

The achievement of the above objects depends to some extent on successful foreign policy. The present foreign policy of the Soviet Union is similar in its main aspects to that followed over a long period by Czarist Russia and its main aspects are:

(a) Control over the entrance to the Black Sea, either by occupation or influence;

(b) Control over the second sea gateway to Russia, namely, the Baltic and especially the Gulf of Finland;

(c) A secure position on the Far Eastern frontiers whether on land or sea;

(d) An extension of influence in the Caucasus, particularly in the interests of oil supplies. This involves claims for frontier rectifications with Turkey. It also means pressure on Iran, at least for the restoration of the position gained in the 19th century and possibly for control of access to the Gulf of Persia;

(e) A secure position on the central western frontier.

All the above ambitions have been pursued, particularly in the period since 1940 beginning with the war against Finland. The defeat of Germany and her satellites enabled these objects to be pursued more rapidly. The central question is whether the expansion of the Soviet Union can be regarded as being limited to the achievement of these objectives. The case may be argued as follows:

CASE FOR LIMITED EXPANSION

If a line is taken from Finland to the Dardanelles it can be shown that the Soviet Union has consistently pursued an attempt to establish either a strategic frontier where such is possible, or a political one where it is not possible. The frontier of the Soviet Union is a social as well as a strategic or political line. The Russians, therefore, regard it as fundamental that there should not be on the far side of that frontier a state which has a government unfriendly to them. The extent to which this policy will in fact be carried out within moderate limits cannot at the moment be determined. There are, however, some encouraging signs. In spite of the rapid collapse of German resistance, the Soviet Government has not altered its stated intention of allowing autonomous though friendly governments to exist on its borders. The Finnish Government appears to enjoy a relatively free hand. The measure of independence which the governments of Poland, Roumania and Bulgaria will, in the long run, be able to achieve, cannot yet be forecast. The Soviet Government has not yet, however, included within its boundaries territories in Europe as extensive as those which were under the direct jurisdiction of the Czarist regime. Present indications are that no further direct annexation of territory is contemplated with the exception of the claims which have been made upon Turkey. Nor has its position in Iran yet reached the point at which a rough balance was established in the 19th century.