SOVIET LEADERSHIP: THE LOSING FACTION

- I. The opposition has been thoroughly defeated.
 - A. Five of Khrushchev's colleagues have been dropped from full membership in the presidium, another from candidate membership.
 - B. They were also stripped of their main government positions (Pervukhin remains atomic energy minister).
 - 1. This and the reorganization has effectively destroyed the old Council of Ministers structure.
 - 2. Of the top-level personnel listed in December (Chairman Bulganin, 5 first deputies, and 8 deputies) only Bulganin--who may be in trouble--, First Deputy Mikoyan and Deputy Kosygin remain. (Kuzmin is newly appointed planning chief, probably Khrushchev man).
 - C. Some members of new Presidium may fill vacant government posts.
- II. A public campaign of denunciation against the purged leaders has developed rapidly. There is a clear threat of criminal action in some of the charges now being thrown out.
 - A. Malenkov has been accused of trumping-up a 1949 purge of the Leningrad party organization and, together with Molotov and Kaganovich, has been implicated in Stalin's Great Purges of the late 30's.

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- 1. Although they failed, Khrushchev's opponents undoubtedly gave him some very bad moments. Then, too, they have had considerable prestige and may still have some political support.
- 2. For all these reasons, Khrushchev may be obliged to put them out of harm's way once and for all. If anything saves them it will be Khrushchev's fear of creating an obvious parallel with the Stalin purges.
- B. Pervukhin has been demoted to candidate membership in the Presidium. However, he is officially ranked last among the nine candidates and is probably due for eventual elimination from the top ranks.
- C. We feel that Bulganin's position is also shaky.
 - 1. If persistent press reports are true that he deserted Khrushchev at least temporarily, his days are numbered.
 - 2. In recent months Khrushchev has moved full force into Bulganin's field of governmental administration, and pushed him into the background.
 - 3. Press speculates that Zhukov might replace him.
- D. Voroshilov is also rumored to be on the way out. Since he is primarily figurehead, his ouster would be of less importance.
- E. There have been no announcements of shake-ups at lower levels, but these can be expected as Khrushchev moves to remove adherents of the defeated faction.

- III. The three chief purge victims, Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich have apparently carried grudges against Khrushchev for some time.
 - A. Malenkov suffered an earlier defeat at Khrushchev's hands in early 1955, largely over the question of investment priorities. (Light-vs-Heavy industry controversy) At that time he was dropped from the premiership and publicly humiliated.
 - B. Molotov and Kaganovich, oldest of the Old Bolsheviks, have been unable to accept changes in policy since Stalin's death.
 - 1. Khrushchev and Molotov are known to have been feuding at least since July 1955.
 - 2. Kaganovich's motivations are obscure, but Khrushchev's anti-Semitism may have been a factor.
 - C. It is most unlikely that the three men had a common view with respect to all points of policy.
 - 1. Malenkov very probably not a "Stalinist" in the sense that he insisted on all of the old methods like Molotov and Kaganovich. They seem to have united mainly in opposition to Khrushchev's dominance.
 - 2. Shepilov evidently joined the opposition very late in the game and for purely opportunist reasons. One report suggests that, in return for his support, he was offered Khrushchev's post as Party First Secretary. This accounts for present treatment of him as a contemptible second-rater. Khrushchev called him "double-dealer."

3. Pervukhin and Saburov apparently disagreed with Khrushchev on policy, but probably did not join the conspiracy. This has for the time being protected them from public attack.