

ON THE EXPULSION OF BROWDER

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE RESOLUTION of the National Committee on the expulsion of Earl Browder, adopted unanimously on February 13, 1946, after its presentation by Comrade Robert Thompson, summarizes the reasons for Browder's expulsion as follows:

The National Committee has considered and approves the recommendation of the National Board, and the demand from the ranks of our Party organizations, that Earl Browder be expelled from the Communist Party for gross violation of Party discipline and decisions, for active opposition to the political line and leadership of our Party, for developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy—American monopoly capital.

These findings are fully borne out by the record in the case. Browder's expulsion was both imperative and inevitable in the building of our Party. It is now being overwhelmingly supported by the Party membership. Browder would like to subordinate our Party to the interests of his allegedly progressive big capitalists, and the bourgeois press is filled with charges that he was un-

justly expelled. But, as Comrade Thompson stated, "If our Party is to be criticized for anything, it is for allowing this alien element, this representative of the class enemy, to remain too long and do too much damage to our Party while in its ranks."

What the Communist Parties in Latin America think of Browderism, with which they have had bitter experience, was illustrated by Luis Carlos Prestes, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Brazil, who stated at the January 4, 1946, plenary session of that Party's National Committee: "In the United States, the reorganization of the Communist Party, after severe self-criticism of the opportunist line followed by Browder, is another positive and important factor in the people's fight for the maintenance of peace and against the aggressiveness of imperialism." The Chilean Communist Party, at its convention in Santiago, December 8-15, 1945, also sharply condemned Browderism as rank opportunism. And Blas Roca, General Secretary of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, during its convention held in Havana, December 24-28 1945, stated the position of the Cuban Communists as follows:

I hope that the North American Party will very soon complete the expulsion of this tumor, which has already become a malignant tumor, which calls itself Browder. . . . We are expelling Browder from our Party. The physical person of Browder was not a

member, never was a member of the Popular Socialist Party, but Browder's ideas, Browder's revisionism, the Teheran of Browder, Browder's books, Browder's line were members of the Popular Socialist Party. . . . Now we not only expel Browder's Teheran, we not only expel his revisionist speeches. Now we have another task, that of completely smashing this Browder Teheran and his revisionist books. And we do not limit ourselves merely to crushing them. We must go to the masses to explain to them why this revisionist line of Browder is false, why we cannot follow in the lying and traitorous path of his writings and his revisionist line.

Let us briefly review the phases of the struggle against Browder leading up to his expulsion.

At our National Convention, held in July, 1945, following the most extended and profound political discussion in the life of our Party, the delegates concluded unanimously that the assertion of Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party, that Browder was practicing "a notorious revision of Marxism-Leninism," was completely justified. The Convention resolution, in rejecting Browder's whole conception, stated:

In the recent period, especially since January, 1944, these mistakes consisted in drawing a number of erroneous conclusions from the historic significance of the Teheran accord. Among these false conclusions was the concept that after the military defeat of Germany, the decisive sections of big capi-

tal would participate in the struggle to complete the destruction of fascism and would cooperate with the working people in the maintenance of postwar national unity. . . .

This revision of Marxist-Leninist theory regarding the role of monopoly capital led to other erroneous conclusions, such as to utopian economic perspectives and the possibility of achieving the national liberation of the colonial and dependent countries through arrangements between the great powers. It also led to tendencies to obscure the class nature of bourgeois democracy, to false concepts of social evolution, to revision of the fundamental laws of the class struggle and to minimizing the independent and leading role of the working class. . . .

Furthermore, the dissolution of the Communist Party and the formation of the Communist Political Association were part and parcel of our revisionist errors, and did in fact constitute the liquidation of the independent and vanguard role of the Communist movement.

