

The Evolution of Browderism

By Alexander Bittelman

The question is no longer, as some seem to think, whether Browder has re-entered politics but what kind of politics he is in. To which the answer is: capitalist politics, bourgeois politics.

Certainly, the field of Soviet-American relations, which Browder makes his main business, is the central question of world relations. It is therefore, the central or one of the general questions in the internal political struggles in the United States. To be engaged in this field of struggle is to be engaged in politics; and to do so the way Browder now does it, is to be engaged in politics of a bourgeois, not working-class, character. Not only is Browder's main appeal made directly to the bourgeoisie, or certain sections of it, but the entire outlook of the appeal is based upon the conduct of the bourgeoisie.

Browder's politics may be said to be of a bourgeois-liberal character. These are the kind of politics which do not admit of the independent and leading role of the working class in the struggle for peace and democracy and deny altogether the need of a Communist Party, let alone its vanguard role in the labor movement.

More exactly, Browder's politics could be characterized as those of Roosevelt Democrats but with this significant difference. Certain elements among Roosevelt Democrats are critical of the monopolies, and the politics of such Democrats reflect in various forms the attitudes of those sections of the bourgeoisie which are in conflict with the big corporations and monopolies. On the contrary, Browder's politics are not critical of the monopolies but in part apologetic for them. Further: Roosevelt Democrats are growing ever more critical and resentful of Truman's abandonment of Roosevelt's progressive policies; whereas Browder's politics are not only not critical of Truman's desertion from Roosevelt but even apologetic for it.

It might be said, therefore, that if Browder is a Roosevelt Democrat he is of the Right Wing category, the wing that has definite affinities with sections of monopoly capital.

All of the foregoing is plainly

demonstrated by Browder's articles in the *New Republic*, especially the first one. In that article, the following points are of particular significance:

1—No exposure of and not even a reference to American imperialism and its drive for world domination but a deliberate covering up of this major and most dangerous factor in world affairs as well as a covering up of the war-hatching conspiracies of the most aggressive sections of the American monopolies. And remember: there are among Roosevelt Democrats important elements that do criticize American imperialism.

2—No exposure of the fact that it is the imperialist offensive of the Anglo-American bloc, led by U. S. imperialism, that is responsible for the hostile policies of the two governments to the Soviet Union and the new democracies of Europe. Browder ignores altogether the fact that it is these policies that are responsible for the refusal of the Anglo-American bloc to deal with the Soviet Union on the basis of equality and which seek to dislodge the Soviet Union from its positions of influence in world affairs.

3—Admitting the existence of "powerful forces in the world which want an Anglo-American war against the Soviet Union and are working tirelessly to bring this to pass," Browder pretends not to notice the fact that the main driving force behind this international reaction is American imperialism and the most reactionary and aggressive circles of finance—monopoly—capital in the United States. He fails to expose the fact that these circles with their war-hatching conspiracies are betraying the interests of the American nation, the interests of the American people.

4—Browder deliberately covers up the desertion of Truman from Roosevelt's progressive policies. He covers up, or tries to cover up, the fact that the Truman Administration is capitulating to the reactionary monopolies, and in doing so is abandoning Roosevelt's policies of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union.

5—On the central problem facing now the American people, namely, how to bring the course of the American government back

to the Roosevelt policies of collaboration with the Soviet Union for a durable peace, what is Browder's answer? It is an answer that tries to hide the most important thing, namely, that only the successful struggle of an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly coalition of the American people, headed by labor, against the reactionary and war-hatching offensive of the monopolies can and will compel a change in American policies, restoring the Roosevelt policy of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union for a durable peace.

6—Polemizing against the imperialist reactionaries who are trying to justify their anti-Soviet offensive by raising the false issue that there can be no peace between capitalist and socialist states, Browder, very characteristically, fails to note the fact that the monopolies raise this false issue to cover up their own imperialist offensive for world domination, an offensive to impose upon the rest of humanity Wall Street's "noble" concepts and practices of "democracy." In doing so, Browder himself covers up the fact that it is this imperialist offensive which prevents the establishment of a durable peace. He covers up the fact that it is this offensive of American imperialism, with its atom bomb diplomacy of threat and blackmail which Browder, by the way, fails to mention altogether, that is now endangering the peace of the world.

A durable peace is not only the dearest wish of all peoples but it is also a realizable objective. A durable peace is possible because the peoples want peace and because the democratic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces of the world are strong enough, as a result of the victory over the Axis, to gain such a peace. But this kind of peace will be won and maintained only in the struggle to break and defeat the imperialist offensive of the monopolies, a struggle of the coalition of the people, headed by labor.

