

13 February 1957

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[Redacted]

SUBJECT: Review of and comments on [Redacted]  
Memorandum regarding "Soviet Communist Party  
Refutation of Chinese Communist Claims That  
Elimination of Capitalism in China is Peaceful."

1. [Redacted]

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[Redacted] I would like to  
make the following observations which are based on a rapid review of  
the article and which are tentative in nature. These comments are  
submitted in response to your instructions.

2. One of the main aims of CPSU appears to be to show that there  
is but one road to Socialism -- the Soviet road -- and that CP China has  
dully taken that road, via the dictatorship of the proletariat and class  
struggle against the bourgeoisie. It appears that the CPSU recognizes  
that the Chinese transformation (not "growth") of the economy is more  
peaceful than that of the USSR was, and that CPSU wants the relative  
nature of this "peacefulness," and its reasons (causes), to be correctly  
understood, thus avoiding a comparison between CP China and CPSU  
which would be unfavorable to the latter.

3. It also appears that this article is designed to convey and clarify  
on the national scene, the Soviet meaning of "peace," ("peaceful") which is  
reflected on the international scene, in "peaceful coexistence," i.e.,  
the relative absence of open violent (military) struggle, but continuation  
and intensification of militant class struggle to overthrow the very same  
government with which the Soviet State "peacefully" coexists. After  
Geneva (July 1955), the Soviets had to clarify the "peaceful" element:

of their policy for the benefit of their membership lest they soften up entirely; following the 20th Congress with its formulation on "peaceful means," the danger of similar confusion on the part of the membership was present.

4. I note also that CPSU was anxious to emphasize the point that USSR assistance to CP China facilitated the employment of more peaceful methods. Furthermore, that CPSU appeared to be desirous of making the point that the fact that CP China gained power by violence facilitated the employment of more peaceful means. It also appears that in its emphasis on the intensification of the class struggle until Socialism is established, CPSU may be endeavoring:

- A. To counteract, misconceptions based on its criticism of Stalin's "erroneous" theory of intensification of the class struggle beyond a due point.
- B. To justify his brutal repression, at least prior to 1936, as necessary violence in the historic conditions of the USSR at the time. (Another point which struck me, was that the article's stress on the essential need for the dictatorship of the proletariat in one or another form, and its general hard line, may have influenced, and may even have been partially causal with respect to, the major CP China article published 28 December 1956.)

5. With respect to the earlier comment on "peaceful methods" (para. 4 above), I would like to add that it appears to me that throughout the article CPSU stressed the difference and opposition between peaceful growth, and relatively peaceful transformation. With respect to growth, CPSU is opposing a spontaneous, hands-off, economic naturalism. With respect to transformation, emphasis is on the point that, with state power securely grasped by the Communist Party and assured by constant vigilance (and selective violence) it is possible to employ the state capitalist method of undermining the capitalist system. In this way it is possible to "destroy and annihilate" the system, without the necessity of shooting as many capitalists as, was necessary in the USSR, in the course of building Socialism.

6. It is suggested that it may be desirable to include in the [redacted] exploitation of the Kommunist article of October 1956 evidence that CPSU and CP China have the same old, cynical, specifically Stalinist, view of "voluntary" submission and concessions on the part of capitalists. In this connection, the attention of the [redacted] authors is called to Stalin's statement:

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"Of course, in the remote future, if the proletariat is victorious in the most important capitalist countries, and if the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by a Socialist encirclement, a 'peaceful' path of development is quite possible for certain capitalist countries, whose capitalists, in view of the 'unfavourable' international situation, will consider it expedient 'voluntarily' to make substantial concessions to the proletariat. ..."

J. Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism," in Problems of Leninism, page 45, para. 4. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1947.)

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(12 February 1957)

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