

A VISIT TO GERMANY Masses Show Their Hatred of Fascism Despite Hitler's Reign of Terror

By PAUL FIELDING

[Comrade Paul Fielding and his wife have just returned from a trip through Germany. He gives his impressions in the following article.]

We travelled hundreds of miles through Germany and talked with dozens of people, workers, soldiers, sailors, petty bourgeois and even Nazis. The conclusion is inescapable: has not succeeded in creating a totalitarian state. And, far from accomplishing its goal of complete regimentation, it is falling more conspicuously each day.

WORKERS FIND WAY TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES

You only meet a few outspoken critics of Nazism: the risk of talking with a stranger is too great. But you meet many who by inference and innuendo and by their actions show their dissatisfaction.

And considering the extreme penalties for the most mild dissatisfaction or expression of displeasure, this is amazing.

To distribute anti-Fascist literature may mean the executioner's block; to participate in an illegal workers' meeting may mean 20 to 40 years imprisonment.

Those who witnessed the most recent Jewish pogroms and expressed dissatisfaction were snatched from the crowds, and sentenced to several months in Dachau concentration camp.

A worker who was heard whistling "The International" was put in jail for several weeks. We walked into a crowded cafe in Dusseldorf one night, and found a table. Later, six Nazis came in, and sat opposite us.

When they found we were foreigners and after asking the inevitable question—"How do you like Germany?"—they began repeating the phrases they had memorized from "Der Stuermer," the brownshirt paper, about the Jews and communists in America.

Several beers later, they forgot the swastikas on their lapels, and confided they didn't believe that balcony either. When someone brought up the question of our Aryanism, the others told him to shut up. A storm trooper stopped at our table, and demanded that we give something to the winter relief fund. They told him to beat it.

"WE'RE NOT SATISFIED IN GERMANY"

"You work with your brains," one of them told me for some strange reason, "and we work with our hands, but we're both workers. And we've got the interests of all the workers of the world at heart."

In a saloon along the waterfront in Hamburg, we heard similar stories. The bartender shrugged his shoulders, and said:

"Well, we're not satisfied in Germany, but I guess no one in the world is either."

The conversation stopped short when a uniform walked in.

In Stuttgart, a soldier, not then in uniform, openly admitted his opposition to Fascism, and explained to us how guns shot both ways.

In a Berlin railway station, a girl, who was a member of the Labor Front, denounced anti-Semitism so openly and loudly we warned her to lower her voice.

On the train going through Schleswig-Holstein, we started a conversation with a sailor who ridiculed the innumerable uniforms which abound in Germany today.

"This is my uniform," he said, pointing to the clothes he had on. "It's the uniform of all of us who are citizens of the world."

On that same trip, we encountered a cattle farmer, who laughed at everyone who repeated what was in the papers about the Jews.

"There are a lot of white Jews, too," he said. These and similar things we heard and observed everywhere we went. Despite signs in every public place saying that now every one says "Heil Hitler" instead of "Good Day," the people only salute and say it to those in uniform.

Similarly, they only wear Nazi insignia when they leave their homes or neighborhood.

OFTEN USE NAZIS OWN METHODS

Equally important is the agitation under the regime. Forced to use whatever methods they can, the workers utilize Nazi demagoguery to improve their conditions. Employers are often presented with a demagogic statement of Goering which they have not fulfilled.

The extent to which dissatisfaction has penetrated the ranks of the Nazi Party itself can be judged from this leaflet which was circulated among the Brownshirts in Trier, who were forced to go from house to house to collect relief money and scraps of iron and metal for Goering's four-year plan.

"What have we come to nowadays in the Third Reich? We are rubbish collectors and beggars!" it reads.

"What good has the Third Reich done for us? . . . All that we, the Old Guard, get to do is to rattle the collection-box and to take poor people's pennies out of their pockets."

That Hitler can no longer fully depend upon the Brownshirts or the Black Corps is evident in the formation of a special "inner guard," composed of the most trusted elements of both groups, under Heinrich Himmler, chief of the Gestapo.

