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# *The* **U. S. A.** *and the* **U. S. S. R.**




*War Allies and Friends*

by **WILLIAM. Z. FOSTER**



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# THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R.

## WAR ALLIES AND FRIENDS

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

**T**HIS people's war for national liberation can be won and a democratic peace established only upon the basis of the closest understanding among the peoples comprising the United Nations. A vital guarantee, therefore, for the successful outcome of the war is the growing friendship and cooperative action between the United States and the Soviet Union. This better understanding is one of the great democratic achievements of the war, and it is the real foundation stone in our broad alliance with Great Britain, China, Canada, Latin America and the many other countries fighting against the fascist Axis.

The war has dealt a smashing blow to the long-continued anti-Soviet campaign which reached its most dangerous pitch in Hitler's efforts, with his anti-Comintern pact and his systematic red-baiting, to drive a wedge between the Soviet nation and the other democratic peoples, and thereby to paralyze all opposition to his plans of world conquest. The heroic fight of the Russians against Nazi Germany, and the imperative need of the United States and Great Britain to fight side by side with the U.S.S.R. against the common enemy if they are to preserve their national independence, are swiftly bringing about in all the countries of the United Nations a better understanding of and a friendlier spirit toward the Soviet people and their Socialist country.

The anti-Soviet lies are falling one by one in the light of war realities. Thus, the world is now learning that if it had adopted the collective security policy long advocated by the

U.S.S.R., the war could have been averted; the so-called purge of a few years ago in the U.S.S.R., for which that country was wildly denounced, is now seen to be historically justified as the liquidation of the potential fifth column; justification of the Soviet Union's war against Finland is now obvious, with Finland lined up definitely in Hitler's camp; the infamous lie that under the Soviet-German non-aggression pact the U.S.S.R. and Nazi Germany were allies is being exploded; the democratic attitude of the Soviet Government toward religion is being graphically demonstrated by the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church is loyally supporting the Soviet Government in the war; the realization, too, is creeping into the minds of the American and British peoples that the wonderful fighting quality of the Soviet people originates in their unshatterable loyalty to their much-maligned Socialist system and Communist leaders.

Ever since the establishment of the Soviet Government on November 7, 1917, reactionaries in all countries have hated and dreaded the great people's revolution by which the workers and peasants of Russia, a country about three times as large as the United States, overthrew Tsarism and capitalism, socialized industry and collectivized the land, and proceeded to abolish the exploitation of man by man and set up a classless Socialist regime. Their fierce hostility against the U.S.S.R. can be compared to the bitter animosity with which the feudalists of the eighteenth century met the birth of the American and French Republics.

The reactionaries tried to overthrow the Soviet Government by force in 1918-20, many governments, including our own, participating in the armed intervention. Defeated in this, they then undertook an economic blockade to starve the U.S.S.R. into submission, which also failed. They tried, too, to isolate the Soviet Union diplomatically and to make of it an international outlaw, a conspiracy which finally collapsed. They also refused to trade with the U.S.S.R., but eventually they had to. And the real meaning of the sell-out at Munich to Hitler by Prime Ministers Chamberlain and Daladier of England and France in 1938 was an attempt of capitalist reac-

tionaries and world imperialists to turn the Nazis' bayonets eastward to destroy the great country of the Soviets.

Throughout the life of the Soviet Government, up until Hitler's invasion in 1941, its every act was misrepresented in a slander campaign quite unequaled in world history. Its peaceful foreign policy was denounced as a threat to the world; its wonderful reconstruction of industry and agriculture under the five-year plans was sneered at; its socialist democracy, the most advanced in the world, was distorted to appear as a terrible tyranny; its brilliant and devoted leaders were condemned as dictators and murderers; Socialism and fascism were identified together in the insulting term "Communazism." This long-continued anti-Soviet campaign, preached by thousands of venal writers, corrupt radio speakers, ignorant politicians and the like, raged throughout the capitalist world, our own country included. Even our trade union leadership played a leading part in these shameful attacks upon our great, friendly Soviet neighbor people, struggling out of the depths of Tsarism into a new and better society. And when the Communists combated this deluge of slander and tried to bring the United States into collaboration with the U.S.S.R., we were denounced as un-American and persecuted as "agents of a foreign power."

