- +1 The top leadership consisted of the old veterans: Abraham Rosenberg, John Dyche, Benjamin Schlesinger, Morris Sigman, George Wishnak, Abraham Bisno (Chicago), Sol Polakoff and others in the women's garment industries; Max Zuckerman in the headgear workers'; Max Pine, Ike Goldstein in men's clothing; J. Goldstein in the bakery trade. In the smaller trades, the young arrivals were the initiators. In the men's clothing strike, younger people had a greater part in leadership.
- +2 Sol Yanofsky and Rudolf Rocker were two representative anarchist writers and lecturers. The latter was a German non-Jew who spoke and wrote Yiddish fluently. Rocker was active in England and the United States. He died in September 1958.
- +3 Anarchist illusions on the nature of Bolshevism can be seen from the article in the anarchist magazine, Freedom, edited by Harry Kelly. Restating the anarchist thesis that the state is the enemy of liberty and human progress, the article went on: "The Left Wing Socialists now advocate the same thing. So our differences are merely on the tactics pursued." (It might be well to add that the anarchists here had already disavowed the use of terror as a weapon. The Jewish anarchist groups declared themselves against terror and sabotage at their conference in 1910.)
- +4 This author recollects vividly one afternoon in the middle of 1919 at Sholem's Cafe, Canal Street and East Broadway, the rendezvous of the Jewish literati. Alexander Berkman, the most prominent anarchist, was sitting with a group of people, speaking softly. "Now that the civil war is over," he said, "it is time for us to begin hitting the Soviet government to keep it from becoming entrenched and gaining undue power. Otherwise, it has all the earmarks of degenerating into an oppressive state apparatus." But his listeners, elated by the victories of the Red Army, were in no mood to be impressed by the warning of an anarchist. On the contrary, they wished the Soviet government more power.
- +5 The group was led by Volodarsky, Gregory Weinstein, writer and politician, 408

who came here with the first mass immigration; A. Stoklitsky, A. Chudnovsky, Gregory Melichansky, who became the head of the Soviet trade unions; C. Zorin, the first chairman of the revolutionary tribunal; and Nicholas I. Hourwich, who arrived in this country in 1909. (Volodarsky later became the head of the Cheka in Leningrad and was shot by a Social Revolutionary.)

David Schub, who knew the inner workings in the Russian Federation, believes that there was hardly any rivalry between Trotsky and Bukharin. For one, Trotsky was older and by far more conspicuous and popular—he had been the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet in 1905—and the younger Bukharin could be no competitor to him. (Schub to M.E., summer 1957)

- +6 For more on the activities of Trotsky and Bukharin, see Theodore Draper,

 The Roots of American Communism, Viking Press.
- +7 David Schub, then present in the Forward editorial rooms, was convinced that Trotsky's outburst stemmed partially from his pro-German leanings. Relating this incident at the Novy Mir the same day, Schub repeated his opinion of Trotsky's sympathies, to which Bukharin replied, "But you cannot say this about Ilyich."
- 48 Among them were: Charles E. Ruthenberg, Alfred Wagenknecht, Louis C. Katterfeld, from Kansas City, Missouri; the wealthy William Bross Lloyd, from Chicago, and his secretary, Isaac E. Ferguson; James P. Cannon, a former IWW from Kansas City; Dennis E. Batt, who headed the delegation from the Michigan State SP; and the most outstanding New York Left-Wingers, Louis C. Fraina, James Larkin, Benjamin Gitlow and Harry Waton, a one-man Socialist educational institution from Brownsville.
- +9 Martens opened a Soviet commercial bureau, headed by A. A. Heller, and launched the weekly Soviet Russia, edited by Kenneth Durant, a young socialite from Philadelphia. Martens was expelled from the United States during the anti-Red raids of 1920.
- +10 A third party was added nine months later, when the Dennis Batt Michigan group broke away from the CP, forming their own Proletarian Party, primarily a Marxist propaganda body, confined mostly to Michigan.
- +11 Olgin met Nuorteva on the streets of Moscow in 1923. He related Nuorteva's gloomy tale, thinly camouflaging him, in an article in the Freiheit. Olgin said that Nuorteva had had no complaint against the revolutionary justice.
- +12 The reasons for Fraina's expulsion have never been made public. The story circulating in intimate party circles was that Fraina misused in Mexico a part of a considerable sum of money given to him by the Comintern to organize a party there. Others claim that he was framed. However, from information available to the author, he is inclined to believe that Fraina could not account for all the money given to him by Moscow for the task in Mexico.

