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# **The CPSU Central Committee: Patterns of Acquaintances Among the Soviet Elite**



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**A Research Paper**

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# **The CPSU Central Committee: Patterns of Acquaintances Among the Soviet Elite**

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**A Research Paper**

This paper was prepared by [redacted]  
[redacted] Office of Leadership Analysis. It  
was coordinated with the National Intelligence  
Council and the Directorate of Operations. [redacted]

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**The CPSU Central Committee:  
Patterns of Acquaintances  
Among the Soviet Elite** [Redacted]

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**Summary**

*Information available  
as of 25 September 1986  
was used in this report.*

The analysis in this paper is based on the position of each Central Committee member as of 6 March 1986, when the composition of the new Central Committee was announced at the 27th Party Congress. Appendix E lists all pertinent changes since then, on the basis of information available as of 25 September 1986. [Redacted]

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At the 27th Party Congress in March 1986, the CPSU Central Committee underwent a 40-percent turnover in its membership. This figure reflects a certain degree of political momentum accruing to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, because he no doubt had a large, if not controlling, say in the new members' selection. As far as we know, however, only 16 of the 281 full members of the Central Committee who are not members of the Politburo or the Secretariat are more closely associated with Gorbachev than with any other senior leader. Gorbachev's list of such political acquaintances is eclipsed in size by those of Yegor Ligachev, who has 20, and Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, who has 26.<sup>1</sup> [Redacted]

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An examination of the careers of the members of the most important blocs of officials constituting the Central Committee reveals that:

- Members of the Council of Ministers tend to have few identifiable ties to senior leaders. This lack of apparent patronage suggests that they got their jobs more as a result of technical or bureaucratic competence than patronage.
- The military appears to be the most cohesive of the five blocs. Although it has ties mainly to current and former rivals of Gorbachev and almost none to Gorbachev himself, we believe it has more influence on defense policy making than either those ties or its numerical share of Central Committee membership would suggest. But, ultimately, it is the Politburo that makes defense policy decisions, not this group.

<sup>1</sup> These figures alone are no index of each senior leader's relative power and authority; our data are based on many assumptions and might hide significant rivalries among political acquaintances, or between them and the senior leader they know. The question of who knows whom, however, is clearly relevant to political developments in the Kremlin. Moreover, changes in the "acquaintanceship" data over time may point toward other political change.

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- The RSFSR provincial party first secretaries make up the largest single bloc. Individually, they show the strongest pattern of linkage to senior leaders, especially to Politburo member Yegor Ligachev. This suggests that political patronage may count for more among the Russian party functionaries than among other groups. The absence of an intervening republic-level party organization may make this group particularly likely to fix its allegiance to the General Secretary—in this case, Gorbachev.
- The non-Russian republic members are tied primarily to non-Russian members of the senior leadership, who generally lack the political weight of their Russian counterparts.
- The Central Committee department chiefs, with some important exceptions, have few longstanding links to senior leaders. However, two-thirds of these powerful bureaucrats have gotten their jobs during Gorbachev's brief tenure, and some are his longstanding acquaintances. Thus, he presumably can expect strong support from this group.
- Compared with their counterparts of 20 years ago, today's Central Committee members are more likely to have technical or industrial backgrounds and less likely to have served in the central party apparatus.

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The primacy of the Politburo more than compensates for Gorbachev's lack of a large number of acquaintances in the Central Committee. So does the political tradition that equates opposition with treason. Nevertheless, we believe that the diversity of the Central Committee and the dynamics of Soviet politics are obstacles to far-reaching change. The Central Committee now seems to be more conservative than the General Secretary. If Gorbachev were to press for changes that a coalition of his Politburo colleagues regarded as too extreme, they could take an alternative "no changes" platform to the Central Committee—having assured themselves of its cooperation beforehand—and get him ousted. [redacted]

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Moreover, our research suggests that the potential for the development of fissures among the Politburo and Secretariat members is greater than it was during the Brezhnev era. Brezhnev and many of his contemporaries worked together in several bureaucracies before entering the senior party leadership, while Gorbachev and his colleagues came to the Kremlin for

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the most part from a single province or section of the national bureaucracy, never having worked together. How those provinces or sections fare in resource allocation struggles—to the extent that we will be able to measure such allocations—may shed light on the political balance at the top.

Most members of the senior party leadership have their base of power in the RSFSR party organizations. A few other republics also have powerful patrons—Shcherbitskiy's acquaintances are concentrated in the Ukrainian SSR, Dinmukhamed Kunayev's are mostly in the Kazakh SSR, Geydar Aliyev's in the Azerbaijan SSR, Eduard Shevardnadze's in the Georgian SSR, and Nikolay Slyun'kov's in the Belorussian SSR. The remaining non-Russian republics could be uncomfortably squeezed—for whatever reason—in resource allocation decisions in years to come without bringing political damage to even one senior leader.

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**The CPSU Central Committee:  
Patterns of Acquaintances  
Among the Soviet Elite**

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**Introduction**

This publication identifies career relationships between the senior leadership<sup>2</sup> and the other 281 full members of the CPSU Central Committee who were elected on 6 March 1986 at the 27th Party Congress. By comparing their backgrounds, we find a pattern of acquaintances. Although CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's political position within the ruling Politburo and the Secretariat depends on more factors than "who knows whom" in the Central Committee, we believe that these patterns represent a noteworthy input in developing a clearer understanding of the extent of his power.

Under the CPSU statutes, the roughly 5,000 delegates to the party congress elect the Central Committee. In reality, the size of the congress and its convocation for only 10 days every five years seem to preclude the communication necessary to make a collective decision. Instead, the choices relating to the Central Committee's composition probably originate in the CPSU Secretariat, with staff assistance from the departments of the Central Committee apparatus and final approval—before the congress—from the Politburo.

These senior party organs make these choices in two ways. Most members of the Central Committee apparently reach it as a consequence of holding an important office. As examples, the Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy, the first secretary of the Communist Youth League (Komsomol), and the Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet armed forces are always full members.<sup>3</sup> (Indeed, the institutional composition

<sup>2</sup> By "senior leadership" we mean the CPSU Politburo (full and candidate members) and the Secretariat.

**Full Membership of the Central  
Committee, 1981 and 1986:  
The Institutional Breakdown**

*Percent*

	1981	1986
National party	10	10
National government	25	23
Republic party and government	40	39
Military	7	7
KGB	1	1
MFA	4	4
Media	1	1
Mass organizations and unions	3	3
Scientific and academic	3	3
Others <sup>a</sup>	6	9

<sup>a</sup> Includes industrial and agricultural managers, workers, honorary retirees, and unknowns.

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of the Central Committee remains largely consistent from congress to congress. See table.) Therefore, the decisions that the senior leadership makes during the period between congresses to appoint individuals to such positions are tantamount to giving them membership in the Central Committee, as soon as a party congress convenes to formally confirm the fact.

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The incumbents in a few other elite positions, however, do not automatically become full or candidate members of the Central Committee. The first secretary of the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Party Committee, for example, is a full member of the current Central Committee, but the previous incumbents never attained full membership. Similarly, the Minister of Construction was a full member from 1976 until

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1986, but when he retired his successor was elected to only candidate membership. Just as with approving selections to positions warranting Central Committee membership, we believe it is the senior party leadership (with staff support from the Central Committee apparatus) that decides which of these "variable" officials to include among the full members. [redacted]

Nevertheless, several Central Committee members also are acquaintances (and possible political allies) of various Politburo members or secretaries and are thus positioned to help these officials solve their personal political problems, as well as those of the regime. [redacted]

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Given the Central Committee's size, infrequent meetings, heterogeneous composition, and geographic diffusion, it has—as a body—practically no policymaking authority and evidently makes no crucial decisions on its own. It does, however, seem to have latent political clout—the authority to ratify or overrule a Politburo attempt to oust the General Secretary. Such Central Committee involvement in Politburo politics has occurred only when a powerful leader was manipulating the outcome. The only times this has happened were in 1957, when Nikita Khrushchev got a vote of confidence from the Central Committee (which was packed with his supporters) that kept him in office after an ouster attempt by a Politburo majority, and in 1964, when a rump Central Committee drawn together by Leonid Brezhnev and company ratified the second ouster attempt. In both cases, the winning faction already enjoyed the crucial cooperation of the military, the secret police, or both before bringing the Central Committee into play, but seems to have wanted the Central Committee's vote as a politically significant legitimization of the outcome. [redacted]

We have attempted to identify such acquaintances using fragmentary data on the careers of each full member of the Central Committee and on the careers of each senior leader. The patterns that emerge are murky, at best, revealing questionable acquaintanceships, divided loyalties, and possibly misleading associations. We have, however, established the groundwork for following future changes and revealed some interesting relationships. Appendix A explains our methodology. [redacted]

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**The Pattern of Acquaintances**

None of the 12 full Politburo members appears to enjoy anything even approaching a sizable plurality of acquaintances in the Central Committee (see figure 1). Of the 307 full members of the Central Committee, at most 16 (excluding other senior leaders) have had any significant association with Gorbachev that was demonstrably closer than with any other senior leader. A similar situation prevails among the seven candidate members of the Politburo and among the seven non-Politburo secretaries as well. One hundred seven Central Committee members have no identifiable or significant tie to any current senior leader, or collateral information exists that makes their principal loyalty open to question (see appendix A for details). Moreover, the acquaintances that do exist might have led two individuals to be political enemies rather than allies. Thus, the Central Committee is a politically disparate group. [redacted]

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This latent power suggests that no Politburo member can be indifferent to the composition of the Central Committee. We believe, therefore, that a Politburo member would usually want a Central Committee-warranting position filled by a friend rather than a stranger. [redacted]

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The leadership's collective need for an official with technical or substantive expertise, however, often outweighs the personal concerns each Politburo member might have. Thus, many individuals without evident or significant ties to any senior leader get appointed to jobs that earn them Central Committee seats. [redacted]

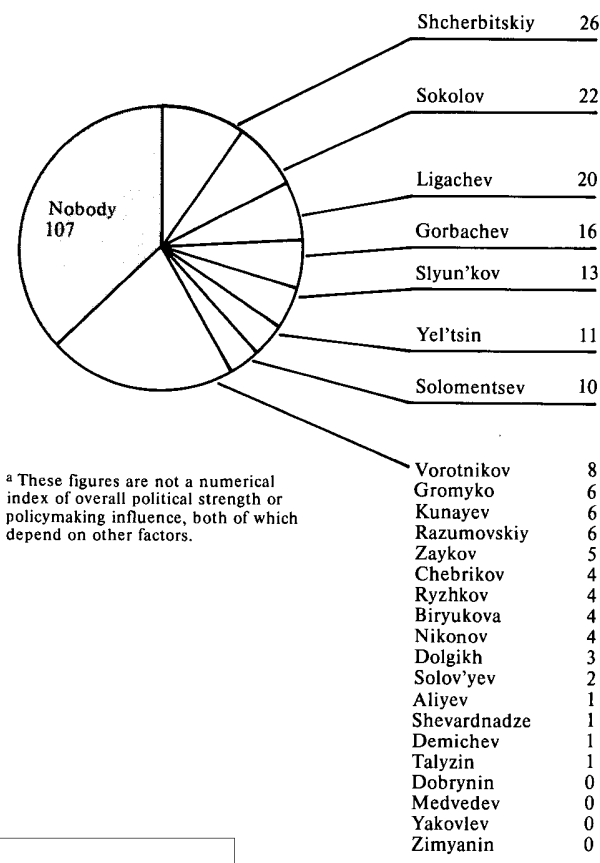
The ages of each leader's acquaintances suggest that Gorbachev has no monopoly on the youth market in the Soviet elite and that he will not be the sole political beneficiary in the senior leadership as the

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**Figure 1**  
**Senior Leaders and Their**  
**Significant Acquaintances<sup>a</sup>**



<sup>a</sup> These figures are not a numerical index of overall political strength or policymaking influence, both of which depend on other factors.

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Central Committee grows older (see figure 2). Andrey Gromyko and Mikhail Solomentsev will lose associates with the passage of time, but the age of the groups known to be tied to the other senior leaders is similar, with Gorbachev's probable acquaintances being almost exactly "average." The average age (calculated as of 1 July 1986) of the full members of the Central Committee (excluding senior leaders) is 59.5.

The pattern of acquaintanceships also suggests that no Politburo member has a list of acquaintances that spreads across the entire central bureaucracy or all regions of the Soviet Union:

- Gorbachev's ties or possible ties are mostly to officials in the national agriculture bureaucracy and to provincial party first secretaries in the North Caucasus region, specifically those of Stavropol' Kray, the Dagestan Autonomous Republic, and the North Osetian Autonomous Republic. Georgiy Razumovskiy, who apparently is one of Gorbachev's principal allies, has ties to other North Caucasus regional first secretaries, including those of Krasnodar Kray and Rostov Oblast.
- Yegor Ligachev's acquaintances or possible acquaintances are provincial party first secretaries concentrated principally in the Central Region—the oblasts surrounding Moscow, including Orel, Ryazan', Tula, and Yaroslavl'—and in Western Siberia—including Altay Kray and Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, and Tomsk Oblasts.
- Vitaliy Vorotnikov's acquaintances or possible acquaintances are concentrated in the Central Black Earth Region, including Belgorod, Kursk, and Lipetsk Oblasts.
- Vladimir Shcherbitskiy's list of acquaintances is largely limited to the Ukraine.
- Dinmukhamed Kunayev's is largely limited to the Kazakh SSR.
- Lev Zaykov's and Yuriy Solov'yev's are largely limited to officials and former officials of the Lenin-grad party organization.
- Andrey Gromyko's is largely limited to present and former Foreign Ministry officials.
- Boris Yel'tsin's acquaintances are grouped mostly in the Urals, including Chelyabinsk, Kurgan, Perm', and Sverdlovsk Oblasts and the Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR).

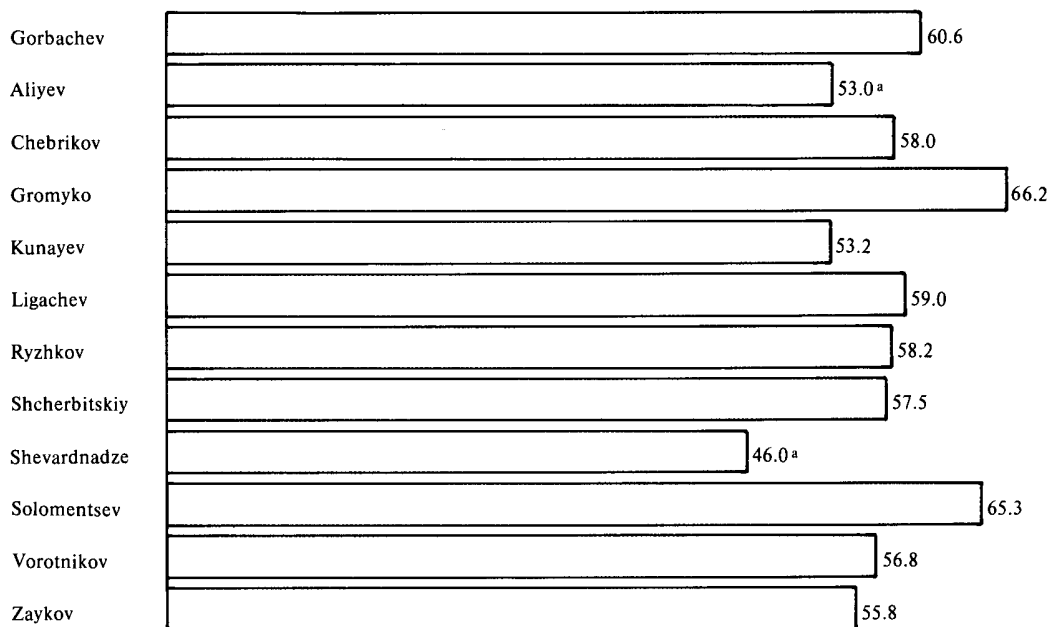
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**Figure 2**  
**Average Age of Politburo Member Acquaintances**



<sup>a</sup> One person.

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- Nikolay Slyun'kov's ties are principally to officials or former officials of the Belorussian Republic or the USSR central planning bureaucracy. [redacted]

The regional and functional character of each list of acquaintances stems from the backgrounds of today's senior leaders, who for the most part worked in a single province or section of the national bureaucracy before entering the inner chambers of the Kremlin. This pattern contrasts with the experience of Brezhnev and his contemporaries, who in most cases served successively in several regions and bureaucracies, often with each other, before joining the senior party leadership. Thus, the senior leaders during the period 1964-82—compared with today's leaders—had wider

experience, possibly a broader perspective, and apparently longer standing personal ties to each other.

Because of this, we believe the possibility of political fissures developing in the senior Soviet leadership may be greater today than it was in the late 1960s or the 1970s. [redacted]

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All our research suggests that if Gorbachev or any of his Politburo colleagues chose to take a political conflict to the Central Committee, they would be unable to depend solely on their acquaintances there for political success. All Politburo members also probably see a collective interest in limiting all feuds to the Politburo in order to maintain that body's

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collective monopoly of power. Therefore, all politicking—all debates over policy and all decisions regarding the composition of the senior leadership—probably will remain in the Politburo for the near future.

### The Key Bureaucratic Blocs

The Central Committee includes officials from five key bureaucratic blocs:

- Government ministers and state committee chairmen, who head the administrative machinery headquartered in Moscow that runs industry, agriculture, construction, defense, education, culture, finance, diplomacy, justice, and science.
- The military.
- First secretaries of RSFSR provincial party organizations, who coordinate at the regional level in the Russian Republic the operation of all the Moscow-based bureaucracies.
- Non-Russian republic party and government officials, who perform the same functions as their RSFSR provincial counterparts, with the added responsibility of keeping the lid on in the non-Russian republics.
- Chiefs of Central Committee departments, who maintain party oversight of every aspect of national life.

### The Council of Ministers

The chairman of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, every first deputy and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Council, and practically every minister hold full membership in the Central Committee (a total of 62). The exceptions consist mainly of a few ministers for construction, light industry, and food industry.

Of the 55 Council of Ministers officials who are not also senior leaders, 36 have no identifiable or significant ties to any current senior leader. These include the ministers of such key sectors as energy production,

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### Senior Leadership Ties Within the Council of Ministers

#### Gorbachev

*Murakhovskiy (State Agroindustrial Committee)*  
*Vasil'yev (Land Reclamation and Water Resources)*  
*Vlasov (Internal Affairs)*  
*Yezhevskiy (Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building)*

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#### Ryzhkov

*Gostev (Finance)*  
*Ryabov (Deputy Premier)*  
*Voronin (Material and Technical Supply)*

#### Shcherbitskiy

*Vashchenko (Trade)*

#### Solomentsev

*Shkol'nikov (People's Control)*

#### Zaykov

*Aristov (Foreign Trade)*

#### Dolgikh

*Lomako (Nonferrous Metallurgy)*

#### Slyun'kov

*Aksenov (Television and Radio Broadcasting)*  
*Bashilov (Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises)*  
*Reut (Gosplan)*  
*Velichko (Power Machine Building)*

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#### Talyzin

*Shamshin (Communications)*

#### Yel'tsin

*Shcherbina (Deputy Premier)*

#### Nikonov

*Lemayev (Petroleum Refining and the Petrochemical Industry)*

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#### Razumovskiy

*Zolotukhin (Grain Products)*

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ferrous metallurgy, and civil industrial machine building. They also include the defense-related ministers, who have no identifiable ties to any current senior leader except Zaykov, the party secretary responsible for defense industry oversight.<sup>4</sup> [redacted]

The remaining 19 ministers and state committee chairmen have ties scattered among 11 full and candidate members of the Politburo and CPSU secretaries. [redacted]

This pattern of few identifiable ties holds up even when we examine the government officials appointed since Gorbachev became General Secretary. Of the 21 (a figure that excludes those who also belong to the senior leadership) appointed since Gorbachev took over, 13 lack identifiable or significant ties to any senior leader. Only five have ties or possible ties to one or more full members of the Politburo:

- Full members of the Politburo

- Gorbachev 2
- Ryzhkov 2
- Zaykov 1

- Candidate member

- Slyun'kov 2

- CPSU secretary

- Nikonov 1 [redacted]

In short, the Council of Ministers seems to consist mostly of officials who got their jobs because of technical expertise or skillful bureaucratic self-promotion and political self-preservation—not because of patronage. Accordingly, if any were to lose his job, it would more likely be for a managerial failure (as perceived by the senior leadership) than because of the minister's association with the wrong member of the Politburo or the Secretariat. [redacted]

<sup>4</sup> It seems that even this relationship stems only from the coincidence of each minister's responsibilities with Zaykov's, not from an association any of them had with Zaykov before they got their present jobs. Indeed, in all cases but two, these defense industry ministers reached their present positions before Zaykov reached his, and the two exceptions had both worked in their ministries for years before Zaykov became defense industry secretary. [redacted]

There are some noteworthy exceptions:

- Gorbachev's apparent ties to Minister of Internal Affairs Aleksandr Vlasov and State Agroindustrial Committee Chairman Vsevolod Murakhovskiy suggest that they are his political allies. Any harm that comes to either Vlasov or Murakhovskiy could therefore reflect political damage to Gorbachev himself. 25X1

- Similarly, Minister of Trade Grigoriy Vashchenko has demonstrable ties to Shcherbitskiy that could make Vashchenko a weather vane for Shcherbitskiy's political fortunes. 25X1

The ties of other members of the senior leadership to individuals in the Council of Ministers could serve as similar political indicators in their cases. [redacted] 25X1

#### The Professional Military

Some aspects of the military's representation on the Central Committee operate against the military's political significance. Other factors operate in its favor. [redacted] 25X1

The nation's top officers (23 full members of the Central Committee—see appendix D) and all the defense-industry ministers together amount to only about 12 percent of the full membership of the Central Committee. By this measure, it is clear that the senior leadership is no prisoner of the military-industrial complex, particularly regarding questions of the composition of the senior civilian leadership. Although the military-industrial complex probably has significant influence on defense policy because of its technical expertise, we believe that defense policy ultimately depends more on the wishes of the Politburo members themselves than on any political constraints imposed by the military and the defense-industry ministries. [redacted] 25X1

Another factor weighing against military influence in policymaking is the lack of any significant career ties between Gorbachev and senior military leaders in the 25X1

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**Senior Leadership Ties  
Within the Defense Ministry**

**Aliyev**

*Koldunov (deputy minister of defense and  
Commander in Chief, Air Defense Forces)*

**Dolgikh**

*Tolubko (former Commander in Chief, Strategic  
Rocket Forces)*

**Kunayev**

*V. M. Arkhipov (commander, Moscow Military  
District)*

*Lushev (commander in chief, Group of Soviet Forces,  
Germany)*

**Shcherbitskiy**

*I. A. Gerasimov (commander in chief, Southwestern  
Theater)*

*V. G. Kulikov (First Deputy Minister of Defense and  
commander in chief, Warsaw Pact Forces)*

**Shevardnadze**

*Kurkotkin (deputy minister of defense and chief of  
rear services)*

**Slyun'kov**

*Ivanovskiy (deputy minister of defense and  
Commander in Chief, Ground Forces)*

*Tret'yak (identified in Soviet publications as a  
"responsible official" of the Ministry of Defense)*

*Zaytsev (commander in chief, Southern Theater)*

**Solomentsev**

*Akhromeyev (First Deputy Minister of Defense and  
Chief of the General Staff)*

**Solov'yev and Zaykov**

*Chernavin, (deputy minister of defense and  
Commander in Chief, Soviet Navy)*

*Gribkov (First Deputy Chief of the General Staff;  
chief of staff, Warsaw Pact Forces)*

*Gorshkov, S. G. (member, Main Inspectorate; former  
deputy minister of defense and former Commander  
in Chief, Soviet Navy)*

*Sokolov (Minister of Defense)*

**Vorotnikov**

*Ogarkov (former Chief of the General Staff and  
current commander of the Western Theater)*

*Shabanov (deputy minister of defense)*

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Central Committee.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence, he might view the professional military with a jaundiced eye, especially given that several senior soldiers have ties to officials and former officials of the Leningrad party organization—bailiwick of former Politburo member Grigoriy Romanov (Gorbachev's chief competitor for Chernenko's mantle in 1985)—and to Politburo members Shcherbitskiy and Kunayev, both holdovers from the Brezhnev era.

<sup>5</sup> The only possible tie we can identify is a tenuous one to Deputy Minister of Defense and Chief of Civil Defense Aleksandr Altunin, who commanded the North Caucasus Military District, headquartered in Rostov, during 1968-70, when Gorbachev was kraykom second secretary in neighboring Stavropol' (1968-70).

These ties, however, give the military at least some leverage in the Politburo on policy articulation. This leverage, we think, is enhanced by another factor: the military bloc is possibly the most distinct and cohesive in the Central Committee. Unlike other blocs, its members are mostly concentrated in Moscow, belong to the same ministry, and seem to have a unique professional self-identification and sense of apartness from the rest of the elite; moreover, its top officials almost certainly hold frequent meetings. Although there are probably rivalries among the senior military

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leaders, we believe these are insignificant compared with probable differences in outlook or policy choice separating, say, a party first secretary in the remote Yakutsk Obkom from one in densely populated Donetsk, or those separating the Minister of Power Machine Building from the Minister of Culture. Consequently, we suspect that the military speaks with a louder voice in Kremlin policymaking councils than its numerical share of the Central Committee or its weak ties to Gorbachev would suggest. [redacted]

**RSFSR Provincial Party First Secretaries**

Of the 71 oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics in the RSFSR, the party first secretaries of 58<sup>6</sup> hold full membership in the Central Committee. Of these, 35 got their jobs in 1982 or later—19 of them after Gorbachev became General Secretary. Unlike most of the government appointees, most of these RSFSR provincial party first secretaries are or may be acquainted with a senior party leader. This might be because technical or specific substantive expertise is probably less critical for these positions than it is for many government positions and thus is less a consideration in Kremlin deliberations over candidates. Whatever the reason, when the senior leaders are deciding whom to appoint to provincial party posts in the RSFSR, personal acquaintanceships apparently count for more—and possibly require more political tradeoffs within the Politburo and the Secretariat—than they do when the senior leadership is picking new ministers or state committee chairmen. [redacted]

Thirty-nine of the 58 first secretaries got their jobs without having served in a provincial party organization other than their present one.<sup>7</sup> The other 19 were cross-posted—that is, moved from one province or bureaucracy to take over in one where they had never before worked. [redacted]

<sup>6</sup> This figure includes Valentin Mesyats, first secretary of Moscow Obkom, and Anatoliy Gerasimov, first secretary of Leningrad Gorkom. We exclude Boris Yel'tsin, first secretary of Moscow Gorkom, and Yuriy Solov'yev, first secretary of Leningrad Obkom, both of whom occupy senior positions in the CPSU leadership. [redacted]

<sup>7</sup> This figure includes Karelian Obkom first secretary Vladimir Stepanov, whose career began in Karelia, although he spent much of it in diplomatic work (1964-79) before returning there. We also include Moscow Obkom chief Valentin Mesyats, who similarly launched his career in Moscow Oblast before holding leading RSFSR (1965-71) and USSR (1976-85) Government positions in agriculture and the second secretaryship of the Kazakh Communist Party (1971-76). [redacted]

The senior party leadership has publicized cross-posting as a method for cleaning out or preventing regional cronyism. In fact, we see it as a vehicle by which a senior leader can flex his political muscle, appointing acquaintances to positions in a provincial party organization regardless of whether the appointee worked there previously. [redacted]

Whatever the motive behind cross-posting, the backgrounds of the 16 individuals who have been cross-posted since the beginning of 1983 reveal a pattern. Thus, both appointments to and cross-postings within the RSFSR provincial party apparatus suggest that Ligachev—if his probable acquaintances are indeed allies—might have greater political influence with this group than any Politburo member other than Gorbachev. [redacted]

One index of the ebb and flow of political authority within the Politburo during the next five years might be national policies affecting various regions of the RSFSR in which senior leaders have acquaintances. As we have seen, the acquaintances of several senior leaders—Gorbachev, Razumovskiy, Ligachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Solov'yev, and Yel'tsin—are concentrated in different parts of the RSFSR (see figure 3). Policies affecting the Central Region and Western Siberia, accordingly, might be an index of the political fortunes of Ligachev, while those affecting the North Caucasus could reflect on Gorbachev and Razumovskiy, the Central Black Earth Region on Vorotnikov, the Urals on Yel'tsin, and Leningrad on Solov'yev and Zaykov. [redacted]

**Non-Russian Republic Officials**

Of the 14 non-Russian republic party first secretaries, all but four spent their entire careers within the republic whose party organization they now head.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The exceptions are the Belorussian SSR's Slyn'kov (who was a deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee during 1974-83), Uzbekistan's Usmankhodzhayev (who was an instructor in an unidentified department of the CPSU Central Committee during 1969-72), Turkmenia's Niyazov (who worked during 1984-85 as an instructor in the Organizational Party Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee), and Kirgizia's Masaliyev (who was an inspector in an unidentified department of the CPSU Central Committee during June-November 1985). [redacted]

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**Senior Leadership Ties Among the RSFSR  
Provincial Party First Secretaries**
**Gorbachev**

*Boldyrev (Stavropol')*  
*Kalashnikov (Volgograd)*  
*Manyakin (Omsk)*  
*Odintsov (North Osetian ASSR)*  
*Yusupov (Dagestan ASSR)*

**Dolgikh**

*Fedirko (Krasnoyarsk)*  
*Tatarchuk (Kalinin)*

**Gromyko**

*Stepanov (Karelian ASSR)*

**Ligachev**

*Bakatin (Kirov)*  
*Borodin (Astrakhan')*  
*Filatov (Novosibirsk)*  
*Gagarov (Primorskiy) <sup>a</sup>*  
*Litvintsev (Tula)*  
*Loshchenkov (Yaroslavl')*  
*Popov, F. V. (Altay)*  
*Sharin (Amur) <sup>a</sup>*  
*Sitnikov (Irkutsk)*  
*Smol'skiy (Ryazan')*  
*Stroyev (Orel) <sup>a</sup>*  
*Yermakov (Kemerovo)*  
*Zorkal'tsev (Tomsk)*

**Nikonov**

*Propkop'yev, I. P. (Chuvash ASSR)*  
*Usmanov (Tatar ASSR)*

**Razumovskiy**

*Khomyakov (Saratov)*  
*Polozkov (Krasnodar)*  
*Volodin (Rostov)*

**Ryzhkov**

*Kolbin (Ul'yanovsk)*

**Slyun'kov**

*Knyazyuk (Ivanovo)*

**Solov'yev**

*Ignatov (Voronezh)*

**Vorotnikov**

*Balandin (Orenburg)*  
*Gudkov (Kursk)*  
*Manayenkov (Lipetsk)*  
*Murav'yev (Kuybyshev)*  
*Ponomarev, A. F. (Belgorod)*

**Yel'tsin**

*Bogomyakov (Tyumen')*  
*Grishchenko (Udmurt ASSR)*  
*Konoplev (Perm')*  
*Petrov, Yu. V. (Sverdlovsk)*  
*Plekhanov (Kurgan)*  
*Shakirov (Bashkir ASSR)*  
*Telepnev (Arkhangel'sk)*  
*Vedernikov (Chelyabinsk)*

**Zaykov**

*Gerasimov (Leningrad Gorkom)*

**No apparent ties or clear probable loyalties**

*Berezin (Mordovian ASSR)*  
*Chernyy (Khabarovsk)*  
*Foteyev (Chechen-Ingush ASSR)*  
*Kachin (Kamchatka)*  
*Khristoradnov (Gor'kiy)*  
*Klimenko (Smolensk)*  
*Kulikov (Penza)*  
*Kuptsov (Vologda)*  
*Mal'kov (Magadan)*  
*Mesyats (Moscow Obkom)*  
*Morozov (Komi ASSR)*  
*Propkop'yev, Yu. N. (Yakutsk ASSR)*  
*Ptitsyn (Murmansk)*  
*Tret'yakov (Sakhalin)*  
*Voystrochenko (Bryansk)*

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<sup>a</sup> Ligachev probably became acquainted with Gagarov, Sharin, and Stroyev in the early 1980s when they worked in the party apparatus while Ligachev was head of the Central Committee's Organizational Party Work Department. We do not know the significance of this tie.

