

The "Forward" and the IWO

During the recent attacks against the International Workers Order, the most vicious emanated from the columns of the Jewish Daily Forward.

This infamous newspaper has been hoping and working for the destruction of the IWO for the last twenty-one years. Even before our organization was founded the Forward gang did everything in their power to prevent its birth. When the progressive forces decided to leave the Workmen's Circle and join the Independent Workmen's Circle, in order to function in an atmosphere of culture and fraternalism, the leading lights in the Forward were instrumental in obtaining an injunction prohibiting this merger. In the course of 21 year old history of the IWO, the Forward has been fabricating the most fantastic lies in order to hinder its growth and development. The attacks were primarily directed against the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order with the object of preventing it from occupying the prominent place in Jewish life to which it was entitled by reason of its activities and achievements.

Yes, during the twenty-one years of our existence we have had to endure many bitter and vile attacks that originated in the Forward building. But all these attacks had little effect. From 5,000 members at its birth the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order grew to a membership of 55,000; these being only

a part of the 162,000 members in the fifteen national societies comprising the International Workers Order.

During the twenty-one years of its existence the IWO has sought to become a vital cultural force within the various national groups that it has been operating. The Jewish People's Fraternal Order paid out \$15,000,000 in benefits to its members. It served its members loyally on the fraternal level, providing the best benefits for the lowest rates. An organization that started from scratch at its birth accumulated nearly \$7,000,000 in its reserve funds, thus achieving one of the best financial ratings of any fraternal organization.

In the twenty-one years of its existence the IWO has sought to become a vital cultural force within the various national groups that it has been operating. The Jewish People's Fraternal Order has helped either to establish or to maintain a whole series of cultural institutions, to the everlasting glory and pride of the Jewish community in our country. Prominent leaders in Jewish life, whenever they had an opportunity to become acquainted with our Order, had nothing but praise for its magnificent activities.

But as the Order developed and grew more mighty and influential, as its progressive role in Jewish life increased, the reactionary forces in Jewish life wove one plot after another with the object of destroying that which had

been built up.

In these conspiracies against the IWO they mobilized the entire editorial department of the Forward, every traitor in the labor movement who could be turned to their purposes. They labored with might and main under the principle that the bigger the lie and the more often it is repeated, the more effective it is. They connected their sinister plots and waited for the day when the reactionary forces in this country would become bolder and more arrogant. They have not waited in vain.

In this pamphlet we do not intend to deal in detail with all the acts perpetrated during the last twenty-one years by the unscrupulous gang in the Forward building. We shall limit ourselves to the history of events during the past year, beginning at the time the Insurance Commissioner of the State of New York first demanded the dissolution of the International Workers Order.

An Illegal Report

On the 18th ~~day~~ of May, 1950, two days before our twentieth anniversary celebration in Madison Square Garden, we received a supplementary report of the Insurance Department of the State of New York, signed by the Insurance Examiner Mr. Haley, recommending the dissolution of the IWO.

In the entire history of the fraternal movement in the United States

there is no other case on record in which a relatively minor official was given the power and authority not only to submit a socio-political report concerning a fraternal organization but also to reach a verdict.

On the witness-chair in court this official admitted that his acquaintance with social and political questions is meager; that his information concerning such questions is derived from reading the Herald Tribune daily; that until the time he had written his report about the IWO he had never dealt with such questions and had never submitted such a report to the Insurance Commissioner. Nevertheless, he was given the power to reach decisions which affected the life or death of a large and vital fraternal organization.

Despite the fact that large parts of Mr. Haley's supplementary report were subsequently thrown out in court and despite the fact that the entire report was written in violation of the code of the insurance laws, the trial, itself the direct result of the unwarranted recommendation of this illegal report, nevertheless dragged on for months.

