# References

\*1 For figures and a description of the second immigration, see Melech Epstein, Jewish Labor in U.S.A., 1914–1952, Chapters 1 and 14.

\*2 Almanac, Grodno Branch 74, 1926.

\*3 Nathan Fine, Labor & Farmer Parties in the United States, Rand School for Social Science, N.Y., 1928, pp. 228-29.

\*4 Forward, Nov. 9, 1916. \*5 Ibid., Nov. 10, 1916.

\*6 Nathan Fine, op. cit., pp. 324-26.

\*7 Ibid., p. 327.

\*8 J. B. S. Hardman, Unser Zeit, Jan. 1956, Yiddish.

\*9 Zukunft, Feb. 1916, Yiddish.

\*10 Naye Welt, Oct. 15, 1915, Yiddish.

\*11 Forward, Nov. 23, 1915.

\*12 For more detailed information on the St. Louis convention, see Nathan Fine, op. cit. and Daniel Bell, "The Background and Development of Marxian Socialism in the U.S.," Socialism and American Life, Vol. I, Princeton University Press.

\*13 Harry Rogoff, An East Side Epic, Vanguard Press, p. 106.

\*14 Forward, March 16, 1917.

\*15 A number of anarchist leaflets are in the archives of Charles S. Zimmerman, secretary-manager Local 22, ILGWU.

\*16 The author met both of them in March 1942.

\*17 Schub to M.E., summer 1957.

\*18 Revolutionary Radicalism, Clayton R. Lusk, chairman, N. Y. State Seditious Activities, Vol. I, p. 557.

\*19 New York Call, Jan. 5, 1919.

\*20 Report & Proceedings, AFL Conv., 1920.

\*21 Forward, Sept. 3, 1919.

\*22 The author was present at that session of the convention.

\*23 Forward, Feb. 6, 1921.

\*24 Theodore Draper, The Roots of American Communism, Viking Press, 1957, p. 189.

\*25 Lusk Comm., op. cit.

- \*26 Ibid.
- \*27 The Communist, Aug. 1, 1920.

\*28 Lusk Comm., op. cit., p. 558.

- \*29 Leaflet in the archives of Charles S. Zimmerman.
- \*30 The text of the resolution of the ECCI in Zimmerman's archives.

\*31 Lusk Comm., op. cit., pp. 760-61.

- \*32 Zimmerman's archives.
- \*33 Swinburne Hale, The American Labor Year Book, 1921-22.

\*34 Naye Welt, March 26, 1920.

\*35 Swinburne Hale, op. cit.

\*36 For a study of that period, see Red Scare, Robert K. Murray.

\*37 Pamphlet in possession of the author.

\*38 Ibid.

\*39 Louis Hendin to M.E., summer 1955.

\*40 Ibid.

\*41 Benjamin Gitlow, I Confess, Dutton & Co., 1939, p. 58.

\*42 Lusk Comm., op. cit., pp. 647-53.

\*43 Freiheit, Nov. 1, 1934.

- \*44 Told by several participants.
- \*45 The Communist, June 1921.

\*46 Ibid., July 1921.

\*47 Booklet publ. by Marxian Educa. Soc. of Detroit, 1921, pp. 66-68.

\*48 Zeitgeist, No. 54, 1906.

\*49 Naye Welt, Oct. 1, 1915. \*50 Forward, Sept. 4, 1913.

\*51 Hertz Burgin, History of the Jewish Labor Movement, Yiddish, 1914, p. 615.

\*52 Yiddisher Socialist, Sept. 20, 1913.

\*53 J. S. Hertz, The Jewish Socialist Movement in U.S.A., Yiddish, 1954, p. 142.

\*54 Yiddisher Socialist, May 1, 1915.

\*55 Hertz, op. cit., p. 161.

\*56 Ibid., p. 168.

\*57 *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71.

\*58 Forward, Nov. 18, 1917.

\*59 Naye Welt, Nov. 16, 1917.

\*60 Izvestia, July 27, 1918; English text, Icor Almanac, 1943.
\*61 The author heard this record in New York in the early 20's.

\*62 Information by William Abrams & Lazar Kling.

\*63 Abrams to M.E.

\*64 Kling to M.E.

