

Browder Tries Again to Destroy the Communist Party

By William Z. Foster

EARL BROWDER WAS EXPELLED from the Communist Party, by unanimous vote of the National Committee, in February 1946. This was done because of, "gross violation of Party discipline and decisions, for active opposition to the political line and leadership of our Party, for developing factional activity, for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and deserting to the side of the class enemy, American monopoly capital. . . . The struggle against Browder and Browderism is no longer a struggle against a trend in the Communist and labor movements. It is now a struggle against a deserter from communism, against an alien ideology and influence." Browder's enemy conduct since that time has amply demonstrated the correctness of these charges, formulated by Robert Thompson, veteran communist soldier of the Spanish War, and holder of the U. S. Distinguished Service Cross medal in the war against Germany and Japan.

Browder had been Party secretary for a number of years; he gradually became more and more opportunistic and egoistic, and unfit for his Party office. His expulsion, which developed very rapidly, was a blow from which he has never recovered. He

suddenly learned that the Party was full of opposition to him. Practically all his followers in the Party deserted him, save his immediate family. He has since kept pouring out a stream of articles, books, pamphlets, radio and television speeches, etc., containing all sorts of contradictory and false arguments. Browder is a pampered darling of the capitalist propaganda forces. But he has never succeeded in building up his shattered followers, except for a handful among the bankrupt and recently-expelled revisionist Gates sect. His latest attempt, also a dud, is his fanciful article attacking the Party in the March, 1960, issue of *Harper's Magazine*.

During his later years in Party leadership, and since then, Browder has concocted all sorts of fantastic schemes. He proposed to clasp hands with J. P. Morgan as a symbol of national unity; he wanted the Republican and Democratic Parties to put up a joint ticket in the Presidential elections of 1944, which would have excluded Roosevelt; he actually dissolved the Communist Party in the South; and was instrumental in changing its name (and composition) in the North to the Communist Political Association; he proposed that

the country be run by the "intelligent capitalists," and he agreed to help them drum up 40 billion dollars in foreign trade "with their own methods"; he declared that he was responsible for Franklin Roosevelt running a third time! He declares now—in *Harper's*—that his expulsion was the signal for the cold war between the capitalist powers and the Soviet Union—which is in line with his monstrous ego. Boundless egoism and fantastic political schemes are among the principal reasons for his downfall. Generally, his proposals in the last years of his office went towards the liquidation of the class struggle, and the tailing after the monopolists, with the latter in full command. Becoming more and more absurd, his schemes have now become altogether impossible.

Browder started with the idea of a benevolent American imperialism; moved to the point of equating the USA and USSR as sources of the war danger, and then to asserting that there was more socialism in the USA than in the USSR, and more capitalism in the USSR than in the USA; and now, in *Harper's*, one has a picture of a devilish, war-provoking USSR functioning in a generally benign world and causing all sorts of catastrophes, from the Cold War to the ruination of the Communist Party of the USA.

The main thing about his *Harper's* article is the ignoring of any kind of social, economic, or political analysis; it is filled with gross ego-

mania. The ignoring of U.S. and world imperialism, is the central failure; it comes from opportunism gone mad. Likewise, in this connection, he ignores not only the whole persecution and prosecution of Party leaders and many others in the Left, but the whole phenomenon of McCarthyism and New Conservatism and conformism, which even a Supreme Court Justice called the "Black Pall of Fear."

Browder's expulsion was brought about by the exposure of his revisionist program in the French communist magazine, *Cahiers du Communisme*, by Jacques Duclos, a prominent leader of the French Party. The French article was caused by Browder's dabbling in the French and many other Communist Parties with his opportunist and destructive schemes. Duclos' article was written in defense of the French Party. So little did the French comrades think of it as an international article, that they did not send our Party a copy of their magazine containing it—we had to dig it up from a subscriber in New York weeks later, having heard about it by chance. But Browder has since blown up the Duclos article with numerous absurd interpretations—such as claiming that it came from Stalin—trying in vain to explain away his own drastic repudiation by the American communist membership.