It is interesting to note that even before this notorious document of Mr. Haley had seen the light the editor of the Forward and other leading men in the editorial department proclaimed that the Order was about to be liquidated and appealed to the members to leave their organization even before it was

dissolved. If they did not, the Forward intimated, something dire would happen to them. Now the question arises, how did Mr. Rogoff and his disreputable assistants know that the Order was about to be dissolved? What role did they play in preparing this planned conspiracy against the Order? The revelations during the trial clearly showed the infamous role of agent-provocateur which the Forward played in this entire sordid business.

Mr. Weber and the IWO

On July 11, 1950 Andrew Dmytryshyn, the vice-president of the Ukrainian American Fraternal Union of the IWO, was placed on trial before Immigration authorities because forty years ago he allegedly entered the United States from Canada. This trial against Dmytryshyn was a sort of rehearsal of the conspiracy that was later to develop against the International Workers Order itself.

Among the group of spies and provocateurs that appeared for the prosecution during the Immigration hearings was one Simon Weber, the city editor of the Forward. What performance did this miserable character have to give here? Who sent him and what was the object of his appearance?

When the defense attorneys cross-examined Weber he was forced to admit that he had never seen Dmytryshyn, that he had never even heard of him, and that he - Weber - had been a member of the IWO for a period of only a few months, and that

was sixteen years ago. Weber could not even remember what lodge he had been a member of. Nevertheless, he was considered fully qualified to testify about Dnytryshyn and to invent the most fantastic tales about him.

The main object of this informer was to create an atmosphere of hostility against the IWO, and particularly against the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order. At these Immigration hearings Weber submitted in evidence a book of songs Mit Gezang tzum Kamp and desecrated the name of the great Yiddish labor poet, David Edelstat. Thus Weber fulfilled one of his tasks for his employers: to testify in court that the IWO was engaged in spreading literature which called for the violent overthrow of the government.

What role did Hillel Rogoff play behind the scenes? What was the role played by Chanin, the Educational Director of the Workmen's Circle, in preparing this conspiracy against the IWO? This was revealed some time later at the hearings of the Insurance Department.

During the hearings I observed a miserable character hovering about the court. I had never seen him before, but one look at him convinced me that he must be the representative of the Forward. This turned out to be the case later on. I could see the vile creature running hither and thither, like one possessed, between the prosecutor and his assistant, whispering into the ears now of one, now of the other, some new calumny, some new lie which he had missed up on before.

And here is another item:

Before I came to the witness stand our lawyers decided to show in court a film made by the IWO in 1948. During the showing something went wrong with the apparatus and the film had to be stopped so that repairs could be made. We were all sitting together in front of the courtroom where the film was being shown, and I overheard the following conversation between the prosecuting attorney, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Fogel, the correspondent for the Forward:
Said Mr. Williams: "You know, your Weber did a good job! I must go out to lunch with you sometime, and you must bring Weber along."

These words Mr. Williams uttered with a great deal of satisfaction. I wonder why he did not invite Chanin, Rogoff, and the others, who equally "did a good job."

Rumkowski A La Chanin

N. Chanin's article in the Forward of August 9th reminded me of the role played by the notorious Jewish informer Rumkowski of Lodz during the period that Hitler was occupied in exterminating one sixth of the Jewish people upon Polish soil.

When I visited Poland in 1946 the name Rumkowski was constantly coming up wherever I went. Rumkowski's sinister shadow seemed to follow me throughout the

towns and cities of Poland. Wherever I went horrible stories were told about this character. His deeds were painted as black, if not even blacker, than those of the fascists themselves. But especially were such stories current in Lodz, where Rumkowski was the president of the Jewish Council.

Hundreds of stories were told to me in Lodz how Rumkowski sent thousands of Jews, men and women, to the gas chambers. He excused the atrocious deeds he committed by saying that he was doing it for the "best interests of the Jews," not only the Jews in Lodz, but Jews throughout the world. In short, whatever he did was for the sake of the future existence of the Jewish people.