Although the war has dealt a mortal blow to the anti-Soviet slander campaign, there are still many hangovers. There are people in our State Department, typified by A. A. Berle, who have been charged by the newspaper *PM* with blocking material aid to the U.S.S.R.; there are the anti-Soviet speeches and writings of such people as Norman Thomas and Westbrook Pegler; there is the refusal of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to join hands with the Russians in genuine world trade union unity; there are the persistent attempts of the Copperhead press—Hearst, Howard, McCormick, Patterson, etc.—to sow dissension between our country and the U.S.S.R.

All such attacks against our Soviet ally and against United Nations solidarity must be combated as highly detrimental to our country's fight for victory in the war. If we are to smash Hitler and the whole fascist Axis, a first condition for it is

solid cooperation with the U.S.S.R. This American-Soviet working together must be much more than simply a war alliance; it must be continued on over into the peace and be the very backbone of the joint effort of the United Nations to make a sane reconstruction of the world; one that will permanently abolish war, poverty and fascism.

### *The Soviet Union Is Fighting Hitler Virtually Alone*

The friendship between the American and Soviet peoples, so vital for humanity's welfare, must be cemented during the present war. This requires that our country, now just getting into the war, hasten to give full cooperation to the U.S.S.R., which is now bearing the brunt of the struggle. The main fight against Nazi Germany, the backbone of the Axis, is taking place on the Eastern front. There the Soviet Union is struggling against at least 90 per cent of the entire might of Hitler and his European allies. Besides this, the U.S.S.R. is compelled to keep a million or more Red Army troops on the Siberian borders to hold Japan in check. So far, the United States and Great Britain have not given the Red Army substantial assistance. Lord Beaverbrook described the overwhelming importance of the Russian front in these words, which are as true today as when he uttered them six months ago:

"We know the Russians kill more Germans every day than all the others put together. We know they destroy more enemy tanks, bring down more planes than any or all of us. Russia is the fighting front."

The United States has not extended any armed cooperation to the Red Army, and as for the military supplies this country is sending, they are only a trickle compared to the Soviet fighters' vast needs. Great Britain is doing but little more than we are to help the U.S.S.R. to whip the main enemy, Nazi Germany. The British naval blockade is none too effective, considering Hitler's great industrial resources; British war materials support, like ours, is only a drop in the bucket, and the British air raids, while doing considerable damage to Germany, are by no means decisive. As for the main British

armies, which together with American and Canadian forces number several million men, they are standing inactive in the British Isles, because their political and military leaders have not yet discovered the will and the skill necessary to throw them across the narrow English Channel and to deliver a mortal blow against Germany's rear. In the widely publicized fight of the British against the Nazi General Rommel in Egypt only some 150,000 British Imperial troops are engaged; whereas along the 2,000-mile Russian front several millions are involved on each side. In the general Stalingrad area alone, it has been estimated, the Germans are throwing some 1,500,000 men, 5,000 tanks and armored cars and a couple of thousand airplanes against the Red Army.

The Soviet people are not only fighting Hitler virtually alone but, to make the situation doubly difficult, they are also heavily outnumbered in both men and materials. Captain Sergei N. Kournakoff, leading expert in this country on the Red Army, estimates in his book, *Russia's Fighting Forces*, that at the beginning of Hitler's attack upon the U.S.S.R., Nazi Germany (which with its allies and occupied nations numbers 320,000,000 inhabitants, compared to the 190,000,000 people of the U.S.S.R.) was able, by enslaving huge numbers of workers in the conquered countries and putting them into its industries, to make a total war mobilization of some 24,000,000 soldiers, in contrast to 19,000,000 mobilized by the U.S.S.R. In August, 1942 (*Soviet Russia Today*), the same expert estimated further that, after deducting war losses on both sides and allowing for German garrisons in Western Europe and for Soviet garrisons in Siberia, actually there were then about 10,000,000 Soviet troops, as against 15,000,000 Axis soldiers in Central and Eastern Europe including Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Finns, etc.

The numerical odds in favor of Hitler's armies over the Red Army are enormously enhanced by the superior weight of industry and economic resources under Nazi control. For Hitler has not only the vast industries of Germany, but also those of Czechoslovakia, Italy, France, Holland, Belgium, Austria—of all Europe. These tremendously outweigh the

newly-established industries behind the Red Army, especially in view of the fact that the Nazis have overrun vast sections of the Soviet Union's industrial areas. Only by a heroism unparalleled in world history have the Soviet people been able to fight so successfully against such tremendous handicaps.

