

COMMUNIST DELEGATES TO THE 19th SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS

<u>ALBANIA</u>	<u>PARTY POSITION</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT POSITION</u>	<u>FORMER COMINTERN POSITION</u>
HOXHA, Enver	Sec. Gen. Party	Premier	
MARKO, Rita	C. C.		
<u>ALGERIA</u>			
BOUHALI, Larby	Secretary		
<u>ARGENTINA</u>			
CODOVILLA, Victor	Pres. Mem. CC. Exec. Comm. Top Communist		Praesidium 1927, Chief Latin American Secretariat 1927-1929
<u>AUSTRALIA</u>			
SHARKEY, Lawrence	Sec. Gen.		E C C I - 1935
<u>AUSTRIA</u>			
KOPLINIG, Johann	Mem. Secretariat, Politburo CC		E C C I 1921-28-35, Presidium
FUERNBERG, Friedl	Sec. Gen.		Teacher at Lenin School, Member "Austrian Communists in Moscow", 1943
HAIDER, Franz	Mem. Secretariat, Politburo CC		
<u>BELGIUM</u>			
LALMAND, Edgar	Sec. Gen.		
GLINEUR, Georges	Mem. Bureau Politique		
PONCELET, Edgard	Mem. Central Committee		
<u>BULGARIA</u>			
CHERVENKOV, Vulko	Sec. Gen. Politburo	Premier	
CHANKOV, Georgh	Politburo	Vice-Premier	
ZHIKOV, Todor	Politburo		

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<u>BULGARIA</u>	<u>PARTY POSITION</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT POSITION</u>	<u>FORMER COMINTERN POSITION</u>
DULBOKOV, Savn PAPAZOV, Nacho			
<u>BURMA</u>			
THAN TUN, Thakin			
<u>CANADA</u>			
MORRIS, Leslie	Mem. Executive Comm.		
<u>CHINA</u>			
LIU, Shao-ch'i JAO, Shu-shih CH'EN, I WANG, Chia-hsiang LIU, Ch'ang-sheng LI, Fu-ch'un			
<u>COSTA RICA</u>			
VALVERDE, Eduard HERRERA, Garcia Adolfo			
<u>CZECHOSLOVAKIA</u>			
GOTTWALD, Klement	Chairman (Sec. Gen.)	President-Gov.	ECCI 1928-35, Praesidium 1929-35, Polit. Secretariat 1935
ZAPOTOCKY, Antonin	Politburo Mem.; Party Sec.	Premier	ECCI 1924, 1928 1935
SIROKY, Viliam	Politburo Mem.; Party Sec.	Min. For. Affairs	ECCI 1935
<u>CHILE</u>			
VERGARA, L.			

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<u>DENMARK</u>	<u>PARTY POSITION</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT POSITION</u>	<u>FORMER COMINTERN POSITION</u>
LARSEN, Aksel	Chairman CP		ICC - 1925
JENSEN, Alfred	Vice-Chairman CP		
<u>FINLAND</u>			
AALTONEN, Aimo	Chairman CP		
PESSI, Ville	Gen. Sec.		
RYOMA, Mauri			
HAUTALA, Arvo			
LEKTINEN, Inkeri	Assistant to Hertta KUUSINEN		Co-signer of Comintern Dissolution Decree 1943
<u>FRANCE</u>			
LECOEUR, Auguste	Central Committee, CP		
GUYOT, Raymond	Mem. Bureau Politique		ECCI - 1935 Praesidium 1935, Sec. Gen. YCI 1936
THOREZ, Maurice	Sec. Gen.		ECCI- 1928-35 Praesidium 1931-35
VERMEERSCH, Jeannette	Mem. Central Committee & Bureau Politique		
COGNIOT, Georges	Mem. C. C.		
GARAUDY, Roger	Mem. C. C.		
<u>GERMANY</u>			
PIECK, Wilhelm	C. C. Chairman SED	President	ECCI 1928-35 Praesidium 1931-35, Political Sec. 1935, Teacher at M School
GROTEWOHL, Otto	C. C. of SED, Mem. Politburo		