During the entire period of my stay in Poland, and for many months after I had returned to the United States, the name Rumkowski tortured me. But disturbing as the name Rumkowski was, even more disturbing was the fact that many people, even some who were relating the gruesome tales about him, thought that perhaps Rumkowski had good intentions. One example of this sort of thing will suffice. I met a Jewish worker, a weaver of Lodz. He had been saved from Rumkowski's clutches ~~because~~ quite accidentally. This man related many stories which made my hair stand on end. But at the end he concluded that Rumkowski was a remarkable personality and that is why many Jews had implicit faith in him. Nevertheless, history put an end to the career of this "remarkable"

personality. He met the same fate as many of those he "fingered."

I have digressed because the role which the spies and informers in this country played against the International Workers Order reminded me of Rumkowsky. The disgusting scene in court when the vilest creatures on earth appeared ostensibly in the interests of their country, in the interests of the Jewish people, suddenly evoked before me the image of Rumkowsky in Poland, who also committed the most horrible deeds ostensibly for the interests of the Jewish people.

The Role of Chanin

In the Forward article mentioned above Chanin asserts innocently:

"We had no connection with the trial of the International Workers Order.

We were not called into court and we did not seek any opportunities to give the court information as to what the International Workers Order represents."

Whom do you mean by "we," Mr. Chanin-Rumkowsky? Are you using the editorial "we," or do you mean your entire movement, the Forward, the Workmen's Circle and the other representatives of Rumkowsky's movement in the United States? What connections do you have with that odious creature, the city editor of the Forward; this Weber who appeared at the trial of Dmytryshyn, a man he had never known and had never even seen? Does not the city editor of the Forward have any connections with you? How can you shamelessly declare publicly that you had no connections with the trial?

And the very article in which you assert your innocence is filled with stupid fabrications and lies; does it have any connections with the trial? And the editor, Mr. Rogoff, does he have any connections with you? And the entire conspiracy against the IWO, concocted by your colleagues, does it have any connection with you?

How then can you say that you had no connection with the trial? You are apparently counting on the credulity of your readers, hoping that they will not learn the truth. You hope they will not learn of your role as informer "for the interests of America, for the interests of the Jewish people."

When Chanin states that "The International Workers Order was from the day of its birth and during the entire period of its existence a communist agency - of this we have always been convinced," he is using Hitler's method of telling a big lie so that the very preposterousness of it would make it believable. Chanin makes this statement with the obvious intent of influencing the court. The aim is very simple: to destroy a people's organization. This is part of his work to help the agents-provocateur and informers.

Let us recall what Herman Morgenstern, the labor editor of "The Day", wrote during the trial against the International Workers Order. In an article published February 9, 1951 he wrote:

"What arouses my blood, what I object against are the witnesses for the prosecu-

tion, who, as you all know from the reports concerning the trial, are all ex-communists. I am not a judge, I am only a reporter, and it is not my task to confirm whether they are telling the truth, or perhaps, lies. But what I object against is the absolutely false picture which they paint, whether willingly or not, consciously or unconsciously, of the past right-left wing struggle in the Jewish labor movement. And, what is important and gives this struggle the character of a social revolt, is the fact that tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of people, directly or indirectly, participated in this struggle." And Morgenstern concludes:

"...That there was a labor revolt in the United States - a great social upheaval, in which hundreds of thousands workers participated, and that this came about spontaneously and because of historical necessity - this the ex-communist witnesses do not realize or pass by in silence."

Mr. Morgenstern should realize that it is not a lack of realization that induces these witnesses to pass these things by in silence. These informers and spies, as well as Chanin, know full well about the revolt of Jewish labor. But it is in line with their wrecking activity against every organization which dared to reject the dictatorship of the Forward clique to "forget" about these historical circumstances. It is a line which they have been pursuing these many years.

The Struggle in the Workmen's Circle

What are the real facts concerning the birth of the International Workers Order? Let us remind ourselves of a few important historical facts.

