

THE
Soviet
Union

**FRIEND AND ALLY OF
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE**

By William Z. Foster

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THE SOVIET UNION

Key Bastion of World Freedom

Friend and Ally of the American People

BY WM. Z. FOSTER

AFTER subjugating virtually all of Central and Western Europe, Nazi Germany, by its unprovoked invasion of the Soviet Union, is now trying to make its next big advance along the path of world conquest. Hitler's further plans to dominate the world are first to crush the U.S.S.R., then to conquer England, and finally to come to grips with the United States. The danger of Hitler's grandiose scheme succeeding is real and menacing. Should Hitler be able to even seriously weaken the Soviet Red Army he would be well on his way toward international mastery. With the powerful armed forces of the U.S.S.R. crippled and with much of that country's vast economic resources at his disposal, Hitler would almost certainly be able to overrun England. Then, with all Europe and most of Africa and Asia under his command, he could begin his long-cherished plan of subjugating the Western Hemisphere, including the richest prize of all, the United States. Hitler, by his intrigues in Latin America and his building up of the fifth column in the United States, is already preparing his assault upon this hemisphere.

Hitler's strategy is to divide his enemies and defeat them one at a time. He applied it with devastating effect in conquering Europe and he is now trying it against the Soviet

Union, Great Britain and the United States. Therefore, upon pain of imminent disaster to themselves, England and the United States, plus all other anti-Hitler peoples, should join with the U.S.S.R. in a solid bloc and use their gigantic power speedily and with determination to stamp out the Nazi menace. Hitler, with the industries of Germany and conquered Europe behind him, is very powerful and he can be destroyed only by the world's anti-Nazi forces.

An economic and military anti-Hitler alliance between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union is the key to defeating Nazi Germany. This is the only way the world can be saved from a tyranny worse than any it has ever yet known. It is the road the American people must travel in order to safeguard their living standards, civil liberties and national independence from the deadly threat of Hitlerism. The British-Soviet-American bloc should be prepared to execute unitedly every measure necessary to accomplish the military annihilation of Hitler and Hitlerism.

Hitler knows full well the fatal danger to him of a solid British-Soviet-American bloc. This explains his desperate efforts to isolate the Soviet Union from the two other great powers by his fake slogan of a world crusade against Bolshevism. This is also why the stooges and friends of Hitler in the United States, the Lindberghs, Wheelers, Coughlins, McCormicks, Woods, Nyes, Hearsts, Pattersons and Norman Thomases, are now redoubling their poison campaign against the U.S.S.R. These fifth columnists, the sprouting fascist party in the United States, are leaving no stone unturned to prevent active collaboration between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

From the beginning of Hitler's treacherous invasion of the Soviet Union the American people have realized, in spite of the anti-Soviet lies with which the reactionary press and radio have deluged them for years, that the defense of American national interests requires our giving support to the Soviet people in their fight against Hitler. The Gallup poll, taken soon after the invasion, showed 72 per cent of the people in this country favored victory for the Red Army while only

4 per cent wanted Hitler to win. The pledge of the Roosevelt Administration to give all possible aid to the U.S.S.R. has the overwhelming backing of the American people.

In order to cement the vitally necessary cooperative relations between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., the people of this country should become better acquainted with their great Soviet neighbor. The wall of anti-Soviet lies built up by reactionaries must be broken down by hammer blows of truth. That Americans are hungry for real information about the U.S.S.R. is proved, among other signs, by the tremendous sale in this country of the Dean of Canterbury's famous book, *The Soviet Power*, which has now passed the enormous total of 1,300,000 copies.

This present pamphlet presents an outline of the Soviet Union's role in the war and the complex world situation of the past two decades, questions upon which its policies have been systematically misrepresented to the American people. This analysis will show that the U.S.S.R. is the most advanced democratic country, is the loyal friend and ally of democratic forces throughout the world; that it is the inveterate enemy of fascism and has been always the main obstacle in the path of Hitler; that the policy pursued by the Soviet Government through the years has been one that dovetailed with the welfare of the American people; and that a close alliance with the U.S.S.R., as part of a world front of the anti-Hitler peoples, is now absolutely essential for the preservation of American democracy and national independence.

The U.S.S.R.'s Fight for Peace in the Pre-Hitler Period

By the character of its whole socialist system the Soviet Union is resolutely committed to policies of democracy and peace. Inasmuch as the people own the industries and the land, the U.S.S.R. is necessarily an inveterate enemy of fascism and war. It has no capitalist class, ruthlessly exploiting the national population and seeking profits in all corners of the earth; it has no industrial crises, with huge surpluses of commodities to be dumped upon the markets of the world regardless of consequences; it has no imperialistic urge to war upon other nations and to subjugate weaker peoples. "Red imperialism" is a ghastly lie invented by professional red-baiters. The economic, political and social system of the U.S.S.R. causes that country irresistibly to live and trade in democratic peace with all other peoples of the world and to press on with the upbuilding and prosperity of its own country.

One of the very first acts of the U.S.S.R. as a state in 1917 was to call upon the warring countries to bring an end to the imperialistic World War I. Also, during the ensuing years, before the rise of Hitler, time after time the delegates of the U.S.S.R. in various international conferences presented proposals for the preservation of world peace. In the 1922 Geneva Conference the Soviet Union proposed world disarmament; it made similar proposals at the Disarmament Conferences in 1927, and it followed these up in 1929 with demands for partial disarmament of the great powers. The U.S.S.R. was also the first nation to sign the Kellogg Peace Pact. In the same spirit of peace it took the initiative in developing a whole network of non-aggression treaties with other states.

