



THE U.S. AND RUSSIA TODAY

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. Foreign affairs - haven't said much about it.
2. Urgency -- atomic war. Both sides will lose. *Refuse to admit war is inevitable. Explore other possibilities.*
3. Presentation one-sided -- as the Russians see it. Justified because you get the American side in everything you read.
4. I don't know the answers -- have not convinced myself one way or the other. But do think there is grounds for debate - not an open and shut question. Certainly not all black and white in my mind.

II. FOREIGN POLICY UNDER STALIN. Before the WAR.

1. Fight with Trotsky -- Main issue was whether the energies of Rus should be concentrated on fomenting World Revol or on solving Russia's internal problems. Stalin won out on the program of "building Socialism in 1 country."

Defeat of Trotsky followed by elimination from Comintern of the militant revolutionists, policy of common front.

2. Collective Security -- Throughout the 30's Rus did collaborate with the capitalist powers, thru Litvinov was the most persistent advocate of Collective Security, disarmament, resistance to aggressors.
Favored collective resistance to aggression not only in the cases where Rus interests were threatened (Japan and Germany), but also in the case of Ethiopia, where Rus security was not directly involved. Favored stronger League.
3. Popular Front -- against Fascism.

III. SINCE THE WAR.

1. Was this merely a temporary tactic to maintain peace so that Russia might build up her strength for a future program of world conquest? Just a strategic retreat?
Is Stalinist Russia just like Hitlerite Germany -- committed to a policy of world domination?

Does Russian foreign policy since the war show that we are facing another Hitler, with whom no compromise is possible??

2. Two other possibilities -- 2 other possible explanations for Russian conduct since the war:

a. Influence appropriate to its position -- Rus came out of war as the 2nd greatest power in the world, having done the most to defeat Germany.

As Eng and the U.S. had used their power as a means of creating spheres of influence, Rus now insisted that its rise to power be recognized by its having the dominant influence around its borders.

Some say that Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta recognized this, but that since then the Western powers have tried to deny Rus what had been promised her.

b. Fear -- fear that the capitalist powers are determined to destroy the Soviet Union, or at least that influential groups in the western countries, who may gain control of the govts, are determined to do this.

Fear of a new attack on Rus has led her to consolidate her position, force smaller states into her sphere, keep a large standing army.

"Scared men in the Kremlin"

(Joe Barnes)

IV. WHY SHOULD RUSSIA FEEL AFRAID OF THE WEST ?

1. Invasions -- Whereas the U.S., protected by oceans on either side, has never been successfully invaded, and hasn't been invaded at all since 1812, Russia has no such protective frontiers. (Eng also)

Since Napoleon's invasion in 1812, Russia has been invaded six different times -- invaded and defeated in 1854, in 1905 and 1914, invaded by the Western powers when they intervened in 1918-19, invaded and defeated by the Poles in 1920, and lastly, invaded by the Germans in 1941.

2. Intervention, non-recognition -- Intervention by Eng, France and the U.S. and the reluctance of these powers to recognize the Soviet regime seemed to them to confirm their suspicions of "capitalist encirclement".

Lasting suspicions of the West.

3. Munich and after -- Suspicions revived by Eng and French appeasement of Hitler, and what seemed to Russia an attempt to turn Hitler to the East, make a deal with him permitting him to attack Russia.

4. The War -- feeling on the part of Russia that she suffered most heavily from the war, partly as a result of a deliberate decision on the part of the West to save Eng and American lives by sacrificing more Russ lives.
2nd Front.

Since the war:

5. U.S. in China -- Aid to reactionary regime which Gen Marshall himself has condemned. (Comparable to Rus intervention in civil war in Mexico between Right and Left)
6. U.S. in Japan and Pacific islands -- Russia given no say in Japan. Fear U.S. building up possible future military base against Rus.
7. Iceland, Greenland -- refusal of U.S. to evacuate troops from Iceland in spite of request of local people. Use as across-the-pole air bases.
8. Greece and Turkey -- building them up militarily as possible bases against Rus.
9. Ruhr -
10. For Defense or Attack?? -- In our eyes, these are measures for defense ag Rus, but in their eyes, they probably appear as measures for attack ag them.

V. COMPARATIVE MILITARY STRENGTH.

1. Another reason for fear of the West.
 1. Army -- Rus has the largest.
 2. Navy -- U.S. alone has dominance. Eng also.
 3. Air Force -- believe U.S. has dominance in large bombers - the most important.
 4. Atomic bomb --
 5. Present industrial capacity
 6. War destruction in Rus.

VI. SOVIET SPHERE OF DOMINANCE.

It may be that Rus feels that even if the West does not have plans of attacking Rus, they at least are determined to prevent Rus from reaping the just reward of her victory -- of achieving influence appropriate to her new position as a world power.

1. Sphere of Influence -- (Monroe Doctrine) - Would the U.S. tolerate ~~an~~ "unfriendly" govts in Canada and Mexico?
Eng has gone to war several times rather than permit "unfriendly" govts to dominate Belgium and Netherlands.

Inevitable that E. Europe will be dominated by Rus.

(Difference in methods)

2. The Straits and Turkey -- (U.S. and Panama Canal)
3. Middle East -- oil -- If Russia controlled most of the oil output in Mexico, don't you imagine that the U.S. would demand that Mexico make oil concessions to her also??

VII. WHAT U.S. POLICY SHOULD BE.

1. Another Hitler -- If Rus is another Nazi Ger irrevocably committed to program of world conquest, then all talk of giving Rus justice, or of trying to alleviate Russian fears and suspicions is mere nonsense.
In that case, any concession to Russia is merely weakening our side and strengthening theirs in the coming war.
2. But -- if Rus is willing to co-exist peacefully with the capitalist world, then there is the possibility of peace.
Rather than accept the alternative of an atomic war, we should explore every possibility of peace.
3. Maybe Rus hasn't made up its mind. Maybe Rus plans to dominate the world will depend upon whether Rus thinks that is necessary ~~to~~ to preserve its own security.
4. Influenced by us.-- In that case, whether or not Rus is or becomes out for world conquest will be determined in part by what we do.
5. Alleviate Russian fears.
6. Reach general over-all Agreement -- concessions on both sides.
7. Ideological war. --
8. Intervention in nations within our sphere. by the U.S.
9. Support Marshall plan --
10. Support Liberal groups -- Socs in France, SD's in Ger, reform in Italy, Greece, China.
11. Have 5-10-15 years of grace.

Preventive War?