The Workmen's Circle was at one time a large labor organization, an organization in which both the membership and leadership saw eye to eye on the question of labor interests. For a long time an unwritten law reigned in the Workmen's Circle that all groupings and trends in the Jewish labor movement shall be recognized and shall have a right to participate in the leadership of the organization, from the local level right up to the national level. Thus it was until 1921, when the Forward clique under Chanan's leadership captured the Workmen's Circle.

The Forward, using all its personnel and exercising Hitlerian methods even before Hitler had invented them, achieved two things: It promoted a fratricidal war in the ranks of the organization and led to its total cessation of the growth and development. This at a time when the Workmen's Circle was in its most prosperous period and had already achieved a membership of 85,000. At the same time the Forward gang began the destruction of the Workmen's Circle by expelling individual members and entire branches, by permitting only those loyal to the Forward machine or amenable to its dictatorship to exercise leadership.

The Forward gang ultimately succeeded in expelling sixty-four branches with a membership of close to 15,000. These were the left wing and progressive elements who during that period attempted to maintain the unity of the organization.

In 1926 the Chanins went even further and expelled seventeen of the twenty-four Jewish children's schools in New York. The only sin of the schools was that they did not want the Chanins to become their complete masters. Even a man like Jacob Levine, who had been one of the founders of the schools, was expelled together with all the others.

But the Chanins reckoned without their hosts. They thought they had destroyed the progressive school movement forever. But instead, a new progressive children's school movement was born, maintaining the best traditions of progressive Jewish culture, traditions which animated the schools when they were first founded, the traditions of Bovshover and Winchevsky.

But at the time the leaders of the progressive wing in the Workmen's Circle on no account wished to split the school movement. On the contrary, they were always for a united movement. Chanin's interpretation in his article of August 9 is therefore completely false and merely serves the purpose of helping reaction to destroy one of the most splendid branches upon the tree of Jewish culture.

How the Chanins Refused to Honor their Own Agreement

It is interesting to relate one more fact concerning the wrecking activities of the Forward gang and especially the shameful role played by Chanin. This occurred in 1926, after they had achieved the expulsion of the seventeen schools and sixty-four branches of the Workmen's Circle. During the summer of 1926 N. Feinerman and B. Levitan came to the office of the well-known lawyer Max Levin and asked him to arrange for a meeting with the left wing for the purpose of healing the rift in the schools. A meeting was subsequently arranged in Max Levin's office, at which I was one of two representatives of the progressive wing.

When Feinerman, who was then president of the Workmen's Circle, asked whether we would be prepared to reunite the school movement, we immediately replied in the affirmative. We made only one request, and that was that the leadership of the Workmen's Circle shall recognize all political trends in Jewish life, that all should be rightfully entitled to participate in the building of the schools, that the parents of the children should themselves have the main control over the administration of the schools, as well as its curriculum.

Feinerman and Levitan acceded to our requests, because they were forced to recognize that these conditions were in the best interests of the schools themselves.

These conditions were embodied in a document. Both sides agreed to it. But what happened to the agreement? What did the Forward clique do to nullify it? What maneuvers did Chanin conduct in order to get rid of Feinerman as president of the Workmen's Circle?

Here is the entire sordid story. According to the previously mentioned agreement, a committee of the progressive and left wing branches was to appear at the monthly meeting of the executive committee of the Workmen's Circle and lay before it the understanding reached with Mr. Feinerman.

We thought at the time that Feinerman was sincerely interested in carrying out our agreement. This impression we received in our conversations with him, in which he expressed the hope that the agreement would not merely heal the schism in the children's schools but would perhaps bring about unity in the ranks of the Workmen's Circle itself. On our side, we were, prepared to carry out the agreement in the full. We elected a committee of three to appear before the national executive committee of the Workmen's Circle on July 11, 1926. I was to bring before the meeting the agreement we had previously reached with Feinerman and Levitan. I will cite excerpts of my speech as reported in the Freiheit of July 12, 1926:

"The three members of the Workmen's Circle whose signatures appear upon the

credential come to you concerning an important matter. The situation in the Workmen's Circle in the last period has become most abnormal. The internal struggle which has been going on for the past four and one-half years has taken such forms that the very existence and development of our Order are in danger.