\*65 Der Kampf, No. 1, Library Jewish Theological Seminary, N.Y.

\*66 Abrams to M.E.

\*67 Naye Welt, May 30, 1919.

### 421 References

- \*68 Hertz, op. cit., pp. 190-91.
- \*69 The author was present as a reporter.

\*70 Hertz, op. cit., pp. 191-92.

\*71 Naye Welt, June 2, 1919.

\*72 Ibid., Oct. 24, 1919.

\*73 The author was present at the conference.

\*74 Emes, No. 5-6, 1921.

- \*75 Emes (N.Y.), No. 14, 1921.
- \*76 In the Library of Jewish Theological Seminary.

\*77 Ibid.

\*78 Yedies, in Jewish Theological Seminary.

\*79 Hendin to M.E.

- \*80 Emes (N.Y.), No. 5-6, 1921.
- \*81 Kunitz to M.E., summer 1957.

\*82 Nelson to M.E., summer 1957.

\*83 American Labor Year Book, 1923-24, pp. 413-14.

\*84 Naye Welt, July 9, 1920.

\*85 Hertz, op. cit., pp. 193-94.

\*86 Naye Welt, April 20, 1919.

\*87 For full text of 21 Points, see Lusk Comm., op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 1647-53, also Nathan Fine, op. cit., The Russian text in minutes of 2nd Congress, Moscow, 1921, N.Y. Public Library.

\*88 New York Call, Nov. 30, 1920.

\*89 Yiddisher Socialist, Mar. 15, 1914.

\*90 Naye Welt, Feb. 13, 1920.

\*91 Ibid., Mar. 23, 1917.

\*92 Ibid., May 14, 1920.
\*93 Ibid., May 21, 1920.

\*94 *Ibid.*, June 4, 1920.

\*95 *Ibid.*, July 9, 1920.

\*95 *Ibid.*, July 9, 1920.

\*97 Ibid., Sept. 2, 1921.

\*98 Ibid., Sept. 16, 1921.

\*99 Ibid.

\*100 Zukunft, Oct. 1921.

\*101 M. Osherowitch, History of the Forward, in manuscript.

\*102 Hardman to M.E., summer 1956.

\*103 Ibid.

\*104 Ibid.

\*105 Emes, Nov. 18, 1921.

\*106 Naye Welt, Nov. 23, 1921.

\*107 Workers Party, Program & Constitution, 1921, N.Y.C.

\*108 Hardman to M.E., summer 1954.

\*109 Workers Party, publ. by Workers Party of America, Chicago, 1923.

\*110 Statement in Marmor's archives, YIVO.

\*111 Minutes of EC of Federation, Marmor's archives, YIVO.

\*112 Ibid.

\*113 Hendin to M.E., summer of 1956.

\*114 Hearing before Senate Comm. on Labor, Govern. Print. Office, 1919.

\*115 Benjamin Gitlow, op. cit., p. 202.

\*116 Jay Lovestone, Workers Monthly, Dec. 1925.

\*117 4th Conv. W.P., Daily Worker Publ. Assoc., Chicago, 1925.

\*118 Nathan Fine, op. cit., p. 330. \*119 Leaflet in possession of author.

\*119 Leanet III possession of author
\*120 Labor Herald, March 1922.

\*121 To the author's personal knowledge.

\*122 Wecker, July 4, 1925.

\*123 Hertz, op. cit., p. 244.

\*124 A Fighting Union for the Needle Trades, TUEL, 1926.

\*125 Minutes of the EC of Local 1, 1923, Yiddish, YIVO.

\*126 A short sketch of Morris Sigman in Melech Epstein, op. cit., 1914-52.

\*127 William Z. Foster, Workers Monthly, Nov. 1925, and A Fighting Union for the Needle Workers, TUEL, 1926.

\*128 Order in Zimmerman's archives.

\*129 Advance, Yiddish, July 31, 1925.

\*130 Told to M.E. in 1955 by Isidor Stenzor, then secretary of the general party fractions in the needle trades unions.

\*131 Nathan Chanin to M.E., summer 1955.

\*132 Wecker, Jan. 8, 1927.

\*133 Ibid., July 9, 1927.

\*134 Friend, Dec. 1922.