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<u>GERMANY</u>	<u>PARTY POSITION</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT POSITION</u>	<u>FORMER COMINTERN POSITION</u>
ULBRICHT, Walter	Sec. Gen. CC SED		ECCI, 1928-35, Nat'l Comm. of Free Germany Moscow 1943
SCHMIDT, Elli	Mem. CC Candidate for Politburo		
HONECKER, Erich	Mem. CC Candidate for Politburo		
WIRTH, Erich	Candidate for CC		
GROSSMANN, Ernst			
<u>GREAT BRITAIN</u>			
POLLITT, Harry	Sec. Gen. CP		ECCI, 1924-35, Praesidium 1924-35, Com- intern Rep. to USA 1929
GOLLAN, John	Assistant Editor of <u>Daily Worker</u>		
<u>GREECE</u>			
ZACHARIADES, Mikos	Sec. Gen.		ECCI - 1935 Sec. of Balkan Comm. Fed. 1935
BARTZIOTAS, Vassilios			
<u>HUNGARY</u>			
RAKOSI, Matyas	Sec. Gen. CP; Politburo	Premier	ECCI-1919, 1935
GERO, Erno	Politburo	Min. State; Pres. People's Econ. Council	Lived or visited often in USSR for 20 years. Inter- national Brigade in Spain
HIDAS, Istvan	CC & Orgburo, Sec. Gen. Budapest CP		

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<u>ICELAND</u>	<u>PARTY POSITION</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT POSITION</u>	<u>FORMER COMINTERN POSITION</u>
BJARNASON, Brynjolfur	Chairman		
OLGIERSSON, Einor	Parliamentary Chairman		
JAKOBSON, Aki			
SIGURHJARTARSON, Sigfus			
<u>INDIA</u>			
BHADURI, Panachuyopal	Prominent West Bengal Communist		
GHOSH, Ajoy	Sec. Gen.		
GOPALAN, A.K.	Parliamentary Sec.		
<u>IRAN</u>			
RADMANESH, Reza	Sec. Gen.		
TABARI, Ehsan			
BOQUERATI, Mahmoud	Mem. C.C.		
GHASSEMI, Ahmad	Mem. Investigat- ing Committee		
FORTUAN, Gholan Husein			
<u>ISRAEL</u>			
TUMA, Amil			
NAQQARAH, Hanna			
MIKUNIS, Samuel	Sec. Gen.		
TOUBI, Tewfik			
<u>ITALY</u>			
LONGO, Luigi	Vice-Sec. Party		Political Commission 1933. Gen. Sec. of Intern. Brigade in Spain 1936-37 CI representative, France and Belgium, 1927, ECCI 1928-35 Possible member of WEB
GRIECO, Ruggero	Mem. Directorate		

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<u>ITALY</u>	<u>PARTY POSITION</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT POSITION</u>	<u>FORMER COMINTERN POSITION</u>
MONTAGNANA, Rita	Mem. Directorate		
INGRAO, Pietro	Mem. Central Committee		
BONAZ, Enrico	Mem. Central Committee		
ROBOTTI, Paolo	Can. Mem. C.C. Vice-Chief, Central Press & Propaganda Commission		Instructor at Antifa Schools during World War II; PCI rep.

KOREA

PAK, Chong Ae	Sec. Gen.		
PAK, Yong Pin			
PAEK, Hol			
KIM, Il	Vice-Min. Nat'l Defense		
PAK, Kum Chol	Cultural Dep. Comdr.		

LUXEMBURG

URBANY, Dominique Sec. Gen.

MEXICO

TERRAZAS, Manuel			
ENCINA, Dionisio	Sec. Gen. (name listed by <u>Pravda</u> as being present but signs greetings sent to Congress)		

ALVAREZ--
MOLASCO, Ernesto
RUBIA--FELIX,
Lazarro

MONGOLIA

DAMBA, D.	Chairman of the Great People's Hurul of Mon- golia		
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NETHERLANDS

WAGENAAR, Gerben	Chairman		
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DE GROOT, Paul Sec. Gen.

