

# Exhibits From Dies Group's

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
 WASHINGTON, Nov. 27—Following are exhibits taken from the Dies committee's "Red Paper," tending to show some of the Communist party's plans to sabotage defense industries, promote civil war in this country if it should go to war against the Soviet, and substitute the Soviet type of government for democracy:

### Exhibit No. 219

Source: Excerpt from the "draft resolution of the eighth convention of the Communist party, U. S. A.," published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: March, 1934; Page 35.

"The whole party must be aroused for a fight against the imminence of imperialist war and intervention. The main task consists in . . . strengthening the party and the revolutionary mass organizations in the decisive war industries and in the harbors . . . by our struggle against the danger of imperialist war, we must prepare to convert the imperialist war into civil war."

### Exhibit No. 220

Source: Excerpts from the "theses and decisions of the thirteenth plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International—December, 1933," published by Workers Library Publishers, New York: 1934; Page 131.

"In fighting against war, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, concentrate their forces in each country, at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism."

### Exhibit No. 221

Source: "Thesis and resolutions for the seventh national convention of the Communist party of U. S. A. by central committee plenum," March 31-April 4, 1930.

"In view of this growing danger of war, the Communist party must carry through an intensive and continuous campaign for the popularization of Lenin's teachings on the struggle against war, propagating the slogan of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, the defeat of 'our own' capitalist government, for the overthrow of 'our own' bourgeoisie," (Pages 13-14.)

### Exhibit No. 222

Source: "Thesis and resolutions of the seventh national convention of the Communist party of U. S. A. by central committee plenum," March 31-April 4, 1930.

"In all mass activities of the T. U. U. L. the question of the fight against the impending imperialist war and the struggle in defense of the Soviet Union must be kept in the very foreground." (Page 44.)

### Exhibit No. 223

Source: "Thesis and resolutions for the seventh national convention of the Communist party of U. S. A. by central committee plenum," March 31-April 4, 1934.

"The party's shop work must be strengthened, not only to strengthen the regular units of the party but especially to have the roots of the party deep in the factories to meet the efforts of the bourgeoisie to drive the party into illegality in this period of sharpened class struggles and preparation for imperialist war." (Page 51).

### Exhibit No. 224

Source: The Communist, September, 1933, Vol. XII, No. 9. From an article entitled, "The Intensified Drive Toward Imperialist War," by W. Weinstone.

"7. The center where these central tasks outlined above are to be carried out must be the factories, particularly the war industries. To do this, however, the party must make an inner turn, it must really explain, based upon the last central committee letter, precisely why the anti-war struggle must now be based on the factories and trade unions. Only if our anti-war campaign is developed in the factories, munition plants, docks and ships can our struggle against war be effective. Only by such means can we actually paralyze the war plans of the American bourgeoisie; only in this way can the Soviet Union be defended from American imperialist intervention. The factories, the places of heavy industry, will be the necessary guarantees that it will be the proletariat that will lead, which is the only class capable to lead the anti-war movements of all non-proletarian stratas of the population. The next strategic places for the anti-war activities of the party and the Y. C. L. must be within the armed forces, as well as within the various semi-military reforestation and concentration camps of adult unemployed and homeless youth." (Pages 937-938.)

### Exhibit No. 225

Source: "Communism in the United States," by Earl Browder, published by International Publishers Company, Inc. (1935).

"These elements are valuable; their contribution to the league has been considerable, but they will themselves be the first to admit that the most important work of the league—rooting it among the workers in the basic and war industries, cannot be done by them, but only the trade unions and workers organizations, and first of all by the Communists. (Page 266L.)

### Exhibit No. 226

Source: Excerpt from "the tasks of the C. I. in connection with the preparations of the imperialists for a new world war—resolution on the report of Comrade Ercoli," International Press Correspondence, Sept. 7, 1935 (Vol. 15, No. 43, Page 1128).

"The Communist parties of all capitalist countries must fight against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies and mandated territories, against militarization measures taken by capitalist governments, especially the militarization of the youth, women and the unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants; against subsidizing the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms."

