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**The
Nazi Invasion
of the
Soviet Union**

Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S.



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The Nazi Invasion Of The Soviet Union

The murderous Nazi butchers have turned upon the Soviet Union to execute their long planned assault upon the first Workers State. The "super-Wrangel" of World Imperialism is conducting the "holy" war.

The fascist attack on the Soviet Union opens up a new stage of the Imperialist War. It ushers in the phase of civil wars and revolutions. The first important turning point of the war was the capitulation of the French ruling class to forestall revolution. Next came the powerful pressure of American intervention against the Axis powers, which by causing a virtual stalemate laid the basis for the German attack on the S.U. in a desperate attempt to circumvent United States' aid and to break out of its mounting difficulties.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF DEFENSE.

The workers of the world must come to the aid of the Soviet Union in its revolutionary war of defense against imperialism and its fascist agents who hope to make a colony out of the Soviet Union.

The real defense of the first Workers State, warped and distorted almost beyond recognition by Stalinism, demands an increased struggle against Stalinism as an imperialist agency in our ranks. A revolutionary war of defense means a struggle against the imperialist invaders AND against Stalinism and other imperialist agents within.

Stalinism cannot defend the Soviet Union, it can only betray. Hitler came into power as a result of the betrayals of the Social Democracy and the 3rd period policies of Stalinism of splitting and wrecking the labor movement. The Franco-Soviet Pact, the criminal policy of Peoples Frontism in Spain, and then the Stalin-Hitler Pact paved the way for the Nazi encirclement and frontal attack. Stalinism has capitulated against every imperialist pressure since the revolutionary defeats in Germany in 1923. It has abused and betrayed the loyalty of the working class to the Soviet Union. It has played capitalist power politics. It is forced in this war to protect its own neck. The working class can expect no proletarian policy of defense, but extending the October Revolution.

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from this force.

THE UKRAINE

In September 1939 the FIGHTING WORKER stated, "Today Stalinism makes it possible for Germany to take Poland and Hungary. Tomorrow Hitler will be at the gates of the Ukraine... By removing Poland, by undermining the internal conditions in the Soviet Union, with Stalin's help, Hitler will prepare the way for his counter-revolution in the Soviet Union."

Many months before the war started we criticized and rejected Trotsky's slogan for an "Independent Ukraine", pointing out that this would play into Hitler's hands. The revolutionary defense of the Ukraine against Hitler demands the ousting of the Stalinist bureaucrats, but this political revolution against Stalinism must be a part of the general fight against Stalinism and against counter-revolutionary intervention in the whole of the Soviet Union, on the basis of genuine democratic SOVIETS and a democratic Red Army.

WHY HITLER ATTACKS NOW

Powerful American pressure against the Axis has altered Hitler's plans. He must match American economic might with more materials. These he must obtain from the Soviet Union, by capitulation if possible, by war if necessary.

Hitler must try to break out of the new stalemate America's economic and military might has created. Above all, German Imperialism, in driving all the Allied armies off the continent, now face only one powerful army in Europe — the Red Army. Hitler cannot afford to take long chances off Europe with that army threatening him in the rear. Its elimination, if possible, is a prelude to further onslaughts against the Anglo-American group.

Hitler's Balkan victories completed the encirclement of the Soviet Union, and with pressure on Japan to come to its aid, German imperialism hopes to make quick work of the Soviet Union.

GERMAN-SOVIET UNION WAR INEVITABLE

The Hitler-Stalin Pact and its devastating effect as a betrayal of the working class is now clearly revealed as a Pact of Treachery to the interest of the Soviet Union. The German attack will enable the other imperialists to 'double-cross' Stalin as double pay for his former aid to fascism. Instead of assuring peace to the Soviet Union, the Pact in reality helped to weaken the Soviet Union while Hitler was preparing his blows.

In the June, 1941, FIGHTING WORKER we stated, "Both the Hess and Stalin-Hitler incidents reveal internal differences over

policy within respective ruling groups; in Germany it is over when to attack the Soviet Union, and in Soviet Union over when to put up effective opposition to Hitler's steady march eastward to vital Russian spheres... The iron ring of the Axis encirclement, of imperialist encirclement, is tightening... At this juncture it is Germany that holds the key. Under her leadership an Axis attack (or through a truce with England, a "united" struggle) against the Soviet Union is possible."