DAY OF RECKONING IS UNPOSTPONABLE

After Munich, the report circulated that British secret service informed Chamberlain before the Berchtesgaden conference that Goering and the Reichswehr general staff advised Hitler against going to war, because the soldiers could not be counted upon.

The new state buildings, the banners, the bands, uniforms and parades, the diplomatic victories of Hitler make German Fascism superficially formidable.

But Nazism can no more postpone the day of reckoning than can the rest of the capitalist world. And all things reveal that the victory of the working class is not as far off as the prophets of gloom have predicted. London, Dec. 30.

MUNIZ FACES HIS GPU INQUISITORS AS TRIAL NEARS

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accusations and "confessions." Muniz gave a demonstration how a real Trotskyist militant conducts himself before the class enemy.

Proudly Admits Connections with 4th International

Muniz proudly and boldly told his inquisitors that he "considers himself the principal comrade responsible for the activity in Spain of the Bolshevik-Leninists, section of the Fourth International, from which he received directives for work; that the work of this organization was directed by himself as secretary general, by Adolfo Carlini and Kleiso, leading members."

At the trial, therefore, Muniz will stand in the prisoner's dock as the proud and militant representative of the Fourth International, openly avowing the program of his organization for revolutionary struggle in Spain against Fascism.

G. P. U. Case Punctured

The indictment makes the false and stupid charge that the Fourth International instructed Muniz to "use terrorist tactics, to stage individual attacks and provoke armed strikes." This piece of forgery is used to bolster the charge that Muniz and Carlini murdered the missing Capt. Narvitch. The one witness, Zanon, who originally claimed to have been present at the murder, has publicly retracted his statements, thus puncturing the entire G.P.U. case.

In the preliminary investigation Muniz patiently explained to his inquisitors the revolutionary Marxist attitude against individual terrorism and outlined to them the Bolshevik-Leninist program which repudiates such tactics as futile and injurious to the workers' cause.

In the whole dossier of documents produced by the prosecution there is not a single positive, concrete piece of evidence against either Muniz or Carlini, both of whom have open and shut evidence of their whereabouts at the time of the supposed murder.

Free Muniz and Carlini!

This frame-up will collapse just like the frame-up against the leaders of the P.O.U.M. in November, when the charge of espionage against Nin (murdered by the Stalinists), Andrade and the others collapsed in the midst of their trial.

Demand the immediate liberation of Muniz and Carlini! Demand an open trial—which has been promised—and the right of foreign workers' organizations to be represented. Send wires and resolutions of protest to your local Spanish consulates and to Premier Negrin at Barcelona.

SUPREME TEST FACES BARCELONA

(Continued from page 1)

since July, 1936, and to no effect. Seeking to curry favor with England and France, the Loyalist government has ruthlessly crushed the initiative of the Spanish workers and peasants. The factories which they seized in July, 1936, have been wrested from them and returned to the status of private property, likewise armed forces have been employed to curb peasant movements—notably in Catalonia and Aragon—for collectivizing the land.

To enforce this counter-revolutionary policy, the workers' militias which originally sprang up to smash the fascists were "reorganized" and the old military

parts plants organization? Zero! No drive has ever been attempted. Everybody in the international office was too busy playing shoestring politics.

Status of General Motors, the largest and most important sector of the union? Worse contract than at the time of the Milwaukee convention, a shameful "disciplinary" letter unanimously signed and submitted to the General Motors corporation by ALL members of the International Executive Board; present negotiations completely bogged down with absolutely no reported progress after two months of meetings with the management.

Internal Regime

Internal administration of the union? Growing more dictatorial every day with rank and file constantly edged out from all important decisions. Every regional director, barring none, is despised in his own locality. Not one of them can point to any real progress achieved in his own local-

ty, although every one of them is liberally supplied with funds and possesses wide discretionary powers. Such is the record of the International Executive Board's and the International officers' stewardship of the union. What are these men going to tell the membership at the coming convention? How are they going to explain their opportunism, their stupidity, their supineness, their treachery?