"The Workmen's Circle was established by Jewish workers for the purposes of mutual aid and protection and for general socialist activities in the labor movement, in the broad sense of the word. From its very inception the Workmen's Circle was established as an organization in which all trends in the labor movement shall be able to work together....

"The bitter struggle which has been reigning and is still reigning in our labor order could easily have been averted. The constitution and the character of the Workmen's Circle guarantee freedom of opinion and the right of agitation for all elements in the labor movement."

After pointing out the great historical role which the Workmen's Circle played in previous years, I continued my statement:

"It is sufficient to sum up the situation as it is at the present time. More than sixty-five branches dissolved, many members-at-large exclusive of these dissolved branches, seven members entirely expelled from the Workmen's Circle, and great demoralization in at least 200 branches throughout the country.

"We wish to make it clear that the left wing does not seek the kind of peace by which it would have to give up its opinions and its ideals. The left wing does not believe in a peace that resembles the peace of a cemetery. An exchange of opinion, a principled struggle on politico-social questions is a healthy thing for the Workmen's Circle."

At the end of the statement we proposed the four points upon which we had previously agreed with President Feinerman. If these four points, of which the last was the most important, had been accepted by the executive committee and sincerely carried out, a basis would have been created for the healthy working together of all the constructive forces in the Workmen's Circle.

Point four of our proposals stated: "To carry out in life the constitutionally guaranteed rights and recognition of all trends in the labor movement within the Workmen's Circle."

We concluded with these words: "Stop the fratricidal strife in the Workmen's Circle! Reunite our Order!"

What was the response of the Forward clique to our just proposals, proposals that were approved by their own president, Mr. Feinerman?

The reply of the leadership of the executive committee was, in the first place, such as to determine the prestige of Feinerman. They could not, of course, immediately remove him from his office as president. They waited until the end

of his term and then completely cut him off from all activities in the Workmen's Circle. And in order to camouflage the whole sordid business for the membership of the Workmen's Circle, Feinerman was given some position in the Yivo. But from 1926 right up to his death Feinerman no longer played a leading role in the Workmen's Circle. It should be added here that Feinerman was never identified with the left wing.

Instead of accepting the peace proposals the Forward clique began an even more virulent terrorist campaign against the left wing and progressive branches and members. The dream of reuniting the children's schools of the Workmen's Circle completely disappeared. The clique did not want peace. Its old slogan "rule or ruin" remained the dominant note in its attitude.

Here is what Jacob Levine, one of the leaders of the expelled schools, wrote in The Day of January 4, 1926:

"What is now going on in the schools is a defense struggle of the schools against the outspoken desire of the educational committee (of the Workmen's Circle) to make the school one-sidedly partisan - right wing. All those active members of the schools, not only the left wingers, whom the educational committee wishes to expel from the future administration of the schools, but also all others (with the exception perhaps of a few) realize that such partisanship in the school ad-

ministrations may split and perhaps destroy the schools and that is why they stand like one man against such a harmful operation."

Who then split the school movement, Mr. Chanin? And who wanted to transform it into a partisan institution? The facts brought out above, and dozens more which could be related, clearly show that it was you and your gang who are responsible for all the shameful wrecking activities which you now wish to ascribe to the left wing and progressive elements in the Jewish labor movement.

Is there a single honest person, not blinded or poisoned by the lies being spread daily, who could believe in the truth of your article on August 9th? No doubt you console yourself with the thought that the readers of the Forward will find out nothing about your vile deeds. You are miscalculating, however. The truth will somehow transpire and will reach even the readers of the Forward.