In their practically single-handed fight against Hitler's huge land forces the Soviet people have paid dearly with the blood of their best sons. While they have killed, permanently disabled and captured some 7,500,000 Nazis (Kournakoff's estimate), in so doing (according to Mr. Willkie's Moscow statement) they themselves have lost 5,000,000 in killed, wounded and missing. These gigantic blood sacrifices the Soviet people have made in a cause which is as much that of the American and British peoples as it is their own. And they have done it while the casualties of the latter two nations have been almost negligible in comparison.

It is with much discontent and embarrassment that the American and British peoples look upon this situation, with the U.S.S.R. doing practically all the fighting, while they are doing so little. And their embarrassment was made all the more acute when, on October 4, Premier Stalin of the Soviet Union found it necessary, right at the crux of the defense of Stalingrad, to point out that American and British aid to the U.S.S.R. was inadequate in the war against Hitler, and to call upon them to live up to their treaty obligations. He urged them to send more material assistance and to establish a Second Front. Said Stalin, in part:

"As compared with the aid which the Soviet Union is giving the Allies by drawing upon itself the main force of the German fascist armies, the aid of the Allies to the Soviet Union has been little effective."

Speaking from Chungking, China, on October 8, Wendell L. Willkie said, "*I hope Premier Stalin's statement will forcefully attract the attention of the United Peoples and countries to Russia's aid.*" This is the voice of wisdom, and it strikes home to the heart of the American people who, alert to their own national interest and loyal to their gallant Soviet ally, want



to do all in their power to cooperate militarily with the Red Army in its heroic struggle against Hitler's hordes.

*The U.S.S.R. Is Saving the World from Nazi Conquest*

The great fight of the Soviet people against Nazi Germany is not only protecting their own national independence, but also saving the world from Nazi domination. General Douglas MacArthur, hero of Bataan, was profoundly correct when he said, on June 22, 1942, that "*The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Red Army.*" And so was Joseph E. Davies, former American Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., when he said (*Soviet Russia Today*, June, 1942): "*If the Red Army had been defeated . . . Hitler and his Japanese partner would today hold Europe, Asia and Africa in total subjection.*" Which means that but for the Red Army the world would now be under Nazi domination.

Fortunately for world humanity the Red Army is proving brave and strong enough to fulfill its tremendous historical task of holding the ramparts of civilization, while the United States and Great Britain are getting ready to fight. When Nazi Germany and its allies set out on the path of world conquest, for a time their path was rosy and easy. Hitler's armies knocked over like ten-pins the armies of England, France, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Greece, Czechoslovakia, etc. Then drunk with easy success, Hitler, on June 22, 1941, treacherously invaded the U.S.S.R., expecting further ready conquests. But his hitherto invincible armies are being destroyed by the steel defense of the Soviet people. As these lines are written the world is standing awe-struck at the more than heroic defense of Stalingrad, which together with the defense of Moscow, of Leningrad, of Odessa, of Sevastopol, and the fierce Red Army winter offensive of 1941-42, constitutes the greatest military epic, the most courageous struggle for liberty in all history. In the Soviet Union Hitler is finding the grave of his plans for world domination and enslavement.

The Red Army has been the main bulwark of world civilization against Nazi barbarism, not alone since the U.S.S.R. became involved in the war itself, but ever since Hitler launched the attack upon Poland. Thus, after Hitler had crashed through the armies of Western Europe, smashing the French army and driving the British into the sea at Dunkerque in June, 1940, it was the Red Army, threatening Hitler's rear, that mainly prevented the Nazis from invading and conquering England itself. There are many who believe that the R.A.F. in the air "Battle of Britain" whipped Nazi Germany and prevented the invasion. But this is partly true. England was too weak at the time to successfully defend itself alone. Lord Beaverbrook made this quite clear in his Washington speech of April 24, 1942, when he stated that half the British destroyer fleet after Dunkerque had been knocked out and was laid up for repairs, and that England "*had in reserve only five fighter aircraft.*" He might have added also that the British army had left almost all of its mechanical equipment on the beach at Dunkerque and that the defenses of England were totally demoralized. The main consideration that prevented Hitler from striking the death blow at England at this crucial moment was because he feared to try it with the Red Army at his back. The fact is that Hitler, during this whole period, kept three-fourths or more of his army and air force along the Soviet borders. In his speech of June 22, 1941, while attempting to justify his violation of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, Hitler admitted that his fear of the Red Army saved England, when he said that he "*could not secure a radical solution in the West*" (the invasion of Great Britain) until he had first disposed of the Red Army.

