

# Browder's Theory of Permanent Capitalism

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Earl Browder has chosen this moment to launch a new campaign to promote his notorious revision of Marxism and for an attack against the Communist Party. Advance copies of a booklet opening this attack were mailed by him to numerous Party workers, in manuscript form.

In his book *War or Peace With Russia* published early in 1947, Browder not only clung tenaciously to his revisionist policies but justified and defended them on the basis of an alleged "progressive role" of President Truman. He said at that time:

"President Truman carefully refrained from assuming direct personal responsibility for the departures from Roosevelt's foreign policy. His only active part has been to restore and apply Roosevelt's commitments." (Emphasis ours.)

When these lines were written the Truman Administration had already made its departure from Roosevelt's policy quite clear. But Browder was still confident that Truman could be peddled off as a continuer of Roosevelt's foreign policy. Browder had nothing to say in that book about Truman's role in breaking the strikes of the railroad workers and the miners since this did not fit in with his progressive mantle for Truman.

**BUT SHORTLY AFTER** *War or Peace With Russia* was published, the openly aggressive expansionist program of Wall Street in the form of the Truman Doctrine was announced. Marshall's reactionary role in China became too open to be obscured. The interventionist and war breeding Marshall Plan as a further extension of the Truman Doctrine soon followed. Browder's revisionist program was exposed before the whole world in its utter and complete bankruptcy. Truman not only deserted and betrayed the policies of Roosevelt but he also left Browder naked.

Furthermore, up to now Browder carried on the fight against the Party and its leadership on the false pretense that the Marxists in other countries were in agreement with him regarding the alleged "progressive" role of

U.S. imperialism. Anyone who studied the question knew that Browder's claim was worthless on the basis of the policies and activities of the Marxists in other countries. Browder however still had illusions that he could get away with his claim. But the latest international developments and the Conference of the Nine European Communist Parties put an end to this game too.

In his new document Browder does not retreat one inch from his revisionist and anti-Marxist position. His position exposed, he adopts a new method to carry forward his revisionist program. Some may be duped into thinking that Browder has abandoned Browderism. This may be his intention. Actually as we shall show Browder has gone further than ever in his abandoning Marxism.

What is this new method by which Browder hopes to carry on the fight from a less exposed position? It is simply this. Admit that which can no longer be concealed but without admitting a single mistake in his policy, theory or even judgment. He now characterizes the Truman policies as "neo-Hitlerian." He admits the danger of a new war in one place, only to minimize it in another. He calls the Marshall policy in China as reactionary from the very beginning, never bothering to explain his previous position that it was progressive. He denounces as reactionary the policy in Greece and China and attacks the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. Browder is now compelled to admit that which our Party has been saying for more than two years. Yet he never admits a single mistake on his part. What he does is try to take up a new position to continue his attack against the Party.

The second point in the Browder recipe is to create the impression that the Marxists of other countries, by their recent declarations and activities, instead of exposing

his position have really confirmed it. How? By quoting from Lenin, Stalin, Zhdanov—a reference here and there to Dimitroff and Tito—all for the purpose, of course, of distorting their views and proving the very opposite of what they say. But the idea here is to give the impression that Lenin and Stalin, Zhdanov, Dimitroff and Tito all agree with Browder. This done, Browder then goes to work in earnest in defense of his thesis about Wall Street imperialism having played in the past and, if not now, still capable of playing a "progressive" role if only the capitalists would use their "intelligence" in behalf of their self interest. This is his main thesis now as before. This remains his main appeal.

But Browder becomes so enthusiastic about his task that he has perhaps said more than he realized. He has, in fact, given more convincing proof than ever before that his position is not only a revision of Marxism but a full and complete break with Marxism.

Whereas Browder limited himself before to ascribing to American imperialism an exceptional and "progressive role," which, with "intelligence" could extend the life of capitalism for a long time, he now (while repeating this again and again) takes the position that American capitalism could last forever if only the capitalists would overcome some of their "stupidities and incompetencies." He says:

"Marxists know better than anyone that American capitalism is terrifically strong, and nothing can overthrow it except when that has been made possible by the stupidities and incompetencies of the dominant capitalists."

We will leave aside for the present the fact that when Browder speaks of what "Marxists know" he speaks for himself and not for Marxists. We will leave aside for the moment his unqualified emphasis on how "terrifically strong" capitalism is in the United States. What we have here is a complete break with Marxism. Browder's position is the very opposite of Marxism. It is an outright idealistic position worthy of the most reactionary and confused apologists of capitalism. According to Browder the decisive factor is not the material conditions and the class struggle but "intelligence," and "stupidity." There are no more insoluble contradictions. There are no irreconcilable class interests, and therefore no class struggle.

Anyone who has studied even the ABC of Marxism will find little difficulty in seeing that Browder has deserted Marxism from beginning to end. The following

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## CIO Teachers Assail Procedure Announced for Rubin Trial

The CIO Teachers Union yesterday denounced the trial procedure announced for Isidore Rubin, school teacher who was suspended for joining the picket line of a sister CIO union.

In a letter to Andrew G. Clauson, Jr., president of the Board of Education, the union assailed a ruling whereby the press will be permitted at the trial on Jan. 6 while interested parties like the Teachers Union will be barred.

The letter, signed by Mrs. Rose Russell, legislative representative of Teachers Union Local 555, also pro-

tested setting of the trial procedure by Superintendent Jansen who originally preferred the charges against Rubin. Mrs. Russell pointed out that the trial examiner is subordinate to Dr. Jansen.

She called upon the Board of Education to "take the steps necessary to guarantee that the hearing will be properly conducted, either privately departmental hearing or as a full public trial open to the public."

Rubin, a veteran was suspended after picketing with Brooklyn Trust Co. strikers.

# Browder

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lowing from Lenin shows where Browder has finally landed:

**“. . . Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society WHOLLY AND EXCLUSIVELY from the economic law of the movement of contemporary society.”** (Lenin on Karl Marx, p26, Marx, Engels-Marxism),

Browder has himself developed the logic of his whole position. From his emphasis on the “terrific strength” of capitalism and the alleged “progressive” role of imperialism coupled with his idealistic interpretation of history, Browder has arrived at the point where at least theoretically he sees the possibility of the “permanence” of capitalism in the United States. But this only, of course, if the capitalists follow his advice and overcome “stupidities” and “incompetencies.” Gone are the basic contradictions of capitalism. If in the 1920's Henry Ford was to have proved Marx wrong, now Browder has the double job of doing it again while laying claim to being a Marxist at the same time.