



1952

## The expousal, examination through experience, and renunciation of communism by Emma Goldman, Benjamin Gitlow, Max Eastman and Louis Budenz

Clarence A. Bitts  
*University of the Pacific*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/uop\\_etds](https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/uop_etds)



Part of the [History Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Bitts, Clarence A.. (1952). *The expousal, examination through experience, and renunciation of communism by Emma Goldman, Benjamin Gitlow, Max Eastman and Louis Budenz*. University of the Pacific, Thesis. [https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/uop\\_etds/1176](https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/uop_etds/1176)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in University of the Pacific Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact [m gibney@pacific.edu](mailto:m gibney@pacific.edu).

THE EXPOUSAL, EXAMINATION THROUGH EXPERIENCE,  
AND RENUNCIATION OF COMMUNISM BY  
EMMA GOLDMAN, BENJAMIN GITLOW,  
MAX EASTMAN AND LOUIS BUDENZ

---

A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of the Department of History  
College of the Pacific

---

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

---

by  
Clarence A. Bitts  
1952

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY.....	1
Statement of the purpose of the thesis....	1
Importance of the problem.....	2
Literature on the subject.....	3
Criteria used in choosing persons discussed.....	4
Sources of data, organization of material.....	5
Significance of people chosen for study: their contributions to the "literature of disillusionment": Emma Goldman.....	5
Benjamin Gitlow.....	8
Max Eastman.....	8
Louis Budenz.....	9
II. POLITICAL IMPACT OF COMMUNISM ON EMMA GOLDMAN.....	11
Her early life.....	11
Immigration to America.....	12
Marriage.....	13

## CHAPTER

## PAGE

Her career as an anarchist.....	14
Support of the Russian Revolution.....	15
Her deportation to Russia.....	17
Trial and conviction.....	17
Deportation.....	18
Early experiences in Russia.....	19
First impressions.....	19
Meeting with anarchists.....	22
Experiences in Petrograd.....	24
Experiences in Moscow.....	25
Interview with Lenin.....	27
Interview with Kropotkin.....	28
Visits to hospitals, factories and schools.....	29
Decision to work for the Petrograd Museum of the Revolution.....	34
Visit to prisons.....	35
Further experiences in Moscow.....	35
Experiences as member of the Museum	
Expedition.....	40
Kursk.....	40
Kharkov.....	41



CHAPTER	PAGE
Poltava.....	45
Fastov.....	47
Kiev.....	47
Odessa.....	50
Rakhno.....	56
John Reed's death.....	57
Goldman's evaluation of her experiences in Russia, Christman, 1920.....	59
The Kronstadt Massacre.....	60
The Troubetskoy plant strike.....	61
Kronstadt sailors.....	62
Trotsky's ultimatum to Kronstadt.....	63
Goldman's part in the affair.....	64
Destruction of Kronstadt.....	65
Goldman's experiences after Kronstadt.....	66
Departure from Russia.....	67
Her farewell to Russia.....	68
Summary.....	69
III. POLITICAL IMPACT OF COMMUNISM ON BENJAMIN GITLOW.....	71
Gitlow's early life.....	71
Parentage.....	71
Member Socialist Party.....	72
Education.....	72

## CHAPTER

## PAGE

Reasons for joining Communist Party.....	73
The Russian Revolution.....	73
Formation of Communist Labor Party, 1919....	74
Gitlow's belief that Communism would establish Socialism.....	74
His career as a Communist.....	75
His offices in the Party.....	75
Trips to Moscow, 1927, 1928, 1929.....	76
His reasons for leaving Communist Party.....	76
He opposed Stalin's totalitarian dictatorship.....	76
Communist leaders mediocre.....	78
No regard for human dignity.....	81
Trotsky's exile.....	81
Expulsion of other leaders.....	83
Economic failure of Communism.....	84
Housing conditions and food, 1927.....	84
Conditions in Moscow 1928, 1929.....	86
Stalin removed Gitlow from office.....	88
Struggle between Gitlow and Foster.....	88
Meeting of Presidium, 1929.....	91
Stalin denounced Gitlow and Lovestone.....	92

## CHAPTER

## PAGE

Gitlow's attitude toward power.....	94
Gitlow expelled from Party.....	96
The Lovestonites.....	97
Hitler's rise to power.....	99
Communism and Fascism.....	100
Gitlow's break with Communist Party.....	101
Summary.....	101
IV. POLITICAL IMPACT OF COMMUNISM ON	
MAX EASTMAN.....	105
His early life and education.....	105
His trip to Russia, 1922-1924.....	106
Eastman, ardent Socialist.....	107
Eastman, fellow-traveler.....	111
Change from fellow-traveler to bitter	
enemy of Communism: reasons.....	112
Communism defective in theory:	
Marx.....	113
Lenin.....	119
Communism failed in practice.....	123
Cultural failure.....	123
Economic failure.....	125
Political failure.....	129

## CHAPTER

## PAGE

Stalin's counter-revolution.....	131
Purge of old revolutionists.....	131
Communism begets totalitarianism.....	135
Summary.....	138
Eastman's books.....	139
V. POLITICAL IMPACT OF COMMUNISM ON	
LOUIS BUDENZ.....	141
Budenz' life before entering Party.....	141
Early life.....	141
Social doctrine of Catholic Church.....	142
Editor, <u>The Carpenter</u> .....	142
Marriage and excommunication.....	144
Guild socialism.....	145
Budenz' reasons for joining Communist	
Party.....	146
Communist literature.....	146
Efforts of Communists to recruit him.....	149
First asked to join Party.....	149
Depression of the 1930's.....	150
Approach of World War II.....	154
Budenz' need to identify himself with	
an organization.....	155
Second marriage.....	156

## CHAPTER

## PAGE

People's Front policy.....	158
Budenz joined the Party.....	160
Budenz' reasons for leaving Party.....	161
The dictatorial nature of the Party.....	161
Communist International Representatives-	
"mystery men".....	163
Stalin's power.....	164
Stalin worship.....	165
The anti-religious nature of the Party.....	167
Use of force to suppress religion.....	167
Doctrine of "end justifies the means".....	170
Stalin's official lies.....	170
People's Front, 1935.....	170
Teheran Conference, 1943.....	171
Conflict between Communism and religion...	171
The anti-American nature of the Party.....	173
Objective to conquer United States.....	173
Lenin's aim.....	173
Stalin's aim.....	173
Foster's anti-American statement.....	174
Budenz left Communist Party and re-entered	
Catholic Church.....	175

## CHAPTER

## PAGE

Summary of Budenz' career.....	176
From Rome to Moscow and return.....	176
His books.....	178
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS REACHED.....	179
Attractions of Communism.....	179
Political attractions.....	179
Social attractions.....	181
Religious attractions.....	182
Economic attractions.....	184
The failures of Communism.....	190
Communism is unsound in theory.....	190
Communism has failed in practice.....	192
Communism begets totalitarianism.....	194
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	196

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### I. THE PURPOSE OF THE THESIS

Statement of the purpose. The objective of this thesis is to present a study of the political impact of Communism on four individuals who at one stage in their lives thought that Communism was the best political system on earth, and who subsequently became disillusioned to the point where they considered Communism the worst political system on earth. This thesis tries to answer some of the questions arising from such a study. How did these four people become so enamoured of Communism and later so thoroughly disillusioned with it? What is there about Communism which could so strongly attract and later so thoroughly repel intelligent people? Was disaffection due to the weaknesses of the people involved, or was it due to weaknesses in the Communist system? Where is the truth to be found regarding the essential nature of Communism: in the official reports and propaganda of

the Russian government, or in the opinions of the Communist Party members, or in the writings of those who have been in close contact with the system? The problem is to determine the nature of the attraction of Communism and the nature of its repellant aspects as seen by four of those who have strongly felt, in turn, that attraction and that repulsion.

## II. IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

World-wide importance. The course of such a study leads to some very pertinent observations of what Communism really is, in theory and in practice, as seen by four people who were intimately associated with it. At the present time the political impact of Communism upon the people of the earth is probably the outstanding political phenomenon of our civilization. If the Communists continue to extend their rule as they have in the last decade, they will soon dominate the earth. Under such conditions, the ability of the Communists to attract recruits to their cause and to hold the loyalty of their members is of great importance to the entire world. Students of history and politics



should understand the drawing and holding power of the Communist faith and whether it is a popular movement or a tyranny impressed upon the many by the few in power. Such a study as this should reveal much of the actual nature of Communism--knowledge which is vitally important to all who live in this world today.

### III. LITERATURE ON THE SUBJECT

Literature of disillusionment. The "literature of disillusionment"<sup>1</sup> written by ex-Communists and ex-fellow-travellers is rather extensive. Even while this thesis was being prepared, two more interesting and valuable compilations of such literature have appeared: The God That Failed, edited by Richard Crossman, and containing statements from six ex-Communists of various nationalities, and Verdict of Three Decades, edited by Julien Steinberg, containing selected chapters from the writings of thirty-four authors, with comments by the editor as to the place of each writer in the field.

---

1 Hook, Sidney, "The literature of Disillusionment," Steinberg, Julien, Verdict of Three Decades, p.606

#### IV. CRITERIA USED IN CHOOSING PERSONS DISCUSSED, SOURCES OF DATA, AND ORGANIZATION OF MATERIAL

Criteria. In selecting the principal characters for this study the following criteria were used:

1. They should be Americans.
2. Their experiences should cover different period during the Communist experiment.
3. They should be people who have held prominent positions in the Communist Party or in other radical movements, leaders in their spheres of activity rather than just members of the rank and file.
4. They must have written ably and in considerable detail about Communism and its political impact on them as individuals.
5. They should be those who were serious and whole-hearted in their devotion to Communism. Devotion to Communist ideals was considered more important than actual Party membership. Two people chosen for study, Emma Goldman and Max Eastman, were not Party members.

Sources of data. The four people finally selected, whose stories are presented herewith in considerable detail, are among the outstanding Americans who have contributed to the "literature of disillusionment." As a group they probably know more about Communism than any other four Americans not now in the Party. As evidence of their knowledge and interest in the subject, they have among them written fourteen books which provided most of the material for this thesis. One of them, Emma Goldman, died in 1940. The remaining members of this quartet are still active in fighting Communism, which they consider a political fraud and a menace to free people all over the world. The cases of these four individuals freeing themselves from the Communist illusion are presented in the chronological order of their disillusionment: Emma Goldman, 1921; Benjamin Gitlow, 1929-34; Max Eastman, 1934-35; Louis Budenz, 1945.

V. SIGNIFICANCE OF PEOPLE CHOSEN FOR STUDY;  
THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO "LITERATURE OF  
DISILLUSIONMENT."

Emma Goldman. The political impact of Communism

on Emma Goldman is significant to the student of Communism because Goldman was one of the first Americans to reveal the failure of the Russian Revolution. Her observations at the beginning of the Communist regime revealed the same fundamental weaknesses which other competent observers found in Communism many years later. She was in Russia for nearly two years, from January, 1920, to December 1, 1921.<sup>2</sup> Lenin had been in power for only three years. To most Americans, the Russian Revolution was still a mystery, made more mysterious by the false official propaganda put out by Lenin's government. Emma Goldman lifted the veil from this mystery for all those people who read her three books:

My Disillusionment in Russia, (1923),

My Further Disillusionment in Russia, (1924), and

Living My Life, Volume II, (1931).

She was well qualified to observe clearly what was happening in Russia, for she was born there, lived there much of her early life, and, while living in the United States, followed with keen interest all that occurred in Russia. When she returned to Russia in 1920 there was no language

---

<sup>2</sup> Goldman, Emma, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 144  
See also Goldman, Emma, My Further Disillusionment in Russia, p. 143

barrier to prevent her from conversing with the many people she met there, for she could speak Russian, as well as German, Yiddish, French, and English.<sup>3</sup> While in Russia she did most of her traveling without the restrictive influence of guides and interpreters, as usually provided by the Russian secret police to make sure that foreign observers saw and heard only that which the government wished them to see and hear. She knew many people in Russia: she had met many of the Russian anarchists at meetings in the United States and Europe; she knew many of the members of the Social Revolutionary Party, of which she was a member; and she knew many American anarchists and revolutionists who had left America to lend their enthusiastic assistance to the Revolution.<sup>4</sup> Her record of bitter disillusionment in Russia should have served as a warning to others who looked to Communism for the solution of the problems of this world. Unfortunately, her books were neither widely read nor published in great numbers and at present are out of print and difficult to obtain.

---

<sup>3</sup> Goldman, Emma, Anarchism and Other Essays, p. 20  
See also Goldman, Emma, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 48,  
and Goldman, Emma, Living My Life, Vol. I, p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> Goldman, Emma, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 7  
See also Goldman, Emma, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 638-812

Benjamin Gitlow. Benjamin Gitlow's story is valuable to those who wish to understand why people join the Communist Party and why they leave the Party. It is the story of an outstanding Communist leader during the first ten years of the Communist movement in the United States, 1919 to 1929, a leader who was a dedicated revolutionist from his early childhood, a leader who loved Communism more than life itself. When he finally became fully aware of the essentially evil nature of Communism he chose to leave the Party and has been active in fighting against it for the past eighteen years. His two books, I Confess, 1939, and The Whole of Their Lives, 1948, give excellent information of the life of Gitlow and the lives of others who were active in the Party during this period.

Max Eastman. Max Eastman was not a member of the Communist Party. Neither was he a Trotskyite, as is believed by many.<sup>5</sup> He was a Socialist and a fellow-traveler until the failure of the Russian revolution left him disillusioned with both Socialism and Communism.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Steinberg, Julien, Verdict of Three Decades, p. 177

<sup>6</sup> Eastman, Max, Enjoyment of Living, p. 331. See also Eastman, Max, Stalin's Russia, p. 12

Sidney Hook,<sup>7</sup> Professor of Philosophy at New York University, gives Max Eastman first place on his list of five noteworthy Americans who have made valuable contributions to the "literature of disillusionment" which has been written as a result of the Russian experiment.<sup>8</sup> Eastman's most recent book is Enjoyment of Living, published in 1948, in which he has written the story of his life up to 1917. Now, at the mature age of sixty-eight, he is writing the remainder of his autobiography which, when published, should be a very valuable account of his reflections on his twenty-five years as a Socialist and more than sixteen years as a fellow-traveler.

Louis Budenz. Louis Budenz is probably the most outstanding ex-Communist in the United States. While he was still a member of the Party he held high office, being editor-in-chief of the Daily Worker. He left the Communist Party voluntarily, in 1945, and has since written two excellent books which give an inside picture of Communist Party activities in this country: This Is My Story, 1947,

---

<sup>7</sup> Steinberg says of Sidney Hook: he "has gained a wide reputation and following as a philosopher, acute analyst of social problems, and scholar on Marxism and other subjects." Steinberg, Julien, Verdict of Three Decades, p. 605

<sup>8</sup> The other four on the list are: Dos Passos, Wilson, Hicks, and Farrell. Sidney Hook, "The Literature of Disillusionment," Steinberg, Julien, Verdict of Three Decades, p. 606

and Men Without Faces, 1950. He is now writing a third book which will deal with the Communist ideology. He was a witness for the United States government in the 1949 trial of the eleven leaders of the Communist Party who were convicted and sentenced for conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States.



## CHAPTER II

### THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF COMMUNISM ON EMMA GOLDMAN

#### I. HER EARLY LIFE

Her life in Russia. Emma Goldman's political career and her personality were greatly influenced by her early life. She was born of Jewish parentage in the Russian province of Kovno on June 27, 1869. Her father, Abraham Goldman, was a petty government official in charge of the government stage.<sup>1</sup> He was a highly emotional man, whose marriage with Emma's Mother was continually incompatible. In his efforts to make a living in Russia he was persecuted because of his Jewish religion.<sup>2</sup> Frustrated in his home life and discriminated against in his economic life, he became an unhappy tyrant who made young Emma's life miserable.<sup>3</sup> Nor was her unhappiness ameliorated by her mother, who bestowed little affection upon her.<sup>4</sup>

- 
- 1 Goldman, Emma, Anarchism and Other Essays, pp. 8-9
  - 2 Goldman, Emma, Living My Life, Vol. I, p. 20
  - 3 Ibid., pp. 59-60
  - 4 Ibid., p. 21

Thus Emma's first contacts with authority in the home convinced her that authority and tyranny were one and the same thing. She learned to hate her father and became a rebellious child, deeply resentful of parental authority. She grew to adolescence during a period when the Russian government was despotic and tyrannical, when the thinking people with whom she came in contact resented governmental tyranny and actively plotted revolution. She learned to hate the authority of the government.<sup>5</sup>

At the age of seventeen she tried to achieve economic independence from her parents by working first in a corset factory and later in a glove factory, where she found the authority of foremen and employers oppressive to her youthful spirit of independence.<sup>6</sup>

Immigration to the United States. Seeking an escape from authority of parents, teachers, government, and employers, filled with hatred for all authority over the lives of human beings, and thus prepared psychologically for her long career as an anarchist, Emma

---

<sup>5</sup> Goldman, Emma, Living My Life, Vol. I, p. 28

<sup>6</sup> Goldman, Emma, Anarchism and Other Essays, p. 13

Goldman immigrated to America with her sister Helena-- the one person who was kind to her. Soon after arriving in Rochester, New York, Emma found work in a clothing factory for two dollars and fifty cents a week. Here she found that many of the girls were exploited sexually as well as economically. This factory seemed worse than the factory in Russia. Here the girls were not even allowed to talk while working.<sup>7</sup>

Marriage. In February, 1887, Emma Goldman married Jacob Kershner, thereby obtaining American citizenship. In addition to being sexually impotent, Kershner gambled away part of the fifteen dollars a week he earned.<sup>8</sup> Emma soon left him.<sup>9</sup> She decided that if she ever loved another man she would give herself to him without being bound by the law.<sup>10</sup>

Emma Goldman was an emotional woman, and deeply sympathetic toward the under dog. In Russia she had wept bitterly when she heard of the execution of a group of Nihilists who had assassinated Czar Alexander II in 1881. Another time in Russia the sight of a flogging threw her

---

7 Goldman, Anarchism and Other Essays, p. 14

8 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. I, pp. 20-23

9 Ibid., p. 25

10 Ibid., p. 36

into hysterics, and the bloody picture haunted her for days.<sup>11</sup> Her compassion for the under dog was similarly aroused by the conviction and hanging of the Chicago anarchists as a result of the Haymarket Square affair on May 4, 1886.<sup>12</sup>

## II. HER CAREER AS AN ANARCHIST

Her sympathy for these executed anarchists led her to attend socialist and anarchist meetings, where she met two devoted anarchists, Alexander Berkman and Johann Most.<sup>13</sup> Both men paid considerable attention to her and she was swept into the anarchist movement, to become the outstanding woman anarchist in America.<sup>14</sup> She and Berkman and another comrade went into business together to raise money for the anarchist movement. By May, 1892, they were the owners of a small but thriving lunchroom. They deserted this enterprise to attempt the assassination of Henry Clay Frick, manager of the Carnegie Steel Company, who had looked out his workers and evicted them from their homes.<sup>15</sup> Berkman shot Frick three times, but fortunately the gun

---

11 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. I, pp. 27-28.

