

Browder Tells Press Nazi-Tokio Pact Threatens World Peace

On Nov. 17 Pravda, official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, smoked, out into the open the secret military alliance between the Nazis and Japan. Later the pact was admitted and signed by representatives of the Hitler regime and the Tokio imperialists. In the following interview Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, tells what their pact means and where it will find its support in this country.

By IRA WOLFERT

(North American Newspaper Alliance)

QUESTION: I would like to ask you about the Third International, just what it is and whether it is going to do anything about this Japanese-German alliance against it?

ANSWER: This alliance that has just been announced is an alliance against the Soviet Union, and not against the Communist International. This alliance is preparation for war. War is conducted by armies, and the Communist International has no army. The Communist International is merely an association of Communist Parties of the world for joint consultation and advice. Of course, the Communist Parties everywhere will have to take note of this major new factor in international politics.

QUESTION: Is it a known fact that the International has been suppressed in Japan and Germany?

ANSWER: You mean the Communist Parties of these countries? Yes.

QUESTION: And there is no legal section of the Third International in either of these countries—Germany or Japan?

ANSWER: No. And if they are declaring war against the Communist Parties in the various countries, that would mean that they are declaring war against the American Communist Party, and that would mean direct intervention in American politics by the German and Japanese governments.

QUESTION: The Communist Party of France is an important part of the government, is it not?

ANSWER: The Communist Party directly is not a part of the government. It is supporting the French government.

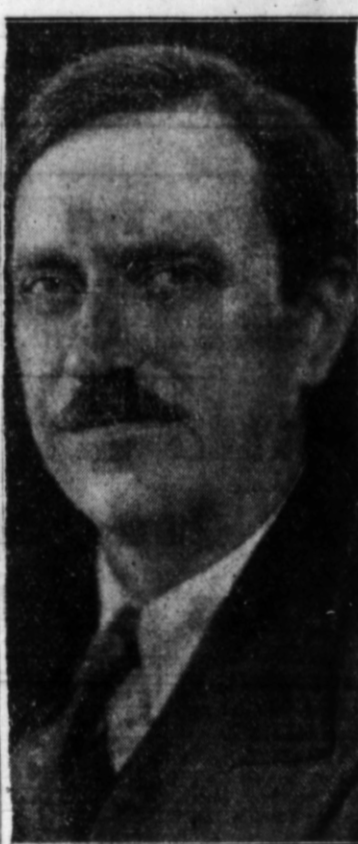
QUESTION: Is there any place outside of Russia where the Communist Party is directly represented in the government as in Spain?

ANSWER: In Spain in the last weeks under the pressure of the fascist insurrection conducted with the support of Hitler and Mussolini, the government had greater mass support and took in additional representation from mass organizations, including two Communists. They are quite a minority in the Spanish government with only two out of 12 or 13 ministers. Most of them are held by Left Republicans and Socialists.

War Is Against U.S.S.R.

QUESTION: Do you regard this as in any way affecting the declaration of war against the Third International?

ANSWER: It is preparation for a declaration of war against the Soviet Union. But not only against the Soviet Union. Even more immediate it is a threat against France because they have no illusions that they have any considerable allies in the Soviet Union. In France, however, they are trying to stimulate a fascist uprising similar to the one they engineered



EARL BROWDER

in Spain. The slogan against the Communists and against Communism is always the slogan of extreme reaction striving for power by all means. Here, in the recent presidential elections, the main slogan of reaction was that Roosevelt was a Communist. When reactionaries want to throw out anyone by elections or by insurrection, they make a Communist of him overnight.

QUESTION: When was the Third International divorced from the Russian government?

ANSWER: The Communist Party never had any connection with any government. The Third International or the Communist International is an association of Communist Parties of various countries and as such cannot have any governmental associations.

QUESTION: Like the League of Nations?

ANSWER: No. The League of Nations is an association of governments. This is an association of parties exercising no governmental authority at any time.

Describes C. I. Leadership

QUESTION: Are there any Russian government officials who are members of the C. I. who hold executive offices?

ANSWER: There are some who hold office in the Russian government who are delegates

of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Communist International.

QUESTION: Who is the President?

ANSWER: It has no President. The General Secretary is the head—George Dimitroff. Dimitroff is the man who became famous throughout the world during the Reichstag fire trial. He is a Bulgarian.

