

Central Committee has been relatively stable in recent years. The fact that in 1970 Lenin was described approvingly as having given the Central Committee "a decisive role"⁷⁸ in the Genoa policy decision, suggests that Brezhnev has something to gain here. As for the Secretariat, Brezhnev has been assembling his own foreign office there, and has indicated that certain foreign leaders may deal directly with the International Department rather than working through regular channels such as Kosygin's office or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁷⁹ Over and above Zagladin, the key figure in Brezhnev's personal foreign policy apparatus is B.N. Ponomarev, the Department head. Ponomarev was promoted to the position of candidate member of the Politburo on May 19, 1972, shortly before Shelest's removal from the leadership of the Ukrainian Party as a result of his opposition to Soviet-American agreements. A critic of Stalin, Ponomarev is a moderate on foreign policy matters, and has been publicly associated with the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, a leading source of reform argumentation. Insofar as Brezhnev's leadership as such is not called into question, his growing operational control over foreign policy should permit increasingly flexible and rapid responses.

On the question of leadership stability, the Politburo appears to be operating on the basis of an understanding