine)	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966.

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Name	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
UDENNYI, Semen Mikhaylovich	Member, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet	Candidate member since 1952
SHAKOVSKIY, Aleksandr Borisovich	Chief Editor, <i>Literaturnaya Gazeta</i>	New; position noted in <i>Literaturnaya Gazeta</i> , 6 January 1971
SHEBRIKOV, Viktor Mikhaylovich	Deputy Chairman, USSR Committee for State Security	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Ukrainy</i> , 6 June 1970
SHERNYY, Vasilii Il'ich	First secretary, Tambov Obkom	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
SHURKIN, Al'bert Nikitovich	Second secretary, CC CP Georgia	New; position noted in <i>Zarya Vostoka</i> , 2 March 1971
SHAVYDOV, N. I.		New
SEMCHENKO, Vladimir Akimovich	Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1966
SEMENT'YEVA, Raisa Fedorovna	Secretary, Moscow Gorkom	Candidate member since 1966
SEMIDENKO, Vasilii Pavlovich	First secretary, North Kazakh Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Kazakhstanskaya Pravda</i> , 2 December 1970
SOYENIN, Vasilii Nikolayevich	USSR Minister of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances	Candidate member since 1966
SEODOROV, Viktor Stepanovich	USSR Minister of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry	Candidate member since 1961
SHILATOV, Aleksandr Pavlovich	First secretary, Novosibirsk Gorkom	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 9 June 1970
SOVIN, G. I.	Worker, ball bearing plant, Saratov Oblast	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 3 June 1971
SOMINYKH, Aleksandra Matveyevna	Brigade leader of swine breeders, Altay Kray	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966

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Name	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
FROLOV, Vasilii Semenovich	Chief, Machine Building Department, CPSU Central Committee	Candidate member since 1961
FURS, Igor' Leonidovich	First secretary, Dneprodzerzhinsk Gorkom (Ukraine)	New; position noted in <i>Rabochaya Gazeta</i> , 6 March 1971
GEORGADZE, Mikhail Profir'yevich	Secretary, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet	Candidate member since 1966
GERASIMOV, Konstantin Mikhailovich	Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers; Chairman, RSFSR State Planning Committee	Candidate member since 1961
GETMAN, Andrey Lavrent'yevich	Chairman, DOSAAF	Candidate member since 1961
GONCHAROV, V. I.	Brigade leader of welders, Belorussian Auto Works	New
GORCHAKOV, Petr Andreyevich	Chief, Political Administration, Strategic Rocket Forces, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Kraznaya Zvezda</i> , 6 February 1971
GORODOVIKOV, Basan Bad'minovich	First secretary, Kalmyk Obkom	Candidate member since 1961
GRIBACHEV, Nikolay Matveyevich	Chief, Editor, <i>Sovetskiy Soyuz</i>	Candidate member since 1961
GRUSHEVOY, Konstantin Stepanovich	Chief, Political Directorate; Member, Military Council, Moscow Military District	Candidate member since 1966
GUDKOV, Aleksandr Fedorovich	First secretary, Kursk Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 11 March 1971
GUSTOV, Ivan Stepanovich	First secretary, Pskov, Obkom	Candidate member since 1961
GUZHENKO, Timofey Borisovich	USSR Minister of the Maritime Fleet	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 11 November 1970
IBRAGIMOV, Ali Ismaylovich	Chairman, Azerbaydzhan Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 18 February 1971
IL'YASHENKO, Kirill Fedorovich	Chairman, Presidium, Moldavian Supreme Soviet	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966

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Name	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
VOZEMTSEV, Nikolay Nikolayevich	Director, Institute of World Economics and International Relations	New; position noted in <i>Vechernyaya Moskva</i> , 5 August 1970
VOCHUK, Mikhail Trifonovich	Rector, Academy of Social Sciences, CPSU Central Committee	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 20 January 1971
VAJEV, Vasiliy Yakovlevich	First Deputy Chairman, USSR State Planning Committee	Candidate member since 1966
VKOV, Aleksandr Akimovich	USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry	Candidate member since 1956
VBALOYEV, Bilar Yemazayevich	First secretary, North Osetian Obkom	Candidate member since 1966
VBKOV, Yakov Ivanovich	Chief, Trade and Domestic Services Department, CPSU Central Committee	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
VKHAROV, Abdulakhad	Chairman, Tadzhik Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1966
VL'CHENKO, Nikifor Timofeyevich	First Deputy Chairman, Ukrainian Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1966
VMALOV, Kallibek	First secretary, Kara-kalpak Obkom (Uzbekistan)	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 29 January 1971
VNDRENKOV, Andrey Andreyevich	First secretary, Kaluga Obkom	Candidate member since 1961
VRVAYEV, Georgiy Arkad'yevich	USSR Minister of Construction	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 27 November 1970
VRLOV, Vladimir Alekseyevich	First Deputy Chief, Agriculture Department, CPSU Central Committee	Candidate member since 1961
VRPOVA, Yevdokiya Fedorovna	Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1966
VRLOV, Makhmadulla	Chairman, Presidium, Tadzhik Supreme Soviet	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
VRICHENKO, Nikolay Karpovich	First secretary, Crimean Obkom (Ukraine)	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Ukrainy</i> , 20 January 1971

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Name	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
KLAUSON, Valter Ivanovich	Chairman, Estonian Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1961
KLIMENKO, Ivan Yefimovich	First secretary, Smolensk Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 28 December 1970
KLIMOV, Aleksandr Petrovich	Chairman, Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives	Candidate member since 1956
KNYAZEV, Filipp Kirillovich	First secretary, Kurgan Obkom	Candidate member since 1966
GUDKOV, Aleksandr Fedorovich	First secretary, Kursk Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 11 March 1971
GUSTOV, Ivan Stepanovich	First secretary, Pskov, Obkom	Candidate member since 1961
KOCHEMASOV, Vyacheslav Ivanovich	Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1966
KOCHETKOV, Nikolay Georgiyevich	Mine brigade leader, Kemerovo Oblast'	Candidate member since 1966
KOLCHINA, Ol'ga Pavlovna	Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium	Candidate member since 1961
KOLDUNOV, Aleksandr Ivanovich	Commander, Moscow PVO District, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 28 January 1971
KOLESNIKOV, A. Ya.	Brigade leader, Krasnodon Coal Mine Voroshilov Oblast (Ukraine)	New; position noted in <i>Radyanska Ukraina</i> , 18 April 1971
KORTUNOV, Aleksey Kirillovich	USSR Minister of the Gas Industry	Candidate member since 1961
KOZLOV, Sergey Vasil'yevich	Second secretary, CC CP Azerbaydzhan	New; position noted in <i>Bakinskiy Rabochiy</i> , 21 November 1970
KRIULIN, Gleb Aleksandrovich	First secretary, Mogilev Obkom (Belorussia)	Candidate member since 1966
KRUCHINA, Nikolay Yefimovich	First secretary, Tselinograd Obkom (Kazakhstan)	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
KUDINOV, I. P.	Milling machine operator, Kybyshev Motor Works im. France	New

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Name	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
KURKOTKIN, Semen Konstantinovich	Commander Transcaucasian Military District, USSR Ministry of Defense, CMDR GSF6 23 September 1971	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 23 June 1970
AVRENT'YEV, Mikhail Alekseyevich	Vice President and Chairman, Siberian Department, USSR Academy of Sciences	Candidate member since 1961
BEIN, Voldemar Petrovich	USSR Minister of the Food Industry	New; position noted in <i>Trud</i> , 16 December 1970
BRIGACHEV, Yegor Kuz'mich	First secretary, Tomsk Obkom	Candidate member since 1966
BOBOV, Semen Mikhaylovich	Commander, Northern Fleet, USSR Ministry of Defense	Candidate member since 1966
BROSHCHENKOV, Fedor Ivanovich	First secretary, Yaroslavl' Obkom	Candidate member since 1961
BYKOVA, Lidiya Pavlovna	Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1952
BRUKHAYEV, Viktor Petrovich	Doctor of Technical Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences	New; position noted in <i>Kazakhstanskaya Pravda</i> , 28 May 1970
BRUKHAYEV, Timbora Kubat'yevich	First secretary, Kabardino-Balkar Obkom	Candidate member since 1961
BRUKHAYEV, Viktor Fedorovich	Ambassador to Sweden. Appointed Ambassador to Finland on 12 May 1971.	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 16 May 1971
BRUKHAYEV, Iosif Antonovich	Chairman, Lithuanian Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Litva</i> , 13 February 1971
BRUKHAYEV, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich	Commander, Central Group of Forces (Czechoslovakia) USSR Ministry of Defense	New; Position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 1 October 1970
BRUKHAYEV, Yuriy Dmitriyevich	Second secretary, CC CP Moldavia	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Moldaviya</i> , 16 February 1971

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Name	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
MESHKOV, Fedor Stepanovich	First secretary, Orel Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Komsomol'skaya Pravda</i> , 18 February 1971
MOROZOV, Ivan Pavlovich	First secretary, Komi Obkom	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
MURADYAN, Badal Amayakovich	Chairman, Armenian Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1966
MUSAKHANOV, Mirzamakhmud Mirzarakhmanovich	First secretary, Tashkent Obkom (Uzbekistan)	Candidate member since 1961
MUZHITSKIY, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich	First secretary, Poltava Obkom (Ukraine)	Candidate member since 1961
NIKONOV, Viktor Petrovich	First secretary, Mari Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Rossiya</i> , 11 December 1970
OKUNEV, Vasiliy Vasil'yevich	Former Commander, Moscow PVO District. Transferred to "responsible work" in USSR Ministry of Defense in 1970.	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
ORAZMUKHAMEDOV, Oraz Nazarovich	Chairman, Turkmen Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Turkmenskaya Iskra</i> , 21 February 1971
PAPUTIN, Viktor Semenovich	Second secretary, Moscow Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Komsomol'skaya Pravda</i> , 26 January 1971
PASKAR', Petr Andreyevich	Chairman, Moldavian Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Moldaviya</i> , 8 January 1971
PASTUKHOV, Boris Nikolayevich	Second secretary, All-Union Komsomol	Candidate member since 1966
PAVLOV, Grigoriy Petrovich	First secretary, Lipetsk Obkom	Candidate member since 1966
PETROVICHEV, Nibdai Aleksandrovich	First Deputy Chief, Party Organizational Work Department, CPSU Central Committee	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 17 November 1970
PETROVSKIY, Boris Vasil'yevich	USSR Minister of Health	Candidate member since 1966

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	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
NOV, Petr Timofeyevich	Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)	Candidate member since 1966
REY, Mariya Tikhonovna	First secretary, Leninsk Raykom, Volgograd Oblast'	Candidate member since 1966
REBNYAK, Yakov Petrovich	Secretary, CC, CP Ukraine)	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 6 April 1971
OMAREV, Mikhail Aleksandrovich	First secretary, Vladimir Obkom	Candidate member since 1961
OMAREV, Nikolay Aleksandrovich	First secretary, Komsomolskiy Raykom, Kustanayskaya Oblast' (Kazakhstan)	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 6 April 1971
OV, Boris Veniaminovich	First secretary, Arkhangel'sk Obkom	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
RTSEV, Nikolay Dem'yanovich	USSR Minister of Communications	Candidate member since 1961
IANOV, Aleksey Vladimirovich	Chairman, USSR Committee for Cinematography	Candidate member since 1966
ENKO, Petr Akimovich	Chairman, Ukrainian State Planning Committee, Deputy Chairman, Ukrainian Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1966
EN, Vitaliy Petrovich	Chairman, Presidium, Latvian Supreme Soviet	Candidate member since 1966
EN, Yuriy Yanovich	Chairman, Latvian Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Latvija</i> , 12 February 1971
MANOV, Grigoriy Ivanovich	Commander, Kiev Military District, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 21 January 1971
NIKOVA, Yekaterina Andreyevna	Worker, Berezniki Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant, Perm Oblast	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
IN, S. N.	Electro mechanic at Voronezh Radio Components Works	New
INKIN, Nikolay Ivanovich	Chief, Administrative Organs Department, CPSU Central Committee	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966