Had the dominant world powers—England, France, the United States and Japan—adopted the disarmament proposals

made by the Soviet Union during this crucial pre-Hitler period it would have halted the insane race for armaments and nipped in the bud the trend toward Nazism in Germany. The world would have been spared the outbreak of the horrible international bloodbath of World War II and the present cancerous growth of fascism.

But the great powers wanted none of the disarmament proposed by the U.S.S.R. Great Britain and France were jointly trying to force the German people to submit to the infamous Versailles Treaty; the United States, drunk on the feverish after-war prosperity, dreamt new dreams of world empire, and Japan was readying itself for its approaching campaigns of aggression. These ruling capitalist powers, far from cooperating with the peace-loving Soviet Union, looked upon that socialist land as their main enemy and ceaselessly plotted against its welfare. In this reactionary spirit, the Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover Administrations in this country for 15 years haughtily refused even diplomatic recognition to the U.S.S.R.

The Anglo-French-American dominant world powers, and their lesser partner, Japan, at Genoa in 1922 even refused to permit the Soviet's disarmament project to be placed on the order of business, and at the conferences of 1927-29 they denounced similar proposals by the U.S.S.R. as "bluffs." They ridiculed as "Communist scare propaganda" the warnings constantly being made by Soviet spokesmen and the Communist Parties of the world regarding the already discernable danger of a new great war. In this blindly reactionary course the capitalist world politicians were aided by the leaders of the international Social-Democracy, who spared no words of denunciation for the U.S.S.R. and the Communist International.

No fair-minded observer can now deny that the disarmament proposals made by the U.S.S.R. in the years just before the advent of Hitler dovetailed completely with the basic national interests of the United States. The American Communist Party, in supporting these proposals, was speaking in

the highest interest of our people. Had American national welfare been properly defended at that time the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover Administrations, instead of red-baiting and plotting against the U.S.S.R., should have worked side by side with that country to preserve world peace and democracy. Then our country, as well as the rest of the world, would have been spared the terrible losses and danger to which it has been exposed by the rise of German Nazism and the outbreak of the war. During the whole period in question, the decade before Hitler secured power in Germany, the U.S.S.R. was incontestably the world leader in the fight against fascism and war.

The Soviet Union's Efforts to Curb Nazi Germany and to Prevent the Outbreak of War

When Hitler seized power in Germany in March, 1933, the world had been in the throes of a profound economic crisis for over three years. This was the result of the growing decay of the capitalist system and it had vastly intensified the ruling classes' fear of the democratic and Socialist-minded European masses. So that when Hitler, backed by the great German capitalist interests, followed up his victory by smashing the trade unions, cooperatives and workers' political parties and by extinguishing parliamentary government in Germany, the big bankers, industrialists and land-owners throughout the world saw in him their looked-for champion against the masses of the people. "Fascism in power," as Georgi Dimitroff correctly said, "is the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of finance capital." These reactionaries plotted to make Hitler the European policeman against every democratic aspiration of the masses and especially against the great and rising socialist country in the East, the Soviet Union.

The workers, peasants, professionals, small business people and other democratic elements in many lands reacted strongly against the new dangers of slavery and war presented by Nazi fascism. They formed People's Fronts in France, Spain and other countries, based upon far-reaching programs designed to develop their national prosperity, democracy and peace. The chief American expression of this world-wide movement was the big growth of trade unionism and legislative reform under the Roosevelt New Deal.

The Soviet Union stood forth as the world leader of this growing people's struggle against fascism and war. Joining the League of Nations in 1934, the U.S.S.R. proposed that the

democratic peoples—especially Great Britain, France, the U.S.A.—should form with it a great international peace front to curb the fascist aggressor states, Germany, Italy and Japan. This historic peace proposal was entirely feasible; the fascist states were still weak and the democratic capitalist countries and the U.S.S.R. were overwhelmingly powerful. A united stand by the latter would have brought the marauding course of the fascist states quickly to a dead stop and broken down their tyrannical regimes.

The true interest of the American people required, in the critical pre-war years we are discussing, that the United States should cooperate closely with the peace-loving Soviet Union and do all possible to build the anti-Hitler international peace front. As Earl Browder stated at the time, "The way to keep America out of war is by keeping war out of the world." Had the United States Government thrown its weight with the Soviet Union, as the American Communist Party militantly urged, the international peace front could have been formed and Hitler decisively defeated. Roosevelt at the time made some rousing speeches about "quarantining the aggressors," but when it came to action his Administration followed pretty much the same fatal policy of appeasement of Germany, Italy and Japan that was pursued by England and France.

The Chamberlains, Halifaxes, Daladiers and Laval's were proceeding upon the theory that they could use Hitler not only to keep down democracy throughout Europe, but also to smash the Soviet Union. They saw as the main enemy, not Hitler, but the U.S.S.R. The chief aim of their foreign policy was to set Germany and the U.S.S.R. at war with one another. They hoped they could thus kill two birds with one stone—that is, weaken German imperialism and destroy Soviet socialism. They accordingly built up Hitler with their so-called policy of appeasement—helping him to rearm Germany and surrendering one country after another to his insatiable appetite. They were conditioning him for the great war against the U.S.S.R. which Hitler had projected in *Mein Kampf*. American reactionaries who shared in this disastrous scheme of the

British and French appeasers influenced the American Government's policy in the same general direction.