Union Is Chief Concern

The automobile workers are not interested in promoting the career of this or that individual or this or that clique. They are interested in the union as the fighting arm of the automobile workers. They are interested in securing improved conditions for the men in the shops and protecting the economic welfare of the union membership. To accomplish these aims successfully requires a carefully thoughtout and carefully prepared program of action and the boldness and

Hitler Strikes Blow At 4th International

Spanish Bolsheviks Call For Aid to Comrade Muniz

Following are excerpts from a letter from the Bolshevik-Leninist organization in Spain, forwarded by the Secretariat of the Fourth International, concerning the forthcoming trial of Muniz and Carlini, originally set for December, but now apparently put off to an indefinite date:

"It is certain that the Stalinists are going to carry on a calumny campaign against the accused, against the Bolshevik-Leninist group of Spain, and through it against the Fourth International. . . . Staging this trial is more difficult for the G.P.U. in Barcelona than at Moscow. Here it involves not human wrecks reduced to impotence but eminent representatives of the Fourth International who will profit from the public trial to develop before the court the international program of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

"The justice of Stalin Negrin & Co. will have to deal with tested militants, tempered in the fires of the civil war against fascism and in the struggle at the front and in the rear against Stalinist repression. We can have full confidence in the moral strength of the accused in the face of the hostile court and the pogrom campaign in the press.

It is obvious that this is the same hand that organized the bloody repression after May, 1937, at Barcelona, which carried out the assassination of Erwin Wolf, of Moulin (a leader of the Spanish Fourth Internationalists—Ed.), of Nin and Landau; who caused the deaths of Leon Sedov and Rudolf Klement—this is the same hand that is organizing the trial of Muniz-Carlini. It may perhaps be the same hand in the most literal sense. Its mark is present. Forgeries are fabricated, false declarations are extorted, statements against comrades and against the international organization are dictated in order to charge them with crimes conceived of only in the heads of the G.P.U. provocateurs.

"The Bolshevik-Leninist group of Spain has been dealt terrible blows and its weakness hampers it in organizing a broad campaign here. Some of its members, like Faucouet, Antonio Vidal . . . and others have been killed at the front. Cid fell during the Barcelona days at the barricades; Moulin and Wolf were assassinated by the Stalinists. . . .

"But despite the difficulties the Bolshevik-Leninists of Spain have intervened and are intervening to spread the slogans of the international organization among all the workers' organizations. 'Come to the aid of Muniz and Carlini! . . .'

bureaucracy and carefully selected bourgeois and Stalinist officers were given complete command of the armed struggle.

The result has been a series of disastrous military defeats and outright betrayals. During the period when the Loyalist navy was still superior to Franco's, it was bottled up in Cartagena harbor because England and France feared that naval activity might drive Hitler and Mussolini to open warfare. Thereby Franco was enabled to transport troops from Morocco at will. Malaga was betrayed to the fascists by the treacherous high command. The only front where successes occurred, the P.O.U.M.-C.N.T. manned Aragon front, was deliberately deprived of arms until the C.N.T. capitulated politically. The Basque "democratic" bourgeoisie, left in complete control in the North, surrendered without a siege, one after another, Bilbao, Gijon, Santander, until the entire north was in fascist hands. After a murderous purge of the Aragon front, executing revolutionaries and imprisoning thousands of C.N.T. soldiers, that front was turned over to the Stalinist ally, General Sebastian Pozas—who promptly opened the front to the Franco forces during their offensive last Spring.

Not military victory, but the "embrace of Vergara"—treacherous conciliation between the contending ruling camps—remains the main danger to anti-fascist Spain. Grooved in the Anglo-French policy of "appeasement," the much-touted "13 point" program of the government, based on the thesis that Spain is fighting not a civil war but a war between "Spain" and invaders, is at bottom of perspective of conciliation with the main elements in Franco's ruling circles. The Negro governmental forces are prepared to join with the Franco forces in a military dictatorship, whose first task of consolidation would be extermination of the intransigent workers and peasants.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the committee, criticized "stupid solutions like the colonizing of Abyssinia, since no Jew would be foolish enough to invest his capital in a country where tomorrow he would be at the mercy of confiscation measures by Mussolini."