Outside the party, Fraina, later known as Lewis Corey, noted economist, remained a fellow traveler until the purges in the 30's. After that he wrote and spoke against Communism and the dictatorship in Russia. He died September 16, 1953, at the age of 59.

+13 For the program on union activity, see The Communist, No. 13, 1920.

- +14 The only possible American financial source was the campaign of the Friends of Soviet Russia for the famine-stricken Volga region, 1921-1922.
- +15 The order by the Supreme Soviet calling upon the Russian people to assist the Socialist revolution in Germany, issued October 4, 1918, at the first sign of revolutionary stirrings in that country, was reprinted in the Class Struggle, February 1919.

+16 Trotsky later blamed Stalin for the military debacle in Poland.

+17 In a debate in the Forward on nationalism, M. Baranoff condemned all adherents of Jewish nationalism. Zionists, Bundists, members of the Jewish Federation, Dr. Syrkin, Dr. Zhitlowsky, the ancient Pharisees in Palestine and others were all lumped together. The Naye Welt was angered by such a total lack of differentiation. (Naye Welt, Aug. 20, 1915)

+18 There were a couple of incidents where Ukrainian Red troops had also committed anti-Jewish pogroms.

- +19 The leaders of the American Jewish Committee, Jacob Schiff, Louis Marshall and Oscar Straus, anxious to save Jewish lives, were induced by H. Zack, an agent of the Kolchak government here, to enter into negotiations with the Metropolit Platon to help Kolchak in the United States. When the affair was exposed, the Forward mildly reproved the Yahudim, saying, "They are not speaking for the Jewish people of America." (Editorial Forward, Sept. 7, 1919)
- +20 Hiltzik died a couple of years later; the other four broke with Communism at different stages.
- +21 The delegates from two branches in New York, Downtown and Harlem, and of Philadelphia cast their votes with the Left.
- +22 Shachno Epstein was sent to America by the Communist International early in 1921 as an "instructor" to the Jewish Communists. His choice was due in part to Dr. Louis Hendin. When Hendin was in Moscow, he had been asked which of the two, Dr. Max Goldfarb or Shachno Epstein, both having lived in America, should be sent back to help the Jewish Communists. Hendin, though mindful of Goldfarb's superior ability, still did not hesitate to recommend Epstein. "We might lose Goldfarb on the road," was his comment. In the few years he had been here, Goldfarb had made a career in the Forward—he had been labor editor of the paper, and young Hendin distrusted him. (Hendin to M.E.)

The Comintern did send Goldfarb abroad a year or two later, to help create a Communist mass party in England. He worked there under the name of D. Bennett. He failed in his mission, but he was not "lost on the road." Goldfarb later occupied important posts in Moscow, and was executed during the purges in the 30's.

+23 Theodore Draper, in his valuable study, The Roots of American Communism, N. 23, p. 449, accepts in toto the opinion given by Cannon that "The Workers Council was fully forewarned that the new legal party was to be controlled by the illegal Communist party." Admittedly, the author was mistaken in stating that the Communists agreed to disband their underground party (Jewish Labor in U.S.A., 1914-1952, p. 112). But he cannot accept the other extreme view. The statement by the Jewish Bureau of the

ALA speaks of "seeking to control," and not that the Workers Council agreed to such control. And the immediate reply in the Naye Welt is a definite indication that such consent was never given.

Knowing the top people of the federation, it seems highly unlikely that the majority of them would have submitted beforehand to CP control. Talks with a few leading Jewish Communists of that period confirms this view. J. B. S. Hardman also denies categorically such an agreement. As to the Communist underground publications, which hinted during the negotiations that the WC had consented to control, Hardman states that he never read them.

Nevertheless, it is plausible to believe that some members of the WC may have secretly joined the CP during the protracted negotiations, and privately consented to Communist control.