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<u>NORTH KOREA</u>	<u>PARTY POSITION</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT POSITION</u>	<u>FORMER COMINTERN POSITION</u>
KO Chan Po	Observer to Congress		
KIM Chan	Observer to Congress		
<u>NORWAY</u>			
LOVLIEN, Emil	Chairman		ECCI - 1935
STRAND-JOHANSEN Johann	Vice-Chairman		
<u>RUMANIA</u>			
GHEORGHIU-DEJ, Gheorge	Sec. Gen.	Premier	CP Rep. to Comintern (Balkan Secretariat) 1932-44. NKVD training. Grad. Lenin Sch.
BODNARAS, Emil	Politburo	Min. Nat'l Defense	
MOGHIOROS, Alesandru			
CHISINEVSCHI, Iosif	Sec. C.C.	Vice-Premier	
<u>SPAIN</u>			
IBARRURI, Dolores	Sec. Gen.		ECCI-1935
CARRILIO, Santiago			
URIBE, Vicente			
<u>SWEDEN</u>			
HAGBERG, Hilding	Chairman & Parliamentary leader		
KARLSSON, Erik	Gen. Sec.		
LAGER, Fritjof			
<u>SWITZERLAND</u>			
VINCENT, Jean Paul			
WOOG, Edgar	Mem. of Political Secretariat	Mem. of Parliament	

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<u>SYRO-LEBANESE</u>	<u>PARTY POSITION</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT POSITION</u>	<u>FORMER COMINTERN POSITION</u>
BAKDASH, Khalid	Sec. Gen.		
AL-HILU, Mustafa			
BANNA, Wasfi			
MADOYAN, Artin			
AGHABASHIAN, Ohannes			
AMAR, Jamil			
<u>TRIESTE</u>			
TOMINEC, Bonomo	Central Committee Secretariat		
<u>TURKEY</u>			
BILEN, fnu			
<u>URUGUAY</u>			
ARISMENDI, Rodney	Propaganda Sec. possibly next Sec. Gen.		
<u>VENEZUELA</u>			
MACHADO- MORALES, Gustavo			Lived in USSR c. 1929-34, Graduate of Lenin School, Member of Latin American & Cari- bbean Bureau
BOLANOS, S.			
<u>UNION OF YUGOSLAV PATRIOTS</u>			
POPIVODA, Pero	Chairman		

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APPENDIX B

COMPARISON OF NEW AND OLD STATUTES

Character and Role of the Party

1. The word "Bolsheviks" has been dropped from the name of the Party. It is explained that the duplication of the same meaning -- "Communist", "Bolsheviks" -- was now no longer necessary. This is reasonable on its face, but it fails to explain the significance of the word "Bolshevik" and why it was retained for many years after it seemed to have lost its distinction.

The word "Bolshevik" was retained in 1939 probably because it stood, not only as an emotional symbol, but also, because it served as a constant reminder of the principles of organization for which it was first used. These principles concerned the role of the Party:

- (1) The principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat (working-class) and the leading role of the Party;
- (2) The inclusion of peasant problems in the Party program;
- (3) Right of national self-determination;
- (4) The monolithic, militant, and disciplined Party organization, composed of carefully selected members, each fulfilling a specific task;
- (5) The select quality of the members of the Central Committee.

If these principles have changed, then the word Bolshevik has lost its meaning. Conversely, the dropping of the word as redundant indicates that the principles which it symbolized are no longer valid; that is, that in all, or in major respects, the role and character of the Party is different from what it was in 1939. Possible jealousy on the part of the post-revolutionary group of bureaucratic Communists towards the psychological symbolism of the term must also be recognized. There are very few of the "old Bolsheviks" left.

2. The definition of the Party has changed. From "the organized vanguard of the working class," it has become "a voluntary militant union of Communists holding the same views, formed of people of the working class, the toiling peasantry, and the toiling intelligentsia."

3. Several other references in 1939 statutes to the "vanguard" role of the Party -- its "leadership," its "militancy," "unity," and "guiding" character -- are reduced in the new statutes to the declaration that --

"At present, the major tasks of the CP consist in building a Communist Society by way of a gradual transition from Socialism to Communism, in the steady rise of the material and cultural standards of the Society, in rearing the members of the society in the spirit of internationalism in the establishing of fraternal ties with the workers of all countries, and in an all-around strengthening of the active strengthening of the active defense of the Soviet country against the aggressive actions of its enemies."

4. The most obvious difference between the 1939 and the 1952 statutes is the playing down of the idea of combativeness in the new statutes. This is explainable from the statement that the capitalists and landlords have been liquidated and that the construction of Socialist Society has been assured. There is, in order words, no more class enmity; hence, a "softening" of the fighting theme.

5. Less obvious, but still evident is that the position of the Party vis-a-vis (1) the various classes; (2) outside organizations and institutions has changed. In the 1939 statutes, the Party was pictured as standing both outside and above the classes (although as a part -- the "vanguard" -- of one of the classes, the proletariat): it led the classes. It was also outside and above the non-Party organizations and institutions: it guided them.