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**Cross-Posting****Ligachev***Bakatin (Kemerovo to Kirov)**F. V. Popov (Kemerovo to Altay)**Sharin (Primor'skiy Kray to Amur Oblast)<sup>a</sup>**Sitnikov (Kemerovo to Irkutsk)**Smol'skiy (Organizational Party Work Department to Ryazan')***Yel'tsin***Grishchenko (Chelyabinsk to Udmurt ASSR)**Plekhanov (Chelyabinsk to Kurgan)**Telepnev (Tyumen' to Arkhangel'sk)***Razumovskiy***Khomyakov (Krasnodar/Tambov to Saratov)**Volodin (Stavropol' to Rostov)***Dolgikh***Tatarchuk (Krasnoyarsk to Kalinin)***Gorbachev***Kalashnikov (Stavropol' to Volgograd)***Ryzhkov***Kolbin (Sverdlovsk/Georgian SSR to Ul'yanovsk)***Slyun'kov***Knyazyuk (Belorussian SSR to Ivanovo)***Vorotnikov***Manayenkov (Tambov to Lipetsk)***No apparent ties***Foteyev (Kuybyshev to Chechen-Ingush ASSR)* 

<sup>a</sup> Ligachev's tie to Sharin stems from Sharin's stint in the early 1980s in the party apparatus when Ligachev was head of the Central Committee's Organizational Party Work Department.

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**Senior Leadership Ties Among Non-Russian Republic Officials****Chebrikov***Pugo (Latvian SSR)***Razumovskiy***Masaliyev (Kirgiz SSR)***Talyzin***Grishkyavichyus (Lithuanian SSR)* 

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Because of this provinciality, the ties many have in the senior leadership are tenuous. Gorbachev himself has only three possible acquaintances among these officials, and these stem from the most superficial and unlikely of circumstances:

- Karen Demirchyan, first secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia, served in 1976 on the presidium of the 25th Party Congress, which lasted 10 days, with Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, and 117 other party officials.
- Pyatras Grishkyavichyus, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, also served on the presidium of that congress.
- Demirchyan, Grishkyavichyus, and Karl Vayno, first secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia, all served on the presidium of the 26th Party Congress in 1981 with—in addition to Gorbachev and all other members of the then current senior leadership—Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin, and a hundred or so others.

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In addition to the 14 republic party heads, 33 other non-Russian republic officials and workers hold full Central Committee membership. Gorbachev seems to lack ties to any of them. Therefore, any power he derives from regional sources outside the Politburo seems to lie in the RSFSR.

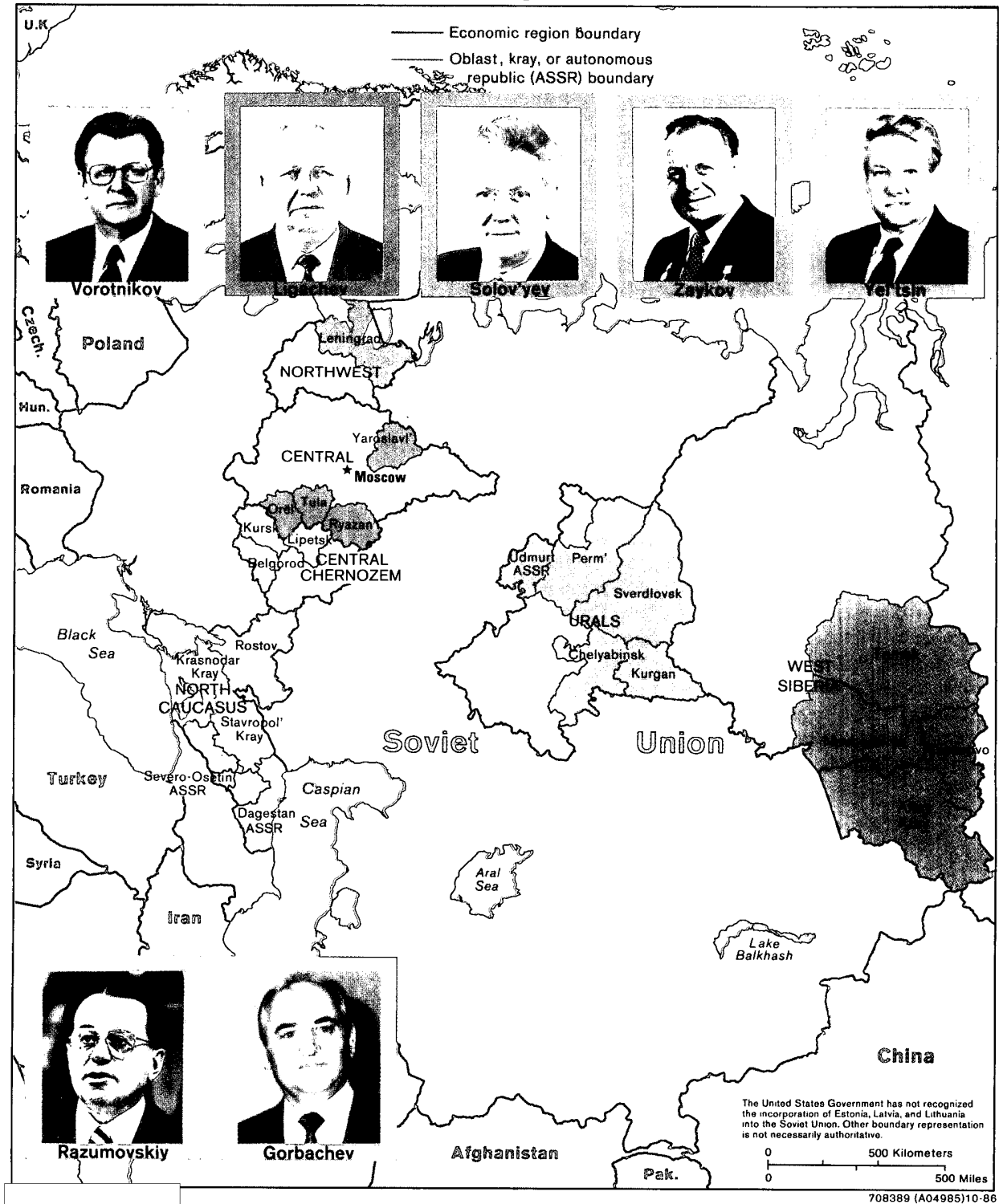
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Figure 3  
Regional Concentration of Senior Soviet Leaders' Acquaintances



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There are possibilities—from minimal to moderate—that Ligachev is acquainted with seven of these 47 non-Russians. In addition to the limited ties to Demirchyan, Grishkyavichyus, and Vayno stemming from all four having served on the presidium of the 26th Party Congress, Ligachev was head of the Central Committee's Organizational Party Work Department during 1983-85, when he could have become acquainted with Masaliyev and Niyazov (see above). Similarly, he could have also gotten to know:

- Vladimir Anishchev, second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party, who was an inspector in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus during 1984-85.
- Kakimbek Salykov, first secretary of the Kara-Kalpak Obkom, Uzbek Communist Party, who was an instructor, then an inspector, of an unidentified department of the CPSU Central Committee during 1982-84. [redacted]

Republic first secretaries other than those already discussed have at best extremely tenuous connections in the senior party leadership. The first secretaries of Moldavia, Uzbekistan, and Tadzhikistan appear to lack any ties whatsoever to senior leaders. Their interests will not be ignored by the senior leadership, but we think that when hard choices on resource allocations must be made—for whatever reason—within the next five years, these republics could be uncomfortably squeezed with no personal political damage wrought to any senior leader in Moscow. [redacted]

Only five non-Russian republics seem politically well off, because full or candidate members of the Politburo hold (or held) leading positions in those republics:

- Azerbaijan SSR (Aliyev)
  - Belorussian SSR (Slyun'kov)
  - Georgian SSR (Shevardnadze)
  - Kazakh SSR (Kunayev)
  - Ukrainian SSR (Chebrikov and Shcherbitskiy)
- Slyun'kov, moreover, worked in Gosplan with Ryzhkov, a relationship that might further promote the Belorussian SSR's cause in senior party councils. (See figure 4.) [redacted]

#### **The Central Committee Department Chiefs**

The Central Committee apparatus has 20 departments that oversee every aspect of national life. Twelve have chiefs who hold full membership in the Central Committee. Eleven of the 12 received their present jobs in 1982 or later—eight after Gorbachev became General Secretary. Thus, of all the bureaucracies that the senior leadership uses to implement its decisions, the central party apparatus has undergone the most extensive turnover in its top ranks in recent months. [redacted]

The political significance of this high turnover is unclear, but, because so many members gained their positions under Gorbachev, he can probably expect strong support from this group. In several cases, moreover, we can identify a tie between a Politburo member and a Central Committee department chief, and Gorbachev is the most frequent apparent patron. [redacted]

The remainder of the new appointees are career apparatchiks with no longstanding ties to any current senior leader:

- Oleg Belyakov, chief of the Defense Industry Department, judging from the scant public record of his activities, has probably been involved in defense industry matters throughout his career. He undoubtedly works under Zaykov, the CPSU secretary for defense industry, but there is no record of any ties to other senior leaders.
- Anatoliy Luk'yanov, chief of the General Department, has been an apparatchik or Supreme Soviet staffer throughout his career. He undoubtedly works closely with Gorbachev (the General Department does staff work for the General Secretary), but he lacks an identifiable previous tie to any current senior leader.

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**Figure 4**  
**Non-Russian Republics That Have Present or Former Leading Officials in the CPSU Politburo**



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**Senior Leadership Ties To Central Committee Department Heads<sup>a</sup>****Gorbachev***Karlov (Agriculture and Food Industry)**Kruchina (Administration of Affairs)**Razumovskiy (Organizational Party Work)**Yakovlev (Propaganda)***Ligachev***Mel'nikov (Construction)***Slyun'kov***Vol'skiy (Machine Building)* [redacted]

<sup>a</sup> We exclude two department heads from this list. Anatoliy Dobrynin, head of the International Department, was Ambassador to the United States from 1962 until March 1986 and undoubtedly reported to Gromyko when he was Foreign Minister. [redacted]

[redacted] there was friction between the two. We therefore believe that Dobrynin's and Gromyko's political fortunes are independent of one another. Similarly, Stepan Chervonenko, head of the Central Committee's Cadres Abroad Department, was Ambassador to France from 1973 until 1982 and also reported to Gromyko. But Chervonenko was originally a party official from the Ukrainian SSR, never a Foreign Ministry careerist, and his only diplomatic postings before France had been ambassadorial assignments to bloc countries (North Korea and Czechoslovakia), which seem to have lain outside Gromyko's purview. Accordingly, we believe that Chervonenko's and Gromyko's political futures are not linked. [redacted]

- Vadim Medvedev, a CPSU secretary and chief of the Bloc Relations Department, has been an apparatchik since 1970. He lacks any identifiable previous ties to any current Politburo member. He was deputy chief of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee during 1970-78, overlapping for three years with Yakovlev (first deputy chief of the department, 1965-73).
- Aleksandr Yakovlev, a CPSU secretary and chief of the Propaganda Department, has been an apparatchik since 1953, except for a tour as Ambassador to Canada during 1973-83. He lacks any identifiable career ties to any Politburo member, although he was in Canada when Gorbachev visited that country in 1983 and, [redacted] gained his patronage at that time.

- Nikolay Savinkin, the one Central Committee department chief whose tenure precedes 1982, is chief of the Administrative Organs Department—which supervises the police, judiciary, and legal organs—where he has worked since 1950. He was elected a deputy to the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1974, 1979, and 1984, each time on the Georgian delegation with Shevardnadze. [redacted]

**Pluses and Minuses for Gorbachev**

The diverse nature of the Central Committee and the primacy of the Politburo in Soviet politics help Gorbachev, in our judgment. As long as he can maintain a workable majority of Politburo allies, we believe, he can stay in power and continue pushing his political program, regardless of the number of acquaintances he has in the Central Committee. [redacted]

Gorbachev's political health is also helped by the tradition that equates opposition with treason. Thus, if any Politburo conflict overflowed into the Central Committee, the chief goal of each committee member, regardless of which senior leader he was best acquainted with, would be to make sure he voted for the winning side—a risky proposition (in our opinion) when voting against an incumbent general secretary. For example, all 26 of Shcherbitskiy's acquaintances (even those who rank as his closest allies) would in our opinion vote for Gorbachev in a wink if they perceived that Shcherbitskiy's number was up. [redacted]

Another key factor favoring Gorbachev is that officials in the Central Committee who got their promotions after Gorbachev replaced Chernenko are likely to have a loyalty to him that in many cases would eclipse any association they might have had with any other senior leader. In this connection, the 40-percent turnover in the Central Committee's membership at the most recent party congress almost certainly indicates a degree of political momentum accruing to Gorbachev. The loyalty to Gorbachev of recently appointed officials might particularly be the case

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**Comparing the 1966 and 1986 Central Committees: Whither the Soviet Elite?**

*Aside from its political significance, the Central Committee also serves as the collective embodiment of the Soviet elite—the USSR's top political officials, soldiers, managers, scholars, scientists, workers, farmers, propagandists, diplomats, and journalists. A comparison of the 1986 elite (that is, the full members of the Central Committee elected in 1986) with the 1966 elite reveals how the Soviet system's leading stratum has evolved, or failed to evolve, over the past two decades.* [redacted]

**Age.** *The average age of the full members of the 1986 Central Committee is approximately 60, compared to 55 in 1966. For at least the next five years, therefore, there will be no objective need to retire large numbers of superannuated members. Indeed, the actuarial potential for bureaucratic stagnation under Gorbachev is approximately the same as it was at the outset of the Brezhnev era.* [redacted]

**Education.** *The educational level of the newly elected Central Committee full members appears to be only marginally higher than that of their 1966 predecessors. Approximately 79 percent of the 1986 group completed university, military academy, higher party school, or institute training, compared with 76.7 percent in 1966.* [redacted]

*A subset within this category of "educated" Central Committee members, however, reflects one noteworthy difference between the 1966 and 1986 groups. The best educated members of the elite—using as our benchmarks those who graduated from Moscow State University, Leningrad State University, or Bauman Institute and those who hold advanced degrees—increased their representation among the full membership of the Central Committee from 9.7 percent in 1966 to 16 percent in 1986, thus stiffening the intellectual backbone of the ruling class at least somewhat.* [redacted]

**Career background.** *There are two noteworthy differences in the career backgrounds of the 1966 and 1986 elites:*

- *In 1966 only 8.5 percent of the full members had devoted a large percentage of their careers to purely industrial or technical work, compared with 21 percent in 1986.*
- *In 1966 about 21 percent of the full members had spent the majority of their careers in the central party apparatus (as opposed to a party or industrial management position outside Moscow). Only about 9 percent had such a background in 1986.* [redacted] 25X1

**Provinciality.** *At least 56 percent of the full Central Committee members elected in 1986 spent their formative and professional years in the provinces outside Moscow and Leningrad—an increase from the 47 percent that had done so in 1966. By this measure alone, it would appear that a large—and increasing—percentage of the elite has still had only limited exposure to foreigners and may consequently have an uncritical ear for the foreign policy pronouncements of their government.* [redacted] 25X1

*The foregoing analysis, however, neglects the effect of foreign radiobroadcasts (a topic beyond the scope of this paper) and the possibility of unofficial foreign travel by provincial party leaders and economic managers. For instance, Gorbachev himself—according to what he has told Westerners since becoming nationally prominent—traveled to France on his own in 1966 and to Italy in 1967 when he was a party secretary in Stavropol'. We do not know if his experience is typical.* [redacted] 25X1

[redacted] 25X1

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among RSFSR oblast party committee first secretaries, who answer directly to the senior CPSU leadership (because the RSFSR lacks a republic-level party organization). Such officials, given the political prominence Gorbachev enjoys as General Secretary, might fix an allegiance to him that is stronger than their ties would otherwise indicate. [redacted]

Because we lack knowledge of what Gorbachev has proposed to the Politburo, we are unable to tell if he faces any significant resistance in that body, but there have been signs of continued conservative influence in both policymaking and personnel selection decisions that suggest that his progress toward any reformist goals could be difficult. [redacted]

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At the same time, however, the composition of the Central Committee and the dynamics of Soviet politics are, in our opinion, obstacles to far-reaching change. If Gorbachev were to press for changes that a coalition of his Politburo colleagues regarded as too extreme, they could block those changes in the Politburo. If he pressed the issue, they could take the risk of presenting an alternative "no changes" platform to the Central Committee (after having assured themselves of its cooperation) to get him ousted. [redacted]

Another obstacle to any systemic reform is that Gorbachev and the rest of the Politburo must implement these plans through the members of the Central Committee—the individual government and party officials who, in addition to full membership in the Central Committee, hold the leading positions in the national government and the central and regional party structure. These officials could hinder Gorbachev's plans by their collective recalcitrance in their respective jobs. [redacted]

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This possibility is not entirely academic. The core of the Central Committee is composed largely of groups traditionally regarded by Western and emigre observers as resistant to change: the provincial party establishment and the government economic bureaucracy. Moreover, approximately 53 percent of the full members of the Central Committee got their positions that warranted Central Committee membership before Gorbachev reached the senior leadership in 1978, and 38 percent of the members of the present Central Committee were already full members by that same year. (Of course, Gorbachev himself falls into both of these categories, so the political predispositions of this group are mixed, at least to some degree. Nevertheless, a large share of today's Soviet elite was running the country during Brezhnev's static reign and might, therefore, have a vested interest in maintaining the practices that prevailed then.) [redacted]

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Thus, Gorbachev's calls for "radical reform" attack the parochial interests of what seems to be a relatively conservative body (as well as the interests of the party at large), suggesting that the Central Committee could become a reserve army reinforcing any anti-Gorbachev conservative forces in the Politburo that might risk breaking ranks with him and his Politburo allies. [redacted]

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## Appendix A

### Methodology for Determining Each Senior Leader's Acquaintances in the Central Committee

In most cases, when we were deciding where to place a Central Committee member in our lists of acquaintances, the choice was between a given senior leader or nobody. In many of these cases, we opted for the senior leader, despite our lack of information confirming that the acquaintance was also an ally.

In some cases, a Central Committee member had the opportunity to become acquainted (and possibly allied) with more than one senior leader. In such cases, we made a judgment as to which single Politburo member or secretary such a Central Committee member would be likely to be best acquainted with. We balanced several assumptions:

- A tie to one senior leader was stronger than it was to another leader if the member had worked more recently with the first leader.
- A tie to a leader who worked in the same party organization was stronger than to a leader who worked in any other party organization.
- A tie to one leader was stronger than to another if the member worked longer with the first leader than with the second.
- A tie between officials in adjacent provinces was greater when the regions were equal in size. Accordingly, for officials in oblasts adjacent to the Ukraine or Moscow Oblast, we assumed no tie existed between them and their neighboring counterparts.
- An association with somebody powerful superseded one with somebody weak.
- An association established between two officials during their assignment in party or government work superseded one established in Supreme Soviet or other "window dressing" assignments.

For some Central Committee members, the possibility that an acquaintanceship and political alliance exists between them and senior leaders is strong. For example:

- Yuriy Litvintsev—first secretary of the Tula Oblast Party Committee—was first secretary of the Tomsk city party committee as of 1975, when Yegor Ligachev—today a Politburo member and CPSU secretary—was first secretary of the Tomsk Oblast party committee (1965-83). Litvintsev later was an inspector in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus (1984), when Ligachev was chief of the CPSU Central Committee's Organizational Party Work Department (1983-85). Litvintsev and Ligachev also were members of the Tomsk delegation to the 25th and 26th Party Congresses in 1976 and 1981, respectively.
- Vladimir Kalashnikov—first secretary of the Volgograd Oblast Party Committee—was second secretary of the Stavropol' Kray Party Committee (kraykom) during 1975-82, when Gorbachev was first secretary of Stavropol' Kraykom. Kalashnikov then served as RSFSR Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources (1982-84) when Gorbachev was the CPSU Central Committee secretary responsible for agriculture (1978-85).

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In other cases, the evidence of a tie and probable political alliance is less clear cut. For example:

- Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute for the USA and Canada, attended the 25th and 26th Party Congresses in 1976 and 1981, respectively, as a member of the Azerbaijan SSR delegation with current Politburo member Geydar Aliyev. Arbatov was also elected to the Council of Nationalities of

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the USSR Supreme Soviet from the Azerbaijan SSR in 1974 and 1984. In each of those years Aliyev represented the republic in the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union. Despite this tenuous connection, each man is probably preoccupied with issues that are of less immediate concern to the other. Therefore, we doubted that Arbatov had any predominant loyalty to Aliyev that would withstand a political crisis and left him off the list of Aliyev's possible associates.

- Leonid Grekov, Ambassador to Bulgaria, was a Moscow City Party Committee (gorkom) secretary from at least 1971 until 1979, when Viktor V. Grishin was Moscow Gorkom first secretary (1967-85). Grishin is now retired and no longer a member of the Politburo or Central Committee, so we lumped Grekov among the Central Committee members with no apparent significant ties to a senior leader, despite his service on party and state honorific bodies over the years with several other senior leaders. (Grekov and Gorbachev, for example, served together on the 25-man secretariat of the 24th Party Congress in 1971.)
- Yuliy Vorontsov, a Foreign Ministry careerist, worked under Gromyko for 18 years, but Vorontsov was also a member of the Stavropol' delegation to the 26th Party Congress in 1981 with Gorbachev. With such conflicting and inconclusive evidence, we committed Vorontsov to no senior leader's list of acquaintances. [redacted]

Two acquaintances can also be mortal enemies. For example, in their speeches at the Kazakh Party Congress in February 1986, Kzyl-Orda Obkom First Secretary Yerkin Auyel'bekov and Kazakh Party First Secretary Dinmukhamed Kunayev did all but exchange gunfire, so we left Auyel'bekov off the list of Kunayev's associates, despite their apparently close career ties. [redacted]

Despite such an example, we are nevertheless convinced that an association between two Soviets more likely than not signifies a political association between them. In a system having weak institutional structures

for conferring power, personal relationships are all important. Few ambitious Soviet bureaucrats, in our view, would miss any opportunity to cement ties to a potentially useful contact, regardless of their personal predisposition. [redacted]

In some cases, we linked leaders who had served at the same time in adjacent regions. We recognize that the interaction of high office holders in adjacent regions may be infrequent or even competitive. We nevertheless believe that having held high office at the same time in adjacent regions makes it more likely than not that two individuals are political associates. Two examples of such an association of which we are fairly confident are:

- Georgiy Razumovskiy—now a CPSU secretary and chief of the Central Committee's Organizational Party Work Department—rose to chairman of the Krasnodar Kray Soviet Executive Committee during 1966-73, serving in that position until 1981, when Gorbachev was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78). There may, of course, be some other tie to Gorbachev.
- Aleksandr Vlasov—now Minister of Internal Affairs—was first secretary of the Chechen-Ingush Obkom (1975-84) when Gorbachev was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78). [redacted]

In other cases of service in adjacent provinces, we are less confident. For example, Vasiliy Dinkov, Minister of the Gas Industry, was chief of the Krasnodar Gas Pipelines Administration and then chief of the "Kuban'gazprom" Association during 1962-66, when Mikhail Gorbachev was head of the party organs department of the neighboring Stavropol' Kray Party Committee (1963-66). An acquaintanceship between the two from those days is uncertain, so we left Dinkov off Gorbachev's list. [redacted]

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However, some seemingly tenuous connections have turned out to be important:

- Eduard Shevardnadze has told senior US officials, for example, that he and Gorbachev have known each other since the mid-1950s, when they were Komsomol officials in their respective adjoining provinces of Georgia and Stavropol' Kray.
- In 1983, when Politburo member Mikhail Solomentsev was made head of the Party Control Committee, he reached back to 1959 (his last year in Chelyabinsk Oblast) to pick an apparent acquaintance from that time—Mikhail Voropayev—as his first deputy chief. Solomentsev's only other known link to Voropayev was comembership on the Chelyabinsk delegations to two RSFSR Supreme Soviet sessions (1971 and 1976) and to the 25th Party Congress (1976).

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The political significance of these lists is clouded by the fact that some of them would overlap if we made no effort to squeeze each member into the list of a single senior leader. Shcherbitskiy's list of acquaintances from the Ukraine, for example, includes a number of people who worked closely with Chebrikov when the latter was a leading official in the Ukraine's Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

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**Appendix B****List of Senior Leaders and Their Acquaintances in the Central Committee <sup>10</sup>****Full Members of the Politburo****Gorbachev**

Boldyrev, Ivan Sergeyeovich—first secretary, Stavropol' Kraykom  
 Chazov, Yevgeniy Ivanovich—USSR deputy minister of health  
 Chernyayev, Anatoliy Sergeyeovich—Gorbachev aide  
 Kalashnikov, Vladimir Il'ich—first secretary, Volgograd Obkom  
 Karlov, Vladimir Alekseyevich—chief, Agriculture and Food Department, CPSU CC  
 Kruchina, Nikolay Yefimovich—administrator of affairs, CPSU CC  
 Lushchikov, Anatoliy Pavlovich—Gorbachev aide  
 Manyakin, Sergey Iosifovich—first secretary, Omsk Obkom  
 Murakhovskiy, Vsevolod Serafimovich—chairman, Gosagroprom  
 Odintsov, Vladimir Yevgen'yevich—first secretary, North Osetian Obkom  
 Tereshchenko, Nikolay Dmitriyevich—kolkhoz chairman, Stavropol' Kray  
 Trunov, Mikhail Petrovich—chairman of the board, Tsentrosoyuz  
 Vasil'yev, Nikolay Fedorovich—USSR Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources  
 Vlasov, Aleksandr Vladimirovich—USSR Minister of Internal Affairs  
 Yezhevskiy, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich—USSR Minister of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building  
 Yusupov, Magomed Yusupovich—first secretary, Dagestan Obkom

**Aliyev**

Bagirov, Kyamran Mamed ogly—first secretary, Azerbaijan CP

**Chebrikov**

Bobkov, Filipp Denisovich—deputy chairman, KGB  
 Kryuchkov, Vladimir Aleksandrovich—deputy chairman, KGB  
 Pugo, Boris Karlovich—first secretary, Latvian Communist Party  
 Yemokhonov, Nikolay Pavlovich—first deputy chairman, KGB

**Gromyko**

Korniyenko, Georgiy Markovich—USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs  
 Kuznetsov, Vasiliy Vasil'yevich—First Deputy Chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet  
 Mal'tsev, Viktor Fedorovich—USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs  
 Rykov, Vasiliy Nazarovich—Ambassador to India  
 Stepanov, Vladimir Sevast'yanovich—first secretary, Karelian Obkom  
 Zamyatin, Leonid Mitrofanovich—Ambassador to the United Kingdom

**Kunayev**

Demidenko, Vasiliy Aleksandrovich—first secretary, Kustanay Obkom, Kazakh CP  
 Mendybayev, Marat Samiyevich—first secretary, Alma-Ata Obkom, Kazakh CP  
 Miroshkhin, Oleg Semenovich—second secretary, Kazakh CP  
 Nazarbayev, Nursultan Abishevich—Chairman, Kazakh Council of Ministers  
 Salykov, Kakimbek Salykovich—first secretary, Karakalpak Obkom, Uzbek CP  
 Trofimov, Yuriy Nikolayevich—first secretary, Aktubinsk Obkom, Kazakh CP

<sup>10</sup> Positions listed are as of the time each official was elected or reelected to the Central Committee on 6 March 1986. See appendix E for any changes since then.