BROWDER HOLDS TO HIS OPPORTUNIST LINE

Browder fought every aspect of this Marxist analysis of his political conceptions all through the Party discussion, and he especially combated the main Convention resolution. Then, fearing he might otherwise be expelled, he stated vaguely that he would abide by the decisions of the Convention. Browder made no mention of error, however; he did not repudiate his book *Teheran*; he did not accept the Duclos article, nor

did he express support for the Convention Resolution. Later, on August 3, the National Board wrote to him, demanding that he explain what he meant by his vague statement about obeying the Convention's decisions. The Board's letter to Browder said, "You still do not repudiate your former position; you evade expressing either agreement with or taking a direct position on the Resolution. . . ." But Browder, with characteristic arrogance, ignored the letter, making no reply whatever.

In the period following his utter defeat at the National Convention, Browder adopted an attitude of surly passivity. He refused assignments to Party work that were offered to him, stating that he preferred to find private employment. The Party offered to help him find such work, but Browder said he was exhausted and wanted time to think things through. In the next period he stayed away from the Party headquarters entirely. Meanwhile, he was kept on full Party wages, right up to the time when he was about to launch his *Distributors' Guide*. Hence, his present insinuations in his so-called *Appeal* that he was left without a job or money by the Party are contemptible lies and a fair measure of his unprincipledness.

Then came the disgraceful incident of Browder's Washington appearance at the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, headed by the notorious Negro-baiter and anti-Semite John

Rankin. Before this committee, with the nation's eyes upon him, Browder betrayed our Party by refusing to defend it against Rankin's attacks. He assumed a sort of Pontius Pilate attitude, washing his hands of responsibility for the Party's activities. In violation of Party instructions, he stated that he was a private citizen and had nothing to do with developing or applying the Party's line. Moreover, he played directly into the hands of the Rankin Red-baiters by making insinuations to the effect that somewhere abroad there was an international Communist authority, higher than our Party, to which he could and would appeal his case. The Party membership was indignant at this treachery on the part of Browder and at the ensuing National Committee meeting in November there were many who demanded his expulsion forthwith.

BROWDER OPENLY ATTACKS THE PARTY

Browder learned nothing from the pre-Convention Party discussion, nor from the course of postwar events. Instead, he became more stubborn than ever in his opportunism. When, before appearing at the Rankin Committee hearings, he was asked by the Secretariat if he had come to see the correctness of the Party's new line, he said that he had not. On the contrary, he stated that he had become convinced that the line of the French Party was also wrong.

Browder's adherence to his revi-

sionism and his determination to fight the Party became quite obvious when he finally went over from passive to active opposition, which he did by publishing the *Distributors' Guide*. The first number of this weekly "economic analysis" appeared on January 5, 1946. The five issues that have been published (up to this writing) make it clear that Browder is not only clinging to his "notorious revisionism," but developing it further. The significance of the appearance of this weekly letter, which Browder is circulating widely among key people in the Communist Parties throughout this hemisphere, is that he now feels he has sufficient resources in hand to make a direct attack upon our Party and its leadership.

Browder's writings and activities show that he has completely abandoned Marxism-Leninism. He has accepted the bourgeois-liberal Keynesian (New Deal) conception that capitalism, by a little economic patching here and there, can overcome its basic economic contradictions and can continue on indefinitely as an expanding social system. He sees no deepening general crisis of capitalism and no need for Socialism either in the near or distant future. The substance of his theorizing is that the big bourgeoisie, especially that of the United States, has become progressive. Browder is a shameless advocate of American imperialism, and, by prostituting the name of Lenin, he portrays American im-

perialism as playing a world-wide progressive role. He also clings to his theory that the "intelligent" capitalists will voluntarily increase the living standards of the workers, and bring prosperity and democracy to the peoples of the world.

The danger in all this bourgeois utopianism is that it denies the progressive role of the working class and of the world democratic forces generally, and that it would demobilize these forces in the face of the onslaught of the rapacious monopolists, especially those of the United States. Browder's is a path of working class surrender to monopoly capital, one that would lead straight to fascism and another world war.