12 Ibid., pp. 7-10

13 Ibid., pp. 5-6

14 Ibid., pp. 34-37

15 Ibid., pp. 83-87

was of too small a calibre to kill.<sup>16</sup> Berkman, however, was sent to prison for fourteen years.<sup>17</sup>

While he was in prison, Emma Goldman traveled abroad. In Vienna she entered nurses' training, soon graduating with diplomas in midwifery and nursing.<sup>18</sup> Back in the United States, she became best known as a lecturer and publisher. Her lectures were usually on anarchism, but sometimes dealt with birth control, homosexuality, pacifism, the drama, and woman's inhumanity to man. She was always on the side of the downtrodden. In 1918 she lectured in favor of the Bolshevik Revolution.<sup>19</sup> Her lecture tours extended from coast to coast and raised enough money to keep Mother Earth, her anarchist magazine, from going bankrupt between the first issue, published in March, 1906, and the last, published in June, 1917.<sup>20</sup>

Her support of the Russian revolution. For many years she gave her support to the revolutionary cause in Russia. In 1904 she joined the Social-Revolutionary party.<sup>21</sup> She read the life stories of the prominent women in the

---

16 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. I, pp. 97-102

17 Ibid., p. 382

18 Ibid., pp 170-174

19 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 553, 555, 556, 546, 547, 426, 650

20 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 379, 451, 495

21 Ibid., p. 359

Russian revolutionary struggle, among them Vera Figner and Catherine Breshkovskaya, the latter affectionately called Babushka, the Little Grandmother of the Russian revolution.<sup>22</sup> When Babushka came to the United States and made speeches in French, Goldman acted as her interpreter.<sup>23</sup> Of her contact with Babushka, Goldman wrote: "The hours with Babushka were among the richest and most precious experiences of my propaganda life."<sup>24</sup>

Goldman found the news of the 1905 revolution in Russia electrifying and thrilling, only to be plunged into "blackest despair" to hear that it had failed to overthrow the Czar.<sup>25</sup> She was a revolutionist with a deep concern for the success of revolution in her mother country. In 1917, when Goldman and Berkman heard Trotsky speak for two hours, they applauded heartily with the conviction that they shared his profound confidence in the future of the revolution. After talking to him they felt a political kinship with him, and intended to accept his personal invitation to go to Russia to help with the revolution.<sup>26</sup> This they were unable to do at the time, but they did

---

22 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 661

23 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 362

24 Ibid., p. 363

25 Ibid., pp. 372-373

26 Ibid., pp. 596-597 Vol. II

assist Bill Shatoff and his contingent of Russian exiles to return by providing them with clothing and money for their trip.<sup>27</sup>

In 1917 Goldman hailed the October Revolution as the fulfillment of the promise indicated in the February Revolution.<sup>28</sup> She felt that Kerensky's government had failed in its purpose, and held sincere hopes for the success of the Bolsheviki. She believed that Lenin and Trotsky were following the "agrarian programme of the Social Revolutionists and the industrial tactics of the anarchists." She felt that they were fighting for the revolution and gave them her enthusiastic support.<sup>29</sup> She wrote: "I believed fervently that the Bolsheviki were furthering the Revolution and exerting themselves in behalf of the people."<sup>30</sup>

### III. HER DEPORTATION TO RUSSIA

Trial and conviction. When the United States declared war on Germany in 1917 and the conscription bill passed Congress a month later, Goldman and her Mother

---

27 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 595

28 Ibid., p. 644

29 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. ix

30 Ibid., p. xii

This attitude is corroborated in her obituary, which appeared in The New Republic of June 3, 1940, stating that the principle tragedy of Goldman's life was that she placed all her revolutionary hopes in the Lenin government, which later disillusioned her so thoroughly.

June 3, 1940, p. 747

New Republic

Earth magazine lost no time in condemning both the war and conscription. A "No Conscription League" was formed and mass meeting held in many cities to oppose the draft.<sup>31</sup> The June, 1917, issue of Mother Earth emphatically condemned the draft.<sup>32</sup> Goldman and Berkman were arrested shortly thereafter and publication of Mother Earth was suppressed by the government.<sup>33</sup> Goldman and Berkman were charged with conspiracy to defeat the draft, found guilty, and sentenced to two years in prison and \$10,000 fine each.<sup>34</sup> They appealed the case and were released on bail.

When the Bolsheviki overthrew the Kerensky government in October, 1917, the American press condemned the action. Goldman and Berkman, however, defended the Bolsheviki.<sup>35</sup> While awaiting the outcome of her appeal to the Supreme Court, Goldman conducted a lecture tour in defense of the Bolshevik regime. She also published a pamphlet, The Truth About the Bolsheviki, in which she defended them as carrying on the spirit of the revolution.<sup>36</sup>

Deportation. Their appeal to the United States Supreme Court failed and Goldman and Berkman went to prison

---

31 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 597, 598, 601

32 Ibid., p. 603

33 Ibid., pp. 610, 641

34 Ibid., p. 622

35 Ibid., p. 645

36 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. x-xi



on February 4, 1918, to serve twenty-one months. They were released from prison the first of October and deported to Russia on December 21, 1919, traveling on the old troopship Buford with two hundred and forty-six other deportees.<sup>37</sup>

#### IV. HER EXPERIENCES IN RUSSIA IN 1920

Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and their fellow deportees arrived in Russia January 18, 1920.<sup>38</sup> In her support of the revolution, Goldman was more than enthusiastic, she was rapturous, for she believed that the revolution had freed Russia from the political and economic masters who had for so long subjugated the workers and peasants. The new day was dawning for her Mother Russia, and Goldman was glad that she could now give her unstinted efforts towards making the revolution a success.<sup>39</sup> Her own words indicate the joy she felt: "I preferred to be alone when I touched the sacred soil; my exaltation was too great, and I feared I might not be able to control my emotion."<sup>40</sup>

First impressions. On the train to Petrograd, Goldman talked with her host, Zorin, who had lived for many years

---

<sup>37</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 652, 698, 717

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 722-725

<sup>39</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 3-6

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 4, 5

in America and spoke English fluently. Zorin sounded the first discordant note when he told her: "Tammany Hall has nothing on us, and as to Boss Murphy, we could teach him a thing or two."<sup>41</sup> At the time Goldman could see no connection between Tammany Hall and the Soviet Government.<sup>42</sup> Zorin also told her that her old American comrade, Bill Shatoff, who had come to Russia earlier, had been sent to Siberia as Minister of Railways. That same evening in Petrograd Goldman met Bill Shatoff, who told her that he was in disfavor with the government and was being sent to Siberia virtually as an exile.<sup>43</sup>

Since Shatoff did not leave for two weeks, he had time to give Goldman his impressions of the revolution. He told an inspiring story of the revolutionary ardor of the people, and the sad story of the blockade and the frightful war against the White Russians. Shatoff was still an anarchist who understood the menace of the Marxian state machine which the Soviet Government had become. Even then, he reported, the new government was steeped in inefficiency and corruption. Although Shatoff despised the dictatorship and

---

<sup>41</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 6

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-9

its servant, the Cheka, and deplored the highhanded manner in which the thought, speech and initiative of the people had been suppressed, he was loyal to the government and would remain so until the country was free from the White Russian menace.<sup>44</sup>

Goldman had already seen several things which did not check with theoretical Communism, such as better food for Party members in the Smolny Hotel dining room, show schools where children had every advantage compared to other schools where the hungry children were herded like cattle, thirty-four different grades of rations--ranging from luxury to near starvation, and hungry prostitutes bargaining with soldiers in the streets. When she asked Zorin, Zinoviev and others about these things, the answer was always the same: the blockade, the war with the White Russians, the sabotage of the intelligentsia--these things were starving Russia and preventing the achievement of better conditions. This defense was usually followed by an invitation to help in the work of the revolution. Goldman and Berkman were offered their choice of positions and they decided to accept as soon as they had found their bearings.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp.730-731

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 732

Her meeting with the anarchists. During this time Goldman wondered why none of her anarchist friends visited her. One day one of them invited her to visit an anarchist group meeting. The meeting was held in secret in one small room of a broken down house, much as the anarchists had once met in America when the police were after them. Why should these people who had done so much for the revolution be forced to meet secretly? Once there, Goldman listened patiently to their stories, which continued throughout the evening and all the next day. Those who were workers in the factories told of their enslavement. Sailors from Kronstadt were bitter against the Communists whom they had helped to power only to find that the Communists were becoming their masters, denying them the freedom of their Soviets. Another comrade had been imprisoned for his anarchist beliefs, had escaped, and was now in hiding. Other comrades told of the Red Terror in Moscow, and of the violent treatment of workers and peasants.<sup>46</sup> Goldman learned how, on Trotsky's order, the Cheka had raided the anarchist headquarters in Moscow, how the Cheka had arrested and executed many people

---

<sup>46</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 18

without trail. Goldman was incredulous. She would not believe what she heard and told her comrades that she thought them guilty of lying to her. She refused to let them extinguish her burning faith in the revolution.<sup>47</sup>

The anarchist comrades were indignant. They urged her to disguise herself and try to distribute one of Kropotkin's pamphlets in a Soviet meeting and watch the results.<sup>48</sup>

They urged her to get out of her fine hotel and live among the people if she wanted to learn the truth.<sup>49</sup>

During Goldman's meeting with the anarchist group Berkman had been in his quarters with a bad cold. When Goldman told him of their opposition to the acts of the Bolsheviks, he agreed with her in condemning the anarchists for their uncooperative attitude. They both agreed that revolutionary necessity justified all measures which the government used against its opponents. Both Goldman and Berkman were so firm in their support of Lenin's government that they would not be easily disillusioned.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 733

<sup>48</sup> "Peter Kropotkin was a lineal descendant of the Ruriks and in the direct succession to the Russian throne. But he gave up his title and wealth for the cause of humanity....He became the most outstanding exponent of anarchist communism, its clearest thinker and theoretician." Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. I, p. 168

<sup>49</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 19

<sup>50</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 735

Her experiences in Petrograd. One part of the truth evident to Goldman was that the people in Petrograd were suffering severely from the cold, while fuel was nearly impossible to obtain. Within reach of Petrograd were huge forests where plenty of fuel was available. Goldman asked Zinoviev about this in one of her interviews with him. Zinoviev gave the standard reply that the blockade and the war with the White Russians were to blame, in having deprived the people of manpower and transportation. Goldman asked if the population of Petrograd could not be permitted to go and get the wood for their own use. Then Zinoviev told her that this would interfere with the main political policy of the government, that of concentrating all power in the hands of the Communist Party. Here was one reason why the people of Petrograd were freezing. The Communists were interested only in their own power; the welfare of the people was not important to them. They could not provide the necessities of life through government channels and they would not permit anyone else to do so in any other way. Goldman was beginning to understand the attitude of the government and its economic ineffectiveness.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 738-739

Her experiences in Moscow. From Petrograd Goldman went to Moscow, and here she had a chance to get out on the streets and into the markets alone to talk to the people. Many of the common people had the idea that the revolution held a promise of freedom from their masters. Now the masters were again upon them. They felt that Communism, equality and freedom, as promised by the revolution, were merely lives and deceptions. Goldman was disturbed, but she still held to her faith in the revolution.<sup>52</sup>

Because she was famous as an anarchist and a revolutionist, many people visited her while she was in Moscow. Among these people were anarchists, left social revolutionists, cooperators, and people Goldman had known in America. These people had come to Russia to help with the revolution. They had been deeply inspired when they arrived in Russia, but now Goldman found nearly all of them discouraged and some of them embittered against the regime. Nearly all of them, despite differing political views, told the same story--of the splendid spirit which the people had had in the early days of the revolution, how the Bolsheviki had been the spokesmen of the people, and how the Bolsheviki, once

---

52 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 35-36

they had gained power, had betrayed the Revolution. Especially vehement in their condemnation of the government were the Left Social Revolutionists. They told Goldman of the havoc produced by the Communists in their forcible requisition of grain and other food from the peasants, and of the punitive expeditions of the Cheka and army to the villages. They told her that their comrades had been persecuted, innocent people shot, and that criminal inefficiency and sabotage prevailed under the Communists.<sup>53</sup>

In discussing the reasons for the inefficiency and brutality of the Bolsheviki, her friends told Goldman:

Most of their methods spring from their lack of understanding of the character and needs of the Russian people and the mad obsession of dictatorship, which is not even the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the dictatorship of a small group over the proletariat.<sup>54</sup>

When Goldman asked about the Peoples' Soviets and the elections, she was informed that there were no free elections, that threats and terrorism decided every election in favor of Lenin's Party. Only by such means could the Bolsheviki secure a majority. Although the evidence presented by these sincere people was an unqualified condemnation of Communism, Goldman still clung to her faith in the Revolution.<sup>55</sup> Her ardor for Communism was too great to be

---

<sup>53</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 43-44

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 45

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.



easily cooled. As she later recorded her reactions:

"...now Bolshevism was shorn of its pretense, its naked soul exposed to my gaze. Still I would not believe. I would not see with my inner eye the truth so evident to my outer sight. I was stunned, baffled, the ground pulled from under me. Yet I hung on, hung on by a thread as a drowning man. In my anguish I cried: "Bolshevism is the mene, tekel over every throne, the menace of craven hearts, the hated enemy of organized wealth and power..."<sup>56</sup>

Again, of this same period, she wrote:

Both Sasha, Berkman, and I held on to the firm belief that the Bolsheviks were our brothers in a common fight. Our very lives and all our revolutionary hopes were staked upon it. Lenin, Trotsky, and their co-workers were the soul of the Revolution, we were sure, and its keenest defenders.<sup>57</sup>

Interview with Lenin. A little later Goldman secured an interview with Lenin. She was amazed to find that, although he had lived many years in Europe, he had never learned to speak any language other than Russian. Lenin asked her when she expected the Revolution to occur in the United States. She was astounded that a man in his position should know so little about America. She asked him why her anarchist comrades had been imprisoned and told him that she could not work for a government which locked up her friends because of the opinions they held.<sup>58</sup> Lenin insisted that no "anarchists of ideas" were in his

---

<sup>56</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 755

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., pp. 755-756

<sup>58</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 49-50

prisons, only bandits and criminals.<sup>59</sup> Before the interview ended, Lenin stated that free speech was a "bourgeois notion."<sup>60</sup> And he reproached Goldman for her "bourgeois sentimentality" in protesting against some of the blood-letting activities of the Cheka.<sup>61</sup> Goldman was not too favorably impressed by Lenin. She wrote about him: "Free speech, free press, the spiritual achievements of centuries, what were they to this man? A Puritan, he was sure his scheme alone could redeem Russia. Those who served his plans were right, the others could not be tolerated."<sup>62</sup>

Interview with Kropotkin. Not long after her interview with Lenin, Goldman talked to Peter Kropotkin, famous Russian author, who believed that the Bolsheviki had subordinated the Revolution to the establishment of their all-powerful dictatorship which in gaining control had paralyzed most social activities. He deeply regretted the oppression by the government and its persecution of every attempt to express an opinion. He was aware of the misery and distress

---

59 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 765

60 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 50

61 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 766

Goldman had protested the persecution of the anarchists, which had been going on continuously since April, 1918, when the Moscow Anarchist Club had been destroyed by machine gun and artillery fire. Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 47

62 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 51

of the people under the Lenin regime. Goldman asked him why he had not protested against these abuses. He told her that it was useless to protest to the government whose only concern was to maintain itself in power, and that such a government could not be detracted by such "trifles" as the lives or rights of human beings. He then added: "We (Anarchists) have always pointed out the effects of Marxism in Action. Why be surprised now?"<sup>63</sup> Kropotkin also told Goldman that it was almost impossible to write, due to repeated raids of the Cheka in which they confiscated every scrap of paper in the place. When she left Kropotkin's humble home, Goldman was worried lest the aged and ailing man die without the world knowing what he thought of the Russian Revolution.<sup>64</sup>

At about this time, Emma Goldman volunteered her services as a trained nurse to the Petrograd Board of Health Commissar, who was glad to accept her services until he learned that she had a few doubts about the Communist dictatorship. Then her services were not needed. Her ability as a nurse was less important than her political views.