\*135 J. S. Hertz, 50 Years Workmen's Circle in Jewish Life, Yiddish, p. 220.

\*136 The author was present.

\*137 Hammer, Oct. 1926.

\*138 Der Funk, Sept. 1930, YIVO.

\*139 Ibid., No. 2, Oct. 1930.

\*140 Our People, American Jewish Section IWO, 1944, p. 210.

\*141 Minutes of 7th convention, Library Jewish Theological Seminary.

\*142 Several active Communists who have since broken with the party confirmed the fact of the transfer.

\*143 Ibid.

\*144 Fraternal Monitor, 1951, p. 219.

\*145 In Zimmerman's archives.

\*146 Forward, Jan. 18, 1920.

\*147 Emes, Nos. 5-6, Sept. 2, 1921.

\*148 Abramovitch, Forward, Aug. 29, 1951.

\*149 M. Osherowitch, op. cit.

\*150 V. Klimoff, Emes, Nos. 5-6, 1921.

\*151 Material for the History of the Jewish Labor Movement, Yiddish, Warsaw, 1921, Bund archives.

\*152 Ibid.

- \*153 Ibid.
- \*154 Ibid.

## 423 References

\*155 J. S. Hertz to M.E., summer 1957.

\*156 Hardman to M.E., summer 1955.

\*157 From inner party reports.

\*158 Solomon M. Schwarz, The Jews in the Soviet Union, 1951.

\*159 Sol Liptzin, Eliakum Zunser, Behrman House.

\*160 The author attended both relief conferences.

\*161 The author visited the colonies in 1930.

\*162 General Encyclopedia, V. "Jews," Yiddish, N.Y., 1957.

\*163 The author knows this from first-hand information in Russia.

\*164 P. Novick, Freiheit, Jan. 11, 1931.

\*165 From a confidential report by Ab. Epstein, returning from Birobidjan in the fall of 1934.

\*166 J.T.A. cable, Forward, April 10, 1958.

\*167 Daily Worker, Aug. 5, 1927.

\*168 The author was at the convention.

\*169 Ibid.

\*170 The author was at that meeting as editor of the Freiheit.

\*171 The author was at the convention.

\*172 Daily Worker, Sept. 7, 1928.

\*173 The author had personal knowledge of it.

\*174 The author was present at that meeting.

\*175 Photostatic copy of Stalin's speeches in possession of author.

\*176 Daily Worker, Sept. 26, 1929.

\*177 The Day, Jan. 14, 1931.

\*178 The author witnessed several instances of this.

\*179 L. Hersch, "Jewish Migrations," The Jewish People Past and Present, CYCO, 1946.

\*180 Funken (Sparks), organ of the clubs, Feb. 1923, YIVO.

\*181 J. B. Beilin, ICOR Yearly Almanac, 1932.

\*182 The author knew him well.

\*183 J. B. Beilin, Jacob Schaefer, 1938, N.Y.

\*184 Pamphlet in YIVO archives.

\*185 Emes, No. 5-6, 1921.

\*186 Daily Worker, Aug. 30, 1929.

\*187 Freiheit, Aug. 28, 1929.

\*188 Ibid., Aug. 29, 1929.

\*189 Ibid., Aug. 30, 1929.

\*190 Ibid.

\*191 Freiheit, Sept. 6, 1929.

\*192 Ibid., Sept. 5, 1929.

\*193 Party Statement, Daily Worker, Sept. 7, 1929; also Lovestonite News Letter No. 2, Yiddish.

\*194 Daily Worker, Sept. 7, 1929.

\*195 Ibid.

\*196 Ibid., Sept. 24, 1929.

\*197 Freiheit, July 5, 1931.

\*198 Ibid., Oct. 27, 1929.

\*199 Daily Worker editorial, Oct. 18, 1930.

\*200 Daily Worker, Feb. 25, 1931.

\*201 The author has personal knowledge of it.

\*202 Report & Proceedings of AFL Conv., 1930-1931.

\*203 Marmor's archives, YIVO.

\*204 Thesis & Resolutions, Workers Library Publ., 1930.

\*205 The author was in Cleveland for the Freiheit.

\*206 Louis Hyman to M.E.

\*207 Daily Worker, Feb. 17, 1931.