In the 1952 statutes, the Party is much more closely imbedded in the Society: the Party's main tasks are identified with those of Soviet Society as a whole.

6. In 1939, the establishment of Socialism was not regarded as being complete, and the Party's leadership role was aimed at "consolidation of the dictatorship of the working class, for the consolidation and development of the socialist system." In 1952, this is regarded as firmly established, and the task of the Party is to work for the "gradual transition from Socialism to Communism." An eleven-man Commission to revise the Party program was elected on 13 October. The first revision of the program since 1919, the recommendations of the Commission should cast additional light on the character and role of the Party. The commission is headed by Stalin, and includes four Politburo members, MOLOTOV, MALENKOV, BERIA,

KAGANOVICH; also, P. N. POSPELOV, Director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute; Pavel YUDIN, a leading Party theoretician and chief editor of the Cominform Journal; Otto KUUSINEN, A. M. RUMYANTSEV, M. Z. SABUROV, and D. I. CHESNIKOV.

7. Membership. Qualifications for membership remain substantially unchanged over the 1939 provisions. The new statutes contain some refinements. The achievement of a single working class (of industrial workers, farm workers, mental workers) and the end of class exploitation is spelled out by the following: "any worker, a Soviet citizen not exploiting anyone's labor... , may become a member of the Party." Instead of merely "accepting the program of the Party" and "submitting to its decisions," the prospective member must now actively help in the realization of the program and statutes, and implement all decisions.

8. Duties of the Party Member. These have been made more specific and more personal than in 1939. Discipline, vigilance, loyalty, objectivity in appointing others to jobs, and the encouragement of "criticism from below," by-passing lower Party organs, and "safeguarding public Socialist property," are all strongly emphasized. Whereas only four duties were listed in 1939, eleven are listed in the new statutes. Observance of State discipline, in addition to Party discipline, is more strongly brought out than it was in the 1939 Statutes. Throughout the statutes and in many of the speeches, this emphasis on observance of State discipline runs like a red thread. The idea of State discipline is, of course, not new. It was mentioned in the 1939 statutes. The emphasis, however, is much stronger now than before. It constitutes the bulk of Krushchev's speech on the new statutes. Inclusion of the duty to encourage "criticism from below" and "to report to leading Party bodies, up to the Central Committee of the Party, shortcomings in work, irrespective of the persons involved," will have two effects: (1) it turns the Party into a total network of spies and informers; (2) it tends to undermine the authority of lower Party organs. These provisions reflect a frequent complaint at the Congress that many comrades were lax or bureaucratic or high-handed towards subordinates.

9. Rights of Party Members. No significant changes.

10. Admission to Membership. No significant changes.

11. Punishments. The new statutes omit the 1939 provision that expulsions and reinstatements shall be published in the local Party press. They do provide a new kind of punishment: reduction to the status of candidate for a period of up to a year. This punishment must be approved

by the Krai or Town Party Committee. As in 1939, removal from the CC, or expulsion from the Party of a CC member, can be done only by a two-thirds' vote of the CC in plenary session.

Most important, however, is the new provision that a member of a lower Party committee also, can be expelled only by a two-thirds' vote of this committee, and not by the Primary Organ to which he belongs, as was previously the case.

Finally, the increased emphasis on the State is apparent in the new provision that "a Party member(who) has committed an offense punishable by the courts, . . . is expelled from the Party on receipt of the reports on his misdeed from the administrative or the judicial authorities."

It should be noted that the wording of this provision provides for no recourse: expulsion is automatic. This places potentially enormous power in the hands of the Government apparatus, and not only the judicial, but administrative authorities, as well.

12. Candidate Members. No substantial changes, except that the probationary period for admission of candidate members to full membership is lengthened from one year to eighteen months. It is emphasized in the new Statutes that the Party must act on candidates, either temporarily lengthening their probation for good cause, or dropping them. This was reflected during the Congress when the complaint was made that some Party organizations were very remiss on passing on candidates who had exceeded the probationary period. It was claimed that some, who had proven themselves, were held in a candidate status indefinitely while some clearly unfit candidates were never dropped.

13. Inner-Party Democracy. No substantial change. Policy discussion must be organized so that, among other things, it does not lead to "attempts at splitting which may shake the strength and stability of the Socialist system." The 1939 statutes had it: "strength and firmness of the dictatorship of the working class."