Austria, Ethiopia, China were betrayed to the fascists by the British-French and American appeasers. A major disaster of the appeasement policy was the betrayal of the Spanish Republic to the German and Italian fascists. The Franco revolt in July, 1936, was organized by Hitler and Mussolini, who from the outset furnished the rebels a stream of troops, planes, tanks and guns. The British and French Governments helped the fascist invaders, under the hypocritical pretext of "non-intervention," by following a policy of denying the Loyalists arms and of "ignoring" the fascist powers' assault upon Spain. The United States joined in this reactionary scheme by adopting the Neutrality Act, which placed an arms embargo against Spain and prevented its legally elected democratic government from buying munitions in this country. To their shame be it said, the opportunist Labor Party, Socialist and trade union leaders of England, France and the United States made no real protest. The reason for all this treachery was that the reactionaries in the capitalist democratic countries were more afraid of a victory for Spanish democracy than they were of one for German and Italian fascism. The U.S.S.R., alone of all the great powers and at grave risk of war with Germany and Italy, gave active munitions support to the Spanish Republic; even as it was also extending aid to attacked China. Despite Soviet help, however, the Spanish Loyalists went down to defeat in 1939, after three years of heroic struggle. American opinion now understands that the appeasers in Great Britain, France and the United States dealt European democracy a deadly blow in Spain and presented Hitler and Mussolini with a great victory which was a long stride toward World War II.

The appeasement policy came to its inevitable débâcle at Munich in September, 1938. The fascist powers, after devouring Austria, Ethiopia, Manchuria and Spain, were demanding the partition of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union strenuously urged the defense of that country by the democracies. It called upon France to live up to its Mutual Assistance Pact

with the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, and when France refused the Soviet Government offered to fight alone for Czechoslovakia. But the appeasers forced Czechoslovakia to surrender. Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini at Munich, carefully excluding representation from the U.S.S.R., worked out the infamous Munich sell-out, which gave Hitler Czechoslovakia.

This monstrous betrayal of democracy, which opened the door to the present world war, was hailed as a great victory for peace by capitalist politicians and Social-Democratic labor leaders all over the world. What these reactionaries thought and hoped for was that there had been built a four-power front of England, France, Italy and Germany against the U.S.S.R. American Government leaders joined in the general jubilation over Munich. Only the Communists pointed out the treachery and war danger in it.

Hitler, however, did not carry out in full the treacherous Munich bargain. He refused to march East. This was because he realized the great strength of the Red Army and the powerful industrial economy of that country. He knew also that by the famous "purge" the Soviet Government had destroyed his potential fifth-columnist supporters in the U.S.S.R. Nor did he believe the current nonsense that the "purge" had weakened the Red Army officer corps. Hitler turned his efforts in the direction where the pickings were easier, against the capitalist countries. Full of fascist sympathizers, they were easy meat for the Nazi conqueror. Eventually, over Poland, he came into violent collision with England and France and, on September 3, 1939, World War II began.

On the eve of the war the Soviet Union had become fully convinced that Britain and France did not want an international peace front to stop Nazi Germany but were seeking to direct that country's aggressions against the U.S.S.R. So, entirely in self-defense, the Soviet Union stepped aside from the line of fire of the rapidly approaching war by signing a non-aggression pact with Germany on August 23, 1939. Charges by reactionaries that the Soviet Government thus betrayed Brit-

ain and France are worse than nonsense, because, as we have seen, the appeaser Chamberlain and Daladier Governments had as their central policy a sell-out of the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany's boundless greed. Absurd also are the assertions that the U.S.S.R. precipitated the war by its non-aggression treaty with Germany. The real cause of the war was the inability of German, French and British imperialism to compose their rival and violent ambitions at the expense of a German war against the U.S.S.R. The more Chamberlain and Daladier fed the Nazi tiger the more ravenous its appetite became. Hitler's incessant demands inevitably brought him into military collision with England and France, which, despite all their appeasement policies, finally could not brook his endless expansion at the expense of themselves and their allies.

In this whole critical period just before the outbreak of World War II the Soviet Union, alone of the great powers, followed a policy for peace and against fascism. This was evidenced by its active munitions aid to Spain, China and Ethiopia, countries attacked by fascist aggressors, and its fight for the formation of a great international peace front of world collective security to restrain the German, Italian and Japanese warmakers. In this period, as during the several years preceding the seizure of power by Hitler, the U.S.S.R. demonstrated once more that it was the world leader in the fight for peace and thereby the great hindrance in the path of fascism.

The United States Government should have associated itself with the Soviet Government in this fight for the international peace front and against fascism instead of tagging along, as it did, with the British and French appeaser governments. Only by cooperation with the Soviet Union to preserve peace and prevent the spread of fascism was it possible to protect the true interests of the United States. Because this was not done we now face a world torn with war, with the Nazi beast on the rampage. Already our people have had to set aside \$60,000,000,000 for defense preparations and before we are done with Hitler very probably large numbers of American boys will have to lay down their lives.