- +24 The nine representing the former federation were: Hardman, Olgin, Zivyon, Yuditz, J. Mindel, R. Salzman, Ab. Epstein, D. Siegel, A. Wiener; the nine others were: Shachno Epstein (J. Berson), A. Bittelman, K. Marmor, L. Hendin, Morris Holtman, M. Lunin, Hyman Castrell, Noah London and Taubenshlag.
- +25 Hendin, knowing that Ruthenberg also favored the liquidation of the underground, asked him why he agreed to a party court for the three, to which Ruthenberg replied with a wink, "It is better that I sit in judgment on you than the others." (Hendin to M.E.)
- +26 On the eve of the publication of the Freiheit, George Wishnak approached Jay Lovestone for a contribution from the Workers Party. Lovestone took out a bankroll, counted out \$1,500, and handed it to Wishnak. No receipt was requested. (Wishnak to M.E., summer 1954)
- +27 Otto Braunstetter, national secretary of the SP, a member of the credentials committee, asked Ruthenberg ironically, "What brings Communists to such a gathering?" to which Ruthenberg could have replied, "What brings the Socialists here, the SP being traditionally against such a movement?" Instead, he answered piously, "The Communists go wherever the working masses go." (Hardman to M.E., summer 1955)
- +28 In Foster's book, History of the Communist Party in the United States, written after more than a quarter of a century, he blames the Fitzpatrick-Nockles break with the Communists on Gompers' threats to withdraw the subsidy to the Chicago Federation of Labor. He also blames Pepper for his overenthusiasm. But he finds no word of criticism for himself or his friends.
- +29 For a detailed, though one-sided, account of that convention, see Benjamin Gitlow, I Confess, 1939.
- +30 For the official party view on the strategy of the Left Wing, see William F. Dunne, Workers Monthly, Feb. 1926.
- +31 Communism was a new element in the trade unions, and the majority of the AFL were hardly aware of its possible implications. Only William Green had had a brief encounter with the Communists in the furriers' union, in 1926. It fell to Isidore Nagler, the only ILGWU delegate to the AFL convention in Los Angeles, October 1927, to discuss the nature of Com-

munist penetration in the unions in the light of the decisive struggle raging in his union.

Nagler introduced a resolution condemning the CP's interference in internal union affairs, and asking for the moral aid of the AFL. He warned the delegates against the "disguise with which the Communists present themselves to the workers, and their readiness to adopt any method in order to penetrate the labor movement. . ." (Report & Proceedings, AFL Conv., 1927, pp. 370-4)

- +32 David Dubinsky was in Europe when Sigman moved against the three Left locals. He considered it a tactical error. However, in the special Philadelphia convention, Dubinsky played a major part in preventing the Communists from taking over, while, at the same time, avoiding a premature break with them.
- +33 On a local level, Hillman was preceded by Meyer Perlstein, of the ILGWU, author of the Cleveland Plan Agreement, signed December 1919 in the women's garment industry in that city. This agreement, known as the Cleveland Experiment, combined a "fair and accurate standard of production, . . . based on time studies," with the idea of a "living minimum wage." (For details see Melech Epstein, op. cit., 1914–1952, pp. 38-39.)
- +34 Among the leading Right-Wingers were Joseph Gold, Louis Hollander, Abraham Miller, Jacob S. Potofsky, Peter Monat, Charles Weinstein (Philadelphia), Frank Rosenblum and Joseph Dorfman.
- +35 They were Max Zaritsky, Alex Rose, Abraham Mendelowitz, I H. Goldberg and Nathaniel Spector. The leaders of the millinery Left were Herman Zukowski and his wife, Gladys Schechter; of the capmakers, Isidore Feingold, of Chicago.
- +36 The author, aside from being the responsible editor during the second half of the 20's, was also a member of the Freiheit management committee and of the leading committees of the federation. He knew the circulation figures.
- +37 For a detailed description of the Silver murder, see I, The Union, by Joseph Belsky, secy-treas., Hebrew Butchers' Union. Belsky recognized that the rank and file in the union had reasons for grievances in the 20's, which the Communists utilized. (Belsky to M.E., 1957)
- +38 The salaried officers in the national office of the Jewish Section of the order, aside from Salzman, were Gedaliah Sandler, H. Schiller, Itche Goldberg and Arnold Grossman.
- +39 The editors of the New Republic issued a 42-page booklet, August 4, 1920, reprinting all the headlines on the Bolsheviks that had appeared in the New York Times until that date. It made an interesting study in biased news reporting.
- +40 The representatives of labor on the American delegation were Dr. Nachman Syrkin and Morris Winchefsky.
- +41 The writer had several occasions to deal with Dimandshtein.
- +42 J. S. Hertz, a leading member of the Zukunft, the Bund youth group, and a delegate to the Communist Youth Congress, witnessing the steam-roller methods of the Russian delegation and their double-dealing, returned to Poland an enemy of Communism.

