YUGOSLAV PARTY CONGRESS: PERSONNEL CHANGES

The new Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, elected at the last session of the Eighth Party Congress in Belgrade on December 13, is composed of 155 members. This means that the number of the Central Committee members has been increased by 20 persons, the Central Committee elected at the Seventh Party Congress in April 1958 having had 135 members. At the same time the membership of the Executive Committee (the Yugoslav equivalent of the Politburo or Presidium in other Communist-ruled countries) has increased from 14 to 19, with six new members being elected and one old one, Franc Leskosek (67), asking to be relieved of his duties because of his advanced age.1

1) At the Fifth Party Congress held in July 1948, 63 Central Committee members were elected; the Politburo was composed of nine full members and four alternates. The Party secretariat consisted of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic. The Central Committee elected at the Sixth Party Congress in November 1952 numbered 109 members, while the Politburo consisted of 13 full members with no alternates. The Party Secretariat consisted of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovic, Gosnjak and Kidric.
Some time will have to elapse before a full analysis of all the new members of the Central Committee can be made. But it is already possible now to make three kinds of breakdown with respect to the 71 new members of the Central Committee: by age, by Party membership and by nationality.

### 1. New Central Committee members by age groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Up to 25</th>
<th>26-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>41-50</th>
<th>Over 50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2. New Central Committee members by nationalities:

- **Serbs**: 25
- **Croatians**: 12
- **Slovenes**: 10
- **Macedonians**: 8
- **Montenegrins**: 8
- **Austrians**: 3
- **Muslims**: 1
- **Yugoslavs**: 1
- **Germans**: 1
- **Turks**: 1
- **Hungarians**: 1
- **Undetermined**: 1
3. New Central Committee members according to year of admission to the Party:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1940 and before</th>
<th>1941-1945</th>
<th>1946-1948</th>
<th>after 1948</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that as far as the age of Party members is concerned, the rejuvenation proclaimed by the Party has clearly taken place, but no such rejuvenation has been introduced with respect to length of Party membership. Only 9 of the 71 new Central Committee members were admitted to the Party in the anti-Stalinist era, i.e. are people who were brought up in the days of intense anti-Soviet feelings.²

**Politburo Enlarged**

Since in the period between 1958 and 1964, eight members of the Central Committee died,³ there were 127 on hand at the Eighth Party Congress. Of this number, 84 were re-elected

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² All three breakdowns are based on data published in *Borba* of 14 December 1964.

³ The Central Committee members who died are: Bozidar Maslaric, Mitar Bakic, Ivan Karaivanov, Djuro Salaj, Naum Naumovski, Mikola Kovacevic, Joze Potro, and Slobodan Penezic.
to the new Central Committee, and 71 members were added. This means that 45 members of the old Central Committee were dropped, while only six of them became a member of the 25-strong Control Commission.

The old Politburo was composed of following leaders:
1. Josip Broz Tito (72); 2. Edvard Kardelj (54); 3. Aleksandar Rankovic (55); 4. Vladimir Bakaric (52); 5. Ivan Gosnjak (55); 6. Blazo Jovanovic (57); 7. Lazar Koliasevski (50); 8. Franc Leskosek (67); 9. Miha Marinko (64); 10. Djuro Pucar (66); 11. Petar Stambolic (52); 12. Jovan Veselinov (56); 13. Veljko Vlahovic (50); 14. Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo (52); and 15. Djuro Salaj. The last-named, Salaj, died in 1959, while Leskosek, as already mentioned, submitted his resignation at the Eighth Party Congress. To the remaining 13 members, there were elected six new ones: 1. Mika Spiljak (48); 2. Boris Krajgher (50); 3. Mijalko Todorovic (51); 4. Cvijetin Mijatovic (51); 5. Krste Crvenkovski (43); and 6. Djoka Pajkovic (47).

By nationalities, the breakdown of the Politburo membership is as follows: Six Serbs (Rankovic, Veselinov, Stambolic, Todorovic, Pucar, Mijatovic); Four Montenegrins (Vlahovic, Vukmanovic, Jovanovic and Pajkovic); Four Croats (Tito, Bakaric, Spiljak, Gosnjak); Three Slovenes (Kardelj, Marinko and Kraghler); Two Macedonians (Koliasevski and Crvenkovski).

4) It should be noted that the people of the Montenegrin republic have traditionally considered themselves to be "the staunchest of the Serbs." Also worth attention is the fact that the Montenegrin Communist Party has 34,311 members and four representatives in the Politburo, while the Macedonian Communist Party has 68,533 members but only two members in the Politburo. The Croatian Communist Party has 218,890 members but only four representatives in the Politburo, including Tito, who has usually considered himself "a Yugoslav".
The Yugoslav Ambassador in Moscow, Cvijetin Mijatovic, who was given large credit in Belgrade for the excellent relations with Nikita Khrushchev, has now been elected to the Politburo. This means that Tito will undoubtedly recall him from his ambassadorial post, and appoint a new man in Moscow—whose task it will be to try to introduce good relations with Brezhnev and his team.

Rankovic and Kardelj Behind Bakaric

1,432 delegates were authorized to vote in the Central Committee elections. Only Tito received all 1,432 votes. The delegates at the Congress had the right to strike off names from the proposed list of 155 candidates and insert those of any other persons they wanted to have elected. The following is a breakdown of the Politburo members, giving the number of votes they received in the Central Committee elections:

1. Tito: 1,432
2. Vlahovic: 1,425
3. Marinko: 1,425
4. Todorovic: 1,423
5. Bakaric: 1,422
6. Rankovic: 1,420
7. Spiljak: 1,420
8. Pucar: 1,419
9. Pajkovic: 1,418
10. Kardelj: 1,416
11. Crvenkovski: 1,414
12. Mijatovic: 1,414
13. Gospjak: 1,413
14. Kolisevski: 1,413
15. Veselinov: 1,413
16. Stambolic: 1,409
17. Jovanovic: 1,404
18. Krajger: 1,390
19. Vukmanovic: 1,389

In his speech at the first session of the Central Committee on December 13, Tito proclaimed that the Party Secretariat now consisted of four members: Tito, Rankovic, Kardelj and Vlahovic. Two members of the old Party Secretariat, Ivan Gospjak and Svetozar Vukmanovic, lost their posts. The new man is Veljko Vlahovic. Rankovic announced that the top bodies of the Central Committee, the Organizational-Political Secretariat and various commissions, are to be reorganized. The Organizational-Political Secretariat,
which was headed by Rankovic, is to be merged with the Party Secretariat. In place of commissions, groups will be created to deal with ideological and economic matters.

It seems clear that Aleksandar Rankovic has succeeded in gathering into his own hands more power than in the past, as far as top Party bodies are concerned (as shown by the increased representation of Serbs in the Politburo). This does not, however, mean that at lower levels, in the republics, his influence will be felt commensurate to his power in the Party Secretariat. This is why, in his speech at the Central Committee session, Rankovic insisted that "once decisions are made, everyone is obliged to implement them." This has been a difficult problem for the Yugoslav Party, for in the past many decisions made by the top bodies have not been properly implemented, thus aggravating already existing conflicts.

Definitive decisions regarding future cadres policy will be made only at a Politburo session in January of next year, Rankovic announced.

Slobodan Stanković