14. Party Structure. Articles 26-27 of the old statutes, describing the territorial organization of the Party, and enumerating the administrations and departments of the Central Committee apparatus, were omitted from the new Statutes.

15. Party Congress. The Congress is to be convened every four years, instead of every three, as formerly.

The fiction that the Congress "acts" upon reports of the CC and other leading organs has been abandoned. The Congress now "hears and confirms"

these reports. All-Union Conferences are no longer provided for. It was explained by Krushchev that Congresses and plenary sessions of the CC were sufficient to take up "topical questions."

16. The Central Committee. The CC is now to meet in plenary session every six months, instead of every four months, as previously.

Candidate members of the CC now have "a consultative vote," whereas they previously had a "voice but no vote." The difference is obscure.

As before, the CC sets up the Committee of Party Control (formerly, Party Control Commission), the Central Auditing Committee, and the Secretariat. It also organizes a Presidium, whereas before, it set up a Political Bureau and an Organization Bureau. These two bodies no longer exist.

17. Presidium. The big change, of course, is the abolition of the Politburo and the Orgburo and the creation of the Presidium.

The Presidium was set up because the Politburo, originally designed to guide the Party's "political work," had in fact become a super-CC. It was intended, according to N. S. Krushchev, to recognize this fact by changing the title to Presidium (i. e., a collective presidency). The statutory supremacy of the Presidium is acknowledged: it shall "control the work of the Central Committee between plenary sessions."

The Central Committee itself is much too large a body to function effectively in plenum. The Presidium, also, seems to be too large for an effective dictatorial organ. As set up by the CC, it consists of 25 members and 11 candidate members.

Whether a smaller portion of the Presidium is set aside as the actual ruling body, or whether the Secretariat will be the actual center of power, depends largely on whether the Party maintains its old system of centralized parallel hegemony over the Government, or whether the Government actually achieves supremacy.

At this point, it should be noted that the Central Committee, which in the early days, was the effective supreme organ, was deprived of its power by greatly enlarging it. Stalin himself did this to concentrate power in the Secretariat in the 1920's, and the effective enlarging of the present leading organ may have a similar purpose. It will be interesting to see if a sub-organ of the Presidium is created to overcome the difficulties of size. If this is not done, it may be that either the Secretariat or the Council of Ministers will usurp the theoretical power of the Presidium.

18. Secretariat. The 1939 provisions that the Secretariat, created by the CC, is responsible for "current work," is clarified by the new statement that it is "mainly concerned with the organization of verification of the fulfillment of the Party's decisions and the selection of cadres."

It is no longer specified that "special secretaries" shall be appointed for Agitprop and Cadres.

19. Central Committee Apparatus. The provisions for the creation of specific functional departments under the (Secretariat of the) CC are no longer included. However, it is provided that the CC

"organizes various Party institutions and controls their function; appoints editorial boards of central bodies functioning under its controls and confirms the editorial boards of Party bodies of major local organizations; organizes and makes preparations having social significance; distributes the forces and resources of the Party; and administers the central fund. The Central Committee guides the work of central councils and public organizations through the Party group in them."

The authority of the CC to set up functional executive/administrative departments of all types as before is clearly implied with the above duties. By enumerating the duties of the CC, it is given more freedom and flexibility in setting up its apparatus than heretofore.

As before, the CC is empowered to "set up Political Departments and select Party organizers at given sectors of Socialist construction which may assume a special importance...." It was under this authority that the CC in the past established the "production otdels" within the CC apparatus and corresponding Political Departments in various industrial and defense ministries. (In both the new and the old statutes, a special article is also devoted to the Political Departments of the Red Army and Navy and the Transport system.)

It may be significant that, whereas the old statutes said that such Political Departments could be set up in "sectors of Socialist Construction which have acquired special importance for the national economy and the country in general." The new statutes refer only to "the national economy of the country as a whole." In other words, Political Departments in economic ministries and possibly, production otdels, in the CC Apparatus.

20. Committee of Party Control. The Party Control Commission, until 1939, was elected by the Party Congress. It was reduced to a tool

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of the CC during the period when Zhdanov was leading the Party. The new Statutes even more specifically define the subordination of the Control Committee to the CC: "The Committee of Party Control (is) attached to the Central Committee of the Party."

The duties of the Committee are both more specific and more limited under the new statutes.