\*208 Ibid.

\*209 Earl Browder, The Communist, Oct. 1931.

\*210 The Communist, Aug. 1931.

\*211 Thesis & Resolutions, op. cit., 1930.

\*212 Quotation from Gussev's report to the 12th plenum, The Communist, Jan. 1933.

\*213 Daily Worker, July 3, 1931.

\*214 The author was present at the conference.

\*215 Freiheit, Sept. 14, 1932.

\*216 Daily Worker, Nov. 10 and 11, 1932.

\*217 The author was present.

\*218 Freiheit, Nov. 9, 1932.

\*219 The author was appointed by the party on the original committee.

\*220 An Open Letter, Daily Worker, July 13, 1933.

\*221 George Wishnak, business manager of the Daily Worker, 1932-35, to M.E., 1954.

\*222 Thesis & Resolutions, 1930, p. 89.

\*223 Freiheit, Jan. 5, 1931.

\*224 *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1931.

\*225 Ten Years ARTEF, 1937, Bund archives.

\*226 Material on shules, Der Funk, IWO organ, Sept. 1930, Jan. 1931, Jan./Feb. 1932, Jan./Feb. 1933, YIVO.

\*227 Ibid.

\*228 A. Grossfeld, Freiheit, Dec. 22, 1933.

\*229 Thesis . . . of 13th Plenum, ECCI, Workers Library Publ., Mar. 1934.

\*230 Ibid.

\*231 Daily Worker, Mar. 1934.

\*232 Senate Comm. on Educa. and Labor, Vol. 3, pp. 581-6—Daily Worker April 1, 1935.

\*233 Freiheit, April 1934.

\*234 The author was present at the hearing.

\*235 Daily Worker, July 13, 1933, 8-page supplement.

\*236 Granville Hicks, "Lincoln Steffens," Commentary, Feb. 1952.

\*237 Daily Worker, Jan. 9, 1935.

\*238 Browder report, Ibid., Jan. 19, 1935.

\*230 Thesis & Decisions of 7th World Congress, Workers Library Publ.

\*240 Ibid.

\*241 Freiheit, Oct. 7, 1936.

#### 425 References

\*242 Daily Worker, Oct. 15, 1939; Freiheit, Oct. 17, 1939.

\*243 Melech Epstein, op. cit., 1914-1952, pp. 229-30.

\*244 The author was present at the meeting.

\*245 The author was in Los Angeles during that time.

\*246 For more details on the ALP and the Communists, see Melech Epstein, op. cit., pp. 227-37.

\*247 Daily Worker, Oct. 8, 1937.

\*248 John Steuben, party secy there, to M.E., 1937.

\*249 See the excellent chapter, "The Intellectuals Turn Left," in The American Communist Party, by Irving Howe & Lewis Coser, 1957, Beacon Press.

\*250 Un-American Activities Comm., Vol. 14, 1941, pp. 8714-72.

\*251 Freiheit, Oct. 25, 1937.

\*252 Proceedings of 10th Conv., N.Y.S., CP, 1938, pp. 135-36.

\*253 Letter in Zimmerman's archives.

\*254 Freiheit, Oct. 8, 1937.

\*255 J. S. Hertz, The Jewish Socialist . . . , op. cit., p. 214.

\*256 Wecker, May 4, 1929.

\*257 Zukunft, Sept. 1929, quoted from Hertz, op. cit., pp. 249-50.

\*258 Wecker, Dec. 26, 1925.

\*259 The author participated in the negotiations.

\*260 The author was present as a reporter.

\*261 Freiheit, Nov. 22, 1934.

\*262 Ibid., June 3, 1934.

\*263 A.C.L.U. release, Mar. 18, 1934.

\*264 Forward, Mar. 27, 1934.

\*265 Freiheit, April 2, 1934.

\*266 J. S. Hertz, op. cit., p. 242.

\*267 The author led the march. \*268 Freiheit, Nov. 18, 1938.

\*269 Ibid., Sept. 20-21, 1936.

\*270 Letter from Paris, Freiheit, Sept. 23, 1937.

\*271 Freiheit, May 3, 1936.

\*272 New York American, May 6 and 8, 1936.

•273 Freiheit, May 7 and 8, 1936.