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Name	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
SEMENOV, Vladimir Semenovich	USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs	Candidate member since 1966
SERBIN, Ivan Dmitriyevich	Chief, Defense Industry Department, CPSU Central Committee	Candidate member since 1961
SERGEYEV, M. I.	Driller, Ust' Balykskaya Drilling Office, Tyumen' Oblast'	New; position noted in <i>Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta</i> , No. 14, February 1971
SHASHIN, Valentin Dmitriyevich	USSR Minister of the Petroleum Industry	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
SHAURO, Vasilii Filimonovich	Chief, Culture Department, CPSU Central Committee	Candidate member since 1966
SHAYDUROV, Sergey Afanas'yevich	First secretary, Magadan Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 11 March 1971
SHCHERBINA, Boris Yevdokimovich	First secretary, Tyumen' Obkom	Candidate member since 1961
SHEVCHENKO, Aleksandra Fedorovna	Milkmaid, Kiev Oblast' (Ukraine)	Candidate member since 1966
SHIBALOV, Aleksandr Nikanorovich	Chairman, Leningrad Oblast' Executive Committee	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Rossiya</i> , 15 January 1971
SHITOV, Aleksandr Ivanovich	Second secretary, CC CP Tadjikistan	New; position noted in <i>Kommunist Tadjikistana</i> , 4 February 1971
SHUMAUSKAS, Moteyus Yuozovich	Chairman, Presidium, Lithuanian Supreme Soviet	Candidate member since 1956
SIDORENKO, Aleksandr Vasil'yevich	USSR Minister of Geology	Candidate member since 1966
SIZOV, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich	Chairman, Leningrad City Executive Committee	New; position noted in <i>Leningradskaya Pravda</i> , 14 January 1971
SINITSYN, Ivan Flegontovich	USSR Minister of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building	Candidate member since 1966

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Name	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
CHULKOV, Igor' Petrovich	First secretary, Kostroma Obkom. Died 22 July 1971	Candidate member since 1952
GAZHNEV, Ivan Gavrilovich	First Deputy Chairman, Kazakh Council of Ministers	Candidate member since 1966
CHIRNOV, Aleksandr Ivanovich	First secretary, Chita Obkom	Candidate member since 1961
CHIRNOV, Aleksandr Nikolayevich	First secretary, Ivanovo Obkom	Candidate member since 1966
CHIRNOV, Nikolay Ivanovich	Commander, Pacific Fleet, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 20 May 1964
CHERLOGUB, Vitaliy Alekseyevich	Chairman, Ukrainian Trade Union Council	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Ukrainy</i> , 4 November 1970
CHUMBAYEV, Akhmatbet Suttbayevich	Chairman, Kirgiz Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 26 January 1971
CHIRASOV, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich	USSR Minister of the Automobile Industry	Candidate member since 1961
CHIRASOV, Nikolay Nikiforovich	USSR Minister of Light Industry	Candidate member since 1966
CHIRATUTA, Vasilii Nikolayevich	First secretary, Vinnitsa Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Ukrainy</i> , 3 February 1971
CHIRTYSHCHEV, Nikifor Nikiforovich	Second secretary, CC CP Kirgizia	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Kirgiziya</i> , 6 March 1971
CHIRKUNOV, Lev Nikolayevich	Chief Editor, <i>Izvestiya</i>	Candidate member since 1966
CHIRLUBKO, Vladimir Fedorovich	Commander, Far East Military District, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 8 October 1970
CHIRTYAK, Ivan Moiseyevich	Commander, Belorussian Military District, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Belorussiya</i> , 30 January 1971

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Name	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
TRUNOV, Mikhail Petrovich	First secretary, Belgorod Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 11 March 1971
TSVIGUN, Semen Kuz'mich	First Deputy Chairman, USSR Committee for State Security	New; position noted in <i>Agitator</i> , No. 22, November 1970
UDALOV, A. P.	Brigade leader, Krasnoye Sormovo Plant, Gor'kiy, RSFSR	New; position noted in <i>Sel'skaya Zhizn'</i> , 4 July 1971
UDAL'TSOV, Ivan Ivanovich	Director, Novosti Press Agency	New; position noted in <i>Zhurnalist</i> , No. 11, 1970
USMANOV, Saidmakhmud Nogmanovich	First secretary, Samarkand Obkom (Uzbekistan)	Promoted; elected to Central Auditing Commission in 1966
VINOGRADOV, Vladimir Mikhaylovich	Ambassador to the UAR	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 20 January 1971
VLADYCHENKO, Ivan Maksimovich	Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)	Candidate member since 1966
VORONOVSKIY, Nikolay Anatol'yevich	First secretary, Chuvash Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Rossiya</i> , 21 February 1971
VSEVOLOZHSKIY, Mikhail Nikolayevich	First secretary, Zaporozh'ye Obkom (Ukraine)	Candidate member since 1966
YAGODKIN, Vladimir Nikolayevich	Secretary, Moscow City Party Committee	New position noted in <i>Vechernaya Moskva</i> , on 13 March 1971
YAKUBOVSKIY, Fuad Borisovich	USSR Minister of Installation and Special Construction Work	Candidate member since 1966
YANGEL', Mikhail Kuz'mich	Director, Dnepropetrovsk Automobile Plant (Ukraine)	Candidate member since 1966

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ame	Position at time of election (April 1971)	Comment
EGOROV, Anatoliy Grigor'yevich	Chief Editor, <i>Kommunist</i>	Candidate member since 1966
ESENOV, Shakkmardan	President, KaSSR Academy of Sciences	New; position noted in <i>Kazakhstanskaya Pravda</i> , 14 March 1971
ARODOV, Konstantin Ivanovich	Chief Editor, <i>Problems of Peace and Socialism</i>	Candidate member since 1966
HURIN, Nikolay Ivanovich	First secretary, Aktyubinsk Obkom (Kazakhstan)	Candidate member since 1966

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SECTION D

CANDIDATE MEMBERS OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
NOT RE-ELECTED AT 24th CONGRESS

Name	Position When Elected at 23rd Congress and Subsequent Career
ABDURAZAKOV, Malik Abdurazakovich	<i>First Secretary, Tashkent Oblast Party Committee, Uzbek SSR.</i> Relieved 29 Jan 70. Minister of Procurement Uzbek SSR.
AFANASYEV, Pavel Yakovlevich	<i>First Secretary, Magadan Oblast Party Committee, RSFSR.</i> Retired on pension 2 Feb 68.
ALIKHANOV, Enver Nazarovich	<i>Chairman, Azerbaydzhan Council of Minis- ters.</i> Relieved 10 Apr 70 for health reasons.
AMELKO, Nikolay Nikolayevich	<i>Commander of the Pacific Fleet.</i> In Mar 69 appointed Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Soviet Navy.
ANGELYEV, Dmitriy Dmitriyevich	Director of Sovkhoz "Gigant," Rostov Ob- last.
ANTONOV, Vasiliy Ivanovich	<i>First Secretary, Astrakhan Oblast Party Committee.</i> Died 2 Aug 67.
BAKAYEV, Viktor Grigoryevich	<i>Minister of Maritime Fleet USSR.</i> Retired on pension 14 Jan 70.
BELSKIKH, Raisa Alekseyevna	Manager in a sugar beet sovkhoz, Voronezh Oblast.
BOCHKAREV, Aleksandr Pankratyevich	Chairman, Saratov Oblast Executive Com- mittee.
BUBNOVSKIY, Nikita Dmitriyevich	First Secretary, Khmel'nitskiy Oblast Party Committee, Ukrainian SSR.

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CHUBAROV, Anatoliy Petrovich	<i>Second Secretary, Kirgiz Communist Party.</i> Relieved 1 Mar 71. Identified as USSR Deputy Minister of Agriculture 21 Apr 71.
DENISOV, Georgiy Yakovlevich	<i>First Secretary, Murmansk Oblast Party Committee.</i> Relieved on 2 Dec 66. Mem- ber, Party Control Committee attached to CPSU Central Committee. Since Dec. 1966.
DIORDITSA, Aleksandr Filippovich	<i>Chairman, Moldavian Council of Ministers.</i> Relieved 15 Apr 70. Identified as Deputy Chairman, USSR State Committee on Prices 10 Nov 70.
FRANTSOV, Georgiy Pavlovich	<i>Editor, Problems of Peace and Socialism.</i> Relieved Oct 68. <i>Deputy Director, Institute of Marxism Leninism attached to CC, CPSU.</i> Died 18 Apr 69.
GOLOVCHENKO, Fedor Pavlovich	<i>First Secretary, Kiev Oblast Party Commit- tee, Ukraine.</i> Relieved 7 Apr 70. Minister of Motor Transport Ukrainian SSR.
GORYUNOV, Dmitriy Petrovich	<i>Director General, TASS.</i> Relieved 12 Apr 67. Ambassador to Kenya.
ISLYUKOV, Semen Matveyevich	<i>First Secretary, Chuvash ASSR Party Com- mittee.</i> Relieved 4 Jan 68. Chairman, Chuvash ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
KAZAKOV, Mikhail Ilich	<i>First Deputy Chief, General Staff of the Armed Forces, Chief of Staff, Warsaw Pact Forces.</i> Relieved at his request for health reasons in Aug 68.
KORNIYETS, Leonid Romanovich	<i>Chairman, State Committee for Procure- ment USSR; USSR Minister.</i> Died 29 May 69.
KOSHEVOY, Petr Kirillovich	<i>Commander-in-Chief of the Group of So- viet Forces in Germany.</i> Relieved Nov 69.

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KOVAL, Ivan Grigoryevich	<i>Second Secretary, Tadzhik Communist Party.</i> Died 21 Oct 70.
KOZLOV, Grigoriy Ivanovich	<i>Chairman, Leningrad Oblast Executive Committee.</i> Died 7 Apr 68.
KREMEN, Anatoliy Stepanovich	Excavator Machine Operator, Vitebsk Oblast, Belorussia.
KUZNETSOV, Nikolay Aleksandrovich	Minister of Culture RSFSR.
LAVRENOV, Ivan Anayevich	<i>Chief, Political Administration, Strategic Rocket Troops.</i> Died 6 Dec 66.
MALOFEYEV, Pavel Radionovich	Director, Urals Heavy Machine Building works, Sverdlovsk.
MAMBETOV, Bolot Mambetovich	<i>Chairman, Kirgiz Council of Ministers.</i> Retired on pension 23 Jan 68.
MESYATSEV, Nikolay Nikolayevich	<i>Chairman, Committee for Radio Broadcasting and Television USSR.</i> Release reported 25 Apr 70. Ambassador to Australia.
MIKHAYLOV, Dmitriy Ivanovich	Drilling Foreman in an oil Trust, Bashkir ASSR.
NOVIKOV, Konstantin Aleksandrovich	<i>First Secretary, Arkhangelsk Oblast Party Committee.</i> Relieved 24 Mar 67. Chairman, RSFSR State Committee for Utilization of Labor Resources.
OSIPOV, Georgiy Ivanovich	<i>First Secretary, Mordovian ASSR Party Committee.</i> Relieved 3 Mar 68. Member, Party Control Committee attached to CPSU Central Committee.
PALETSKIS, Yustas Ignovich	<i>Chairman, Presidium, Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.</i> On 2 Aug 66 elected <i>Chairman, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet.</i> Relieved Jul 70.