Discipline of Party members is now related to both Party and State, whereas before, only Party discipline was mentioned. "Party morals--deception, ... dishonesty, ... insincerity, ... slander, ... bureaucracy, ... slackness..."--are also included as subject to investigation and disciplinary act on by the Committee.

Under the old Statutes, the work of the Committee vis-a-vis the lower organs of the Party was stated only generally ("Investigates the work of local Party organizations.") In the new Statutes, the Committee is to have "its representatives, independent of local Party bodies, in the kraia and oblasts." (This represents only the statutory formalization of what was actually practiced, even though not specifically provided for in the 1939 statutes.)

Another case of formalization of an actual function is that it is now specified that the Control Committee serves as a court of appeals in cases of expulsions. The 1939 Statutes did not provide for this, but the old Control Commission had a Partkollegiya which did serve as a review board in expulsion cases.

21. Lower Party Organs. No important changes.

No mention is now made of Auditing Commissions at lower levels, but the term "inspection commission" may indicate simply a change in name. It may also, of course, mean that the lower Auditing Commissions have been merged with other checking organs at these levels.

The number of Secretaries in the executive organs of lower organizations has been reduced to three from the previous "four or five." As explained by Krushchev, it was felt that a Secretariat could handle day-to-day work more effectively than could the Bureaus of lower Party Committees. But, to prevent the Secretariat's usurping the powers of the Bureaus, the number of Secretaries was reduced and it was required that they report systematically to the bureaus of the committee at their own level.

The plenary meetings of lower Party Committees have been increased from once every three months to once every two months.

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The importance of criticism and self-criticism, training, vigilance, and agitprop among the workers is emphasized among the duties of lower Party organizations. These duties were not specified in the 1939 Statutes.

22. Primary Party Organizations. Party Committees may now be set up in enterprises where there are over three hundred Party members and candidates. The previous figure called for was five hundred.

To the former duties of the Primary Organizations have been added those of improving the level of political education of members and candidates, and the development of criticism and self-criticism and vigilance.

Krushchev stated that ideological work was often "underestimated" and organized in an unsatisfactory manner.

The size of the bureau of a Primary Organization has been reduced from "not more than eleven" members, to "not more than six."

Provisions in the 1939 Statutes for paid functionaries in large Primary Organizations were omitted from the new Statutes.

23. Komsomol. No substantial changes.

24. Party Organizations in Defense Services and Transport. As before, the Main Political Administrations of the Army, Navy, Ministry of Transport, and (new) the Ministries of Merchant Marine and River Fleet, function as departments of the Central Committee.

Omitted from the 1952 Statutes is the following paragraph of the old statutes: "The Political Administrations of the Red Army, The Navy, and the transport system perform their work of guidance through Political Departments, Military Commissars and Party organizers appointed by them, and through Party Commissions elected at Army, Navy, and railway Conferences.

25. Party Groups in Non-Party Organizations. No substantial changes.

26. Party Dues. Minor change in the system of calculating members' dues.

APPENDIX C

COMPOSITION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1. The Congress elected 126 full members and 110 alternates.
2. Thirty-eight full members of the old CC were reelected to full membership. Of these, 14 can be classified as primarily Party workers; 8, as primarily State workers; and 16, as being important in both Party and State work.
3. Of the 1939 full members, with other changes in membership prior to the 19th Congress, 12 had died, 1 had been expelled, and 1 had been reduced to the rank of alternate.
4. Of the former full members, 21 were not reelected, either to full or alternate status. Of these, 5 were primarily Party workers; 12 were primarily State workers; and 4 combined both types of activity.
5. Six former full members were reduced to the status of alternate membership. Of these, 3 were primarily State workers; 3 combined both State and Party activities.
6. Eight former Alternates were raised to full membership. Of these, 5 were primarily Party workers; 3 were primarily State workers.
7. Seventy-seven full members are new, having been neither full nor alternate members before.
8. Of 68 former Alternates, 9 had died and 10 had been expelled prior to the 19th Congress.
9. Of 14 Alternates who were reelected as Alternates, 10 were primarily State workers; 3 were primarily Party workers; 1 combined both types of activity.
10. Seen as a whole, about 70% of the full members of the CC have come up through Party ranks. Of 140 new members and alternates, 78 are Party careerists and 62 have a background in Government. The proportion of individuals with military assignments has dropped from 14% in 1939 to 11%.