"RED IMPERIALISM"

It is now clear that the Red Army seizures of Baltic areas were DEFENSIVE steps against an Imperialist attack under German leadership. This we pointed out at the time of these invasions, against the Shachtmanites and others who spoke of "Red Imperialism." It was not a question of Red Imperialism but of defense against impending attack. Even Stalin could see that his neck was in danger.

IMPERIALIST ANTAGONISM WILL GROW

The Anglo-American imperialists will gladly promise aid to Russia, to get her deeper into the war with Germany. But it is all too probable that a semi-truce will develop between these two camps, while Germany drives into Russia. If necessary, they will even, des-

pite any promises, come to the aid of Germany, to accomplish the overthrow of the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, in spite of this, the long time imperialist antagonism will remain and grow.

Anglo-American interests are outright gleeful about the turn of events. Roosevelt will take "credit" for it. It further exhausts German men and materials, and makes that much more distant and a tempting invasion of England while America's war effort can now be intensified. England also gains time in the Near-East.

Japan, especially, is on the "spot." If she does not come to the aid of Germany, the American Imperialism will use this to drive a wedge between the two, and further weaken her position in Asia. If she does come to the aid of Germany, America gains even more by Japan's exhaustion in such a war while the United States strengthens her bases in the East Indian and Chinese areas.

Roosevelt will now try to use the Stalinists internationally as Hitler used them yesterday. Stalinism will make desperate efforts (probably already under way) to sell out to American Imperialism for "aid" against Germany. On the May, 1941, issue of the FIGHTING WORKER stated: "It is our opinion that the Tokyo-Moscow pact is only a temporary zig-zag

in the move away from the Hitler-Stalin Pact and TOWARDS a Roosevelt-Stalin Pact”.

THE LINE HAS CHANGED AGAIN

If the choice was left up to Stalinism alone, it might still have capitulated to Hitler's demands. But Stalinism, despite its bureaucratic control, cannot be isolated from the economy on which it rests.

Hitler's demands were probably for more than the peaceful concessions possible under the Soviet Union **property relations**. Immediate concession to them might have brought on an internal explosion against Stalinism. No face-saving formula was possible. Rapid work is necessary to consolidate the Soviet Union against the imperialist invasion and the Stalinist wreckers.

If American Imperialism “aids” the Soviet Union against Hitler the United States Stalinists will again become open social-patriots, as they were up to the eve of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. A few quotations of yesterday will show that the “new line” is the same OLD line of supporting one group of imperialists against the other.

“Let us approach the whole question as Americans, from the view point of American national interests, which includes a deep interest in maintaining world

peace”. Browder speech, August 29, 1939 on the Hitler-Stalin Pact.”

“We join President Roosevelt and the best progressive minds of our country in hating aggression and in readiness to support its victims.” Olgin, Sept. 2, 1939.

“As patriotic defenders of our country, we join forces with all who oppose reaction, fascism and war.” Harrison George, July 4, 1937.

Volumes of this social patriotism of yesterday (which will again be dished out) could be quoted.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

The working class must defend the Soviet Union and the Red Army against the imperialist attackers who are using the Fascist as their spearhead.

The working class must fight the Stalinist and other imperialist agents within our ranks. Reject the Trotsky formula of a truce with Stalinism when the Soviet Union is at war. To defend the Soviet Union the Stalinites must be removed from leadership of the struggle. Stalinism cannot defend the Soviet Union. A new revolutionary party must be built in the S. U. Only the revolutionary Marxian parties and the genuine workers Soviets can defend the Soviet Union. Defense of the Soviet Un-

ion demands above all the extension of the October Revolution.

If the United States becomes an "ally" of the Soviet Union, the workers must continue their line of a fight against the war measures of Wall Street. Revolutionary defense for the Soviet Union — revolutionary defeatism elsewhere, that is the road to victory.

We repeat the words of the May Day Manifesto of the International Contact Commission, that, "Regardless of the fact that the imperialist war revolves around an Anglo-Axis-American struggle the real struggle BEFORE THE WAR IS OVER will be a struggle between COMMUNISM AND FASCISM."

THE SOVIET UNION AND STALINISM

The second world imperialist war, like the first one, is an attempt to resolve internal capitalist contradictions at the expense, first of all, of the proletarian revolution, and secondly at the expense of rival imperialists. That the war could be started at all was made possible by the dozens of proletarian defeats and the momentary relegation of the threat of revolution to the background.