- +43 Dr. Dubrowsky, in his testimony before the Dies Committee, September 23-27, 1939, stated that "the famine was made a sort of a racket by the American Communists," and that about 90 per cent of the funds remained in this country. Gitlow testified before the same committee that about half of the funds were diverted to this country. Dubrowsky also said that he broke with Communism in May 1935. (Dies Comm. Report, Vol. 8, 1939)
- +44 The first ICOR secretary was Dr. Elye Wattenberg, a Left Poale Zion.

 Later, S. Almazoff and Ab. Epstein, both active members of the Workers

 (Communist) Party, became secretary and national organizer respectively.
- +45 For documentary material on Birobidjan, see Solomon M. Schwarz, The Jew in Soviet Russia, 1951.
- +46 P. Novick, who visited Birobidjan in 1936, tried unsuccessfully to stir up new interest in the Jewish Region among skilled workers here. He had to explain why the Americans in the early 30's had had to leave Birobidjan. Unwilling to give the true reason, he merely said, "The coming of the Americans did not justify itself." (Freiheit, Nov. 1, 1936)
- +47 Rumor in Moscow had it that the selection of Birobidjan was the brainchild of Yuri Larin, an assimilated Jew close to Stalin. Larin had a fame for thinking up the most unworkable plans. He was the author of the "continuous work week," rotating the rest days of the workers, that nearly wrecked Soviet industry.
- +48 A statement by Cannon, Abern and Shachtman on their differences with the Comintern and the party appeared in the *Daily Worker*, November 15, 1928. The CEC explanation of their ouster was printed in the *Daily Worker*, October 27, 1928.
- .+49 Trotsky's most influential writer in this country in the late 20's was Max Eastman, former editor of the *Masses* and of the *Liberator*. Eastman later turned against Trotsky and Communism generally.
- +50 The top caucus knew of Stalin's dislike for Lovestone. Lovestone himself told a group of friends—in the author's presence—that at a party in the Kremlin, Stalin, drunk, drew his gun and insisted on shooting Lovestone in the backside. Stalin's entourage tactfully tried to keep him from following Lovestone around the large room. Suddenly, Stalin, in a gesture of bravado, bared his chest and, offering his gun to Lovestone, exclaimed, "Here, shoot me! I am not afraid."
- +51 The cable was useless and badly timed. A sharp exchange between the Stalinites and the Bukharinites was taking place at the session of the Russian CEC. When Bukharin saw the cable, he rushed up to the platform, and, waving it indignantly at Stalin, cried, "The American comrades have nothing against me. Why should they suddenly demand my removal?—It is you who engineered this." Stalin, greatly annoyed, denied any knowledge of the cable. This was probably one of the rare occasions when Stalin was telling the truth. (Told to the author by Gershon Dua [A. Ged], present at the session as a fraternal delegate from the Polish CP.)
- +52 The pre-convention discussion opened with a statement by the minority— Daily Worker, December 3rd. The majority statement appeared December 7th. Then, on December 11th, followed the minority thesis to the sixth

world congress. The next theses of the minority appeared December 25th and occupied over four full pages. Among others, the majority was charged with "reformism and pacifism." The theses of the majority occupied three full pages and was printed the following day. All this immense outpouring of words was not intended for the party people here, who would not trouble to spend long hours reading them; they were meant for the Kremlin.