•274 Ibid., May 14, 1936.

\*275 Ibid., June 9, 1936.

\*276 Ibid., July 1, 1936.

\*277 Tribune, Freiheit, Aug. 8, 1936.

\*278 Ibid.

\*279 Freiheit, Mar. 14, 1938.

\*280 Ibid., Mar. 17, 1938.

\*281 Ibid., Aug. 18, 1938.

\*282 Proceedings of 10th Conv., op. cit.

\*283 Ibid.

\*284 Jewish Life, June 1938.

\*285 The Day, Oct. 1, 1938.

\*286 Jacob Pat to M.E., 1955. \*287 Forward, Oct. 12, 1936.

\*288 Emanuel Novagrudsky, secy. gen. Bund, to M.E.

\*289 Freiheit, Jan. 15, 1938.

\*290 Full text in Freiheit, Oct. 3, 1936.

\*291 Ibid., Oct. 4, 1936.

\*292 Ibid., English section, Nov. 1937.

\*293 *Ibid.*, Jan. 1936. \*294 *Ibid.*, Feb. 1936.

\*295 Ibid., Mar. 1936, Freiheit, April 27, 1936.

\*296 Freiheit, May 25 and 26, 1936.

\*297 Nailebn, July 1936.

\*298 Ibid., Aug. 1936.

\*299 Dr. Rosen's letter to S. Almazoff, Nailebn, Jan. 1937.

\*300 Nailebn, Aug. 1936.

\*301 Freiheit, Aug. 23, 1936.

\*302 Nailebn, Sept. 1936.

\*303 Ibid., Dec. 1936.

\*304 Held to M.E., 1955.

\*305 Emes, Moscow, April 9, 1937.

\*306 Nailebn, Feb. 1937. For more background on the Jewish Region, see Melech Epstein, op. cit., pp. 256-58.

\*307 Nailebn, Feb. 1937.

\*308 Ibid., Mar. 1938.

\*309 Library, Jewish Theological Seminary.

\*310 Freiheit, Oct. 31, 1938. \*311 Jewish Life, April 1938.

\*312 Ibid.

\*313 Ibid., Aug. 1937.

\*314 Ibid. \*315 Ibid.

\*316 The Day, April 12, 1937.

\*317 ICOR Almanac, 1943.

\*318 Solomon Schwarz, op. cit., p. 305.

\*319 Freiheit supplement, Oct. 3, 1936. \*320 H. Leivick to M.E., winter 1958.

\*321 Forward, Aug. 13, 1937.

\*322 Morning Journal, Aug. 27, 1937.

\*323 The author, in Paris in 1936, knows this from personal observation.

\*324 Freiheit, Oct. 3, 1937.

\*325 Ibid., Oct. 15, 1938. \*326 The Day, Nov. 22, 1936.

\*325 The Day, Nov. 22, 193 \*327 Ibid., June 26, 1937.

\*328 The Case of Leon Trotsky, Harper, 1937.

\*329 Nailebn, Mar. 1937.

\*330 The Day, Mar. 14, 1938. \*331 New Masses, Mar. 8, 1938, also in Freiheit.

#### 127 References

\*332 The author was present at that meeting.

\*333 The author was present at that debate.

\*334 A. Pomerantz, then on the news staff, to M.E.

\*335 Freiheit, Jan. 4, 1939. \*336 Ibid., Mar. 31, 1938.

\*337 Report & Resolutions, Freiheit, Sept. 26, 27 and 28, 1938.

\*338 Ibid.

\*339 *Ibid.* \*340 Flakser to M.E., 1958.

\*341 Forward, Jan. 12, 1937.

\*342 Ibid., Sept. 29, 1938.

\*343 Morning Journal, Sept. 4, 1938.

\*344 Forward, Dec. 31, 1938.

\*345 Morning Journal, Jan. 23, 1939.

\*346 Workers Library Publ.

\*348 Freiheit, July 1, 1939. \*348 Ibid., May 7, 1939.

\*349 Ibid., May 29, 1939.

\*350 Cable to Daily Worker, July 2, 1939, quoting London Times.

\*351 New York Times, July 24, 1939.

\*352 Freiheit, Aug. 20, 1939.

\*353 Daily Worker, Aug. 24, 1939.

