

Browder's Distortion of The 9-Party Conference

By Jack Stachel (Second of a Series)

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Browder's attempt to present Marxism, in the words of Lenin, as "harmless for the bourgeoisie," at least for the bourgeoisie of the United States, will not make Marxists out of the capitalists but will further expose Browder's pretenses as a Marxist.

Browder's warnings to the capitalists that unless they act "intelligently" their system will be bankrupt is not original. Kautsky and other reformists tried it before. Lenin's words against Kautsky apply with equal force against Browder. Lenin said: "To attempt to frighten the capitalists by the prospect of bankruptcy is like advising the Stock Exchange brokers not to gamble on the Stock Exchange because 'many have lost their fortune in this way!'"

Space will not permit here a full exposure of Browder's attempt to distort the declaration of the nine European Communist Parties and the position of Marxists the world over on the differences in the character of World War I and World War II, and the differences in the relation of forces and therefore in the tactics of the Communists during and following each war. Browder distorts policies and events for the purpose of having everything fit into his revisionist position.

We shall limit ourselves to a few examples. Where the Communists in France, are, in the words of Thorez, now fighting for a "democratic government in which the working class and its Party will finally play a decisive part," Browder sees "the universal type of government for European countries that has emerged from the defeat of the Axis . . . the coalition of all parties and groups that had united in the liberation movement . . ." Browder looks upon the situation in France and Italy following the exclusion of the Communists from the government on orders from Wall Street as a minor incident of a temporary character.

That Browder's "universal type" would actually include De Gaulle and Schuman MRP, as well as the Blums and Ramadiers, fully exposes his emphasis on that which is obsolete in order to conceal the new, the new realignment of forces in relation to the sharpening class relations in France and interventionist role of U.S. imperialism.

BROWDER TELLS US that "the predominant economy of the new democracies in Europe must be characterized as state capitalist." But the Communists in Poland, Yugoslavia and other countries of the new democracies are carrying on a struggle against those who so characterize their economy. Here is what Boris Kidric, in a leading article in the Communist, central organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has to say on this subject in the January, 1947 issue in condemning those who label the state economy of Yugoslavia as state capitalist:

European nations participating in the Plan. A bill spelling out the plan, submitted to Congress by the Administration Friday with a covering message from President Truman, proposes that \$17,000,000,000 be appropriated over a four-year period to be turned over to the 16 outright grants or loans.

An additional \$100,000,000 is to be made available to the nations and territories of Western Germany, with the exception of the Saar.

The program is to be administered by the Administrator of the 16 nations, and a similar program in the American participating nations.

Each party to the plan, which is to be turned over to the U. S. scarce raw materials from its colonies and territory for stock-piling here, transmitting regular quarterly reports to the U. S. covering use of commodities and

important, the principal reason for the stable Europe to the main in which the road. This is the United States program of message that for after the war's Europe "made hard economic

This was the period during which Communists served in the cabinets of these nations and there was a unified effort among various sections of the population to dig out of the ruins of war.

It was clear by last spring, Truman

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(Continued on page 7)

Browder

(Continued from Page 5)

... The so-called theory of State capitalism is not merely an erroneous one, but also an opportunist, extremely reactionary theory, which denies the revolutionary, political, social and economic changes in the new Yugoslavia in order to maintain as long as possible, the capitalist positions in our economic development, in order to deprive the masses of their faith in the future and to damp their enthusiasm and abnegation, and thereby hinder the development of socialism in the FPRY" (Federated Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia).

There is hardly a page in Browder's long document that is not filled with similar distortions and misinterpretations on every question that he touches. But all this is done with a purpose. It is all part of Browder's reassuring the bourgeoisie, and an appeal to them to be "reasonable," in order not only to prolong capitalism in the USA, but also to slow the advance of socialism in other countries. He tells the capitalists that if they accept his advice then the "new democracies will be able to adopt a less speedy (and therefore more sound) tempo of socialist development."

BROWDER QUOTES from Zhdanov's speech before the nine-party conference the well-known principle recognized by Lenin and Stalin of the possibility "of the co-existence over a lengthy period of two systems—capitalism and socialism." But he quotes Zhdanov only to distort the meaning and purpose of his words. Browder concludes that it is the job of Marxists in the United States to work towards assuring a long life to capitalism. As we have seen in the first article, Browder has already accepted, at least theoretically, the possibility of the "permanence" of capitalism in the United States.

Evidently, Browder figures it out as follows: In order to have co-existence of the two systems, one

must assure that both systems exist. And since in large parts of the world the people are already moving towards socialism, we must hold up our end of the co-existence formula. We can only assure this by "making sure" that capitalism continues to exist in the United States.

Of course, we Communist recognize that the majority of the American people are not yet ready to establish socialism. We fight for the improvement of the conditions of the masses under capitalism. We fight for their immediate economic and political interests. But we also try to educate the masses for socialism. We do all in our power to build the Communist Party—the party of socialism.

We fight for the preservation of peace. And in doing this, we expose the imperialists and all other warmongers and their claim that there can be no peace because of the co-existence of different social systems. We expose and fight against all those who talk of the inevitability of a new war. We say there must never again be another world war. We say that another world war can be prevented.

But we also say that this cannot be achieved by appealing to the "intelligence" and self-interest of the monopolies. This can only be done by the struggle of all the democratic and peace loving masses in our own country led by the working class and its vanguard

Party—the Communist Party the same as it is being done by the democratic and peace loving peoples the world over.

Tomorrow's article will deal with "Browder's 'Progressive' Imperialism."

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