Visits to hospitals, factories, and schools. However,

---

<sup>63</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 55  
Goldman agreed with Kropotkin regarding Marxism in Action. For thirty years she had contended that the Marxian theory was an enslaving formula which placed too much power in the hands of the state. Ibid., x

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 54, 55, 56

she did visit a few hospitals, where she found appalling conditions. Physicians and nurses were constantly hampered in their work by the ever present Communist machine which polluted the atmosphere with dread, hatred, and fear. Doctors, being members of the intelligentsia, were held in contempt by the ignorant commissars who supervised their work. The devastating effects of such political interference in the medical profession were evident in the pitiful condition of the hospitals.<sup>65</sup>

Nor was labor faring well under the Communist dictatorship. The ninth Party Congress, held in March, 1920, rushed through the militarization of labor which "turned every worker into a galley slave." One-man power was enforced in the shops and mills instead of cooperative management, which had been one of the objectives of the Revolution. Further imposition of the "labour book" on all workers robbed them of their last vestige of freedom by binding the workers to their jobs. The "labour book" was an identification and a record carried by each worker. If a worker were caught outside the district where he lived and worked, or caught without his book, he was subject to

---

<sup>65</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 778-779

severe penalties.<sup>66</sup> The "labour book" was similar to the yellow ticket issued to prostitutes under the Czarist regime.<sup>67</sup>

Shortly after the militarization of labor, Goldman visited some factories, the first of which was the Putilov works, the largest engine and car factory in Petrograd, where 40,000 workers had been employed before the war. Here Goldman managed to lag behind the guides and talk to some of the workers. They were suspicious of her and would not talk until she told them she was bringing them greetings from the workers of America. Then one man told her: "Now we are to work under the military whip. Of course we will have to be in the shop or they will punish us as industrial deserters. But how can they get more work out of us? We are suffering from hunger and cold."<sup>68</sup> Another worker said that they were rationed two pounds of bread a day. He gave her a slice of the bread to try, but she was unable to bite into it. One worker told her that this ration of bad bread would not keep a man alive. Most of the rations went to the officials and overseers. Of the five thousand people employed in the factory, only two thousand were actually workers. Most of the others were political parasites.<sup>69</sup>

---

66 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 780

67 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 109

68 Ibid., pp. 81-82

69 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 790

At the largest flour mill in Petrograd, Goldman found armed soldiers all over the place, watching the workers as though they were galley slaves. The theft of large quantities of flour had caused these precautions to be taken. A mill worker told Goldman that the flour was being stolen by the Commissars of the mill.<sup>70</sup> Goldman suggested that the workers protest such conditions. The worker replied that they would be arrested as counter-revolutionists if they protested. She asked him if the Revolution had given him nothing. "Ah, the Revolution! But that is no more. Finished," was his bitter reply.<sup>71</sup>

Gradually Goldman was becoming convinced that the Communist regime corrupted nearly everything it tried to control. In their mad scramble for power, the Communists seemed to give little consideration to practical results or efficiency. The schools provided another example of this tendency to disregard everything but power. A few of the schools were known as "show schools" to be used for display purposes in convincing foreign delegates and other visitors that Russia had an

---

<sup>70</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 86

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp. 86-87

excellent educational system. These "show schools" had the best buildings, best teachers and equipment. The children were well dressed, well fed and well treated to provide the right kind of spectacle for the gullible visitors from abroad. The schools not used for show purposes were in a pitiful condition. An article in Pravda in May, 1920, set forth some of these conditions as found by a committee of Young Communist organizations. The committee had found the children dirty and vermin infested, food miserable and punishment unduly harsh. The number of officials and employees in the schools was ridiculous. In one school there were one hundred and thirty-eight of these commissars and appointees to one hundred and twenty-five children. Another school had forty adults running a school for twenty-five children. All these official parasites were eating the food intended for the children while the children were hungry and dirty. The woman in charge of the Petrograd Educational Department devoted most of her supervisory efforts to the "show" schools because they were considered most important. Such official deception on the one hand with corruption and sabotage on the other, convinced Goldman that she did not wish to work for the Bolsheviki

Board of Education.<sup>72</sup>

The Board of Health was just about as bad, with its "show hospitals" and favoritism shown to patients according to their standing in the Communist political machine. Meanwhile doctors and nurses became dispirited and discouraged, wasting their time in the waiting rooms of Commissars.<sup>73</sup>

Goldman's decision to work for the Petrograd Museum of the Revolution. At this point Goldman had seen enough of the Communist system to decide that she wanted her work for the Revolution to be of a non-partisan character, free from the blighting influence of commissars.<sup>74</sup> Fortunately such an opportunity presented itself in an offer to work for the Petrograd Museum of the Revolution. An expedition was being planned which would travel all over Russia to gather documents and articles on the history of the Russian Revolution. Goldman and Berkman would have preferred more constructive work, but since all other kinds of work seemed to require Party membership or subservience to commissars, they accepted the Museum assignment, happy in the thought that they

---

<sup>72</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 114-115

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.; p. 116

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.; p. 117



would be doing something useful and seeing Russia at the same time.<sup>75</sup>

Visit to prisons. While the expedition was being organized, Goldman visited two of the famous prisons of Petrograd. In the Peter-and-Paul Fortress she saw written on a wall in one of the cells: "Tonight I am to be shot because I had once acquired an education." In answer to her inquiry about this inscription, the guard said: "Those are the last words of an intelligent." After the October Revolution the intelligentsia filled this prison. From here they were taken out and shot, or were loaded on barges never to return."<sup>76</sup>

Goldman was horrified at the injustice and inhumanity of Lenin's regime, and amazed at the way these new rulers squandered the human resources of Russia. The impressions she had received during her first seven months in Russia had nearly, but not quite, destroyed her dream of the workers' paradise. She still held some hope for the Revolution.

Further experiences in Moscow. At last, on June 30, 1920, The Museum Expedition was ready to start its travels in a renovated railroad car which had been equip-

---

<sup>75</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 782

<sup>76</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 128-129

ped with a kitchen and living quarters for the staff. Alexander Berkman was appointed general manager of the Expedition; Alexandra Shakol, an anarchist who had originally invited Goldman and Berkman to join the Expedition, was secretary; Emma Goldman was treasurer, housekeeper and cook. A non-partisan Russian couple went along as experts on revolutionary documents. The sixth member was a young Jewish Communist whose special function was to contact local Party institutions. The car was hitched to a train and the Expedition was on its way to Moscow to obtain credentials from various different departments, including the Cheka. It took two weeks to get these credentials.<sup>77</sup>

While the Expedition was waiting, the Moscow Printers Union was suppressed and all its officers sent to prison as a result of a union meeting to which members of the British Labour Mission had been invited, and where two speakers severely criticized the Bolshevik regime.<sup>78</sup> The Bakers Union was also suppressed, its management replaced by Communists, and several of the more active members arrested. The bakers had started a strike, and worse, they had voted for a man of their choice in a union

---

<sup>77</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 797-798

<sup>78</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 135

election instead of voting for the Communist candidate. Later when Goldman met some of the bakers she asked about conditions in their union, and if it were true, as Melnichausky, Chairman of the Moscow Trade Union Soviet, had told her, that the unions controlled the industrial life of the country. The bakers' answer was:

The trade unions are the lackeys of the government, they have no independent function, and the workers have no say in them. The trade unions are doing mere police duty for the Government.<sup>79</sup>

This sounded quite different from Melnichausky's story that the workers owned and managed the industries.

It was also much different from the story told by Tsiperovitch, Chairman of the Petrograd Trade Unions, who had shown Goldman the Petrograd Labor Temple, and made very clear that the workers were at last in control. Goldman realized that there were two sides to the trade union problem (as well as to many other problems) in Russia. There was the bright, distorted side shown to foreign visitors, delegates and investigators for propaganda purposes. And there was the dismal, factual side of the problem which the workers knew, but dared not reveal to foreigners. Apparently official deception of visitors had been developed into a fine art by the Communist rulers.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 136-137  
<sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp. 138-139

Shile still in Moscow waiting for credentials, Goldman met some prominent members of the Left Social Revolutionists and arranged through them to meet Maria Spiridonova, whose fame as a revolutionist had been established eleven years before the Revolution when she had shot Lukhanovsky, Governor of Tamboy, as a protest against his continuous flogging of peasants. The Revolution in 1917 had freed her from eleven years exile in Siberia. Now she was trying to help the peasants again. She had recently escaped from a Communist prison and the Cheka were looking for her.<sup>81</sup> In Goldman's opinion, Maria Spiridonova "occupies one of the highest places in the galaxy of the heroic women of Russia."<sup>82</sup> When, at last, the two women met, they talked for two days. Spiridonova described in detail the plight of the peasants, including their sufferings under the system of forcible requisition of crops which was devastating agricultural Russia and discrediting the Revolution in the eyes of the peasants.<sup>83</sup>

At times, when the expression on Goldman's face indicated a little skepticism of the peasants' story, Spiridonova would take a few of her stacks of letters

---

81 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 142-143

82 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. I, p. 80

83 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 144

from the peasants to prove her point. Some of these letters indicated that the Cheka had stolen everything from the writers, even the seeds for the spring planting.<sup>84</sup> When the Revolution started, the peasants had their Soviets as their medium for exchanging their produce for other goods from the towns. Under this system the peasants gave willingly. When the Soviets were denied to them and the General Soviet broken up and its members imprisoned, the peasants became aroused against the dictatorship. Then the forcible collection of produce and the punitive expeditions against the country villages had earned for the Communists the hatred of the rural population.<sup>85</sup> Rebellion and peasant insurrection had broken out in many places and the Bolsheviki were using the Red Army to suppress them.<sup>86</sup> This data on the peasants' situation, added to what Goldman had already learned about the plight of the city workers, further shook her waning faith in the Revolution.

Before the Expedition left for the South, Goldman talked again to Peter Kropotkin. During this visit, he mentioned the religious nature of the Communist Party.

---

<sup>84</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 145

<sup>85</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 803

<sup>86</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 151

He indicated to Goldman his belief that:

The Bolsheviks were the Jesuits of the Socialist Church: they believed in the Jesuitic motto that the end justified the means. Their end being political power they hesitate at nothing. The means, however, have paralyzed the energies of the masses and have terrorized the people.<sup>87</sup>

#### V. EMMA GOLDMAN'S EXPERIENCES AS A MEMBER OF THE MUSEUM EXPEDITION

Meanwhile the proper credentials had been secured, and on July 15, 1920, the Museum Expedition car was finally coupled to a train headed for the Ukraine.<sup>88</sup> Just before leaving Moscow, a seventh member--Henry G. Alsberg--joined the Expedition. He had an American passport and represented two pro-Soviet newspapers.<sup>89</sup> Both Goldman and Berkman were happy to have him along.

Kursk, Kharkov, Poltava, Fastov, Kiev. The first stop after leaving Moscow was in the industrial center of Kursk, where little of importance was collected for the Museum except a pair of iron handcuffs once worn by a revolutionist in the Schusselburg prison. The man who contributed the handcuffs was an intellectual and a teacher who managed a childrens' colony. He reported

---

<sup>87</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 156

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 159

<sup>89</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 804-805

that he was having difficulties in operating the children's colony because he was discriminated against due to his pacifist and Tolstoi tendencies, and because the Bolsheviks were opposed to any independent efforts such as his children's colony.<sup>90</sup> When he was asked about the lot of the intelligentsia in his town, he answered that the teachers were probably in the worst predicament. They were eager to cooperate, but were neglected and half starving most of the time, and were constantly exposed to the antagonism of all the people, including the children, against the intelligentsia.<sup>91</sup> When asked about the industrial workers, the teacher replied that a recent strike had been put down by troops. Many workers were still under arrest by the Cheka. This teacher believed that most of the trouble was due to Communist incompetence and inefficiency, resulting from placing Party members in responsible positions which they had neither the knowledge nor the ability to fill.<sup>92</sup>

Kharkov. When the Expedition reached Kharkov, the Ukrainian Capital, Goldman found many friends, most of them anarchists whom she had known in America. She was

---

90 Goldman, Emma, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 162-63

91 Ibid., p. 164

92 Ibid., pp. 164-165

surprised to learn that most of these people had been imprisoned by the Bolsheviki. They agreed that the Revolution had been completely paralyzed by the deadening effect of the Communist regime.<sup>93</sup>

Food was plentiful in Kharkov, and Goldman and Berkman decided to stock their car with some food to take to the hungry people in Petrograd, at the end of their journey. Such an operation was considered as "speculation" by the government and the death penalty invoked for it. Having failed to distribute enough food to the hungry areas, the Communists wanted to make sure that no one else did this. Goldman and Berkman deliberately defied this law.<sup>94</sup>

In Kharkov, Goldman met a cultured and socially conscious civil engineer and asked him about technical conditions and the progress of production. This man, who had just returned from the Donetz Basin where he had been sent to build homes for the workers, told her about conditions among the miners in the Donetz Basin. The Communist press accounts of coal mining there sounded optimistic, yet actual conditions were very bad, the miners were herded like cattle, received poor rations, and very little

---

<sup>93</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 166-172

<sup>94</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 807



coal was being mined. "The system of political Commissars, general Bolshevik inefficiency, and the paralyzing effect of the State machinery have made our constructive work in the Basin almost impossible," the engineer said. "It was a dismal failure."<sup>95</sup> This man also expressed the idea that there was no need to terrorize the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, because they were too disorganized to be an actual menace to the government.<sup>96</sup>

The engineer's condemnation of the Communist terror was born out by the conditions Goldman and Berkman found in the Kharkov prison and concentration camp, which contained about a thousand poor wretches accused of sabotage, speculation, or counter-revolution. They were crowded into filthy quarters and most of them were forced to sit in idleness upon the floor. One prisoner was a poor, old peasant woman, stupified by solitary confinement, awaiting death as punishment for being a counter-revolutionary bandit. When Goldman told the Superintendent of the prison that it was absurd to consider such a person a bandit, she was soundly berated for her "bourgeoisie sentimentality."<sup>97</sup> Goldman writes that at this

---

<sup>95</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 181

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 182

<sup>97</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 810-811

point she "felt caught in a coil that was growing more strangling every day."<sup>98</sup>

While she was in Kharkov, Goldman came upon a glaring example of the paralyzing effect of Communist inefficiency and red tape. In a plough manufacturing plant she found a large loft full of finished ploughs, covered with a thin layer of dust. The plant manager explained the situation thus:

"We are awaiting orders from Moscow...it was a rush order and we were threatened with arrest for sabotage in case it should not be ready for shipment within six weeks. That was six months ago, and as you see the ploughs are still here. The peasants need them badly, and we need their bread. But we cannot exchange. We must await orders from Moscow."<sup>99</sup>

One of the reasons for such inefficiency might have been the lack of railroad transportation. It was apparent in the Ukraine that the railroads had suffered heavily in the general breakdown of the economic system evident in 1920. Broken cars and disabled engines occupied many of the sidings and in many cases the tracks had been torn up. Railroad stations were filled with people who expected to wait a week or two before getting a train. People swarmed over the trains like flies on honey, making

---

<sup>98</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 812

<sup>99</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 188-189

it necessary for soldiers to put off those who would otherwise get knocked off the tops of the cars by low bridges. In spite of the soldiers and train crews, so many people were knocked off the car tops that little attention was paid to this type of accident.<sup>100</sup>

Poltava. From Kharkov, the Expedition proceeded to Poltava, where a good deal of excellent material was secured for the Museum. Here, also, Goldman met two very interesting women, Vladimir Korolenko's daughter and his sister-in-law, Madame X, who was Chairman of the Political Red Cross. These two women helped operate a children's home for the "Save the Children" society. Both women were of the old radical intelligentsia which had always tried to better the conditions of the masses of the Russian people.<sup>101</sup> During a long talk with Madame X, Goldman told her how shocked she had been to find that Lenin had been lying to her when he said that there were no anarchists-of-ideas in prison. Madame X replied that Goldman was not familiar with Lenin's habits. His writing indicated that he favored "smearing" his political opponents to "cause them to be loathed and hated as the vilest of creatures." Having used such tactics when his opponents

---

100 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 195

101 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 816

were free to reply to his lies, why would he not use them now when he ruled the press and could put his opponents in prison? Goldman confided to Madame X that she was finding it hard to free herself from the "Bolshevik myth and its principal spook (Lenin)."<sup>102</sup>

The next day Goldman visited Vladimir Korolenko, one of Russia's greatest living writers. The old author said: "The Czar's police had authority to arrest me. The Communist Cheka has the power to shoot me as well."<sup>103</sup> He felt that the example of the ferocious dictatorship in Russia would retard social changes in other countries for a long time.<sup>104</sup>

Poltava had been famous as a center for the production of peasant handicraft arts. Fine linens, embroidery, laces and basket work had been among the products of the people in this area. Now this work was discontinued. In the Department of Social Economy there was still a small collection of products. The woman in charge told Goldman: "Our needlework was known all over the country as among the finest specimens of art, but now it has all been destroyed. The peasants have lost their art impulse, they have become brutalized and corrupted."<sup>105</sup>

---

102 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 819

103 Ibid., p. 822

104 Ibid., p. 821, 822

105 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 205-206

Fastov. In the little town of Fastov, between Poltava and Kiev, Goldman heard the first praise of the Communist regime to come from non-Communist lips. The Jews of Fastov had suffered horrible pogroms before the establishment of the Lenin regime--the worst one from Deniken's White Russian troops in September, 1919. The remaining Jews in Fastov praised the Communists, because there had been no pogroms under the Communist rule.<sup>106</sup>