- +53 As a diversion from the enervating party politics, Pepper liked to visit "little Hungary's." There he would eat goulash, wash it down with good Hungarian wine, and, relaxed, join in singing Hungarian folk songs. On these jaunts he was usually accompanied by Yechiel Ravitch. (Ravitch to M.E., 1955)
- +54 One version of Pepper's adventure is given in Ben Gitlow's I Confess.
- +55 For some of the speeches of the majority at the Presidium, see Ben Gitlow's I Confess. Stalin's three speeches were published later by the Lovestonites.
- +56 At a caucus meeting of the last convention, Bedacht had suggested that it might be necessary to "form a fourth international" if Moscow should insist on its demands against the majority. Later, it was declared that Bedacht had made a mistake. The top was frightened by the consequences of such a suggestion becoming known.
- +57 Melech Epstein, to disengage himself from the exasperating caucus maneuvers, resigned as editor of the *Freiheit* after the sixth party convention.
- +58 For more about this, see Melech Epstein, op. cit., 1914-1952, p. 182.
- +59 The leading members were Will Herberg, Max Shachtman, Gil Green, Johnnie Williamson, Martin Abern, William Schneiderman, John Rijak (Steuben), Nat Kaplan, J. Jampolsky, Sam Don, Sam Darcy, Harry Gannes and Oliver Carlson.
- +60 Unlike the party, the League had only a sprinkling of non-Jews at the top.
 +61 Schaefer went to Russia in the fall of 1932, and conducted his oratorio
 October in Kharkov. He was given a group of young workers to rehearse
 with. One day, in the middle of rehearsals, the singers started a stampede
 to the door. Schaefer was left alone. He was later told that somebody had
 whispered that something was being sold at a nearby store, and the chorus
 had rushed to get in line. Schaefer did not like what he saw in Russia. But
- he could not express it publicly. +62 Among the leading conductors were: Schaefer, Lazar Weiner, Vladimir Heifetz, Henry Lefkowitz, Michel Gelbart, Misha Zevkin, Dr. Paul Held, Nathan Samaroff, Mendie Shein and Max Helfman.
- +63 The Communists also had a working arrangement earlier with Roger Baldwin on the defense of the political prisoners. But this was broken up when Baldwin publicly demanded the release of Socialist prisoners in Soviet Russia.
- +64 The party's steering committee in Boston on the eve of the execution were Max Bedacht and Bertram D. Wolfe. It was evident to the author, in Boston for the Freiheit, that the primary reason for the committee's insistence on continuous demonstrations in front of the State House was the

- publicity value of arrests. But the authorities seemed to sense this too; the demonstrations were merely blocked and dispersed.
- +65 Baruch Glazman was then abroad and Moishe Nadir was wavering. Leonid Feinberg, a younger poet, also left with the group, but returned to the Freiheit a couple of years later.
- +66 Harry Sims (Hirsch), a Jewish boy from Baltimore, a youth organizer of the NMU and a member of the YCL, was shot and killed, while walking to a mine in Brush Creek, by his trusted companion, a young native miner named Miller, secretly hired by the coal companies. Sims had been the only organizer left in the coal area. He showed an amazing adaptability to local conditions. He was given a big funeral on February 17th in New York. Miller was released by Judge Baker in Barbersville.
- +67 For the Communist side of the Gastonia strike, see Call Home the Heart, a novel by Fielding Burke; Longman, Green & Co. As for Kentucky, the author can testify from personal experience that the strike was mercilessly and disastrously hinged to the "revolutionary" conception of the Third Period.
- +68 A confidential copy of this resolution was circulated among leading party people. The published text omitted reference to the maturing prerequisites for a revolution in Germany and Poland.
- +69 To the author's knowledge, the first to toy with this idea was John Pepper, in the late 20's.
- +70 Ben Gold, jailed in Maryland for a clash with police during the second hunger march, was put, on the first day—and not by chance—to scrubbing the big stairs in the old penitentiary. Unaccustomed to such labor, Gold tried to enlist the aid of a Negro prisoner working with him, who did not seem to be tired. At first the Negro was not responsive, but when Gold mentioned the ILD his indifference disappeared, and most of Gold's share of the work was done by him.
- +71 The group of proletarian writers consisted of Moishe Blechman, Yuri Suhl, Martin Birnbaum, L. Prince, Leib Sobrin, Malke Lee, J. A. Runch, Ben Fenster, Alexander Pomerantz, Meinke Katz, Moishe Shifres, A. Meisel, S. Chester (the last two were not beginners and not "proletarians"), Nachum Weisman, L. Chanukov, Joseph Greenspan and Aaron Kurtz. Some of them were on the staff of the Freiheit.
- +72 Georgi Dimitrov, then secretary of the Comintern, was a popular figure among Communists. His courageous behavior as a defendant at the burning-of-the-Reichstag trial in 1934, in Berlin, was a source of pride to Communists everywhere.
- +73 Hillman, at the crucial conference at Hotel Pennsylvania, never gave Dubinsky and his associates any assurance that he would keep Communists and known Left-Wingers out of conspicuous posts in the ALP, as was erroneously stated in Melech Epstein's Jewish Labor in U.S.A., 1914-1952, pp. 227-37. No minutes were taken at that conference, but subsequent interviews with many of those who were present confirm this fact.
- +74 Several months before his death, July 10, 1946, Hillman called in Louis Hollander. "A final clash with the Communists is approaching in the ALP,"

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he said. "Can you take over the situation in Brooklyn?" (Hollander to M.E., summer 1952)

+75 In that election, the Communists united with a group of the extreme Right Wing, against the wishes of the Socialist Farband, to whom they belonged. However, their joint ticket lost.