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**Confidential****Ligachev**

(Anishchev, Vladimir Petrovich)<sup>11</sup>—second secretary, Uzbek CP  
 Bakatin, Vadim Viktorovich—first secretary, Kirov Obkom  
 Borodin, Leonid Aleksandrovich—first secretary, Astrakhan' Obkom  
 Filatov, Aleksandr Pavlovich—first secretary, Novosibirsk Obkom  
 (Gagarov, Dmitriy Nikolayevich)—first secretary, Primorskiy Kraykom  
 Gorshkov, Leonid Aleksandrovich—deputy chairman, RSFSR Supreme Soviet  
 Litvintsev, Yuriy Ivanovich—first secretary, Tula Obkom  
 Loshchenkov, Fedor Ivanovich—first secretary, Yaroslavl' Obkom  
 Mel'nikov, Aleksandr Grigor'yevich—chief, Construction Department, CPSU CC  
 (Niyazov, Saparmurad Atayevich)—first secretary, Turkmen CP  
 Popov, Filipp Vasil'yevich—first secretary, Altay Kraykom  
 Razumov, Yevgeniy Zotovich—first deputy chief, Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU CC  
 (Sharin, Leonid Vasil'yevich)—first secretary, Amur Obkom  
 Sitnikov, Vasiliy Ivanovich—first secretary, Irkutsk Obkom  
 Smol'skiy, Pavel Aleksandrovich—first secretary, Ryazan' Obkom  
 (Stroyev, Yegor Semenovich)—first secretary, Orel Obkom  
 Stukalin, Boris Ivanovich—Ambassador to Hungary  
 Yegorov, Anatoliy Grigor'yevich—director, Institute of Marxism-Leninism  
 Yermakov, Nikolay Spiridonovich—first secretary, Kemerovo Obkom  
 Zorkal'tsev, Viktor Il'ich—first secretary, Tomsk Obkom

**Ryzhkov**

Gostev, Boris Ivanovich—USSR Minister of Finance  
 Kolbin, Gennadiy Vasil'yevich—first secretary, Ul'yansovsk Obkom  
 Ryabov, Yakov Petrovich—Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers  
 Voronin, Lev Alekseyevich—Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Chairman, State Committee for Material and Technical Supply

**Shcherbitskiy**

Boyko, Viktor Grigor'yevich—first secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Dobrik, Viktor Fedorovich—first secretary, L'vov Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Goncharenko, Boris Trofimovich—first secretary, Voroshilovgrad Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Kachalovskiy, Yevgeniy Viktorovich—First Deputy Chairman, Ukrainian Council of Ministers  
 Kachura, Boris Vasil'yevich—secretary, Ukrainian CP  
 Kapto, Aleksandr Semenovich—Ambassador to Cuba  
 Kavun, Vasiliy Mikhaylovich—first secretary, Zhitomir Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Kolesnikov, Aleksandr Yakovlevich—mining brigade leader, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, Ukrainian SSR  
 Lutak, Ivan Kondrat'yevich—first secretary, Cherkassy Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Lyashko, Aleksandr Pavlovich—Chairman, Ukrainian Council of Ministers  
 Makarenko, Viktor Sergeevich—first secretary, Crimean Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Mironov, Vasiliy Petrovich—first secretary, Donetsk Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Morgun, Fedor Trofimovich—first secretary, Poltava Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Motornyy, Dmitriy Konstantinovich—kolkhoz chairman, Kherson Oblast, Ukrainian SSR  
 Mozgovoy, Ivan Alekseyevich—secretary, Ukrainian CP

<sup>11</sup> Names in parentheses are those Central Committee members whose possible ties to Ligachev stem from when they served a rotational tour of duty in the Central Committee apparatus when Ligachev was chief of the CPSU Central Committee's Organizational Party Work Department.

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Mysnichenko, Vladislav Petrovich—first secretary, Khar'kov Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Nochevkin, Anatoliy Petrovich—first secretary, Odessa Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Parubok, Yemel'yan Nikonovich—member, Bureau, Ukrainian Komsomol  
 Petrov, Vladislav Alekseyevich—lathe operator, Khar'kov, Ukrainian SSR  
 Revenko, Grigoriy Ivanovich—first secretary, Kiev Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Sazonov, Anatoliy Pavlovich—first secretary, Zaporozh'ye Obkom, Ukrainian CP  
 Shevchenko, Valentina Semenovna—Chairman, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet; Deputy Chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet  
 Taratuta, Vasiliy Nikolayevich—Ambassador to Algeria  
 Titarenko, Aleksey Antonovich—second secretary, Ukrainian CP  
 Vashchenko, Grigoriy Ivanovich—USSR Minister of Trade  
 Yel'chenko, Yuriy Nikiforovich—first secretary, Kiev Gorkom, Ukrainian CP

**Shevardnadze**

Patiashvili, Dzhumber Il'ich—first secretary, Georgian CP

**Solomentsev**

Afnas'yev, Viktor Grigor'yevich—chief editor, *Pravda*  
 Gustov, Ivan Stepanovich—First Deputy Chairman, Party Control Committee, CPSU CC  
 Kochemasov, Vyacheslav Ivanovich—Ambassador to the GDR  
 Lomonosov, Vladimir Grigor'yevich—deputy chairman, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions  
 Maslennikov, Nikolay Ivanovich—deputy chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers; chairman, RSFSR Gosplan  
 Ponomarev, Mikhail Aleksandrovich—deputy chairman, Party Control Committee, CPSU CC  
 Shkol'nikov, Aleksey Mikhaylovich—Chairman, Committee of People's Control  
 Tyazhel'nikov, Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich—Ambassador to Romania  
 Voropayev, Mikhail Gavrilovich—deputy chairman, Party Control Committee, CPSU CC  
 Yermin, Lev Borisovich—First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers

**Vorotnikov**

Balandin, Anatoliy Nikiforovich—first secretary, Orenburg Obkom  
 Gudkov, Aleksandr Fedorovich—first secretary, Kursk Obkom  
 Gusev, Vladimir Kuz'mich—First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers  
 Karpova, Yevdokiya Fedorovna—deputy chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers  
 Manayenkov, Yuriy Alekseyevich—first secretary, Lipetsk Obkom  
 Murav'yev, Yevgeniy Fedorovich—first secretary, Kuybyshev Obkom  
 Orlov, Vladimir Pavlovich—Chairman, RSFSR Supreme Soviet; Deputy Chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet  
 Ponomarev, Aleksey Filippovich—first secretary, Belgorod Obkom

**Zaykov**

Aristov, Boris Ivanovich—USSR Minister of Foreign Trade  
 Gerasimov, Anatoliy Nikolayevich—first secretary, Leningrad Gorkom  
 Khodyrev, Vladimir Yakovlevich—chairman, Leningrad Gorispolkom  
 Popov, Nikolay Sergeyevech—chief designer, production association, Leningrad  
 Zakharov, Vasiliy Georgiyevich—second secretary, Moscow Gorkom

**Candidate Members of the Politburo****Demichev**

Borisenkov, Vasiliy Mikhaylovich—second secretary, Moscow Obkom

**Dolgikh**

Fedirko, Pavel Stefanovich—first secretary, Krasnoyarsk Kraykom  
 Lomako, Petr Fadeyevich—USSR Minister of Non-ferrous Metallurgy  
 Tatarchuk, Nikolay Fedorovich—first secretary, Kalinin Obkom

**Confidential**

**Confidential****Slyun'kov**

Aksenov, Aleksandr Nikiforovich—Chairman, State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting  
 Bartoshevich, Gennadiy Georgiyevich—second secretary, Belorussian CP  
 Bashilov, Sergey Vasil'yevich—USSR Minister of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises  
 Brovikov, Vladimir Ignat'yevich—Ambassador to Poland  
 Knyazyuk, Mikhail Aleksandrovich—first secretary, Ivanovo Obkom  
 Kovalev, Mikhail Vasil'yevich—Chairman, Belorussian Council of Ministers  
 Malofeyev, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich—first secretary, Minsk Obkom, Belorussian CP  
 Reut, Anatoliy Antonovich—First Deputy Chairman, USSR Gosplan  
 Shulyak, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich—forge punch operator, Minsk Automobile Plant  
 Sokolov, Yefrem Yevseyevich—first secretary, Brest Obkom, Belorussian CP  
 Tarazevich, Georgiy Stanislavovich—Chairman, Belorussian Supreme Soviet  
 Velichko, Vladimir Makarovich—USSR Minister of Power Machine Building  
 Vol'skiy, Arkadiy Ivanovich—chief, Machine Building Department, CPSU CC

**Sokolov**

Akhromeyev, Sergey Fedorovich—USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense; Chief of the General Staff  
 Altunin, Aleksandr Terent'yevich—USSR deputy minister of defense; chief of civil defense  
 Arkhipov, Vladimir Mikhaylovich—commander, Moscow Military District  
 Chernavin, Vladimir Nikolayevich—USSR deputy minister of defense; Commander in Chief, Soviet Navy  
 Gerasimov, Ivan Aleksandrovich—commander in chief, Southwestern Theater  
 Gorshkov, Sergey Georgiyevich—member, Main Inspectorate, USSR Ministry of Defense  
 Govorov, Vladimir Leonidovich—USSR deputy minister of defense; chief inspector  
 Gribkov, Anatoliy Ivanovich—First Deputy Chief, General Staff; chief of staff, Warsaw Pact Forces

Ivanovskiy, Yevgeniy Filippovich—USSR deputy minister of defense; Commander in Chief, Ground Forces  
 Koldunov, Aleksandr Ivanovich—USSR deputy minister of defense; Commander in Chief, Air Defense Forces  
 Kulikov, Viktor Georgiyevich—USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense; commander in chief, Warsaw Pact Forces  
 Kurkotkin, Semen Konstantinovich—USSR deputy minister of defense; chief of rear services  
 Lizichev, Aleksey Dmitriyevich—chief, Main Political Directorate of the Army and Navy, USSR Ministry of Defense  
 Lushev, Petr Georgiyevich—commander in chief, Group of Soviet Forces, Germany  
 Maksimov, Yuriy Pavlovich—USSR deputy minister of defense; Commander in Chief, Strategic Rocket Forces  
 Ogarkov, Nikolay Vasil'yevich—commander in chief, Western Theater  
 Petrov, Vasilij Ivanovich—USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense  
 Shabanov, Vitaliy Mikhaylovich—USSR deputy minister of defense  
 Tolubko, Vladimir Fedorovich—member, Main Inspectorate, USSR Ministry of Defense  
 Tret'yak, Ivan Moiseyevich—commander in chief, Far Eastern Theater  
 Yefimov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich—USSR deputy minister of defense; First Deputy Commander in Chief, Air Forces  
 Zaytsev, Mikhail Mitrofanovich—commander in chief, Southern Theater

**Solov'yev**

Ignatov, Vadim Nikolayevich—first secretary, Voronezh Obkom  
 Kruglova, Zinaida Mikhaylovna—Chairman, Presidium, Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries

**Confidential**

**Confidential****Talyzin**

Shamshin, Vasily Aleksandrovich—USSR Minister of Communications

**Yel'tsin**

Bogomyakov, Gennadiy Pavlovich—first secretary, Tyumen' Obkom

Grishchenko, Petr Semenovich—first secretary, Udmurt Obkom

Konoplev, Boris Vsevolodovich—first secretary, Perm' Obkom

Korolev, Anatoliy Maksimovich—lathe operators brigade leader, Uralmash Production Association, Sverdlovsk

Petrov, Yuriy Vladimirovich—first secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom

Plekhanov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich—first secretary, Kurgan Obkom

Saykin, Valeriy Timofeyevich—chairman, Moscow Gorispolkom

Shakirov, Midkhat Zakirovich—first secretary, Bashkir Obkom

Shcherbina, Boris Yevdokimovich—Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

Telepnev, Petr Maksimovich—first secretary, Arkhangel'sk Obkom

Vedernikov, Gennadiy Georgiyevich—first secretary, Chelyabinsk Obkom

**Nikonov**

Lemayev, Nikolay Vasil'yevich—USSR Minister of Petroleum Refining and the Petrochemical Industry

Prokop'yev, Il'ya Pavlovich—first secretary, Chuvash Obkom

Tabeyev, Fikryat Akhmedzhanovich—Ambassador to Afghanistan

Usmanov, Gumer Ismailovich—first secretary, Tatar Obkom

**Razumovskiy**

Khomyakov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich—first secretary, Saratov Obkom

Klepikov, Mikhail Ivanovich—Kolkhoz brigade leader, Krasnodar Kray

Masaliyev, Absamat Masaliyevich—first secretary, Kirgiz CP

Polozkov, Ivan Kuz'mich—first secretary, Krasnodar Kraykom

Volodin, B. M.—first secretary, Rostov Obkom

Zolotukhin, Grigoriy Sergeyevich—USSR Minister of Grain Products

**Yakovlev****Zimyanin**

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**Non-Politburo Secretaries****Biryukova**

Kazakov, Leonid Davydovich—secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions

Pletneva, Valentina Nikolayevna—member, Presidium, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions

Rybakov, Anatoliy Yakovlevich—chairman, Trade Union of Machine Building and Instrument Making Industry Workers

Shalayev, Stepan Alekseyevich—chairman, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions

**Dobrynin****Medvedev****Confidential**



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## Appendix C

**Central Committee Members With  
No Apparent High-Level Ties or  
Whose Loyalties Are Unclear <sup>12</sup>**

Afanas'yev, Sergey Aleksandrovich—USSR Minister of Heavy and Transport Machine Building  
 Aleksandrov, Anatoliy Petrovich—president, Academy of Sciences  
 Antonov, Aleksey Konstantinovich—Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Permanent Representative to CEMA  
 Arbatov, Georgiy Arkad'yevich—director, Institute of the USA and Canada  
 Arkhipov, Ivan Vasil'yevich—First Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers  
 Auyel'bekov, Yerkin Nurzhanovich—first secretary, Kzyl-Orda Obkom, Kazakh CP  
 Bakhirev, Vyacheslav Vasil'yevich—USSR Minister of Machine Building  
 Bakin, Boris Vladimirovich—USSR Minister of Installation and Special Construction Work  
 Baklanov, Oleg Dmitriyevich—USSR Minister of General Machine Building  
 Balandin, Yuriy Nikolayevich—deputy chairman, Gosagroprom  
 Bal'mont, Boris Vladimirovich—USSR Minister of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry  
 Bashtanyuk, Gennadiy Sergeyeovich—fitters brigade leader, Kama River Truck Plant, Tatar ASSR  
 Batalin, Yuriy Petrovich—Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers  
 Baybakov, Nikolay Konstantinovich—state counselor, USSR Council of Ministers  
 Bazovskiy, Vladimir Nikolayevich—position unknown; former Ambassador to Hungary  
 Belousov, Igor' Sergeyeovich—USSR Minister of the Shipbuilding Industry  
 Belyakov, Oleg Semenovich—chief, Defense Industry Department, CPSU CC  
 Berezin, Anatoliy Ivanovich—first secretary, Mordovian Obkom  
 Bugayev, Boris Pavlovich—USSR Minister of Civil Aviation  
 Chakovskiy, Aleksandr Borisovich—chief editor, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*  
 Cherdintsev, Vasiliy Makarovich—combine operator, kolkhoz, Orenburg Oblast  
 Cherkashina, Valentina Nikolayevna—spinner, cotton combine, Volgograd Oblast  
 Chernomyrdin, Viktor Stepanovich—USSR Minister of the Gas Industry  
 Chernyy, Aleksey Klement'yevich—first secretary, Khabarovsk Kraykom  
 Chervonenko, Stepan Vasil'yevich—chief, Cadres Abroad Department, CPSU CC  
 Chicherov, Vladimir Stepanovich—fitters brigade leader, production association, Leningrad  
 Chirskov, Vladimir Grigor'yevich—USSR Minister of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises  
 Demirchyan, Karen Seropovich—first secretary, Armenian CP  
 Dinkov, Vasiliy Aleksandrovich—USSR Minister of the Petroleum Industry  
 Fedoseyev, Petr Nikolayevich—vice president, Academy of Sciences  
 Finogenov, Pavel Vasil'yevich—USSR Minister of Defense Industry  
 Foteyev, Vladimir Konstantinovich—first secretary, Chechen-Ingush Obkom  
 Frolov, Ivan Timofeyevich—chief editor, *Kommunist*  
 Glushko, Valentin Petrovich—rocket engine designer  
 Golubeva, Mariya Arkhipovna—brigade leader, breeding farm, Altay Kray  
 Golubeva, Valentina Nikolayevna—weaver, worsted combine, Ivanovo Oblast  
 Grekov, Leonid Ivanovich—Ambassador to Bulgaria  
 Grishkyavishyus, Pyatras Pyatrovich—first secretary, Lithuanian CP

<sup>12</sup> Positions listed are as of the time each official was elected or reelected to the Central Committee on 6 March 1986. See appendix E for any changes since then.

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Gromova, Mariya Sergeevna—milking machine operator, state cattle factory, Moscow Oblast

Grossu, Semen Kuz'mich—first secretary, Moldavian CP

Guzhenko, Timofey Borisovich—USSR Minister of the Maritime Fleet

Kachin, Dmitriy Ivanovich—first secretary, Kamchatka Obkom

Kamentsev, Vladimir Mikhaylovich—USSR Minister of the Fish Industry

Katushev, Konstantin Fedorovich—Chairman, State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations

Khristoradnov, Yuriy Nikolayevich—first secretary, Gor'kiy Obkom

Klimenko, Ivan Yefimovich—first secretary, Smolensk Obkom

Klyuyev, Vladimir Grigor'yevich—USSR Minister of Light Industry

Kolesnikov, Vladislav Grigor'yevich—USSR Minister of the Electronics Industry

Kolpakov, Serafim Vasil'yevich—USSR Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy

Konarev, Nikolay Semenovich—USSR Minister of Railways

Kostin, Vitaliy Semenovich—mine workers brigade leader, Kemerovo Oblast

Kulikov, Fedor Mikhaylovich—first secretary, Penza Obkom

Kuptsov, Valentin Aleksandrovich—first secretary, Vologda Obkom

Logunov, Anatoliy Alekseyevich—vice president, Academy of Sciences

Lomakin, Viktor Pavlovich—Ambassador to Czechoslovakia

Luk'yanov, Anatoliy Ivanovich—chief, General Department, CPSU CC

Makhkamov, Kakhar—first secretary, Tadzhik CP

Mal'kov, Nikolay Ivanovich—first secretary, Magadan Obkom

Malykhin, Vasilii Mikhaylovich—electricians brigade leader, Volga Automobile Plant, Kuybyshev Oblast

Marchuk, Guriy Ivanovich—Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Chairman, State Committee for Science and Technology

Markov, Georgiy Mokeyevich—first secretary, USSR Writers' Union

Maslyukov, Yuriy Dmitriyevich—Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Chairman, VPK

Mayorets, Anatoliy Ivanovich—USSR Minister of Power and Electrification

Mesyats, Valentin Karpovich—first secretary, Moscow Obkom

Mishin, Viktor Maksimovich—first secretary, All-Union Komsomol

Morozov, Ivan Pavlovich—first secretary, Komi Obkom

Myasnikov, Aleksey Pavlovich—excavator driver, mining combine, Irkutsk Oblast

Novozhilov, Genrikh Vasil'yevich—general designer, USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry

Panov, Konstantin Nikolayevich—ship assemblers brigade leader, Gor'kiy Oblast

Paton, Boris Yevgen'yevich—president, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

Pavlov, Vladimir Yakovlevich—Chairman, State Committee for Foreign Tourism

Pereverzeva, Nina Vasil'yevna—kolkhoz team leader, Rostov Oblast

Pervyshin, Erlen Kirikovich—USSR Minister of Communications Equipment Industry

Pleshakov, Petr Stepanovich—USSR Minister of the Radio Industry

Polyakov, Viktor Nikolayevich—USSR Minister of the Automotive Industry

Ponomarev, Boris Nikolayevich—retired; former candidate member, Politburo, and secretary, CPSU CC

Prokop'yev, Yuriy Nikolayevich—first secretary, Yakutsk Obkom

Ptitsyn, Vladimir Nikolayevich—first secretary, Murmansk Obkom

Pugin, Nikolay Andreyevich—general director, automobile plant, Gor'kiy Oblast

Rakhmanin, Oleg Borisovich—first deputy chief, Bloc Relations Department, CPSU CC

Rekunkov, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich—USSR Procurator General

Savinkin, Nikolay Ivanovich—chief, Administrative Organs Department, CPSU CC

Shchadov, Mikhail Ivanovich—USSR Minister of the Coal Industry

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Shkabardnya, Mikhail Sergeyeovich—USSR Minister of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems

Silayev, Ivan Stepanovich—Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Chairman, Bureau for Machine Building

Sizenko, Yevgeniy Ivanovich—First Deputy Chairman, Gosagroprom

Slavskiy, Yefim Pavlovich—USSR Minister of Medium Machine Building

Smirnyukov, Mikhail Sergeyeovich—administrator of affairs, USSR Council of Ministers

Smyslov, V. I.—First Deputy Chairman, Gosplan

Systsov, Apollon Sergeyeovich—USSR Minister of the Aviation Industry

Terebilov, Vladimir Ivanovich—USSR Minister of Justice; Chairman, USSR Supreme Court

Tereshkova, Valentina Vladimirovna—chairperson, Committee of Soviet Women

Tikhomirov, Vladimir Porfir'yevich—lathe operator, electromechanical factory, Moscow Oblast

Tikhonov, Nikolay Aleksandrovich—retired; former member, Politburo, CPSU CC, and Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

Tolkunov, Lev Nikolayevich—Chairman, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet

Tret'yakov, Petr Ivanovich—first secretary, Sakhalinsk Obkom

Udalaya, Raisa Silant'yevna—riveter, aircraft plant, Novosibirsk Oblast

Usmankhodzhayev, Inamzhon Buzrukovich—first secretary, Uzbek CP

Utkin, Vladimir Fedorovich—academician, Mathematics, Mechanics, and Cybernetics Department, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

Vayno, Karl Genrikhovich—first secretary, Estonian CP

Vorontsov, Yuliy Mikhaylovich—Ambassador to France

Voss, Avgust Eduardovich—Chairman, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet

Voystrochenko, Anatoliy Fomich—first secretary, Bryansk Obkom

Yagodin, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich—USSR Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education

Yershova, Neli Mikhaylovna—toolsetter, Machine Building Plant *imeni* F. Ye. Dzerzhinskiy Production Association, Perm' Oblast

Zagladin, Vadim Valentinovich—first deputy chief, International Department, CPSU CC

Zatvornitskiy, Vladimir Andreyevich—stone masons brigade leader, Moscow Oblast

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## Appendix D

Senior Military Officials  
Holding Full Membership in  
the CPSU Central Committee <sup>13</sup>

<p>Akhromeyev, Sergey Fedorovich—Chief of the General Staff; USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense</p> <p>Altunin, Aleksandr Terent'yevich—chief of civil defense; USSR deputy minister of defense</p> <p>Arkhipov, Vladimir Mikhaylovich—commander, Moscow Military District</p> <p>Chernavin, Vladimir Nikolayevich—Commander in Chief, Navy; USSR deputy minister of defense</p> <p>Gerasimov, Ivan Aleksandrovich—commander in chief, Southwestern Theater</p> <p>Gorshkov, Sergey Georgiyevich—member, Main Inspectorate, USSR Ministry of Defense</p> <p>Govorov, Vladimir Leonidovich—chief inspector; USSR deputy minister of defense</p> <p>Gribov, Anatoliy Ivanovich—First Deputy Chief, General Staff; chief of staff, Warsaw Pact Forces</p> <p>Ivanovskiy, Yevgeniy Filippovich—Commander in Chief, Ground Forces; USSR deputy minister of defense</p> <p>Koldunov, Aleksandr Ivanovich—Commander in Chief, Air Defense Forces; USSR deputy minister of defense</p> <p>Kulikov, Viktor Georgiyevich—commander in chief, Warsaw Pact Forces; USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense</p> <p>Kurkotkin, Semen Konstantinovich—chief of rear services; USSR deputy minister of defense</p> <p>Lizichev, Aleksey Dmitriyevich—chief, Main Political Directorate of the Army and Navy, USSR Ministry of Defense</p> <p>Lushev, Petr Georgiyevich—commander in chief, Group of Soviet Forces, Germany</p> <p>Maksimov, Yuriy Pavlovich—Commander in Chief, Strategic Rocket Forces; USSR deputy minister of defense</p> <p>Ogarkov, Nikolay Vasil'yevich—commander in chief, Western Theater</p>	<p>Petrov, Vasiliy Ivanovich—USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense</p> <p>Shabanov, Vitaliy Mikhaylovich—USSR deputy minister of defense</p> <p>Sokolov, Sergey Leonidovich—Minister of Defense</p> <p>Tolubko, Vladimir Fedorovich—member, Main Inspectorate, USSR Ministry of Defense</p> <p>Tret'yak, Ivan Moiseyevich—commander in chief, Far Eastern Theater</p> <p>Yefimov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich—USSR deputy minister of defense; First Deputy Commander in Chief, Air Forces</p> <p>Zaytsev, Mikhail Mitrofanovich—commander in chief, Southern Theater</p>
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<sup>13</sup> Positions listed are as of the time each official was elected or reelected to the Central Committee on 6 March 1986. See appendix E for any changes since then.

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**Appendix E****Full Members of the CPSU Central Committee Whose Positions Have Changed Since the 27th Party Congress****Altunin, Aleksandr Terent'yevich**

Appointed member, Main Inspectorate, USSR Ministry of Defense, July. Formerly chief of civil defense and USSR deputy minister of defense.

**Bal'mont, Boris Vladimirovich**

Retired 14 July. Formerly Minister of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry.

**Bashilov, Sergey Vasil'yevich**

Appointed USSR Minister of Construction in the Urals and West Siberian regions, 2 September. Formerly Minister of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises.

**Batalin, Yuriy Petrovich**

Appointed Chairman, State Construction Committee, when it was established on 19 August. Retains position of Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers.

**Bazovskiy, Vladimir Nikolayevich**

Appointed chief, Main Administration for State Customs Control, 28 March. Previous position unknown.

**Bobkov, Filipp Denisovich**

Appointed First Deputy Chairman, Committee for State Security (KGB), 15 May. Formerly deputy chairman, KGB.

**Demichev, Petr Nilovich**

Appointed First Deputy Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet, 18 June. Formerly Minister of Culture.

**Govorov, Vladimir Leonidovich**

Appointed chief of civil defense in July. Formerly chief inspector, USSR Ministry of Defense. Retains position of USSR deputy minister of defense.

**Gusev, Vladimir Kuz'mich**

Appointed Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers, 19 June. Formerly First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers.

**Kachin, Dmitriy Ivanovich**

Position unknown. Formerly first secretary, Kamchatka Oblast Party Committee (released 15 July).

**Kamentsev, Vladimir Mikhaylovich**

Appointed Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers, 1 September. Formerly USSR Minister of the Fish Industry.

**Korniyenko, Georgiy Markovich**

Appointed first deputy chief, International Department, CPSU Central Committee, 30 April. Formerly First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

**Kuznetsov, Vasiliy Vasil'yevich**

Retired 18 June. Formerly First Deputy Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet.

**Lushev, Petr Georgiyevich**

Appointed First Deputy Minister of Defense, 21 July. Formerly commander in chief, Group of Soviet Forces, Germany.

**Mal'kov, Nikolay Ivanovich**

Appointed first secretary, Chita Oblast Party Committee, 2 September. Formerly first secretary, Magadan Oblast Party Committee.

**Mal'tsev, Viktor Fedorovich**

Appointed Ambassador to Yugoslavia, 8 June. Formerly First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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**Markov, Georgiy Mokeyevich**

Appointed chairman of the Writers' Union, 28 June.  
Formerly first secretary of the union.

**Mishin, Viktor Maksimovich**

Appointed secretary, All-Union Central Council of  
Trade Unions, 4 July. Formerly first secretary, All-  
Union Komsomol.

**Petrov, Vasilii Ivanovich**

Position unknown. Formerly USSR First Deputy  
Minister of Defense (released 21 July).

**Ryabov, Yakov Petrovich**

Appointed Ambassador to France, 20 June. Formerly  
Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers.