It is our deepest conviction that the honest members of the Workmen's Circle will finally realize the depths to which you have degraded their beloved organization, which played such an important historical role in Jewish life before it fell into the grasping clutches of your gang. It is our opinion that the Workmen's Circle can still play a great progressive role, if only your death-dealing hands were removed.

Yes, Mr. Chanin, we are well acquainted with your role in Jewish life. You have always tried to destroy every organization of the people, every trade union, every newspaper which refused to accept the dictatorship of the Forward clique and become a part of your unholy alliance.

Your motto has always been to ruin and destroy. And to achieve this object you have ever been ready to march under the yoke of all the reactionary elements in this country. To achieve this object you are ready even now to help those who are so clearly the harbingers of fascism.

"The Bell Tolls for The"...

Mr. N. Chanin is beginning to be aware of a sudden unrest among members of the Workmen's Circle. Why this unrest? Because many members realize that the very same Chanin started a conflagration which could ultimately also destroy their own edifice, the Workmen's Circle. True, this fire has so far touched only the International Workers Order. But many members of the Workmen's Circle say that such a fire may spread. And even Chanin himself is not certain. What about the ~~Rumkowsky~~ notorious Rumkowsky case? He sent thousands of Jews to the gas chambers no doubt in the belief that by serving his nazi masters loyally he would save his own skin. But ultimately he met the same fate as his victims.

This murmur of unrest among members of the Workmen's Circle did not begin yesterday, but lately it has begun to bother even the tough-skinned Chanin.

He has undertaken to prove, no less, that whatever happens to the International Workers Order has nothing to do with the Workmen's Circle or its members. As is to be expected, Chanin throws the blame for this unrest among the members of the Workmen's Circle upon the Morning Freiheit. In the same article of August 9 he delivers himself of the following:

"With a yelping voice the 'Freiheit' wishes to throw fear into the large membership of the Workmen's Circle. They want the members of the Workmen's Circle to flee from their organization."

Needless to say that Chanin is lying as usual. Let him point to one instance when the Morning Freiheit called upon the members to leave the Workmen's Circle.

The Morning Freiheit calls upon the members of the Workmen's Circle to remove the deadening hand which hampers and devitalizes their organization, so that the Workmen's Circle shall once more be able to develop and again become a healthy, constructive force in Jewish life. But Chanin has no need of facts. One needs no facts to weave a web of intrigue.

The educational director of the Workmen's Circle knows very well that the attacks upon the International Workers Order may also reach the Workmen's Circle, as well as other fraternal organizations. This possibility was clearly ~~brought~~ dealt with by Herman Morgenstern in The Day. B.Z. Goldberg has written a column

on it. It is only natural that a member of the Workmen's Circle, or a progressive person should begin to ask questions. And if one has the habit of looking facts squarely in the face instead of burying his head in the sand it is not entirely excluded that he should be able to discern the true aims of the reactionaries and pro-fascists in the present hysteria.

Chanin is afraid that the members of the Workmen's Circle will find out that what the reactionaries wish to do is to transform completely the character and essence of the entire fraternal movement. The reactionaries want to do away with all social and political activities of the fraternal movement, activities which have always constituted one of its most valuable and important features. Experience teaches us that the rights of progressive organizations are the first to be denied, but that they are by no means the only sufferers. Fascism goes right on destroying one right after another until it has robbed all the people of all their rights.

What, after all, was the main charge against the International Workers Order? The great "crime" of the IWO was that it is too much occupied with civic and social activities. Reactionaries of all sorts will always unite on this one question, to prevent the fraternal organizations from participating in social and civic activities. The reactionary elements in the Workmen's Circle have done their part

to put a lid upon the energy and activity of the entire fraternal movement.