+76 The Communist attitude was expressed in two booklets by Paul Novick, both published by the *Freiheit* in 1934. One blamed the Socialists for Hitler's victory; the second held the wealthy Jews responsible for the spread of anti-Semitism here.

+77 In 1924, at Bialik's 50th birthday, Olgin had published an article in the Freiheit, "My Bialik," quoting from his Hebrew poems. The co-editor, Shachno Epstein, not to be outdone, wrote an article, "Our Bialik," with quotations from his Yiddish poems. But when Bialik died, July 7, 1934, Moishe Katz called him "the poet of philistine impotence."

+78 There was hardly a grain of truth in this statement. The ICOR had been active in the anti-Palestine campaign of 1929. The IWO had not been in existence.

+79 The manager of Local 117 was Louis Levy; of Local 9, Isidore Sorkin; and of the Pocketbook Workers', Ossip Walinsky.

+80 The author arrived in Spain from Palestine on the ninth day of the uprising.

+81 Botwin was executed in 1922 for assassinating a highly placed Polish Communist agent provocateur.

+82 Enroute to Spain, their passports were taken away on the pretext that they would fight as Spaniards with Spanish documents. Actually, they fought as Americans. And when their evacuation began hastily in October 1938, no one appeared to know anything about their passports. They would have been stranded had not Ambassador Claude J. Bowers interceded for them and obtained Washington's permission to provide each one who could prove in any way that he came from America, including non-citizens, with entry documents. Privately, it was explained that Washington was kind to the volunteers to make amends for its neutrality toward the Spanish government. Many of the passports floating around were undoubtedly being used by Soviet agents.

+83 The officers of the Trade Union Red Cross for Spain were Charles S. Zimmerman, chairman; Alex Rose, secretary; and David Dubinsky, treasurer.

+84 The committee in charge included Minna Harkavy, Aaron Gudelman, Adolf Wolf, Bill Gropper and Frank Kirk. Among the artists were: Minna Harkavy, Max Weber, Moses and R. Soyer, Peggy Bacon, A. Walkowitz, Y. Runiyoshe, L. Losowick, Todres Geller and William Zorach. (ICOR Almanac, May 1943)

+85 In 1934, Litvakov, in an outburst of uncontrolled anger, told Yosl Cohn, a Left poet from America, "This ignoramus—Stalin—will devour us all yet." (Cohn to M.E.)

+86 The cooperating group consisted of Dr. Chaim Zhitlowsky, H. Leivick, Menachem Boraisha, David Ignatoff, Alexander Mukdoni, B. Z. Goldberg, managing editor of *The Day*, Leon Kobrin, Joseph Opatoshu, Alexander

Harkavi, D. L. Meckler, of the Morning Journal, Jacob Milch, Baruch Glazman, Peretz Hirshbein, Joel Slonim, Jacob Ben Ami, Lamed Shapiro, Z. Weinper, B. Lapin, S. Erdberg, B. Rivkin, and Abraham Maneiwich, the painter. The Communists had only five in the committee: Olgin, Salzman, Marmor, Melech Epstein and Sultan. (Sultan and his associates in the Bureau were despised in the community, and Epstein and Marmor had to conduct the negotiations with the non-Communist writers.) Dr. Zhitlowsky was chairman; Marmor, secretary.

+87 Among the signers were: the well-known novelist, J. J. Singer; the playwright, David Pinski; the poets, Jacob Gladstein, A. Glantz-Leyeless, Ephraim Auerbach and R. Iceland; Dr. S. Margoshes, David Schub, Hillel Rogoff and Nathan Chanin.

+88 A letter from Dr. Sloves to the author in 1938 complained bitterly of the broken promises.

+89 The first time Socialists (the Militants) and some AFL unions joined the Communists in a May 1st parade in New York City was in 1936. The largest "United" May 1st parade was in 1937. In the ranks were also a group of students of the Protestant Theological Seminary in their vestments. However, the 1938 parade was a purely Communist affair, the non-Communist groups having dropped out as a result of the purges in Russia.