**Tabeyev, Fikryat Akhmedzhanovich**

Position unknown. Formerly Ambassador to Afghani-  
stan (released 7 July).

**Tret'yak, Ivan Moiseyevich**

Appointed chief inspector, USSR Ministry of De-  
fense, July 1986. Formerly commander in chief, Far  
Eastern Theater.

**Vedernikov, Gennadiy Georgiyevich**

Appointed Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Min-  
isters, 19 June. Formerly first secretary, Chelyabinsk  
Oblast Party Committee.

**Vorontsov, Yuliy Mikhaylovich**

Appointed First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
21 May. Formerly Ambassador to France.

**Yakovlev, Aleksandr Nikolayevich**

Released as chief, Propaganda Department, CPSU  
CC, 10 August.

**Zakharov, Vasilii Georgiyevich**

Appointed USSR Minister of Culture, 16 August.  
Formerly second secretary, Moscow City Party  
Committee.



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## Appendix F

Full Central Committee Members  
and the Senior Leaders With Whom  
Each Could Have Had Contact <sup>14</sup>**Afanas'yev, Sergey Aleksandrovich**

USSR Minister of Heavy and Transport Machine Building

Member, Leningrad delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Andropov*, *V. V. Kuznetsov*, *Ponomarev*, *Romanov*, and *Sokolov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk, 1966 and 1970, with *Kirilenko* each time.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk, 1974, with *Kirilenko*, *Ryabov*, and *Ryzhkov*.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kirilenko*. *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates representing Moscow City.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk, 1979, with *Kirilenko*, *Ryabov*, and *Yel'tsin*.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk, 1984, with *Ryabov* and *Yel'tsin*.

USSR Minister of General Machine Building during 1965-83, when *Ustinov* and *Ryabov* were CPSU secretaries for defense industry (1965-76 and 1976-79, respectively) and *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84).

**Afanas'yev, Viktor Grigor'yevich** [*Solomentsev*]Chief editor, *Pravda*

Became head of a chair of the Chelyabinsk Pedagogical Institute sometime during 1953-60, when *Solomentsev* was Chelyabinsk Obkom second secretary (1954-57) and sovnarkhoz chairman (1957-59).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Tula, 1971, with *Andropov*.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member (since 1979) of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), when *Chebrikov* was a member (1979-84), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986).

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

**Akhromeyev, Sergey Fedorovich** [*Sokolov*]

Chief of the General Staff; USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Chelyabinsk, 1980, with *Solomentsev*.

<sup>14</sup> The names in brackets are those of the current senior leaders with whom each member could have a politically significant acquaintanceship.

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Member of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, while *Gorbachev* (1984-85) and *Ligachev* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission.

**Aksenov, Aleksandr Nikiforovich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
Chairman, State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting

Secretary, then first secretary, Belorussian Komsomol, during 1953-56; then secretary of the All-Union Komsomol during 1956-59, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

Deputy chairman of Belorussian KGB (1959-60) when *Shelepin* was chairman, USSR KGB (1958-61), and when *Mazurov* was first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia (1956-64).

First secretary of Vitebsk Obkom (1965-71), second secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia (1971-78), and chairman of Belorussian Council of Ministers (1978-July 1983) when *Masherov* was first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia (1965-80) and when *Slyun'kov* was first secretary of the Minsk Gorkom (1972-74) and later first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia (January 1983-present).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Belorussian SSR, 1966, with *Masherov* and *Slyun'kov*. *Gromyko* and *Mazurov* were deputies from Belorussian SSR to Council of the Union.

Chairman, Youth Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-74, when *Ligachev* was chairman, Youth Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Belorussian SSR, 1970, with *Masherov*. *Gromyko* and *Mazurov* were deputies from Belorussian SSR to Council of the Union.

Member, Credentials Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, with *Chernenko*.

Member, Minsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Masherov*.

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Nikonov*, *Ponomarev*, *Vorotnikov*, and *Zimyanin*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Aleksandrov, Anatoliy Petrovich**  
President, USSR Academy of Sciences

Member, Moscow City delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin*. *Demichev* and *Grishin* were delegates representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

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Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow City, 1979, with *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov*. *Andropov* and *Demichev* were elected from Moscow Oblast.

Member, Science and Technology Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1979, with *Ligachev* (1979-84) and *Medvedev* (1984-present).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow City, 1984, with *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov*. *Demichev* was elected from Moscow Oblast.

#### **Aliyev, Geydar**

Member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; First Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

Worked in Azerbaijan KGB during 1950-69 (chairman during 1967-69), when *Shelepin's* protégé, Vladimir Semichastnyy, was second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party (1959-61) and when *Shelepin* (1958-61), Semichastnyy (1961-67), and *Andropov* (1967-82) were chairmen of the USSR KGB.

Member, Youth Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-74, when *Ligachev* was chairman of that commission.

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Dolgikh* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

First secretary, Azerbaijan Communist Party during 1969-82, when *Shevardnadze* was first secretary of the neighboring Georgian Communist Party (1972-85).

**Altunin, Aleksandr Terent'yevich** [*Sokolov*]  
Deputy minister of defense; chief of civil defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Commanded the North Caucasus Military District—headquartered in Rostov—during 1968-70, when *Gorbachev* was kraykom second secretary in neighboring Stavropol' (1968-70).

**Anishchev, Vladimir Petrovich** [*Ligachev*]  
Second secretary, Uzbek Communist Party

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus, during 1984-85, when *Ligachev* was chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Voronezh, 1980, with *Zimyanin*.

Member, Voronezh delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Vorotnikov*.

**Antonov, Aleksey Konstantinovich**  
Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers;  
USSR Permanent Representative to CEMA

Member, Leningrad delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Andropov*, *V. V. Kuznetsov*, *Ponomarev*, *Romanov*, and *Sokolov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Rostov, 1966, 1970, 1974, 1979, and 1984, with *Solomentsev* each time.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Suslov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

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Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Arbatov, Georgiy Arkad'yevich**

Director, Institute of the USA and Canada

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1974, with *Zimyanin*. *Aliyev* was elected to Council of the Union.

Member (since 1974) of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), when *Chebrikov* was a member (1979-84), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986).

Member, Azerbaijan SSR delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, and 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Aliyev* both times.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1984. *Aliyev* and *Medvedev* were elected to Council of the Union.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1984, with *Yakovlev*.

**Aristov, Boris Ivanovich [Zaykov]**

USSR Minister of Foreign Trade

Member, Leningrad delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Andropov, V. V. Kuznetsov, Ponomarev, Romanov, and Sokolov*.

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko, Gorbachev, and Vorotnikov*.

Rose through the Leningrad party organization at same time as *Romanov*. First secretary of the Leningrad Gorkom (1971-78) when *Romanov* was obkom first secretary (1970-83) and *Solov'yev* was an obkom secretary and later second secretary (1974-78).

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, when *Suslov* was chairman of the commission.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Leningrad City, 1971, with *Kirilenko*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Leningrad City, 1974, with *Romanov* and *Suslov*. *Shelepin* represented Leningrad's rural electoral district in Council of Nationalities.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov, Sokolov, Solov'yev, and Suslov*.

Member, secretariat of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chernenko*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko, Romanov, Sokolov, Solov'yev, and Zaykov*.

**Arkhipov, Ivan Vasil'yevich**

First Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

As First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers since 1980, Arkhipov worked under *Tikhonov* when the latter was Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (1980-85).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk, 1974. *Kirilenko, Ryabov, and Ryzhkov* were elected to Council of the Union.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev, Gorbachev, Ryabov, Shevardnadze, Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk, 1979. *Kirilenko, Ryabov, and Yel'tsin* were elected to Council of the Union.

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**Arkipov, Vladimir Mikhaylovich** [*Sokolov*]  
Commander, Moscow Military District

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Various positions in the Central Asian Military District (MD) during 1979-85, including MD commander (1983-85), when *Kunayev* was first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1964-present).

**Auyel'bekov, Yerkin Nurzhanovich**  
First secretary, Kzyl-Orda Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of Kazakh SSR

Rose through the Kazakh party and government at same time as *Kunayev*.

Held leading positions in the North Kazakh Oblast party and government (1961-65), when *Solomentsev* was first secretary, Karaganda Obkom (1959-62) and then second secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1962-64).

Member, Agroindustrial Complex Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, while *Nikonov* has been deputy chairman of the commission.

**Bagirov, Kyamran Mamed ogly** [*Aliyev*]  
First secretary, Azerbaijan Communist Party

Rose through the Azerbaijan party and government (starting in 1968) when *Aliyev* was first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party (1969-82).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1974, with *Zimyanin*. *Aliyev* was elected to Council of the Union.

Member, Azerbaijan SSR delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1984, with *Aliyev* and *Medvedev*.

**Bakatin, Vadim Viktorovich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Kirov Oblast Party Committee

Secretary, Kemerovo Obkom from at least 1977 until the early 1980s, when *Ligachev* was first secretary of neighboring Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus, sometime between 1983 and March 1985, when *Ligachev* was chief, Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Bakhirev, Vyacheslav Vasil'yevich**  
USSR Minister of Machine Building

First Deputy Minister of Defense Industry (1965-68) and USSR Minister of Machine Building (1968-present) when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

**Bakin, Boris Vladimirovich**  
USSR Minister of Installation and Special Construction Work

**Baklanov, Oleg Dmitriyevich**  
USSR Minister of General Machine Building

Deputy minister, then First Deputy Minister of General Machine Building (1976-83) and USSR Minister of General Machine Building (since 1983) when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

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**Balandin, Anatoliy Nikiforovich** [*Vorotnikov*]  
First secretary, Orenburg Oblast Party Committee

Chief agronomist, then director of a machine tractor station, presumably in Orenburg Oblast, during 1952-57, when *Polyanskiy* was first secretary of Orenburg Obkom (1955-57).

Instructor, then a raykom first secretary in Orenburg Obkom during 1957-62, when *Voronov* was first secretary of Orenburg Obkom (1957-61).

Member, Credentials Commission, Council of the Union, during 1966-74, with *Chernenko* (1966-74) and *Grechko* (1966-70).

Secretary, Orenburg Obkom (until 1966), and chairman, Orenburg Oblispolkom (1966-80), when *Nikonov* was second secretary of neighboring Tatar Obkom (1961-67) and *Vorotnikov* was secretary, then second secretary of neighboring Kuybyshev Obkom (1961-67) and chairman of Kuybyshev Oblispolkom (1967-71).

Secretary, Credentials Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, when *Chernenko* was a member of the commission.

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Balandin, Yuriy Nikolayevich**  
Deputy Chairman, State Agroindustrial Committee (Gosagroprom)

Member, Consumer Goods Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, with *Razumovskiy*.

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Bal'mont, Boris Vladimirovich**  
USSR Minister of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry

Rose through the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building to deputy minister (1973-76) and First Deputy Minister (1976-81) when *Ustinov* and *Ryabov* were CPSU secretaries for defense industry (1965-76 and 1976-79, respectively) and when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84).

**Bartoshevich, Gennadiy Georgiyevich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
Second Secretary, Communist Party of Belorussia

Rose through the Communist Party of Belorussia (starting in the 1960s) when *Masherov* was first secretary (1965-80).

Appointed second secretary of Communist Party of Belorussia in August 1983, after *Slyun'kov* was made first secretary the preceding January.

**Bashilov, Sergey Vasil'yevich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
USSR Minister of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises

Chief of a Gosplan department (1976-79) when *Slyun'kov* was deputy chairman of Gosplan (1974-83).

**Bashtanyuk, Gennadiy Sergeyevich**  
Fitters brigade leader, Kama River Truck Plant, Tatar ASSR

**Batalin, Yuriy Petrovich**  
Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

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**Baybakov, Nikolay Konstantinovich**

State counselor, USSR Council of Ministers

Chairman, North Caucasus sovnarkhoz, as of 1963, when *Gorbachev* was entering party work in Stavropol' Kray.

Chairman of Gosplan (1965-85) when *Ryzhkov* was First Deputy Chairman (1979-82) and *Slyun'kov* was deputy chairman (1974-83).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin*. *Demichev* and *Grishin* were delegates representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, editorial commission, 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Romanov* and *Zimyanin*.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1966, 1970, and 1974, with *Zimyanin* each time. *Aliyev* was a delegate from Azerbaijan SSR to Council of the Union in 1970 and 1974.

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev* and *Dolgikh* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Stavropol' delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, and 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gorbachev* each time.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1984. *Aliyev* and *Medvedev* were elected to Council of the Union.

**Bazovskiy, Vladimir Nikolayevich**

Position unknown. Former Ambassador to Hungary

Member, Georgian delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Shevardnadze*.

**Belousov, Igor' Sergeyeovich**

USSR Minister of the Shipbuilding Industry

USSR deputy minister (1969-76), First Deputy Minister (1976-84), and Minister (1984-present) of the Shipbuilding Industry when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and then USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

**Belyakov, Oleg Semenovich**

Chief, Defense Industry Department, CPSU Central Committee

Deputy chief, Defense Industry Department, during 1982-85, when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84), and when *Romanov* (1983-85) and *Zaykov* (1985-present) served successively as CPSU secretary for defense industry.

**Berezin, Anatoliy Ivanovich**

First secretary, Mordovian Oblast Party Committee

Second secretary, then first secretary of a city komsomol committee (presumably in the Mordovian ASSR) during 1953-57, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

Member, secretariat of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chernenko*.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko* and *Solov'yev*.

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**Biryukova, Aleksandra Pavlovna**  
Secretary, CPSU Central Committee

Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions during 1968-86, when *Shelepin* was its chairman (1967-75).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow City, 1971, with *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgorny*. *Kapitonov* was elected from Moscow Oblast.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow City, 1975, with *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgorny*. *Gromyko* was elected from Moscow Oblast.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow City, 1980, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, and *Kosygin*. *Gromyko* was elected from Moscow Oblast.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Bobkov, Filipp Denisovich** [*Chebrikov*]  
Deputy chairman, KGB

Various positions in KGB (since at least 1964) under *Andropov* (KGB chairman during 1967-82) and *Chebrikov* (chairman since 1982).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

**Bogomyakov, Gennadiy Pavlovich** [*Yel'tsin*]  
First secretary, Tyumen' Oblast Party Committee

First secretary, Tyumen' Obkom (1973-present) when *Yel'tsin* was first secretary of neighboring Sverdlovsk Obkom (1976-85).

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov* and *Ligachev*.

Member, Tyumen' Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Dolgikh*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Boldyrev, Ivan Sergeyeovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
First secretary, Stavropol' Kray Party Committee

Member, Stavropol' Kray delegation to 25th and 26th Party Congresses, 1976 and 1981, respectively, with *Gorbachev* each time.

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus sometime before November 1985, when *Ligachev* was chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Borisenkov, Vasilii Mikhaylovich** [*Demichev*]  
Second secretary, Moscow Oblast Party Committee

Komsomol work during 1946-59, presumably in Moscow Oblast, when *Shelepin* was a secretary (1943-49), second secretary (1949-52), and first secretary (1952-58) of the All-Union Komsomol; when *Kapitonov* was first secretary, Moscow Obkom (1954-59); when *Demichev* was a secretary of Moscow Obkom (from sometime in the early or mid-1950s until 1958); and when *Grishin* was second secretary of Moscow Obkom (1952-56).

Secretary (1972-74) and second secretary (1974-present) of Moscow Obkom while *Grishin* was first secretary, Moscow Gorkom (1967-85).

Elected to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow Oblast, 1975, with *Gromyko*. *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgorny* were elected from Moscow City.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kirilenko*. *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates representing Moscow City.

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Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast, 1979, with *Andropov* and *Demichev*. *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov* were elected from Moscow City.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kirilenko*. *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov* represented Moscow City.

**Borodin, Leonid Aleksandrovich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Astrakhan' Oblast Party Committee

Inspector, Bureau for the RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee, during 1962-63, when *Ligachev* was a deputy department head of the bureau (1961-65) and when *Kirilenko* was a member (1961-62) and then first deputy chairman (1962-66) of it.

Member, Agriculture Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-70, with *Nikonov*.

Second secretary, Bashkir Obkom, during 1963-67, when *Ryabov* was first secretary of a raykom in neighboring Sverdlovsk Oblast and later first secretary of Sverdlovsk Gorkom (1960-66) and second secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom (1966-70).

Member, Protection of Nature Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-74, with *Gorbachev*.

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Boyko, Viktor Grigor'yevich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Komsomol work, presumably in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, during 1955-60, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of All-Union Komsomol (1952-58), and when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1955-57).

Party and government work in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast since 1961, when *Shcherbitskiy* was serving a second tour as first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1963-65) and was first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present), and when *Chebrikov* was second secretary, then first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Gorkom (1958-63), secretary of Dnepropetrovsk (industrial) Obkom (1963-65), and second secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1965-67).

Member, Dnepropetrovsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chebrikov* and *Tikhonov*.

Member, Dnepropetrovsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chebrikov*.

**Brovnikov, Vladimir Ignat'yevich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
Ambassador to Poland

Performed party and journalistic work in Vitebsk Oblast (1955-72) and was second secretary, Communist Party of Belorussia (1978-83), when *Masherov* was first secretary (1965-80).

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

Chairman, Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, during 1983-86, when *Slyun'kov* was first secretary, Communist Party of Belorussia (1983-present).

**Bugayev, Boris Pavlovich**  
USSR Minister of Civil Aviation

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1970 and 1974, with *Zimyanin* each time. *Aliyev* was elected both times to Council of the Union.

Member, Azerbaijan SSR delegation to 25th and 26th Party Congresses, in 1976 and 1981, respectively, with *Aliyev* each time.

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Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1984. *Aliyev* and *Medvedev* were elected to Council of the Union.

**Chakovskiy, Aleksandr Borisovich**

Chief editor, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov, Sokolov, Solov'yev*, and *Suslov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko, Romanov, Sokolov, Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

Member (since 1966) of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), when *Chebrikov* was a member (1979-84), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986).

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1966, with *Zimyanin* (1970-79) and *Yakovlev* (since 1984).

**Chazov, Yevgeniy Ivanovich [Gorbachev]**

Director, All-Union Scientific Cardiology Center; USSR deputy minister of health

Member, Stavropol' delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gorbachev*.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kirilenko, Andropov, Brezhnev, Grishin, Medvedev, Suslov*, and *Tikhonov* represented Moscow City.

**Chebrikov, Viktor Mikhaylovich**

Member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; Chairman, Committee for State Security (KGB)

First secretary, Leninskiy Raykom, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, sometime during 1951-55, when *Kirilenko* was Dnepropetrovsk Obkom first secretary (1950-55) and when *Shcherbitskiy* was second (1954-55) and then first secretary (1955-57) of Dnepropetrovsk Obkom.

Second secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Gorkom (1958-59) when *Tikhonov* was chairman, Dnepropetrovsk sovnarkhoz (1957-60).

Secretary, Dnepropetrovsk (industrial) Obkom (1963-64), secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1964-65), and second secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1965-67), when *Shcherbitskiy* was serving a second tour as first secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1963-65).

Deputy chairman (1967-82), then First Deputy Chairman (April-December 1982), of the KGB when *Andropov* was chairman (1967-82).

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1979-84, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission and *Zimyanin* deputy chairman.

**Cherdintsev, Vasiliy Makarovich**

Combine operator, Rassvet Kolkhoz, Orenburg Oblast

**Cherkashina, Valentina Nikolayevna**

Spinner, Kamyshinskiy Cotton Combine, Volgograd Oblast

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Volgograd in 1980 with *Pel'she* and *Vorotnikov*.

Confidential

**Chernavin, Vladimir Nikolayevich** [*Sokolov*]  
USSR deputy minister of defense; Commander in Chief, Navy

Worked under *Ustinov* when Ustinov was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Leningrad City, 1984, with *Solov'yev* and *Zaykov*.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1984, with *Yakovlev*.

**Chernomyrdin, Viktor Stepanovich**  
USSR Minister of the Gas Industry

Worked in the Orenburg Gas Processing Plant during the 1950s and 1960s, when *Polyanskiy* (1955-57) and *Voronov* (1957-61) served successively as first secretary of Orenburg Obkom.

**Chernyayev, Anatoliy Sergeyeovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
Aide to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev

Deputy chief, International Department, CPSU Central Committee (1970-86), when *Ponomarev* was chief (1955-86).

**Chernyy, Aleksey Klement'yevich**  
First secretary, Khabarovsk Kray Party Committee

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, during 1970-74, with *Zimyanin*.

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko*, *Gorbachev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Chervonenko, Stepan Vasil'yevich**  
Chief, Cadres Abroad Department, CPSU Central Committee

Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee apparatchik (1949-56) and then secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1956-59), when *Podgornyy* was a secretary (1953-57) and then first secretary (1957-63) of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

In diplomatic work, including assignments as Ambassador to Korea, Czechoslovakia, and France (1959-82), when *Gromyko* was USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs (1957-85).

Member of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet (since 1984), when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the Commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986).

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1984, with *Yakovlev*.

**Chicherov, Vladimir Stepanovich**  
Leader, fitters brigade, Leningrad Metals Factory Production Association

Elected deputy to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Leningrad City, 1975, with *Kirilenko*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

Elected deputy to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Leningrad City, 1980, with *Tikhonov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Confidential

**Confidential****Chirskov, Vladimir Grigor'yevich**

USSR Minister of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises

**Demichev, Petr Nilovich**

Candidate member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; USSR Minister of Culture

Official, Moscow Gorkom, then secretary of Moscow Obkom (1950-58), when *Grishin* was second secretary, Moscow Obkom (1952-56), and when *Kapitonov* was a secretary and then second secretary of Moscow Obkom (1951-52), first secretary of Moscow Gorkom (1952-54), and first secretary of Moscow Obkom (1954-59).

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Grishin*, *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates representing Moscow City.

Member, editorial commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Zimyanin*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast, 1974, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grechko*, *Grishin*, and *Podgornyy* were elected from Moscow City.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast, 1979, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov* were elected from Moscow City.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast, 1984. *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov* were elected from Moscow City.

**Demidenko, Vasily Petrovich** [*Kunayev*]

First secretary, Kustanay Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of Kazakhstan

Director of a series of grain sovkhozes in Kazakh SSR during 1955-58, when *Brezhnev* was second secretary, then first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1954-56).

Secretary, Tselinnyy Kraykom, then first secretary, Tselinograd Obkom during 1961-65, when *Solomentsev* was second secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1962-64).

Member, Agriculture Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-74, with *Nikonov* (1966-70).

First secretary of North Kazakh Obkom (1965-81) and Kustanay Obkom (1981-present) when *Kunayev* was first secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1964-present).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Kazakh SSR, in 1966. *Kunayev* was elected to Council of the Union.

Member, Consumer Goods Commission (and its successor organization), Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, with *Razumovskiy* (1974-79).

**Demirchyan, Karen Seropovich**

First secretary, Communist Party of Armenia

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

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**Dinkov, Vasilii Aleksandrovich**  
USSR Minister of the Petroleum Industry

Chief, Krasnodar administration of main gas pipelines, then chief, "Kuban'gazprom" association (1962-66), when *Gorbachev* was chief of the party organs department, Stavropol' Kraykom (1963-66), and *Solomentsev* was first secretary, Rostov Obkom (1964-66).

**Dobrik, Viktor Fedorovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, L'vov Oblast Party Committee,  
Communist Party of the Ukraine

Performed managerial and party work at Dneprodzerzhinsk Hydroelectric Station during 1957-61, when *Tikhonov* was chairman, Dnepropetrovsk Sovnarkhoz (1957-60).

Rose through the Dneprodzerzhinsk (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast) party organization during 1961-69, when *Chebrikov* was rising through the Dnepropetrovsk party organization (1958-67) and when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1963-65).

Member, Dnepropetrovsk delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Chebrikov*.

Member, Protection of Nature Commission (and its successor organizations), Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-84, with *Gorbachev* (1970-74).

First secretary, Ivano-Frankovsk Obkom (1969-73) and L'vov Obkom (1973-present), when *Shcherbitskiy* was Chairman, Ukrainian Council of Ministers (1965-72) and first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-86).

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, while *Gorbachev* (1984-85) and *Ligachev* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission.

**Dobrynin, Anatoliy Fedorovich**  
Secretary, CPSU Central Committee; chief, International Department, CPSU Central Committee

Graduated in 1942 from Moscow Aviation Institute. *Ligachev* graduated from the institute in 1943.

UN Deputy Secretary General (1957-59), chief of the American Countries Department, USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1959-61), and Ambassador to the United States (1961-86), when *Gromyko* was USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs (1957-85).

Member, Primorskiy Kray delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1986, while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman of the commission (since 1974), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Ligachev* has been chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union (since 1985).

**Dolgikh, Vladimir Ivanovich**  
Candidate member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee

First secretary, Krasnoyarsk Kraykom, during 1969-72, when *Ligachev* was first secretary of neighboring Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnoyarsk, 1979. *Ryzhkov* was elected to Council of Nationalities.

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**Fedirko, Pavel Stefanovich** [*Dolgikh*]  
First secretary, Krasnoyarsk Kraykom

Chief engineer, then director of a factory (1958-60) in Noril'sk, then first deputy chairman of the Noril'sk Gorispolkom (1960-62), when *Dolgikh* was chief engineer, Noril'sk Mining and Metallurgical Works (1958-62).

Official, Krasnoyarsk Kray party organization since 1960; kraykom second secretary during 1971-72, when *Dolgikh* was first secretary (1969-72). Succeeded *Dolgikh* and served as kraykom first secretary (1972-present), when *Ligachev* was first secretary of neighboring Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnoyarsk, 1974, with *Dolgikh*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev, Gorbachev, Ryabov, Shevardnadze, Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnoyarsk, 1979, with *Dolgikh. Ryzhkov* was elected to Council of Nationalities.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnoyarsk, 1984, with *Dolgikh*.

**Fedoseyev, Petr Nikolayevich**  
Vice president, USSR Academy of Sciences

Member, Moscow City delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Brezhnev, Gromyko, Kirilenko, Kosygin, Mazurov, Polyanskiy, Shelepin, Suslov, Voronov*, and *Zimyanin. Demichev* and *Grishin* were elected from Moscow Oblast.

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1962-70, with *Ponomarev* (1966-86) and *Zimyanin* (since 1966).

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, during 1966-79, with *Zimyanin* (1970-79).

Member, secretariat of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chernenko*.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko* and *Solov'yev*.

**Filatov, Aleksandr Pavlovich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Novosibirsk Oblast Party Committee

Official, Novosibirsk party organization since 1948, when *Ligachev* was also working there (1955-61). Later, *Filatov* was second secretary (1973-78) and first secretary (1978-present) of Novosibirsk Obkom, when *Ligachev* was first secretary of neighboring Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Finogenov, Pavel Vasil'yevich**  
USSR Minister of the Defense Industry

Has worked in various areas of the defense industry since 1953, when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and then USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84), and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

**Foteyev, Vladimir Konstantinovich**  
First secretary, Chechen-Ingush Oblast Party Committee

**Frolov, Ivan Timofeyevich**  
Chief editor, *Kommunist*

**Gagarov, Dmitriy Nikolayevich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Primorskiy Kray Party Committee

Member, Primorskiy Kray delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Dobrynin* and *Kapitonov*.

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Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus during 1983-84, when *Ligachev* was chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Gerasimov, Anatoliy Nikolayevich** [*Zaykov*]  
First secretary, Leningrad City Party Committee

Chief of Heavy Industry and Machine Building Department of Leningrad Obkom, during 1975-81, when *Romanov* was Leningrad Obkom first secretary (1970-83) and *Solov'yev* was a Leningrad Obkom secretary (1974-78) and then first secretary of Leningrad Gorkom (1978-84).

Chairman of Leningrad Oblast People's Control Committee, 1981-84, and a Leningrad Obkom secretary since 1984, when *Romanov* was Leningrad Obkom first secretary (1970-83), when *Zaykov* filled that position (1983-85), and when *Solov'yev* was first secretary, Leningrad Gorkom (1978-84), and then first secretary, Leningrad Obkom (1985-present).

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

**Gerasimov, Ivan Aleksandrovich** [*Sokolov*]  
Commander in chief, Southwestern Theater, USSR Ministry of Defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Commander of Kiev Military District (1975-84) and commander of the Southwestern Theater (1984-present), while *Shcherbitskiy* has been first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

**Glushko, Valentin Petrovich**  
Rocket engine designer

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kirilenko*, *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates representing Moscow City.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kirilenko*, *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov* were delegates representing Moscow City.

**Golubeva, Mariya Arkhipovna**  
Brigade leader, state breeding farm, Altay Kray

**Golubeva, Valentina Nikolayevna**  
Weaver, worsted combine, Ivanovo Oblast

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Goncharenko, Boris Trofimovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, Voroshilovgrad Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

First secretary of Voroshilovgrad Obkom (1973-present), while *Shcherbitskiy* has been first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, when *Suslov* (until 1982), *Chernenko* (1982-84), *Gorbachev* (1984-85), and *Ligachev* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission and when *Zaykov* was a member (1979-84).

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Nikonov*, *Ponomarev*, *Vorotnikov*, and *Zimyanin*.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko* and *Solov'yev*.

**Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeyeovich**  
General Secretary, CPSU Central Committee

First secretary, Stavropol' City Komsomol Committee during 1956-58, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58); when *Shevardnadze* was second secretary (1956-57), then first secretary (1957-61), of the republic Komsomol organization in neighboring Georgian SSR; and when *Polyanskiy* was first secretary of neighboring Krasnodar Kraykom (1957-58).

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Head, party organs department, Stavropol' Kraykom, during 1963-66, when *Kulakov* was first secretary, Stavropol' Kraykom (1960-64), and when *Solomentsev* was first secretary of neighboring Rostov Obkom (1964-66).

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko* and *Vorotnikov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Stavropol' in 1970 and 1974, each time with *Kulakov*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Shevardnadze* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

CPSU secretary responsible for personnel from June 1983 until March 1985, when *Ligachev* was head of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Gorshkov, Leonid Aleksandrovich** [*Ligachev*]  
Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers

Secretary, then second secretary (from sometime in the 1960s until 1974), and then first secretary of Kemerovo Obkom (1974-85), when *Ligachev* was first secretary of neighboring Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gorbachev*, *Shevardnadze*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

As deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, since 1985, *Gorshkov* works under *Vorotnikov*, Chairman since 1983.

**Gorshkov, Sergey Georgiyevich** [*Sokolov*]  
Member, Main Inspectorate, USSR Ministry of Defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister of Defense since December 1984.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Andropov*, *V. V. Kuznetsov*, *Romanov*, *Ponomarev*, and *Sokolov*.

Member, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1970, when *Ligachev* was a member of the commission (1974-79) and *Ryzhkov* was its secretary (1974-79).

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Suslov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

**Gostev, Boris Ivanovich** [*Ryzhkov*]  
USSR Minister of Finance

Worked in the USSR Ministry of Light and Food Industry and its successor organizations during 1953-57, when *Kosygin* headed the USSR Ministry of Light and Food Industry and its successor organization (1953-54).

Chief of Planning and Financial Organs Department, CPSU Central Committee (1975-83), when *Ryzhkov* was First Deputy Chairman of Gosplan (1979-82).

Member, Chelyabinsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Demichev*.

First deputy chief of Economics Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85), when *Ryzhkov* was chief (1982-85), then succeeded *Ryzhkov* as chief (August-December 1985).

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**Govorov, Vladimir Leonidovich** [*Sokolov*]  
Deputy minister of defense; chief inspector, USSR  
Ministry of Defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR  
Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works  
under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party  
Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Gri-*  
*shin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate  
representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of  
the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1979-84,  
when *Suslov* (until 1982) and *Chernenko* (1982-84)  
were successive chairmen of the commission and  
when *Zaykov* was a member (1979-84).

Member (since 1984) of the Foreign Affairs Com-  
mission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme  
Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the  
commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been  
deputy chairman (since 1974), while *Yakovlev* has  
been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin*  
has been chairman (since 1986).

**Grekov, Leonid Ivanovich**  
Ambassador to Bulgaria

Member, Moscow City delegation to 23rd Party  
Congress, 1966, with *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kiri-*  
*lenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*,  
*Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin*. *Demichev* and  
*Grishin* were Moscow Oblast delegates.

Moscow Gorkom second secretary (from at least  
1971 until 1979), when *Grishin* was Moscow  
Gorkom first secretary (1967-85).

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971,  
with *Chernenko*, *Gorbachev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow  
City, 1971, with *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*,  
and *Podgornyy*. *Kapitonov* was a delegate from  
Moscow Oblast.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme  
Soviet, from Moscow City in 1974 with *Brezhnev*,  
*Grechko*, *Grishin*, and *Podgornyy*. *Andropov* and  
*Demichev* were elected from Moscow Oblast.

Member, Planning and Budget Commission, Coun-  
cil of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during  
1974-79, when *Ligachev* was a member of the  
commission and *Ryzhkov* was its secretary.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, during  
1974-84, with *Zimyanin* (1970-79).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party  
Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*,  
*Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate  
representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, secretariat of 25th Party Congress, 1976,  
with *Chernenko*.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981,  
with *Chernenko* and *Solov'yev*.

**Gribkov, Anatoliy Ivanovich** [*Sokolov*]  
First Deputy Chief of General Staff; chief of staff,  
Warsaw Pact Forces

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR  
Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works  
under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Member, Armenian delegation to 23rd Party Con-  
gress, 1966, with *Dobrynin*.

First deputy commander (1969-73), then com-  
mander (1973-76) of Leningrad Military District,  
when *Romanov* was first secretary, Leningrad  
Obkom (1970-83), and when *Solov'yev* was deputy  
chairman, Leningrad Gorispolkom, then secretary  
and second secretary, Leningrad Obkom (1973-78).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme  
Soviet, from Leningrad Oblast in 1974. *Suslov*  
and *Romanov* represented Leningrad City, and  
*Shelepin* represented Leningrad's rural electoral  
district in Council of Nationalities.

Confidential

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Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov, Sokolov, Solov'yev, and Suslov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko, Romanov, Sokolov, Solov'yev, and Zaykov*.

**Grishchenko, Petr Semenovich** [*Yel'tsin*]

First secretary, Udmurt Oblast Party Committee

Member, Chelyabinsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Solomentsev*.

First secretary of Magnitogorsk Gorkom (Chelyabinsk Oblast), then secretary of Chelyabinsk Obkom, from at least 1980 until 1985, when *Yel'tsin* was first secretary of neighboring Sverdlovsk Obkom (1976-85).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Chelyabinsk in 1980 with *Solomentsev*.

Member, Chelyabinsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Demichev*.

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee, during June-December 1985, when *Razumovskiy* was chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (June 1985-present).

**Grishkyavichus, Pyatras Pyatrovich**

First secretary, Lithuanian Communist Party

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission and *Zimyanin* was deputy chairman.

Member, Lithuanian SSR delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Ponomarev*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev, Gorbachev, Ryabov, Shevardnadze, Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Lithuanian SSR delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Talyzin*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Gromova, Mariya Sergeyevna**

Milking machine operator, State Cattle Factory, Moscow Oblast

Milking machine operator in Moscow Oblast (1962-present), when *Grishin* was first secretary of Moscow Gorkom (1967-85).

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1979, when *Suslov* (until 1982), *Chernenko* (1982-84), *Gorbachev* (1984-85), and *Ligachev* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission and *Zaykov* was a member (1979-84).

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kirilenko, Andropov, Brezhnev, Grishin, Medvedev, Suslov, and Tikhonov* represented Moscow City.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast in 1984, with *Demichev, Chernenko, Grishin, and Ustinov* were elected from Moscow City.

**Gromyko, Andrey Andreyevich**

Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet

Member, Moscow City delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Brezhnev, Kirilenko, Kosygin, Mazurov, Polyanskiy, Shelepin, Suslov, Voronov, and Zimyanin*. *Demichev* and *Grishin* were delegates representing Moscow Oblast.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast, 1975. *Biryukova, Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Podgornyy* were elected from Moscow City.

Member, Georgian SSR delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Shevardnadze*.

**Confidential**

Confidential

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Romanov, Sokolov, Solov'yev, and Zaykov*.

Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet since 1985, when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichev* (since 1986) were successive first deputy chairmen and *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), *Yel'tsin* (since 1984), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

**Grossu, Semen Kuz'mich**

First secretary, Moldavian Communist Party

Member, Agriculture Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-70, with *Nikonov*.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moldavian SSR in 1966 and 1979. *Chernenko* represented Moldavian SSR both years in Council of the Union.

Member, Moldavian SSR delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Gudkov, Aleksandr Fedorovich [Vorotnikov]**  
First secretary, Kursk Oblast Party Committee

Member, Health and Social Security Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1970, with *Vorotnikov* (1970-74).

First secretary of Kursk Obkom (1970-present), when *Vorotnikov* was first secretary of neighboring Voronezh Obkom (1971-75).

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Gusev, Vladimir Kuz'mich [Vorotnikov]**  
First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers

Elected deputy, RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 1975, from Saratov Oblast with *Ponomarev*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers (1985-present), while *Vorotnikov* has been Chairman (1983-present).

**Gustov, Ivan Stepanovich [Solomentsev]**

First deputy chairman, Party Control Committee, CPSU Central Committee

Second (1957-61), then first secretary (1961-71) of Pskov Obkom when *Mazurov* (1956-65), then *Masherov* (1965-80) were first secretaries of the neighboring Belorussian Republic party organization and when *Romanov* was second (1964-70), then first (1970-83) secretary of neighboring Leningrad Obkom.

Member, credentials commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Kapitonov* and *Tikhonov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1974, from Karelian ASSR. *Sokolov* was elected to Council of Nationalities.

Member, Legislative Proposals Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, with *Vorotnikov* (1974-79) and *Gorbachev* (commission chairman during 1979-84).

First deputy chairman, Party Control Committee (1974-present), while *Solomentsev* has been chairman (1983-present).

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1979, with *Yakovlev* (1984-present).

**Guzhenko, Timofey Borisovich**  
USSR Minister of the Maritime Fleet

Confidential

**Confidential**

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1970, from Estonia with *Rusakov*.

**Ignatov, Vadim Nikolayevich** [*Solov'yev*]  
First secretary, Voronezh Oblast Party Committee

Rose in the Leningrad Oblast party organization to secretary and second secretary (successively during 1968-75), when *Romanov* was Leningrad Obkom first secretary (1970-83) and when *Solov'yev* was deputy chairman, Leningrad Gorispolkom (1973-74), then a secretary of Leningrad Obkom (1974-75).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 1971, from Leningrad Oblast. *Kirilenko* was a delegate from Leningrad City.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1974, from Leningrad Oblast. *Romanov* and *Suslov* were elected from Leningrad City. *Shelepin* represented Leningrad's rural electoral district on Council of Nationalities.

Member, Voronezh delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Vorotnikov*.

Member, secretariat of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chernenko*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1979 and 1984, from Voronezh Oblast, each time with *Vorotnikov*.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko* and *Solov'yev*.

**Ivanovskiy, Yevgeniy Filippovich** [*Sokolov*]  
USSR deputy minister of defense; Commander in Chief, Ground Forces

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Commander, Belorussian Military District during 1980-85, when *Slyun'kov* was first secretary, Communist Party of Belorussia (1983-present).

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Demichev* and *Grishin*. *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates representing Moscow City.

Elected to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Tula, 1967, with *Andropov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast, 1970, with *Andropov*. *Brezhnev*, *Demichev*, *Grishin*, and *Podgornyy* were elected from Moscow City.

Member, credentials commission of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Kapitonov* and *Tikhonov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast, 1974, with *Andropov* and *Demichev*. *Brezhnev*, *Grechko*, *Grishin*, and *Podgornyy* were elected from Moscow City.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast, 1979, with *Andropov* and *Demichev*. *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov* were elected from Moscow City.

**Kachalovskiy, Yevgeniy Viktorovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First Deputy Chairman, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers

Director, Dnepropetrovsk Electric Locomotive Building Plant (1962-67), when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary (1963-65) and *Chebrikov* was secretary (1963-65), then second secretary (1965-67), of Dnepropetrovsk Obkom.

Chairman of Dnepropetrovsk Gorispolkom and then chairman of Dnepropetrovsk Gorkom (1967-74), then second (1974-76), then first (1976-83) secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Obkom, and First Deputy Chairman, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers (1983-present), when *Shcherbitskiy* was Chairman of the Council (1965-72) and first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

**Confidential**



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Member, Dnepropetrovsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chebrikov* and *Tikhonov*.

Member, Dnepropetrovsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chebrikov*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Kachin, Dmitriy Ivanovich**

First secretary, Kamchatka Oblast Party Committee

Member, Consumer Goods Commission (and its successor organization), Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, with *Razumovskiy* (1974-79).

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Kachura, Boris Vasil'yevich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]

Secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine

First secretary, Zhdanov Gorkom (1968-74), second (1974-76), then first (1976-82) secretary, Donetsk Obkom, and secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1982-present), while *Shcherbitskiy* has been party first secretary (1972-present).

Member, Donetsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Dolgikh*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Kalashnikov, Vladimir Il'ich** [*Gorbachev*]

First secretary, Volgograd Oblast Party Committee

Agricultural, economic, and party work in Stavropol' Kray during *Gorbachev's* rise there and when *Solomentsev* was first secretary of neighboring Rostov Obkom (1964-66); secretary (1975-82) of Stavropol' Kraykom when *Gorbachev* was first secretary (1970-78).

RSFSR minister of land reclamation and water resources (1982-84) when *Gorbachev* was CPSU Central Committee secretary for agriculture (1978-85).

**Kamentsev, Vladimir Mikhaylovich**

USSR Minister of the Fish Industry

Member, Primorskiy Kray delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Dobrynin* and *Kapitonov*.

**Kapto, Aleksandr Semenovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]

Ambassador to Cuba

Member, Kiev Oblast delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976. *Shcherbitskiy* was a delegate representing Kiev City.

Secretary, Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, during 1979-85, when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary (1972-present).

**Karlov, Vladimir Alekseyevich** [*Gorbachev*]

Chief, Agriculture and Food Industry Department, CPSU Central Committee

Member, Bureau for the RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee (1965-66), when *Kapitonov* was a member (1964-66) and *Kirilenko* was first deputy chairman (1962-66) of the bureau.

Member, Tatar ASSR delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Nikonov*.

Chairman, Agriculture Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-70, when *Nikonov* was a member of that commission.

Member, secretariat of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Chernenko* and *Katushev*.

Chief, Agriculture Department, CPSU Central Committee (1976-83), then chief of the Agriculture and Food Industry Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-present), when *Gorbachev* was CPSU Central Committee secretary for agriculture (1978-85).

Confidential

**Confidential**

Member, Credentials Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, with *Sokolov* (a member since 1974).

**Karpova, Yevdokiya Fedorovna** [*Vorotnikov*]  
Deputy chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers

Second secretary, Yegor'yevsk Gorkom (Moscow Oblast) during 1956-59, when *Kapitonov* was first secretary, Moscow Obkom (1954-59), and *Demichiev* was a secretary, Moscow Obkom (from mid-1950s until 1958).

Deputy chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers (1966-present), under *Solomentsev* (1971-83) and *Vorotnikov* (1983-present).

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Demichiev* and *Grishin*. *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates from Moscow City.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 1971, from Moscow Oblast with *Kapitonov*. *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgornyy* were deputies from Moscow City.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 1975, from Moscow Oblast with *Gromyko*. *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgornyy* were deputies from Moscow City.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kirilenko*. *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates from Moscow City.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kirilenko*. *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov* were delegates from Moscow City.

**Katushev, Konstantin Fedorovich**  
Chairman, State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations

Member, secretariat of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Chernenko*.

Deputy chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-77, when *Suslov* was chairman.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Kavun, Vasiliy Mikhaylovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, Zhitomir Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Member, Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet during 1966-74 with *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Kunayev*, *Masherov*, *Podgornyy*, *Rashidov*, *Romanov*, *Shcherbitskiy*, and *Shelest*.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, during 1970-79, with *Zimyanin*.

Chairman, Vinnitsa Oblispolkom (1970-78), and first secretary, Zhitomir Obkom (since 1978), while *Shcherbitskiy* has been first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (since 1972).

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Kazakov, Leonid Davydovich** [*Biryukova*]  
Secretary, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)

Secretary of AUCCTU since December 1985, when *Biryukova* was also a secretary (1968-86).

**Khodyrev, Vladimir Yakovlevich** [*Zaykov*]  
Chairman, Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee

Rose through Leningrad party organization (1974-83) when *Romanov* was first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom (1970-83), *Solov'yev* was first secretary of the Leningrad Gorkom (1978-84), and *Zaykov* was chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom (1976-83).

**Confidential**

Confidential

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov, Sokolov, Solov'yev,* and *Suslov.*

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko, Romanov, Sokolov, Solov'yev,* and *Zaykov.*

Chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom since 1983, when *Zaykov* was Leningrad Obkom first secretary (1983-85), and while *Solov'yev* has been obkom first secretary (since 1985).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Leningrad City, 1984, with *Solov'yev* and *Zaykov.*

Member, Legislative Proposals Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Ligachev* (1984-85) and *Razumovskiy* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1984, with *Yakovlev.*

**Khomyakov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich**

[*Razumovskiy*]

First secretary, Saratov Oblast Party Committee

Leading industrial, Komsomol, and party positions (presumably in Krasnodar Kray) during 1955-65, when *Polyanskiy* was first secretary of Krasnodar Kraykom (1957-58).

Second secretary of unidentified gorkom (presumably in Krasnodar Kray), and then secretary and later second secretary of Krasnodar Kraykom during 1965-78, when *Solomentsev* was first secretary of neighboring Rostov Obkom (1964-66), *Gorbachev* was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78), and *Razumovskiy* was a department head of Krasnodar Kraykom (1967-73) and chairman, Krasnodar Krayispolkom (1973-81).

Member, Krasnodar delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Razumovskiy.*

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin.*

**Khristoradnov, Yuriy Nikolayevich**

First secretary, Gor'kiy Oblast Party Committee

Secretary, then first secretary of a raykom, then second and later first secretary of Gor'kiy Gorkom during 1962-74, when *Katushev* was first secretary, Gor'kiy Obkom (1965-68).

Member, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, when *Ligachev* was a member of the commission and *Ryzhkov* was its secretary (1974-79).

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gorbachev, Shevardnadze,* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Gor'kiy delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Solomentsev.*

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin,* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Klepikov, Mikhail Ivanovich** [*Razumovskiy*]

Brigade leader, Kuban' Kolkhoz, Krasnodar Kray

Brigade leader, Kuban' Kolkhoz, Krasnodar Kray, since 1960, when *Razumovskiy* was chairman, Krasnodar Krayispolkom (1973-81), and *Gorbachev* was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78).

Member, Krasnodar delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Razumovskiy.*

Member, presidium of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Gromyko* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Confidential

**Confidential**

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnodar, in 1966, 1970, and 1974, with *Razumovskiy* (in 1974). *Polyanskiy* was elected to Council of Nationalities from Krasnodar all three years.

Member, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, when *Ligachev* was a member of the commission and *Ryzhkov* was its secretary (1974-79).

Member, Krasnodar delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Razumovskiy*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gorbachev*, *Shevardnadze*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnodar, 1979, with *Razumovskiy* and *Talyzin*. *Zimyanin* was elected to Council of Nationalities.

Member, Krasnodar delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Razumovskiy* and *Zimyanin*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnodar, 1984, with *Razumovskiy* and *Talyzin*. *Zimyanin* was elected to Council of Nationalities.

**Klimenko, Ivan Yefimovich**

First secretary, Smolensk Oblast Party Committee

Leading posts in Yaroslavl' party and government (1949-65) when *Kapitonov* was first secretary of neighboring Ivanovo Obkom (1959-64).

Second (1965-69), then first (1969-present) secretary of Smolensk Obkom when *Masherov* was first secretary of the neighboring Belorussian Republic party organization (1965-80).

Member, secretariat of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chernenko*.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko* and *Solov'yev*.

**Klyuyev, Vladimir Grigor'yevich**

USSR Minister of Light Industry

Department head, then first secretary of Ivanovo Gorkom during 1961-66, when *Kapitonov* was first secretary of Ivanovo Obkom (1959-64).

Member, Ivanovo delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, and to 25th Party Congress, 1976, each time with *Kapitonov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Ivanovo, 1974, 1979, and 1984, each time with *Kapitonov*.

Member (1974-79) and deputy chairman (since 1979), Consumer Goods Commission (and its predecessor organization), Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, with *Razumovskiy* (1974-79).

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Nikonov*, *Ponomarev*, *Vorotnikov*, and *Zimyanin*.

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Knyazyuk, Mikhail Aleksandrovich [Slyun'kov]**

First secretary, Ivanovo Oblast Party Committee

Second secretary of Minsk Obkom during 1983-84, when *Slyun'kov* was first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia (1983-present).

**Kochemasov, Vyacheslav Ivanovich [Solomentsev]**

Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic

Secretary of the All-Union Komsomol as of 1954, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

Deputy department chief in USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs during 1960-61, when *Gromyko* was Minister (1957-85).

Deputy chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers (1962-83), when *Solomentsev* was Chairman (1971-83).

**Confidential**

Confidential

**Kolbin, Gennadiy Vasil'yevich** [*Ryzhkov*]

First secretary, Ul'yanovsk Oblast Party Committee

Secretary of a plant party committee and then rose through the party organization in Nizhniy Tagil (Sverdlovsk Oblast) during 1959-70, when *Kirilenko* was first secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom (1955-62).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk, 1966, with *Kirilenko*.

First secretary, Nizhniy Tagil Gorkom (Sverdlovsk Oblast), then secretary and later second secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom, from late 1960s until 1975, when *Yel'tsin* was a department chief and then secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom (1968-76), and when *Ryzhkov* was general director of Urals Heavy Machine Building (Uralmash) production association (1970-75).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk, 1971, with *Ryabov*.

Second secretary, Communist Party of Georgia, during 1975-83, when *Shevardnadze* was first secretary (1972-85).

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov* and *Ligachev*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Georgian SSR, 1979. *Shevardnadze* was elected to Council of Nationalities.

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Koldunov, Aleksandr Ivanovich** [*Sokolov*]

Deputy minister of defense; Commander in Chief, Air Defense Forces

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Deputy commander, then commander of Baku (Azerbaijan SSR) Air Defense District during

1960-70, when *Aliyev* was deputy chairman (1965-67) and then chairman (1967-69) of the Azerbaijan KGB and first secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (1969-82).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow Oblast, 1971, with *Kapitonov*, *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgornyy* were elected from Moscow City.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

**Kolesnikov, Aleksandr Yakovlevich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]

Brigade leader, Molodogvardeyskaya Mine, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, Ukrainian SSR

Coal miner since early 1950s in Voroshilovgrad Oblast and a member of the Ukrainian party organization since 1966, when *Shcherbitskiy* was Ukrainian Premier (1965-72) and first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

**Kolesnikov, Vladislav Grigor'yevich**

USSR Minister of the Electronics Industry

First Deputy Minister (1971-85) and USSR Minister (since 1985) of the Electronics Industry when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and then USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84), and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

**Kolpakov, Serafim Vasil'yevich**

USSR Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy

**Konarev, Nikolay Semenovich**

USSR Minister of Railways

Confidential

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Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from the Georgian SSR, 1984. *Shevardnadze* was elected to Council of Nationalities.

**Konoplev, Boris Vsevolodovich** [*Yel'tsin*]  
First secretary, Perm' Oblast Party Committee

Secretary of Molotov Gorkom (Perm' Oblast) during 1955-59 and first secretary of Perm' Gorkom and second secretary of Perm' Obkom during 1959-63, when *Kirilenko* was first secretary of neighboring Sverdlovsk Obkom (1955-62).

Chairman, Perm' Oblispolkom (1963-72), and first secretary, Perm' Obkom (since 1972), when *Ryabov* was first secretary of neighboring Sverdlovsk Obkom (1971-76) and when *Yel'tsin* was a department chief, then secretary, then first secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom (1968-85).

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gorbachev*, *Shevardnadze*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Korniienko, Georgiy Markovich** [*Gromyko*]  
USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Rose through USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs when *Gromyko* was Minister (1957-85).

Works under *Shevardnadze*, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs since 1985.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev* and *Suslov*.

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1979, when *Suslov* (until 1982), *Chernenko* (1982-84), *Gorbachev* (1984-85), and *Ligachev* (1985-present) were successive chairmen of the commission and *Zaykov* was a member (1979-84).

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev* and *Zaykov*.

**Korolev, Anatoliy Maksimovich** [*Yel'tsin*]  
Lathe operators brigade leader, Urals Heavy Machine Building (Uralmash) Production Association, Sverdlovsk

*Ryzhkov* was general director of Uralmash during 1970-75.

Member, Sverdlovsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *V. V. Kuznetsov* and *Yel'tsin*.

**Kostin, Vitaliy Semenovich**  
Mine workers brigade leader, Zimink Mine, Kemerovo Oblast

**Kovalev, Mikhail Vasil'yevich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
Chairman, Belorussian Council of Ministers

Chairman of the Minsk Gorispolkom (1967-77), first deputy chairman of BSSR Gosplan (1977-78), and deputy premier of BSSR (1978-83) when *Slyun'kov* was first secretary of the Minsk Gorkom (1972-74) and when *Masherov* was first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia (1965-80).

Has worked under *Slyun'kov* (first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia since January 1983) as First Deputy Chairman (1983-86) and Chairman (since January 1986) of the Belorussian Council of Ministers.

**Kruchina, Nikolay Yefimovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
Chief, Administration of Affairs, CPSU Central Committee

First secretary, successively, of Novochoerkassk and Kamenskiy city Komsomol committees (both apparently in Rostov Oblast) and of Smolensk Oblast Komsomol committee during 1952-59, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

**Confidential**

Confidential

Secretary, Tselina Kraykom, Kazakh SSR, during 1963-65, and then first secretary, Tselinograd Obkom during 1965-78, when *Solomentsev* was second secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1962-64) and *Kunayev* was first secretary (1964-present).

Member, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-70 with *Dolgikh*.

Member, Youth Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1970, when *Aliyev* was a member (1970-74) and *Ligachev* (1970-74) and *Gorbachev* (1974-79) were successive chairmen of the commission.

Member, Tselinograd delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Polyanskiy*.

First deputy chief, Agriculture Department, CPSU Central Committee, during 1978-83, when *Gorbachev* was CPSU secretary responsible for agriculture (1978-85).

**Kruglova, Zinaida Mikhaylovna** [*Solov'yev*]  
Chairman, Presidium, Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries

Rose through the Leningrad party organization at same time as *Romanov*. Secretary of Leningrad Gorkom and then of Leningrad Obkom during 1963-74, when *Romanov* was first secretary of Leningrad Obkom (1970-83) and *Solov'yev* was deputy chairman of Leningrad Gorispolkom (1973-74).

Deputy minister of culture (1974-75) when *Demichiev* was Minister (1974-present).

Member, Leningrad delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Andropov*, *V. V. Kuznetsov*, *Ponomarev*, *Romanov*, and *Sokolov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Suslov*.

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov* and *Ligachev*.

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1979, when *Suslov* (until 1982), *Chernenko* (1982-84), *Gorbachev* (1984-85), and *Ligachev* (1985-present) were successive chairmen of the commission and *Zaykov* was a member (1979-84).

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1979, with *Yakovlev* (1984-present).

**Kryuchkov, Vladimir Aleksandrovich** [*Chebrikov*]  
Deputy chairman, Committee for State Security (KGB)

First secretary of a rayon Komsomol committee, then second secretary of the Volgograd City Komsomol committee, during 1944-46, when *Shelepin* was a secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1943-49).

Third secretary, Embassy, Budapest, during 1956-59, when *Andropov* was counselor, then Ambassador (1953-57).

Rose to section chief in Bloc Relations Department, CPSU Central Committee, during 1959-67, when *Andropov* was chief of the department (1957-67).

Joined KGB in 1967, rising to deputy chairman in 1978, when *Andropov* was chairman of the KGB (1967-82).

Now works under *Chebrikov*, chairman of the KGB since 1982.

Confidential

**Confidential**

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

**Kulikov, Fedor Mikhaylovich**

First secretary, Penza Oblast Party Committee

Rose to first secretary through Penza Oblast Kom-somol committee during 1946-58, when *Chernenko* was a secretary, Penza Obkom (1945-48), *Kulakov* was chairman of Penza Oblispolkom (1950-55), and *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Kom-somol (1952-58).

**Kulikov, Viktor Georgiyevich [Sokolov]**

USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense; Commander in Chief, Warsaw Pact Forces

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Commander, Kiev Military District during 1967-69, when *Shcherbitskiy* was Ukrainian SSR Premier (1965-72).

Member, Credentials Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, with *Chernenko* (1966-79).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gorbachev*, *Shevardnadze*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko* and *Solov'yev*.

**Kunayev, Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich**

Member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; First secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan

Chairman of Kazakh Council of Ministers during 1955-60, when *Brezhnev* was second, then first secretary of Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1954-56).

First secretary of Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1960-62) and Chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers (1962-64) when *Solomentsev* was first secretary of Karaganda Obkom (Kazakh SSR) (1959-62) and second secretary of Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1962-64).

Member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet since 1962, when *Podgornyy* (1965-77), *Brezhnev* (1977-82), *Andropov* (1983-84), *Chernenko* (1984-85), and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive Chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichev* (since 1986) were successive First Deputy Chairmen; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Masherov* (1966-80), *Rashidov* (1970-83), *Romanov* (1971-84), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), *Shelest* (1966-72), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), *Yel'tsin* (since 1984), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

**Kuptsov, Valentin Aleksandrovich**

First secretary, Vologda Oblast Party Committee

**Kurkotkin, Semen Konstantinovich [Sokolov]**

USSR deputy minister of defense; chief of rear services

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Georgian SSR, 1974, 1979, and 1984, with *Shevardnadze* each time.

**Kuznetsov, Vasilii Vasil'yevich [Gromyko]**

First Deputy Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet



Confidential

First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs during 1955-77, when *Gromyko* was Minister (1957-85).

Again under *Gromyko* when *Gromyko* became Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet in 1985.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Andropov*, *Ponomarev*, *Romanov*, and *Sokolov*.

Member, Volgograd delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Mazurov*.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow Oblast, 1980, with *Gromyko*. *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, and *Kosygin* were elected from Moscow City.