Had Hitler been able to crush the Red Army later on in his violent assaults upon it, he could and surely would have smashed Great Britain. Then where would the United States have been, facing alone the Nazi conquerors, controlling far greater economic resources and manpower than those of this country? Our democracy would have had to wage a desperate struggle for its very existence, against both the Nazi armies from without and the defeatists (the Hoovers, Hearsts, Cough-

lins, Lewises, Fishes, etc.) from within. When Americans look toward the Eastern front, therefore, and see the Red Army struggling heroically against the fascist armies, we should understand that this fight has up until now spared our country, as well as Great Britain, from a most terrible crisis, if not from the actual loss of our national independence.

The menace from the Nazi armies, far from being over, is now dangerously acute. Although the Soviet Union, in its bitter struggle since June, 1941, has dealt the Nazi army and air forces heavy blows; they still remain very strong. The military expert, Sergei N. Kournakoff, a couple of months ago estimated that the Hitler-controlled armies (not counting the Japanese) still numbered about 16,500,000 men. Behind them they have the industries of all Europe. On the other hand, the U.S.S.R., while defending its own national existence and with it world civilization, has suffered tremendous losses: some 60,000,000 (nearly one-third) of its people, and vast stretches of its best industrial areas having fallen into the Nazis' hands, while its soldier casualties and losses in war materials are also gigantic.

Nazi Germany, therefore, remains a deadly danger to our country, to the whole world. Should it succeed in sufficiently weakening the Red Army to release a million or two of its own troops from the Eastern front, it might then make a great drive down through the Middle East to capture the Suez Canal, Iran and Iraq, and to connect up with the Japanese; or it might enormously strengthen its West European garrisons and make an Anglo-American front and the winning of the war vastly more difficult; or it might even undertake the invasion of the British Isles, long prevented because of Red Army pressure upon Hitler. All these moves of conquest would be possible to Nazi Germany, could it but undermine the Red Army enough, and any one of them, if successful, would open the door wide for a Nazi world victory, with all its fatal consequences to Americans and any other people. The lesson from all of this is that if our country, if the United Nations are to win this war they must throw their entire force into the struggle in full collaboration with the Soviet Union.

### *For a Second Front Immediately!*

To protect our national safety from the fascist savages and to meet the obligation of doing our full share of fighting alongside our Soviet ally, we must get into this war at once with all our power. The same thing applies to Great Britain. These two great countries should launch a great western front in Europe immediately. There is no place where the main American and British armies can fight Nazi Germany other than in Western Europe. No Second Front would mean no real fight against Hitler by the United States and Great Britain.

The western front is fundamentally essential for our national defense, for our winning the war. Those who picture it as merely a gesture of help to the Russians are either fools or conscious betrayers of their country. This is a world war: all the fronts are our fronts, all the armies are our armies. Mr. Willkie did the American people a profound service in bringing this vital point home when he said, "*Stalingrad is as much a British and American front as Russian, because the war is global in character.*"

We Americans must realize that we have to concentrate our main attack upon Nazi Germany. Japan is a strong and dangerous enemy and must also be dealt heavy blows. What we are now doing in the Pacific must be increased manyfold. But Nazi Germany is by far the most powerful country of the Axis, and the war cannot possibly be won without first smashing this main stronghold of the aggressors. With Germany licked, Japan would be already half defeated. Those who would have us "concentrate upon Japan and forget Germany," as Hearst and others tell us to do, would give the world victory to Hitler.

The Second Front must be put into operation *now*. Delay is highly dangerous. It injures the morale of all the peoples of the United Nations, and it gives the Nazis time to prepare against the blow. Hitler must not be allowed to further fortify western Europe; he must not be permitted to weaken the Red Army and to swing his armies to the west. This might cost us the war. The least it could mean would be to prolong the

war indefinitely, needlessly costing the lives of millions of soldiers and civilians and exposing us to the danger of a stalemate situation and the fatal trap of a negotiated peace with Hitler. People who glibly speak of a Second Front next year, or the year following, are gambling with our people's lives and with the national independence of our country. -

Those who say, "We are not yet ready for a Second Front," are either falling into the trap or playing the game of Hitler, who, next to his dread of the Red Army, most fears a Second Front now. Conditions are now dead ripe for a Second Front. Hitler has greatly weakened his garrisons in Western Europe to provide soldiers for the Eastern Front; the peoples of the occupied countries are eager to support an Anglo-American invasion; the American, Canadian and British peoples are ready to back up a Second Front with all their power, and Great Britain, the United States and Canada, with at least three or four million of highly armed soldiers in the British Isles, with control of the air and the sea in western Europe, and with adequate shipping, are well able to force their way across the Channel in the face of the half million or so German soldiers in western Europe, once their leaders so decide. The well-known British General, Sir Herbert Gough, hit the nail squarely when he said: "*It is not giving away any secrets to suggest that with British, Canadian and American troops we might put a sufficient force on the Continent to defy with success anything which Marshal Rundstedt could collect.*"