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PENKOVSKIY, Valentin Antonovich	<i>Deputy Minister of Defense USSR. Died 26 Apr 69.</i>
PETUKHOV, Boris Fedorovich	<i>First Secretary, Kirov Oblast Party Committee. Not re-elected at Oblast Party Conference Mar 71.</i>
PODZERKO, Viktor Andreyevich	<i>Secretary, WFTU Executive Committee. Relieved Oct 69.</i>
POSTOVALOV, Sergey Osipovich	Deputy Chairman, Party Control Committee attached to CPSU Central Committee.
RODIONOV, Petr Aleksandrovich	<i>Second Secretary, Georgian Communist Party. Not re-elected at Georgian Party Congress 1 Mar 71. Identified 1st Deputy Director, IML pri CC, CPSU 5 Mar 71.</i>
ROKOSSOVSKIY, Konstantin Konstantinovich	<i>Member, Inspector General Group, USSR Ministry of Defense. Died 3 Aug 68.</i>
ROMANOV, Nikolay Nikolayevich	Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.
SIZOV, Pavel Konstantinovich	Head, Department of Light and Food Industry, CPSU Central Committee.
SOKOLOVSKIY, Vasiliy Danilovich	<i>Member, Inspector General Group, Ministry of Defense USSR. Died 10 May 68.</i>
STUCHENKO, Andrey Trofimovich	<i>Commander, Transcaucasus Military District. Relieved May 68. Chief, Frunze Military Academy. Relieved Dec 69.</i>
TIKUNOV, Vadim Stepanovich	<i>Minister of Protection of Public Order RSFSR. Ministry abolished 17 Sep 66. Since Nov 69 Minister-Counselor at Soviet Embassy in Romania.</i>
TIMOSHENKO, Semen Konstantinovich	<i>Member, Inspector General Group, Ministry of Defense USSR. Died 31 Mar 70.</i>

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URAYEV, Petr
Vasilyevich

First Secretary, Mari ASSR Party Committee. Died 22 Jul 67.

VORONINA, Praskovya
Alekseyevna

First Secretary, Bauman Rayon Party Committee, Moscow City. On 3 Dec 68 elected Deputy Chairman, Moscow City Executive Committee.

VOROTNIKOV, Sergey
Illarionovich

Mine Brigade Leader, Lugansk Oblast, Ukraine.

YELISTRATOV, Petr
Matveyevich

Second Secretary, Azerbaydzhan Communist Party. On 3 Mar 68 elected First Secretary, Mordovian ASSR Party Committee.

Removed from Mordovian post at some point between mid-February and early June 1971.

YEREMENKO, Andrey
Ivanovich

Member, Inspector General Group, USSR Ministry of Defense. Died 19 Nov 70.

ZHURAVLEVA, Marina
Ilinichna

Secretary, All-Union Kómsomol Central Committee. Relieved 12 June 68. Deputy Minister of Education USSR.

ZOTOV, Vasiliy
Petrovich

Minister of Food Industry USSR. Retired on pension 15 Jan 70.

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SECTION E

MEMBERS, CPSU CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION (CAC)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position at Time of Election (April 1971)</u>	<u>Comment</u>
ALEKSANDROV-AGENTOV, Andrey Mikhaylovich	Aide to General Secretary Brezhnev	New; position noted in <i>Stenographic Report</i> , XXIII Congress
ANIKUSHIN, Mikhail Konstantinovich	Sculptor; secretary, USSR Union of Artists	CAC member since 1966
ANTONOV, Sergey Fedorovich	USSR Minister of the Meat and Dairy Industry	CAC member since 1966
ARBATOV, Georgiy Arkad'yevich	Director, USA Institute	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 27 November 1970
ARUTYUNYAN, Nagush Khachaturovich	Chairman, Presidium, Armenian Supreme Soviet	CAC member since 1966
BELIK, Petr Aleksandrovich	Commander, Transbaykal Military District, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 10 February 1971
BEREZIN, Anatoliy Ivanovich	Chairman, Mordovian ASSR Council of Ministers, identified as 1st secretary, Mordovin Obkom in <i>Sel'skaya Zhizn'</i> on 2 June 1971	New; position noted in <i>Sotsialisticheskaya</i> <i>Industriya</i> , 27 March 1971
BOGOLYUBOV, Klavdiy Mikhaylovich	Deputy Chief, unidentified department, CPSU Central Committee, probably the General Department	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 24 July 1969
BUSHUYEV, Viktor Mikhaylovich	Chief, Chemical Industry Department, CPSU Central Committee	CAC member since 1966
BUZNITSKIY, Aleksandr Grigor'yevich	Chairman, Kolkhoz <i>imeni Zhdanov</i> , Kiev Oblast' (Ukraine)	New; position noted in <i>Sel'skaya Zhizn'</i> , 3 April 1968
CHEREDNICHENKO, Yevgeniy Trofimovich	Secretary, WFTU Executive Committee	CAC member since 1956
CHURAYEV, Viktor Mikhaylovich	Deputy Chairman, USSR Committee for Peoples' Control	Demoted; full Central Com- mittee member since 1961

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Name	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
DENISOVA, R. N.		New
DMITRIYEV, Ivan Nikolayevich	Chief, Construction Department, CPSU Central Committee	New; position noted in <i>Trud</i> , 14 January 1971
DODOR, A. P.	Lathe operator, Nizhny Tagil Auto Works, Sverdlovsk' Oblast	New
DRAGUNSKIY, David Abramovich	Chief, Vystrel Higher Officers' Courses, USSR Ministry of Defense	New; position noted in <i>Krasnaya Zvezda</i> , 29 September 1970
DZOTSENIDZE, Georgiy Samsonovich	Chairman, Presidium, Georgian Supreme Soviet	CAC member since 1961
GOLUBEV, Vasilii Nikolayevich	Chief Editor, <i>Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya</i>	New; position noted in <i>Leninskoye Znamya</i> , 7 August 1969
GORBACH, Filipp Semenovich	Excavator machine operator, Kopatkevichskiy Construction and Assembly Administration, Gomel' Oblast' (Belorussia)	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Belorussiya</i> , 16 March 1967
GORCHAKOV, Aleksey Kuz'mich	Head of Secretariat, USSR Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Stenographic Report</i> , XXIII Congress
GOREGLYAD, Aleksey Adamovich	First Deputy Chairman, USSR State Planning Committee	CAC member since 1966
GORKIN, Aleksandr Fedorovich	Chairman, USSR Supreme Court	CAC member since 1952
GOSTEV, Boris Ivanovich	First Deputy Chief, Planning and Finance Organs Department, CPSU Central Committee	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 27 May 1970
IKSANOV, Mustakhim Belyalovich	Secretary, CC, CP Kazakhstan	New; position noted in <i>Kazakhstanskaya Pravda</i> , 25 February 1971
KACHIN, Dmitriy Ivanovich	First secretary, Kamchatka Obkom	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 11 March 1971
KHALDEYEV, Mikhail Ivanovich	Chief Editor, <i>Partynaya Zhizn'</i>	CAC member since 1966

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Name	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
KHALILOV, Kurban Ali ogly	Chairman, Presidium, Azerbaydzhan Supreme Soviet	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 18 February 1971
KHARAZOV, Valeriy Innokent'yevich	Second secretary, CC CP Lithuania	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Litva</i> , 27 December 1970
KHRENNIKOV, Tikhon Nikolayevich	First secretary of Board, USSR Union of Composers	CAC member since 1961
KLYCHEV, Anna-Mukhamed	Chairman, Presidium, Turkmen Supreme Soviet	CAC member since 1966
KOBYL'CHAK, Mikhail Mitrofanovich	First secretary, Kirovograd Obkom (Ukraine)	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Ukrainy</i> , 31 January 1971
KOMAROVA, Domna Pavlovna	RSFSR Minister of Social Security	CAC member since 1966
KONOVALOV, Nikolay Leont'yevich	First secretary, Murmansk Obkom Died on 19 July 1971	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 20 February 1971
KOSTYUKOV, Ivan Ivanovich	Chairman, Trade Union of Metallurgical Industry Workers	New; position noted in <i>Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya</i> , 16 August 1970
KRUGLOVA, Zinaida Mikhaylovna	Secretary, Leningrad Obkom	CAC member since 1966
KUDRATOV, Shaymardan	Brigade leader, Kolkhoz <i>imeni Akhunbabayev</i> , Surkhandarya Oblast (Uzbekistan)	New; position noted in <i>Stenographic Report</i> , XXIII Congress
KULATOV, Turabay	Chairman, Presidium, Kirgiz Supreme Soviet	CAC member since 1939
KULIDZHANOV, Lev Aleksandrovich	First secretary of Board, USSR Union of Cinematographers	CAC member since 1966
KUSKOV, Yelizar Il'ich	First Deputy Chief, International Department, CPSU Central Committee	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 23 January 1971
LEBEDEV, Konstantin Vasilyevich	Second secretary, CC CP Estonia	New; position noted in <i>Sovetskaya Estoniya</i> , 12 February 1971

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Name	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
LOBANOK, Vladimir Yeliseyevich	First Deputy Chairman, Belorussian Council of Ministers	CAC member since 1961
LOTSMANOVA, G. P.	Fitter at factory in Kazan, Tatar ASSR	New
MEL'NIKOVA, Zoya Vasil'yevna	Worker, Sterlitamak Soda Cement Combine, (Bashkir ASSR)	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 15 June 1966
MIKULICH, Vladimir Andreyevich	First secretary, Brest Obkom (Belorussia)	CAC member since 1966
MOLDASANOV, Zholsen	Shepherd, Alma Ata Oblast' (Kazakhstan)	New; position noted in <i>Kazakhstanskaya Pravda</i> , 30 January 1971
NOVOSELOV, Yefim Stepanovich	USSR Minister of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building	CAC member since 1966
OSETROV, Timofey Nikolayevich	First Deputy Chairman, Uzbek Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Vostoka</i> , 21 February 1971
PAVLOV, Sergey Pavlovich	Chairman, USSR Committee for Physical Culture and Sports	Demoted; elected full member of CC in 1961
PELLER, Vladimir Izraylevich	Chairman, "Zavety Il'icha" Kolkhoz, Yevreyskaya Autonomous Oblast'	New; position noted in <i>Deputaty Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR</i> , 1970
PETROVA, L. A.	Secretary, party committee, Kuntsevo Poultry Farm, Moscow Oblast	New
PIGALEV, Petr Filippovich	Chief, Section for Problems of the Functions of Soviets, USSR Supreme Soviet	CAC member since 1961
PULATOV, E. P.	Delegate from Uzbek Party organization to XXIV CPSU Congress	New; position noted in <i>Pravda Vostoka</i> , 5 March 1971
RAKHMANNIN, Oleg Borisovich	First Deputy Chief, Department for Liaison with Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries, CPSU Central Committee	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 30 January 1971
RUMYANTSEV, Aleksey Fedorovich	Chief Editor, <i>Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta</i>	CAC member since 1966