Member, Sverdlovsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Yel'tsin*.

First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet during 1977-86, when *Brezhnev* (1977-82), *Andropov* (1983-84), *Chernenko* (1984-85), and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive Chairmen of the Presidium and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Masherov* (1966-80), *Rashidov* (1970-83), *Romanov* (1971-84), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Yel'tsin* (since 1984), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

**Lemayev, Nikolay Vasil'yevich** [*Nikonov*]  
USSR Minister of Petroleum Refining and the Petrochemical Industry

Worked in the Tatar Sovnarkhoz (1960-63) and was director of the Nizhnekamsk Petrochemical Combine in the Tatar ASSR (1963-85) when *Nikonov* was second secretary of the Tatar Obkom (1961-67).

Member, Tatar delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Demichev*.

**Ligachev, Yegor Kuz'mich**  
Member, Politburo, and secretary, CPSU Central Committee

Deputy chief of Agitprop Department, then of Party Organs Department, then of Agitprop Department again, Bureau for the RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee, during 1961-65, when *Voronov* was first deputy chairman of the bureau (1961-62), *Kirilenko* was a member (1961-62) and first deputy chairman (1962-66) of the bureau, and *Yakovlev* was an instructor, Agitprop Department for the Union Republics, CPSU Central Committee (as of 1962).

First secretary, Tomsk Obkom, during 1965-83, when *Dolgikh* was first secretary of neighboring Krasnoyarsk Kraykom (1969-72).

Chairman, Youth Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-74, when *Aliyev* was a member of the commission.

Member, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, when *Ryzhkov* was commission secretary.

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Head of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85), when *Gorbachev* was CPSU secretary for personnel (June 1983 until March 1985).

Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1985, when *Ponomarev* was chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities (until 1986), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities (since 1986).

**Litvintsev, Yuriy Ivanovich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Tula Oblast Party Committee

Confidential

**Confidential**

First secretary of Tomsk Gorkom as of 1975 and second secretary of Tomsk Obkom as of 1984, when *Ligachev* was first secretary, Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

Member, Tomsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Ligachev*.

Member, Tomsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Ligachev*.

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus, as of July 1984, when *Ligachev* was chief, Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Lizichev, Aleksey Dmitriyevich** [*Sokolov*]

Chief, Main Political Directorate of the Army and Navy, USSR Ministry of Defense

Worked with *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works with *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Member, Grodno delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*

**Logunov, Anatoliy Alekseyevich**

Vice president, USSR Academy of Sciences

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow Oblast, 1975, with *Gromyko*. *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgornyy* were elected from Moscow City.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kirilenko*. *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin* represented Moscow City.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow City, 1984, with *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov*. *Demichev* was elected from Moscow Oblast.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1979, with *Yakovlev* (since 1984).

**Lomakin, Viktor Pavlovich**

Ambassador to Czechoslovakia

Chairman, Construction and Construction Materials Industry Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-84, with *Romanov* (1970-74).

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko*, *Gorbachev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

Member, Primorskiy Kray delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Talyzin*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gorbachev*, *Shevardnadze*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Primorskiy Kray delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Dobrynin* and *Kapitonov*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Lomako, Petr Fadeyevich** [*Dolgikh*]

USSR Minister of Nonferrous Metallurgy

Chairman, Krasnoyarsk Sovnarkhoz during 1957-61, when *Dolgikh* was chief engineer of Noril'sk (Krasnoyarsk Kray) Mining and Metallurgical Works (1958-62).

Deputy chairman, Bureau for the RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee, during early 1960s, when *Ligachev* was a deputy department chief of the bureau (1961-65) and *Kirilenko* was a member (1961-62) and first deputy chairman (1962-66) of it.

Member, Krasnoyarsk delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Dolgikh*.

**Confidential**

Confidential

**Lomonosov, Vladimir Grigor'yeovich** [*Solomentsev*]  
Deputy Chairman, All-Union Central Council of  
Trade Unions

Rose during 1953-58 to secretary of plant party committee, "Serp i Molot" metallurgical plant (Moscow), and was secretary, then first secretary of Kalinin Raykom in Moscow (1958-62) when *Gri-shin* was second secretary of Moscow Obkom (1952-56), *Kapitonov* was first secretary of Moscow Obkom (1954-59), and *Demichev* was first secretary of Moscow Obkom, then of Moscow Gorkom (1959-61).

Chairman, Central Asian Bureau, CPSU Central Committee, during 1962-65, when *Solomentsev* was second secretary of Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1962-64) and when *Kunayev* was Chairman of Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers (1962-64) and first secretary of Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1964-present).

Member, editorial commission, 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Romanov* and *Zimyanin*.

Member (1966-70) and deputy chairman (1970-79), Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, with *Dolgikh* (1966-70), *Ligachev* (1974-79), and *Ryzhkov* (commission secretary during 1974-79).

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko*, *Gorbachev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

Member, secretariat of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chernenko*.

"Responsible worker" of CPSU Central Committee during 1983-86, when *Ligachev* (1983-85) and *Razumovskiy* (1985-present) served successively as chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee.

**Loshchenkov, Fedor Ivanovich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Yaroslavl' Oblast Party Committee

Rose through Novosibirsk party organization and served as an inspector of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus during 1946-61, when *Ligachev*

was rising through the Novosibirsk party and government (1949-61).

First secretary of Yaroslavl' Obkom since 1961, when *Kapitonov* was first secretary of neighboring Ivanovo Obkom (1959-64).

Member, Industrial Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-74, with *Dolgikh*.

Member, credentials commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Kapitonov* and *Tikhonov*.

Member, Consumer Goods Commission (and its successor organization), Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, with *Razumovskiy* (1974-79).

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Nikonov*, *Ponomarev*, *Vorotnikov*, and *Zimyanin*.

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

**Luk'yanov, Anatoliy Ivanovich**  
Chief, General Department, CPSU Central Committee

Probably worked in apparatus of USSR Supreme Soviet during 1961-68, when *Chernenko* was chief of the secretariat of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (1960-65).

**Lushchikov, Anatoliy Pavlovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
Aide to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev

Deputy chief of Agriculture Department, CPSU Central Committee, from at least 1967 until 1981, when *Gorbachev* was CPSU secretary for agriculture (1978-85).

**Lushev, Petr Georgiyevich** [*Sokolov*]  
Commander in chief, Group of Soviet Forces, Germany

Confidential

**Confidential**

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Commander, Central Asian Military District, during 1977-80, when *Kunayev* was first secretary of Communist Party of Kazakh SSR (1964-present).

Commander, Moscow Military District, during 1980-85, when *Grishin* was Moscow Gorkom first secretary (1967-85).

Member, Kuybyshev delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Andropov*.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow Oblast, 1984, with *Demichev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov* were elected from Moscow City.

**Lutak, Ivan Kondrat'yevich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, Cherkassy Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR

Member, credentials commission, 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Kapitonov* and *Tikhonov*.

Second secretary of Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR during 1969-76, when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary (1972-present).

Member, Legislative Proposals Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1970, when *Solomentsev* (1966-74), *Gorbachev* (1979-84), *Ligachev* (1984-85), and *Razumovskiy* (since 1985) were chairmen of the commission and when *Vorotnikov* was a member of it (1974-79).

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko*, *Gorbachev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

Member, Dnepropetrovsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chebrikov* and *Tikhonov*.

**Lyashko, Aleksandr Pavlovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
Chairman, Council of Ministers, Ukrainian SSR

Worked in Novokramatorsk Machine Building Plant in Donetsk (1945-52) when *Ryzhkov* was at Kramatorsk Machine Building Technicum (graduated 1950).

First secretary, Kramatorsk Gorkom, then secretary, second secretary, and first secretary of Donetsk Obkom during 1952-63, when *Podgornyy* was second (1953-57), then first secretary (1957-63), Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Member, secretariat of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Chernenko* and *Katushev*.

Chairman, Industry, Transport, and Communications Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-70, when *Ligachev* was a member of that commission.

Secretary (1963-66), then second secretary (1966-69) of Communist Party of the Ukraine and Chairman, Presidium, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (1969-72) when *Shelest* was first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1963-72), and *Shcherbitskiy* was Chairman, Council of Ministers, Ukrainian SSR (1965-72).

Deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet during 1970-74, when *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Kunayev*, *Masherov*, *Podgornyy*, *Rashidov*, *Romanov*, *Shcherbitskiy*, and *Shelest* were members.

Member, editorial commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Demichev* and *Zimyanin*.

Chairman, Council of Ministers, Ukrainian SSR (1972-present), while *Shcherbitskiy* has been first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Confidential**

Confidential

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Makarenko, Viktor Sergeyeovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, Crimean Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

First Secretary, Sevastopol' Gorkom (1972-77) and first secretary, Crimean obkom (1977-present), while *Shcherbitskiy* has been first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

**Makhkamov, Kakhar**  
First secretary, Communist Party of Tadzhikistan

**Maksimov, Yuriy Pavlovich** [*Sokolov*]  
USSR deputy minister of defense; Commander in Chief, Strategic Rocket Forces

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

**Mal'kov, Nikolay Ivanovich**  
First secretary, Magadan Oblast Party Committee

Member, Primorskiy Kray delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Talyzin*.

**Malofeyev, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
First secretary, Minsk Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of Belorussia

Rose in Belorussian party organization, starting in 1962, holding leading party positions in Gomel' Oblast during 1972-85, when *Mazurov* (1956-65), *Masherov* (1965-80), and *Slyun'kov* (1983-present) were successive first secretaries, Communist Party of Belorussia.

**Mal'tsev, Viktor Fedorovich** [*Gromyko*]  
USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Ambassador to Sweden, Finland, then India (1967-77), then First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (1977-present) when *Gromyko* was USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs (1957-85).

Member (since 1979) of Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), when *Chebrikov* was a member (1979-84), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986).

**Malykhin, Vasilii Mikhaylovich**  
Leader, electricians brigade, Volga Truck Plant, Kuybyshev Oblast

**Manayenkov, Yuriy Alekseyevich** [*Vorotnikov*]  
First secretary, Lipetsk Oblast Party Committee

Positions in Tambov Oblast party organization during 1968-84, when *Vorotnikov* was first secretary of neighboring Voronezh Obkom (1971-75).

**Manyakin, Sergey Iosifovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
First secretary, Omsk Oblast Party Committee

Chief of the Agriculture Department of Stavropol' Kraykom during 1957-60, when *Polyanskiy* was first secretary of neighboring Krasnodar Kraykom (1957-58).

Agricultural, party, and government work in Stavropol' Kray during 1948-61, when *Gorbachev* held leading Komsomol positions there (1955-62).

Member, secretariat of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Chernenko* and *Katushev*.

Member, Agriculture Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-74, with *Nikonov* (1970-74).

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko*, *Gorbachev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

Member, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, when *Ligachev* was a member of the commission (1974-79), and *Ryzhkov* was its secretary (1974-79).

Confidential

**Confidential**

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev, Gorbachev, Ryabov, Shevardnadze, Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Marchuk, Guriy Ivanovich**

Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Chairman, State Committee for Science and Technology

Member, Novosibirsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kosygin*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Markov, Georgiy Mokeyevich**

First secretary, USSR Union of Writers

Member, Credentials Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-74, with *Chernenko* (1966-74) and *Grechko* (1966-70).

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1966 with *Zimyanin* (1970-79) and *Yakovlev* (since 1984).

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, when *Suslov* (until 1982), *Chernenko* (1982-84), *Gorbachev* (1984-85), and *Ligachev* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission and *Zaykov* was a member (1979-84).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev, Chernenko, Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev, Gorbachev, Ryabov, Shevardnadze, Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov, Brezhnev, Grishin, Medvedev, Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate from Moscow Oblast.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Moscow City with *Chernenko, Grishin*, and *Ustinov*. *Demichev* was elected from Moscow Oblast.

**Masaliyev, Absamat Masaliyevich** [*Razumovskiy*]  
First secretary, Communist Party of Kirgizia

Worked as a CPSU Central Committee inspector during June–November 1985, when *Razumovskiy* was head of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (June 1985–present).

**Maslennikov, Nikolay Ivanovich** [*Solomentsev*]  
Deputy chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers; Chairman, RSFSR State Planning Committee (Gosplan)

Second secretary of Gor'kiy Gorkom, then an obkom department head, then first secretary of Gor'kiy Gorkom during 1961-68, when *Katushev* was first secretary, Gor'kiy Obkom (1965-68). *Maslennikov* replaced *Katushev* as obkom first secretary in 1968.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1970, from Gor'kiy Oblast with *Katushev*.

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev, Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Chairman, RSFSR Gosplan and deputy chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers (1975-present) when *Solomentsev* (1971-83) and *Vorotnikov* (1983-present) were successive chairmen of RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Confidential

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet in 1975 and 1980 from Sverdlovsk Oblast when *Yel'tsin* was a secretary (until 1976) and first secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom (1976-85).

**Maslyukov, Yuriy Dmitriyevich**

Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; chairman, Military-Industrial Commission (VPK)

Worked in USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry from at least 1974, serving as deputy minister during 1979-82, when *Ustinov* and *Ryabov* were CPSU secretaries for defense industry (1965-76 and 1976-79, respectively) and when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84).

First Deputy Chairman of Gosplan during 1982-85, when *Slyun'kov* was a deputy chairman (1974-83) and *Ryzhkov* was a first deputy chairman (1979-82).

Member (since 1984) of Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986).

Chairman of Military-Industrial Commission since November 1985, while *Zaykov* has been CPSU secretary for defense industry (since July 1985).

**Mayorets, Anatoliy Ivanovich**

USSR Minister of Power and Electrification

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Azerbaijan SSR. *Aliyev* and *Medvedev* were elected to Council of the Union from Azerbaijan SSR.

**Medvedev, Vadim Andreyevich**

Secretary, CPSU Central Committee; chief, Bloc Relations Department

Secretary, Leningrad Gorkom during 1968-70, when *Romanov* was second secretary, Leningrad Obkom (1964-70).

Deputy chief, Propaganda Department, CPSU Central Committee, during 1970-78, when *Yakovlev* was first deputy chief of the department (1965-73).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1984, with *Aliyev*.

**Mel'nikov, Aleksandr Grigor'yevich** [*Ligachev*]  
Chief, Construction Department, CPSU Central Committee

Leading official in Seversk Gorkom (Tomsk Oblast) during 1959-70, then served as a department head, secretary, and second secretary of Tomsk Obkom during 1970-83, when *Ligachev* was first secretary of Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

Replaced *Ligachev* as first secretary of Tomsk Obkom in 1983.

Member, Tomsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Ligachev*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Tomsk Oblast with *Ligachev*.

**Mendybayev, Marat Samiyevich** [*Kunayev*]

First secretary, Alma Ata Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of Kazakhstan

Deputy chief of heavy industry department of Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee as of 1981, then held leading positions in Kustanay Oblast party and government during 1982-85, when *Kunayev* was first secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1964-present).

**Mesyats, Valentin Karpovich**

First secretary, Moscow Oblast Party Committee

Confidential

**Confidential**

Worked in a department of a city Komsomol committee (unidentified) sometime between 1946 and 1948, when *Shelepin* was a secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1943-49).

Leading agricultural, government, and party posts in Moscow Oblast during 1948-65, when *Demichev* (1950-58) and *Kapitonov* (1951-59) were leading officials in Moscow Obkom and Grishin was obkom second secretary (1952-56).

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Demichev* and *Grishin*. *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates representing Moscow City.

Member, credentials commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Kapitonov* and *Tikhonov*.

Second secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1971-76), when *Kunayev* was first secretary (1964-present).

Chairman, Credentials Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, when *Chernenko* was a member of the commission (1966-79) and when *Shevardnadze* was chairman, Credentials Commission, Council of Nationalities (1974-79).

Member, secretariat of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chernenko*.

USSR Minister of Agriculture (1976-85) when *Gorbachev* was CPSU Central Committee secretary for agriculture (1978-85).

**Mironov, Vasilii Petrovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, Donetsk Oblast Party Committee

Rose to first secretary of Donetsk Oblast Komsomol committee during 1943-55, when *Shelepin* was secretary (1943-49), second secretary (1949-52), and first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

Rose in Donetsk party and government apparatus (1960-present) when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

Member, Donetsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Dolgikh*.

**Miroshkin, Oleg Semenovich** [*Kunayev*]  
Second secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan

Rose in Kazakh party apparatus (1970- present) when *Kunayev* was first secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1964-present).

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

Chairman, Credentials Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, with *Sokolov*.

**Mishin, Viktor Maksimovich**  
First secretary, All-Union Komsomol

Komsomol work in Moscow from 1968 until 1978 (aside from a period in the mid-1970s, when he headed a department in the All-Union Komsomol), when *Grishin* was first secretary of Moscow Gorkom (1967-85).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, Sverdlovsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *V. V. Kuznetsov* and *Yel'tsin*.

**Morgun, Fedor Trofimovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, Poltava Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Director of a sovkhos in northern Kazakh SSR during 1954-59, when *Brezhnev* was second, then first secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1954-56).

**Confidential**



Confidential

Rose in Pavlodar Oblast and Tselinnyy Kray party organizations during 1959-65, when *Solomentsev* was second secretary (1962-64) and *Kunayev* was first secretary (1964-present), Communist Party of Kazakh SSR.

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov* and *Ligachev*.

Inspector, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-73), then first secretary, Poltava Obkom (1973-present), when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Morozov, Ivan Pavlovich**

First secretary, Komi Oblast Party Committee

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov* and *Ligachev*.

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

**Motornyy, Dmitriy Konstantinovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
Kolkhoz chairman, Kherson Oblast, Ukrainian SSR

In current position since at least 1981, while *Shcherbitskiy* has been republic first secretary (1972-present).

**Mozgovoy, Ivan Alekseyevich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
Secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Department head, then second secretary, Kherson Oblast Komsomol committee during 1953-55, when *Polyanskiy* held leading party and government positions in neighboring Crimean Oblast (1949-55). *Mozgovoy* was a secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol during 1955-62, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

Second secretary, Transcarpathian Obkom (1962-66), then first secretary, Rovno Obkom (1966-72) when *Shelest* was first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1963-72).

Member, Health and Social Security Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-84, with *Vorotnikov* (1970-74).

First secretary of Kherson Obkom (1972-80), First Deputy Chairman of Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers (1980), then a secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (1980-present) when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary (1972-present).

Member, Kiev Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981. *Ryzhkov* and *Shcherbitskiy* were delegates representing Kiev City.

**Murakhovskiy, Vsevolod Serafimovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
Chairman, State Agroindustrial Committee  
(Gosagroprom)

First secretary, Stavropol' City Komsomol committee during 1954-56, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58) and *Gorbachev* was a department head (1955-56) and first secretary, Stavropol' City Komsomol committee (1956-58).

Leading positions in Stavropol' Kray party organization since 1965, during *Gorbachev's* rise through the same party organization (1963-78) and while *Razumovskiy* held leading positions in neighboring Krasnodar Kray (1967-71, 1973-81, and 1983-85).

First secretary, Stavropol' Kraykom during 1978-85, when *Vorotnikov* was first secretary of neighboring Krasnodar Kraykom (1982-83).

Member, Stavropol' delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gorbachev*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Stavropol', 1979, with *Gorbachev*.

Member, Science and Technology Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet during 1979-84, when *Ligachev* was deputy chairman of the commission.

Confidential

**Confidential**

Member, Stavropol' delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gorbachev*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Stavropol', 1984, with *Gorbachev*.

Deputy chairman, Legislative Proposals Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Ligachev* (1984-85) and *Razumovskiy* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission.

**Murav'yev, Yevgeniy Fedorovich** [*Vorotnikov*]  
First secretary, Kuybyshev Oblast Party Committee

First secretary, Syzran' Gorkom (Kuybyshev Oblast) during 1962-76, when *Vorotnikov* was secretary, then second secretary of Kuybyshev Obkom (1961-67) and chairman of Kuybyshev Oblispolkom (1967-71), and *Nikonov* was second secretary of neighboring Tatar Obkom (1961-67).

Member, Kuybyshev delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Vorotnikov*.

Member, Kuybyshev delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Andropov*.

Member, Kuybyshev delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Ponomarev*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Myasnikov, Aleksey Pavlovich**  
Excavator driver, Korshunovo Mining and Concentration Combine, Irkutsk Oblast

**Mysnichenko, Vladislav Petrovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, Khar'kov Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Deputy chief of a department, Khar'kov Oblast Komsomol committee, from sometime after 1952 until 1957, when *Shelepin* was first secretary, All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

Rose through Komsomol and party work in Khar'kov Oblast when *Podgornyy* was first secretary of Khar'kov Obkom (1950-53), then secretary (1953-57) of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and when *Podgornyy* (1957-63), *Shelest* (1963-72), and *Shcherbitskiy* (1972-present) were successive first secretaries of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

**Nazarbayev, Nursultan Abishevich** [*Kunayev*]  
Chairman, Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers

Leading Komsomol and party positions in Karaganda Oblast during 1969-79 and a secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1979-84) when *Kunayev* was first secretary of it (1964-present).

**Nikonov, Viktor Petrovich**  
Secretary, CPSU Central Committee

Deputy chief, then chief of the agriculture department, Krasnoyarsk Kraikom, from 1958 until sometime before 1961, when *Ligachev* was a secretary of neighboring Novosibirsk Obkom (1959-61) and *Dolgikh* was chief engineer of the Noril'sk Mining and Metallurgical Works (1958-62).

Second secretary of Tatar Obkom during 1961-67, when *Vorotnikov* was secretary, then second secretary of neighboring Kuybyshev Obkom (1961-67).

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Ponomarev, Vorotnikov*, and *Zimyanin*.

USSR deputy minister of agriculture (1979-83) and RSFSR minister of agriculture (1983-85) when *Gorbachev* was CPSU secretary overseeing agriculture (1978-85).

**Confidential**

Confidential

Chairman, Agroindustrial Complex Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Razumovskiy* was chairman, Agroindustrial Complex Commission, Council of the Union (1984-85).

**Niyazov, Saparmurad Atayevich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Communist Party of Turkmenistan

Instructor, Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee, during 1984-85, when *Ligachev* was chief of that department (1983-85).

**Nochevkin, Anatoliy Petrovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First secretary, Odessa Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Leading positions in the Poltava (1963-81) and Odessa (1981-present) party organizations when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

**Novozhilov, Genrikh Vasil'yevich**  
General designer, USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry

Evidently in the aviation industry since 1949, probably coming into contact with *Ustinov* (who was CPSU secretary for defense industry during 1965-76 and then USSR Minister of Defense during 1976-84), *Ryabov*, *Romanov*, and *Zaykov* (CPSU secretaries for defense industry during 1976-79, 1983-85, and 1985-present, respectively).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976 with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981 with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

**Odinstov, Vladimir Yevgen'yevich** [*Gorbachev*]  
First secretary, North Osetian Oblast Party Committee

Department head, Kalmytskiy Obkom, during 1961-65, when *Solomentsev* was first secretary of neighboring Rostov Obkom (1964-66).

Second secretary of Dagestan Obkom during 1970-79, when *Gorbachev* was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78), *Shevardnadze* was first secretary of the neighboring Georgian Republic party organization (1972-85), and *Aliyev* was first secretary of the neighboring Azerbaijan SSR Republic party organization (1969-82).

**Ogarkov, Nikolay Vasil'yevich** [*Sokolov*]  
Commander in chief, Western Theater, USSR Ministry of Defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Chief of staff, then deputy commander, then first deputy commander of Belorussian Military District during 1961-65, when *Mazurov* was first secretary (1956-65) and *Masherov* was a secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia (1959-65).

Commander of Volga Military District (headquartered in Kuybyshev) during 1965-68, when *Vorotnikov* was in the Kuybyshev Obkom secretariat (1961-67) and then chairman of the Kuybyshev Oblispolkom (1967-71).

Member, Kuybyshev delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Vorotnikov*.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

**Orlov, Vladimir Pavlovich** [*Vorotnikov*]  
Chairman, RSFSR Supreme Soviet; Deputy Chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet

Confidential

**Confidential**

Leading positions in the Kuybyshev Oblast party and government (1951-79) when *Vorotnikov* was also on the rise there (1956-71), when *Polyanskiy* (1955-57) and *Voronov* (1957-61) were successive first secretaries of neighboring Orenburg Obkom, and when *Nikonov* was second secretary of neighboring Tatar Obkom (1961-67).

Member, Kuybyshev delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Vorotnikov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Kuybyshev, 1970, with *Vorotnikov*.

Chairman, Consumer Goods Commission (and its successor organization), Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, when *Razumovskiy* was a member of the commission (1974-79).

Member, Kuybyshev delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Andropov*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Replaced *Vorotnikov* as First Deputy Chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers in 1979 and worked under him during 1983-85 after *Vorotnikov* became Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

**Panov, Konstantin Nikolayevich**

Leader, ship assemblers brigade, Krasnoye Sormovo Plant, Gor'kiy Oblast

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Gor'kiy, 1980, with *Andropov*.

Member, Gor'kiy delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Solomentsev*.

**Parubok, Yemel'yan Nikonovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]

Member, Bureau, Komsomol of the Ukraine

Member of bureau of the Ukrainian Komsomol since sometime before 1984, while *Shcherbitskiy* has been first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

**Patiasvili, Dzhumber Il'ich** [*Shevardnadze*]  
First secretary, Communist Party of Georgia

Rose through Komsomol and party apparatus of Georgian SSR during 1965-present, when *Shevardnadze* was first secretary, Communist Party of Georgia (1972-85).

**Paton, Boris Yevgen'yevich**  
President, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

Has worked in Ukrainian scientific community since 1942, when *Podgornyy* (1957-63), *Shelest* (1963-72), and *Shcherbitskiy* (1972-present) were successive first secretaries, Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1966 and 1970, from Kiev Oblast with *Shelest* and *Shcherbitskiy* both times.

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev*, *Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1974, from Kiev Oblast with *Shcherbitskiy*.

Member, Kiev City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Shcherbitskiy*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Kiev City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Ryzhkov* and *Shcherbitskiy*.

**Confidential**

Confidential

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Kiev City with *Shcherbitskiy*.

**Pavlov, Vladimir Yakovlevich**

Chairman, State Committee for Foreign Tourism

Secretary, Moscow City Komsomol committee, from at least 1953 until 1956, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

First secretary, Dzerzhinskiy Raykom (Moscow Oblast) during 1956-62, when *Demichev* (1950-58) and *Kapitonov* (1951-59) held leading positions in Moscow City and Oblast party organizations.

Member of Industry, Transport, and Communications Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-70, with *Ligachev*.

Secretary, then second secretary of Moscow Gorkom during 1962-71, when *Grishin* was first secretary, Moscow Gorkom (1967-85).

Ambassador to Hungary (1971-82), then to Japan (1982-85) when *Gromyko* was USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs (1957-85).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin*. *Demichev* and *Grishin* were delegates representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, credentials commission, 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Kapitonov* and *Tikhonov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1966, from Moscow City with *Brezhnev*, *Demichev*, and *Podgornyy*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1970, from Moscow City with *Brezhnev*, *Demichev*, *Grechko*, *Grishin*, and *Podgornyy*. *Andropov* was elected from Moscow Oblast.

**Pereverzeva, Nina Vasil'yevna**

Team leader, Put' Lenina Kolkhoz, Rostov Oblast, RSFSR

Current job in Rostov Oblast since 1974, when *Vorotnikov* (1982-83) and *Razumovskiy* (1983-85) were party committee first secretaries in neighboring Krasnodar Kray and when *Gorbachev* was first secretary in neighboring Stavropol' Kray (1970-78).

**Pervyshin, Erlen Kirikovich**

USSR Minister of the Communications Equipment Industry

Deputy minister of the radio industry during 1970-74 and then USSR Minister of the Communications Equipment Industry from 1974 to the present, when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and then USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1974, 1979, and 1984 from Georgian SSR. *Shevardnadze* was elected to Council of Nationalities from Georgian SSR each time.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Suslov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

**Petrov, Vasilii Ivanovich [Sokolov]**

USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Confidential

**Confidential**

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kirilenko*, *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov* were delegates representing Moscow City.

**Petrov, Vladislav Alekseyevich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
Lathe operator, Tank and Locomotive Factory *imeni V. A. Malyshev* Production Association, Khar'kov, Ukrainian SSR

Present position since at least 1957, while *Shcherbitskiy* has been first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

**Petrov, Vuriy Vladimirovich**, [*Yel'tsin*]  
First secretary, Sverdlovsk Oblast Party Committee

First secretary, Nizhniy Tagil Gorkom (Sverdlovsk Oblast), as of 1975, when *Ryabov* was first secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom (1971-76).

Secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom, from at least 1976 until at least 1981, when *Yel'tsin* was obkom first secretary (1976-85).

Deputy chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee, from 1983 until at least 1984, when *Ligachev* was chief of that department (1983-85).

Member, Sverdlovsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *V. V. Kuznetsov* and *Yel'tsin*.

**Plekhanov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich** [*Yel'tsin*]  
First secretary, Kurgan Oblast Party Committee

May have been in Chelyabinsk party organization when *Solomentsev* was in Chelyabinsk Obkom secretariat (1954-57) and then chairman Chelyabinsk Sovnarkhoz (1957-59).