Kiev. When they arrived in Kiev, the members of the Expedition were surprised to find the city undamaged. They had read official Communist reports in Petrograd stating that Polish vandals had ruined the Cathedral and burned several parts of the city.<sup>107</sup> Antagonism to Communism and to the Moscow Government was intense in Kiev. Even the local Bolsheviki were bitter against "the centre" in Moscow. While the condition prevailed more or less all over the Ukraine, it was particularly noticeable in Kiev. Goldman found that the best way to get cooperation from these Ukrainians was to tell them that she was an American.<sup>108</sup>

"Show schools" were operated in Kiev, just as in Petrograd and Moscow, with the usual corrupting effect

---

106 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 208-210

107 Ibid.; p. 212

108 Ibid., pp. 213-214

on teachers and pupils.<sup>109</sup> In the railroad station swarms of poor and ragged people, including many children, were begging for bread. More of them swarmed in the village markets, where they were a problem to the tradespeople. As soon as the soldiers drove them out of one place, they appeared somewhere else--always an unsolved social problem.<sup>110</sup> At the Jewish hospital for crippled children, Goldman talked with Dr. N\_\_\_\_, who had been head of the hospital for twenty years. He was "a cultivated and charming man" who seemed very capable in his profession.<sup>111</sup> He summarized his difficulties in the following words: "I spend most of my time in the various bureaus, instead of devoting myself to my patients. Ignorant officials are given power over the medical profession, continuously harassing the doctors in their work."<sup>112</sup> This doctor had been arrested for sabotage because he could not carry out the mutually contradictory orders which had come to him from some ignorant Commissar.<sup>113</sup>

One day while in Kiev, Goldman attended a sumptuous banquet given in honor of the Italian delegates. The next day she went to the little Yiddish grocery store where she

---

109 Goldman; My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 215

110 Goldman; Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 825

111 Goldman; My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 216

112 Ibid., pp. 217-218

113 Ibid., p. 218

traded in Kiev, and found that it as well as several other small Yiddish stores had been closed. Two days later she learned that these stores had all been raided by the Cheka to provide the food for the official banquet. She vowed to attend no more Communist banquets.<sup>114</sup>

Among the members of the Jewish Kulturliga, Goldman met a man who had lived in America, but was now in Kiev with his family. He contended that the Communists had had a fine opportunity to win the support of the Ukrainians after their suffering during the war between the Reds and the Whites. The Ukrainians would have welcomed any decent government which would let them live in peace. The Communists quickly disillusioned the people by their incapacity to govern the city, and the terror of the Cheka turned nearly all the people into bitter enemies of Communism. When the bourgeoisie were relieved of their property, only the Cheka raiders benefited. The Communists failed to operate the big industries and they stopped the individual artisans (thousands of them) from producing handmade goods. They had no benefits to offer either to the workers or the peasants. This gentleman introduced

---

<sup>114</sup> Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 225, 226, 229

his nephew, a Red Army officer and a Communist, who had just returned from the Polish front. This officer told her he had seen much corruption at the front. While the soldiers were short of food and clothing, the higher officers behind the lines grew rich selling army supplies to speculators.<sup>115</sup> After her stay in Kiev, it seemed to Goldman that the Communists had corrupted or damaged nearly everything that they touched. Her disillusionment proceeded apace.

Odessa. Between Kiev and Odessa, food seemed to be more plentiful and cheaper than in Northern Russia, but many people could not buy it, as indicated by large numbers of people begging food from the travelers. All along the route, Goldman was particularly impressed by the "emaciated and ragged children" who begged for bread at the train windows.<sup>116</sup> At Odessa on the Black Sea, Goldman and Berkman interviewed the Communist official in charge of the city. They found him uncooperative and filled with hatred for the intelligentsia and all their efforts. While leaving the Communist headquarters they met a number of young people who had been their comrades in America. These comrades told Goldman and Berkman that they could expect nothing but abuse from the Communist

---

115 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 229-234

116 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment in Russia, p. 2



Chairman, that he hated people who had more than a primary education and would have all the intellectuals shot if he could have his way. He was also one of the worst saboteurs in the city.<sup>117</sup>

These comrades from America took Goldman and Berkman to interview the Chairman of Public Economy, and the head of the Metal Trade Unions, both of whom were Anarchists. These sympathetic officials offered to help Goldman and Berkman secure material for the Museum, but added the warning that little success could be expected since Odessa was properly nicknamed "The City of Sabotage." Goldman's experience proved that such was the case. She found that most of the officials in the overstaffed government bureaus did little or nothing, while hordes of people spent weeks waiting in line to get permission to do some necessary work. Similar conditions had been found in other cities, but Odessa was the worst of all. The whole city was strangling in a hopeless tangle of red tape. The principal accomplishment of the bureaucrats was the suppression of several of the unions in order to eliminate people suspected of disloyalty.<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>117</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 837-838.  
<sup>118</sup> Goldman, My Further Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 5,6

The American comrades introduced Goldman to Shakhvorostov, an active worker in the economic department, who stated that while most Communist officials were only inefficient, many were outright saboteurs. As an example, he told how the Odessa Cheka officials had carried out Lenin's order to "rob the robbers" by raiding every store and dwelling in town, appropriating everything of any value for themselves, and turning over to the Economy Department only the rags and trash for distribution to the people who were sorely in need of supplies.<sup>119</sup>

A prominent member of the Jewish Social Democratic organization told Goldman that anyone wishing to change Czarist or Kerensky money could have it done by high Communist officials, although ordinary citizens would be shot for speculation of this kind. He denounced the Cheka as a gang of cutthroats who commonly practiced extortion, bribery and other ganster tactics to fatten themselves at the expense of the people.<sup>120</sup>

Dr. N\_\_ (not to be confused with the Dr. N\_\_ in Kiev) in whose home Goldman met many literary and professional members of the Zionist group, repeated the

---

119 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 839

120 Ibid., pp. 840, 841

charges made by Shakhvorostov and gave further examples of brutal extortion. One method used by the Cheka was to notify the rich relatives of an arrested man of his execution. After a few weeks the relatives would be told that an error had been made, the arrested man was still alive and could be released on the payment of a large fine. When the relatives paid the fine, however, they were arrested for attempted bribery, the money was confiscated, and the original prisoner shot. The new prisoner could then be used to repeat the process, if there were any relatives left.<sup>121</sup>

Dr. N\_\_ had owned a sanatorium on the shore of the Black Sea. The Communists confiscated this sanatorium as a rest home for the workers, but the only people ever sent as patients were high Soviet officials. While Goldman was there the Chairman of the Cheka was a patient in the sanatorium, according to Dr. N\_\_, suffering from a nervous breakdown after working "sixteen hours a day, sending people to their death."<sup>122</sup> One of the Doctor's guests told of seeing truckloads of prisoners taken out almost daily to be shot.<sup>123</sup>

---

121 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 8-9  
 See also Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 840-841  
 122 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, p. 8  
 123 Ibid., p. 9

In commenting on the Cheka and its methods, Goldman observes that such outrages could be expected in a country where a small political party was imposing its will on a population of 150,000,000 people "who bitterly hated the Communists." One of the basic principles of the Communist concept of Government was to force the people to be saved by the Communist Party alone. Goldman wrote: "The pretext that the Bolsheviki were defending the Revolution was a hollow mockery. As a matter of fact, they had entirely destroyed it."<sup>124</sup> And a little later she adds: "I myself had lost faith in the revolutionary integrity of the Bolsheviki."<sup>125</sup> Her rosy dreams for the future of Russia under the Bolsheviki were rapidly fading.

Another time at Dr. N\_\_\_'s house Goldman met other prominent members of the Zionist group, including Bialeck, the greatest living Jewish poet, and a literary investigator who had made a detailed study of pogoms against the Jews. It was the general opinion among these Zionists that "the continuation of the Bolsheviki in power meant the destruction of the Jews....Specific Jewish culture, the most priceless thing to the Zionists, was

---

<sup>124</sup> Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, p. 10

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 12

frowned upon the Bolsheviks. That phase of the situation seemed to affect them (Zionists) even more deeply than pogroms."<sup>126</sup> The investigator felt that the Bolsheviks, while not having instituted any pogroms, had intensified the anti-Jewish spirit and that this would eventually mean the destruction of the Jews in Russia.<sup>127</sup>

Before leaving Odessa, Berkman and Shakol (secretary of the Expedition) made a trip to the nearby village of Nikolayevsk in a government truck with a Cheka escort, for they had heard there were valuable archives in this village. On their return, they told Goldman that they had seen villages devastated by the Cheka process of forcibly collecting produce from the farmers, and by Bolshevik punitive expeditions to punish those who refused to cooperate. They had seen long lines of peasants under Cheka guard, hauling their confiscated grain to Odessa. The Chekists accompanying the truck behaved like professional plunderers. They stole all they could carry, including the "last chicken from the poorest farm house."<sup>128</sup>

While agents of the government looted the people

---

126 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, p. 11

127 Ibid., p. 11

128 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 845

and confiscated their crops, honest citizens were prohibited from buying food from farmers, either for their own use or for transportation to areas where hunger prevailed. Such normal trading activities were termed "speculation" by the Communists, a crime punishable by imprisonment or death.<sup>129</sup> In spite of these laws, Goldman decided to buy some food for her hungry friends in Petrograd, and for Berkman, whose serious stomach ailment was aggravated by the bad food they had had.<sup>130</sup> In trying to buy food, Goldman found that no one would accept Soviet money in payment. The peasants said: "What can we do with these scraps? They are of no use even as wrapping paper, and for cigarettes we already have sacks of them."<sup>131</sup> Clothes, shoes and the like were acceptable payment for food.<sup>132</sup>

Rakhno. When she left Odessa, Goldman was given a letter of introduction to a woman physician who lived outside the town of Rakhno, where sugar, honey and apple jelly were plentiful and reasonable.<sup>133</sup> Goldman found the doctor and her husband, also a doctor, living in poverty, although both were busy taking care of the sick

---

129 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 845  
 130 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, p. 14  
 See also Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 846  
 131 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 846  
 132 Ibid.  
 133 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 15-16

people in this isolated community. This woman was one of the many disheartened intellectuals Goldman met in Russia. Still weak from a recent attack of typhus, this doctor had to chop her own wood, carry her own water, keep house, and care for her baby--this in addition to ministering to the sick who called at her house. Her husband spent his days calling on the sick. This couple were victims of the antagonism towards all intellectuals which had been stirred up by Lenin's regime. Although they were living in poverty, and giving most of their time to healing the sick, they were accused of being bourgeois, counter-revolutionist, and even charged with sabotage. The poor woman confided to Goldman that if it were not for her child she would prefer to be dead.<sup>134</sup>

John Reed's death. At Bryansk, Goldman read in Izvestia the announcement of John Reed's death. Reed had come to Russia to write for Max Eastman's Masses, and to help make the Revolution a success. En route to America with money to promote the Revolution, Reed had been betrayed to the Finnish authorities by a Russian Communist sailor who had accompanied him on orders from Zinoviev.

---

<sup>134</sup> Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 16-17

The Finnish imprisoned Reed, and fed him on dried fish until he nearly died of scurvy. At this point he was returned to Petrograd, where Goldman nursed him for two weeks. Now he was dead. Goldman went to his widow, Louise Bryant, and tried to comfort her. During their conversation, Goldman said that she realized that "all was not well with the Bolshevik regime, and I felt as if caught in a trap." Louise gripped Goldman's arm and said: "'Caught in a trap' were the very words Jack repeated in his delirium."<sup>135</sup>

Goldman stayed in Moscow for John Reed's funeral, then returned with the rest of the Expedition to Petrograd to deliver their carefully gathered material to the Museum. Goldman had a room at the Hotel International and here she interviewed many Communists who were embittered and who told Goldman they were determined to leave the Party.<sup>136</sup> "They were suffocating--they said--in the atmosphere of intrigue, blind hatred, and senseless persecution."<sup>137</sup> She goes on to say, however, that these Communist friends lacked the will power to leave the Party. "They saw the blunders, the intrigues, the

---

<sup>135</sup> Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 25-26

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., pp. 31-35

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 35



destruction of life practised in the name of Communism, but they had not the strength and courage to protest or to disassociate themselves from the Party responsible for the injustice and brutality."<sup>138</sup>

As the evidence accumulated through the passing months, the political impact of Communism was gradually changing Emma Goldman's early enthusiasm to revulsion toward the Communist Party. She wrote:

I knew that the Revolution and the Bolsheviks, proclaimed as one and the same, were opposites, antagonistic in aim and purpose. The Revolution had its roots deep down in the life of the people. The Communist State was based on a scheme forcibly applied by a political party. In the contest the Revolution was being slain, but the slayer also was gasping for breath.<sup>139</sup>

## VI. GOLDMAN'S EVALUATION OF HER EXPERIENCES

### IN RUSSIA, CHRISTMAS, 1920

Christmas eve, 1920. On Christmas eve, 1920, Goldman, Berkman and the other members of the Museum Expedition were in their special car, stalled in a blizzard fifty miles from Petrograd. Fortunately they had enough fuel and provisions to last for several days. They set up a little Christmas tree, complete with candles, and made a hot grog from rum they had received in Archangel. While the other members of the Expedition

---

<sup>138</sup> Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 36-37  
<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p. 31

settled down to celebrate Christmas in the warm, cozy railroad car, Goldman, unable to enter into the festivities in her usual gay manner, was thinking of that Christmas a year ago on the Buford, when she and Berkman were approaching Russia with unbounded faith in the future of Russia and its new government. Then, Goldman indicates: "Our hopes ran high, our faith flamed red-white, all our thoughts centered on our Matushka Rossiya (Mother Russia)." In the year since that Christmas on the Buford, she had tried her best to hold to her ardent faith in the Bolsheviks. She had wanted desperately to cling to this faith. But in spite of all she could do, her cherished faith had been torn from her by the irresistible stream of evidence proving Bolshevik intrigue, persecution, tyranny, and deliberate brutality. In writing of her thoughts on this Christmas in 1920, Goldman revealed: "Only a year had passed, and nothing was left but the ashes of my fervent dreams, my burning faith, my joyous song."<sup>140</sup>

## VII. THE KRONSTADT MASSACRE

Break-up of the Expedition. Kropotkin's death. The Expedition made a brief trip to Archangel and returned to Petrograd at the end of December, 1920. Here Goldman

---

<sup>140</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, pp. 859-860

learned that the Expedition was to be put under the direction of a political Commissar.<sup>141</sup> She went to Moscow in January, 1921, to learn the facts about this, and learned while there that Peter Kropotkin had been taken ill with pneumonia. He died February 8th, and was given an impressive funeral, with many anarchists marching in the mile-long procession. The Revolution and Emma Goldman had lost another good friend.<sup>142</sup>

The Troubetskoy plant strike. Goldman concluded that she could not work under a Commissar and severed her connections with the Museum Expedition. Soon, however, she was in the thick of another affair--the conflict between the government and the Kronstadt Sailors. In February, 1921, the millworkers of the Troubetskoy plant went out on strike, and were soon joined by the workers of several other Petrograd factories. The severe winter and official Soviet blundering had made their conditions unbearable. Food and fuel were very scarce and the Petro-Soviet had stupidly closed down several factories and cut the rations of their employees nearly in half. The strike started when the authorities refused permission for a meeting of the workers to discuss means of bettering their conditions.<sup>143</sup>

---

141 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 41, 53

142 Ibid.; pp. 54, 63

143 Ibid., p 65 See also Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 873

Troops were sent to disperse the strikers. Liza Zorin, who had been present when the troops met the strikers, told Goldman that a woman striker, recognizing Mrs. Zorin as a Party member, had staggered her with a right to the face. Undaunted, Mrs. Zorin had befriended the woman and accompanied her to her home which was, Mrs. Zorin said: "...a dreadful hole such as I thought no longer existed in our country. One dark room, cold and barren, occupied by the woman, her husband, and their six children."<sup>144</sup> Such pitiful conditions as these aroused the sympathy of both Liza Zorin and Emma Goldman.

The Kronstadt Sailors. Martial law was soon declared and the strikers were issued an ultimatum to return to work or be deprived of their rations. The strike spread, in spite of brutal attempts to crush it.<sup>145</sup> At this point the sailors of Kronstadt gave their support to the strikers. They had quietly sent a committee to investigate the conditions and demands of the strikers. The committee report supported the strikers and was concurred in by the sailors, who passed a resolution favoring the demands of their fellow workers. The revolutionary record and loyalty of the Kronstadt sailors was impressive.