The Soviet Union, as a Neutral, Was the Principal Obstacle to Hitler During the Imperialist War

The war which began on September 3, 1939, was an imperialist struggle for world control between the rival Anglo-French-American and the Italian-Japanese-German empires. The issue at stake was a redivision of the world's empires, nations, colonies and spheres of influence, for the benefit of the ruling, exploiting classes. Both sides covered up these imperialist objectives with false pretenses that they were fighting for democracy, for a new world order, for civilization—slogans calculated to win the support of their respective peoples and to confuse the enemy. The war was the supreme expression of the breakdown and decay of the obsolete world capitalist system.

Toward the imperialist war the U.S.S.R. assumed a policy of neutrality. It strove to stay out of the bloody mass butchery and to build up its system of socialism. But the Soviet Union's policy was no mere abstention from hostilities. During the several months of quiet in the early phases of the war, it proposed the re-establishment of peace; it used its influence to prevent the spread of the war into the Balkans; it continued to give active support to China against the aggressor Japan, and it strengthened its defensive position by incorporating within its borders Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, and a small section of Finland close to Leningrad.

During this period, as throughout its whole history, the policy of the Soviet Union was wildly misrepresented in the capitalist countries. The U.S.S.R. was denounced as an ally of Nazi Germany, and political wisecrackers sneeringly spoke of "Communazis." But since Hitler's attack upon the U.S.S.R. it has become so clear that few dare to deny it that the two

countries were not allies and that Hitler was aiming to destroy the Soviet Union at all costs. The U.S.S.R. was also accused of "red imperialism" by its detractors, because of its occupation of the border states. But now, in view of the cushioning effects these territories had upon Hitler's Blitzkrieg, even many American reactionaries concede that this expansion was a strategic defensive measure of life-and-death importance for the U.S.S.R.

Also in the case of Finland, which is now the war ally of Hitler, it is being admitted more and more that the Soviet's dismantlement of the heavily fortified Mannerheim Line was fundamental for the defense of the great city of Leningrad. Inasmuch as the United States, in the name of national defense, has found it necessary to occupy far-off Iceland, it is not difficult now to understand why the Russians, with the great Nazi war machine poised at their very door, should be compelled to remove the fascist-controlled powerful Finnish fortresses situated in the very outskirts of the Soviet Union's second largest city. Correctly, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, September 7, says:

"The Russian Goliath did invade the Finnish David, but did so for its own protection against the Hitler invasion which it foresaw and which has now come to pass."

Instead of the U.S.S.R. being an ally of Nazi Germany, that country has proved to be the central obstacle in the path of Hitler. This was true during the period of the war before the U.S.S.R. was a belligerent, even as it is true now since Hitler began his treacherous invasion of that country. Although the U.S.S.R. wanted to live in peace and sought only to defend its own borders from attack, nevertheless Hitler found this to be an intolerable obstruction to all his major plans during the imperialist war. The very existence of the U.S.S.R., with its growing industrial system, its powerful Red Army, and its increasing prestige among the downtrodden peoples of the world, proved an effective barrier to the advance of Nazi Germany. Just how the U.S.S.R. barred Hitler in the war before

that country actually became a belligerent is one of the most important and least understood phases of the war.

During the first period of the war Hitler had little trouble in disposing of his capitalist enemies in Central and Western Europe. His monumental political and military successes gave the Nazis absolute control of all Europe up to the Soviet borders. But the Nazi hordes had to burst beyond the confines of Europe in order to expand their maraudings upon a world scale. And it was precisely in his efforts to break a way out of Europe that Hitler found himself blocked by the U.S.S.R., even though that country was not participating in the war and was scrupulously observing its non-aggression pact with Germany.

Two possible paths out of Europe and toward world conquest lay before Hitler. First, he could invade England and seize or destroy its fleet, thus breaking the blockade and clearing the way for the world expansion of Hitlerism. This, however, would be a bloody affair, experts estimating that it would cost Hitler at least a million men. Nazi Germany had the necessary men and materials but inasmuch as the great Soviet Union, with its powerful armed forces and rapidly growing industries, was lying in his rear, Hitler simply did not dare to undertake the invasion of England. The British people stood up bravely against the murderous bombings by the German air force, but history will finally record that during the first two years of the war it was the very existence of the Red Army that spared Great Britain from the horrors of invasion and the almost certain loss of its national independence.

Hitler, in his proclamation of June 22, admitted this when he stated that the tying up of powerful German forces in the East on the Soviet borders had prevented "the radical conclusion of the war in the West." The most critical moment for Great Britain was at the time of the débâcle at Dunkirk in June, 1940. Then, with the British army largely disarmed and British defenses demoralized, England was at the mercy of Hitler. Just at this crucial moment the Red Army marched into Bessarabia. With the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. on

the march Hitler did not dare undertake an all-out attack on England. Instead, he turned toward the Balkans and spent three precious months "stabilizing" things there. When he finally was able to turn back his attention to England he found that the British people had recovered from their demoralization after Dunkirk and were ready to make Hitler pay dearly.

The second possible path to world conquest for Hitler lay through the Balkans, via Turkey, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Egypt and on to India. Success in this direction would have given Hitler control of the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal, cut the lifeline of the British Empire, broken the British blockade and greatly weakened the strategic position of the U.S.S.R. Hitler tried this route early in 1941. His legions swept through the Balkans, further enslaving Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, smashing the Greek and Yugoslav armies, and literally driving the British forces into the sea at Crete. But Hitler's drive did not accomplish its major objectives of conquering the Near and Middle East and opening the door to world conquest. It came to a dead stop at the borders of Turkey. This was because Hitler learned that if he tried to force the Dardanelles it would mean war with the U.S.S.R., and he was not yet ready, nor did he want the war to start in that locality.

