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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
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SPOT COMMENTARY: Leadership Changes at Plenum

In the most sweeping overhaul of the top party leadership since Khrushchev ousted the so-called "anti-party group" in 1957, General Secretary Gorbachev has used today's Central Committee plenum to undercut his opponents and improve the chances for successful implementation of his foreign and domestic policies. [REDACTED]

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- o Soviet media announced today that the plenum removed Gromyko and Solomentsev as members of the Politburo. Gromyko will retire tomorrow as Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Solomentsev was replaced as Chairman of the Party Control Committee by Latvian party chief Boris Pugo. At the 19th Party Conference in June, both Gromyko and Solomentsev came under attack from delegates who accused them of hindering the reform process that Gorbachev has undertaken.
- o Vadim Medvedev, up till now a junior party secretary with responsibility for overseeing relations with ruling communist parties, vaulted over several more senior officials to become a member of the Politburo. Medvedev has no clearcut ties to other members of the leadership, but his public statements have been reformist in tone, especially on foreign policy issues.
- o Two leftovers from the Brezhnev period--party secretary Dolgikh and Supreme Soviet Vice Chairman Demichev--were removed as candidate members of the Politburo. Three new candidate members were named: Internal Affairs Minister Vlasov and party secretaries Lukyanov and Biryukova, both of whom relinquished their positions on the Secretariat. Vlasov and Lukyanov appear to have strongly supported Gorbachev's efforts to reform the criminal justice and law enforcement system, and Biryukova has promoted the emphasis on consumer interests that Gorbachev favors.
- o The plenum also removed former Ambassador to the United States Anatoliy Dobrynin from the Secretariat. Some evidence suggested that Dobrynin had ties to "second secretary"

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Ligachev and that he may have clashed with Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev, one of Gorbachev's closest allies, over foreign policy issues. [REDACTED]

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Gorbachev's success at today's Central Committee plenum was not unqualified, however. "Second Secretary" Ligachev, who has become the rallying point for party opposition to Gorbachev's more radical reforms, remains in the Politburo, although his responsibilities appear to be circumscribed. In the past, Ligachev has had broad oversight responsibility for the critical ideology and cadres portfolios. The plenum announced that in connection with a reorganization of the party apparatus, several new commissions have been created, and Ligachev was named chairman of the commission on agriculture. Gorbachev allies were named to head the cadres commission and the commission on ideology. [REDACTED]

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The greatest uncertainty centers on the future role of KGB Chairman Chebrikov, one of Gorbachev's strongest critics. Chebrikov was named to the party Secretariat and will presumably relinquish his KGB post at the Supreme Soviet session tomorrow, to be replaced by either Lukyanov or Vlasov. This move presumably gives Gorbachev more direct control over the KGB and reduces the threat that the security forces could be used against him. Nevertheless, as a senior secretary Chebrikov remains in a politically influential position, and he may even assume oversight responsibility for all "administrative organs," including the KGB, militia, and military. [REDACTED]

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Cadres Secretary Razumovskiy, a Gorbachev protege who has been rumored to be slated for promotion to the Politburo, remained a candidate member. In addition, longtime Ukrainian party boss Sheherbitskiy, [REDACTED] retained his position in the Politburo. [REDACTED]

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Despite these uncertainties, Gorbachev is in a significantly stronger position than he was before the plenum. He has strengthened his influence over the critical areas of foreign policy, ideology, and personnel appointments. By removing members of the old guard who probably sided with Ligachev on controversial reform questions, adding new allies to positions of power, and possibly narrowing Ligachev's functions in the Secretariat, Gorbachev has enhanced his ability to move forward with his controversial reform program, especially in the area of political restructuring. [REDACTED]

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LEADERS**NEW POSITIONS****FULL POLITBURO**

Gorbachev
 Vorotnikov
 Gromyko..... Retired
 Zaykov
 Ligachev..... Heads new Agrarian Commission, remains in
 Politburo and Secretariat
 Nikonov
 Ryzhkov
 Slyunkov..... Heads new Social/Economic Commission,
 remains in Politburo and Secretariat
 Solomentsev..... Retired
 Chebrikov..... Remains on Politburo, appointed to
 Secretariat, Heads new Legal Commission
 Shevardnadze
 Shcherbitskiy
 Yakovlev..... Heads new International Policy Commission,
 remains in Politburo and Secretariat

CANDIDATE POLITBURO MEMBERS

Demichev..... Retired
 Dolgikh..... Retired
 Maslyukov
 Razumovskiy..... Heads new Party Cadres Commission, remains
 Candidate Politburo member, on Secretariat
 Solovyev
 Talyzin
 Yazov
 Vlasov..... (MVD Chairman) added as Candidate
 Politburo member

SECRETARIES

Baklanov
 Biryukova..... Added as Candidate Member Politburo,
 removed from Secretariat
 Dobrynin..... Retired
 Lukyanov..... Added as Candidate Member Politburo,
 removed from Secretariat
 Medvedev..... Full Member Politburo, remains on Secretariat,
 heads new Ideology Commission

OTHER

Kapitonov..... (Chairman of CAC) Retired, no replacement
 announced
 Pugo..... (Latvian Party Chief) elected head
 Party Control Committee, replacing
 Solomentsev, but not added to Politburo

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Prepared by:



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