### Exhibit No. 227

Source: Excerpt from "The Second American Youth Congress," by Leo Thompson, International Press Correspondence, Aug. 31, 1935 (Vol. 15, No. 42, Page 1084). "Un-American propaganda activities."

"It is imperative that the A. Y. C. becomes keenly mindful of the fact that only entrenching itself in the factories, along with the working youths, in the centers of war production, in the trade unions—only by winning the working youth—can it really become a decisive force which cannot be destroyed by war of fascism. . . . The perspective of developing stoppages of work and anti-war strikes on the part of youth and adult workers in war industries should be raised. The whole question of militant anti-militarist activity in the factories should be dramatically stressed."

### Exhibit No. 228

Source: Excerpt from "Militant Action Against War on August First," by A. Ulrich, International Press Correspondence, Aug. 10, 1935 (Vol. 15, No. 34, Page 874).

"It is the duty of revolutionary opponents of war to advance by every means unity of action among the masses precisely in the nerve-centers of war preparation."

### Exhibit No. 229

Source: Excerpt from "Fight Against War and Fascism," by Harry (Paris), International Press Correspondence, Aug. 3, 1935 (Vol. 15, No. 32, Page 838).

"In this situation it is necessary not only to talk of peace but to act against war. Therefore the the anti-war movement has to approach those whose work is closely connected with war preparations, i. e., the workers of the armament and transport industries. It is one of the most important tasks laid down by the world committee in its instructions to the national committee to win for active participation in the anti-war campaign the workers in the metal and chemical industries, without the help of which it is impossible to manufacture war material, the transport workers, without whose help the war material cannot be brought to the scenes of war. In the next few days the national and local committees will approach the trade unions and trade union meetings of these workers' categories in order to mobilize with their assistance the staffs of the transport and munitions factories. The committees will do everything in order to get the slogan of refusal to transport war material adopted and carried out. In addition, supervision committees for the prevention of war material transports are to be set up wherever possible during this great anti-war week."

### Exhibit No. 230

(Source: Excerpt from the "International of Seamen and Harbour Workers in the Struggle Against War," International Correspondence, April 20, 1935, Vol. 15, No. 17, Page 459.)

"Water-transport workers, live up to the traditions of the struggle against war."

"Transport is called the vital

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# 'Red Paper' on Communists

artery of the bourgeoisie in peace and war. Standing as they do in this vitally strategic key position none can do more in the struggle against fascism, in the struggle against imperialist war than the international transport proletariat.

"The water-transport workers have a good tradition in the fight against war. These traditions must now be renewed.

## Exhibit No. 231

(Source: Excerpt from "Mass Campaign of the World Committee Against War and Fascism," by P. Rax; International Correspondence April 13, 1935, Vol. 15, No. 16, Page 435.)

"International meetings will be organized in order to express the determination of the toilers of all countries to fight against war and fascism. These meetings are also to serve to organize effectively the stopping of the transport of munitions and armaments"

## Cites Strikes as Sabotage

One exhibit, No. 91, contains a resolution adopted by the Communist Internationale in 1928, as to strikes as a means of sabotage. Excerpts from the exhibit are:

"It is impossible to 'reply' to war with a general strike, just as it is impossible to reply to war with 'revolution,' in the simple and literal sense of the word.

"This holds good to this day. But while Communists repudiate the slogan of 'reply to war with a general strike,' and warn the workers against harboring such illusions, which can only injure the real struggle against war, they do not by any means abandon the weapon of the general strike in the struggle against war, and sharply condemn any suggestion to do so as an opportunist deviation. Side by side with other revolutionary mass actions (demonstrations, strikes in munition works, transport strikes, etc.), the general strike as the supreme form of the mass strike movement is an extremely important weapon, and as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of imperialist war into civil war. This transformation, however, does not depend upon the will of the party alone. It presupposes the existence of a revolutionary situation, the capacity of the proletariat for mass action, etc. These conditions do not as a rule prevail at the very beginning of the war; they develop in the course of the war. But even in wartime the general strike does not come like a bolt from the blue; it comes on the rising tide of revolutionary mass action (demonstrations, partial strikes, etc.), and as a result of the persistent preparation, which the Communists must make, and which may entail heavy sacrifices. Of course, a general strike in wartime will lead to revolutionary results much more rapidly than in peace time, but it is by no means easier to prepare for and organize it in wartime than in peace time."