This is the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist conception of how to carry on and win the major historic struggle for a durable peace, for friendship and collaboration between the United States and the

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Soviet Union to achieve and maintain this kind of peace. This is the conception which Browder tries to cover up; and in doing so, he also contributes to the feeding of those leftist sectarian moods which become rationalized into false theories that no durable peace is possible because of the existence of capitalist states.

It is, of course, a fundamental Marxist truth that only the abolition of capitalism will do away with war altogether and forever, since monopoly capitalism must inevitably produce the elements and factors of war. This truth we must assert and propagate con-

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sistently and systematically, as against the bourgeois positions of Browderism.

However, from this conception one must not make the error that a long-term peace is impossible in the present world situation. Such a peace can be won and maintained in the developing relationship of world forces—the growing forces of democracy and anti-imperialism as against the forces of imperialism and monopoly reaction. Such a peace is, therefore, objectively possible. But only the anti-imperialist struggle can make it real, and this struggle Browderism denies. Only such a struggle can and will win the demand of the American people for friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union. But this struggle, too, i.e., the struggle of the people's coalition headed by labor against the war-hatching monopolies, Browderism denies.

Now, it is maintained that bourgeois liberalism with those

Right Wing policies with which Browder's politics have so much in common, can play a positive role in the struggle for peace and democracy. This is true in the sense that the progressive features of Roosevelt's policies are objectively capable of fulfilling such a positive role in the present world situation by fighting to bring back into government policy the Roosevelt policies of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union.

But this is only an objective possibility, which can and will be come realized and effective, first, in the measure in which labor succeeds in consolidating under its own leadership the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly coalition of the American people, and, second, in the measure in which the Communist Party of the United States succeeds in functioning effectively as the vanguard party of the American working class. But Browderism denies both the anti-monopoly coalition headed by labor and the vanguard role of the Communist Party. Browderism thus denies the very conditions which can make Roosevelt Democrats effective in the struggle for a durable peace.

Without an effective anti-monopoly coalition, fighting daily against the imperialist offensive, Roosevelt Democrats would be in great danger of becoming disintegrated and demoralized under the pressure of the reactionary offensive. Such a coalition can grow in power only in the process of labor's independent political struggles and leadership. But Browderism would make labor an appendage of the bourgeoisie, thus destroying the very backbone of the coalition for peace.

Further: without the systematic exposure of Truman's capitulations to the reactionary offensive, and without a daily mass struggle against his Administrations policies of capitulation, it is im-

possible to build and consolidate the independent political power of the anti-monopoly coalition headed by labor. The masses must be helped to learn that they cannot rely on Truman in the fight for peace and democracy; that they can rely only on their own independent strength organized in a people's coalition which in due time will assume the forms of an anti-fascist and anti-monopoly party of the people. But Browderism cultivates illusions in Truman and thus militates against the building of the independent power of the people, without which power Roosevelt Democrats can not be effective in the fight for a durable peace and for Soviet-American friendship and collaboration.

In short: Browderism is poison to labor's political independence and leadership in the struggle for peace and democracy as well to the vanguard role of the Communist Party. Browderism is therefore the enemy of the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalition without which no durable peace can be won and whose backbone and main driving force can be only an independent American working class headed by an effective Communist vanguard Party. Consequently, Browderism is militating against the very conditions which can make effective the objective capabilities of Roosevelt Democrats to help in the struggle for American-Soviet friendship and for a durable peace.

We may be dealing here with a new phase in the evolution of Browderism. From a revision of Marxist theory and an attempt to "adjust" Marxist tactics to bourgeois politics, for which Browder was expelled from the Communist Party, Browder has now blossomed out into an active participant in politics of an unfolded bourgeois

nature. This will undoubtedly serve to expose further the revisionist and bourgeois nature of Browderism and will facilitate the struggle of the Party for the ideological and political positions of Marxism.

It will be necessary, however, to intensify our ideological and political struggle against revisionism and against leftist sectarianism, because Browderism continues to operate, even though in new forms, and because it also helps to feed leftist sectarianism.

Hence, the need of struggle on two fronts as elaborated in the reports of Comrades Foster and Dennis to the July meeting of the National Committee of our Party. We must make these reports and deliberations of the National Committee the very basis for an ideological and political campaign. It must be a campaign that will educate the Party more solidly than ever for the struggle among the masses for our main line—the anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist coalition, headed by labor, to win a durable peace, to restore the Roosevelt policy of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union, to uproot fascism and develop democracy and national equality, to move in the direction of full employment and social security.

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