Thus the U.S.S.R., although a neutral in the war and living up strictly to its non-aggression pact with Germany, was actually the great dike that prevented the Nazi flood of barbarism from bursting out of Europe. This shows the ridiculousness of the charges that the U.S.S.R. was an ally of Germany and that Stalin was appeasing Hitler.

When Hitler, on June 22, began his treacherous attack against the U.S.S.R. it signaled his determination to remove once and for all the greatest obstacle that stood in his path. The Nazi tiger would tear its way out of the European cage. He would destroy the Red Army and seize the vast resources of the Soviet Union. Blocked at finding a way out of Europe by the invasion of England or by the conquest of the Near and Middle East, Hitler embarked upon the enterprise of

trying to find the road toward world domination over the dead body of the world's first socialist country.

History will fully justify the neutrality policy of the Soviet Union during the imperialist stage of the war. If the U.S.S.R. had joined in the war in its early stages undoubtedly it would have had to fight Germany and Japan all by itself. The appeaser Chamberlain and Daladier Governments, which had long planned just such a war, would have stood behind their Maginot Line and let the Red Army do all the fighting, if, indeed, they did not actually help Hitler. For six months after the war began, during the period of the "phony war," the Anglo-French appeasers (with American assistance in the Finnish situation) tried to "switch the war" from a war between themselves and Germany into one between Germany and the U.S.S.R. If the British and American Governments are willing at the present time to give assistance to the Red Army it is only after Hitler had kicked them and their allies around for two years and threatened them with overwhelming defeat. Hitler taught the capitalist rulers of Britain and the United States that the only peace he would make with them was one in which German imperialism reigned supreme.

The Soviet policy of trying to prevent the spread of the war and to re-establish peace was also sound. Had the U.S.S.R.'s proposals been given active support by the United States during the early stages of the war there was a good prospect that the spreading slaughter could have been checked and a livable peace established. The whole course of the U.S.S.R. during the first imperialist stage of the war went to re-emphasize what was already manifest in that country's policies in the pre-Hitler and pre-war periods; namely, that the U.S.S.R. was a determined fighter for peace and a tremendous barrier against the spread of Hitler's barbarous fascism.

The U.S.S.R., as a Belligerent, Is Wearing Down the Nazi War Machine

Upon beginning his invasion of the U.S.S.R. Hitler was the autocratic master of all Central and Western Europe. His armies, heralded as invincible, had swept like chaff before them the armies of England, France, Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, Yugoslavia and Greece and driven their remnants into the sea at either end of Europe, in Dunkirk and in Greece. He had forced the British empire into a desperate situation, with all its European allies defeated, half its merchant shipping sunk, and its cities and industries devastated by daily bombings. The world looked on aghast at the seemingly irresistible advance of the Nazis and from all sides defeatists cried out that the whole world was headed toward fascist enslavement.

Hitler, although he had an appreciation of Red Army strength, undoubtedly underestimated it. The military "experts" of the capitalist world thought it would be only a small chore for the Nazis to smash the U.S.S.R. Had they not been telling the world for years that socialism in the U.S.S.R. was a failure; that the Soviet people would revolt against the Soviet Government at the first opportunity; that Stalin had purged the life out of the Red Army? These wiseacres believed the U.S.S.R. would be a pushover for Hitler and that after one shattering blow from his great armies he would be master of the Soviet Union and able to help himself freely from its vast natural resources.

But what a rude awakening a few months of war in the U.S.S.R. have brought to Hitler and also to his military "expert" worshippers in all countries! The supposedly "weak" Red Army has turned out to be a powerful military machine that has successfully resisted the shock of Hitler's deadly

Blitzkrieg and is inflicting gigantic casualties upon the German army. Moreover, the allegedly "disunited" and "discontented" Soviet people are showing a solidarity and fighting spirit such as the world has never seen before. The myth of Nazi invincibility has been irretrievably destroyed. Hitler is finding in the people of the world's first socialist republic a strong and resolute nation that is wrecking his plans of world conquest.

The building of the Soviet industrial system and armed forces that are enabling them to make this fierce struggle is the greatest achievement of any people in history. It has all been done during the past dozen years, starting virtually from scratch, in a backward agricultural country. But it required tremendous sacrifices and discipline on the part of the Soviet people. Enemies of the U.S.S.R. have falsely interpreted these sacrifices as an inability of the Soviet system to improve economic conditions and they have denounced the discipline as tyranny.

Gradually an appreciation of the great fight of the Soviet people against Hitler is sinking into the incredulous minds of bourgeois writers and speakers. Ralph Ingersoll, editor of *PM*, writing from Moscow, says, August 26, "Russian morale is not simply good . . . it is spectacular." Hitler's own paper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, declared on August 2 that Germany had found in the Red Army an enemy "who battles with dogged tenacity, who surpasses all previous opponents in fighting temper." The *San Francisco Chronicle* of July 16 says: "Still the Red Army stands, fighting the greatest battle that this war has seen and one of the greatest battles in history. . . . The nations of the world are forced to pay homage to the magnificent manhood of the Red soldier."

