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25X1 1. [] one must not exclude the possibility that Malenkov is actually dismantling the governmental apparatus set up by Stalin in order to set up his own apparatus, based, however, on the same ideological principles and on the same domestic and international political planes. As for the many "friendly" proposals made in recent days by the Soviet Government to the Western powers, from Korea to Berlin, the experts [] state that such a policy does not deviate from the known Soviet thesis of "coexistence" of Communist and capitalist countries.

2. But here we are dealing actually with Stalin's theory and the implementation of the Stalinist policy. We are not dealing with "deviationism". Moreover, it appears that this political shift had been planned (though perhaps under another form) during Stalin's lifetime. It is recalled in this connection that in one of his last writings Stalin had ruled out the outbreak of a third world war between the USSR and the West and that, instead, he had "prophesied" that the war would break out "between capitalist countries" within the Western Bloc. It is further recalled that at the last congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (19th Party Congress), in his official report (the preparation of which had been assigned to him by Stalin) Malenkov supported the thesis that the West will be strangled, not by war with the USSR, but by the loss of its markets. Lastly, it is recalled that Stalin's last decisions were the proposal of a vast trade agreement between the USSR and Argentina, the offer of wheat to Great Britain, and the offer of an "economic concession" to India.

3. It appears that this new phase in Soviet foreign policy was decided during Stalin's lifetime or, at any rate, a little before the time of his death. This new phase involves a shift from the cold war to a "cold friendship" with

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regard to the Western powers. The new shifts in Malenkov's policy conform fully to Stalin's thesis and Malenkov's own thesis announced during the 19th Party Congress.

4. The reasons which probably influenced this shift by the Soviet leaders even during Stalin's lifetime were provided in part by Soviet domestic policy problems and in part by foreign policy problems (assuming that the suppositions made in this report are correct). It appears that Stalin had come to realize that his policy of keeping the West constantly in a state of alarm and harassment, instead of causing the West to disintegrate, actually had unified it. The very serious problems which divided the Western powers (for example, the German question between France and the other Western powers), the problems arising out of the US-British differences in connection with the question of world influence, many other problems in Europe and the Far East, which the USSR could use to divide the West, all this became of secondary importance in the face of the cold war promoted by the Soviet Union. The West forgot the Saar question, Britain forgot or pretended to forget US competition in her markets, France allowed the US to build military bases in North Africa, Australia and the Philippines accepted the idea of Japan's rearmament, and all this was possible because the West's primary problem was the necessity to defend itself from probable Soviet armed aggression. For this same reason, the US invested billions of dollars in economic aid and weapons for the countries that had allied themselves with the US to meet the eventuality of war against the Soviet threat. [REDACTED] the Soviet leaders had recognized their error with regard to the cold war even before Stalin's death, and that they had decided to shift to this new phase of "cold friendship" for the disintegration of the West.
5. Another cause of Soviet preoccupation was the situation in the Satellites and China. The continuous and drastic purges in the Satellites show that the USSR never succeeded in completely taming the "Peoples' Democracies". In past months there have been very evident signs of the more or less chaotic situation prevailing in many parts of the USSR itself. It appears that Stalin himself had decided to attach special importance during this period to reinforcing Soviet power in the USSR and in the Satellites.
6. It is now certain also that the Soviet leadership was divided into various groups fighting among themselves for Stalin's succession. In addition to the official announcements that Zhdanov's death was not due to natural causes (this has been denied officially only by the Malenkov government), there are irrefutable proofs [REDACTED] that Zhdanov was purged. It is not known by whom he was purged, but now it appears that he was purged by Malenkov's men. The supposition that Zhdanov's death was caused by the Jewish doctors is not generally acceptable, but it is now an historical fact that a few weeks after it was officially announced that Zhdanov had been done away with and after Stalin had ordered a large-scale investigation against the "assassins," Stalin himself died and Malenkov came to power. (It is well known that he was Zhdanov's rival for Stalin's succession.)
7. Malenkov ordered the release and rehabilitation of the "confessed assassins" and the arrest of their accusers, on whom Stalin had bestowed the highest honors and decorations of the USSR. It is probable that the doctors were innocent, but that, despite their innocence, Malenkov had every interest in preventing light from being shed on Zhdanov's death. It was also noted that, immediately after Stalin's death, Malenkov carried out a radical (and not at all constitutional) reshuffling of high Government and Party leaders.
8. Nothing in particular is known about differences between the USSR and China. However, [REDACTED] in past months there has been a serious misunderstanding between Moscow and Peiping in connection with the war in Korea and the entire Asian policy. MAO Tse Tung's absence at Moscow was also noted, [REDACTED] Malenkov's appointment of V.V. Kuznetsov as ambassador to Peiping. It is known that in a few days the Soviet and Chinese Communist governments will hold an important meeting proposed by Malenkov personally. It appears that MAO is turning to the policy of

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"peaceful coexistence" in Asia in an attempt to destroy politically (something that is not impossible) Chiang's Nationalist Government and become a UN member. It appears that MAO was not satisfied with the policy imposed on him by Stalin, a policy which called for Communist China to be "defended" and represented at international meetings by Soviet diplomats. Moreover, it is believed that at this time Malenkov does not wish to make an enemy of MAO and that he has promised to support Communist China's policy in exchange for Chinese promises of closer collaboration between Moscow and Peiping. However, we have learned that nothing specific has been decided thus far regarding close collaboration between Moscow and Peiping and that details of such a collaboration will be discussed during the weeks to come.

9. These reasons, both domestic and international in character [redacted] had compelled Stalin to contemplate a change in tactics in his foreign policy. For the same reasons, Malenkov is even more compelled to change these tactics. Stalin had a myth in his favor. Malenkov, to strengthen his position, needs a long period of prudent domestic policy and very prudent foreign policy. For these reasons, [redacted] the "peaceful" proposals made by the USSR and China to the West are substantially sincere and can be implemented at once, but that these proposals do not mean that Malenkov intends to deviate from the "Stalinist orthodoxy". He needs more than anyone else the myth of "leader" and needs also to continue throughout the Communist world the policy of the USSR as a "model state".

10. It is also quite probable that, by extending his hand to the West, Malenkov hopes to draw the West into negotiations in which each of the participants would make some concessions to the other. Now, any [redacted] obtained for the USSR would enhance his popularity and contribute to the creation of the Malenkov myth. While price reductions in the USSR enhance Malenkov's popularity at home, any concession that he can obtain in foreign policy will enhance his prestige not only on the domestic plane, but also on the Cominform international plane.

11. [redacted] Malenkov is not destroying Stalin's ideologies, but his governmental apparatus, to set up one of his [redacted] own, and that he is striving also to create his own myth. This is something which cannot be accomplished in a year or two. However, the status of "operation Malenkov" cannot be determined at this time. At least a few months must pass before we can estimate the direction and world impact of the new Soviet leader's policy.

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