---

<sup>144</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 874

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 875

They had taken the lead in revolutionary activities since 1905 and had often demonstrated their loyalty to the Communist regime. They also demanded freedom of assembly for labor unions and peasant organizations and the release of all labor leaders and political prisoners from Communist prisons and concentration camps. All their proceedings were carried out in a legal manner, showing loyalty to the Communist rule and a desire to reach an amicable solution to the strike.<sup>146</sup> Trotsky had previously praised the Kronstadt sailors as "the pride and glory of the Revolution." Now they dared to speak in protest against the inhumanity of the Communist Party and the intolerant Bolsheviki considered this high treason. The doom of the Kronstadt sailors was sealed. Their splendid record and loyalty to the Revolution counted for nothing now.<sup>147</sup>

Trotsky's ultimatum. Lenin and Trotsky signed an order declaring that Kronstadt was in mutiny against the Soviet Government, and denouncing the sailors as counter-revolutionists.<sup>148</sup> Shortly after this, Trotsky declared in his ultimatum to the Kronstadt sailors that he

---

<sup>146</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 876  
<sup>147</sup> Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, p. 71  
<sup>148</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 878

would "shoot like pheasants" those who attempted to "raise their hand against the Socialist fatherland." Kronstadt personnel were ordered to submit at once to the demands of the Government, or be crushed by military force.<sup>149</sup>

Goldman's part in the affair. On March 5, 1921, Goldman and Berkman sent a letter to the Petrograd Soviet of Labor and Defense, earnestly imploring the Government to appoint a Commission of five persons to settle the dispute by peaceful means. The request was ignored.<sup>150</sup> Next Goldman hoped to enlist the aid of Maxim Gorki, but no protest or word came from him. As Goldman wrote: "The intelligentsia, the men and women that had once been revolutionary torch-bearers, leaders of thought, writers and poets, were as helpless as we and paralysed by the futility of individual effort. Most of their comrades and friends were already in prison or exile; some had been executed."<sup>151</sup> Then Goldman appealed to her Communist friends to avert the useless slaughter. But these Party members feared the consequences of voicing a protest, for they knew that such an action would only result in expulsion from the Party, loss of jobs and rations. Of them, Goldman wrote:

---

149 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 883  
 150 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 72-73  
 151 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 885

"Yet it was not fear that numbed their will, they assured us. It was the utter uselessness of protest or appeal, nothing, nothing could stop the chariot-wheel of the Communist State. It had rolled them flat and they had no vitality left, even to cry out against it."<sup>152</sup> Goldman was appalled by the possibility that she and Berkman might also be crushed into acquiescence as her Communist friends had been. The hopelessness of individual protest against the tyranny of an all-powerful government galled her anarchist soul. For the first time she considered leaving Russia to escape from the "horrible revolutionary sham and pretense" perpetrated by the Communist State.<sup>153</sup>

Destruction of Kronstadt. Meanwhile, Trotsky surrounded Kronstadt with Communist troops and artillery. On March 7, 1921, the bombardment began, and on March 17, 1921, the fortress and city were liquidated, with great loss of life on both sides.<sup>154</sup> The soldiers and sailors of Kronstadt fought to the last. Those not killed in the fighting were later executed or sent to slave camps in Siberia.<sup>155</sup>

Kronstadt was the climax of Emma Goldman's process of disillusionment and enlightenment in regard to Russian Communism. For more than a year she had listened

---

152 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 885

153 Ibid., pp. 885-886

154 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 73-74

155 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 886

to the evidence against the Bolsheviks: now their own slaughter of their strongest supporters had condemned them in her judgment. In her own words:

Kronstadt broke the last thread that held me to the Bolsheviks. The wanton slaughter they had instigated spoke more eloquently against them than aught else. Whatever their pretenses in the past, the Bolsheviks now proved themselves the most pernicious enemies of the Revolution. I could have nothing further to do with them.<sup>156</sup>

Goldman's experiences after Kronstadt. After Kronstadt had been destroyed, Emma Goldman remained in Russia another nine months, until December 1, 1921. Her experiences during this time served to increase rather than diminish her disillusionment. She refused to accept rations from the Government, subsisting on money received from her own people in the United States and by trading off her surplus clothing.<sup>157</sup> Almost immediately after Kronstadt the Cheka arrested almost every known anarchist in Petrograd and in Moscow. The prisons were filled with these people--arrested, held without trial, and subjected to beatings and other forms of brutality.<sup>158</sup> Many of these anarchists had returned to Russia from other countries after the February Revolution to devote their energies to the success of the Revolution. Their support

---

<sup>156</sup> Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 76-77

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.; p. 78

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., pp. 80-82



had been won by the Bolsheviki Government when it adopted the anarchist slogan: "The factories to the workers, the land to the peasants." Some had been attracted later by Lenin's prediction of the "withering away of the state." They had taken an active part in the work and fighting of the Revolution. Although some of them privately objected to the methods of the Soviet State, the great majority of them were still loyal when sent to prison.<sup>159</sup>

#### VIII. GOLDMAN'S DEPARTURE FROM RUSSIA

It was customary for the Cheka to charge all arrested anarchists and sympathisers with banditry, a convenient method for disposing of those who criticized the Government. By this method anyone could be secretly disposed of without trial.<sup>160</sup> Among the anarchists executed was Fanya Baron, an especially close friend of Goldman's. Another friend, Lev Tchorny, died as a result of Cheka torture.<sup>161</sup> Goldman and Berkman were depressed and horrified. They were thoroughly convinced that the Revolution was lost to the Communist dictatorship and that they were helpless to do anything about it. They would be lucky if they could save themselves. They decided to

---

<sup>159</sup> Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, pp. 83-87

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., p. 92

<sup>161</sup> Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 921

leave Russia at the first opportunity.<sup>162</sup> They arranged to escape without passports, but this was unnecessary as the Soviet Government issued their passports in response to a demand from Berlin anarchists the Goldman and Berkman attend the International Anarchist Congress in Berlin in December. On December 1, 1921, Goldman and Berkman left Russia, never to return.<sup>163</sup> Probably they would have been denied passports or have been imprisoned with their anarchist comrades except for Lenin's policy of leaving the most prominent people free as proof of his liberal attitude. Madame X, in Poltava, had told Goldman about this policy to explain why Lenin had not imprisoned Peter Kropotkin, Vera Figner, and Vladimir Korolenko.<sup>164</sup>

Goldman's farewell to Russia. The contrast between Emma Goldman's entry into Russia and her departure are best expressed in her own words:

Belo-Ostrov, January 19, 1920. O radiant dream, O burning faith! O Matushka Rossiya (Mother Russia), reborn in the travail of the Revolution, purged by it from hate and strife, liberated for true humanity and embracing all, I will dedicate myself to you, O Russia!

In the train, December 1, 1921! My dreams crushed, my faith broken, my heart like a stone. Matushka Rossiya bleeding from a thousand wounds, her soil strewn with the dead.

I clutch the bar at the frozen window-pane and grit my teeth to suppress my sobs.<sup>165</sup>

---

162 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 921  
 163 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, p. 143  
 164 Goldman, Living My Life, Vol. II, p. 820  
 165 Ibid., p. 927

## IX. SUMMARY

When Goldman entered Russia in 1920 she strongly favored the Bolshevik regime. She believed that the Bolsheviks were going to help the Russian people who had suffered so long under the Czars. She continued to believe this for more than a year after arriving in Russia.<sup>166</sup> It is true that she was opposed to Socialism in principle, but now that the Bolsheviks were in power, she was willing to set aside this objection and judge the regime on the basis of its practical results in terms of human welfare. She was willing to lay aside her anarchist prejudice against government monopoly and base her judgment on the pragmatic criterion of "the greatest good to the greatest number of people."<sup>167</sup>

In almost two years in Russia, traveling and talking with scores of people representing many occupations and political beliefs, she could find no evidence of any benefit to the workers or peasants under the Bolsheviks.<sup>168</sup> The only beneficial result of the new government was that claimed by some of the Jews in the Ukraine, where there had been no pogroms under the Bolsheviks.<sup>169</sup> In contrast to

---

166 Goldman, My Disillusionment in Russia, p. xii

167 Ibid., p. xvi

168 Ibid., p. xvii

169 Goldman, My Further Disillusionment, p. 10

this one benefit, there were many groups of people who had suffered severely; the industrial workers were reduced to slavery; the peasants were robbed by the system of forcible collection of foodstuffs; the bourgeoisie had been deprived of their means of livelihood and robbed of their possessions; the intelligentsia were persecuted and in many cases shot or exiled. These people made up the bulk of the Russian population. They had suffered severely at the hands of their new masters.

These tyrannical injustices forced upon the bulk of the population had all but disillusioned Emma Goldman. The slaughter of the Kronstadt sailors was the crowning act of tyranny which thoroughly convinced her that nothing good could ever be expected to emerge from the Communist regime, which sought only its own power and cared nothing for human beings and their rights, even when those human beings were the strongest supporters of Communism. The Kronstadt massacre provided the emotional shock needed to break the last of Goldman's allegiance to the Bolsheviks. She was thoroughly disillusioned. She wanted to get out of Russia and tell the world how the Communists had destroyed the Revolution. It is regrettable that her books, which so successfully expose the fallacies and weaknesses of the Communist dictatorship, have not been more widely read.

### CHAPTER III

## THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF COMMUNISM ON BENJAMIN GITLOW

### I. HIS EARLY LIFE

Parentage. Benjamin Gitlow was born Dec. 22, 1891, at Elizabethport, New Jersey.<sup>1</sup> His parents were poor Russian-Jewish immigrants who had been in the United States only a short time. His father, a Socialist, had been driven out of Russia by the secret police. He worked in a shirt factory to make a living. In his spare time he worked in a Socialist print shop as his contribution to the coming revolution. Gitlow's mother was also working for the Socialist cause<sup>2</sup> and his boyhood home was a center of Socialist activity. He was deeply interested in the idealistic discussions of the wonderful transformation that Socialism would bring to the world, and how it would better the lot of the working people.<sup>3</sup> He was thrilled by stories of revolutionary activity in Russia. The Czar and his police

---

1 Gitlow, Benjamin, I Confess, p. 4

2 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives p. x

3 Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 5-6

were always the villains of these stories and the revolutionists were always the heroes.<sup>4</sup> Max Eastman writes of the young Gitlow:

From infancy Gitlow had breathed in the idea that if a workers' state took over the industries and operated them without paying profits to capital, there would be no more poverty or injustice in the world.<sup>5</sup>

Member Socialist Party. During the Spanish American War the Gitlows moved to Brooklyn where Ben learned more about Socialism, attended Socialist meetings, and became thoroughly convinced that the eventual triumph of Socialism would liberate the working class and make the world a better place in which to live.<sup>6</sup> He joined the Socialist Party and started taking an active part in the radical labor movement before he was seventeen years old.<sup>7</sup> The impressions made on his mind in these formative years were not easily changed.

Education. His formal education took him through three years of high school. He was a good baseball player, a good shot-putter, and an excellent football player. He was well liked by his fellow students and usually elected president of his class.<sup>8</sup> After leaving high

---

<sup>4</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 5-6

<sup>5</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, foreword by Max Eastman, p. x

<sup>6</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 6-7

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 8

<sup>8</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. x

school he worked in factories and later in department stores. He helped organize the first union of department store workers in America, and was elected as its first president. He worked diligently in the Socialist Party as a leader, an orator, and an organizer.<sup>9</sup>

## II. GITLOW'S REASONS FOR JOINING COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Russian Revolution. Gitlow's background, of a revolutionary home life and ten years of devoted service to the Socialist movement, caused him to look upon the Russian Revolution as the greatest event of modern times.<sup>10</sup> He and many of his Socialist comrades accepted the Bolsheviki as true revolutionary Socialists who had succeeded in overthrowing capitalism and were setting up a Socialist regime in Russia.<sup>11</sup> Without stopping to weigh and consider the program and objectives of the Bolsheviki, the more militant of the Socialists fell in line. Here was the Revolution for which they had waited many years. Their emotions were aroused.<sup>12</sup> Gitlow records their attitude: "The Revolution was on the march. We could lose no time. We had to march with it."<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. x

<sup>10</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 12

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 13

Formation of Communist Labor Party. The Revolution split the Socialist Party in two. Gitlow was in the left wing which supported the Russian Revolution and sought to wreck the Socialist Party.<sup>14</sup> The right wingers, led by Morris Hillquit,<sup>15</sup> intended to wait and see what would happen in Russia while working peacefully for reforms.<sup>16</sup> In 1919 the left wing Socialists, including Gitlow, were expelled from the Socialist Party.<sup>17</sup> They then organized the Communist Labor Party.<sup>18</sup>

Gitlow believed Communism would establish Socialism. Gitlow could not then foresee that Communism was opposed to the democratic principles in which he had believed as a Socialist. He was convinced that Bolshevism offered a practical means by which the working class could overthrow the capitalist system and make socialism a reality. Gitlow was willing to devote his life to the achievement of socialism.<sup>19</sup> At the time, he was motivated by a high regard for human values. He felt that the Communist movement would help to decrease the human suffering, the injustice, the exploitation of the workers which, he thought, existed under the capitalist system. He thought also that the Communist way of

---

<sup>14</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 13

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.; p. 24

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.; p. 20

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.; p. 41

<sup>18</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. x

<sup>19</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 41



life would tend to eliminate imperialist wars.<sup>20</sup>

### III. HIS CAREER AS A COMMUNIST

Filled with the zeal of a reformer who wishes to improve the world, and misguided as to the objectives of the organization, Gitlow embarked upon his career in the Communist Party. He was sincere in his devotion to the Communist cause and active in promoting it. This activity brought about his arrest in November, 1919,<sup>21</sup> in one of the "red raids" conducted by Attorney General Palmer.<sup>22</sup> He was tried on a charge of advocating "the overthrow of the United States Government by force, violence, and illegal means."<sup>23</sup> He was found guilty, and as he stood up to be sentenced he denounced the United States as a "capitalist dictatorship" which should be overthrown and replaced by a "dictatorship of the proletariat." He was sentenced to five to ten years at hard labor. His comrades hailed him as a martyr to the cause and the Moscow Soviet made him an honorary member.<sup>24</sup>

His offices in the Communist Party. After three years in prison he was pardoned by Governor Al Smith.<sup>25</sup> However, the years in prison had not changed his views:

---

20 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 54

21 Ibid., p. 60

22 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. x

23 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 69

24 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. x

25 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 128

he was as ardent a Communist as ever. In the years which followed he held in turn all of the top offices in the American Communist Party, including Editor-in-Chief of the Daily Worker, General Secretary of the Party, director of its strike and trade union policy, and twice candidate for Vice-President of the United States on the Communist ticket.<sup>26</sup>

Trips to Moscow, 1927, 1928, and 1929. In 1927 Gitlow made his first trip to Moscow, at Stalin's request. He held a long conversation with Stalin on American problems.<sup>27</sup> In 1928 he attended the Profintern Congress in Moscow.<sup>28</sup> On his third and last trip to Moscow, in 1929, Gitlow attended the meeting of the Praesidium of the Communist International.<sup>29</sup>

#### IV. GITLOW'S REASONS FOR LEAVING THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

##### He opposed Stalin's totalitarian dictatorship.

Why would a man so high in the councils of the Communist Party deliberately separate himself from the Party and take an active part in condemning it? Gitlow's principal reason for leaving the Party was that he opposed Stalin's totalitarian dictatorship of Russia and of the Communist Party.

---

26 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. xi  
 27 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. xi  
 28 Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 453 and 456  
 29 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. xii

He felt that this dictatorship enslaved the minds of those who came under its influence. In his words:

"This enslavement of the human mind, this prescription of independent thinking more than anything else caused me to break with Communism."<sup>30</sup> The Communist organization required that every member think and act in accord with majority decisions of the Party. If the idea before the Party were one of Stalin's ideas, then everyone was expected to vote for it. Those who opposed Stalin's ideas were either imprisoned or shot.<sup>31</sup>

As a result of this compulsion, the Communist International is the only world-wide organization which can boast of unanimous decisions. Such an organization leaves no opportunity for individual thinking, or democratic processes of any kind, regardless of the merits of the question.<sup>32</sup> Gitlow had seen the members of the Communist International profess to believe in things which he knew they opposed.<sup>33</sup> When decisions of the Comintern were relayed to the American Party, the American Party in turn was required to endorse and support them, whether they were right or wrong in the eyes of the American members.<sup>34</sup> Such was

---

<sup>30</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 587

<sup>31</sup> Lyons, Eugene, Stalin, Czar of all the Russias, pp. 234-235

<sup>32</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 586

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 587

<sup>34</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 158

the mental straight jacket imposed by Stalin. Gitlow opposed it, as any thinking man would have done.

He considered the Communist leaders mediocre. Gitlow also opposed Stalin's dictatorship because the bulk of its leaders, gathered from various parts of the world, were of mediocre intellect, selected principally for their willingness to subject themselves to Stalin. The German delegates to the International were heavy drinkers,<sup>35</sup> too weak to lead a German revolution, and very willing to do anything for their Russian bosses.<sup>36</sup> Bela Kun, the Party leader from Hungary, was uncouth both in appearance and in intellect. Scheming against his former friends and fawning upon the Russians, he gave no evidence of being a leader of men.<sup>37</sup> As for the English Party leaders, Gitlow said:

The Communists of Great Britain, with the exception of Murphy, who was expelled from the Comintern because of his intellectual integrity, were a group of pettifogging nitwits, as expressionless and dull as a fog over London.<sup>38</sup>

Gitlow knew the European Communist leaders only casually. The leaders in the American Party he knew well. He had worked with them for many years. He devotes the greater part of his two books to recording the activities of his comrades in the American Communist Party. The

---

<sup>35</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 436-437

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 587

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

almost continual fights and struggles between different factions in the Party as they grasped for the semblance of power are described in detail in Gitlow's books, and show that he knew his comrades well indeed. He knew that their common objective was Stalin's favor which, they hoped, would give them a little power in the Party. He knew that their methods of lying, cheating, stealing and informing were contemptible to honest people. And he knew that in many cases their private lives were amoral. About the factional fights in the Party he wrote:

The perniciousness in the factionalism that existed in the American Communist Party leadership and affected the entire membership, the amorality it fostered, the corruption it spread, was not due to the democratic regime that prevailed in the Party but rather to the constraint placed upon that regime. And the source of that constraint was Moscow.<sup>39</sup>

Gitlow also had a low regard for the intellectual capacities of these so-called leaders, whom he saw as mere stooges for Stalin. They had so little regard for each other that they would unanimously condemn and ostracize any comrade at Stalin's command. Gitlow's faith in Communism must have been strong to hold him for ten years in an organization whose leaders inspired so little admiration.

