ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET UNION

BY EARL BROWDER

WE ARE approaching June 22, the first anniversary of the patriotic war of the Soviet Union to crush the Nazi bandit invaders, the enemies of freedom all over the world. The United States had committed itself to the war against the Nazis months before the invasion of the Soviet Union, but was then still under the illusion that it could limit its role to that of "arsenal of democracy," not understanding as yet the true relation of forces in the world.

But during the past year, and especially since December 7 and Pearl Harbor, the people of the United States are learning with exceptional speed. The blows of war are shattering the normal patterns of life, and with them those illusions, self-deceptions, and enemydirected thinking, which for several years had blinded and paralyzed American democracy in face of the rising Nazi menace. The United States is now fully in the war until complete victory is achieved. The people and their best leaders begin to discern the preconditions of victory.

The patriotic war conducted so gloriously by the Soviet Union has

exerted the most profound influence upon our country, its masses, its working class, and its leaders. The people were quick to draw two main conclusions after June 22: One, that a decisive change in the character of the war had taken place, that a "people's war" would inevitably and speedily overcome and eliminate the imperialist features with which the war began in 1939; secondly, that for the first time the perspective of military victory over the Axis forces became something more than an aspiration and hope. It was more and more clearly seen that only the neutrality of the Soviet Union had made possible the "non-belligerent" form of participation in the war by the United States, and that when that neutrality was treacherously violated by the Nazi bandits, by that fact America's full participation was made inevitable. After June 22, 1941, the "non-belligerent" conception, the role of "arsenal," was rapidly exposed as a form of selfdeception which even reduced the "arsenal" features to insignificance in relation to the war's real requirements. The global life-anddeath character of the war more

and more became clear to the broadest masses and their leaders.

The magnificent achievements of the Soviet Union in the course of its patriotic war against the Nazi invaders aroused the people of the United States to intense admiration for the fighting qualities of the Red Army, the brilliance of its leadership, the awe-inspiring deeds of the Soviet partisans, the unheardof economic achievements and the solid unity of the people behind the fighting lines.

Thus already in the first period of the war the Soviet Union performed the historic service to the people of the United States in that it destroyed the myth that had pressed so heavily upon them of the invincibility of the Hitler hordes, that myth which like a pestilence had so long paralyzed the spirit of so many democratic leaders.

When, from December onward, the Soviet forces brought the invaders to a halt, seized the initiative, and undertook the counteroffensive that for the first time drove back the Hitler bandits and sent them reeling, a new wave of admiration and love for the Soviet Union swept over America, accentuated by the harsh experiences of our own country in these first weeks of its own active belligerency. The Soviet Union was now being seen, for the first time, by tens of millions, in all the grandeur of the strongest fortress and first line of defense for civilization, culture and freedom for the whole world. not least for the United States itself. The aboriginal inhabitants of this continent, the American Indians, expressed the universal feeling of America when their Council named Stalin as "Chief Warrior"; General MacArthur spoke from the heart of his countrymen when, from Bataan, he hailed the Soviet counter-offensive as "the greatest military achievement of all time," and stated:

"The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest upon the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army."

For six months now the American people and working class have been face to face with the full problems posed by the war. As they have tackled these problems with American initiative and energy, they have also passed on from affectionadmiration ate for the Soviet Union to a more important phase, to a greater understanding of the role of the Soviet Union as a most valued and reliable ally in the United Nations, that this role is not an accident but was determined from its innermost nature and history. The American people now begin to understand that the official declaration of our Government that defense of the Soviet Union is vital to the national interests of the United States is a profound truth.

Most persons discovered this truth only at the time of the official declaration, but it is a truth that goes back into history with deep roots. The Russian Revolution of 1917 made a turning point in twentieth-century history comparable to that which the American Revolution made in the eighteenth century. Collaboration between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. has become a cornerstone of American thinking and national security. It is ever more deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the American masses. The great stream of patriotism which sweeps the American people is indissolubly intertwined with the wave of love, respect and admiration for our great ally, the Soviet Union.

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This is a description of the general trend of the American masses in relation to the Soviet Union. This great change has not, of course, been without its painful and difficult moments for some circles. which cling most stubbornly to ancient prejudices, and prefer to risk their own nation's destruction rather than admit they could ever have been wrong in the past. And it must be noted that a strong "Fifth Column" of Hitler sympathizers conducted and still carries on a most vicious and devilishly clever campaign to break up and discourage the growing collaboration and close relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Sharp political outbreaks of the reactionaries, a dangerous defeatist line in a powerful section of the press, vacillations among honest leaders of the democracy, all serve to remind us of the lessons of our Civil War of 1861, and Lincoln's struggle with the Copperheads, that every war has its front against the enemy within, as well as that against the enemy without

The Fifth Column has arguments and slogans for every group and every moment. Last June and July. our newspapers and military experts were almost completely under the sway of the Fifth Column, and declared that the situation of the Soviet Union was hopeless, that complete victory for Hitler was a matter of a few weeks at most. They drew the conclusion that it was foolish to try to join with or assist such a "weak" and "doomed" country. Their success in imposing these views upon large sections of our country for many weeks, revealed how our country suffered from the peculiar blindness of the realities of today's world, which blindness brought disaster to most of the peoples of Europe and to the whole world and transformed whole nations into Hitler's puppets. Later on, the Fifth Column unblushingly advanced the opposite arguments. that now the Soviet Union is doing so well, it is really unnecessary for the U.S. to do anything but sit back and gather in the fruits of the valorous deeds of the Red Army. But Soviet achievements, and the great awakening of the masses to the fact that they had been repeatedly duped and lied to, have combined to set back the Fifth Column quite decisively.