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Name	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
RYZHOV, Nikita Semenovich	Ambassador to Italy	CAC member since 1966
SHCHERBAKOV, Il'ya Sergeyevich	Ambassador to North Vietnam	CAC member since 1966
SHEVCHENKO, Leonid Mikhaylovich	Aide to Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet Podgorny	New; position noted in <i>Finnish Communique</i> , 8 October 1969
SHIKIN, Iosif Vasil'yevich	First Deputy Chairman, USSR Committee for Peoples' Control	CAC member since 1956
SHKURATOV, Ivan Fedorovich	Chairman, Trade Union of Agriculture and Procurement Workers	New; position noted in <i>Vechernyaya Moskva</i> , 22 December 1970
SIMONOV, Kirill Stepanovich	Chief, Transport and Communications Department, CPSU Central Committee	CAC member since 1966
SIZOV, Gennadiy Fedorovich	Chairman, CPSU Central Auditing Commission	CAC member since 1966
SMIRNOVSKIY, Mikhail Nikolayevich	Ambassador to Great Britain and Malta	CAC member since 1966
SMIRTYUKOV, Mikhail Sergeyevich	Administrator of Affairs, USSR Council of Ministers	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 4 December 1970
SONYGINA, A. P.		New
STAROVSKIY, Vladimir Nikonovich	Chairman, USSR Central Statistical Administration	CAC member since 1961
SUDARIKOV, Nikolay Georgiyevich	Ambassador to North Korea	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 10 December 1969
TER-GAZARYANTS, Georgiy Artashesovich	Second secretary, CC CP Armenia	CAC member since 1966
TEREBILOV, Vladimir Ivanovich	USSR Minister of Justice	New; position noted in <i>Komsomol'skaya Pravda</i> , 23 January 1971
TIMOFEYEV, Nikolay Vladimirovich	USSR Minister of the Timber and Wood-Processing Industry	CAC member since 1966

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Name	Position at Time of Election (April 1971)	Comment
TSINEV, Georgiy Karpovich	Deputy Chairman, USSR Committee for State Security	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 3 December 1970
UVACHAN, Vasiliy Nikolayevich	First secretary, Evenki National Okrug Party Committee (Krasnoyarskiy Kray)	CAC member since 1966
VASYAGIN, Semen Petrovich	Chief, Political Directorate, Ground Forces, USSR Ministry of Defense	CAC member since 1966
YAKOVLEV, Aleksandr Nikolayevich	First Deputy Chief, Propaganda Department, CPSU Central Committee	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 16 December 1970
YASTREBOV, Ivan Pavlovich	First Deputy Chief, Heavy Industry Department, CPSU Central Committee	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 19 July 1969
YEFREMOV, Leonid Nikolayevich	First Deputy Chairman, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology	Demoted; full Central Committee member since 1952
YELISEYEVA, N. G.	First secretary, Nevskiy Raykom (Leningrad City)	New; position noted in <i>Leningradskaya Pravda</i> , 5 January 1971
ZAGLADIN, Vadim Valentinovich	Deputy Chief, International Department, CPSU Central Committee	New; position noted in <i>Pravda</i> , 19 November 1970
ZAKOLUPIN, Nikolay Afanas'yevich	Chief, Editor, <i>Sel'skaya Zhizn'</i>	New; position noted in <i>Zhurnalist</i> , No. 4, 1971
ZAMYATIN, Leonid Mitrofanovich	Director-General, TASS	New; position noted in <i>Izvestiya</i> , 15 May 1970
ZATVORNITSKIY, Vladimir Andreyevich	Construction brigade leader, Moscow Oblast'	New; position noted in <i>Stenographic Report</i> , XXIII Congress
ZHUKOV, Georgiy Aleksandrovich	Political observer, <i>Pravda</i>	CAC member since 1956

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SECTION F

MEMBERS OF CPSU CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION
NOT RE-ELECTED AT 24TH CONGRESS*

AKNAZAROV, Zirekiya Sharafutdinovich	Chairman, Bashkir ASSR Council of Ministers.
BASKAKOV, Sergey Alekseyevich	<i>Head-Department of Heavy Industry, Transport and Communications for the RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee.</i> Since Jul 66 Deputy Head, Heavy Industry Otdel, CPSU Central Committee.
BATYYEV, Salikh Gilemkanovich	Chairman, Presidium, Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet.
BIRYUKOV, Anatoliy Yefimovich	<i>Head, Construction Department, CPSU Central Committee.</i> On 12 Apr 67 appointed Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers.
FEDORENKO, Nikolay Trofimovich	<i>Soviet Permanent Representative to the United Nations.</i> Relieved Jan 68. Chief Editor Inostrannaya Literatura.
GORCHAKOV, Andrey Ivanovich	<i>Ambassador to North Korea.</i> Relieved 21 Mar 67.
ISKENDEROV, Mamed Abdul Ogly	<i>Chairman, Presidium, Azerbaydzhan Supreme Soviet.</i> Relieved 25 Dec 69.
KALMYK, Nikolay Iosifovich	<i>First Secretary, Smolensk Oblast Party Committee.</i> Relieved 29 Dec 69. First Deputy Minister of Procurement RSFSR.
KOCHUBEY, Anton Danilovich	<i>Deputy Chairman, Ukrainian Council of Ministers and Chairman, Ukrainian Gosplan.</i> Died 14 Dec 66.
KOLBETSKAYA, Mariya Andreyevna	Chairman, Central Committee, Trade Union of Textile and Light Industry Workers.
LASHCHENKO, Petr Nikolayevich	<i>Commander, Carpathian Military District.</i> Since Feb 69 First Deputy Commander in Chief of Group Forces.

*Positions as of April 1966, when elected, are in Italics.

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MASLENNIKOV, Gennadiy Vladimirovich	Construction Engineer with Main Administration of Housing and Civil Construction, Moscow.
MOLCHANOV, Avgust Dmitriyevich	<i>Secretary, Party Committee, Electrical Machine Building Association of "Elektrosila" Plant, Leningrad.</i> In Jun 70 appointed Deputy General Director of the Association. Died 21 Jan 71.
MOSKOVSKIY, Vasiliy Petrovich	Editor in Chief, Sovetskaya Rossiya. Also Deputy Chairman, CPSU Central Auditing Commission since 15 Dec 69.
MURAVYEVA, Nonna Aleksandrovna	Member, Party Control Committee Attached to CPSU Central Committee.
MYURISEP, Aleksey Aleksandrovich	<i>Chairman, Presidium Estonian Supreme Soviet.</i> Died on 7 Oct 70.
ODILOV, Akhmedzhan	Chairman of a Collective Farm in Fergana Oblast Uzbek SSR.
ORLOV, Mikhail Anatolyevich	<i>First Secretary, Kamchatka Oblast Party Committee.</i> Not re-elected at Oblast party conference on 10 March 1971. Identified as USSR Deputy Minister of Fish Industry on 16 Apr 71.
PANYUSHKIN, Aleksandr Semenovich	Head, Department for Cadres Abroad, CPSU Central Committee.
POSKONOV, Aleksey Andreyevich	<i>Chairman, USSR State Bank (Gosbank).</i> Died 13 Mar 69.
SAGINTAYEV, Abdir	Director of a Sheep Raising State Farm Dzhabul Oblast, Kazakh SSR.
SEROV, Vladimir Aleksandrovich	<i>President, USSR Academy of Arts.</i> Died 19 Jan 68.
SHEVLYAGIN, Dmitriy Petrovich	<i>Head, Information Department, CPSU Central Committee.</i> On 7 Feb 68 appointed Ambassador to Algeria. Died 30 Nov 69.

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SOLDATOV, Aleksandr
Aleksyevich

USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. On 9 Jan
68 appointed Ambassador to Cuba. Relieved 20 Nov
70.

SYSOYEVA, Lyubov
Andreyevna

Milking machine foreman on a State Farm in Moscow
Oblast.

YANUSHKOVSKAYA, Tamara
Petrovna

Chairman, Trade Union of Education, Higher School
and Scientific Institution Workers:

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APPENDIX II

SECTION A

CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF OFFICIALS ASSIGNED TO THE CENTRAL PARTY BUREAUCRACY

Position in the Central Party Bureaucracy	1966	1971
General Secretary, CC/CPSU, and Politburo Member	M/CC	M/CC
Secretary, CC/CPSU, and Politburo Member	M/CC	M/CC
Secretary, CC/CPSU, and Politburo Member	M/CC	M/CC
Secretary, CC/CPSU, and Politburo Member	M/CC	M/CC
Secretary, CC/CPSU, and Politburo Candidate Member	M/CC	M/CC
Secretary, CC/CPSU, and Politburo Candidate Member	M/CC	M/CC
Secretary, CC/CPSU	M/CC	
Assistant to General Secretary, CC/CPSU	M/CAC	M/CC
Assistant to General Secretary, CC/CPSU	-	M/CAC
Administrator of Affairs, CC/CPSU	CM/CC	M/CC
Administrative Organs Department, CC/CPSU, chief	-	CM/CC
1st deputy chief	M/CAC	-
Agriculture Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chief	CM/CC	CM/CC
Cadres Abroad Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CAC	-
Chemical Industry Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CAC	M/CAC
Construction Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CAC	M/CAC
Culture Department, CC/CPSU, chief	CM/CC	CM/CC
Defense Industry Department, CC/CPSU, chief	CM/CC	CM/CC
Economic Collaboration with Socialist Nations Department, ch.	-	-
General Department, CC/CPSU, chief	CM/CC	M/CC
deputy chief	-	M/CAC
Heavy Industry Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CC	M/CC
deputy chief	-	M/CAC
Information Department, CC/CPSU, chief	-	-
International Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chief	M/CAC	M/CAC
deputy chief	-	M/CAC
Liaison with Bloc Communist Parties Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy	M/CAC	M/CAC
Light and Food Industry Department, CC/CPSU, chief	CM/CC	-

- Post existed, but incumbent was not seated on CC or CAC.

Position in the Central Party Bureaucracy	1966	1971
Machine Building Department, CC/CPSU, chief	CM/CC	CM/CC
Organizational-Party Work Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chief	M/CAC	CM/CC
Planning and Finance Organs Department, CC/CPSU, chief	-	-
1st deputy chief	-	M/CAC
Propaganda Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CC	-
1st deputy chief	-	M/CAC
Scientific and Educational Institutions Department, chief	M/CC	M/CC
Trade and Everyday Services Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CAC	CM/CC
Transport and Communications Department, CC/CPSU, chief	M/CAC	M/CAC
Main Political Directorate of the Armed Forces, chief	M/CC	M/CC
chief, MPA, Strategic Rocket Forces	CM/CC	CM/CC
chief, MPA, Soviet Forces in Germany	M/CAC	-
Position in Central Party Apparatus	1966	1971
chief, MPA, Ground Forces	-	M/CAC
chief, MPA, Moscow Military District	CM/CC	CM/CC
<i>Kommunist</i> , chief editor	-	-
<i>Pravda</i> , chief editor	M/CC	M/CC
Institute of Marxism-Leninism, rector	M/CC	M/CC
Higher Party School, rector	-	-
Party Control Committee, CC/CPSU, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	CM/CC	M/CC
Party Control Committee, CC/CP Ukraine, chairman	M/CC	M/CC

APPENDIX II

SECTION B

CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF OFFICIALS OF THE USSR GOVERNMENT

Position in the Government Bureaucracy	1966	1971
A: The Executive Branch:		
USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman	M/CCM/CC	M/CC
1st Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Administrator of Affairs	-	M/CAC
Secretariat, chief	-	M/CAC
USSR Ministry of Agriculture, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Assembly and Special Construction, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Aviation Industry, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Chemical Industry, Minister	CM/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Chemical & Petroleum Machine Building, Minister	CM/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Civil Aviation, Minister	CM/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Coal Industry, Minister	CM/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Communications, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Construction, Minister	*	CM/CC
Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises, Min.	*	M/CC
Ministry of Construction Materials Industry, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Construction, Road & Communal Machine Building, Minister	M/CAC	M/CAC
Ministry of Culture, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Defense Industry, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Education, Minister	*	M/CC
Ministry of Electronics Industry, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Electrotechnical Industry, Minister	CM/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Finance, Minister	M/CC	M/CC

*Post did not exist at time of congress.