Browder's entire opportunist conception was shattered theoretically in our Party discussion. It has been further repudiated by the course of events since the end of the war. The rampant drive for world domination of American imperialism, with its atomic bomb policies, and the tense international situation that has resulted from it, explode Browder's criminal nonsense about the beneficent world role of American monopoly capital and its determination (in response to its "true class interests") to live in peace with the U.S.S.R. The present bitter strikes and wage struggles also demonstrate the idiocy of Browder's postwar no-strike policy, of his expectation of an all-inclusive class peace after the war, and of his drivel about the em-

players voluntarily doubling the wages of the workers.

But Browder is quite impervious to both the theoretical and practical repudiation of his bourgeois theories. He goes right on repeating them in his *Distributors' Guide* and applying them to current economic and political developments. It is a full continuation of the gross opportunism expressed in his book *Teheran*, with the addition that he now, from the first number of his sheet, openly criticizes the policy of our Party and also that of the French Communist Party.

BROWDER, BOOSTER OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The dozen or more articles that have so far appeared in the *Distributors' Guide* are thoroughly saturated with Browder's bourgeois outlook. Thus, in the first number, that of January 1, in polemizing with Professor Slichter of Harvard, Browder develops his whole Keynesian economic line. He assures the professor that if the capitalists can get away from "horse and buggy" thinking and will adopt the economic reforms (Keynes type) which he, Browder, proposes, the capitalist cyclical crisis can be overcome indefinitely. "The task is not insoluble, it is not an impossible one . . .", he states. "It is not impossible to formulate and carry through policies which will realize an extended [his sly way of saying "permanent"—W.Z.F.] period of high productivity of American

economy with approximately full employment, without recourse to revolutionary measures." In this "progressive" Chamber of Commerce conception, Browder, of course, sees no inevitable cyclical crisis, no deepening general crisis of capitalism, no perspective whatever for Socialism. It is a complete surrender to Keynesian capitalist utopianism.

Browder, in the various articles in his weekly, especially glows with pride at what he describes as the progressive role of American imperialism. He is pleased at the terms of the Anglo-British loan, which, among other negative features, gives American imperialism decided advantages. He displays no fear whatever of the evil consequences of American imperialism, with its massive industries and low production costs, grabbing the lion's share of the world's markets. Indeed, he repeats his oft-stated perspective of the United States securing, as a national and world necessity, exports of some 40 to 50 billion dollars a year (which would mean American imperialist domination of world trade), and he outlines plans by which this can be accomplished. The blueprint for all this can be found in his book, *Teheran*.

Browder actively takes sides with "progressive" American imperialism against "reactionary" British imperialism. He makes this differentiation on the grounds that Great Britain is a colonial power, while the United States primarily is not. He even has

the brass to state that American imperialism is opposed in essence to colonies. Browder knows, but is not at all alarmed at the fact that American economic and political penetration into British, French, Belgian and Dutch colonies, under its general slogan of the "Open Door," is a powerful means for furthering American imperialist expansion. Yet he calls this imperialism "anti-colonial" and "progressive." The whole implication of his writings on this subject is that our Party and the working class should tail after and actually support the international marauding of American imperialism. He tries to cover up the fact that American imperialism, the present-day mobilizer and leader of reaction in all corners of the capitalist world, is far more dangerously reactionary than Great Britain because it is more subtle, more flexible, more modern, more ruthless, and more powerful. Browder's attempt to paint American imperialism, which is now the greatest threat to world peace, as "progressive" is a monstrous crime against the working class and the democratic forces of the world.

So far as the U.S.S.R. is concerned, Browder has the insolence to assert that, if that country will adjust itself to the imperialist policies of the United States, all will be well with the peace of the world. Browder, who for two years or more studiously avoided all mention of the term and concept of imperialism in relation to American foreign policy, now speaks

