

28 February 1962

SHARING THE WORK IN THE C.C. AND THE SECRETARIAT?

The New York Times (26 February 1962, European edition) announces firmly that:

"the Kremlin has placed liaison between the Soviet and Chinese Communist parties in the hands of one of its top-ranking specialists in intelligence work" -

Lt. Gen. A.S. Panyushkin. This statement is based on the fact that Panyushkin was reported in Pravda (14 February 1962) to have been present at the celebrations of the Sino-Soviet Treaty anniversary in Moscow as the "head of a department of the CC, CPSU."

But in fact Panyushkin has been in charge of a CC Department ever since January, 1961, when the New China News Agency reported him in that capacity as attending a reception given by the Chinese Ambassador in Moscow, who at that time, by contrast with his excellency's prolonged and suspicious absence at present, was still en poste.

Moreover, Panyushkin (as the New York Times itself reports) is a member of the board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and has been for more than four years (see Pravda, 17th November 1957). It is therefore not surprising that he should appear on those occasions when Soviet-Chinese amity is being celebrated, but it is far from proof that he is in charge of liaison with Peking.

E. Kux, writing in the Neue Zürcher Zeitung last January, reached a different conclusion based on Panyushkin's long espionage experience, and suggested that he is in charge of "the information department charged with the coordination and Party supervision of all the Soviet intelligence services." On the face of it, the Neue Zürcher Zeitung's interpretation has more to commend it than that of the New York Times, since it seems more than a little improbable that Khrushchev would entrust such a delicate party mission as relations between the USSR and China to a man who is not only primarily an expert in espionage, but was also Stalin's Ambassador to Peking (June 1952 to March 1953).

As for L.N. Tolkunov, whom the New York Times views as Panyushkin's "chief deputy", such indirect evidence as is available in Munich suggests that he is more probably the deputy head of the CC department for liaison with the "socialist"

<sup>1</sup>See Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 24 January 1961.

countries. In this capacity, China would be one of his responsibilities. For example he is reported to have delivered a speech in Moscow last week on "The 22nd Party Congress and the World Socialist System". If this identification proves to be correct, then Tolkunov's chief is not Panyushkin, but Yu.V. Andropov, who is at present accompanying Ponomarev in Hanoi on what looks like a major effort to bring Ho Chi-minh's party firmly into line.

#### The Position of Shelepin

The New York Times has found "some indication that the over-all responsibility for China has passed to Aleksandr N. Shelepin", a party secretary and former head of the State Security Committee, who is said to have taken over this duty from M.A. Suslov. This is a possibility, since Shelepin was present at the meeting with the Australian communist delegation on 24th February when V.G. Koryonov was also present. No doubt China was discussed at that rendez-vous, which took place "on the invitation of the CC, CPSU",<sup>2</sup> but an alternative theory is suggested by the fact that Koryonov is the deputy chief of the International Department of the CC, a body which appears to be concerned with liaison with non-socialist countries. Thus it might tentatively be argued that the present division of labor in the Secretariat is:

B.N. Ponomarev - responsible for liaison with "socialist" countries.

A.N. Shelepin - responsible for liaison with communist and workers' parties of the non-socialist countries.

At present, however, the evidence is still far too slight for any firm conclusions to be reached.

r.r.g.

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<sup>2</sup>Pravda, 25 February 1962.