Position in the Government Bureaucracy	1966	1971
A: The Executive Branch (contd.)		
Ministry of Fish Industry, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Food Industry, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Foreign Trade, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Gas Industry, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of General Machine Building, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Geology, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Health, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Heavy, Power & Transport Machine Building, Min.	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Higher & Specialized Secondary Education, Min.	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Industrial Construction, Minister	*	M/CC
Ministry of Instruments, Automation & Control Systems, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Justice, Minister	*	M/CAC
Ministry of Land Reclamation & Water Economy, Minister	CM/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Light Industry, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Light, Food Industry Machines & Household Appliances, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Machine Building, Minister	*	M/CC
Ministry of Machine Tool & Tool Making Industry, Min.	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Maritime Fleet, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Meat & Dairy Industry, Minister	M/CAC	M/CAC
Ministry of Medical Industry, Minister	*	-
Ministry of Medium Machine Building, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Motor Vehicle Industry, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Petroleum Industry, Minister	M/CAC	CM/CCC
Ministry of Petroleum Refining & Petrochemical Industry, Minister	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Power & Electrification, Minister	CM/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Procurements, Minister	CM/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Pulp and Paper Industry, Minister	**	M/CC
Ministry of Radio Industry, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Railways, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Rural Construction, Minister	*	M/CC
Ministry of Shipbuilding, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Timber & Woodworking Industry, Minister	M/CAC	M/CAC
Ministry of Tractor & Agricultural Machine Building, Min.	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ministry of Trade, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Ministry of Transport Construction, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
USSR State Planning Committee of the Council of Ministers, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	-	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	-	CM/CC
1st deputy chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC

**Post as such did not exist in 1966, but created by splitting responsibilities of the Ministry of Timber, Pulp, Paper and Woodworking Industry into two ministries.

Position in the Government Bureaucracy	1966	1971
A: The Executive Branch (contd.)		
State Committee for Construction, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, chairman	CM/CC	M/CC
State Committee for Forestry, chairman	-	-
State Committee for Labor and Wages, chairman	M/CC	-
State Committee for Material-technical Supplies, Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
State Committee for Prices, chairman	*	-
State Committee for Professional-technical Education, chairman	CM/CC	M/CC
State Committee for Science & Technology, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	-	M/CAC
State Committee of Standards	-	-
All-Union Association "Soyuzselkhoztekhnika" chairman	CM/CC	M/CC
State Bank, Chairman	M/CAC	-
State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, chairman	CM/CC	M/CC
Central Statistical Administration, chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC
State Committee for Use of Atomic Energy, Chairman	-	-
Committee for Cinematography, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
Committee for Physical Culture & Sports, chairman	-	M/CAC
Committee for the Press	M/CC	-
Main Administration of State Material Reserves, chairman	-	M/CC
CEMA Commission, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	-	M/CC
B. The Legislative Branch:		
USSR Supreme Soviet, Presidium, Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
USSR Supreme Soviet, Presidium, Secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
USSR Supreme Soviet, Presidium, Assistant to Chairman	-	M/CAC
USSR Supreme Soviet, Presidium, Department of Questions on the Work of Soviets, chief	-	M/CAC
USSR Supreme Soviet, Council of Nationalities, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
USSR Supreme Soviet, Council of the Union, chairman	M/CC	M/CC

SECTION C

THE STATUS OF REGIONAL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

1. Positions in the RSFSR	1966	1971
Presidium of Supreme Soviet, Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
deputy chairman	-	CM/CC
Council of Ministers, Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	M/CC	*
deputy chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
deputy chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
deputy chairman	-	CM/CC
deputy chairman	-	CM/CC
deputy chairman	-	CM/CC
Minister of Agriculture	M/CC	M/CC
Minister of Culture	CM/CC	-
Minister of Social Welfare	CM/CC	M/CAC
Moscow Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Moscow Oblast second secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Moscow Oblast secretary	CM/CC	-
Moscow Oblast Soviet, chairman	CM/CC	M/CC
Moscow City first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Moscow City second secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Moscow City secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Moscow City, Bauman rayon first secretary	CM/CC	-
Moscow City Soviet, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Leningrad Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Leningrad Oblast second secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Leningrad Oblast secretary	-	M/CAC
Leningrad Oblast Soviet, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
Leningrad City first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Leningrad City secretary	M/CAC	-
Leningrad City, Nevsky rayon first secretary	-	M/CAC
Leningrad City Soviet, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
Altai Kray first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Khabarovsk Kray first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Krasnoday Kray first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Krasnoyarsk Kray first secretary	M/CC	M/CC

1. Positions in the RSFSR	1966	1971
Primorye Kray first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Stavropol Kray first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Amur Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Arkhangelsk Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Astrakhan Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Belgorod Oblast first secretary	M/CC	CM/CC
Bryansk Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Bryansk Oblast Soviet, chairman	M/CAC	-
Chechun-Ingush Oblast first secretary	M/CAC	CM/CC
Chelyabinsk Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Chita Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Gorky Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Irkutsk Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Ivanovo Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Kalinin Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Kaliningrad Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Kaluga Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Kamchatka Oblast first secretary	M/CAC	M/CAC
Kemerovo Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Kirov Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Kostroma Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Kurgan Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	
Kursk Oblast first secretary	M/CC	CM/CC
Kuibyshev Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Lipetsk Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Magadan Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Murmansk Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	M/CAC
Novgorod Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Novosibirsk Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Novosibirsk City first secretary	-	CM/CC
Omsk Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Orel Oblast first secretary	M/CC	CM/CC
Orenburg Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Penza Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Perm Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Pskov Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Rostov Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Ryazan Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Sakhalin Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Saratov Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Saratov Oblast Soviet, chairman	CM/CC	-
Smolensk Oblast first secretary	M/CAC	CM/CC
Sverdlovsk Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Tambov Oblast first secretary	M/CAC	CM/CC
Tomsk Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC

1. Positions in the RSFSR (contd.)	1966	1971
Tula Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Tyumen Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Ulyanovsk Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Vladimir Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Volgograd Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Vologda Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Voronezh Oblast first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Yaroslavl Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Bashkir Autonomous Republic First secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Bashkir Autonomous Republic Soviet, chairman	M/CAC	-
Buryat-Mongol Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Chuvash Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Dagestan Autonomous Republic first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Kabardin-Balkar Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Kalmyk Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Karelian Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Komi Autonomous Republic first secretary	M/CAC	CM/CC
Mari Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Mordovin Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	M/CAC
North Ossetian Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Tatar Autonomous Republic first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Tatar Autonomous Republic Soviet, Chairman	M/CAC	-
Udmurt Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Yakutsk Autonomous Republic first secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Tuva Autonomous Oblast first secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Evensky National Region first secretary	M/CAC	M/CAC
2. Positions in the Ukraine		
CC/CP Ukraine, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	M/CC	M/CC
secretary	M/CC	M/CC
secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
secretary	CM/CC	-
Party Control Committee, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Presidium of Supreme Soviet, Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Council of Ministers, Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	M/CC	-
1st deputy chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
deputy chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
deputy chairman	M/CAC	-

4. Positions in Belorussia

CC/CP Belorussia, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	M/CC	M/CC
secretary	M/CC	
Presidium, Supreme Soviet, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Council of Ministers, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC
Brest Oblast, first secretary	M/CAC	M/CAC
Minsk Oblast, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Mogilev Oblast, first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC

5. Positions in Uzbekistan

CC/CP Uzbekistan, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	M/CC	M/CC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
Council of Ministers, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	CM/CC	M/CAC
Karakalpak Oblast, first secretary		CM/CC
Samarkand Oblast, first secretary	M/CAC	CM/CC
Tashkent Oblast, first secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC

6. Positions in Other Union-Republics

CC/CP Armenia, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	M/CAC	M/CAC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Armenia, chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC
Council of Ministers of Armenia, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
CC/CP Azerbaydzhan, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Azerbaydzhan, chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC
Council of Ministers of Azerbaydzhan, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
CC/CP Estonia, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	CM/CC	M/CAC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Estonia, chairman	M/CAC	M/CC
Council of Ministers of Estonia, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
CC/CP Georgia, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Georgia, chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC

6. Positions in Other Union-Republics (contd.)

Council of Ministers of Georgia, chairman	M/CC	M/CC
CC/CP Kirgizia, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Kirgizia, chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC
Council of Ministers of Kirgizia, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
CC/CP Latvia, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	M/CAC	CM/CC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Latvia, chairman	M/CC	CM/CC
Council of Ministers of Latvia, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
CC/CP Lithuania, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	M/CAC	M/CAC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
Council of Ministers of Lithuania, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
CC/CP Moldavia, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Moldavia, chairman	M/CAC	CM/CC
Council of Ministers of Moldavia, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
CC/CP Tadzhikstan, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	CM/CC	CM/CC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Tadzhikstan, chairman	M/CAC	CM/CC
Council of Ministers of Tadzhikstan, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC
CC/CP Turkmenia, first secretary	M/CC	M/CC
second secretary	CM/CC	M/CC
Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Turkmenia, chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC
Council of Ministers of Turkmenia, chairman	CM/CC	CM/CC

SECTION D

Changes in the Status of Military Assignments	1966	1971
Minister of Defense	M/CC	M/CC
1st Deputy Minister/Chief of the General Staff	M/CC	M/CC
1st Deputy Minister/Commander of Warsaw Pact Forces	M/CC	M/CC
1st Deputy Minister for General Affairs	-	M/CC
Deputy Minister/Chief of Combat Training	CM/CC	*
Deputy Minister/Commander of Ground Forces	*	M/CC
Deputy Minister/Commander of Strategic Rocket Forces	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Minister/Commander of Naval Forces	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Minister/Commander of Air Force	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Minister/Commander of Air Defense Forces	-	M/CC
Deputy Minister/Chief of Rear Services	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Minister/Chief Inspector	M/CC	M/CC
General Staff, 1st Deputy Chief	M/CC	M/CC
1st Deputy Chief & Chief of Staff, Warsaw Pact	CM/CC	-
Soviet Military Mission to the UAR, Chief	*	CM/CC
Director, Vystrel Higher Officers Courses	-	M/CAC
Civil Defense, Chief	M/CC	M/CC
DOSAAF, Chief	CM/CC	CM/CC
War Veterans Committee, Chief	CM/CC	-
Group of General Inspectors, Member	M/CC	M/CC
Member	CM/CC	M/CC
Member	CM/CC	-
Member	CM/CC	-
Member	CM/CC	-
Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Commander	CM/CC	M/CC
Central Group of Forces (Czechoslovakia), Commander	*	CM/CC
Belorussian Military District, Commander	CM/CC	CM/CC
Carpathian Military District, Commander	M/CAC	-
Central Asian Military District, Commander	*	M/CC
Far East Military District, Commander	M/CAC	CM/CC
Kiev Military District, Commander	M/CC	CM/CC
Leningrad Military District, Commander	CM/CC	M/CC
Moscow Military District, Commander	M/CC	M/CC
Transbaykal Military District, Commander	-	M/CAC
Transcaucasus Military District, Commander	CM/CC	CM/CC
Turkestan Military District, Commander	CM/CC	
Volga Military District, Commander	CM/CC	

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Changes in the Status of Military Assignments (contd.)	1966	1971
Baku Air Defense District, Commander	M/CAC	-
Moscow Air Defense District, Commander	-	CM/CC
Northern Fleet, Commander	CM/CC	CM/CC
Pacific Fleet, Commander	CM/CC	CM/CC

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SECTION E

Changes in the Status of Diplomatic Officials

Position	1966	1971
USSR Foreign Ministry, Minister	M/CC	M/CC
1st Deputy Minister	M/CC	M/CC
Deputy Minister	CM/CC	M/CC
Deputy Minister	M/CAC	CM/CC