Then there is the growing realization that what actually happened during the famous Soviet "purge" of a few years ago was the elimination of a traitorous potential fifth column, and that this action greatly strengthened the U.S.S.R. Says the *San Francisco News*, August 2: "Now we can see that some of the men sacrificed must have been fifth columnists." The *San*

Francisco *Chronicle*, July 16, says on the "purge": "The one thing that has been decisively disproved is that Stalin killed off so many of his best officers that he had no first-class military minds left. Soviet Russia and Germany would appear to have the two brainiest high commands in the world today. Adolf Hitler's generals seem to have encountered for the first time a High Command they cannot outguess."

There is growing also a truer appreciation of the much-slandered Stalin. In the September *Current History* K. S. Davis says:

"From our revised analysis it would appear that Stalin, far from selling out the democracies, has striven to keep them from selling out themselves. . . .

"It is entirely possible that when the final history of this great crisis is written Stalin will stand out as the man who saved the civilized world in spite of itself through one of the most profoundly brilliant pieces of strategy [Soviet-Nazi Pact—*W.Z.F.*] that has ever been employed by a national leader during an international conflict. . . .

"In the first place, the Soviet Union has gained two powerful allies—the British Empire and the United States, neither of whom was either powerful in a military way or willing to act as a Russian ally in 1939. Japan, by one of the most brilliant strokes of diplomacy in recent history, has been at least temporarily immobilized at Russia's rear. And Russia herself is far better prepared to wage war than she was in 1939."

Even the mountains of lies regarding the Soviet Union's attitude toward religion are beginning to crumble. The *New York Times*, October 1, says, "President Roosevelt declared today that the Constitution of Soviet Russia protects religion and the right to propagandize against it. He termed this virtually the same rule as that applying in the United States."

The magnificent fight of the Soviet people derives not only from the fact that they are defending their homeland, but especially because that homeland is a socialist one. The workers and farmers own the industries and the land of their country; they have a democratic government in the highest sense,

and they are building a new and prosperous society. This puts an unconquerable fire into their fight. Long ago Frederick Engels forecast the high fighting spirit of a socialist army when he said: "In case of war . . . the member of such a society will have a *real* fatherland, a *real* home to defend, and therefore he will fight with an enthusiasm, perseverance and courage before which the mechanical training of any modern army must scatter like chaff. . . ." * The Dean of Canterbury, because he understood this fact, was able in his book, *The Soviet Power*, to put to the blush the military "experts" of England in the following passage (preface to the five-cent edition), written five days after Hitler's invasion of the U.S.S.R.:

"At this moment everyone in England from the Government and Foreign Office downward, every military 'expert,' and every newspaper leader writer, anticipates complete defeat for the Red Army and a cataclysmic disaster for the Soviet Union. In fact, according to the hardly concealed official view, the greatest débâcle of history is about to take place. . . . But behind every inch of ground they may capture the Nazis will find the armed workers and peasants of Russia ever waiting to strike. There will be no acquiescent populations to be terrorized as in every other conquered country. The Russian people own their land, own their factories and fields. They will fight, as they did in the revolutionary wars, to the death for them. They can never be conquered. . . ."

The effective fight of the Red Army is decimating the Nazi army and air force and devouring its war materials; it is giving Britain and the United States invaluable time in which to arm; it has relieved German pressure in the Battle of the Atlantic; it has cost Germany air superiority in Western Europe and laid German cities wide open to English bombing. "There can be no doubt that it is Russia's fight which now chiefly energizes the unconquered spirit of the continent," said Johannes Steel on Station WMCA, September 28. News of the

* Marx-Engels *Collected Works*, German edition, Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 376.

valiant struggle of the Soviet forces has unleashed in Hitler's rear a spreading wave of sabotage, strikes, demonstrations, revolts and guerrilla warfare in France, Norway, Holland, Yugoslavia, Greece and other defeated countries. Nor can Hitler, with all his brutal measures of organized mass starvation, torture of prisoners, shooting of hostages, etc., quench this awakening hope and struggle. In England and the United States, too, where all was gloom just a few months ago regarding Hitler, now there is a new confidence and talk of victory.

The Soviet Union, the first socialist country, is again demonstrating during this war, as it showed in the earlier years before the war began, that it is the greatest barrier in the path of Hitler; the vast dam that is holding back the Nazi deluge of barbarism. After every other country had proved incapable of stopping Hitler the U.S.S.R. is showing that the job can be done. The U.S.S.R. is the unconquerable main fortress of world democracy. When Hitler marched into the Soviet Union he started on the road to his Waterloo. Anne O'Hare McCormick, in the *New York Times*, September 15, said:

"The Russian campaign is draining the strength and the reserve supplies of the German war machine, perhaps fatally. The Red Army has already shattered the legend that it is invincible and may even have destroyed the Nazis' most dangerous quality—their supreme self-confidence."

But the task of defeating Hitler cannot be left to the Soviet Union alone. Those who argue, like Herbert Hoover, that the Russians are now so weakening Hitler that he constitutes no further danger would betray this country into the hands of the Nazi aggressors. Let us remember Stalin's warning that the Soviet Union faces "a grave situation." Hitler has overrun a large section of the U.S.S.R., he has ruined a considerable percentage of Soviet industry, and has caused heavy casualties in the Soviet's armed forces. Hitler has behind him the resources of all Europe, which far exceed the industries of the U.S.S.R. Not only that, but in the conquered countries Hitler can draft millions of worker slaves to help carry on produc-

tion in Germany, and also big armies to fight the U.S.S.R. To defeat Hitler, therefore, is the task of the united anti-fascist forces of the world. It is imperative that Great Britain and the United States throw all their vast strength militarily upon the side of the hard-pressed U.S.S.R.