of imperialism but, in line with his Teheran thesis, gives a progressive connotation to it. He says (January 19), "Peace, therefore, depends upon the firmness with which the United States holds to its policy of liberation and independence for the subject peoples (sic!), and upon the question whether the Soviet Union can find the grounds for continuous collaboration with such a policy, which on the part of the United States is manifestly an imperialist policy even though it is anti-colonial." Here you have the policy of Byrnes, Vandenberg and Dulles (and now Churchill) stated by the pen of Browder—that the U.S.S.R., if it wants peace in the world, must conform to American imperialist policy. According to Browder, American foreign policy is "progressive" and the U.S.S.R. must bow to this policy, *or else*. Such apologetics for imperialism have nothing in common with our Party's policy, which calls upon the American people to curb American imperialist policy and to work out a common democratic program with the U.S.S.R. How dangerous is Browder's conception that the imperialist United States is the progressive world leader and that the Socialist Soviet Union must follow its lead, is vividly demonstrated by the present war crisis precipitated by the speeches of Byrnes, Vandenberg, Dulles, and Churchill against the U.S.S.R.

Browder would surrender China, as he would the U.S.S.R., to the

mercy of ruthless American imperialism. He hails present events in China, the halting of civil war and the proposed reorganization of the Government, as a striking demonstration of the "progressive" character of American foreign policy. Actually, what happened in China was that, upon the end of the war, the Chiang Kai-shek Government, with the active military aid of the United States, attempted to grab all those parts of China then occupied by the Japanese. But the Yen-an People's armies, the real defenders of the Chinese people, were strong and alert and they managed to occupy large sections of the territory held by the Japanese. Whereupon, confronted with the certainty of a long civil war if the Hurley-Chiang policy of seizing everything in sight was continued, a shift in American imperialist tactics had to be made. Hence, Mr. Hurley, American Ambassador to China, was brought home in disgrace and General Marshall sent to China with the present changed tactical line. Browder, in order to make Chinese events conform to his theory of "progressive" American imperialism, even has the audacity to assert that Ambassador Hurley's activities were "his own personal policy" and had nothing to do with the line of the American Government.

The deadly dangers in Browder's theories of "progressive" American imperialism are (1) that in this country they would confuse the

workers and other democratic forces and lure them into supporting the warlike drive of American imperialism for world mastery, and that (2) on a world scale, these theories would create illusions among the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries as to the predatory aims of American imperialism and thus tend to disarm them in the face of this grave danger to their national independence and to world peace. This imperialist position of Browder's is utterly alien to a Communist Party and it must be dealt with as enemy class propaganda.

BROWDER TAILS AFTER TRUMAN

Browder's lickspittle servility towards American Big Business is fully reflected in his unreserved support of the Truman Administration. This he has outlined in various numbers of the *Distributors' Guide*, particularly that of February 5, which deals with the President's recent message to Congress. It is clear to every serious-minded observer that Truman has moved far to the Right of the general political line followed by Roosevelt. He is much more amenable to the demands and pressures of the monopolists than Roosevelt was. His sharp turn to the Right is evidenced, among other measures, by his proposals for gigantic armed forces in the postwar period, including universal military training, his reactionary atom-bomb policy, the appointment of Hoover to manipu-

late American food supplies for imperialist ends, his "get tough with Russia" policy, his armed intervention in China, his cooperation with the reactionary Byrnes in developing a vigorous policy of American imperialist expansion, his proposals to Congress for anti-labor legislation embodying fact-finding bodies and cooling-off periods in wage disputes (which evoked violent denunciations from Philip Murray, William Green, and John L. Lewis), his abandonment of the F.E.P.C., etc. These reactionary policies have forced our Party, in common with other democratic elements, to adopt a much more critical attitude toward Truman than was used toward Roosevelt, to bring greater mass pressure to bear upon the Truman Administration, and to begin to give consideration to the necessity of building a mass democratic third party. Eugene Dennis, at the February meeting of the National Committee, outlined our Party's correct policy in these respects.