"I do not think I was as much hurt by Hitler's measures as by the attitude of the Washington Foreign Office and those of other democratic countries that our situation was one calling only for philanthropy. We want equality, not treatment as second or third-class citizens."

Goldmann's declaration was the first plain speaking by a Jewish spokesman on Roosevelt's hypocritical proposal.

Democracies Reject Open Door

Discussions by George Rublee of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees with Hitler's deputies dragged out this week, with no indication that a serious plan for evacuating refugees would eventuate.

Hitler's banditry is being employed as an alibi by the "great democracies" for their refusal to open their doors to the victims of Nazi terror in Germany and anti-Semitic regimes in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Poland. If immigration restrictions were immediately lifted, quite apart from any negotiations with Hitler, funds could easily be made available for immediately transporting considerable numbers of those now living in terror of physical extermination.

With cheap demagoguery, Secre-

German Trotskyites Given Severe Prison Sentences

Hitler Strikes at Revolutionists Who Have Been Slandered by G.P.U. as "Gestapo Agents"

Details of brutal sentences meted out to German working class militants who were members of the Trotskyist organization, have just been received in New York from comrades still conducting revolutionary work illegally under the Hitler regime. The trial against our Magdeburg and Berlin comrades took place on November 25 to 27 in Magdeburg, under the jurisdiction of the Fifth Punitive Senate of the Berlin Court Chamber. Among those who were sentenced to imprisonment in penitentiaries for their revolutionary activity are the following:

Kurt Noak: 3 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.

Alfred Schirmer: 3 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.

Alfred Rakalejnik: 3 years and 3 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.

Hilde Berger: 2 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.

Hilde Herz: 2 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5 years loss of civil rights.

Walter Hoffmann: 2 years and 6 months imprisonment and 5

years loss of civil rights.

Other Sentences

Supplementary sentences meted out to our comrades in the trial before the People's Court in Berlin in the middle of October, 1937: Alfried Berger: 12 years imprisonment and 12 years loss of civil rights.

Werner Mueller: 7 years imprisonment and 7 years loss of civil rights.

A number of other sentences imposed in the same trial are not yet available to us.

Answers Stalinist Slander

The savage persecution and imprisonment of our comrades by the beasts of Hitler gives the lie once more to the abominable slander disseminated against our movement and its militants by the kept press of Stalinism. The above is only a partial list of the German Trotskyist fighters who have been thrown into concentration camps or tried and imprisoned by the Nazi gangsters.

Despite the calumnies of the Stalinists, despite the persecutions, despite the enormous difficulties of continuing the work of revolutionary organization in Hitlerite Germany, our comrades have stuck tenaciously and heroically to their task and will continue to do so.

Our warmest greetings to the fearless fighters of the Fourth International! Let us not forget for a moment their cause and their needs.

Decree Refugees

Pathetic stories accumulate of the cruel deceptions practiced upon desperate refugees. Fat fees for visas are collected from them by Latin-American consulates in European cities, and then the visas are revoked, without any refund of fees. Three hundred refugees, for example, having paid through the nose for visas at Paraguayan consulates, were confronted en route at Montevideo, Uruguay, this week, with the news that the Paraguayan government had cancelled their visas. An additional 700 refugees in like plight were en route from Germany. Another group of refugees, on their way to the Dominican Republic, discovered upon landing in New York that that country had just amended its immigration laws to require a flat fee of \$500 upon landing there.

Even more adamant against the refugees than the "great democracies" is the government of Stalin. Literally not a single victim of the Nazi terror finds his way into the Soviet Union. As for the once-boasted "Jewish home" of Biro-Bidjan, it has just passed the tenth anniversary of its foundation with no pretense of commemorating the event, for the good and sufficient reason that it has collapsed completely.