QUESTION: He has no connection with the Russian government?

ANSWER: No. He is a representative of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

QUESTION: Is Stalin a member of the Third International?

ANSWER: Stalin is one of the representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Communist International.

QUESTION: How many Russians are there represented in the C. I.?

ANSWER: I cannot say exactly. I think there are 3 or 4 Russians out of a total of 32 on the Communist International.

QUESTION: They have an Executive Committee?

ANSWER: Yes. Off hand, I cannot tell you the exact number.

QUESTION: This Communist International functions merely as an exchange of views, to give active support to each other in any way, support of any kind?

ANSWER: Yes, of course—political support, and problems of material support of international actions. These are almost entirely questions taken up by mass organizations like the recent support of the Spanish struggle, where the trade unions of several countries, including the Soviet Union, made a collection to support the People's Front government. They collected tens of millions of dollars. We, in this country, have organized collections of all kinds, money, food, medical supplies, and clothes.

QUESTION: What are the official means for arranging this? Is it a spontaneous thing?

ANSWER: Each party acts for itself and conducts its own relations with the people they are helping.

QUESTION: There is no concerted action at all?

ANSWER: Yes, in the sense that all Communist Parties have the same point of view and respond to the same issues. There has never been a case of serious differences of opinion among the various parties on such questions.

Funds for Spain

QUESTION: In all cases was the money sent to the Spanish government?

ANSWER: A great deal of the money that was collected in America under our direction was sent to the International Federation of Trade Unions, which gave its help to the Spanish Red Cross. The fund was distributed under the direction of the International Federation of Trade Unions through Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the British Trade Unions. But at present collections that are being made are sent to the committee which works in direct contact with the committee of the Spanish government, which is in this country.

QUESTION: There was no prior consultation with any other party or organization before you decided to take up a collection?

ANSWER: We don't directly collect this money ourselves. We participate in actions carried through by various mass organizations, trade unions, workers' clubs. Collections are centralized through a committee that was

named in consultation with this committee that came from Spain—Madame Palencia, etc.

QUESTION: But generally, if you take any international action that is not related to the particular problem in the United States, is there any consultation within the C. I. or are you completely free agents?

ANSWER: We are completely free agents. We consult with as many people or parties, however, as we can. We have helped many international actions, for example, which were not initiated by the Communists at all. We supported the recent Peace Congress in Brussels. This Congress was supported by Communist parties throughout the world.

(Published material brought in on Presiding Committee of C. I.)

E. B.: This is the presiding committee of the Executive Committee consisting of 19 members and 12 candidates.

QUESTION: Is this a permanent Executive Committee?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: How often is there an election? **ANSWER:** Elections take place at congresses. This presiding committee was elected in 1935 at the Seventh World Congress.

QUESTION: How often are the congresses held?

ANSWER: The previous congress was held in 1928; there are four, five, or sometimes six years between congresses.

QUESTION: Is there a continual exchange of ideas?

ANSWER: Yes. For example, I am a candidate for the Presiding Committee. I am not a full member, but I have substituted in the absence of Comrade William Z. Foster who is a full member. I am a member of the full Executive Committee—not the Presiding Committee. I am in constant touch with them. I write articles four or five times a year about the situation in America. I receive articles from all the other countries. There is a constant flow of information which is mostly published in the press—in a journal, known as the Communist International.

QUESTION: It is made public?

ANSWER: Yes. This journal, during 1936, published about 1,200 pages in this exchange of information.

QUESTION: There is not anything that Germany and Japan can get their teeth into about this International?

ANSWER: No. This is merely some kind of cover for a definite political campaign like that carried on by Al Smith during the recent election campaign when he charged that Communism was in the White House. It is exactly of the same significance except that in Europe it means more than an election campaign. It means a campaign for war.

QUESTION: One of the points here (reads from afternoon newspaper) is that they "are going to take strict measures at home and abroad," etc., etc.—do they have any international of their own?

ANSWER: Undoubtedly they have. They are working in the United States. It is a common sight around New York to see groups with bands of Hitler swastikas going through military drill.

Aim at France

QUESTION: Do you know how extensive this organization is?

ANSWER: No. They work in very strict

secrecy. They don't work in the open as the Communist Party does.

QUESTION: Do you think they mean to pit their International against this in every country?