But it would be the greatest mistake to think that Hitler's Fifth Column has already been finally defeated and eliminated from American life. On the contrary, it is being mobilized at this moment for new and more desperate offensives against America's patriotism and war spirit. It launches new and more subtle conspiracies, in a mad determination to hinder, delay and sabotage the movement for all-out participation by the United States in the offensive to smash Hitler in 1942.

We can never forget that the Fifth Column and its dupes still occupy powerful positions. For example, a leading member of the Senate Military Affairs declares Committee openly his . solidarity with pro-Hitler propaganda sheets which are in process of being closed up by the Government as treasonable. The House of Representatives has but recently voted confidence in Martin Dies, who demanded willingness to support war against the Soviet Union as a criterion of American patriotism. Many military experts still propagate the idea that the United States should join in the Second Front only when a decision of a final nature is approaching on the Eastern Front, and not to help determine that decision in favor of the common cause.

A new campaign of "Red-baiting" is launched through the country, coinciding with the action of the Argentine Government, which jailed pro-Roosevelt demonstrators and leaders as "Communists" as a prelude to proposing in a Pan-American Republics conference that a continent-wide "Communist hunt" should be organized. A section of the Catholic Church conducts an intensive "peace" campaign, using the recent appeal of the Pope. These are a few of the thousand signs of the Fifth Column hard at work in the United States The modern Copperheads are numerous, active, and full of poison.

Most emphatically, however, national unity and patriotic enthusiasm behind the war grow broader and deeper each day. The demand for the Second Front, for the all-out offensive to smash Hitler in 1942. embraces ever wider circles of the population and becomes more insistent. And the working class more and more comes forward as the backbone of this patriotic movement which embraces all healthy elements of the population, as the main conscious driving power of the national unity headed by President Roosevelt unchallenged as the leader.

The patriotic efforts of the working class in production are already amazing the technical experts in the unprecedented and unexpected results. An interesting note on war production in Business Week for May 23 says, for example: "In less than two years we have been able to . . . convert this country's entire resources of material and manpower into battle equipment. . . . The surprise is the speed with which we are getting there. The potentialities of mass production have amazed even the experts of mass production. By comparison this country has never had real mass production before. The production men have always been limited by the market. Now for the first time we have thrown in the switch and left it in. And the rate at which we can chew up metal is like nothing on earth."

Two factors have made possible the amazing production records of our war industry. First, its release from the limitations of the market; second, that which *Business Week* overlooked, the enthusiastic participation of the workers and their powerful labor unions, fired with patriotism and deep hatred of the Nazi and Axis bandits.

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The deepening of American antifascist unity behind the United Nations is exemplified in two important recent speeches of a programmatic character. Vice President Wallace aroused great attention and interest in the country with his declaration that this war is "a fight between a slave world and a free world," disclosing profound agreement with Stalin's characterization of the Nazis as a throwback medievalism. to He placed the present struggle in a historical perspective, in which the high points are the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin American Revolutions of the Bolivarian era (early 1800's), the German Revolution of 1848, the American Civil War which abolished chattel-slavery, and the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Wallace rejected the imperialist slogan of "the American Century," and declared the coming period "can be and must be the century of the common man." He warned against the Fifth Column, which he said is preparing serious blows against the Americas, and called for its ruthless suppression. He declared: "There can be no half measures. The will of the American people is for complete victory."

Wallace's speech was an authentic voice giving expression to influential sectors of the broadest popular democratic forces of the American people.

Of equal significance was the speech of Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, for he is generally looked upon as the authentic spokesman for the upper bourgeoisie and the "hard boiled" realists. His words were remarkable for many reasons, not least because of their unconditional affirmation of the right of self-determination for the peoples of "all continents." "Our victory," he declared, "must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended."

Welles recognized that the existence of the nation is at stake. He voiced unsparing criticism of past U.S. policies, declaring: "We were unbelievably blind." He recognized "a new and changing world." He denounced those who oppose the U.S. giving "our due share of sacrifice" as "enemies of the American people." He said this war, "a people's war," must result in "a permanent system of general security."

The two speeches of Wallace and Welles give expression to the true character of the war as one of national liberation. They agree upon certain main points around which the broadest democratic national unity can be and is being welded in the United States. They point to the possibility and necessity of extended collaboration of the United Nations in general, and specifically of the United States and the Soviet Union, as decisive not only for conducting the war to victory (which no one dares openly oppose now), but also for the reordering and reconstruction of the world after the war had been won.

The Wallace-Welles speeches greatly strengthen the immediate war effort, and point toward the allout offensive to smash Hitler in 1942. They have nothing in common with certain Utopian speculations (fashionable in circles influenced by Trotskyism and other Fifth Columnists), which raise the post-war problems in a form designed to obstruct and disrupt national unity and the solidarity of the United Nations in the prosecution of the war to victory. Attempts to settle the questions of what social and economic system shall be in each country as a condition to supporting the war, are only a means to break up the solidarity required for victory, to dissolve the national unity which must transcend even sharp contradictions of interest. They can be used to set nations against one another, whose contributions are equally essential both to victory and to post-war reconstruction.

When fascism and Nazism, seized by the throat with the two hands of the Western Front and the mighty Soviet offensive, has its neck broken, when Hitler, Goering and their lackeys are thrown finally into the garbage pail of history, the freedom-loving nations will then find the way open to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in a system of general security and self-determination of peoples. To achieve this possibility, all else must be subordinated, and every necessary sacrifice must be made. It can and will be done.