In its present heroic struggle against Nazi Germany the U.S.S.R. reveals itself unmistakably as what it has always been—an inveterate enemy of Hitler and Hitlerism. The American and Soviet peoples have the fundamental interest and task in common of wiping out the Nazi plague. These two great peoples, together with the British, Chinese and others fighting Hitler, are friends and should be firmly united allies. The Red Army is fighting the battle of the United States as well as of the U.S.S.R. That is why the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, and many other mass organizations, whose leaderships for years have violently (and unjustly) condemned the Soviet Union, are now demanding that all possible aid be sent to the Red Army. That is why the American Government, which only a year or so ago seemed about at the point of war with the U.S.S.R. over Finland, is at present establishing closer and closer economic, military and diplomatic relations with that country. The Soviet magazine *Bolshevik*, in September, thus put the situation as clear as day:

“By defending the interests of democracy and entire mankind the Soviet front is simultaneously the advance line of defense for the Western Hemisphere, and therefore the United States is directly interested in supporting the Soviet front by every possible means and in being ready to help the Soviet nation. On the outcome of the battle depends the fate not only of Paris, London and Warsaw, but also Washington, New York and all mankind.”

From Imperialist War to a People's War

The entry of the U.S.S.R. has profoundly changed the character of the war. An unjust war has been transformed into a just war. What was an imperialist struggle among the great capitalist powers has now become a fight of the world's peoples against fascist enslavement. This transformation occurred because (1) Hitler's attack upon the U.S.S.R. threatens the main bastion of world freedom; (2) the participation of the U.S.S.R. in the war guarantees for the first time that there will be a determined struggle to destroy Hitlerism; (3) the U.S.S.R. in the war also gives assurance that at the end of it there will not be another Versailles Treaty but a peace based upon the independence of all nations.

The central issue in this war is the destruction of Hitlerism. This entails the defense of the countries threatened by Hitler, the freeing of those countries Hitler has conquered and the annihilation of the fascist murder machine in Germany. Hitler's attempt to make socialism the central issue of the war, to transform the war into what he calls "a crusade against Bolshevism," is for the purpose of raising a false issue in the hope of splitting his enemy's ranks. Although the U.S.S.R. is a socialist country and represents the type of society that the whole world will have eventually to adopt in order to free itself from the plagues of hunger, fascism and war which are now increasingly tormenting the world, and although the fate of the first socialist country, therefore, is of profound historical importance to the people of the whole world, nevertheless socialism is not the issue in this war. The masses of the world are fighting to defend their most elementary economic standards and political liberties and for the national independence of their countries, against a fascist slavery that would throw the world back to barbarism.

The United States must do its full part in the struggle against Nazi slavery. It is our war and we cannot expect other people to fight it for us. We, no less than other peoples, are threatened by the Hitler aggressors. And those who think we can defeat Hitler by "measures short of war" are living in a fool's paradise. We must take every step necessary, along with Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., and other anti-fascist peoples, militarily to crush Hitler. The United States is already in the war ideologically, economically, diplomatically. And the shooting stage has already begun for us, with the American Navy now convoying merchant ships and scouring the seas with orders to sink Nazi submarines and surface raiders on sight. President Roosevelt has said, "We have a war to win." The sooner we realize this truth and act accordingly the quicker Hitler will meet his doom. The Administration should be actively supported and its struggle against Hitler intensified.

This country should enter into a full military alliance with the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain. As Maxim Litvinov wisely said recently, "While his [Hitler's] strategy was to strike at each of his adversaries at different times, ours is to strike simultaneously." The alliance of the democratic peoples which should have been formed during the peace years to restrain Hitler (as the U.S.S.R. urged) must now be organized during conditions of war to destroy him.

Those who advocate a policy of isolationism for America are the dupes or agents of Hitler. Those who contend, as Herbert Hoover does, that the United States should stand aside from the struggle and then, when all the belligerents are exhausted, step in and dictate the peace terms, would betray the United States into the hands of Hitler. And those who believe that all the United States has to do to defeat Hitler is merely to furnish arms to England and the U.S.S.R. are deceiving themselves. It is not enough that the United States be the "Arsenal of Democracy"; it will also have to use its arms against Hitler.

National unity, a national front of all anti-Hitler elements,

is required imperatively. A decisive victory for Hitler would deal a deadly blow to the whole fabric of American life. It would make the American government subordinate to Berlin; it would cut the heart out of American industry and commerce; it would devastate the position of the middle classes; it would force the American workers and farmers down to semi-starvation, semi-slave levels. Therefore, all classes have a common interest to develop an all-out struggle against the whole Nazi regime.

National unity and a determined struggle against Hitler can be achieved only by destroying the influence of the isolationists, appeasers, anti-Semites and fascists, such as are gathered around the America First Committee—the Lindberghs, Nyes, Hearsts, Wheelers, Woods, Fishes, McCormicks, Tafts, Coughlins, Lewises and Norman Thomases. Such elements represent the most reactionary sections of finance capital and constitute the sprouting fascist party in the United States. They are the Petains and Quislings of America, who would do to this country what similar traitors did to France, Norway, Belgium and other countries—disarm it, demoralize it and render it helpless before the advance of Hitlerism. The present attitude of tolerance toward this Hitler fifth column exposes the American Republic to grave danger.