ANSWER: They are pitting their International against democracy, not merely against the Communists. Their next step is against the People's Front government in France. They have a very definite hook-up with fascist parties in France, and propose to overthrow the French republic.

QUESTION: What has Japan to gain by fascism in France?

ANSWER: Japan's hook-up is with Hitler Germany for war against the Soviet Union. As for Germany, it is part of its general drive toward war, but its preliminary tactic is for armed insurrection in the various democratic countries as preparation for a world war.

QUESTION: How long has the Third International been in existence?

ANSWER: Since 1919.

QUESTION: What was the First International?

ANSWER: It was the International of the Socialist Party as formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels.

QUESTION: Did it have the same organization or aim as the Third International, i.e., exchange of information?

ANSWER: The Communist International is the direct descendant of that First International formed by Marx and Engels. The First International had its headquarters for some time in New York.

The 2nd International

QUESTION: When was the Second International formed?

ANSWER: It was formed toward the end of the 19th century. It was the successor of the First International. There was a period of some years intervening when there was no such international association. When the Socialist parties began to get stronger in the European countries, they again came together and set up what was popularly known as the Second International. It was revived after the World War and after the formation of the Communist International; and now its official name is the Labor and Socialist International.

QUESTION: Did Lenin and Trotsky split off from the Second International before the war?

ANSWER: The Bolshevik Party of Russia at that time was called the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Trotsky was not a member except that he was in and out of it during various periods (he was more out than in). The Bolshevik Party was formed under the leadership of Lenin and was a part of the Second International until the time of the war. It opposed the dominant policy in the Second International. In fact, it was in opposition to the policies that dominated the Second International for a long period before the war, beginning in 1903.

QUESTION: They set up one International?

ANSWER: They did not set up an International. During the post-war crisis, when the Socialist parties were splitting throughout the world, no one took the lead to call the left sections of the splitting Socialist parties together to reconstitute the International. Later, the right-wing sections of these parties came together to reconstitute the Second International.

QUESTION: Now, there is a fourth International?

ANSWER: No. There is only a slogan for a fourth International. It is not an organization.

QUESTION: It has no delegates?

ANSWER: No. For political purposes, it consists of only Trotsky and his international connections.

QUESTION: Why is it necessary for Japan and Germany to go through such a smoke-screen as this, that is, to go through a whole hocus-pocus because of a Third International which they have suppressed?

ANSWER: They figure by this means to get support from other countries which they could not get through an open declaration of their purposes. In Britain the Japanese-Hitler alliance will get the support of extreme Tories. In the United States it will get the support of Liberty League elements, that is, all those who were denouncing Roosevelt as a Communist, and those who reached for the help of Hitler to do everything possible to throw America on the side of Hitler. In France, they have hopes of stimulating fascist insurrection under this slogan. They could not achieve this under the slogan of war against France. These are the slogans under which they prepared fascist insurrection in Spain. They are now launching a campaign on a broader and more definite and concrete basis. That, of course, cannot be done under an open slogan of war against particular countries.

QUESTION: Do you think they have any reason to hope for success in this country?

ANSWER: I think the current in America is against them, but they have very strong allies, such strong allies as dominated the Republican councils in the election campaign. They are not to be laughed at in America.

QUESTION: The Third International has no specific policy towards these particular problems? I mean, does it bind its members to a specific policy?

ANSWER: Each Communist Party makes its own decisions. The World Congress which works out these problems common to all parties is usually able to reach a unanimous decision. That was especially true of the Seventh World Congress which made decisions of such convincing weight that they were adopted by the parties when they were reported back.

QUESTION: They need not be though?

ANSWER: Each party has to discuss these things.

QUESTION: If you refuse, can you be thrown out of the International?

ANSWER: It would probably result in that, but there is no formal rule. The essence of the organization is common policy. When people disagree fundamentally on policy they change their organization. The Seventh World Congress adopted policies which had profound influence throughout the world—policy on the People's Front. The Communists everywhere are joining hands with democratic elements in every country against the threat of fascism, against the threat of war. This common policy of the Communists everywhere is the direct result of discussions and decisions of the 7th World Congress. Of course, no one can force anybody if he doesn't agree to go along with these things. The authority of the Communist Parties and the Communist International is purely a moral authority.