In the *Harper's* article, Browder has even outdone himself with "explanations" of the Duclos article. It

has taken him 15 years to think up his latest brainstorm. He actually says that the Soviet Premier "*Nikita Khrushchev has now adopted the 'heresy' for which I was kicked out of the Communist party in 1945. His new policy of co-existence is almost word for word the same line I advocated fifteen years ago. So my crime has become—at least for the moment—the new orthodoxy.*" The statement, of course, cannot be dignified with any other term than that it is a deliberate lie, slanderous and insulting to Premier Khrushchev. Browder actually was expelled from the Communist Party of the United States because he represented an opposite policy from Khrushchev, and it was exposed by the Duclos article.

BROWDER'S FAKE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Ever since the formation of the Soviet Union in November 1917, the Russian Communist Party and its leaders have carried on a firm policy for peace with all countries:

On November 8, 1917 . . . the Second Congress of Soviets . . . adopted a decree on peace drafted by Lenin. . . . In the 1919 Soviet Congress, Lenin declared, "The Soviet Republic desires to live in peace with all nations, and concentrate all its efforts on domestic construction. . . . We never changed our peace conditions. Many times we especially offered peace to the Entente (England and France). We determinedly favor economic understanding with America, with all countries, but especially with America." . . .

Under Stalin's leadership, the Soviet Government continued Lenin's peace policy. . . . In December 1927, Stalin reiterated the basic tenet of this policy: "The basis of our relations with the capitalist countries is the allowance for the coexistence of two opposite systems." (*For Peaceful Coexistence*, pp. 3-4, International Publishers, 1951).

Premier Khrushchev is brilliantly and creatively continuing and developing this 40-years long policy of peaceful coexistence, steadfastly adhered to by the Soviet Communist Party under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. His whole course has gone to the abolition of war and the burden of armaments; he is the outstanding world champion for ending the cold war. Now we have Browder, in his *Harper's* article, insolently intimating that Khrushchev has adopted and learned his peace policy from Browder! And this from Browder, himself, just another cold-war hack.

From its foundation, the Soviet Union has faced the imperative program of preventing war and at the same time carrying forward socialism. This has been its unavoidable two-pronged policy. In this policy it has been very successful, and it has had to carry it out in the face of stupendous obstructions placed in the way by the other powers. Particularly is this success the more remarkable because, since the end of World War II, the United States, which of all the great powers was alone undamaged by the Hitler-aggressive

war, has been striving for domination over the whole world. The United States had a monopoly of the atomic and hydrogen bombs, had air bases all over the world, and had scores of active military allies, besides controlling the United Nations. Also, the capitalist powers have waged a number of wars during this period—Greece, Korea, China, Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia, Algeria, Suez, etc. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has checkmated this militarism, maintained peace, and has gone ahead building socialism, until it is now definitely overtaking and running ahead of the decaying world capitalist system in many respects—space exploration, rocketry, peaceful atomic energy, science, technology, education, culture, etc. Thus, the socialist powers, instead of provoking the cold war, as Browder charges, have actually minimized and curtailed it, and eventually they will succeed in putting an end to it. The Soviet Union is now moving irresistibly for the halting of war and for the total and universal disarming of the nations.

This is the great policy of peaceful coexistence, as advocated and practiced by the Soviet Union since the days of Lenin, and later by the whole bloc of socialist countries. It has nothing to do with the system of opportunistic tailing after the United States imperialists, as advocated by Earl Browder. His policy, were the socialist world so unwise as to have put it into effect, would have re-

sulted in the forces of socialism bending the knee to, and doing the bidding of, American imperialism, and sentencing themselves to sterility. This would have surely prevented the coming into existence of the whole bloc of socialist states. There would have been a weak and isolated Soviet Union; there would have been no Chinese Revolution; and the many other socialist states would not have been born.

This would have been the fruit of Browder's policy of tailing after the United States on a world scale. The growth of socialism irresistibly requires initiative, not tailing after imperialism, as Browder has been doing for many years. Helping the imperialists to realize their own objectives "with their own methods" (Browder), probably would have resulted in a war, for it is absurd to suppose that the growing socialist movement would have long permitted itself to be checked, curbed, and confined by such restrictive pro-imperialist measures as Browder advocates. Browder is a modern King Canute, trying to sweep back the irresistible tides of socialism—an impossible proposition.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE REVISIONISTS TRY TO DESTROY THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Browder's assertion that "Stalin ruined the American Communist Party" is nonsense. This charge sounds particularly strange in the

mouth of a Browder, who not so long ago boasted of his close friendship with Stalin. Indeed, when Browder made his last trip to Moscow, in 1946, he was informing all and sundry that Stalin alone was the reliable one among the Soviet Party leadership. At the time, his favorite brainstorm was that Stalin was surrounded with war-makers—"McCarthy boys," Browder called them—who would not give Stalin a chance to advance his (Browder's) "peace" line. This was more of the characteristic Browder absurdities. It was only when he got a polite brushoff on his last visit to Moscow (he could not even get in to see Stalin) that he began to talk against him. This rebuff was not surprising, as Soviet Russia could not afford to toy around with Browder's political aberrations.