The invasion of the Soviet Union shows that the two sides of the capitalist contradiction can not remain separate very long. With the invasion of the warped Workers' State the indissoluble link between wars and revolutions in the era of imperialism stands out in bold relief. And the war will not be terminated until the CLASS battle is resolved as well — either the social revolution, Communism, or or Fascism.

STALIN'S NEW THEORY

The war has a two-fold character. It remains an imperialist war in relation to Germany, Great Britain, United States and Japan; but in relation to the Soviet Union it is a revolutionary war of defense. But the Stalinists, in order to cover their new betrayal of capitulation to the Anglo-American bloc, come out with the theory that the war is no longer an imperialist war. They say it is now a progressive war. The character of the imperialist war does not change just because Hitler as a former ally of Stalin decides to attack the Soviet Union. It only adds the new element of revolutionary war in relation to the Soviet Union, but the

other nations, "allies" of Stalin or enemies of Stalin remain imperialists warring for the re-division of the earth.

If Stalin and Hitler were unable to extend their former pact it was not because of Stalin's unwillingness to concede further. It was the October property relations against the Hitler-Stalin pact. In France last year when the French capitalists were confronted by a threatening proletarian revolution they came to terms with Hitler whereby they gave up part of their wealth in return for the right to continue the exploitation of the working class. In the Soviet Union the German attack reveals a fundamental conflict between two economic systems, even though both states are "totalitarian." There are no capitalists with whom Hitler can come to terms. If victorious, Hitler will make the Soviet Union a colony, and will have an outlet on the Pacific to put pressure on Japan and to carry the war against the British to the Asiatic area. A reduced French capitalist class can live side by side with the New German "Order". But a Workers State cannot live in this new "order".

WORLD IMPERIALISM VS WORKING CLASS

Twenty-three years after the first invasion of the Soviet Union, world imperialism now makes its second attempt. Although the tactics differ the underlying aim is still the same, destruction of the base of the October Revolution. In 1918 there was the danger of revolution everywhere: the imperialists therefore openly united. The "enemies" of the day before joined hands against the MAIN enemy, the proletariat. But in 1941 the danger of revolution outside of Russia is not yet sufficiently strong to force the powers into open unity:

they can pursue their own conflicting imperialist aims while being basically united on the one point of destruction of Workers RUSSIA even though it is a warped Workers State.

While Germany makes the frontal attack against the Soviet Union, with planes and tanks, the United States and Great Britain attempt to undermine the Soviet Union from WITHIN. Their "aid" to the Soviet Union is a Trojan horse. The hundreds of "technicians", "military advisers" and their like being sent into the Soviet Union now by Uncle Sam and John Bull will work with, aid, and "educate" the counter-revolutionary elements within Russia for a capitalist restoration. It is no accident that the Kerenskys and the White Guard generals are suddenly in high favor in the "democratic" diplomatic corps. Significantly enough, Hitler pursued the same policy in the two years since the Stalin - Hitler pact. The German propaganda ministry boasts that their "technicians" and others have prepared the way for a capitalist Russia so well, that immediately after a German military victory the Nazis would be able to police Russia almost completely without their own troops, merely through the counter-revolutionists within Russia whom the Germans have had two years to organize.

"RED IMPERIALISM"?

Those who were against the Soviet Union in the campaign against Poland, Finland, etc., who were for the defeat of the Red Army, did not understand the real facts. They saw important errors of Stalinism, but did not see the whole picture and therefore spoke of "Red Imperialism." The Stalinist occupation of border territory conterposed to the petty-bourgeois op-

position against "Red Imperialism" was a gain. But the Stalinist invasions counterposed to a genuine working class policy of aiding and pushing revolutionary struggles in these countries and in the war-torn nations (Germany in particular), were defeats for the working class and the Soviet Union.

The present difficulties of the Soviet Union stem more from the treacherous role of Stalinism than any other cause with the exception of the imperialists themselves. In 1918 the proletariat in many parts of the world rose in demonstration after demonstration in defense of the Soviet Union. Were it not for the fear of the extension of the October Revolution world imperialism would have taken a different attitude before giving up its immediate attempt to overthrow the Soviets. The effect of the Bolshevik propaganda added to the devastation of the war won over millions of workers in many countries.

But in 1941 there is not a single demonstration against the invasion. The Soviet Union's only real ally, the workers of the world, are ignored by Stalinism, who turns instead to... Churchill and Roosevelt.