The Government should at once militantly combat the fifth column of Hitlerite appeasers and actively defend the civil liberties of the American people. Reactionary attacks upon the rights of organization, free speech and assembly should be defeated. Anti-Negroism and anti-Semitism should be illegalized and sowers of such fascist poison should be jailed. Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party, should be released from prison. His imprisonment is a disgrace and a threat to American democracy. His release would greatly strengthen national unity and the fight against Hitler.

To defeat Hitler American munitions production must be enormously speeded up. Our whole economy should be placed upon a war basis, instead of its present half-war, half-peace status. Luxury production must be drastically cut; plant

capacity must be extended and fully utilized; unemployment must be liquidated; "business as usual" methods must be combated.

In developing the national defense the trade unions have a most vital role to play. This is a people's war and only if it has the militant impetus of the trade unions can it achieve its historical objective—the destruction of Hitlerism. The unions should display far more initiative in the realm of foreign policy and in building national unity, in order to support and strengthen the hands of the Roosevelt Administration for an all-out struggle against Hitler. They should insist upon full representation in all policy-making bodies and should mobilize their great forces to the full to achieve maximum production.

The tremendous struggle to destroy Hitler will entail many burdens for the American people, despite America's great productive capacity. The workers and farmers will accept all such unavoidable sacrifices. But the trade union and farmers' organizations will see to it that the burdens of the war are fairly distributed; that profiteering is curbed, that the wages, hours and working conditions and health of the workers are protected, that fair farm prices are maintained, and that taxes and other war costs are not unduly loaded upon the masses. The trade unions, while vigorously defending the right to strike, should practice that right sparingly, only after all other means of settlement have been exhausted.

Organized labor must also cleanse its own ranks of appeaser and fifth-column influences, of which there are many. The stand of John L. Lewis, for example, is one that undermines the whole fight of the workers against Hitler. Lewis, by associating himself politically with the isolationists, appeasers, anti-Semites and fascists of the America First Committee outfit, is using his influence in the C.I.O. to paralyze that organization in its desire to fight against Hitler. In the A. F. of L., the symbol of fifth-column influence is the notorious Republican reactionary, Wm. L. Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters Union.

Trade union officials should also cease their reactionary practice of red-baiting—of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party. The Soviet Union, as we have seen, is the main bastion of world freedom; it is leading the world fight against Hitler; it should receive the loyal support of every trade unionist, and the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. would do honor to themselves by becoming part of the joint council just set up between the British and Russian trade unions. As for American Communists, they are the most loyal and self-sacrificing of trade union fighters and persecution of them should stop. Red-baiting is the weapon of Hitlerism.

Trade union unity has now become an urgent necessity for American national defense. Only if the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. work together on war policies can labor develop its real powers in building national unity, in furthering the Battle of Production, in defending the workers' interests, in stimulating the anti-Hitler fight upon all fronts.

The Urgent Need for Action

Now is the time to strike the death blow to the Hitler menace. Britain and the United States should cooperate to open up a big western front and thus catch Hitler in the fatal trap of a two-front war. The Red Army has seriously weakened the German Army and Air Force and compelled Hitler to greatly reduce his garrisons in Western Europe. The peoples of the conquered countries are in a wave of revolt. The sudden landing of an Allied army on the French coast would set Europe on fire and create a situation that Hitler could not cope with.

So far the U.S.S.R. has had to fight Hitler virtually alone. Great Britain is doing so little that at present the British people are making a big protest against the Churchill Government. Bombing raids over France and Germany, a joint expedition with the U.S.S.R. into Iran, and a raid upon Spitzbergen are all that the great British Empire has thus far done to collaborate with the U.S.S.R. The United States has also displayed quite inadequate activity. Its shipments of arms to Britain and the U.S.S.R. are a "trickle"; it is still trying to appease the fascist-controlled Japanese, French, Spanish and Finnish Governments; its cooperation with Britain and the U.S.S.R. is too limited and tentative; its internal economy is far from the necessary war basis; it still allows the appeasers and fifth columnists freely to sabotage the national defense.

Great Britain and the United States must go far more vigorously into the struggle alongside the U.S.S.R. Their respective national interests imperatively demand this course. Should Hitler succeed even in seriously weakening the U.S.S.R., he would then be in a position to resume his attempt to split the British Empire by a march through the Middle East, to re-intensify his bombing of British cities and the Battle of the Atlantic, and even to invade England. The direct danger that such an offensive by Hitler would entail for the United States

we have already indicated. Failure to act now, in vigorous collaboration with the U.S.S.R., would be a disastrous mistake for the United States and Great Britain.

The United States may well be decisive in the present world war between the forces of democracy and of fascist barbarism. Its gigantic strength must be thrown quickly against Hitler. All tendencies to let the Russians fight alone should be combated. The American people are almost solidly anti-fascist. They are actively supporting the Roosevelt Administration in every measure directed against the German, Italian and Japanese aggressors; they are determined upon giving all possible aid to Britain, the U.S.S.R. and China, to the point of actual war. They sense the great danger of Hitlerism to this country and the whole Western Hemisphere. If they are given militant government leadership, if they are fully apprised of the imminent peril that confronts them as a people, they will sweep aside the traitorous fifth columnists of the America First Committee and will rally overwhelmingly for an all-out and victorious struggle against Hitler and all his works.