In his early years, Stalin was a brilliant leader. He made serious errors in his concluding period, but it cannot be said that he ruined the American Communist Party. It took Browder about 15 years to fabricate this charge against him. With all his later faults, Stalin took an interest in our Party and had a strong appreciation of its future. In 1929, in the midst of a bitter factional fight in our Party with Lovestone, which Stalin was instrumental in ending (and in which he sharply criticized myself, among others), he gave our Party an enormous push forward (before Browder was hardly known in the Party.) Stalin, at that time,

said, "I think, comrades, that the American Communist Party is one of those few communist parties in the world upon which history has laid tasks of a decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement." Browder's boast in his article that he was using me as a "hidden mine" to destroy the Party is too typically ridiculous to discuss.

Not Stalin, but the United States Government, aided by the Gates-Browder type of revisionists, did to our Party the considerable damage that it has suffered in recent years. Under both the Truman and Eisenhower regimes, the communists were subjected to the most bitter attacks from the federal and state authorities, and the employers. Many scores of men and women were railroaded to jail for long terms in almost every big city; the courts were cluttered up with stoolpigeon witnesses, reactionary state's attorneys, and careerist judges, who handed out long sentences for imaginary offenses. Even yet, years after the McCarthy hysteria has come virtually to an end, several communists are still in jail, after long imprisonment, their only offense being that they dared to speak out against McCarthyism and the war danger. The Party was actually outlawed by federal law, denying the Party the right to meet, etc., and this law is still in effect. The revisionists of the type of Gates and Browder did all they could to hamstring and liquidate the Party in the face of its

great enemies.

Henry Winston, a young Negro Communist leader, has developed a brain tumor while in jail; he recently underwent an almost fatal operation, which has left him crippled and almost blind. But the callous authorities still hold him a prisoner. Another Communist leader, Bob Thompson, a much decorated veteran of the Second World War, has also been in jail for several years, on the same fake charges. He had his skull beaten in, with an iron pipe, by a fascist prisoner, while in jail, and he nearly died. He is wearing a metal plate in his skull. This is the way the Communist Party has experienced our boasted "freedom," and it is these tactics that have done what injuries our Party has recently suffered; but of course, Browder is anxious to protect his capitalist paymasters, and he makes no mention of this reign of terror.

But no communist is dismayed at the losses in membership which our Party suffered under the attacks of the government and the revisionists. The Party is rapidly recovering, and will continue forward. All the big communist parties of today, beginning with Soviet Russia and People's China, and running through the whole list of socialist countries, as well as those in capitalist countries, such as Indonesia, Italy, France, Brazil, etc., have suffered vastly greater in their day from the attacks of capitalist reaction than has our Party, and have brilliantly more than

recovered from them. Our Party, we may be assured, will soon more than pick up its strength again.

All the socialist countries are booming ahead. And Africa is ablaze with revolutionary spirit, Asia is gone forever from imperialist domination, and Latin America is rapidly shaking off the chains of Yankee imperialism. Cuba is only one example; but the real awakening conditions in Latin America were indicated in Eisenhower's recent trip. All the countries that he visited were earnestly expecting financial aid, as all are in crisis. But Mr. Eisenhower, as soon as he was safely out of Latin America, declared that the United States had no intention of delivering subsidies to these lands. These may be expected to have widespread rebellious consequences in many Latin-American countries. The Latin-American people are not going to content themselves with flowery phrases.

Mr. Browder is an apologist for American imperialism. He has been taken to the bosom of the imperialist press, and is now busy grinding out, at a good financial rate, endless articles and other publicity matter for them. His *Harper's* article is but another example of his utter bankruptcy and megalomania. Our Party, and communist parties all over the world, will not allow turncoats such as Browder to swerve them from their inevitable and historic goal of socialism.