THE MARCH OF THE AGGRESSORS, 1931-41

- In the 1930's, certain militaristic states -- Italy, Japan, Germany launched a series of aggressive acts, designed to conquer large parts of the world.

- Nobody stopped them. So they were encouraged to embark on further aggressive acts.

- The other states, including the U.S., stood by a watched and did little or nothing.

- If the peaceful states had stopped them early in the game, it would have been relatively easy.

- But instead we let them get stronger and stronger, bolder and bolder. Aggression paid off.

- League of Nations -- failed in its job of keeping the peace.

- The Soviet Union -- Felt itself seriously threatened, not only by Nazi Germany on its European flank, but also by Japan on its Asian flank.

  - Threat of a 2-front war.

  - Fear that Russia might be left alone, without allies, to fight her her survival against either Germany or Japan, or both.

- "Collective Security" -- Soviets therefore became the most vehement champions of the principle of Collective Security against aggression.

  - Tried to rally the peaceful states against the aggressor states.

- Soviets Proved to be Unsuccessful. Why???

- Partly because of the suspicions felt in the Western states toward Russia because of her traditional championing of World Revolution.

- Duality of Soviet Foreign Policy -- Convinced the Western powers that Russia could not be trusted.

- Russia's revolutionary propaganda -- harmed her reputation.
III. HITLER'S RISE TO POWER IN GERMANY, 1933

1. Facilitated by the Comintern's stupid policies.

2. Social Democrats -- Instead of the German Communists cooperating with the Social Democrats against the Nazis, the Communists directed their main fire on the SD's, and on occasion even worked with the Nazis.

3. "After Hitler, Our Turn" — Foolishly believed that the German Communists would emerge victorious from the bitter political struggles of 1930-31-32-33. Even if the Nazis gained power, they would soon be overthrown by the Communists.

IV. CHANGES IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY BROUGHT BY THE RISE OF HITLER.

- Russia fearful. Hitler claimed to be the No. 1 enemy of Communism.
  - Hitler in "Mein Kampf" said that Germany must annex Ukraine.

Brought a considerable reversal of Soviet foreign policy:

1. Reversal of attitude toward France and England — Tried to cooperate with them against Germany.

2. Reversal of attitude toward the League of Nations — Formerly had denounced it as "the Holy Alliance of the bourgeoisie for the suppression of the proletarian revolution" — Joined the League (1934). Became a loyal member.

3. Reversal of attitude toward the Versailles Peace Treaty — no longer denounced it.

4. Reversal of attitude toward other political parties — Communists now cooperated with SD's and other parties against the Nazis and Fascists. Adoption of "Popular Front"


6. Reversal of attitude toward Revolution — de-emphasized revolution, supported bourgeois democratic govs.


2. Italian conquest of Ethiopia, 1935-36

3. German Remilitarization of the Rhineland, (March 1936)

4. Spanish Civil War (1936-39)

5. Japan's attack on China (1937)

6. German annexation of Austria (1938)

7. German dismemberment of Czechoslovakia

8. The Munich crisis, followed by the German dismemberment of Czechoslovakia (Sept. 1938)

9. German & Soviet invasion of Poland (Sept. 1939)

10. Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (Dec. 1941)

VIII. APPEASEMENT OF THE AGGRESSORS.

1. United States --

   a. Isolationism -- dominated American public opinion and American policy. Or Asia
      - What happened in Europe was not our affair.

   b. "Neutrality" -- Refused to ship arms to either side.
      - This meant, for example, that the legitimate govt of Spain could not buy arms from us with which to fight against the fascist rebels trying to overthrow the govt.
      - Like "Neutrality" between a/rapist and his victim.

   c. Pacifism -- Disillusionment with W.W. I had led us to the conclusion that it was foolish to engage in war under any circumstances. War was the greatest possible evil, and should be avoided, no matter what the consequences.
(Appeasement of the aggressors - continued)

2. Britain and France/-

a. Pacifism -- strong in those countries also. Paralyzed them.

b. Appeasement -- Believed that if/they made some concessions to
the aggressor states, they would be satisfied, and would
not ask for more.

Foolishly believed Hitler's claim that all he wanted was to correct the injustices of the Versailles Treaty, and to unite all the German peoples into / Germany.

3. The League of Nations --

Passed resolutions, but incapable of effective action.

4. The Soviet Union --

- For years it denounced aggression, denounced urged united
action against the aggressors, and condemned
appeasement.

- Eventually, however, Stalin became the No. 1 appeaser by
agreeing a pact with Hitler.

- Sent aid to the Spanish Govt., although others refused to do
so.

- Took the strongest stand of any country against Fascism and
aggression. Looked much better than the Western democracies.

- Pro-Soviet Sentiments -- Won much sympathy among those who
had sense enough to be aware of the threat from the
aggressor states.

- Communist Parties -- Got many new members during this period.
Many others became Fellow Travelers, Soviet sympathizers.

In the end, however, Stalin became the biggest appeaser of all, by
signing the pact with Hitler in 1939.

1. Russian National Interests -- From the point of view of Russian national interests, signing the pact with Hitler was the logical thing to do.

   - From the cold-blooded viewpoint of defending Russia's national interests, one can understand and sympathize with what Stalin did.

2. Moral Stain -- Still, it remains a moral stain on Russia's record.

   - England & France -- did many bad and foolish things, but they didn't go so far as to cooperate with Hitler in an act of blatant aggression.

3. The Pact made Possible World War II.

   - Gave Hitler the green light to go ahead with his attack on Poland.

4. The Pact did NOT Save Russia from War -

   - 2 years later, Hitler launched his attack on Russia

5. Repudiation of Marxist Principles -

6. Disillusionment of Communists and Fellow Travelers.
XIV. THE LESSONS OF THE 1930's.

1. Isolationism -- impossible. The U.S. cannot isolate itself from the rest of the world. What happens in Europe and Asia is our business.
   - Pearl Harbor -- proved that.

2. Pacifism -- Does not work unless all nations are pacifist.

3. Aggression -- if successful, leads to more aggression.
   - Encourages the aggressor state to continue.

4. If Hitler had been stopped in 1936 when he marched into the Rhineland, perhaps there would never have been a W.W. II.

XV. THE RELEVANCE OF THESE EVENTS TO AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN THE 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's.

1. Hitler -- the Lesson we felt we learned from Hitler was: Stop an aggressor at the beginning, during his first act of aggression. Don't wait until the aggressor state has conquered several areas and gotten stronger.
   - Stop the Aggressor early, before he becomes too powerful.

   - If a country or an areas seems unimportant, defend it anyhow, (like Czechoslovakia or Austria) because it may be the stepping stone to aggression against very important areas.

2. Korean War -- that's why we intervened in Korea.


4. We changed from being Isolationist to being Interventionist.

5. When Should We Intervene in Foreign Countries???
   a. When we can win.
   b. When it has popular support.