The feasibility of the Second Front was demonstrated by the recent Commando raid at Dieppe, France. Here 6,000 men, relatively a mere handful, attacked one of the strongest defended points in Nazi-France, and were even able to penetrate several miles inland and to hang on for nine hours. Had the invasion been in real force and at many points simultaneously along the French coast, undoubtedly a permanent landing could have been secured and a wider and effective front established.

The opposition to the Second Front is political in character. It is made up of hesitants, defeatists, Munichmen, and their dupes. These elements are alarmed at the people's character

of the war. They dread the world consequences of a Hitler defeat; they fear popular uprisings in occupied Europe, a victory in which the U.S.S.R. would play a part, a liberated China and India. They are playing the game of imperialist world politics. They are typified by the Hoovers, Hearsts, Fishes, Howards, Lindberghs, Peglers, Lewises, Kaltenborns, and Norman Thomases in this country, and by the Halifaxes, Amerys, Hoares, Simons, Greggs, etc., in England. Defeatist elements, strongly entrenched in political life, in industry, in the press and on the radio, they systematically cultivate antagonisms between the U.S.A. and Great Britain and they feed all reactionary prejudices against the U.S.S.R. Treacherously, they would leave the Russians to fight alone. They have been able thus far to paralyze the action of the Roosevelt and Churchill Governments. Their chief hope (like the Nazis) is to prevent the establishment of a Second Front, and their main orientation is for a negotiated peace with Hitler. They would have us violate our national pledges to our allies and give up all real anti-Hitler struggle. They are the potential Quislings and Lavals of Great Britain and the United States, and the achievement of their goals would mean the end of our liberties.

Those people who cry out that the Second Front question should be left entirely to the military experts are trying to obscure their political opposition to decisive military action against Nazi Germany. As a matter of fact, most of the outstanding American generals, including Marshall, Eisenhower, Somervell, Stilwell, Hartle, Drum, Clark, etc., have publicly favored a western front, and General McNaughton of Canada has done likewise. The British, Canadian and American soldiers in the British Isles are clamoring for offensive action, and so are the peoples from whose ranks they come. Mr. Willkie again was right when he said that those who are blocking the Second Front need some "public prodding." The masses of the people, who ardently want the Second Front and realize that it is feasible, should demand it categorically. They must overcome the loud-mouthed opposition of the anti-Second Front appeasers and defeatists. Especially is this the task of the

trade unions and other basic organizations of the people.

Our Government and that of Great Britain, in the June, 1942, understanding with Foreign Commissar Molotov of the U.S.S.R., clearly agreed to establish a Second Front this year. This agreement was a definite recognition of the urgent need for and the practicability of such a front. In the Russian campaigns the Nazi beast has been badly wounded; now is the strategic time to finish it off by an all-out attack simultaneously from the West and East. This is the significance of Stalin's recent urging of an Anglo-American Second Front. The Roosevelt-Churchill-Molotov Second-Front agreement ought to be put into effect at once. This is the hope and the demand of the peoples of the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., China, the occupied countries—of the United Nations as a whole. As for us Americans, like the other democratic peoples, our national security, our national honor, the winning of the war, require imperatively the immediate establishment of the Second Front.

Hitler's armies are now obviously seriously weakened by their losses in the U.S.S.R. They must not be allowed to recuperate, as they were after their defeat last winter at the gates of Moscow. They must be attacked with full force by the United States and Great Britain in Western Europe. Such an Anglo-American offensive, jointly with the struggle of the Red Army, would not only put Germany on the defensive, but would soon force the Nazis, and eventually the Japanese, into disastrous retreat.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is celebrating the 25th year of its foundation by waging a fierce struggle for national survival against the Nazi savages. This fight is equally our fight. American national survival is no less involved than that of the U.S.S.R. Our rapidly growing army, air fleet and Navy must be thrown into the struggle with full force and without delay. And while we are doing this we have urgent need to cultivate a close and understanding friendship with our great Soviet neighbor in order to win the war and to lay a sure foundation for the peace that will follow it.

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