1. Party officials on diplomatic assignments

Ambassador to China	M/CC	M/CC
Ambassador to Cuba	-	M/CC
Ambassador to Czechoslovakia	M/CC	M/CC
Ambassador to East Germany	M/CC	M/CC
Ambassador to Albania	none	none
Ambassador to Bulgaria	M/CC	M/CC
Ambassador to Hungary	M/CC	M/CC
Ambassador to Mongolia	M/CC	M/CC
Ambassador to North Korea	M/CAC	M/CAC
Ambassador to North Vietnam	M/CAC	M/CAC
Ambassador to Poland	M/CC	M/CC
Ambassador to Romania	M/CC	M/CC
Ambassador to Yugoslavia	M/CC	M/CC

2. Other diplomats

Ambassador to Algeria	M/CC	-
Ambassador to Chile	-	M/CC
Ambassador to Finland	-	M/CC
Ambassador to France	M/CC	-
Ambassador to UAR	-	CM/CC
Ambassador to UN	M/CAC	-
Ambassador to USA	CM/CC	M/CC
Ambassador to UK and Malta	M/CAC	M/CAC
Ambassador to Italy	M/CAC	M/CAC
Ambassador to India	M/CC	M/CC

SECTION F

Changes in the Status of Law Enforcement Officials

Position	1966	1971
Committee of State Security (KGB), Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	-	CM/CC
deputy chairman	-	CM/CC
deputy chairman	-	M/CAC
Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), USSR Minister	*	M/CC
Ministry for the Protection of Public Order (MOOP), RSFSR Minister	CM/CC	*
USSR Ministry of Justice, Minister	*	M/CAC
USSR Procurator General	M/CC	M/CC
USSR Supreme Court, Chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC
USSR Committee of People's Control, Chairman	M/CC	M/CC
1st deputy chairman	M/CAC	M/CAC
deputy chairman	-	M/CAC
RSFSR Committee of People's Control, Chairman	M/CC	*

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TABLE I

Seniority of Soviet Leaders' Associates on 1971 Central Committee

Politburo Full Members	Elected CPSU Central Committee Full Members for First Time											
	1952		1956		1961		1964-1966		1968-1971		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Brezhnev	4	19.1	6	33.3	15	22.1	15	34.9	30	33.0	70	27.0
Kosygin	4	19.1	2	11.1	18	26.5	6	14.0	9	9.9	39	16.2
Podgorny	1	4.8	2	11.1	4	5.9	3	7.0	10	11.0	20	8.3
Suslov	4	19.1	2	11.1	4	5.9	1	2.3	6	6.6	17	7.1
Kirilenko	2	9.6	2	11.1	7	10.3	6	14.0	14	15.4	31	12.9
Mazurov	1	4.8	-	-	5	7.4	3	7.0	1	1.1	10	4.2
Polyansky	-	-	1	5.6	5	7.4	4	9.3	7	7.7	17	7.1
Shelepin	2	9.6	2	11.1	7	10.3	4	9.3	14	15.4	29	12.1
Pelshe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Voronov	-	-	1	5.6	12	17.7	4	9.3	10	11.0	27	11.2
Shelest	-	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	4	4.4	5	2.1
Grishin	-	-	1	5.6	-	-	2	4.7	5	5.5	8	3.3
Shcherbitsky	-	-	-	-	2	2.9	2	4.7	1	1.1	5	2.1
Kunayev	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.0	3	3.3	6	2.5
Kulakov	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.3	3	1.2
Politburo Candidate Members												
Andropov	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	0.4
Demichev	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	9.3	3	3.3	7	2.9
Ustinov	-	-	1	5.6	11	16.2	8	18.6	3	3.3	23	9.6
Masherov	-	-	-	-	2	2.9	1	2.3	1	1.1	4	1.7
Mzhavanadze	-	-	1	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4
Rashidov	-	-	1	5.6	-	-	-	-	2	2.2	3	1.2
Other CPSU Secretaries												
Kapitonov	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	1	0.4
Katushev	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ponomarev	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Solomentsev	1	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1	2	0.8
Unknown	4	19.1	1	5.6	10	14.7	4	9.3	20	22.0	39	16.2
Total	21	100	18	100	68	100	43	100	91	100	241	100

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TABLE II

Change in Soviet Leaders Strength on CPSU
Central Committee As Result of 24th Congress

Politburo Members	Associates Added To full Membership		Associates Not Re-elected to Full Membership		Net Gain	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Brezhnev	29	= 31.2	6	= 12.8	23	= 50.0
Kosygin	9	= 9.7	3	= 6.4	6	= 13.0
Podgorny	10	= 10.4	4	= 8.5	6	= 13.0
Suslov	5	= 5.4	4	= 8.5	1	= 2.2
Kirilenko	14	= 15.1	-		14	= 30.5
Mazurov	1	= 1.0	3	= 6.4	-2	
Polyansky	7	= 7.5	1	= 2.1	6	= 13.0
Shelepin	14	= 15.1	7	= 14.9	7	= 15.2
Pelshe	-		1	= 2.1	-1	
Voronov	10	= 10.4	4	= 8.5	6	= 13.0
Shelest	4	= 4.3	-		4	= 8.7
Grishin	5	= 5.4	2	= 4.3	3	= 6.5
Shcherbitsky	1	= 1.0	-		1	= 2.2
Kunayev	3	= 3.2	1	= 2.1	2	= 4.4
Kulakov	3	= 3.2	-		3	= 6.5
Politburo Candidate Members						
Andropov	1	= 1.0	-		1	= 2.2
Demichev	3	= 3.2	-		3	= 6.5
Ustinov	3	= 3.2	1	= 2.1	2	= 4.4
Masharov	1	= 1.0	1	= 2.1	0	= 0
Mzhavanadze	-		-		-	
Rashidov	2	= 2.1	1	= 2.1	1	= 2.2
Other CPSU Secretaries						
Kapitonov	1	= 1.0	-		1	= 2.2
Katushev	-		-		-	
Ponomarev	-		-		-	
Solomentsev	-		-		-	
Unknown	18	= 19.4	13	= 27.7		
Total	93	= 100	47	= 100	46	

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TABLE III

Survival Rates for Members of Central Party Organs:

Central Committee Full Members

	Re-elected to Full Membership		Demoted to Candidate Member		Demoted to Audit Commission		Not Re-elected to CC or CAC	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1956	78	= 62.5	4	= 3.2	3	= 2.4	40	= 32.0
1961	66	= 49.7	3	= 2.2	0	= 0.0	64	= 48.1
1966	139	= 79.4	1	= 0.6	0	= 0.0	35	= 20.0
1971	149	= 76.5	0	= 0.0	3	= 1.5	43	= 22.0

Central Committee Candidate Members

	Promoted to CC/CPSU Full Member		Re-Elected CC/CPSU Candidate Member		Demoted to CC/CPSU Auditing Commission		Not Re-Elected to CC/CPSU or CAC	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1956	13	= 11.7	46	= 41.5	7	= 6.3	45	= 40.5
1961	27	= 22.2	31	= 25.4	1	= 0.8	63	= 51.6
1966	28	= 18.1	71	= 45.8	3	= 1.9	53	= 4.2
1971	42	= 25.5	71	= 43.0	0	= 0.0	52	= 31.5

Central Auditing Commission Members

	Promoted to CC/CPSU Full Member		Promoted to CC/CPSU Candidate Member		Re-elected to Auditing Commission		Not Re-Elected to CC/CPSU or CAC	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1956	2	= 5.4	7	= 18.9	14	= 37	14	= 37.8
1961	5	= 7.9	7	= 11.1	19	= 32.2	32	= 50.8
1966	3	= 4.6	12	= 18.5	19	= 29.2	31	= 47.7
1971	4	= 5.1	17	= 21.5	32	= 40.5	26	= 32.9

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TABLE III (continued)

Total Membership of Central Party Organs
(Re-elected or Promoted to More Prestigious Seat)

	Full Members CC/CPSU		Candidate Members CC/CPSU		Members CAC		Total Members CC & CAC	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1956	78	= 62.5	59	= 53.2	23	= 62.2	160	= 58.6
1961	66	= 49.7	58	= 47.6	31	= 49.2	155	= 48.8
1966	139	= 79.4	99	= 63.9	34	= 52.3	272	= 69.0
1971	149	= 76.5	113	= 68.5	53	= 67.1	315	= 72.0

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TABLE IV

Survival Rates of CC/CPSU Full Members
and Other Members of Central Party Organs

	Full Members CC/CPSU		Candidate Members Members/CAC		Gap
	No.	%	No.	%	%
1956	78	= 62.5	82	= 55.5	7.0
1961	66	= 49.7	89	= 48.0	1.7
1966	139	= 79.4	133	= 60.5	18.9
1971	149	= 76.5	166	= 68.0	8.5

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TABLE V

Holdovers Among Full Members CC/CPSU

	Re-elected as Full Members CC/CPSU		Promoted from Candidate Member or Member/CAC		Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1956	78	= 58.8	15	= 11.3	40	= 30.2
1961	66	= 37.7	32	= 18.4	77	= 43.9
1966	139	= 71.1	31	= 16.0	25	= 12.9
1971	149	= 61.8	46	= 19.1	46	= 19.1

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TABLE VI

Members of Central Committee and Auditing Commission
Not Seated on Central Party Organs Previously

	Members CC/CPSU		Candidate Members CC/CPSU		Members CAC		Total New Members	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1956	37	= 27.8	64	= 51.7	38	= 60.5	139	= 43.8
1961	73	= 41.7	113	= 72.5	45	= 69.2	232	= 59.0
1966	22	= 11.3	79	= 48.0	57	= 72.5	158	= 36.0
1971	44	= 18.3	69	= 44.5	47	= 58.0	160	= 33.6

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TABLE VII

Tenure on the Central Party Organs

	Voting Members CC/CPSU				Total Membership CC/CPSU + CAC/CPSU			
	1966		1971		1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Elected in 1952	56	= 28.6	39	= 16.2	74	= 16.9	47	= 9.9
First Elected in 1956	38	= 19.5	27	= 11.2	51	= 11.6	37	= 7.8
First Elected in 1961	79	= 40.5	80	= 33.2	156	= 35.6	119	= 25.0
First Elected in 1966	22	= 11.3	51	= 21.2	158	= 36.5	117	= 24.5
First Elected in 1971	-		44	= 18.3	-		157	= 32.9
Total Members	195		241		439		477	

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TABLE VIII

Tenure as Member of Soviet Political Elite

Date of Rise to Political Prominence	Voting Members CC/CPSU		Total Membership CC/CPSU & CAC/CPSU			
	Share of Seats		Survival Rate	Share of Seats		Survival Rate
	No.	%	%	No.	%	%
By 1952	39	16.2	69.8	47	9.9	62.0
During 1953-1956	27	11.2	71.2	37	7.8	67.0
During 1956-1961	80	33.2	81.0	119	25.0	72.5
During 1961-1964	26	10.8	86.5	70	14.8	61.5
Total for Khrushchev Years	133	55.2	82.0	226	47.5	70.5
Between Oct 1964 and March 1966	7	2.9	100	50	10.5	93.0
Between Apr 1966 and March 1971	62	25.7	—	154	32.3	—
Total for Post-Khrushchev Years	69	28.6	—	204	42.8	—