## Dimitroff Speech Quoted

Exhibit No. 99 is a speech of Georgi Dimitroff, general secretary of the Communist Internationale, before a session of its seventh congress in 1935 at Moscow. This is an excerpt:

"We must strive to establish the widest united front with the aid of joint action by workers' organizations of different trends for the defense of the toiling masses. This means:

"First, joint struggle really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, the shoulders of the capitalists, landlords—in a word, to the shoulders of the rich.

"Second, joint struggle against all forms of the Fascist offensive, in defense of the gains and the rights of the toilers, against the liquidation of bourgeois democratic liberties.

"Third, joint struggle against the approaching danger of imperialist war, a struggle that will impede the preparations for such a war."

## Action of "Neutrals" Predicted

In another exhibit, No. 163, Dimitroff in a pamphlet published last year, predicted Italy's entrance into the war and said other "neutral" States would do likewise when it appeared which was the stronger side. This excerpt is given:

"Many of these neutral States, and above all Italy, are waiting for the time when, as the war goes on, the chances of victory for one side or the other become clear, so as to take the side of the strong, and to dig their teeth into the vanquished, and to tear away their share of the booty."

## Attitude Toward United States

From exhibit No. 18, containing thesis and resolutions adopted by the Third Communist International Congress, this excerpt concerns the Communist attitude toward the United States:

"In the United States of North America where, on account of historical circumstances, there was a total lack of broad revolutionary movement even before the war, the Communists are confronted with the first and simplest task of creating a Communist nucleus and connecting it with the working masses. The present economic crisis, which has thrown five million people out of work, affords very favorable soil for this kind of work.

"Conscious of the imminent danger of a radicalized labor movement becoming subject to Communist influence, American capital tries to crush and destroy the young Communist movement by means of barbarous persecution. The Communist party was forced into an illegalized existence under which it would, according to capitalist expectations, in the absence of any contact with the masses, dwindle into a propagandist sect and lose its vitality.

"The Communist International draws the attention of the united Communist party of America to the

fact that the illegalized organization must not only serve as the ground for collecting and crystallizing the active Communist forces but that it is the party's duty to try all ways and means to get out of the illegalized condition into the open, among the wide masses. It is the duty of the Communist party to find the means and forms to unite these masses politically, through public activity, for the struggle against American capitalism."

## Attitude Toward France

As to its plans for France in the years preceding the outbreak of the present war, the Third International resolved:

"In France, where first the Chauvinist poison of 'national defense' and then the shouts of 'victory' were stronger than in any other country, the reaction against war developed much slower than in the other countries. The majority of the French Socialist party developed in the direction of communism even before being confronted with decisive questions of revolutionary action through the development of events.

"This new orientation was due to the moral influence of the Russian revolution, to the revolutionary

struggles in the capitalist countries and to the first experience of the French proletariat in its own struggles with the treason of its leaders. The French Communist party will be able to make the best and fullest use of this advantageous position, in so far as it will be able to liquidate in its own ranks—particularly among the leading circles—the remnants of national pacifist and parliamentary reformist ideology.

"The party must reach the masses and their most oppressed strata in a far larger degree than it has done in the past or is being done at present; it must give clear, complete and uncompromising expression to the sufferings and needs of these masses. In its parliamentary activity the party must decisively break with all the ugly, hypocritical formalities of French parliamentarism which have been deliberately nurtured and supported by the bourgeoisie in order to muzzle and intimidate and hypnotize the representatives of the working class.

"The representatives of the Communist party in Parliament must tear the veil from the bourgeois tradition of national democracy and revolution, presenting it point-blank as a question of class interest and irreconcilable class struggle."