+90 His long exile did not in the least shake Trotsky's belief in his own theory. He was the same old unwavering doctrinaire warrior. In a long interview in Mexico City two months before his assassination—printed in the Forward—Trotsky remarked to the author that "Stalin did worse things than the pact with Hitler." The interviewer did not press the point. Nazi armies had just invaded France; and, to the author's anxious question as to the future of Europe, Trotsky serenely sent him to the Manifesto of his Fourth International, composed in 1934. "There," he said, "you will find the answer." . . .

Trotsky was still an impressive figure. His thick mane and goatee were white. He was then 64 years old. His speech was animated and he kept his arms crossed over his chest in the manner of a teacher explaining a lesson to his pupil. He appeared to the author like a cold fire. Trotsky was practically without friends in Mexico City. His house was closed to those of his followers—and they came from various countries—who happened to disagree with him on a minor point of theory.

Trotsky was killed with an icepick August 20, 1940. The assassin was an agent of the Soviet security police masquerading as a Belgian. His real name was Turkov. He was given 21 years in prison.

The Trotsky's were very poor in Mexico. When he died, a few friends had to raise 300 pesos to move his body from the hospital to the funeral parlor. More than a million people passed his bier.

Trotsky's assassination caused great indignation among Jews. For days the *Freiheit* railed at the "reactionary Jewish press" for blaming Stalin for the cowardly murder, shricking that the *Forward*, in particular, was spreading "blood libels" against Moscow and engaging in a lynch campaign. The Communist papers could cite only one "fact," the prepared letter

found on Turkov that he was a disciple of Trotsky and that the latter had wanted him to go to Moscow to kill Stalin.

- +91 Newton D. Baker was one of the few liberals who thought that "The trial is not a Hollywood drama." He said this in a speech before a women's organization in Chicago, March 12, 1937, after reading the voluminous proceedings of the Radek trial, published in book form in Russia. (Soviet Russia Today, April 1937)
- +02 Harry Gannes died in 1941.

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- +93 Dr. Zhitlowsky and Ben Zion Goldberg later returned to the IKUF via its magazine. Moishe Blechman, who had resigned from the Freiheit quietly about two and a half years previously, and Leonid Feinberg, who broke away a short time after Epstein, joined the group. Simon Weber, who left the Freiheit and the party about the same time as Blechman, became a member of the Socialist Farband.
- +94 Epstein was chairman of the League; Schwartzman, secretary.
- +95 An article from Havana telling of the Communist anti-Jewish and anti-Epstein campaign appeared in the Forward October 7, 1940.
- +96 At a meeting of the executive board, October 3rd, manager Zimmerman vigorously denounced the pact, over the objections of the Communists, saying that "the whole labor movement is angered and shocked," and that the local would "take its place together with the entire labor movement." (Minutes of the executive board meeting of October 3, 1939)

A resolution condemning the pact was adopted by the 24th convention of the ILGWU at the end of May 1940, in New York City. (Report & Proc. of ILGWU, 1940, p. 525)

- +97 The expelled were six officers: Ben Gerjoy, Meyer Krawetz, Sol Lipnack, Hyman Grossman, Isidore Gross, Ab. Feil; and a member of the executive board, Morris Rosenberg. They issued a leaflet explaining their action. It seems that after the first few resignations the party decided to minimize the bad effect of other resignations by announcing their expulsion first. A spy planted in this group notified the party of their decision to resign, thus giving it a chance to expel them first. (Lipnack to M.E.)
- +98 The better known of these books were: Dr. Jerzy Gliksman, Tell the West, an account of his experiences as a slave laborer in the Soviet Union, Gresham Press, 1948; Abraham Zak, We Were Slaves, Vol. 2, Buenos Aires, 1956, Yiddish; Moshe Grossman, In the Magic Land of the Legendary Jugashvily, Paris, Yiddish; Yitzhok Edison, My Four Years in the Soviet Union, Paris, 1953, Yiddish; S. Berlinsky, Pictures and Stories, Tel Aviv, 1958.
- +99 The climate in the community changed after Hitler's attack on Russia, June 21st. A compromise was effected in the situation in *The Day*, and the previous publishers took it over. Dr. S. Margoshes and A. Glantz-Leyeless led the majority. B. Z. Goldberg headed the minority.
- +100 Solomon Michoels was killed on the streets of Minsk at night, in January 1948.