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TABLE IX

Composition of Central Committee & Auditing Commission

	Total Membership CC/CPSU & CAC/CPSU			
	1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%
Party Officials	202	= 46.0	212	= 44.4
in central apparatus	48	= 10.9	53	= 11.1
on diplomatic assignment	11	= 2.5	12	= 2.5
regional party leaders	143	= 32.6	147	= 30.8
State Officials	139	= 31.7	151	= 31.6
Executive Branch	112	= 25.5	123	= 25.8
USSR Council of Ministers	80	= 18.2	93	= 19.5
Regional Council of Ministers	32	= 7.3	30	= 6.3
Legislative Branch (Soviets)	21	= 6.2	28	= 5.9
USSR Supreme Soviet	6	= 1.4	7	= 1.5
Regional Soviets	21	= 4.8	21	= 4.4
Military Establishment	33	= 7.5	33	= 6.9
Police, Judicial & Investigatory Agencies	7	= 1.6	10	= 2.1
Trade Unions	10	= 2.3	9	= 1.9
Enterprise & Farm Directors	10	= 2.3	6	= 1.3
Workers & Peasants	17	= 3.9	28	= 5.9
Scientific Community	7	= 1.6	12	= 2.5
Creative Arts	7	= 1.6	6	= 1.3
Komsomol	3	= 0.7	2	= 0.4
Others	4	= 0.9	3	= 0.6
Unknown			5	= 1.0
TOTAL	439		477	

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TABLE X

Allocation of CC/CPSU Full Membership Seats

	Full Members CC/CPSU			
	1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%
Party Officials	94	= 48.3	108	= 44.8
in central apparatus	16	= 8.2	20	= 8.3
on diplomatic assignment	9	= 4.6	10	= 4.1
regional party leaders	69	= 35.5	78	= 32.4
State Officials	62	= 32.0	83	= 34.5
Executive Branch of Government	51	= 26.2	70	= 29.1
USSR Council of Ministers	40	= 20.5	61	= 25.4
Regional Council of Ministers	11	= 5.7	9	= 3.7
Legislative Branch (Soviets)	11	= 5.7	13	= 5.4
USSR Supreme Soviet	5	= 2.6	4	= 1.7
Regional Soviets	6	= 3.1	9	= 3.7
Military Establishment	13	= 6.7	20	= 8.3
Police, Judicial & Investigatory Agencies	4	= 2.1	3	= 1.2
Trade Unions	3	= 1.5	2	= 0.8
Enterprise & Farm Directors	4	= 2.1	5	= 2.1
Workers & Peasants	4	= 2.1	11	= 4.6
Scientific Community	6	= 3.1	3	= 1.2
Creative Arts	2	= 1.0	3	= 1.2
Komsomol	1	= 0.5	1	= 0.4
Others	2	= 1.0	2	= 0.8
Unknown				
TOTAL	195		241	

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TABLE XI

Regional Representation

	Full Members CC/CPSU		Members CC/CPSU & CAC/CPSU					
	1966		1971		1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
RSFSR	53	27.3	77	32.0	130	29.7	132	27.7
Ukraine	18	9.3	16	6.66	35	8.0	32	6.7
Kazakhstan	6	3.1	8	3.33	13	2.97	18	3.8
Belorussia	6	3.1	5	2.08	11	2.51	11	2.3
Uzbekistan	4	2.06	5	2.08	9	2.05	10	2.10
Armenia	1	0.51	1	0.42	4	0.91	4	0.84
Azerbaijdzhan	1	0.51	1	0.42	5	1.14	4	0.84
Estonia	1	0.51	2	0.83	4	0.91	4	0.84
Georgia	2	1.03	2	0.83	5	1.14	5	1.05
Kirgizia	1	0.51	1	0.42	4	0.91	4	0.84
Latvia	2	1.03	3	1.25	5	1.14	6	1.26
Lithuania	1	0.51	1	0.42	4	0.91	4	0.84
Moldavia	1	0.51	1	0.42	4	0.91	4	0.84
Tadzhikstan	1	0.51	1	0.42	4	0.91	4	0.84
Turkmenia	1	0.51	2	0.83	4	0.91	4	0.84
Total Regional Representation	99	51.0	126	52.5	241	55.0	246	51.7

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TABLE XII

Representation of Economic Regions

(in percentages)

Economic Regions	1966				1971			
	M/CC		CC/CPSU & CAC		M/CC		CC/CPSU & CAC	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
RSFSR Central Offices	8 =	8	14 =	5.8	5 =	4.3	12 =	4.9
Northwest (Leningrad, Murmansk, etc.)	3 =	3	17 =	7.1	8 =	6.9	18 =	7.3
Central (Moscow & Environs)	13 =	13	29 =	12.0	16 =	13.8	28 =	11.4
Volga-Vyatka (Gorky & Adjacent Area)	2 =	2	6 =	2.5	2 =	1.7	7 =	2.8
Central-Black Earth (Voronezh)	3 =	3	6 =	2.5	1 =	0.9	6 =	2.4
Volga (Volgograd, Saratov & Kuibyshev)	6 =	6	15 =	6.2	7 =	6.0	12 =	4.9
North Caucasus	4 =	4	9 =	3.7	6 =	5.2	9 =	3.7
Urals	5 =	5	9 =	3.7	7 =	6.0	13 =	5.3
West Siberia	4 =	4	7 =	2.9	4 =	3.4	8 =	3.3
East Siberia	3 =	3	8 =	3.3	5 =	4.3	8 =	3.3
Far East	2 =	2	10 =	4.2	6 =	5.2	11 =	4.5
Ukraine Central Offices	9 =	9	14 =	5.8	6 =	5.2	10 =	4.1
Donetsk-Dnepropetrovsk	5 =	5	10 =	4.2	5 =	4.3	10 =	4.1
Southwest (Kiev & Environs)	2 =	2	8 =	3.3	4 =	3.4	9 =	3.7
South (Odessa & Adjacent Area)	2 =	2	3 =	1.2	1 =	0.9	3 =	1.2
Moldavia	1 =	1	4 =	1.7	1 =	0.9	4 =	1.6

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TABLE XII (continued)

Economic Regions	1966				1971			
	M/CC		CC/CPSU & CAC		M/CC		CC/CPSU & CAC	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Baltic (Latvia, Lithuania & Estonia)	5	5	13	5.4	6	5.2	14	5.7
Transcaucasus (Georgia, Armenia & Azerbaydzhan)	4	4	14	5.8	4	3.4	13	5.3
Central Asia (Kirgizia, Turkmenia, Tadzhiistan & Uzbekistan)	7	7	21	8.7	9	7.8	22	9.0
Kazakhstan	6	6	13	5.4	8	6.9	18	7.3
Belorussia	6	6	11	4.6	5	9.3	11	4.5

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TABLE XIII

Regional Representation

	Size of Republic Party Organization As of 1 January 1971		Share of Seats	
	No.	%	M/CC %	Total %
RSFSR	9,023,739	= 62.55	61.0	53.9
Ukraine	2,534,561	= 17.55	12.7	13.05
Kazakhstan	575,439	= 3.98	6.35	7.32
Belorussia	434,527	= 3.05	3.96	4.48
Uzbekistan	432,000	= 2.98	3.96	4.08
Armenia	130,353	= 0.95	0.80	1.62
Azerbaydzhan	258,549	= 1.79	0.80	1.62
Estonia	73,168	= 0.50	1.58	1.62
Georgia	296,375	= 1.98	1.58	2.03
Kirgizia	104,632	= 0.72	0.80	1.62
Latvia	127,753	= 0.88	2.38	2.45
Lithuania	122,469	= 0.85	0.80	1.62
Moldavia	115,164	= 0.79	0.80	1.62
Tadzhikstan	86,732	= 0.60	0.80	1.62
Turkmenia	69,860	= 0.48	1.58	1.62
Total	14,455,321*	= 100	126 = 100	246 = 100

**Some are members of party units located outside USSR's borders—i.e., party units in military units stationed in Eastern Europe.*

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TABLE XIV

Ethnic Minority Representation

Minority Group Representation on CC/CPSU
(percentage)

	1966				1971				Percentage of Party Membership in CPSU*	Percentage of Population of USSR**
	M/CC		M&CM/CC		M/CC		M&CM/CC			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Russians	120	= 61.5	272	= 61.7	147	= 61.0	250	= 63.0	62.00	53.5
Ukrainians	37	= 19.0	65	= 18.0	46	= 19.1	69	= 17.4	15.65	17.85
Kazakhs	4	= 2.05	6	= 1.67	5	= 2.08	9	= 2.27	1.58	2.19
Belorussians	10	= 5.13	13	= 3.62	12	= 5.00	15	= 3.80	3.35	3.75
Uzbeks	3	= 1.64	5	= 1.39	4	= 1.66	6	= 1.52	1.73	3.81
Armenians	3	= 1.64	5	= 1.39	4	= 1.66	5	= 1.26	1.58	1.48
Azerbaijdzhan	1	= 0.51	2	= 0.56	1	= 0.42	2	= 0.51	1.28	1.82
Estonians	1	= 0.51	3	= 0.83	2	= 0.83	3	= 0.76	0.30	0.41
Georgians	2	= 1.02	3	= 0.83	2	= 0.83	3	= 0.76	1.65	1.34
Kirgiz	1	= 0.53	2	= 0.56	1	= 0.42	7	= 0.51	0.31	0.60
Latvians	3	= 1.64	4	= 1.12	2	= 0.83	4	= 1.01	0.39	0.59
Lithuanians	1	= 0.51	3	= 0.83	1	= 0.42	3	= 0.76	0.56	1.10
Moldavians	1	= 0.51	2	= 0.56	1	= 0.42	3	= 0.76	0.37	1.12
Tadzhiks	1	= 0.51	2	= 0.56	1	= 0.42	3	= 0.76	0.37	0.88
Turkmens	2	= 1.02	3	= 0.83	2	= 0.83	3	= 0.76	0.28	0.63
Other	5	= 7.57	15	= 4.15	9	= 3.74	15	= 3.80	8.75	8.97
TOTAL	195	360	241	396						

* Based on figures for 1 January 1967

** Based on 1971 census figures

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TABLE XV

Age of Members of CC/CPSU & CAC/CPSU

Date of Birth	Voting Members CC/CPSU				Total Membership CC/CPSU & CAC/CPSU			
	1966		1971		1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
to 1910	102	= 52.4	84	= 34.8	176	= 40.2	124	= 26.0
1911-1925	87	= 44.6	131	= 54.3	234	= 53.3	240	= 50.4
1926	6	= 3.1	16	= 6.7	21	= 4.7	35	= 7.3
unknown	—		10	= 4.2	8	= 1.8	78	= 16.4
TOTAL	195		241		439		477	

TABLE XVI

**Survival Rates and Recruitment Rates for
Age Groups Among Central Committee Full Members**

Date of Birth	Full Members CC/CPSU		Survival Rate for 1966 Full Members		Recruitment of Full Members		
	1966		1971				
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
pre-1900	14 =	7.2	7 =	2.9	7 =	50.0	—
1901-1905	32 =	16.4	23 =	9.6	22 =	69.0	1 = 1.2
1906-1910	56 =	28.8	54 =	22.5	42 =	75.2	11 = 12.8
1911-1915	54 =	27.7	63 =	26.2	43 =	79.8	15 = 17.5
1916-1920	27 =	13.8	44 =	18.3	24 =	89.0	20 = 23.3
1921-1925	6 =	3.1	24 =	10.0	5 =	83.3	18 = 20.9
1926-1930	6 =	3.1	14 =	5.8	4 =	66.6	10 = 11.6
1931-1935	—		1 =	0.4	—		1 = 1.2
1936-	—		1 =	0.4	—		1 = 1.2
unknown	—		10 =	4.2	—		9 = 10.5
TOTAL	195		241		149 =	76.5	86

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TABLE XVII

Age of CC/CPSU Voting Members

Age	1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%
Over 60	46	= 23.6	84	= 35.0
56-60	56	= 28.8	63	= 26.2
Total Over 55	102	= 52.4	147	= 61.2
51-55	54	= 27.7	44	= 18.3
46-50	27	= 13.8	24	= 10.0
Total 46-55	81	= 41.5	68	= 28.3
41-45	6	= 3.1	14	= 5.8
-40	6	= 3.1	2	= 0.8
Total 45 or younger	12	= 6.2	16	= 6.6
Unknown	—		10	= 4.2
Total	195		241	