---

<sup>39</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 494

As an example of Gitlow's contempt for most American Communist leaders, he says of Earl Browder: "...his stupidity wrecked the OGPU's headquarters (in China) which cost the Russians millions of dollars to promote."<sup>40</sup> Stalin saved Browder from liquidation in order to use him further.<sup>41</sup> Browder never had any opinions of his own--he merely echoed the opinions of his Russian bosses.<sup>42</sup> In one of the factional fights of the Party, Browder planned the assassination of Jay Lovestone, who was a loyal Communist.<sup>43</sup> Typical of Gitlow's condemnation of the moral caliber of American Communists is his statement that Jay Lovestone was a stool pigeon and an informer on his fellow Communists,<sup>44</sup> and that he depended on scoundrels to do his work in the Party.<sup>45</sup>

Gitlow also had a low opinion of William Foster, whom he refers to as a "shamefaced dullard,"<sup>46</sup> a liar,<sup>47</sup> and as "lacking in principle."<sup>48</sup> Gitlow records Foster's own estimate of himself: "I am one who was raised in the slums...I have no teachings or principles."<sup>49</sup>

Many of the American comrades sought an escape from

- 
- 40 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 358
  - 41 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 488
  - 42 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 359
  - 43 Ibid.
  - 44 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 324
  - 45 Ibid., p. 325
  - 46 Ibid., p. 191
  - 47 Ibid., p. 552
  - 48 Ibid., p. 513
  - 49 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 102

reality in excessive alcoholic indulgence. Gitlow wrote about this: "...the matter of drunkenness among the staff of the Daily Worker and among Communist leaders generally, who made asses of themselves in public (in Moscow as well as America) was the subject of several plenums of the Central Executive Committee."<sup>50</sup> As Gitlow's service to the Party neared its end, he became more and more disgusted with the immorality and the lack of leadership shown by Party leaders who held their positions only by continuous obeisance to Stalin.<sup>51</sup>

Stalin's dictatorship had no regard for human dignity. Gitlow also opposed Stalin's dictatorship because it showed no regard for the dignity and worth of the individual, particularly when individuals indicated that they differed with Stalin's views. Gitlow writes of this vicious practice as he saw it in the late 1930's:

In every Party the most tried and trusted leaders of the movement--tried in battle and trusted by the masses--fell under Stalin's axe precisely because of their integrity, prestige and independence, and their places were taken by sycophants beholden only to Stalin.<sup>52</sup>

Trotsky's exile. Stalin's treacherous ousting of the brilliant Trotsky from power in the Russian Communist

---

<sup>50</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 313. See also p. 457

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 577

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 488

Party is a good example of this disregard for the dignity and worth of the individual. After Lenin's death in 1924, Trotsky was the most brilliant of all Russian Communists. He had organized the hordes of ragged Bolsheviks into a well-disciplined Red Army to win the Revolution in Russia. While leading the Red Army, Trotsky had exposed Stalin as a knave whose blunders had been costly to the Reds. Trotsky had, in meetings of the political committee, made Stalin look like a fool. Stalin never forgot or forgave Trotsky. By using political maneuvers, at which he was a master, Stalin succeeded in forcing Trotsky out of the Party and into exile.<sup>53</sup>

The American delegation to the Comintern, of which Gitlow was a member on his first visit to Moscow, assisted in the expulsion of Trotsky by presenting a resolution calling for Trotsky's removal. This they did for purely selfish reasons, in order to gain favor with Stalin, who wanted to expel Trotsky.<sup>54</sup> Delegations from other countries joined in denouncing Trotsky for the same reason. All were impelled by the lust for power and place, totally disregarding human values.<sup>55</sup> They all knew that Trotsky was the most capable man in the Comintern, Lenin's true heir to

---

<sup>53</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, pp. 341-342

<sup>54</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 427

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 428



leadership in the Party. Nevertheless, they denounced him to gain favor with Stalin, who had the power to give them more favors. This action is typical of Soviet procedures, in which the dignity and worth of the individual count for nothing, while the struggle for power determines every issue. Stalin set the example and his stooges were forced to follow. Such procedures had their part in turning Gitlow against Stalin and his dictatorship.<sup>56</sup> Stalin had no respect for Trotsky's outstanding record in the Revolution or for his intellect, which could have served Russia for many years to come. Stalin was interested only in his own personal power, and proceeded to destroy those who questioned this power or those who would not kow tow to him.

Expulsion of other leaders. Trotsky was followed by many others who opposed Stalin's desire for total power.<sup>57</sup> By 1929 Stalin had succeeded in removing nearly all of those who had been top leaders under Lenin. The very capable team of Zinoviev, Radek and Kamenev were out of power and in fear of further reprisals. Bukharin, Rykoff and Tomsy were the next trio on Stalin's list.<sup>58</sup> Tomsy committed suicide, Bukharin and Rykoff were convicted as traitors and shot.<sup>59</sup> The loss of Bukharin, especially,

---

<sup>56</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 588

<sup>57</sup> Eastman, Max, Stalin's Russia, pp. 62-63

<sup>58</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 165

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 193

was a serious blow to the Party. He was well educated and scholarly, with a high regard for human values. He was an outstanding leader, loved and admired by other Party members.<sup>60</sup> Of Bukharin's successor, Molotov, Gitlow wrote after an interview: "It seems incredible that this ignoramus could be Bukharin's successor."<sup>61</sup> But to Stalin, Bukharin was just another obstacle to be removed. Ben Gitlow knew that Stalin was clawing his way to unlimited power by killing these able men, and he was thoroughly opposed to it.

Economic failure of Communism. If these Stalinist murders had resulted in definite benefits to the masses of the people, they might have been considered justified to people imbued with the Communist principle that the end justifies the means. As Gitlow saw it, Stalin's dictatorship had failed to improve the lot of the common people in Russia. This failure weakened his faith in Communism and was one of the reasons for his final break with the Party.

Housing conditions and food, 1927. In May of 1927, on his first trip to Russia, Gitlow observed that most of the people in Moscow were very poor and that housing conditions were abominable. Class distinctions still prevailed.

---

60 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 164

61 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 549

Those in favored positions had plenty, while other people went hungry. For breakfast the bureaucrats and Party workers had eggs, bread and cheese, while the ordinary workers had only weak tea and a single bread roll, without butter--a breakfast that, as Gitlow wrote, "would have been rejected on a Bowery breadline."<sup>62</sup>

Tramps, beggars and homeless children were everywhere. Among the prostitutes on the main street of Moscow at night were many young girls, some of whom appeared to be not more than eleven or twelve years old. When Gitlow asked about these children among the prostitutes, the Party faithful told him it was quite all right, for the prostitutes were of the former bourgeoisie. They were unable or unwilling to work.<sup>63</sup>

During this trip in 1927, Gitlow visited Big Bill Haywood at the Kremlin Hospital, and observed that this hospital, supposed to be the best in Moscow, was very poor and dilapidated compared with the average American hospital.<sup>64</sup> Haywood had been in Russia since 1921.<sup>65</sup> He hated the Russian dictatorship for its denial of liberty and freedom of action to the individual. He felt that Russia was a vast prison in which the lives of millions of people were of no importance to their masters.<sup>66</sup> Just

---

<sup>62</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 442

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 443

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 467

<sup>65</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 48

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 51

before Gitlow left the hospital, Haywood said to him: "Ben...don't leave your country. Russia may be all right for the Russians but it is no place for an American. Look to America for freedom and hope."<sup>67</sup> Gitlow remembered these words long enough to write them in his book published in 1948. He must have given them considerable thought in the intervening period. His thinking must have led him to doubt the infallibility of the Russian system.

Conditions in Moscow 1928, 1929. On his second trip to Moscow in 1928, Gitlow found economic conditions worse than in 1927. Many workers were unemployed. Dairy products and meat were very scarce. Clothing, shoes and textiles were too expensive for the common people to buy. The "workers' paradise" was not providing its people with the goods that American considered the necessities of life.<sup>68</sup> One night Gitlow saw a group of homeless children, dressed in rags, sleeping huddled together on top of a wide stone wall.<sup>69</sup>

When Gitlow made his last trip to Moscow in 1929, he observed that economic conditions were worse than on either of his previous trips. All food was scarce. Milk,

---

<sup>67</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 52

<sup>68</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 462

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 463

all dairy products, meat, vegetables and fruit were strictly rationed. Even bread was rationed. Clothing and shoes were priced so high as to be unobtainable to ordinary workers. Long lines began forming at four o'clock in the morning where the sale of milk would begin at seven. The milk would be sold out before one-fourth of the waiting people had been served. Meanwhile milk was delivered daily in bottles to the Party leaders, whether needed or not.<sup>70</sup> In commenting later on economic conditions in Russia, Gitlow wrote:

In the twenty-two years of its existence Communism in Russia has failed to fill the bread basket..... it is precisely because of its economic failures that Communism was obliged to seek refuge in absolutism.<sup>71</sup>

Such a dismal failure in time of peace and in a country with Russia's huge land area was so striking that it shook Gitlow's faith in the Communist application of Socialism. From his early youth he had understood that Socialism was supposed to bring economic benefits and greater freedom to the workers. Now he knew as a result of his own observation that the Russian workers were hungry and had lost whatever freedom they might have had before.<sup>72</sup>

---

70 Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 531-532

71 Ibid.; p. 592. See also p. 489

72 Ibid., p. 592

## V. STALIN REMOVED GITLOW FROM OFFICE

By the early part of 1929, Gitlow realized many of the defects and shortcomings of Communism. But it took more than this knowledge to break him away from it. He had devoted practically all of his adult life to Communism. For such a man breaking away from a cause and admitting that he had wasted most of his life working for it were not easy to do. A severe emotional shock was required to start the process of breaking with Communism, and this shock was provided by Joseph Stalin, who expelled Gitlow from the Communist Party and all his offices therein.

Struggle between Gitlow and Foster. In America Jay Lovestone and Benjamin Gitlow had been elected to leadership of the Party by a huge majority of the members. The leader of the opposing faction, William Z. Foster, had only a small minority of the votes.<sup>73</sup> Elected to leadership in the Party, Gitlow felt that he had arrived "at the pinnacle of power"<sup>74</sup> as a result of his own efforts and that he was secure in this position. He felt that "this power that tasted so sweet"<sup>75</sup> was his,

---

<sup>73</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 496

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., Title of Chapter XIII

<sup>75</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. xi

to have and to hold. But he had failed to realize that only Stalin held actual power in the Party, while the leaders in each nation held only the semblance of power, and that at Stalin's pleasure.

Lovestone and Gitlow thought that they could run the American Party somewhat according to their own ideas, with a minimum of interference from Stalin. Foster was ready and willing to acquiesce to Stalin's slightest whim. Foster was praising Stalin and condemning Bukharin, while Lovestone and Gitlow were critical of Stalin.<sup>76</sup> Being a submissive stooge, Foster won Stalin's support against Lovestone and Gitlow.

In an attempt to find out Foster's standing in the Party, Gitlow had one of his henchmen steal Costrell's briefcase.<sup>77</sup> Costrell was the most active worker for the Foster minority. His briefcase contained a letter from Foster, then in Moscow, stating that Stalin had told Foster in a private interview that he would support Foster for leader of the American Party and that he was opposed to Bukharin and to the Lovestone-Gitlow leadership which Bukharin supported.<sup>78</sup>

Gitlow thought that Foster was lying again in this letter to strengthen his standing with the American

---

<sup>76</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 512-513

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 501

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 503

Party.<sup>79</sup> After a conference with other leaders of the Party, Gitlow sent a long cable to Moscow restating Foster's letter and requesting information as to the actual state of affairs.<sup>80</sup> In reply he received a cable, drafted at a meeting where both Stalin and Bukharin were present, stating that there was no difference of opinion among the Russian leaders--they were in complete agreement on all issues. This convinced Gitlow that Foster's letter was a lie. Gitlow published the Russian cable in the American Party press to strengthen his position with the comrades by proving that Foster was lying again.<sup>81</sup>

Without knowing it, Gitlow had committed a serious offense against Stalin. Foster's letter was true. Stalin was working to oust Bukharin and he had given his support to Foster. Stalin was the one who had lied, and Gitlow had unknowingly exposed Stalin as the double-crosser that he was.<sup>82</sup> Gitlow had committed the unforgiveable sin of revealing Stalin's lying and duplicity. As a consequence of this exposure, Gitlow's name was placed on Stalin's list of those to be removed from the Party by one means or another.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 503

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 503-504

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 504



This incident illustrates one of the many difficulties facing a person who works in the Communist Party where lying and other immoral acts are considered justified.<sup>84</sup> In such an organization it is very difficult to determine who is lying or who is the biggest liar. It would be especially precarious to work in an organization where the dictator with unquestioned power over the other comrades "excelled all other mortals in capacity for lying and intrigue."<sup>85</sup> Later in Moscow Stalin said:

We are Leninists and our relations one with another...must be built on mutual confidence, must be as pure and as clear as crystal...there should be no room in our ranks for rotten diplomatic intrigue.<sup>86</sup>

In spite of such a declaration, Stalin's record shows him constantly using rotten intrigue to confine his erstwhile comrades in G.P.U. dungeons where they were tortured and many of them murdered at Stalin's command.<sup>87</sup>

Meeting of the Presidium, 1929. When Gitlow and Lovestone attended the meeting of the Presidium of the Comintern in 1929 they felt that their support by the huge majority of the American Party assured them of continued leadership in the Party.<sup>88</sup> Up to this time

---

<sup>84</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 2

<sup>85</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 504

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 553

<sup>87</sup> Lyons, Stalin, Czar of all the Russias, pp. 234-235

<sup>88</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. xii

Party majorities had always been respected by the Comintern.<sup>89</sup> They were to find that Stalin, with more autocratic authority than any Czar,<sup>90</sup> could expel them from their leadership in spite of their majority support.

In Berlin on their way to Moscow, they were warned by Roy, who had previously been expelled from the Party, in these words: "Your majority means nothing. Stalin is a ruthless man. Once you are in Russia you are like a trapped animal."<sup>91</sup> Lovestone and Gitlow were not convinced. They had to learn by experience, for which they had not long to wait. While they were waiting, Bukharin and Rykov were both expelled from the Party,<sup>92</sup> to be executed later.<sup>93</sup>

Stalin denounced Gitlow and Lovestone. Gitlow and Lovestone were next on the list. At the meeting of the Presidium of the Comintern in May, 1929, Stalin had his puppets introduce an Address to the American Party which denounced the Lovestone-Gitlow leadership as "gross intriguers," "right deviationists," and "slanderers of the Russian Communist Party." The American delegates were expected to vote in favor of this condemnation and to sign it as well.<sup>94</sup> Stalin had organized the whole Comintern

---

89 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 518

90 Ibid.; p. 521

91 Ibid.; p. 528

92 Ibid.; p. 544

93 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 193

94 Ibid., p. xii

against the Americans.

To oppose the Address, the American comrades drew up a Declaration stating their reasons for not voting for the Address.<sup>95</sup> Stalin condemned the American stand in harsh terms and ridiculed their leadership. Then he demanded that they demonstrate their loyalty by voting for and signing the Address, which had been supported by the majority decision of the Presidium.<sup>96</sup> American delegates who voted for the Address would thereby admit all the crimes of which the Address accused them. They would be admitting their guilt as "Fascists," "Babbitts," "Hooverites," "glorifiers of American imperialism," and "enemies of the Soviet Union." This method of getting a signed confession from the accused--so often used against others who incurred Stalin's displeasure--was now being used against the Lovestone-Gitlow leadership. They had participated in removing Trotsky, Bukharin and others from the Party by similar means.<sup>97</sup> Now it was their turn.

When the vote was taken on the Address it was almost unanimous. Gitlow was the only man to vote against it.<sup>98</sup> He took this stand because he was opposed

---

<sup>95</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, p. 557

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 558

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. xiii

to Stalin's dictatorship of the American Party and because he refused to admit himself guilty of crimes which he had not committed.<sup>99</sup> He knew that his refusal to support the Address would probably result in his expulsion from the Communist movement for which he had served three long years in prison and for which he had worked diligently over a ten year period.<sup>100</sup> He loved Communism more than life itself.<sup>101</sup> He still believed that Communism could somehow bring about better economic conditions and greater freedom for the human race. But he was opposed to Stalin's crafty and double-dealing dictatorship, which was fast becoming a tyranny more cruel, more ugly than the despotism of the Czars.<sup>102</sup>

Gitlow's attitude towards power. Although Gitlow has not stated it in so many words, a careful reading of his books indicates that one of the reasons for his deliberate defiance of Stalin was plain old-fashioned anger, aroused by Stalin's pushing Gitlow and Lovestone off the "pinnacle of power" in the American Party. It is quite probable that Gitlow enjoyed his position of power and naturally resented losing it after having been elected

---

99 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 559  
 100 Ibid., p. 560  
 101 Ibid., p. 494  
 102 Ibid., p. 560

to leadership. Gitlow's attitude toward power may be deduced from his statement:

The gospel of control, of securing the actual power--that is the heart and soul of Bolshevik philosophy, that is the fascination that draws such a varied assortment of the disgruntled and the dissatisfied to the banner of Communism.... It is a fascination virtually irresistible to the power hungry.<sup>103</sup>

In 1948 he wrote: "The attainment of power within the Party organization is the prerequisite of every good Communist."<sup>104</sup> And he was one of the best Communists while he was in the Party.

Competition for power within the Party may well have been Gitlow's reason for working so hard as leader of the Party. His own words demonstrate how hard he did work:

Unceasing activity on behalf of the Party... drowned out the very time for reflection. It was a case of one damned thing after another occupying my attention practically twenty out of every twenty four hours, robbing me of sleep...undermining my naturally great reserve of vitality.<sup>105</sup>

His wages for all this hard work were only forty dollars a week, barely enough to keep him, his wife, and their son in a one-room apartment in the Bronx.<sup>106</sup> He could have earned more, with less work, as a business agent for a union. Perhaps the intangible compensation in

---

103 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 473

104 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 118

105 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 470

106 Ibid., p. 569

the form of power and prospect of greater power had a place among Gitlow's incentives. When this power was torn from him by Stalin, it was only natural that he should be filled with resentment.