Secretary of Chelyabinsk Obkom as of 1975, when *Ryabov* was first secretary of neighboring Sverdlovsk Obkom (1971-76) and *Yel'tsin* was either a Sverdlovsk Obkom department chief or Obkom secretary (1968-76).

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus, around 1984-85, when *Ligachev* was chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Pleshakov, Petr Stepanovich**  
USSR Minister of the Radio Industry

Has worked in defense industry since 1952 and was USSR deputy minister, First Deputy Minister, then Minister of the Radio Industry from 1965 to present, when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and then USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84), and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Dagestan ASSR with *Yakovlev*.

**Pletneva, Valentina Nikolayevna** [*Biryukova*]  
Member, Presidium, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)

Member, Presidium, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), since at least 1977, when *Biryukova* was a secretary of the AUCCTU (1968-86).

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev*, *Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Polozkov, Ivan Kuz'mich** [*Razumovskiy*]  
First secretary, Krasnodar Kray Party Committee

Secretary of Krasnodar Kraykom as of 1984 and probably previously, when *Razumovskiy* was chairman of Krasnodar Krayispolkom (1973-81), *Vorotnikov* was kraykom first secretary (1982-83), and *Gorbachev* was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78).

**Confidential**

Confidential

Sector chief in the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1984-85), when *Ligachev* was chief of that department (1983-85).

**Polyakov, Viktor Nikolayevich**  
USSR Minister of the Automotive Industry

Member, Kuybyshev delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Ponomarev*.

**Ponomarev, Aleksey Filippovich** [*Vorotnikov*]  
First secretary, Belgorod Oblast Party Committee

Deputy chairman, Belgorod Oblispolkom, during 1972-78, when *Vorotnikov* was first secretary of neighboring Voronezh Obkom (1971-75).

**Ponomarev, Boris Nikolayevich**  
Retired. Former candidate member, Politburo; secretary, CPSU Central Committee; and chief, International Department, CPSU Central Committee

Member, Leningrad delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Andropov*, *V. V. Kuznetsov*, *Romanov*, and *Sokolov*.

Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-86, when *Zimyanin* was a member (since 1966) and deputy chairman (since 1974) of the commission, when *Chebrikov* (1979-84) and *Yakovlev* (since 1984) were members, and when *Suslov* (until 1982), *Chernenko* (1982-84), *Gorbachev* (1984-85), and *Ligachev* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union.

**Ponomarev, Mikhail Aleksandrovich** [*Solomentsev*]  
Deputy chairman, Party Control Committee, CPSU Central Committee

First secretary, Kalmyk Obkom, during 1959-61, when *Gorbachev* was rising to first secretary of the neighboring Stavropol' Kray Komsomol committee (1958-62).

First secretary, Vladimir Obkom, during 1961-83, when *Kapitonov* was first secretary of neighboring Ivanovo Obkom (1959-64).

Member, secretariat of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Chernenko* and *Katushev*.

Member, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-74, with *Dolgikh* (1966-70).

Member, editorial commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Demichev* and *Zimyanin*.

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-84, when *Suslov* (until 1982) and *Chernenko* (1982-84) were successive chairmen of the commission and *Zaykov* was a member (1979-84).

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Nikonov*, *Ponomarev*, *Vorotnikov*, and *Zimyanin*.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko* and *Solov'yev*.

Deputy chairman, Party Control Committee (1983-present), while *Solomentsev* has been chairman (1983-present).

**Popov, Filipp Vasil'yevich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Altay Kray Party Committee

Second secretary of Kemerovo Obkom as of the mid-1970s and chairman of Kemerovo Oblispolkom from the late 1970s until 1983, when *Ligachev* was first secretary of neighboring Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

RSFSR minister of housing and municipal services during 1983-85, when *Vorotnikov* was Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers (1983-present).

**Popov, Nikolay Sergeyeovich** [*Zaykov*]  
Chief designer, Kirovskiy Zavod Production Association, Leningrad

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Has worked in Leningrad since 1955, when *Romanov* (1970-83), *Zaykov* (1983-85), and *Solov'yev* (1985-present) were first secretaries of Leningrad Obkom.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Suslov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

**Prokop'yev, Il'ya Pavlovich** [*Nikonov*]  
First secretary, Chuvash Oblast Party Committee

Department chief (1959-63), secretary (1963-74), then first secretary (1974-present), Chuvash Obkom, when *Nikonov* was second secretary of neighboring Tatar Obkom (1961-67) and first secretary of neighboring Mari Obkom (1967-79).

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov* and *Ligachev*.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko* and *Solov'yev*.

**Prokop'yev, Yuriy Nikolayevich**  
First secretary, Yakutsk Oblast Party Committee

**Ptitsyn, Vladimir Nikolayevich**  
First secretary, Murmansk Oblast Party Committee

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

**Pugin, Nikolay Andreyevich**  
General director, Gor'kiy Automobile Plant

**Pugo, Boris Karlovich** [*Chebrikov*]  
First secretary, Communist Party of Latvia

In KGB in Moscow then in Latvia during 1976-80, then was chairman of the Latvian KGB (1980-84) when *Andropov* (1967-82) and *Chebrikov* (1982-present) were chairmen of the USSR KGB.

**Rakhmanin, Oleg Borisovich**  
First deputy chief, Bloc Relations Department, CPSU Central Committee

Leading positions in Soviet Embassy in China during 1945-63, when *Gromyko* was USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs (1957-85).

Rose to deputy chief of CPSU Central Committee's Bloc Relations Department during 1963-68, when *Andropov* was chief of the department (1957-67).

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1984, with *Yakovlev*.

Deputy chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Gorbachev* (1984-85) and *Ligachev* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission.

**Razumov, Yevgeniy Zotovich** [*Ligachev*]  
First deputy chief, Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee

During 1961-67 was inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus, then assistant to *Kirilenko*, who was first deputy chairman of the Bureau for the RSFSR (1962-66) and a secretary (1966-82) of the CPSU Central Committee. *Ligachev* during this period (1961-65) was a deputy department chief, Bureau for the RSFSR.

Deputy chief, Organizational Party Work Department (1967-83), CPSU Central Committee, when *Kapitonov* was chief of the department (1965-83).

Became first deputy chief of the Organizational Party Work Department in 1983, when *Ligachev* was chief (April 1983-1985). Razumov now works under *Razumovskiy*.

**Razumovskiy, Georgiy Petrovich**  
Secretary, CPSU Central Committee; chief, Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee

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Rose to first secretary of a raykom in Krasnodar Kray during 1964-67, when *Solomentsev* was first secretary of neighboring Rostov Obkom (1964-66).

Chairman of Krasnodar Krayispolkom during 1973-81, when *Gorbachev* was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnodar in 1979 and 1984, each time with *Talyzin*. *Zimyanin* was elected both times from Krasnodar to Council of Nationalities.

Member, Krasnodar delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

Chairman, Agroindustrial Complex Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1984-85, while *Nikonov* was chairman, Agroindustrial Complex Commission, Council of Nationalities (since 1984).

**Rekunkov, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich**

Procurator general, USSR

Assistant procurator, then procurator of a series of raykoms in Rostov Oblast during 1945-58, when *Gorbachev* was first secretary of the neighboring Stavropol' City Komsomol committee (1956-58).

First deputy procurator for the RSFSR during 1971-76, when *Solomentsev* was Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers (1971-83).

**Reut, Anatoliy Antonovich** [*Slyun'kov*]

First Deputy Chairman, State Planning Committee (Gosplan)

Director of Minsk Instrument Making Plant during 1966-70, director of Minsk Computing Machines Plant during 1970-74, and second secretary of Minsk Gorkom during 1974-75, when *Masherov* was first secretary of Communist Party of Belorussia (1965-80).

First Deputy Minister of the Radio Industry during 1975-83, when *Ustinov* and *Ryabov* were CPSU secretaries for defense industry (1965-76 and 1976-79, respectively) and when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84).

Deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of that republic's Gosplan during 1983-85, when *Slyun'kov* was first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia (1983-present).

**Revenko, Grigoriy Ivanovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]

First secretary, Kiev Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Rose through Kiev party organization (1972-present) when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

Member, Kiev Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981. *Ryzhkov* and *Shcherbitskiy* were delegates representing Kiev City.

**Ryabov, Yakov Petrovich** [*Ryzhkov*]

Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

Raykom first secretary, then first secretary of Sverdlovsk Gorkom during 1960-66, when *Kirilenko* was first secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom (1955-62).

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev*, *Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

First secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom, during 1971-76, when *Ryzhkov* was director of Urals Heavy Machine Building (Uralmash) production association (1970-75) and when *Yel'tsin* was a department chief, then secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom (1968-76).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk in 1974 with *Kirilenko* and *Ryzhkov*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

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CPSU secretary for defense industry during 1976-79, when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84).

First Deputy Chairman, State Planning Committee (Gosplan), during 1979-83, when *Ryzhkov* was a first deputy chairman of Gosplan (1979-82) and *Slyun'kov* was a deputy chairman (1974-83).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk in 1979 with *Kirilenko* and *Yel'tsin*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk in 1984 with *Ryzhkov* and *Yel'tsin*.

**Rybakov, Anatoliy Yakovlevich** [*Biryukova*]  
Chairman, Trade Union of Machine Building and Instrument Making Industry Workers

Chairman, Trade Union of Machine Building and Instrument Making Industry Workers since 1977, when *Biryukova* was a secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (1968-86).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, Moscow city delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow City in 1984 with *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov*. *Demichev* was elected from Moscow Oblast.

Member, Legislative Proposals Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Ligachev* (1984-85) and *Razumovskiy* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission.

**Rykov, Vasilii Nazarovich** [*Gromyko*]  
Ambassador to India

Member, editorial commission, 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Romanov* and *Zimyanin*.

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko*, *Gorbachev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

Member, Chelyabinsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Demichev*.

Ambassador to Algeria during 1975-83, when *Gromyko* was USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs (1957-85).

**Ryzhkov, Nikolay Ivanovich**  
Member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee;  
Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

Leading official at Urals Heavy Machine Building Plant (Uralmashzavod) in Sverdlovsk Oblast during 1959-65, when *Kirilenko* was first secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom (1955-62).

Director, Uralmashzavod (1970-71), then general director, Urals Heavy Machine Building (Uralmash) Production Association (1971-75), when *Ryabov* was first secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom (1971-76), and *Yel'tsin* was a department chief, then secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom (1968-76).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk in 1974 with *Kirilenko* and *Ryabov*.

Secretary, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, when *Ligachev* was a member of the commission.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnoyarsk in 1979. *Dolgikh* was elected to Council of the Union.

Member, Kiev City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Shcherbitskiy*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Sverdlovsk in 1984 with *Ryabov* and *Yel'tsin*.

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**Salykov, Kakimbek Salykovich** [*Kunayev*]  
First secretary, Kara-Kalpak Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of Uzbekistan

Elected to the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee in 1971 and identified as second secretary, Dzhezkazgan Obkom, in early 1970s, when *Kunayev* was first secretary of Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1964-present).

Instructor, then inspector, CPSU Central Committee during 1982-84, when *Ligachev* was chief, Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Savinkin, Nikolay Ivanovich**  
Chief, Administrative Organs Department, CPSU Central Committee

First deputy chief (1960-68) and chief (1968-present), Administrative Organs Department, CPSU Central Committee, when *Shelepin* (1961-67) and *Romanov* (1983-85) were CPSU secretaries responsible for administrative organs.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Georgian SSR in 1974, 1979, and 1984, each time with *Shevardnadze*.

**Saykin, Valeriy Timofeyevich** [*Yel'tsin*]  
Chairman, Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee

Rose to general director, Moscow Automobile Factory *imeni Likhachev* during 1956-86, when *Grishin* was first secretary, Moscow Gorkom (1967-85).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Moscow City in 1984 with *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Ustinov*. *Demichev* was elected from Moscow Oblast.

Chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom since January 1986, while *Yel'tsin* has been Moscow Gorkom first secretary (since December 1985).

**Sazonov, Anatoliy Pavlovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
First Secretary, Zaporozh'ye Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

First secretary of Voroshilovgrad Obkom from at least 1980 until at least 1984, then head of the chemical industry department of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (as of 1985), and first secretary of Zaporozh'ye Obkom since November 1985, while *Shcherbitskiy* has been first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

**Shabanov, Vitaliy Mikhaylovich** [*Sokolov*]  
USSR deputy minister of defense

Deputy minister of the radio industry during 1974-78, when *Ustinov* and *Ryabov* were CPSU secretaries for defense industry (1965-76 and 1976-79, respectively) and when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84).

Member, Voronezh delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Vorotnikov*.

Deputy minister of defense since 1978, while *Sokolov* has been Minister (since December 1984).

**Shakirov, Midkhat Zakirovich** [*Yel'tsin*]  
First secretary, Bashkir Oblast Party Committee

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev*, *Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet since 1970, when *Podgornyy* (1965-77), *Brezhnev* (1977-82), *Andropov* (1983-84), *Chernenko* (1984-85), and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichev* (since 1986) were successive first deputy chairmen; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Mashero* (1966-80), *Rashidov* (1970-83), *Romanov* (1971-84), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), *Shelest* (1966-72), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), *Yel'tsin* (since 1984), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

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First secretary of Bashkir Obkom since 1969, when *Ryzhkov* was general director of Urals Heavy Machine Building (Uralmash) production association (1970-75) in neighboring Sverdlovsk Oblast and *Ryabov* (1971-76) and *Yel'tsin* (1976-85) served successively as first secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Shalayev, Stepan Alekseyevich** [*Biryukova*]  
Chairman, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)

Secretary of the AUCCTU during 1968-80, when *Shelepin* was chairman (1967-75) and *Biryukova* was a secretary (1968-86).

Member, Stavropol' delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gorbachev*.

Member, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Chernenko* (1984-85) and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichnev* (since 1986) were successive first deputy chairmen; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), *Yel'tsin* (since 1984), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

**Shamshin, Vasily Aleksandrovich** [*Talyzin*]  
USSR Minister of Communications

USSR deputy minister of communications (1968-75) when *Talyzin* was a deputy minister of communications (1965-75). USSR First Deputy Minister of Communications (1975-80) when *Talyzin* was Minister (1975-80).

**Sharin, Leonid Vasil'yevich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Amur Oblast Party Committee

Member, Primorskiy Kray delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Dobrynin* and *Kapitonov*.

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus, during early 1980s, when *Ligachev* was chief, Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Shchadov, Mikhail Ivanovich**  
USSR Minister of the Coal Industry

**Shcherbina, Boris Yevdokimovich** [*Yel'tsin*]  
Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

Second secretary of a raykom and then secretary of Khar'kov Gorkom (1948-51) when *Podgornyy* was first secretary of Khar'kov Obkom (1950-53).

Member of Industry, Transport, and Communications Commission (and one of its successor organizations), Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-74, with *Ligachev* (1966-70).

First secretary of Tyumen' Obkom (1961-73) when *Kirilenko* was first secretary of neighboring Sverdlovsk Obkom (1955-62) and *Yel'tsin* was a department chief and later a secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom (1968-76).

Member, Tyumen' delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Dolgikh*.

**Shcherbitskiy, Vladimir Ivanovich**  
Member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Second secretary, Dneprodzerzhinsk Gorkom (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast), during 1948-52, when *Brezhnev* was first secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1947-50).

First secretary, Dneprodzerzhinsk Gorkom (1952-54); second secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1954-55); first secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1955-57); and secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (1957-61) when *Chebrikov* was rising (starting in 1951) through the Dnepropetrovsk party organization to first secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Gorkom (1961-63). *Chebrikov* later

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was a secretary of Dnepropetrovsk (industrial) Obkom during 1963-65, when *Shcherbitskiy* had a second tour as first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1963-65).

First secretary, Dneprodzerzhinsk Gorkom (1952-54), then second secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1954-55), when *Kirilenko* was first secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom (1950-55). *Shcherbitskiy* succeeded *Kirilenko* as first secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom.

Secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine during 1957-61, when *Tikhonov* was chairman of the Dnepropetrovsk Sovnarkhoz (1957-60).

Member, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet since 1972, when *Podgornyy* (1965-77), *Brezhnev* (1977-82), *Andropov* (1983-84), *Chernenko* (1984-85), and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichev* (since 1986) were successive first deputy chairmen; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Masherov* (1966-80), *Rashidov* (1970-83), *Romanov* (1971-84), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), *Yel'tsin* (since 1984), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

Member, Kiev City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Ryzhkov*.

**Shevardnadze, Eduard Amvrosiyevich**

Member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs

Second (1956-57), then first secretary (1957-61) of Georgian Komsomol when *Shelepin* was first secretary of All-Union Komsomol (1952-58) and *Gorbachev* held leading Komsomol positions in neighboring Stavropol' Kray (1956-62).

First secretary, Georgian Communist Party during 1972-85, when *Gorbachev* was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78) and *Aliyev* was first secretary of the neighboring Azerbaijan Communist Party (1969-82).

Chairman, Credentials Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, when *Sokolov* was a member of the commission (1974-present).

Member, Georgian delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Gromyko*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Shevchenko, Valentina Semenovna** [*Shcherbitskiy*] Deputy Chairman, USSR Supreme Soviet; Chairman, Supreme Soviet, Ukrainian SSR

Komsomol and party work in Krivoy Rog (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast) during the late 1950s-early 1960s, when *Chebrikov* was second secretary, then first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Gorkom (1958-63).

Deputy chairman of Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet (1975-85) when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary of Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

**Shkabardnya, Mikhail Sergeyeovich**

USSR Minister of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems

Chief engineer of Krasnodar Electronic Measuring Instruments Plant by 1968, when *Razumovskiy* was a department chief of Krasnodar Kraykom (1967-71).

Rose through the electronic instrument making industry when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and then USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

**Shkol'nikov, Aleksey Mikhaylovich** [*Solomentsev*] Chairman, Committee of People's Control

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First secretary of Volgograd Obkom during 1960-65, when *Solomentsev* was first secretary of neighboring Rostov Obkom (1964-66).

Member, secretariat of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Chernenko* and *Katushev*.

Member, Legislative Proposals Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-74, when *Solomentsev* was chairman of that commission.

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko*, *Gorbachev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

First Deputy Chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers during 1965-74, when *Solomentsev* was Chairman (1971-83).

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov* and *Ligachev*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Shulyak, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
Forge punch operator, Minsk Automobile Plant

Worker, Minsk Automobile Plant since 1963, when *Slyun'kov* was its director (1965-72).

**Silayev, Ivan Stepanovich**  
Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers;  
Chairman, Bureau for Machine Building

Chief engineer, Gor'kiy Aviation Plant, sometime during 1965-71, when *Katushev* was first secretary, Gor'kiy Obkom (1965-68).

Rose through aviation industry when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and then USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

**Sitnikov, Vasilii Ivanovich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Irkutsk Oblast Party Committee

Chairman of Kemerovo Oblast trade union council (1968-74), then secretary and later second secretary of Kemerovo Obkom (1974-83), when *Ligachev* was first secretary of neighboring Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

**Sizenko, Yevgeniy Ivanovich**  
First Deputy Chairman, State Agro-Industrial Committee (Gosagroprom)

First deputy chairman of Moscow Oblispolkom during 1967-70 and secretary of Moscow Obkom during 1970-78, when *Grishin* was first secretary of Moscow Gorkom (1967-85).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow Oblast, 1971, with *Kapitonov*. *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgorny* were elected from Moscow City.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Moscow Oblast, 1975, with *Gromyko*. *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgorny* were elected from Moscow City.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kirilenko*. *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates representing Moscow City.

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Slavskiy, Yefim Pavlovich**  
USSR Minister of Medium Machine Building

USSR Minister of Medium Machine Building since 1957, when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and then USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

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**Slyun'kov, Nikolay Nikitovich**

Candidate member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; first secretary, Communist Party of Belorussia

Director, Minsk Tractor Factory (1965-72), and first secretary, Minsk Gorkom (1972-74), when *Masherov* was first secretary, Communist Party of Belorussia (1965-80).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Belorussian SSR in 1966 with *Masherov*.

Deputy chairman, State Planning Committee (Gosplan), during 1974-83, when *Ryzhkov* was a first deputy chairman of Gosplan (1979-82) and *Ryabov* was a deputy chairman (1979-83).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Minsk in 1984 with *Gromyko*.

**Smirnyukov, Mikhail Sergeyeovich**

Administrator of Affairs, USSR Council of Ministers

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Demichev* and *Grishin*. *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates representing Moscow City.

Member, Voronezh delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Vorotnikov*.

**Smol'skiy, Pavel Aleksandrovich** [*Ligachev*]

First secretary, Ryazan' Oblast Party Committee

Official, Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee, from at least 1966, serving as deputy chief from at least 1979 until 1985, during which time *Kapitonov* (1965-83) and *Ligachev* (1983-85) were chiefs of that department and *Kirilenko* was the CPSU secretary responsible for internal political questions and party work (1966-82).

**Smyslov, V. I.**

First Deputy Chairman, State Planning Committee (Gosplan), USSR Council of Ministers

Leading official in USSR Ministry of the Ship-building Industry since at least 1977, including service as First Deputy Minister during 1984-85, when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

**Sokolov, Sergey Leonidovich**

Candidate member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; USSR Minister of Defense

First deputy commander (1964-65) and commander (1965-67), Leningrad Military District, when *Romanov* was second secretary, Leningrad Obkom (1964-70).

Member, Leningrad delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Andropov*, *V. V. Kuznetsov*, *Ponomarev*, and *Romanov*.

Member, Credentials Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1974, when *Shevardnadze* was chairman of the commission (1974-79).

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Suslov*.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1979, on Leningrad rural delegation. *Romanov*, *Solov'yev*, *Suslov*, and *Zaykov* were elected to Council of the Union from Leningrad City.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

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Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Leningrad rural electoral district. *Romanov* was elected to Council of Nationalities on the Leningrad City delegation. *Solov'yev* and *Zaykov* were elected to Council of the Union from Leningrad City.

**Sokolov, Yefrem Yevseyevich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
First secretary, Brest Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of Belorussia

Leading positions in Brest Oblast trade union organization and then in Belorussian party apparatus during 1965-77, when *Masherov* was first secretary, Communist Party of Belorussia (1965-80), and *Slyun'kov* was first secretary, Minsk Gorkom (1972-74).

Brest Obkom first secretary since 1977, while *Slyun'kov* has been first secretary, Communist Party of Belorussia (1983-present).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1979, from Belorussian SSR with *Masherov*.

**Solomentsev, Mikhail Sergeyeovich**  
Member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; Chairman, Party Control Committee

Secretary, then second secretary of Chelyabinsk Obkom during 1954-57, when *Polyanskiy* was first secretary of neighboring Orenburg Obkom (1955-57).

Chairman of Chelyabinsk Sovnarkhoz during 1957-59, when *Voronov* was first secretary of neighboring Orenburg Obkom (1957-61).

First secretary, Karaganda Obkom (1959-62), and second secretary, Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1962-64), when *Kunayev* was first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1960-62) and chairman of Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers (1962-64).

First secretary, Rostov Obkom, during 1964-66, when *Gorbachev* was chief of party organs department of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1963-66).

**Solov'yev, Yuriy Filippovich**  
Candidate member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; first secretary, Leningrad Oblast Party Committee

Rose through Leningrad party organization when *Romanov* was first secretary, Leningrad Obkom (1970-83).

Secretary, then second secretary, Leningrad Obkom (1974-78), and then first secretary, Leningrad Gorkom (1978-84), when *Zaykov* was chairman, Leningrad Gorispolkom (1976-83).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Leningrad City in 1975 with *Kirilenko* and *Zaykov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, and *Suslov*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Leningrad City in 1979 with *Romanov*, *Suslov*, and *Zaykov*. *Sokolov* represented the Leningrad rural electoral district in Council of Nationalities.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress in 1981 with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, and *Zaykov*.

Member, secretariat of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chernenko*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Leningrad City in 1984 with *Zaykov*. *Romanov* represented the Leningrad City electoral district in Council of Nationalities and *Sokolov* represented the Leningrad rural electoral district in Council of Nationalities.

**Stepanov, Vladimir Sevast'yanovich** [*Gromyko*]  
First secretary, Karelian Oblast Party Committee

Probably involved in Komsomol work in the Karelo-Finnish Republic when *Andropov* was second secretary of the Karelo-Finnish Communist Party (1947-51).

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Secretary, Karelo-Finnish Republic Komsomol committee during 1952-55, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

Counselor, Embassy, Helsinki, during 1964-70; employed at USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1970 until 1973; and Ambassador to Finland during 1973-79, all while *Gromyko* was Minister of Foreign Affairs (1957-85).

**Stroyev, Yegor Semenovich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Orel Oblast Party Committee

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus sometime between 1980 and 1985, when *Ligachev* was chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Stukalin, Boris Ivanovich** [*Ligachev*]  
Ambassador to Hungary

Sector chief in the Agitprop Department of the Bureau for the RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee during 1960-63, when *Ligachev* was deputy chief of that department (from 1961 until about 1963 and again in 1965), *Voronov* was first deputy chairman of the bureau (1961-62), *Kirilenko* was a member (1961-62), then first deputy chairman of the bureau (1962-66), and *Yakovlev* was an instructor, Agitprop Department for the Union Republics, CPSU Central Committee (as of 1962).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Stavropol' in 1974, 1979, and 1984. *Gorbachev* and *Kulakov* were elected to Council of the Union from Stavropol' in 1974, and *Gorbachev* was elected to it from Stavropol' in 1979 and 1984.

Member, Donetsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Dolgikh*.

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* was deputy chairman (since 1974), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986).

Member of the USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1979, with *Yakovlev* (since 1984).

**Systsov, Apollon Sergeyeovich**  
USSR Minister of the Aviation Industry

In the aviation industry since 1956, including positions of general director, Ul'yanovsk Aviation Industrial Complex (1972-81) and First Deputy Minister of the Aviation Industry (1981-85), when *Ustinov* was CPSU secretary for defense industry (1965-76) and then USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and *Ryabov* (1976-79), *Romanov* (1983-85), and *Zaykov* (1985-present) were CPSU secretaries for defense industry.

**Tabeyev, Fikryat Akhmedzhanovich** [*Nikonov*]  
Ambassador to Afghanistan

Secretary of Tatar Obkom during 1959-60, when *Voronov* was first secretary of neighboring Orenburg Obkom (1957-61).

First secretary, Tatar Obkom, during 1960-79, when *Nikonov* was second secretary of Tatar Obkom (1961-67) and later first secretary of neighboring Mari Obkom (1967-79), and when *Vorotnikov* was a department chief (1960-61), secretary, and later second secretary (1961-67) of neighboring Kuybyshev Obkom and chairman of Kuybyshev Oblispolkom (1967-71).

Member, Tatar ASSR delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Nikonov*.

Member, presidium of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Gromyko* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1966, from Tatar ASSR. *Nikonov* was elected to Council of Nationalities.

Member, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1962-84, when *Podgornyy* (1965-77), *Brezhnev* (1977-82), *Andropov* (1983-84), and *Chernenko* (1984-85) were successive chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) was first

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deputy chairman; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Masherov* (1966-80), *Rashidov* (1970-83), *Romanov* (1971-84), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), and *Shelest* (1966-72) were members.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, during 1966-84, with *Zimyanin* (1970-79).

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev*, *Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Tatar ASSR delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Demichev*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Ambassador to Afghanistan since 1979, when *Gromyko* (1957-85) and *Shevardnadze* (1985-present) were USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs.

**Talyzin, Nikolay Vladimirovich**

Candidate member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; First Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; Chairman, State Planning Committee

Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers and Permanent Representative to CEMA (1980-85) when *Ryzhkov* was CPSU secretary responsible for the economy and chief, Economics Department, CPSU Central Committee (1982-85).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1979 and 1984, from Krasnodar, both times with *Razumovskiy*. *Zimyanin* was elected to Council of Nationalities from Krasnodar each time.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Taratuta, Vasiliy Nikolayevich [Shcherbitskiy]**  
Ambassador to Algeria

Rose through Vinnitsa party and government during 1957-83, when *Shcherbitskiy* was Chairman, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers (1961-63 and 1965-72), and secretary (1957-61) and first secretary (1972-present), Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Ambassador to Algeria since 1983, when *Gromyko* was USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs (1957-85). Retains the post under Foreign Minister *Shevardnadze*.

**Tarazevich, Georgiy Stanislavovich [Slyun'kov]**  
Chairman, Supreme Soviet, Belorussian SSR

Second, then first secretary of a raykom, then second secretary of Minsk Gorkom during 1972-80, when *Masherov* was first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia (1965-80) and *Slyun'kov* was first secretary of Minsk Gorkom (1972-74).

First secretary of Minsk Gorkom during 1983-84, when *Slyun'kov* was first secretary of Communist Party of Belorussia (1983-present).

**Tatarchuk, Nikolay Fedorovich [Dolgikh]**

First secretary, Kalinin Oblast Party Committee

First secretary of a raykom, then deputy chairman of a krayispolkom, then second secretary of Krasnoyarsk Kraykom during 1960-64, when *Nikonov* was deputy chief, then chief of the agriculture department of Krasnoyarsk Kraykom (1958-61).

Chairman of Krasnoyarsk Krayispolkom during 1964-83, when *Dolgikh* was first secretary of Krasnoyarsk Kraykom (1969-72) and *Ligachev* was first secretary of neighboring Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

Member, Krasnoyarsk delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Dolgikh*.