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1. The Presidium consists of 25 full members and 11 alternates. It includes as full members all members of the former Politburo, except for ANDREYEV and KOSYGIN. The latter is an alternate member. ANDREYEV, former Chairman of the Control Commission, is not included in any leading organ other than the CC. Eight former members of the Orgburo are full or alternate members of the Presidium (including 2 who were also members of the Politburo). Five of the Presidium members were former members of the Secretariat.

2. Ten full members and seven alternates of the Presidium were not previously members of a leading organ. Of these, 4 full members and 3 of the alternates were not even members of the CC before the Congress.

3. Seven of the full members and three of the alternates of the Presidium are in the new Secretariat. One full member (SHKIRYATOV) has been promoted from Deputy Chairman to Chairman of the new Control Committee.

4. Twelve full members and four alternates are on the Council of Ministers. Six full members hold other important State positions, but are not in the Council of Ministers. The remainder appear to hold no top State post; presumably, they are primarily Party bureaucrats.

5. Ministries represented on the Presidium by their Ministers are the following:

<u>Ministry</u>	<u>Presidium Membership of Minister</u>
Light Industry	alternate (A. N. KOSYGIN)
Shipbuilding Industry	full (V. A. MALYSHEV)
Agricultural Procurement	full (P. K. PONOMARENKO)
State Planning Commission	full (M. Z. SABUROV)
Ferrous Metal Industry	full (I. F. TEVOSYAN)
Building Materials Industry	alternate (P. F. YUDIN)
Foreign Affairs	alternate (A. Y. VYSHINSKY)
Finances	Alternate (A. G. ZVEREV)

The Ministries of Internal Affairs (MVD), State Security (MGB), Foreign Trade, Internal Trade, and Chemical Industry are represented in the Presidium by Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers responsible for them.

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6. There are several important Ministries not represented in the Presidium. Asterisks mark Ministries not even represented on the CC:

- Oil Industry
- Agriculture
- Armed Forces
- Aviation Industry
- Labor Reserves
- Armaments
- War
- Navy
- Coal Industry
- Cotton Growing
- Timber Industry
- Transport Machinery*
- Transportation*
- Agricultural Machine Building*
- Automobile and Tractor Industry*
- Cinematography*
- Communications*
- Communications Equipment Industry
- Construction and Road Building Machine Industry*
- Heavy Industry Enterprises
- Construction of Machine Building Enterprises
- Electrical Industry*
- Fish Industry*
- Food Industry*
- Forestry*
- Geology
- Health*
- Heavy Machine Building Industry
- Higher Education
- Justice
- Machine and Instrument Making Industry
- Machine Tool Construction
- Maritime Fleet*
- Meat and Dairy Industry*
- Non-Ferrous Metallurgy
- Paper and Wood Processing Industry*
- Electric Power Stations
- River Fleet
- State Control
- State Farms*
- Food and Material Reserves*

7. It is evident from the above that no attempt has been made to pull State functionaries into the Presidium on any scale. The large number of important ministries which are not even represented in the Central Committee, shows that no real attempt has been made to pull State functionaries into that body.

APPENDIX E

SOVIET DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

1. Statements by Party leaders exuded confidence in the military strength and the industrial progress of the USSR.
2. The achievement of Communism was again postponed indefinitely. Stalin, in the Bolshevik article ("Economic Problems of Socialism"), set the prerequisites for the achievement of Communism:
 - 1) Continued expansion of basic industries;
 - 2) Nationalization of the collective farms;
 - 3) Replacement of the open market by controlled and planned exchanges of commodities;
 - 4) Expansion of education: reduction of working day, universal technical training, increase in real wages.
3. Numerous criticisms were made of State and Party bureaucrats. Industrial ministries were criticized for failure to develop maximum labor productivity. Industries were criticized for failure to deliver stipulated quantities of goods. Some operated on haphazard schedules; others produced shoddy goods. Shortcomings of agricultural enterprises were sharply criticized. These criticisms were linked to the emphasis placed upon Party activities to strengthen discipline and to improve the "selection of people and verification of fulfillment of decisions."
4. A somewhat amusing sidelight to these criticisms is that so many of the failings were the result of the difficulty of accurately computing costs in a planned and controlled economy without a free market. This difficulty was acknowledged by Stalin in his Bolshevik article. One would think that after so many years, the Communists would have devised some magic formula of cost accounting in their totalitarian economy.