In explaining his vote against the Address, Gitlow concluded his speech to the Presidium with the statement: "Not only do I vote against this decision, but when I return to the United States I will fight against it!"<sup>107</sup> He looked straight at Stalin when he said this. Such open defiance of Stalin's will required great moral courage on Gitlow's part.<sup>108</sup> He fully realized that being ejected from the Party was the least retaliation he might expect. He knew that Stalin could hold him in Russia as long as he pleased, and that other comrades had been tortured and killed for less obvious defiance.<sup>109</sup>

Gitlow expelled from Party. Gitlow was lucky. He was demoted from his positions in the Party and expelled from the American Communist Party.<sup>110</sup> He was held in Moscow for only two weeks while his punishment was being considered by Stalin's inner circle.<sup>111</sup> His American citizenship, along with the current Russian attempts to cultivate friendly relations with the United States,

---

107 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 560

108 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. xv

109 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 561

110 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. xv

111 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 565

probably saved him from being liquidated.<sup>112</sup>

When Gitlow arrived in New York in June, 1929, he found that the Daily Worker and other Party publications were condemning the Lovestone-Gitlow leadership in the most vile terms that could be printed. Every Party member was required to vote in favor of the Address and to have no social contacts with the renegades who had so recently been their leaders. They treated Gitlow with contempt.<sup>113</sup>

A high-salaried job in the G.P.U. was offered to Gitlow as a bribe. If he had accepted this job it would have kept him working for the secret police in Latin American countries for a year or two. He would have been required to keep quiet and stay out of the United States. Even though penniless, Gitlow refused this bribe, because he knew that it would make him a slave of the G.P.U. for the rest of his life.<sup>114</sup>

The Lovestoneites. After being expelled from the Communist Party, Gitlow and Lovestone gathered about one hundred and fifty of their loyal followers into their own factional group, which they called the Communist Party

---

112 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 566

113 Ibid., p. 568

114 Ibid., pp. 568-569

U.S.A. (Majority Group). They were commonly called the Lovestoneites.<sup>115</sup> Their status was about the same as the Trotskyites, in that they were condemned by the official Party as counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the working class. Their membership was never more than three hundred and fifty.<sup>116</sup>

Gitlow resigned from the Lovestoneites in 1932 when they insisted that Stalin's program was perfect. But he still believed in Communism.<sup>117</sup> He tried to bring together the Lovestoneites, the Trotskyites, and other Communist opposition groups to form a bloc in opposition to Stalin. His leadership was not accepted.<sup>118</sup>

In 1934 he joined the Socialist Party, only to find that it was a convenient battle field for the Communists, Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, whose fights left the Socialist Party impotent. He soon left the Socialist Party. He was getting tired of factional fights, and he had not been elected to any position of leadership.<sup>119</sup>

Five years had elapsed since Stalin had ejected

---

115 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 571

116 Ibid., p. 572

117 Ibid., p. 575

118 Ibid., p. 577

119 Ibid., pp. 580-584



Gitlow from his high office in the Party and from the Party itself. Without the stimulus which leadership provides and with time for reflective thinking, Gitlow had been critically examining the principles and practices of Communism.<sup>120</sup> He found them less to his liking than during the years of his leadership in the movement. He could not immediately cast aside his faith in Communism as he would throw away a worn out shirt, because this faith had become a part of himself, having grown with him from his childhood. When, however, during the winter of 1932 millions of Russians starved to death,<sup>121</sup> Gitlow realized that Stalin's brand of Communism had failed to produce a workers' paradise.

Hitler's rise to power. Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933 further opened Gitlow's eyes, for he wrote: "In smashing democracy, Hitler smashed my Communist belief that democracy was an illusion."<sup>122</sup> When Stalin hailed Hitler's dictatorship as a victory for the working class in that it prepared them for a "dictatorship of the proletariat," Gitlow began to realize the dangers of dictatorship.<sup>123</sup>

---

120 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 588

121 Ibid., p. 575

122 Ibid., p. 588

123 Ibid., pp. 588-589

Communism and Fascism. As the gradual process of awakening from the Communist dream continued, Gitlow came to the conclusion that the Communists under Lenin and Stalin were responsible for the development of Fascism in Europe, by setting the example of totalitarianism in Russia and by making the threat which gave the excuse for the establishment of Fascism.<sup>124</sup> He realized that Communism and Fascism are very similar in their methods of operation.<sup>125</sup> Both systems deprived people of their freedom without giving them the economic benefits which had been used as bait in the trap.<sup>126</sup>

Gitlow finally came to realize that the Communists in their fanatical zeal had forgotten that men through the ages had fought for freedom from tyranny, for economic freedom, and for freedom of expression. Democracy had brought mankind nearer to these freedoms than any other system of government had, and had enabled men to secure a higher standard of living as well. The Communists would case aside this freedom, purchased at the price of so much blood and pain, to go back to virtual slavery under the tyrannical yoke of a Red Dictator.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 589-590

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., pp. 590-591

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 592

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p. 589

## VI. GITLOW'S BREAT WITH COMMUNISM

Gitlow now admitted that Communism in practice does not work.<sup>128</sup> It results in a huge, blundering State monopoly<sup>129</sup> which is unable to feed its people,<sup>130</sup> and treats them with contempt<sup>131</sup> while fastening them in an intellectual straight jacket.<sup>132</sup> Gitlow concludes: "Economic security and freedom go hand in hand. Only through the democratic processes can both be achieved."<sup>133</sup> Gitlow had become an ex-Communist.

## VII. SUMMARY

There is nothing spectacular about Gitlow's becoming a Communist. He was a victim of his environment, born and raised in a Socialist home where his parents looked to revolution for a solution to their problems, rather than appreciating the democratic aspects of their adopted country. The panic of 1893 and the hard times

---

128 Gitlow, I Confess, p. 489

129 Ibid., p. 593

130 Ibid., p. 597

131 Ibid., p. 593

132 Ibid., p. 588

133 Ibid., p. 597

which followed kept these immigrants poor and fostered a feeling of economic oppression. Socialism was their future goal for mankind. Neither Gitlow nor his parents were well enough acquainted with the history of Socialism to understand its inherent weaknesses and its record of repeated failures.

The Russian Revolution delighted them. It made them feel that the millenium was about to arrive. The Communism of Lenin appeared to be the successful way to bring Socialism to the people. Naturally, young Ben wanted to join this movement and become one of its leaders. He joined the Communist Party when the first opportunity presented itself. His devotion to the movement and his ability as a leader enabled him to work his way to the top in the American Party.

Gitlow dedicated his life to the Party. He felt that he was crusading for the Socialism which had been his fondest dream since boyhood. He enjoyed the power and influence which were his as a Communist leader. Spurred on by the stimulus of leadership, he became the most devoted Communist in America. The Party was his only religion. More than once he wrote that he loved Communism and would have laid down his life for it.

In his book, I Confess, he says almost nothing about his home and the birth of his son. His family seems to have been of little importance to him when compared with his complete devotion to Communism. Here was a man who was devoting the whole of his life to the Red dream.

Then the doubts and disturbances began to creep in. He did not like Stalin's dictatorship, which sought to enslave the minds of the faithful. He had a low regard for the dignity of individuals, as evidenced by his liquidation of intelligent leaders and their replacement with fawning puppets. Gitlow's trips to Russia enable him to see the increasing poverty of the Russian people, which indicated that Communism was an economic failure, and that Stalin's boasts of prosperity in Russia were lies.

These doubts were largely rationalized by Gitlow, as evils perhaps necessary to the achievement of Socialism. If he had not suffered the crowning insult of being deposed from his leadership and expelled from the Party by Stalin, he would probably still be a faithful Communist,

still rationalizing the indignities and injustices suffered by other people. In the process of removing Gitlow from the Party, Stalin exposed himself as an unmitigated liar and hypocrite.

Once out of the whirl of Communist activity, Gitlow had time to think. Five years of thinking were required for him to arrive at the conclusion that Communism is a vicious hoax and a miserable failure, while the democratic way of life has proven to be the best yet devised for everyone concerned. Gitlow had finally become an ex-Communist. His process of disillusionment has been completed.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF COMMUNISM ON MAX EASTMAN

#### I. EASTMAN'S EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Max Forrester Eastman came from a religious family. His father, his mother and his grandfather were ministers of the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> His mother was the first woman minister ordained by the Congregational Church in the state of New York.<sup>2</sup> Her influence over her flock was so persuasive that she once changed the denomination of her church to Unitarian without the loss of a member.<sup>3</sup> Her son, Max, was born on January 4, 1883, in Canandaigua, New York.<sup>4</sup> In commenting frankly on the event of his birth, Eastman wrote:

I began life...as a gloom in a minister's family. If my mother had known what I know, I would never have been born. Nothing more inopportune...could have been invented by a malign deity. I was, in all humbleness, a momentous catastrophe.<sup>5</sup>

- 
- 1 Steinberg, Julien, Verdict of Three Decades, p. 178
  - 2 Eastman, Max, Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism, cover
  - 3 Eastman, Heroes I Have Known, p. 13
  - 4 Steinberg, Verdict of Three Decades, p. 178
  - 5 Eastman, Enjoyment of Living, p. xlii

Eastman was educated at Williams College and later at Columbia University, where he earned his Ph.D. in 1910.<sup>6</sup> He taught philosophy at Columbia from 1907 to 1911.<sup>7</sup> In 1910 he promoted the Men's League for Woman Suffrage--the first organization of its kind in America.<sup>8</sup>

Eastman's trip to Russia, 1922-1924. When the woman-suffrage movement became too tame for him, he became a Socialist and took an active part in radical politics.<sup>9</sup> He edited and managed the radical Socialist magazine, The Masses, which was succeeded by The Liberator. In 1922 he relinquished the editorship of The Liberator to make a trip to Russia, where for two years he studied the theoretical works of Marx and Lenin and observed at first hand how the Revolution was working out in practice. He learned the Russian language and became personally acquainted with many of the leaders of the Revolution.<sup>10</sup> Believing Trotsky the most able of these leaders, Eastman developed a closer friendship with him than with any of the others and

- 
- 6 Steinberg, Verdict of Three Decades, p. 178
  - 7 Eastman, Enjoyment of Living, p. 354
  - 8 Steinberg, Verdict of Three Decades, p. 178
  - 9 Eastman, Enjoyment of Living, p. 387
  - 10 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, cover



translated some of his books into English.<sup>11</sup>

Eastman achieved the first American publication of Lenin's Testament, in which the dying Lenin denounced Stalin as unfit to lead the Communist Party.<sup>12</sup> In 1925 Eastman published Since Lenin Died, containing the essence of Lenin's Testament. This was one of the first books in the United States to present the facts of Stalin's ruthless seizure of power in Russia.<sup>13</sup>

## II. EASTMAN, ARDENT SOCIALIST

Eastman had accepted the Socialist philosophy several years before the Russian Revolution occurred.<sup>14</sup> In considering his progress toward Socialism, it should be noted that Eastman was definitely a crusader, as indicated by the active part he played in the woman suffrage movement.<sup>15</sup> When the suffrage movement had apparently gathered enough momentum and popularity to insure its success, it no longer held a fascination for Eastman, as he wrote: "The suffrage movement was getting too fashionable to appeal to that in me which desires to suffer a little in some high cause."<sup>16</sup> He felt the

---

11 Eastman, Leon Trotsky, p.v

12 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, cover

13 Steinberg, Julien, Verdict of Three Decades, p.177

14 Eastman, Enjoyment of Living, p. 387

15 Ibid., p. 386

16 Ibid., p. 351

need for a new and less popular cause to champion, and he soon found this in Socialism, which was introduced to him by Ida Rauh (actress, sculptress, lawyer and agitator) who soon became Eastman's wife.<sup>17</sup> While riding home with Ida from a collectivist dinner at which Morris Hillquit had expounded the Socialist ideal in convincing terms, Max commented to Ida: "It seems fine to work for an ideal like that, even though you never achieve it. I wouldn't mind calling myself a socialist if I could be permitted to have doubts."<sup>18</sup>

From this point it was not difficult for Ida to enlist Max as a crusader for Socialism. He needed a new cause and he had found it. The next day he began to read Marx' Das Kapital and, though he was disappointed in the unscientific mental attitude and the involved and pretentious literary style of Marx, he liked the idea of Socialism and decided to call himself a revolutionary socialist.<sup>19</sup> Later he admitted that his attitude in taking this revolutionary position had little to do with logic.<sup>20</sup> To a young man in love and looking for a cause to support, emotion rather than logic often determines a choice of action.

---

17 Eastman, Enjoyment of Living, pp. 302-303  
 18 Ibid., p. 354  
 19 Ibid., p. 355  
 20 Ibid., p. 388

Eastman's hastily chosen crusade for Socialism filled a vacuum in his emotional make up. His parents and one grandfather had satisfied their urge to crusade by being ministers of the Gospel. Max Eastman felt a similar urge, but since he had forsaken religion this avenue of expression was closed to him.<sup>21</sup> His poetry indicates his emotional nature and his irrepressible desire to express his feelings in the written word. His account of his marriage and honeymoon trip with Ida further indicates that he was an emotional creature, rebellious toward convention.<sup>22</sup>

About six months before his marriage, Eastman lost his mother whom he had admired and loved sincerely and devotedly. His mother and he had been kindred blithe spirits, inspiring each other and forming a mutual admiration society.<sup>23</sup> Her death left a vacuum in his being which was not filled by his marriage to Ida, in whom he was a little disappointed, due to her "heaviness of spirit" and her reluctance to give him any praise or expressions of appreciation such as he had been accustomed to receiving in his own family.<sup>24</sup>

---

21 Eastman, Enjoyment of Living, pp. 12-13

22 Ibid.; pp. 357-384

23 Ibid.; pp. 339-349

24 Ibid., p. 362. See also p. 366

His crusade for Socialism seemed to fill this vacuum in his life. It gave purpose and point to his existence and satisfaction to the "inner man" just as religion does in the lives of many other people.<sup>25</sup> As Eastman expressed it: "...it is certain that many of his (Marx's) followers derive from this philosophy a support not unlike that derived by the pious from their God."<sup>26</sup>

It is true that Eastman did not accept Marx's philosophy completely, but he did accept the revolutionary socialism which is a considerable part of it. And this crusade for revolutionary socialism served as a substitute for religion in the life of Max Eastman. At the same time it gave him an opportunity to influence others by using his superior ability as a writer. As his weapon in this new crusade, Eastman used The Masses, a revolutionary monthly magazine which he edited and managed from 1913 until December, 1917, when it was suppressed by the government for opposing World War I. In 1918 Eastman founded The Liberator, which he edited until 1922.<sup>27</sup> Referring to The Masses, Eastman wrote:

---

25 Eastman, Enjoyment of Living, p. 355  
26 Eastman, Marxism, Is It Science? p. 65  
27 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, cover

Our magazine provided, for the first time in America, a meeting place for revolutionary labor and the radical intelligentsia. It acquired, in spite of its gay laughter, the character of a crusade.<sup>28</sup>

### III. EASTMAN, FELLOW-TRAVELER

After five years of crusading as a "revolutionary socialist," Eastman was ripe to rejoice in the coming of the Russian Revolution under Lenin's leadership. In the first issue of The Liberator Eastman wrote:

Never was the moment more auspicious to issue a great magazine of liberty. With the Russian people in the lead, the world is entering upon the experiment of industrial and real democracy... America has extended her hand to the Russians. She will follow in their path...<sup>29</sup>

Here was the Revolution which Eastman hoped and believed would bring about the fulfillment of his Socialist dream. He gave it his full editorial support, and thus became one of the first "fellow-travelers" in the United States. His expectations are indicated in his Liberator editorial:

On this day January 20 (1918)...Lenin has suspended and dismissed the democratic parliament...and declared Russia to be a Socialist republic....Thus comes into actual existence that "industrial parliament"--the crowning and extreme hope of the Socialist dream-theory.<sup>30</sup>

In the April issue Eastman proudly announced:

---

28 Eastman, Enjoyment of Living, p. 409  
 29 Eastman, Liberator, Vol. I, No. 1, March, 1918, p. 3  
 30 Ibid., p. 5

"In the next issue John Reed will continue his stories of the Bolsheviki and their Revolutionary achievements, in which he took part."<sup>31</sup> More than a year later Eastman was still jubilant in his attitude toward the Revolution. He covered a whole page of The Liberator, in type three-eighths of an inch high, with the statement: FROM THE CROWN OF MY HEAD TO THE SOLES OF MY FEET I AM BOLSHEVIK, AND PROUD OF IT. THE DAY OF THE PEOPLE HAS COME! EUGENE V DEBS"<sup>32</sup>

Eastman's position was clear to those who read The Liberator. He had become a fellow-traveler, and he continued to be one for many years. As late as 1934 he was still praising the Russian socialist experiment, though at the same time he realized and wrote of its faults and shortcomings, foremost of which was a concentration of power in the hands of Stalin.<sup>33</sup>

#### IV. CHANGE FROM FELLOW-TRAVELER TO ENEMY OF COMMUNISM: REASONS FOR CHANGE

As Eastman read the eye-witness accounts of the Russian experiment, written by people who believed in the socialist ideal, he found less to be admired and

---

<sup>31</sup> Eastman, Liberator, April, 1918, p.3

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., May, 1919, p. 3

<sup>33</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 19-20

more to be deplored. Some of these books which he mentions are:

Smith, Andrew, I Was a Soviet Worker;

Beal, Fred E., Proletarian Journey;

Souvarine, Boris, Stalin;

Serge, Victor, Russia Twenty Years After;

Trotsky, Leon, The Revolution Betrayed, translated by Max Eastman;

Lyons, Eugene, Assignment in Utopia.<sup>34</sup>

As the evidence unfavorable to Communism increased, Eastman became convinced that Communism was unsound in theory and that it had failed in practice.