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TABLE XVIII

Tenure as Party Members of Membership
of Central Party Organs

Date When Joined CPSU	Voting Members CC/CPSU				Total Membership CC/CPSU & CAC/CPSU			
	1966		1971		1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
pre-1917	5 =	2.6	2 =	0.8	7 =	1.6	3 =	0.6
1917-1920	9 =	4.6	6 =	2.5	15 =	3.4	8 =	1.7
1921-1925	10 =	5.1	7 =	2.9	16 =	3.7	8 =	1.7
pre-1926 Total	24 =	12.4	15 =	6.2	38 =	8.7	19 =	4.0
1926-1930	38 =	19.5	28 =	11.6	60 =	13.7	41 =	8.6
1931-1935	20 =	10.3	22 =	9.2	44 =	10.0	34 =	7.1
1926-1935 Total	58 =	29.8	50 =	20.8	104 =	23.7	75 =	15.7
1936-1940	62 =	31.9	72 =	29.9	132 =	30.1	115 =	24.1
1941-1945	39 =	20.0	56 =	23.2	99 =	22.6	110 =	23.1
1936-1945 Total	101 =	51.9	128 =	53.1	231 =	52.7	225 =	47.3
1946-1950	4 =	2.1	20 =	8.3	23 =	5.3	37 =	7.8
1951-1955	6 =	3.1	12 =	5.0	13 =	3.0	24 =	5.0
1946-1955 Total	10 =	5.1	32 =	13.3	36 =	8.2	61 =	12.8
post-1955	2 =	1.0	4 =	1.7	12 =	2.7	10 =	2.1
unknown	—		12 =	5.0	18 =	4.1	87 =	18.2
Total	195		241		439		477 =	100

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TABLE XIX

Survival Rates & Recruitment Ratios
According to Tenure as Party Members

Date of Enrollment in CPSU	Voting Members CC/CPSU				Survival Rate for 1966 Voting Members		Recruitment of Voting Members	
	1966		1971		No.	%	No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%				
pre-1917	5 =	2.6	2 =	0.8	2 =	40.0	—	
1917-1920	9 =	4.6	6 =	2.5	6 =	66.6	—	
1920-1925	10 =	5.1	7 =	2.9	6 =	60.0	1 =	1.2
1926-1930	38 =	19.5	28 =	11.6	25 =	65.8	3 =	3.5
1931-1935	20 =	10.3	22 =	9.2	17 =	85.0	4 =	4.7
1936-1940	62 =	31.9	72 =	29.9	51 =	82.5	18 =	20.9
1941-1945	39 =	20.0	56 =	23.2	33 =	84.8	22 =	25.6
1946-1950	4 =	2.1	20 =	8.3	3 =	75.0	17 =	19.8
1951-1955	6 =	3.1	12 =	5.0	5 =	83.3	6 =	7.0
1956-	2 =	1.0	4 =	1.7	1 =	50.0	3 =	3.5
unknown	—		12 =	5.0	—		12 =	14.0
TOTAL	195		241		149 =	76.5	86	

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TABLE XX

Survival Rates & Recruitment Ratios for
Voting Members CC/CPSU

According to Age at Enrollment in Party

Age When Enrolled in CPSU	Voting Members CC/CPSU				Survival Rate for 1966 Members		Recruitment of New Members	
	1966		1971		No.	%	No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%				
under 21	30 = 15.4	32 = 13.2	22 = 66.7	10 = 11.6				
21-25	90 = 46.2	97 = 40.3	65 = 72.3	29 = 33.8				
26-30	54 = 27.7	76 = 31.5	44 = 81.9	29 = 33.8				
31-35	17 = 8.7	19 = 7.9	14 = 82.3	5 = 5.8				
36-40	2 = 1.0	3 = 1.2	2 = 100	1 = 1.2				
over 40	2 = 1.0	2 = 0.8	2 = 100	—				
unknown	—	12 = 5.0	—	12 = 14.0				
TOTAL	195	241	149 = 76.5	86				

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TABLE XXI

Education of Voting Members CC/CPSU

	1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%
Incomplete Secondary Education	3	1.5	2	0.8
General Secondary Education	9	4.6	6	2.5
Specialized Secondary Education	2	1.0	1	0.4
Incomplete Higher Education	8	4.1	6	2.5
Total	22	11.3	15	6.2
Complete Higher Education:	173	87.9	211	87.3
1. Natural Sciences	117	60.0	142	59.0
a) Polytechnical—Industrial	43	22.1	48	20.0
b) Agriculture, Forestry & Vet. Medicine	29	14.9	35	14.5
c) Metallurgy	14	7.2	20	8.3
d) Transport/Communications	8	4.1	11	4.6
e) Building & Shipbuilding Instrument Making, Machine	7	3.6	11	4.6
f) Construction/Geology	7	3.6	7	2.9
g) Aviation	3	1.5	5	2.1
h) Other fields	3	1.5	2	0.8
2. Military Education	21	10.8	28	11.6
3. Humanities	32	16.4	34	14.2
a) Teachers College	13	6.7	14	5.8
b) University	11	5.7	14	5.8
c) Other	8	4.1	6	2.5
4. Higher Party School Only	12	6.2	16	6.6
5. Unknown	1	0.5	15	6.2

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TABLE XXI

Education of Voting Members CC/CPSU

	1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%
Incomplete Secondary Education	3	= 1.5	2	= 0.8
General Secondary Education	9	= 4.6	6	= 2.5
Specialized Secondary Education	2	= 1.0	1	= 0.4
Incomplete Higher Education	8	= 4.1	6	= 2.5
Total	22	= 11.3	15	= 6.2
Complete Higher Education:	173	= 87.9	211	= 87.3
1. Natural Sciences	117	= 60.0	142	= 59.0
a) Polytechnical—Industrial	43	= 22.1	48	= 20.0
b) Agriculture, Forestry & Vet. Medicine	29	= 14.9	35	= 14.5
c) Metallurgy	14	= 7.2	20	= 8.3
d) Transport/Communications	8	= 4.1	11	= 4.6
e) Building & Shipbuilding Instrument Making, Machine	7	= 3.6	11	= 4.6
f) Construction/Geology	7	= 3.6	7	= 2.9
g) Aviation	3	= 1.5	5	= 2.1
h) Other fields	3	= 1.5	2	= 0.8
2. Military Education	21	= 10.8	28	= 11.6
3. Humanities	32	= 16.4	34	= 14.2
a) Teachers College	13	= 6.7	14	= 5.8
b) University	11	= 5.7	14	= 5.8
c) Other	8	= 4.1	6	= 2.5
4. Higher Party School Only	12	= 6.2	16	= 6.6
5. Unknown	1	= 0.5	15	= 6.2

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TABLE XXII

Professional Experience of CC/CPSU Full Members

Type of Work	1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%
Work in central party apparatus	52	= 26.7	50	= 20.8
Serve as regional party official	120	= 61.7	142	= 59.0
Party-related diplomatic post	19	= 9.8	17	= 7.1
Propaganda & education	39	= 20.0	44	= 18.3
Professional soldier	14	= 7.2	20	= 8.3
Serve at front during World War II	67	= 34.3	82	= 34.0
Remained at home front during war	120	= 61.7	137	= 57.0
Political officer during war	13	= 6.7	12	= 5.0
Fought with partisans during war	16	= 8.2	15	= 6.2
Work with police & judicial organs	4	= 2.1	5	= 2.1
Non-party diplomatic assignment	12	= 6.2	13	= 5.4
Concerned with farm production	46	= 23.7	56	= 23.3
Concerned with industrial production	61	= 31.3	92	= 38.3
a) defense production	13	= 6.7	15	= 6.2
b) heavy industry	31	= 15.9	43	= 17.9
c) communications/transport	19	= 9.8	20	= 8.3
d) fuel	9	= 3.1	12	= 5.0
e) consumer affairs	4	= 2.1	8	= 3.3
f) economic planning	5	= 2.6	12	= 5.0
Represent Soviet women	4	= 2.1	6	= 2.5
Trade union leaders	8	= 4.1	6	= 2.5
Komsomol officials since the war	9	= 4.6	13	= 5.4
Member of scientific or academic community	11	= 5.7	11	= 4.6
Men of arts & letters	2	= 1.0	3	= 1.2

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TABLE XXIII

Turnover Among Groups Holding CC/CPSU
Full Membership Seats

	Survival Rate For 1966 Voting Members		Recruitment Ratio Among 1971 Voting Members		Overall Rate of Turnover	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Officials of Central Party Bureaucracy	38/	52 = 73.0	12/	50 = 24.0	26/102 =	25.5
Regional Party Leaders	87/120 =	61.0	53/142 =	37.3	86/162 =	53.0
On Party-Related Diplomatic Assignment	13/	19 = 68.5	4/	17 = 23.5	10/	36 = 27.8
Engaged in Propaganda & Education	33/	39 = 84.5	11/	44 = 25.0	17/	83 = 20.5
Professional Soldiers	10/	14 = 71.6	9/	20 = 45.0	13/	34 = 38.3
Wartime Political Commissars	10/	13 = 77.0	1/	12 = 0.8	4/	25 = 16.0
Wartime Partisan	14/	16 = 87.5	1/	15 = 6.7	3/	31 = 9.7
Security, Police & Judicial	2/	4 = 50.0	2/	5 = 40.0	4/	9 = 44.4
Foreign Ministry	23/	31 = 74.3	7/	30 = 23.3	15/	61 = 24.6
Agriculture	37/	46 = 80.5	19/	56 = 34.0	28/102 =	27.5
Industry	51/	61 = 83.5	38/	92 = 41.3	48/153 =	31.5
Defense	11/	13 = 84.8	4/	15 = 26.6	6/	28 = 21.4
Heavy Industry	28/	31 = 77.5	15/	43 = 34.9	18/	74 = 24.3
Commo/Transport	19/	19 = 100	1/	20 = 5.0	1/	39 = 2.5
Fuel	9/	9 = 100	3/	12 = 25.0	3/	21 = 14.3
Consumer	4/	4 = 100	3/	8 = 37.5	3/	12 = 25.0
Planning	5/	5 = 100	6/	12 = 50.0	6/	17 = 35.3
Trade Unions	4/	8 = 50.0	2/	6 = 33.3	6/	14 = 42.9
Komsomol	5/	9 = 55.8	8/	13 = 61.5	12/	22 = 54.7
Scientific & Academic	10/	11 = 91.0	1/	11 = 9.1	2/	22 = 9.1
Arts & Letters	2/	2 = 100	1/	3 = 33.3	1/	5 = 20.0
Average for Total Membership	149/195 =	76.5	86/241 =	35.7	132/436 =	30.4

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TABLE XXIV

Composition of Central Committee Full Members

Politicians vs Professionals

	1966		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%
Professional Politicians	104	= 53.4	112	= 46.6
Specialists	74	= 38.0	97	= 40.4
Army-Police	13	= 6.7	21	= 8.7
Workers & Peasants	4	= 2.1	11	= 4.6
TOTAL	195		241	

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TABLE XXV

Politicians vs Specialists

	1971		Survival Rate		Recruitment Rate	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional Politicians	112	= 46.6	75	/104 = 72.0	34	/112 = 30.4
Specialists	97	= 40.4	63	/74 = 85.0	32	/97 = 33.0
Army-Police	21	= 8.7	10	/13 = 77.0	10	/21 = 47.7
Workers & Peasants	11	= 4.6	1	/4 = 25.0	10	/11 = 90.9
TOTAL	241		149	/195 = 76.5	86	/241 = 35.7