\*354 P. Novick and the author were there for the Freiheit.

\*355 Daily Worker, Sept. 11, 1939.

\*356 Ibid., Sept. 12, 1939.

\*357 Freiheit, Sept. 11, 1939.

\*358 Daily Worker, Sept. 13, 1939.

\*359 Freiheit, Sept. 18, 1939.

\*360 Daily Worker, Sept. 19, 1939.

\*361 Ibid., Oct. 1, 1939.

\*362 New York Times, Oct. 10, 1939.

\*363 Daily Worker, Nov. 1, 1939.

\*364 Ibid., Dec. 25 and Freiheit, Dec. 26, 1939.

\*365 America and the International Situation, publ. by CEC of the CP.

\*366 Ibid.

\*367 Daily Worker, July 31, 1940.

\*368 Freiheit, Oct. 22, 1940.

\*369 Daily Worker, Sept. 27, 1940.

\*370 Freiheit, Sept. 20, 1939.

\*371 Ibid., Nov. 7, 1940.

\*372 Conv. Report CIO, 1940, pp. 190-91.

\*373 Freiheit, Feb. 7, 1940.

\*374 Daily Worker, June 20, 1941.

\*375 The Day, Aug. 24, 1939.

\*376 Morning Journal, Aug. 25, 1939.

\*377 The Day, Aug. 25, 1939.

\*378 Zhitlowsky's telegrams and letters in Leivick's archives.

\*381 Freiheit, Aug. 25, 1939.

\*382 Ibid., Sept. 29, 1939.

\*383 *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1940. \*384 *The Day*, Sept. 7, 1939.

\*385 Freiheit, Sept. 20, 1939.

\*386 Ibid., Sept. 29, 1939.

\*387 Ibid., July 3, 1940.

\*388 This letter was seen by David Schub.

\*389 Freiheit, Oct. 15, 1940. \*390 Ibid., Feb. 18, 1940.

\*391 *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1940.

\*392 Ibid., July 7, 1940.

\*393 The Day, Oct. 2, 1939.

\*394 Freiheit, Jan. 10, 1941. \*395 Ibid., Jan. 6, 1941.

\*396 Ibid., Jan. 8, 1941.

\*397 Ibid., July 5, 1940.

\*398 Ibid.

\*399 Ibid., Jan. 24, 1940.

\*400 *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1940.

\*401 *Ibid.*, Jan. 11 and 29, 1940.

\*402 *Ibid.*, July 11, 1940.

\*403 Forward, Jan. 9, 1940. \*404 Freiheit, Oct. 29, 1940.

\*405 Ibid., July 17, 1940.

\*406 Ibid., Jan. 18 and 23, 1941.

\*407 B. Brand (N. Buchwald), Freiheit, Jan. 23, 1941.

\*408 Freiheit, Mar. 9, 1941.

\*409 Daily Worker, June 17, 1941.

\*410 Freiheit, Jan. 27, 1940.

\*411 Daily Worker, June 20, 1941.

\*412 Ibid., June 21, 1941.

\*413 A. Pomerantz, Lexicon of Jewish Writers, Vol. I, CYCO, 1955.

\*414 Freiheit, Mar. 12, 1938. \*415 Ibid., Mar. 26, 1938.

\*416 *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1936.

\*417 Confirmed by Dr. Margoshes to M.E., Oct. 1958.

\*418 The author was then editor of the Freiheit.

\*419 Zalmen Raisin, Lexicon, Vilno.

 $*_{420}$  The author read the attack in the *Emes*.

\*421 The author talked with Lieberman several times.

\*422 Zalmen Raisin, op. cit. \*423 Freiheit, July 4, 1931.

\*424 The author heard this from Marmor himself.

\*425 Letter in Marmor's archives, YIVO.

#### 429 References

\*426 A. Pomerantz & B. Fenster, then on the Freiheit staff, to M.E.

\*427 Jewish Life, October 1949.

\*428 Political Affairs, Jan. 1958.

\*429 Ibid., Feb. 1958.

\*430 Information from reliable party sources.

\*431 Jewish Currents, Jan. 1959.

\*432 The Communist, June 1942.

\*433 Told by the former functionary to M.E., 1955.