

25	The Postwar Youth	197
26	Branching Out	206
27	Fiasco and Success	214
28	Battling the Community	223
29	Feeding on Hunger	234
30	White Bias Show Trials	243
31	A Cultural Wasteland	252
32	Jefferson, Lincoln—and Stalin	262
33	Patriotism Pays Off	274
34	Working at Cross Purposes	281
35	Fat Years That Turned Lean	292
36	The Outstretched Hand	301
37	Birobidjan, A Lucrative Affair	309
38	Judaizing Communism	318
39	Strength and Moods	330
40	The Four Hectic Days	345
41	Excitement and Fury	361
42	The <i>Mazel Tov</i> Counterattack	371
	Portraits in Miniature	382
	Olgin, A Man of Contrasts	382
	Shachno Epstein, From a Writer to a Spy	389
	Kalmen Marmor, His Communism Was a Puzzle	394
	A. Bittelman, More Politician than Theoretician	398
	Israel Amter, A Saintly Communist	403
	Jack Stachel, The Organization Man	405
	Notes	408
	References	419
	Index	431

Introduction

This work, a study of Communist penetration in the Jewish community, must necessarily follow the sharp and contradictory turns of the Communist movement in this country, indicating at the same time the imprint left on it by various individuals, Stalinist *gleichshtaltung* notwithstanding.

The Jewish story, for its part, is sketched on a broad canvas, taking as its starting point a brief survey of the composition of the successive mass immigrations and their complex process of adjustment to the American scene. It portrays not merely the Communist contest for power in organized labor, but the major encounters with the Communists in war relief and rehabilitation, the attitude to the Soviet Union and the ties with Soviet Jewry, Palestine, the anti-fascist movement and the collision on the social and cultural areas. It attempts an objective appraisal of the disquieting impact of Communism on Jewish life during its first two decades.

Communism, like its predecessor, Socialism, found its early converts among middle-class intellectuals and skilled workers, the latter organized and relatively protected. The unorganized and unskilled, whose standard of living was notoriously lower and whose insecurity bordered on helplessness, were unresponsive to the early Communist appeals. That "those who had been naught"—to quote the *International*—hardly heeded the Call was also a phenomenon of the earlier Socialist movement in Europe.

As for Communism among Jews, a unique environment favored its spread both in America and in Europe. Here it soon managed to entrench itself behind a number of important institutions. However, its growth encountered—and this must be emphasized—clear-cut, vigorous and uncompromising resistance, resulting in a wider, longer lasting and more heated struggle than among other minority groups and native Americans.

The author acknowledges his indebtedness to J. B. S. Hardman for the many hours he spent with him discussing the background and

ix

the reasons for the 1921 split in the Socialist ranks and the formation of the Workers Party; to Dr. Louis Hendin, for interesting information on the early period of Communism; to Alexander Pomerantz, of the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, for useful suggestions; to J. S. Hertz for valuable data in his *The Jewish Socialist Movement in U.S.A.*; and to his wife Jetty for her encouragement, her patient help in gathering the material, typing the manuscript and reading the proofs.

He is also grateful to Louis Stulberg, Isidore Nagler, Charles S. Zimmerman and Louis Nelson, of the ILGWU, for their interest in his work and for their part in making possible its publication.

Melech Epstein
New York City
August, 1959

THE JEW AND COMMUNISM