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Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Krasnoyarsk Krai. *Dolgikh* was elected from Krasnoyarsk to Council of the Union.

Member, Agroindustrial Complex Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, while *Nikonov* has been deputy chairman of the commission.

**Telepnev, Petr Maksimovich** [*Yel'tsin*]  
First secretary, Arkhangel'sk Oblast Party Committee

Second, then first secretary of Khanti-Mansiysk Okrug Party Committee during 1963-70 and secretary (1970-78) and second secretary (1978-83) of Tyumen' Obkom when *Yel'tsin* was a department chief, then secretary (1968-76), then first secretary (1976-85) of neighboring Sverdlovsk Obkom.

Instructor in CPSU Central Committee apparatus in 1983, when *Ligachev* was chief of Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Gorbachev* (1984-85) and *Ligachev* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission.

**Terebilov, Vladimir Ivanovich**  
Chairman, USSR Supreme Court

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1984, with *Yakovlev*.

**Tereshchenko, Nikolay Dmitriyevich** [*Gorbachev*]  
Chairman, Put' k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz, Stavropol' Krai

Present job since at least 1975, when *Gorbachev* was first secretary, Stavropol' Kraikom (1970-78).

Member, Stavropol' delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gorbachev*.

**Tereshkova, Valentina Vladimirovna**  
Chairperson, Committee of Soviet Women

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev*, *Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Chernenko* (1984-85) and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichev* (since 1986) were successive first deputy chairmen; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), *Yel'tsin* (since 1984), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

**Tikhomirov, Vladimir Porfir'yevich**  
Lathe operator, Electromechanical Factory *imeni V. I. Lenin*, Moscow Oblast

Present job since at least 1981, when *Grishin* was first secretary of Moscow Gorkom (1967-85).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

**Tikhonov, Nikolay Aleksandrovich**  
Retired. Former member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee, and Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers

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Chairman, Dnepropetrovsk Sovnarkhoz (1957-60) when *Chebrikov* was second secretary, Dnepropetrovsk Gorkom (1958-59) and *Shcherbitskiy* was a secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1957-61).

Member, credentials commission, 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Kapitonov*.

Member, credentials commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Kapitonov*.

Member, Dnepropetrovsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chebrikov*.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, and *Suslov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

**Titarenko, Aleksey Antonovich** [*Shcherbitskiy*]  
Second secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Member, Construction and Construction Materials Industry Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-84, with *Romanov* (1970-74).

Secretary (1966-82), then second secretary (1982-present) of the Communist Party of the Ukraine when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary (1972-present).

Member, Legislative Proposals Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Ligachev* (1984-85) and *Razumovskiy* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the commission.

**Tolkunov, Lev Nikolayevich**  
Chairman, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Demichev* and *Grishin*. *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*,

*Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin* were delegates representing Moscow City.

Member (1966-79) and secretary (1979-84) of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), and when *Chebrikov* was a member (1979-84).

Member (1966-70) and deputy chairman (1970-79), USSR Parliamentary Group, with *Zimyanin* (1970-79).

Member, editorial commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Demichev* and *Zimyanin*.

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Nikonov*, *Ponomarev*, *Vorotnikov*, and *Zimyanin*.

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Kirov Oblast. *Nikonov* was elected from Kirov Oblast to Council of Nationalities.

**Tolubko, Vladimir Fedorovich** [*Sokolov*]  
Member, Main Inspectorate, USSR Ministry of Defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet in 1967 from Saratov Oblast with *Ponomarev*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1974, 1979, and 1984 from Krasnoyarsk Kray, with *Dolgikh* each time.

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Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev, Chernenko, Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, Science and Technology Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1979, when *Ligachev* was deputy chairman (1979-84) and *Medvedev* a member (1984-present).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov, Brezhnev, Grishin, Medvedev, Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

**Tret'yak, Ivan Moiseyevich** [*Sokolov*]  
Commander in chief, Far Eastern Theater, USSR Ministry of Defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Commander, Belorussian Military District during 1967-76, when *Masherov* was first secretary, Communist Party of Belorussia (1965-80), and *Slyun'kov* was first secretary of Minsk Gorkom (1972-74).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, in 1970 and 1974 from Belorussian SSR, with *Masherov* each time.

Member, Minsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Masherov*.

**Tret'yakov, Petr Ivanovich**  
First secretary, Sakhalinsk Oblast Party Committee

**Trofimov, Yuriy Nikolayevich** [*Kunayev*]  
First secretary, Aktyubinsk Oblast Party Committee, Communist Party of Kazakhstan

Chairman of Turgay Oblispolkom during 1970-78, then a secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan during 1978-85, when *Kunayev* was first secretary (1964-present).

**Trunov, Mikhail Petrovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
Chairman of the board, Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives (Tsentrosoyuz)

First secretary of Belgorod Obkom during 1971-83, when *Vorotnikov* was first secretary of neighboring Voronezh Obkom (1971-75).

Member, Youth Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-84, when *Gorbachev* was chairman of the commission (1974-79).

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov* and *Ligachev*.

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

Became chairman of the board of Tsentrosoyuz in 1983, when *Gorbachev* was CPSU secretary for agriculture (1978-85).

**Tyazhel'nikov, Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich** [*Solomentsev*]  
Ambassador to Romania

Teaching, Komsomol, and party work in Chelyabinsk Pedagogical Institute during 1950-61, when *Solomentsev* was in the secretariat of Chelyabinsk Obkom (1954-57) and chairman of Chelyabinsk Sovnarkhoz (1957-59).

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev, Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Youth Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-79, when *Aliyev* was a member (1970-74) and *Ligachev* (1970-74) and *Gorbachev* (1974-79) were successive chairmen of the commission.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Moscow Oblast delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kirilenko*, *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov* were delegates representing Moscow City.

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

**Udalaya, Raisa Silant'yevna**

Riveter, Novosibirsk Aircraft Plant *imeni*  
V. P. Chkalov

*Ligachev* worked in the same plant during 1943-44.

**Usmankhodzhayev, Inamzhon Buzrukovich**

First secretary, Communist Party of Uzbekistan

Has been deputy chairman (1979-84) and member (since 1984) of Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Brezhnev* (1977-82), *Andropov* (1983-84), *Chernenko* (1984-85), and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichev* (since 1986) were successive first deputy chairmen; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Masherov* (1966-80), *Rashidov* (1970-83), *Romanov* (1971-84), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), *Yel'tsin* (since 1984), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

**Usmanov, Gumer Ismagilovich [Nikonov]**

First secretary, Tatar Oblast Party Committee

Rose through Tatar ASSR party organization, eventually serving as chairman of the Tatar ASSR Council of Ministers during 1966-82, when *Nikonov* was second secretary of Tatar Obkom (1961-67) and first secretary of neighboring Mari Obkom (1967-79).

Member, Tatar ASSR delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Nikonov*.

Member, Tatar ASSR delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Demichev*.

Member, Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, when *Chernenko* (1984-85) and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichev* (since 1986) were successive first deputy chairmen; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), *Yel'tsin* (since 1984), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1984, with *Yakovlev*.

**Utkin, Vladimir Fedorovich**

Academician, Mathematics, Mechanics, and Cybernetics Department, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

In the Ukrainian SSR scientific community since 1952, while *Shcherbitskiy* has been chairman of Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers (1965-72) and first secretary of Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1974 and 1979, from Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, with *Tikhonov* each time.

Member, Dnepropetrovsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Chebrikov* and *Tikhonov*.

Member, Dnepropetrovsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Chebrikov*.

**Vashchenko, Grigoriy Ivanovich [Shcherbitskiy]**

USSR Minister of Trade

Member, presidium of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Gromyko* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

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Member, Industrial Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-74, with *Dolgikh*.

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev* and *Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

First Deputy Chairman, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers (1972-83), when *Shcherbitskiy* was first secretary, Communist Party of the Ukraine (1972-present).

Chairman, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-84, when *Ligachev* was a member of the commission (1974-79) and *Ryzhkov* was its secretary (1974-79).

**Vasil'yev, Nikolay Fedorovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
USSR Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources

Began work in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast party and government in 1946, when *Brezhnev* (1947-50) and *Kirilenko* (1950-55) were first secretaries of Dnepropetrovsk Obkom. Vasil'yev was chairman of the Dnepropetrovsk Oblispolkom during 1961-64, when *Shcherbitskiy* was second (1954-55) and then first secretary (1955-57 and 1963-65) of Dnepropetrovsk Obkom, *Tikhonov* was chairman of the Dnepropetrovsk Sovnarkhoz (1957-60), and *Chebrikov* held various leading party posts in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast (1958-67).

First Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers during 1971-79, when *Solomentsev* was Chairman (1971-83).

Member, editorial commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Demichev* and *Zimyanin*.

Member, credentials commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Kapitonov* and *Ligachev*.

USSR Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources since 1979, when *Gorbachev* was CPSU secretary for agriculture (1978-85).

**Vayno, Karl Genrikhovich**  
First secretary, Communist Party of Estonia

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

**Vedernikov, Gennadiy Georgiyevich** [*Yel'tsin*]  
First secretary, Chelyabinsk Oblast Party Committee

At metallurgical plant in Chelyabinsk during 1960-70, when *Ryzhkov* was chief engineer (1965-70) of Urals Heavy Machine Building Plant (Ural-mashzavod) in neighboring Sverdlovsk Oblast.

From 1978 until sometime in early 1980s, Vedernikov was second, then first secretary of Chelyabinsk Gorkom, then was a secretary of Chelyabinsk Obkom, when *Yel'tsin* was first secretary of neighboring Sverdlovsk Obkom (1976-85).

Elected to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 1980, from Chelyabinsk with *Solomentsev*.

Member, Chelyabinsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Demichev*.

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus, sometime before 1984, when *Ligachev* was chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).

**Velichko, Vladimir Makarovich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
USSR Minister of Power Machine Building

Worked at a machine-building plant in Leningrad during 1962-75, rising to director, when *Zaykov* was director of an unspecified factory (1961-71) and general director of an unidentified scientific production association in Leningrad (1971-76); *Romanov* was first secretary, Leningrad Obkom (1970-83); and *Solov'yev* was deputy chairman, Leningrad Gorispolkom (1973-74), and later a secretary and second secretary of Leningrad Obkom (1974-78).

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First Deputy Minister of Power Machine Building during 1975-83, when *Ryzhkov* was First Deputy Chairman (for heavy industry) of Gosplan (1979-82) and *Slyun'kov* was deputy chairman (for machine building) of Gosplan (1974-83).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Rostov Oblast with *Solomentsev*.

**Vlasov, Aleksandr Vladimirovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
USSR Minister of Internal Affairs

Unspecified Komsomol work during 1954-60, eventually serving during 1960-61 as first secretary of Irkutsk Oblast Komsomol committee, when *Shelepin* was first secretary, All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

First secretary of Chechen-Ingush Obkom during 1975-84, when *Gorbachev* was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78) and *Shevardnadze* was first secretary of neighboring Georgian Republic party organization (1972-85).

Chairman, Industry Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1979, when *Ryzhkov* was a member of the commission (1979-84).

First secretary of Rostov Obkom during 1984-86, when *Razumovskiy* was first secretary of neighboring Krasnodar Kraykom (1983-85).

Member, credentials commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Volodin, B. M.** [*Razumovskiy*]  
First secretary, Rostov Oblast Party Committee

RSFSR deputy minister of the food industry as of 1978, when *Solomentsev* was Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers (1971-83).

Secretary of Stavropol' Kraykom from at least 1983 until 1985, then chairman of Rostov Oblispolkom (1985-86) when *Razumovskiy* was first secretary of neighboring Krasnodar Kraykom (1983-85).

**Vol'skiy, Arkadiy Ivanovich** [*Slyun'kov*]  
Chief, Machine Building Department, CPSU Central Committee

During 1970-83 was head of a sector, then deputy chief, then first deputy chief of Machine Building Department, CPSU Central Committee, when *Slyun'kov* was a deputy chairman (for machine building) of Gosplan (1974-83).

Economic adviser to *Andropov* during 1983-84.

Aide to *Chernenko* during 1984-85.

**Voronin, Lev Alekseyevich** [*Ryzhkov*]  
Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers;  
Chairman, State Committee for Material and Technical Supply (Gossnab)

Deputy minister (1972-79), then First Deputy Minister of the Defense Industry (1979-80) when *Ustinov* and *Ryabov* were CPSU secretaries for defense industry (1965-76 and 1976-79, respectively) and when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84).

First Deputy Chairman of Gosplan during 1980-85, when *Ryzhkov* was also a first deputy chairman (1979-82) and when *Slyun'kov* was a deputy chairman (1974-83).

**Vorontsov, Yuliy Mikhaylovich**  
Ambassador to France

Has worked in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1967 under *Gromyko*, Minister during 1957-85, and *Shevardnadze*, *Gromyko*'s successor.

Member, Stavropol' delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gorbachev*.

**Voropayev, Mikhail Gavrilovich** [*Solomentsev*]  
Deputy chairman, Party Control Committee, CPSU Central Committee

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Secretary, then second secretary of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Komsomol committee during 1945-49, when *Shelepin* was a secretary of All-Union Komsomol (1943-49).

Industrial, Komsomol, and party work in Chelyabinsk Oblast during 1940s and throughout 1950s, rising by 1960 to raykom party secretary. *Solomentsev* during this time was a secretary, then second secretary of Chelyabinsk Obkom (1954-57) and later chairman of the Chelyabinsk Sovnarkhoz (1957-59), and *Polyanskiy* (1955-57) and *Voronov* (1957-61) served successively as first secretaries of neighboring Orenburg Obkom.

Member, Planning and Budget Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1966-70, with *Dolgikh*.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Chelyabinsk in 1971, with *Solomentsev*.

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko*, *Gorbachev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

Member, Consumer Goods Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1974-79, with *Razumovskiy*.

Member, Chelyabinsk delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Solomentsev*.

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, Chelyabinsk delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Demichev*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Deputy chairman of the Party Control Committee, CPSU Central Committee, since January 1984, working under *Solomentsev*, who has been chairman since 1983.

#### **Vorotnikov, Vitaliy Ivanovich**

Member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers

Department head in Kuybyshev Obkom during 1960-61, when *Voronov* was first secretary of neighboring Orenburg Obkom (1957-61).

Secretary, then second secretary, of Kuybyshev Obkom during 1961-67, when *Nikonov* was second secretary of neighboring Tatar Obkom (1961-67).

Member, secretariat of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Chernenko* and *Gorbachev*.

First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers (1975-79) when *Solomentsev* was Chairman (1971-83).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Kuybyshev, 1967, with *Suslov*.

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Nikonov*, *Ponomarev*, and *Zimyanin*.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Volgograd, 1980, with *Pel'she*.

#### **Voss, Avgust Eduardovich**

Chairman, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet

Member, presidium of 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Aliyev*, *Gorbachev*, *Ryabov*, *Shevardnadze*, *Tikhonov*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Deputy chairman, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1984, while *Yakovlev* has been a member.

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**Confidential****Voystrochenko, Anatoliy Fomich**

First secretary, Bryansk Oblast Party Committee

Unspecified Komsomol and party work during 1957-78, when *Shelepin* was first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1952-58).

**Yagodin, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich**

USSR Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education

**Yakovlev, Aleksandr Nikolayevich**

Secretary, CPSU Central Committee

Instructor, Agitprop Department for the Union Republics, CPSU Central Committee, as of 1962, when *Ligachev* was deputy chief, Agitprop Department, Bureau for the RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee (1961-circa 1963).

First deputy chief, Propaganda Department (called the Agitprop Department before May 1966), CPSU Central Committee, during 1965-73, when *Medvedev* was deputy chief of the department (1970-78).

Ambassador to Canada during 1973-83, when *Gorbachev* visited that country (1983).

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1984, while *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since June 1986).

**Yefimov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich [Sokolov]**

USSR deputy minister of defense; First Deputy Commander in Chief, Air Forces

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 1971, from Saratov Oblast with *Ponomarev*.

**Yegorov, Anatoliy Grigor'yevich [Ligachev]**

Director, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CPSU Central Committee

Deputy chief, Agitprop Department for the Union Republics, CPSU Central Committee (as of 1962), when *Ligachev* was deputy chief, Agitprop Department, Bureau for the RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee (1961-circa 1963 and 1965), and *Yakovlev* was an instructor, Agitprop Department for the Union Republics, CPSU Central Committee (as of 1962).

Member (since 1974) of Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), when *Chebrikov* was a member (1979-84), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986).

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1979, with *Yakovlev* (since 1984).

**Yel'chenko, Yuriy Nikiforovich [Shcherbitskiy]**

First secretary, Kiev City Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine

Secretary, then second secretary of Kiev City Komsomol committee during 1957-58, when *Shelepin* was first secretary, All-Union Komsomol (1952-58), and *Shelest* was first secretary of Kiev Obkom (1957-62).

Secretary, second secretary, and first secretary of Ukrainian Komsomol during 1958-68, when *Shelest* was a secretary (1962-63), then first secretary (1963-72) of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and *Shcherbitskiy* was Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers (1965-72).

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Member, Kiev City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Ryzhkov* and *Shcherbitskiy*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, *Yel'tsin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Kiev City with *Shcherbitskiy*.

**Yel'tsin, Boris Nikolayevich**

Candidate member, Politburo, CPSU Central Committee; first secretary, Moscow City Party Committee

Department chief, then secretary of Sverdlovsk Obkom during 1968-76, when *Ryzhkov* was general director of Urals Heavy Machine Building (Uralmash) production association (1970-75) and *Ryabov* was first secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom (1971-76).

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1979, from Sverdlovsk with *Kirilenko* and *Ryabov*.

Member, presidium of 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Biryukova*, *Ligachev*, *Shevardnadze*, *Talyzin*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1984, from Sverdlovsk with *Ryabov* and *Ryzhkov*.

Member, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet since 1984, when *Chernenko* (1984-85) and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichev* (since 1986) were successive first deputy chairmen; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), and *Zaykov* (1984-86) were members.

**Yemokhonov, Nikolay Pavlovich** [*Chebrikov*]  
First Deputy Chairman, Committee for State Security (KGB)

Chief of a main administration (1968-71), then deputy chairman (1971-84) and First Deputy Chairman (1984-present) of the KGB when *Andropov* (1967-82) and *Chebrikov* (1982-present) were KGB chairmen.

**Yermakov, Nikolay Spiridonovich** [*Ligachev*]

First secretary, Kemerovo Oblast Party Committee

Leading party positions in Kemerovo Oblast since at least 1975, when *Ligachev* was first secretary of neighboring Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

**Yermin, Lev Borisovich** [*Solomentsev*]

First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers

Raykom secretary, then a raykom first secretary in Rostov Oblast during 1952-59, when *Polyanskiy* was a first secretary of neighboring Krasnodar Kraykom (1957-58).

Member, credentials commission, 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Kapitonov* and *Tikhonov*.

Member, editorial commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Demichev* and *Zimyanin*.

Member, Penza delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Dobrynin*.

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Nikonov*, *Ponomarev*, *Vorotnikov*, and *Zimyanin*.

First Deputy Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers, since 1979, under *Solomentsev* (1971-83) and *Vorotnikov* (1983-present).

Member, Credentials Commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Kapitonov*.

**Yershova, Neli Mikhaylovna**

Toolsetter, Machine Building Plant *imeni F. Ye. Dzerzhinskiy* Production Association, Perm' Oblast

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**Yezhevskiy, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
USSR Minister of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building

Worked in Gosplan during 1957-62, when *Kosygin* was Chairman of Gosplan (1959-60).

Chairman, USSR State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture (1978-80) and USSR Minister of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building (1980-present) when *Gorbachev* was CPSU Central Committee secretary for agriculture (1978-85).

**Yusupov, Magomed Yusupovich** [*Gorbachev*]  
First secretary, Dagestan Oblast Party Committee

Official, Dagestan ASSR party and government since 1957, when *Gorbachev* was first secretary of neighboring Stavropol' Kraykom (1970-78), *Shevardnadze* was first secretary of the neighboring Georgian SSR Republic party organization (1972-85), and *Aliyev* was first secretary of the neighboring Azerbaijan Republic party organization (1969-82).

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1984, with *Yakovlev*.

**Zagladin, Vadim Valentinovich**  
First deputy chief, International Department, CPSU Central Committee

Deputy chief (1967-75), then first deputy chief (1975-present) of the International Department, CPSU Central Committee, when *Ponomarev* was chief (1955-86).

Secretary, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, since 1979, when *Suslov* (until 1982), *Chernenko* (1982-84), *Gorbachev* (1984-85), and *Ligachev* (1985-present) were successive chairmen of the commission and *Zaykov* was a member (1979-84).

**Zakharov, Vasilii Georgiyevich** [*Zaykov*]  
Second secretary, Moscow City Party Committee

Head of the agitprop department (1974-78), then a secretary (1978-83) of Leningrad obkom when *Romanov* was Leningrad Obkom first secretary (1970-83), *Solov'yev* was a secretary and second secretary (1974-78) and then first secretary (1978-84) of Leningrad Gorkom, and *Zaykov* was chairman of Leningrad Gorispolkom (1976-83).

Elected to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in 1980 from Leningrad City with *Tikhonov*.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Zaykov*.

Works under *Yel'tsin*, who has been Moscow Gorkom first secretary since 1985.

**Zamyatin, Leonid Mitrofanovich** [*Gromyko*]  
Ambassador to the United Kingdom

Attended Moscow Aviation Institute (graduating in 1944) with *Ligachev* (who graduated in 1943) and *Dobrynin* (1942).

Rose in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, starting in 1946, to chief of the Press Department (1962-70) when *Gromyko* was Minister (1957-85).

Member, Legislative Proposals Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-74, when *Solomentsev* was chairman of the commission (1966-74).

Member (since 1974) and secretary (since 1984) of Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), while *Zimyanin* has been deputy chairman (since 1974), when *Chebrikov* was a member (1979-84), while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984), and while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986).

Member, USSR Parliamentary Group, since 1974, with *Zimyanin* (1970-79) and *Yakovlev* (since 1984).

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Chief of International Information Department, CPSU Central Committee, during 1978-86, when *Gromyko* was Minister of Foreign Affairs (1957-85).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, editorial commission, 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Zimyanin*.

**Zatvornitskiy, Vladimir Andreyevich**

Leader, stone masons' brigade, Mosstroy-1 Trust, Moscow Oblast

Has worked in Moscow since 1947, when *Grishin* was first secretary, Moscow Gorkom (1967-85).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, *Voronov*, and *Zimyanin*. *Demichev* and *Grishin* were delegates from Moscow Oblast.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet in 1975 from Moscow City with *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Kosygin*, and *Podgorny*. *Gromyko* was a delegate from Moscow Oblast.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, *Grishin*, and *Zimyanin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet in 1980, from Moscow City with *Biryukova*, *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, and *Kosygin*. *Gromyko* and *V. V. Kuznetsov* were delegates from Moscow Oblast.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Andropov*, *Brezhnev*, *Grishin*, *Medvedev*, *Suslov*, and *Tikhonov*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate from Moscow Oblast.

**Zaykov, Lev Nikolayevich**

Member, Politburo, and Secretary, CPSU Central Committee

Chairman, Leningrad Gorispolkom during 1976-83, when *Romanov* was first secretary of Leningrad Obkom (1970-83) and *Solov'yev* was a secretary, then second secretary of Leningrad Obkom (1974-78) and then first secretary of Leningrad Gorkom (1978-84).

Elected to RSFSR Supreme Soviet from Leningrad, 1975, with *Kirilenko* and *Solov'yev*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Leningrad City, 1979, with *Romanov*, *Solov'yev*, and *Suslov*. *Sokolov* was elected to Council of Nationalities from the Leningrad rural electoral district.

Member, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1979-84, when *Suslov* (until 1982) and *Chernenko* (1982-84) were successive chairmen of the commission.

Member, Leningrad delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Gromyko*, *Romanov*, *Sokolov*, and *Solov'yev*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Leningrad City, 1984, with *Solov'yev*. *Romanov* was elected to Council of Nationalities, representing Leningrad City. *Sokolov* represented Leningrad's rural electoral district in Council of Nationalities.

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Member of the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet since 1984, when *Chernenko* (1984-85) and *Gromyko* (since 1985) were successive chairmen of the Presidium; when *V. V. Kuznetsov* (1977-86) and *Demichev* (since June 1986) were successive first deputy chairmen; and when *Grishin* (1970-86), *Kunayev* (since 1962), *Shcherbitskiy* (since 1972), *Slyun'kov* (since 1984), *Solov'yev* (since 1986), and *Yel'tsin* (since 1984) were members.

**Zaytsev, Mikhail Mitrofanovich** [*Sokolov*]  
Commander in chief, Southern Theater, USSR Ministry of Defense

Worked under *Ustinov* when *Ustinov* was USSR Minister of Defense (1976-84) and now works under *Sokolov*, Minister since December 1984.

First deputy commander, then commander, Belorussian SSR Military District during 1972-80, when *Masherov* was first secretary, Communist Party of Belorussian SSR (1965-80) and when *Slyun'kov* was first secretary of Minsk Gorkom (1972-74).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Belorussian SSR, 1979, with *Masherov*.

**Zimyanin, Mikhail Vasil'yevich**  
Secretary, CPSU Central Committee

First secretary of Belorussian Komsomol organization during 1940-46, when *Masherov* was first secretary of Molodechno Oblast Komsomol committee in Belorussian SSR (1944-46), when *Mazurov* was a secretary of the Belorussian Komsomol (1942-46), and when *Shelepin* was a secretary of the All-Union Komsomol (1943-49).

Secretary, then second secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia during 1947-53, when *Masherov* was first secretary of Belorussian Komsomol (1947-54) and *Mazurov* held leading positions in Belorussian party apparatus and in Minsk Gorkom and Obkom (1947-53).

Official, USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs during 1953-56 and again during 1957-60, when *Gromyko* was First Deputy Minister (1953-57) and Minister (1957-85).

Member, Moscow City delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Brezhnev*, *Gromyko*, *Kirilenko*, *Kosygin*, *Mazurov*, *Polyanskiy*, *Shelepin*, *Suslov*, and *Voronov*. *Demichev* and *Grishin* were delegates representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, editorial commission, 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Romanov*.

Member (since 1966) and deputy chairman (since 1974) of Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, when *Ponomarev* was chairman of the commission (1966-86), when *Chebrikov* was a member (1979-84), while *Dobrynin* has been chairman (since 1986), and while *Yakovlev* has been a member (since 1984).

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Azerbaijan SSR, 1970 and 1974. *Aliyev* was elected to Council of the Union each time.

Member, editorial commission, 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Demichev*.

Member, Moscow City delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Brezhnev*, *Chernenko*, and *Grishin*. *Kirilenko* was a delegate representing Moscow Oblast.

Member, editorial commission, 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Nikonov*, *Ponomarev*, and *Vorotnikov*.

Elected to Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet, from Krasnodar, 1979 and 1984. *Razumovskiy* and *Talyzin* were elected to Council of the Union from Krasnodar each time.

Member, Krasnodar delegation to 26th Party Congress, 1981, with *Razumovskiy*.

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**Zolotukhin, Grigoriy Sergeyeovich** [*Razumovskiy*]  
USSR Minister of Grain Products

Leading Komsomol and party work (presumably in Tambov Oblast) during 1939-55, when *Shelepin* was a secretary (1943-49), second secretary (1949-52), and first secretary (1952-58) of the All-Union Komsomol.

Member, presidium of 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Gromyko* and all members of the then current senior leadership.

First secretary, Krasnodar Kraykom during 1966-73, when *Gorbachev* was a leading party official in neighboring Stavropol' Kray (1966-78) and when *Razumovskiy* was a Krasnodar Kraykom department chief (1967-71).

Member, Agriculture Commission, Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, during 1970-74, with *Nikonov*.

Member, presidium of 24th Party Congress, 1971, with *Aliyev*, *Dolgikh*, and all members of the then current senior leadership.

USSR Minister of Procurement (1973-present; the name was changed to USSR Ministry of Grain Products in December 1985) when *Gorbachev* was CPSU Central Committee secretary for agriculture (1978-85).

Member, Krasnodar Kray delegation to 23rd Party Congress, 1966, with *Razumovskiy*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, in 1966, 1970, and 1974, from Krasnodar. *Polyanskiy* was elected to Council of Nationalities from Krasnodar all three times. *Razumovskiy* was elected to Council of the Union from Krasnodar in 1974.

Member, Krasnodar Kray delegation to 25th Party Congress, 1976, with *Razumovskiy*.

Elected to Council of the Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, 1979 and 1984, from Krasnodar Kray with

*Razumovskiy* and *Talyzin* both years. *Zimyanin* was elected to Council of Nationalities from Krasnodar Kray both years.

**Zorkal'tsev, Viktor Il'ich** [*Ligachev*]  
First secretary, Tomsk Oblast Party Committee

First secretary of Kolpashevskiy Gorkom (in Tomsk Oblast) as of 1976 and first secretary of Strezhevoy Gorkom (in Tomsk Oblast) as of 1981, when *Ligachev* was first secretary of Tomsk Obkom (1965-83).

Member, Tomsk delegation to 25th Party Congress in 1976 and to 26th Party Congress in 1981, with *Ligachev* each time.

Inspector, CPSU Central Committee apparatus sometime before 1986, when *Ligachev* was chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, CPSU Central Committee (1983-85).



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