It is characteristic that the charges against the International Workers Order were based primarily upon articles and opinions written at the birth of the Order or in the first few years of its existence. It was thus easier for the prosecution to twist facts and confuse the public. In the present hysteria it is convenient for the reactionary forces to utilize the Chanins as their partners. But it certainly doesn't do the members of the Workmen's Circle any good.

When the reactionary forces will have finished with the International Workers Order they will undoubtedly say to themselves: Let's take a look into the history of the Workmen's Circle and other people's organizations and see what we can find. And they will not have to probe too far. All they have to do is to take the latest history of the Workmen's Circle, which appeared only a year ago, in 1950. On page 11 they can find out what the pioneers of the Workmen's Circle thought at its establishment. They will, for instance, come across the following fact related by I.S. Hertz:

"In the course of years a difficult process was going on to unite the Jews - socialist Jews - with the raw masses, a process of gathering together the atomized individuals and cement them into an integrated force. This process took place on two levels: on the economic as well as on the politico-ideological."

Just consider these "subversive" aims which the founders of the Workmen's Circle had before them: To "unite the Jews - socialist Jews - with the raw masses" and to create an "integrated force" on the "economic as well as on the politico-ideological" levels.

And two pages later the writer relates:

"In the torrid propaganda speeches about social revolution and in the beliefs about a just and fair socialist world was born the idea of establishing a fraternal protective organization of workers."

Perhaps you may be a little skeptical about the interpretation of the historian. In that case you may find - true, not in the first few pages, but later on - the official call which the national executive issued to the Jewish workers. Here is what it states, among other things:

"Now we call upon you, honest toilers: Discard your ancient gods, the societies, lodges etc. where your spirit becomes enveloped in stupidity. Join in our fraternal band. With one aim, with one desire, with one ideal we will all of us go forward and refresh our forces until we will be able at once to destroy our chains and declare ourselves free from slavery and oppression."

I can now see Chanin's neck becoming very ruddy. He runs over to his bookcase, takes out the history of the Workmen's Circle, peruses the pages, and -- he is

very angry indeed. Why, oh why did the historian do this to him. Why must history be told truthfully? Why did the historian have to tell all this?

Chanin continues to turn the pages and his face becomes redder and redder.

On page 43 he reads as follows:

"In order to emphasize the socialist character of the Workmen's Circle, the hall in which the second convention (May, 1902) took place was decorated with red banners, the portraits of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Ferdinand Lasalle, as well as various socialist slogans."

If that is not enough, he reads on page 41 the report of the first general secretary to the third annual conference of the Workmen's Circle:

"We will not recruit just anyone with the attraction of a prosperous business. The benefits in the Workmen's Circle are merely its body. The most important is its soul - its spiritual task."

The member of the Workmen's Circle who has been perusing these pages together with Chanin is now greatly disturbed. But Chanin tries to pacify him. "We are still," he says, "chums with the reactionaries. We have given them so much aid to destroy the International Workers Order. They will never touch us." But the member is still not satisfied. He insists that the reactionaries wish to get rid first of the International Workers Order in order to have a firm precedent. After that things will be much easier.

Despite all the attempts of Chanin to soothe the disturbed feelings of our member, the latter is still skeptical. He relates that he has recently read a column in The Day by a writer who is not a member of the International Workers Order but of the National Workers Alliance. The latter wrote:

"Among Jews most orders have ideologies. These orders are not parties, and have no absolute, detailed political programs. But they do have ideologies. The ideology of the Workmen's Circle has always been and still is today right wing socialism; of the Alliance - Labor Zionism; of the Bnai Zion - general Zionism, and of the IWO - left wing socialism. The relationship of the IWO to the left wing movement was no more and no less than that of the Workmen's Circle to the right wing movement and of the Alliance to the Labor Zionist movement."

Chanin interrupts his member and cries out angrily: "The trouble with you is that you read other papers. If you would read only the Forward you would never ask such questions."

But the members of the Workmen's Circle do not console themselves with such thoughts. They are disturbed. And they have reason to be disturbed.