But Browder would have the people and the Communist Party blind their eyes to Truman's vacillating and reactionary policies and give him uncritical support. Browder attacks "certain left-wing commentators" (meaning the Communist Party) for criticizing Truman's imperialism, because of "some superficial and temporary phenomena in American conduct of foreign affairs." And he excuses Truman's well-known demagogic practice of making progres-

sive-sounding speeches on domestic issues and then refusing to fight for his proposals. Says Browder, "Truman is lacking in the Roosevelt glamor. But the substance of his expressions of policy contains as much firmness and consistency as that of the Old Maestro himself." He apologizes for Truman's failure to fight for pro-labor measures by saying, "It is within the Roosevelt tradition that Truman combines boldness in setting forth objectives, with caution in the precise formulation of means of attaining them." Browder brushes aside Truman's abandonment of the fight for full employment by assuring us of the President's alleged "emphatic restatement of Roosevelt's policy of full production and full employment." Browder thus winds up his belly-crawling adulation of President Truman:

Harry Truman will probably never hold his cigarette at the same jaunty angle that was characteristic of F.D.R. It is certain that his radio voice will never carry the same magic as that of his great predecessor. But in substance of policy and in basic appeal to the masses, it must be said that Harry Truman has won by his own strength of leadership in moments of crisis the full right to wear the Roosevelt mantle. He is truly F.D.R.'s successor, not only in office and time, but in the role of leader of the nation.

Such shameless tailing after Truman, stage manager for Churchill's call to war against the U.S.S.R.,

reveals how far Browder has sunk in his subserviency to the bourgeoisie. His is a line that would bring the labor movement, and with it the Communist Party, to disaster. Contrary to Browder's surrender policies, the workers and the democratic forces generally must bring ever greater political pressure to bear against the Truman Administration. Only in this way can the people fight successfully against the great monopolists and reactionary interests who more and more dominate both the foreign and domestic policies of the present Administration.

CLEANSE THE PARTY OF BROWDERISM

Browder's publication of the *Distributors' Guide*, with its bourgeois line and its open attacks upon the Party, as well as the circulation of his appeal to the Yonkers Club addressed "to all members of the Communist Party," indicated clearly enough that he was embarked upon a policy of open struggle against the Party. Therefore, the Party reacted vigorously against him. His present whines that he just wanted to be a rank-and-file member (while carrying on his anti-Party line and attacks upon the Party) are certainly ludicrous.

From many sections of the Party demands arose that he be expelled. Hence, in reply to these anti-Party, splitting activities of Browder, the

Secretariat summoned him to attend its meeting of January 29, to account for his anti-Party conduct. Browder, with his usual arrogance, refused to come to the meeting of the Secretariat. When he finally condescended to appear at a meeting of the National Board on February 5, he refused point-blank to answer the written charges made against him or to reply to the many questions directed to him by Board members. He even insolently challenged the Board's right to consider his case. On February 13, he was unanimously expelled by the National Committee. Browder made no attempt whatsoever to come before the National Committee for a hearing. Instead, with evident determination to split the Party, he sent a written appeal to the National Committee and is now circulating it broadcast inside and outside of the Party. In view of this record, Browder's charges that he did not get a fair hearing are sheer demagoguery.

Defeated in his earlier attempt to dissolve the Communist Party outright, Browder is now trying to break up our Party by an attack from without. But he will fail miserably in this, too. Browder's splitting attempt is being met by the Communist solidarity of our Party. This defender of American imperialism has no place in a Communist Party and he must not, under any circumstances, be allowed to build any factions or groups in our Party.

Browderism must not be tolerated in our ranks any more than we would tolerate Trotskyism. In fighting Browderism we must remember as the National Committee Resolution on his expulsion points out, that "It is now a struggle against a deserter from Communism, against an alien ideology and influence." We must put a halt to the serious damage Browder has done to the Communist movement.

The national and world situations imperatively demand that a strong Communist Party be built in the United States. This is a national necessity. If the American people are to smash the war plotting of the Anglo-American imperialists and

save the world from a new war; if we are to defeat the present efforts of the big monopolists to lower the living standards and destroy the democratic safeguards of the American people; if we are to beat back the present attacks upon the Negro people—in short, if we are to realize the democratic objectives of the great war, won at such a terrible cost in blood and suffering, there must be a powerful, mass Communist Party in our country. This kind of Party we are now setting out resolutely to build. And a first condition for success in this Party building is that our Party ruthlessly purge from its ranks every trace of Browderism.