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

We must not forget that in 1924 Stalin brought forth his theory of "socialism in one country" and gradually developed it until revolutionary Marxists were exiled and later killed. Contrary to Marxism, Stalin not only proclaimed the possibility of building socialism in one country, but in backward Russia at that. For this Stalinism wanted a long period of peace, hence on every occasion it became a brake upon revolutionary struggles and its "international line" became a policy for the "Status Quo". Stalinism functioned as

an agent for one group and then another group of imperialists until the line developed to reformism and social-patriotism.

The extension of the October Revolution, as presented by Lenin and Trotsky was bitterly fought by the Stalinists. They betrayed one revolution after the other. History proves this to the hilt, as it has done also for the Second International.

ANTI-WORKING CLASS LINE

In 1938 it became evident to Stalin that France and England could not or would not check the growing German advance. Still in an effort to preserve the capitalist status-quo Stalin entered into a pact with Hitler. And along with the pact came another flip-flop in Stalinist policy. Molotov proclaimed to all and sundry in one of his infamous speeches that Germany is in a position of a "nation desirous of peace", but that Britain was now the "aggressor" and war-loving nation. The **imperialist** invasion of Poland by Germany was pictured as a "joint effort" by the Red Army and the Reichswehr to "re-establish law and order in Poland". Instead of calling on the Polish workers to fight the fascist invaders, Stalinism told them to submit to this restoration of "law and order".

When the pact was signed Molotov said "Only yesterday German fascists were pursuing a foreign policy hostile to us. Yes, only yesterday we were enemies in the sphere of foreign relations. Today, however, the situation is changed and we are enemies no longer." Today, after the invasion, Stalin speaks of a plan to repulse a fascist attack, but before the event Molotov lulled the workers to sleep by telling them that Germany was a friend.

On Oct. 9, 1939, the Izvestia said, "One may respect or hate Hitlerism just as any other system of political views. This is a matter of taste. But to undertake war, annihilation of Hitlerism, means to commit criminal folly in politics!"

Now with the German armies hundreds of miles within Russia, Stalinism concludes a pact with the Anglo-American bloc. In his July 3rd maiden speech as Russian premier to the Russian proletariat Stalin not once mentions the glorious struggle of 1918-21, not once mentions the word Socialism. Instead he speaks of "our fatherland", he refers the workers back to the "great" campaigns of Czar Peter and the Russian victory against Napoleon. He warns the peasants about the danger of the restoration of landlords and of Czarism, but not a word about the danger of restoration of capitalism.

MORE STALIN BETRAYALS

Stalin says, "We" secured "peace" and "prepared" against possible attack — and then adds: Germany was in state of complete readiness to attack the Soviets, "only awaiting the signal to move into action, whereas Soviet troops had little time to effect mobilization and move up to the frontiers." Stalin contradicts himself in the same speech. If they were preparing for a possible Fascist invasion then why the argument that "we" were caught unprepared?

But the false policy had had such devastating effects upon REAL DEFENSE of the Soviet Union that this is used as an excuse and a cover up to divert attention from the real issue of Stalinist blunders and treachery against the working class.

"In the areas occupied by the enemy, guerilla units, mounted and foot must be formed, diversionist groups must be organized to com-

bat enemy troops, to foment guerilla warfare everywhere..." And behind the lines, he continues, "We must organize all around assistance to the Red Army..."

Yes, Stalinism is willing to REORGANIZE workers militias from the bottom up IN THE AREAS OCCUPIED BY THE ENEMY, but BEHIND THE LINES the masses should just give aid to the Red Army. It is clear that Stalinism FEARS genuine workers democracy and SOVIETS more than he does the Fascist armies, otherwise he would call for arming the workers in every factory, and establishing workers' militias everywhere. An ARMED POPULATION CAN DEFEAT ANY IMPERIALIST INVASION. But Stalinism fears the masses too.

In spite of Stalin's policy these soviets will be organized behind the lines as well as in enemy territory. The logic of the struggle will drive to this.

Under Stalinism victory in the present struggle is impossible. It is impossible for many reasons: The main bulwark of the Soviet Union, the proletariat can not be roused and IS not being roused by the Stalinist Third International which has become fully social-patriotic in every country outside the German bloc. We reject the Trotskyist position of "being good soldiers", of political criticism against Stalinism but material aid, of postponing the political revolution against Stalinism until **after** the war. If the defense of the Soviet Union is left in Stalin's hands there will be no Workers State in Russia after the war; capitalism will have again been placed in the saddle. Stalinism can not organize a victory because it has confused, demoralized and divided the proletariat WITHIN Russia itself. By liquidating the Soviets, the Workers Militia and Work-

ers Democracy it has given momentum to counter-revolutionary forces within the Soviet Union; it has aroused not the sympathy and fervor of the Russian proletariat but its hostility to the present regime.