Revolutionists Demand Open Door

The plight of the refugees is desperate, indeed. Nothing less than victorious socialist revolution in a major country, unleashing the consequent smashing of fascism and revolutionary victories in other countries, can

solve the plight of the refugees. Meanwhile, however, asylum must be found for as many as possible. But it is not accidental that it is mainly the revolutionists in every democratic country who have intimated and who press the demand for opening the doors to the refugees.

Program of Action

The progressives have got to demand the repudiation of the cowardly "disciplinary" letter in the hands of G.M. and then really launch whirlwind drives to organize the Ford workers, the workers in the competitive parts plants and the thousands who are now forced to work on the W.P.A.

Only in this way will the automobile workers be able to lift the union out of the rut in which it now lies. Only in this way will the U.A.W. take the next big step to create the fighting union that will prepare for the big battles ahead and secure the necessary improvements in the shop conditions of the automobile workers.

What to Be Done

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TWO LABOR PRISONERS -- TWO LABOR LEADERS

Mooney's Present Conduct Brings to Mind What Debs Stood For

By MAX SHACHTMAN

A thrill of exultation is felt upon reading reports of the magnificent and enthusiastic demonstrations organized by California's workers to greet Tom Mooney. How imposing and invincible the proletariat looks, and is, when its battalions assemble! How easily it could sweep aside like pebbles all the obstacles in its path if it were conscious of its tremendous power and its historic goal!

Almost exactly 43 years ago, the workers poured into the streets of Chicago to welcome from prison another great labor martyr who preceded Tom Mooney.

Yet there is a difference between the two great labor leaders, Tom Mooney and Eugene V. Debs, a difference we record with regret.

When Debs, leader of the American Railway Union, went into Woodstock prison, he was a Democrat, a follower of William Jennings Bryan. When Mooney, equally a militant trade union leader, entered prison, he was a socialist, who only five years earlier had accompanied Debs around the country in the famous "Red Special" of the 1912 presidential campaign.

When Debs came out of Woodstock, he proclaimed himself a convinced socialist. Two and a half years later, on June 21, 1897, he and his comrades organized what was to become the first important independent working class party in the United States, the Social Democratic Party. "The Chicago jail sentences," he wrote several years afterward, "were followed by six months at Woodstock and it was here that socialism gradually laid hold of me in its own irresistible fashion."

And Tom Mooney? The reports from California say—one rubs his eyes in stunned disbelief!—that one of Mooney's first acts upon reaching San Francisco was to register as a member of the Democratic party.

It is "high time," wrote Debs while still in Woodstock, "that allegiance to parties who make laws for the protection of capitalists and the subjugation of labor should be abandoned and that men should be found to enact and administer laws for the equal protection of labor which creates the capital and carries forward all the industries of the world."

Forty-three years later, when this declaration is trebly true, Mooney takes his place in the ranks of one of these capitalist parties. It is a tragic step backward for the old militant, but no class-conscious worker will follow him in taking it.

Doesn't Tom Mooney know that the reason why American labor failed for more than 20 years to force his release from prison was that it did not act as an independent class force, because it was tied hand and foot, because it was mentally subjugated to the two capitalist parties?

Doesn't he remember what was written in the famous pamphlet published by his Defense Committee in 1931, "Labor Leaders Betray Tom Mooney," in which the labor lieutenants of capitalism were so thoroughly exposed and excoriated for their cynical knavishness and treachery? Mooney endorsed the pamphlet which said: "The Mooney-Billings case has always been and must always be, a vital part of the general struggle between the workers and the employers. Mooney was saved from the hangman's noose only through the mass protests and pressure of the workers of Russia and the rest of the world." Does Mooney now think that the "general struggle between the workers and the employers" can be promoted under the auspices of the party of Roosevelt, Farley, Hague, Garner, Cotton Ed Smith and their ilk?

