

The Russian Problem

Washington, Birthday 1946

I. Basic features of Soviet Post-war outlook, as it is presented by official propoganda machine.

- (A) USSR is encircled by capitalism and there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence with capitalism.
- (B) Capitalist world is beset with internal conflicts, inherent in capitalist system. Insoluble peacefully. Greatest is between US and UK.
- (C) These conflicts generate wars:
 - (1) Between capitalist states, or
 - (2) wars against socialist world.Capitalists prefer ~~to~~ *fight against socialists rather than between themselves.*
- (D) ~~A~~ ^{Capitalist} war against USSR would cause delay in reaching of Soviet goals and hence must be avoided, *even though USSR would win it.*
- (E) Wars between capitalist states might endanger USSR, but ~~also~~ ^{they} offer great chances to advance Soviet cause provided USSR remains powerful, and retains present ideas and leaders.
- (F) Capitalist world is not all bad; it contains some Communists and some progressives favorable to interests of USSR. These should be encouraged.
- (G) Dangerous elements in capitalist world are the social-democratic leaders who confuse the people and really serve reactionary capitalists.

These premises lead to following deductions regarding policy:

- (A) Every thing possible must be done to increase strength of USSR and decrease capitalists.
- (B) Soviet efforts must be directed towards exploiting differences between capitalist powers. If capitalist powers war against each other, war must be turned into revolutions.
- (C) "Progressive" elements abroad must be utilized /i.e 5th column/
- (D) Wage relentless battle ^{against} social-democratic leaders abroad.

II. Background of Soviet Outlook.

- (A) Above does not represent natural outlook of Russian people who are friendly to outside world. It is ^{the} party line, but as such it is binding on all in power ^{by authority}.
- (B) Above premises are false. Capitalist and socialist states can ~~live~~ live together and internal capitalist struggles are due to advanced industrialization which Russia, due to her backwardness, has not yet faced, ^{not due to inevitable conflicts of interests.}
- (C) Falseness of premises, all of which are old and pre-date this war, is proven by this war itself. US-UK differences not the greatest differences, nor do all capitalist countries want to turn on USSR, ^{nor did their withdrawal cause them to collapse.}
- (D) Fact that USSR still puts forth these theses shows:
(1) Soviet ~~party~~ party line not based on objective analysis of world outside Russia,
(2) It is based instead on inner-Russian needs.
- (E) "At bottom of Kremlin's neurotic view of world affairs is traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity."
(1) Rulers fear what would happen if people learn about outside world.
(2) Marxist dogma is justification for instinctive fear of outside world- "it is perfect vehicle for sense of insecurity with which Bolsheviks, even more than previous Russian rulers, were afflicted." "In this dogma, with its basic altruism of purpose, they found justification for their instinctive fear of outside world, for the dictatorship without which they did not know how to rule, for cruelties they did not dare not to inflict, for sacrifices they felt bound to demand. In the name of Marxism they sacrificed every single ethical value in their methods and tactics. Today they cannot dispense with it. It is the fig leaf of their moral and intellectual respectability. Without it they would stand before history, at best, as only the last of that long succession of cruel and wasteful Russian rulers who have relentlessly forced country on to ever new heights of military power in order to guarantee external security of their internally weak regimes. This is why Soviet purposes must always be solemnly clothed in trappings of Marxism, and why no one should underrate importance of dogma in Soviet affairs. Thus Soviet leaders are driven necessities of their own past and present position to put forward a dogma which regards outside world as evil, hostile and menacing. . . . This thesis provides justification for that increase of military and police power of Russian state, for that isolation of Russian population from outside world, ~~that that~~ Basically this is only the steady advance of uneasy Russian nationalism But in new guise of international Marxism, with its honeyed promises to a desperate and war torn outside world, it is more dangerous and insidious than ever before."