July 23, 1941.

HOW TO DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

1. When the Soviet Union will be part of an armed conflict, either due to an imperialist invasion, or with Stalinism as an ally of one group of imperialists against another group of imperialists, the war will have a two-fold character: as an imperialist war with Stalinism as an ally of one group it will be an imperialist war with elements of revolutionary war. As a war of defense against imperialist attack of the Soviet Union, it will be a revolutionary war with elements of the imperialist conflict. The contradictory position of the Soviet Union brings forth this condition.

It is the purpose of the Marxists in all cases to develop the struggle into a general revolutionary war to strengthen and extend the October Revolution.

2. Whereas the Trotskyite position on defense means the complete support of Stalinism in periods of military struggle, and revolutionary defeatism means that one considers the state and army bourgeois, our position on defense means: the defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialist invasion and the imperialist agents within the Soviet Union, the Stalinists, etc. In a war Stalinism will be a brake upon the Soviet Union even more so than it is today.

If the political revolution against Stalinism is not completed before the war develops, then the Soviet Union's participation in that war will enlarge all of the contradictions within, and will lead to a violent solution of these antagonisms. The Russian masses with guns in hand will be more than a match for Stalinism and other such enemies of the proletariat.

3. The main line for defense of the Soviet Union is the independent working class action, internationally and inside the Soviet Union:

a—The political and organizational independence of the Revolutionary Marxian organization.

b—Revolutionary Defeatism in all capitalist countries, no matter which side of the struggle they are on.

c—Help the Russian Marxists build a Marxian Party in the Soviet Union.

d—For Soviets, a genuine Red Army, and workers democracy in the Soviet Union.

4. The Red Army under Stalinism is warped and used by the bureaucracy for anti-working class ends. But as a Red Army it is based on the proletarian property relations and will have millions of workers, armed, in its ranks. It is not a bourgeois army. We are for independent action inside and outside the Red Army.

We are against calling on the workers at all times to join the Red Army; we are equally against calling on the working class at all times not to join the Red Army. It is a tactical question whether under certain circumstances we call for joining the Red Army, or whether

under other circumstances we call upon the workers not to join the Red Army.

Our perspective is to organize workers' militias wherever we can to strengthen and extend the October Revolution; and where we are in the Red Army we work for workers' democracy and for Soviets.

A healthy Red Army should always be backed up by irregulars or Workers Militia forces; even in circumstances where we favor joining the Red Army, workers militias and partisan bands must be established. However, in those places where we favor joining the Army we do not pose the workers' militias as instruments counter to the Red Army.

The revolutionists work within the Red Army of Stalinism, to transform it into a genuine Red Army based upon industrial structure, and with genuine soldiers democracy against the Stalinist officer caste. The Soldiers' Committees must regain control of the Red Army.

In other places where Stalinism or other counter-revolutionary forces cannot be dislodged, where the Red Army cannot be transformed into a genuine class instrument, and where the Red Army becomes the disguise for these enemy forces it will be necessary to constitute Workers Militias to carry out the defense of the Soviet Union against these units.

5. Material aid to the Red Army.

The Marxists must give their material aid to the Marxist internationalists and the Russians who are working for the creation of a new Communist Party.

Where workers organizations, not under control of the Marxists, are willing to give material aid to the Soviet Union, the Marxists shall clearly state their policy on defense. Endeavor through representatives to see that this aid

goes to the left forces fighting on an independent class line against imperialism and the Stalinist agents.

Where the Marxists are unable to carry through this policy, as a general rule we do not oppose these workers sending aid to the Soviet Union, but the forces working for independent class action work to obtain this material. Under specific conditions, as exceptions, considering the concrete stage of the struggle between Stalinism and other counter-revolutionary forces in their struggle against the workers and peasants, we shall fight against shipments to these anti-working class forces.

Above all real defense means in each concrete situation the defense of the Soviet Union against ALL imperialists and their agents in the Soviet Union, the Stalinists, etc.

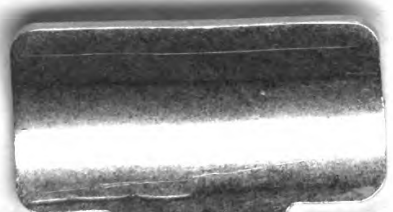
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