Seven years ago, Mooney approved the statement that: "The underlying principles back of the real causes of hard times and unemployment must be carried to the people, and the hypocritical palvering and meaningless platitudes of subsidized capitalist apologists—the labor leaders—must be exposed. Liberals must become radicals and radicals must grow revolutionary as capitalism develops to its climax. Education and organization of the workers must proceed continuously, relentlessly and without fail until the collapse of capitalism gives the signal for the final forward march of the new social order."

"Our struggle for freedom," he reminded Billings in a letter of January 5, 1931, "is inextricably bound up with the whole question of the future of the American workers."

That was true then, and it remains true. The future of the American workers is not bound up with the Democratic party. Its future, if it is to mean a movement forward, is bound up with its Declaration of Independence from the parties of American capitalism. Its future can be safeguarded only if it takes the road marked out by Eugene Debs 40 years ago, by all class-conscious workers before and since—and not the road now taken by Mooney. Its future lies in the formation of an independent political party—of, for and by the working class, with a fighting working class program.

CONVENTION CALLED AS U.A.W. FIGHT FLARES

(Continued from page 1)

Partis plants organization? Zero! No drive has ever been attempted. Everybody in the international office was too busy playing shoestring politics.

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Internal administration of the union? Growing more dictatorial every day with rank and file constantly edged out from all important decisions. Every regional director, barring none, is despised in his own locality. Not one of them can point to any real progress achieved in his own local-

ty, although every one of them is liberally supplied with funds and possesses wide discretionary powers. Such is the record of the International Executive Board's and the International officers' stewardship of the union. What are these men going to tell the membership at the coming convention? How are they going to explain their opportunism, their stupidity, their supineness, their treachery?

Union Is Chief Concern

The automobile workers are not interested in promoting the career of this or that individual or this or that clique. They are interested in the union as the fighting arm of the automobile workers. They are interested in securing improved conditions for the men in the shops and protecting the economic welfare of the union membership. To accomplish these aims successfully requires a carefully thoughtout and carefully prepared program of action and the boldness and

the courage to go out and make such a program work.

There is nothing new or mysterious about such a program. For months, leading progressives and militants in the U.A.W. have fought for such a program of action. They demanded the immediate launching of a campaign to establish a closed shop contract for the G. M. plants and the establishment of a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay to bring back into the shops the thousands of unemployed automobile workers. They demanded that the convention instructions really be obeyed and that genuine campaigns be launched to organize the workers of the Ford Motor Company and the parts plants. Everybody agrees in words that this is the right program but the bureaucrats don't do anything about it. They don't mean what they say.

What to Be Done

The automobile workers have got to turn thumbs down on fake

leaders whether of the Pelper-Hauser type of job-holders, or the Mortimer-Stalinist type of bureaucrats, who for one and a half years have wasted away the money of the Internationals, who have given G. M. disciplinary powers to fire all militant shop leaders, who have besmirched the militant traditions of the U.A.W. and have dragged its name in the mud in the course of a rotten factional fight and who have placed the U.A.W. where it is today—squarely on the defensive before the onslaughts of the automobile corporations.

The progressives have got to prepare for the coming convention by the building of a leadership which will mean what it says, which will give the international back to its members and introduce again a regime based upon autonomy, democracy and rank and file control.

The progressives have got to stand square for an unconditional repudiation of the rotten kowtowing policy towards the manu-

facturers and begin negotiations with General Motors in the old style, by banging the flat on the table and telling the management that the militant progressive automobile workers are prepared to back up the demands of its committees.

Program of Action

The progressives have got to demand the repudiation of the cowardly "disciplinary" letter in the hands of G.M. and then really launch whirlwind drives to organize the Ford workers, the workers in the competitive parts plants and the thousands who are now forced to work on the W.P.A.

Only in this way will the automobile workers be able to lift the union out of the rut in which it now lies. Only in this way will the U.A.W. take the next big step to create the fighting union that will prepare for the big battles ahead and secure the necessary improvements in the shop conditions of the automobile workers.

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15th ANNIVERSARY
LENIN MEMORIAL

H E A R
Max Shachtman
Editor, SOCIALIST APPEAL

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