Communism defective in theory: Marx. Eastman found the theories of Karl Marx unscientific. The "dialectic" system of thinking by which Marx conceived his theories is in itself unscientific.<sup>35</sup> This dialectic system involves intellectual conversation or debate, by several people or within one's own mind, to determine the truth by argument and by discarding those elements which cannot be logically defended.<sup>36</sup> Or, in other words, dialectic is the process of trying to arrive at true knowledge from ideas "spun out of a

---

<sup>34</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 179

<sup>35</sup> Eastman, Artists in Uniform, pp. 175-176

<sup>36</sup> Eastman, Marxism, Is It Science? p. 34

man's head" (or out of several men's heads).<sup>37</sup> It is not necessarily based on scientific experiments or facts and hence its conclusions may be untrue, like the product of that peculiar animal the fiction-writer, whose tale comes out of his head. Such a thinking process is not scientific, for it is based on disputation rather than investigation. But to a true Marxist, dialectic is the "leader in all knowledge" and of science as well. It is the only scientific method for arriving at truth. Obviously the Marxists are deluding themselves. Modern scientific means of arriving at truth have rendered the dialectic method obsolete.<sup>38</sup>

Actually the dialectic system of arriving at conclusions by arguing them in one's own mind permits a man to talk himself into any fanciful notion that he wishes to believe. Marx, in his ponderous writings, succeeded in convincing himself that the world is progressing inevitably along the path which he wanted it to travel--from the lower to the higher, toward the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ideal society. He thus identified himself with the divine order of

---

<sup>37</sup> Eastman, Marxism, Is It Science? p. 35  
<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 36



things ordained by his economic God, fashioned by himself. He is therefore the prophet of this economic God and cannot err in his thinking. Such a system or rationalizing by the dialectic process is "religious" in the truest sense of the term."<sup>39</sup>

By patient use of the dialectic method, any fanatic could invoke divine sanction for any pet notion he might happen to have. By the use of this dialectic method of thinking, Marx spun out his famous theory, which may be briefly summarized as follows: human society is characterized by the class struggle of the proletariat versus the capitalists. This struggle is destined to result in a higher form of human relationships as foreseen by socialists. Development of techniques of production will inevitably result in seizure of power by the workers, expropriation of capitalists, and socialization of the means of production and distribution. A "dictatorship of the proletariat" will rule temporarily, but this dictatorship and the state itself will "wither away" as the new and higher form of life results from socialization. This higher form of life will be a "society of the free and equal" in which

---

<sup>39</sup> Eastman, Artist in Uniform, p. 198

labor will be contributed "from each according to his ability," and the products of labor will be distributed "to each according to his needs."<sup>40</sup>

Eastman contends that there is no proof whatever for Marx's claim that the world is inevitably evolving toward a higher form of human society, and that such an idea, based only on Marx's desires, is "a grandiose delusion," which will be destroyed by the failure of the Revolution in Russia. Eastman wrote: "...Marx's system as a whole will be set down as wish-fulfillment thinking in a form as crude and antiquated as it is ingenious."<sup>41</sup> Marx's attempt to prove that the world is changing itself according to his personal plan is denounced by Eastman as "metaphysical hokum" and again as "crass superstition."<sup>42</sup> It is a superstition of a profane religious nature in which the will of Marx replaces the will of God.<sup>43</sup> While defending his ideas as scientific, Marx is actually promoting a Godless religion. "He (Marx) abandoned the Economic Man because he had an Economic God--the self-active Dialectic Development of the Forces of Production--who

---

<sup>40</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 165-170  
See also Eastman, Marxism, Is It Science? p. 24

<sup>41</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 167

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.; pp. 183 and 201

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 174

was far more reliable for ideological purposes..."<sup>44</sup>  
 And to both Marx and Eastman, the term "ideology,"  
 freely translated into American, means "applesauce."<sup>45</sup>

Marxist ideas that the course of human history is determined inevitably and solely by the development of the techniques of production are further labeled as "pure theological baloney" by Eastman.<sup>46</sup> He labels as "fastastic" the Marxian prediction of the "withering away of the state."<sup>47</sup>

If there is a more preposterous notion in the history of religion than that of the "scientific socialists" that when the gigantic mechanism of a concentrated capitalist industry is taken over by a proletarian state, and the attempt made to operate it on a basis of revolutionary justice, the state will immediately "die away," I do not know where it is to be found.<sup>48</sup>

An intelligent glance at the record will indicate that, while the Jeffersonian ideal of as little government as possible might work out in a simple agrarian society, the industrialization of a country with its naturally more complex economic institutions will require greatly increased governmental regulation to protect the rights and property of everyone concerned. And yet, Marx would have the most complex

---

<sup>44</sup> Eastman, Marxism, Is It Science? pp. 125-126  
<sup>45</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 18  
<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 198  
<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 190  
<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 191

economic scheme, the combined monopoly of all the nation's productive forces, administered by a state which had "died away" and no longer existed. Preposterous to say the least.<sup>49</sup> Also, if the state withered away, who would exploit each worker to produce "according to his ability" when his compensation would be paid "according to his need"?<sup>50</sup> Here is a new system of exploiting the able workers in order to provide equally for the needs of the clumsy, the stupid, the ignorant, and the unfit. Morons with large families would be paid more than manager of industries with small families. It would take a powerful state to enforce such exploitation as this.<sup>51</sup>

Marxism, with its zealous belief that the Economic God will inevitably push the world along the route to an earthly paradise as indicated on Marx's road-map, and that this knowledge distinguishes Marxists from their opponents, "does beget bigotry, brutality and a peculiarly serene cynicism."<sup>52</sup> It equips Marxist statesmen with a self-righteous conceit in the belief that they can do

---

<sup>49</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 191-192

<sup>50</sup> Eastman, Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution, p. 129

<sup>51</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 192

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 202

no wrong, since they are the right-hand men of the Economic God. This Marxism with its religious zeal is one of the main causes of the unprecedented savagery and all prevailing hypocrisy of Stalin's Party--"unparalleled by anything in the history of revolutions." All their excesses are sanctioned by Marxism.<sup>53</sup>

Communism defective in theory: Lenin. Having realized the fallacies inherent in Marx's ideology, Eastman examined Lenin's theories and found them also defective. Although Lenin, the disciple, tried to substitute "a scientific revolutionary attitude" for the "metaphysical socialism" of Marx, the prophet, Lenin's faith in the dialectic philosophy as set forth by Marx was still strong enough to influence his thinking in such a disastrous manner as to render his whole system untenable.<sup>54</sup>

Lenin's mystic faith that as the leader of the working class in the struggle for power he was carrying the banner of the Economic God toward the divinely decreed emancipation of the workers, produced his intolerance toward other groups of workers who opposed

---

<sup>53</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 203

<sup>54</sup> Eastman, Marxism, Is It Science? pp. 215-16

his policies.<sup>55</sup> Lenin believed that "in the inner essence of things he was the working class." This belief enabled him to order the destruction of the workers, soldiers and sailors at Kronstadt, merely because they opposed some of his policies.<sup>56</sup> As Lenin stated his philosophy: "The world is an ordered movement matter, and our knowledge, being the highest product of Nature, is able only to reflect that movement."<sup>57</sup> Any man who would regard his own knowledge as so infallibly in tune with the universe is deserving of Eastman's criticism: "He (Lenin) is not engaged in scientific investigation, but is reationalizing his motives."<sup>58</sup> Lenin used the dialectic philosophy in "spinning ideas out of his head," not to determine the truth, based on facts or experiments, but to convince himself that his action was bound to succeed and to promote the success of his action by inducing others to follow him. As such his efforts to philosophize were merely emotionalized rationalization--promoting the "wish-fulfillment of the human heart."<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 218-219

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 219

<sup>57</sup> Eastman, Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution, p. 170

<sup>58</sup> Eastman, Artists in Uniform, p. 190

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 191

His ruthless crushing of working class groups which differed with his own group is evidence of this conceited bigotry, based on his conviction that his mission was divinely sanctioned by the Economic God. This same state of mind, true to Marx and Lenin, is exemplified by Bukharin's statement, made to rationalize some of the early massacres committed under Stalin's regime: "We must be ruthless because the sword of history is in our hand."<sup>60</sup> It was only one step from Lenin's ruthless policies to those later followed by Stalin.<sup>61</sup> Lenin's unsound theoretical beliefs formed the background for his own abuse of power and set the example which Stalin followed to its ultimate conclusion.<sup>62</sup>

Further paving the way for Stalin's abuses, Lenin expounded the Marxian theory that the "end justifies the means." In order to achieve in the end "an absolutely blessed social life," Lenin believed that the use of any means, no matter how foul, was thoroughly justified, and that he could, without endangering the objective, discard those rules of moral conduct which have enabled human society to make whatever progress has been made in the past.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 203

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., pp. 219-220

<sup>62</sup> "Men will always push what power they have to the limit." Corry, J. A., Elements of Democratic Government, p. 25

<sup>63</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 232-233

Lenin stated: "We repudiate all morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas, or ideas that transcend class conceptions." The real meaning of this statement is that "our party is above moral judgement."<sup>64</sup> By establishing such theoretical concepts, Lenin made it possible for anyone in power thoroughly to abuse and increase that power without violating the principles of Marxism. In fact, Marx, the prophet, and Lenin, his disciple, had set up a theoretical system which was the perfect vehicle for the use of a dictator on his way to power.<sup>65</sup> Marx' and Lenin's theories called for a concentration of all power in the state, by nationalization of the means of production, then imbued the leaders of the state with a bigoted sense of self-righteousness and intolerance for others, and gave them license to violate all moral codes in their conduct of the government.

Although Eastman realized many of these theoretical weaknesses as early as 1926, when he published his Marx, Lenin, and the Science of Revolution, his faith in the success of the Revolution was not shattered until later when he learned that Communism had failed in practice.

---

<sup>64</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 232-233

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 233-236



Communism failed in practice. Gradually and reluctantly, Eastman came to feel that the Russian Communist experiment, which he had supported since Lenin's seizure of power, had failed in practice. This failure became more obvious to Eastman with each year of Stalin's despotic rule. The expected benefits of the socialist state in the fields of cultural advancement, political freedom, and economic betterment failed to appear, while their antitheses were in glaring evidence.

Cultural failure. Cultural advancement, initiated under Lenin and Trotsky, was stifled and crushed by Stalin. This became painfully evident to Eastman in 1934 when he wrote an article praising the Russian cultural progress in the areas of education, prison reform, public health and sanitation, women's rights, family relationships, birth control, rights of national minorities, and administration of justice.<sup>66</sup> In reading these words of praise to a few of his friends Eastman realized that he could not publish the article, for even as he wrote the benefits mentioned had been rapidly disappearing.<sup>67</sup> Stalin was firmly in the saddle

---

<sup>66</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 19

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 20

and was driving out these earlier reforms. In education he ordered reversion to traditional Czarist methods with his "Decree on Academic Reform" in 1935. Women's rights were taken away by official decrees in 1935 and 1936. Abortion was declared criminal and the cost of divorce made prohibitive to the masses.<sup>68</sup>

The iron curtain closed down to imprison the Russians. Stalin declared escape over the border of Russia equivalent to treason and punishable by shooting and confiscation of property. If a soldier should leave Russia without permission, all the adults in his family were liable to exile in Siberia--whether they knew of the soldier's intent to desert or not.<sup>69</sup> Private citizens were prohibited from traveling abroad and were afraid to converse with foreign visitors.<sup>70</sup> This resulted in the cultural isolation of Russia which was necessary in order to propagandize the people with lies about their own merits and benefits and about the desperate conditions under which the outside world was supposed to be suffering.<sup>71</sup>

In Eastman's book, Artists in Uniform, he tells the pathetic story of Stalin's bigotry and brutality

---

<sup>68</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 21-24

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 27

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 86

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

in forcing writers and poets to prostitute their art to serve as propaganda for Stalin's regime, under the control and guidance of Stalin's political bureaucrats.<sup>72</sup> Public evidence of this process of forcing artists into the "intellectual straight-jacket" was provided by the Kharkov Congress of artists and authors, meeting in 1930, under the supervision of one of Stalin's henchmen named Anerback (whose own writings showed nothing of creative ability).<sup>73</sup> Here the assembled artists were obliged to agree that "art is a class weapon."<sup>74</sup> They would abandon "individualism" and accept the regimentation forced on them by the Communist Party.<sup>75</sup> The result of this stifling discipline of artists was that for several years thereafter the "chief events in literature were silences of prose writers and suicides of poets."<sup>76</sup> Eastman, a writer and poet himself, was deeply offended by this brutal regimentation.

Economic failure. Eastman found that economic exploitation in Stalin's Russia was worse than under Czarist rule. Instead of establishing a "classless society," according to socialist standards, Stalin had

---

72 Eastman, Artists in Uniform, p. 3

73 Ibid., pp. 7-8

74 Ibid., p. 8

75 Ibid., p. 9

76 Ibid., p. 36

set up new classes to benefit by the exploitation of the workers.<sup>77</sup> These new classes included the overseers, Stakhanovist pace-setters, specialists, bureaucrats, labor and collective farm aristocrats, and officials of the secret police.<sup>78</sup> The income of these new exploiters was sometimes as much as eighty or a hundred times the income of an unskilled worker.<sup>79</sup> These new classes of Soviet plutocrats were also given the opportunity to invest their savings in government bonds paying seven per cent or to deposit them in government banks at eight per cent interest, without being subject to income tax or inheritance tax.<sup>80</sup> Here was capitalist exploitation set up as a sop for Stalin's favorites, at a much more favorable rate of interest than prevailed in the scorned capitalist countries.

In contrast to these favored classes at the top of the Soviet scale were the despised and exploited classes at the bottom. The more prosperous peasants, called "kulaks," aroused Stalin's ire by their desire to remain on their own farms during the period of collectivization of farming. Whereupon Stalin announced the slogan "demanding" liquidation of the Kulaks as a

---

77 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 36  
 78 Ibid., pp. 44-45  
 79 Ibid., p. 43  
 80 Ibid., p. 45

class.<sup>81</sup> These more industrious and intelligent farmers (the kulaks) were forcibly shipped to Siberia in cattle cars, while the rest of the farmers were forced into collective farms before the machinery needed for collective farming had been manufactured.<sup>82</sup> This brutal liquidation of the better farmers and collectivization of most of the remainder disrupted Soviet agriculture and was largely responsible for the famine of 1932-33.<sup>83</sup>

Eastman wrote about this famine:

Stalin sat calmly in the Kremlin while some four to six million peasants, men, women and children, starved slowly to death because they did not approve of his policies and because he wanted to use the grain they would consume to build up the foreign credit of the country.<sup>84</sup>

To Eastman, Stalin's liquidation of the kulaks proved that he was thoroughly disloyal to the principles of Socialism, that he had established himself as an all-powerful dictator without any regard for the welfare of the people, and that his brutality and exploitation of the people were worse than anything found either in Czarist Russia or in the capitalist countries.<sup>85</sup>

Another form of economic exploitation which

---

<sup>81</sup> Lyons, Stalin, Czar of All The Russias, p.187

<sup>82</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 43-44

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 44

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 277

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., pp. 43-44

Eastman deplored was that of forced labor or slave labor as commonly practiced in the Soviet Union.<sup>86</sup>

One of the most valuable contributions to the literature on this early period of slave labor in the Soviet Union (1930-1935) is Professor Vladimir Tchernavin's book, I Speak for the Silent (1935).<sup>87</sup> Tchernavin, as organizer of forced labor in the fishing industry, indicates that the profits were huge, due to negligible expense for capital goods (all work was done by hand with primitive equipment), no labor cost except for the barest minimum of cheap food. The G.P.U. (secret police) in charge of the fishing industry could always find a ready market for its goods, since no buyer dared resist a G.P.U. salesman, even though the mark-up on their goods was two or three hundred per cent or more.<sup>88</sup>

Eastman summarized the economic failure of Communism when he wrote:

...once more the toiling masses have taken arms and fought upon the barricades and died for equal liberty, and once more they have received for their pains a new and more efficient system of class exploitation.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 87

<sup>87</sup> Steinberg, Verdict of Three Decades, p. 257

<sup>88</sup> Tchernavin, Vladimir "Slave Labor and Big Business," printed in Verdict of Three Decades, edited Steinberg, p. 264

<sup>89</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 50

Stalin's remorseless exploitation of the Russian people had convinced Eastman that Communism had failed in practice to achieve the economic benefits sought by the Socialists.

Political failure. Stalin's political tyranny also negated the promises of Socialism. Eastman wrote that the Socialist program promises economic democracy, in which the working class controls the state, takes over the land and instruments of production, and establishes a system of free cooperation which replaces the wage system of class exploitation.<sup>90</sup> Socialism promises more real democracy, a "classless society," a "society of the free and equal."<sup>91</sup> As a sincere Socialist for many years, Eastman had believed these promises and had worked towards their fulfillment. He looked to Russia to show the world that fulfillment. Instead, he found that Russia, under Stalin, failed to achieve any one of these promises.

Eastman soon concluded that Stalin was not the right man to take Lenin's place in leading Russia toward Socialism. Lenin's Testament made a very clear demand for Stalin's removal as secretary of the Party

---

<sup>90</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 150

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 152

on the ground that he had concentrated too much power in his hands and that his character was "too brutal."<sup>92</sup> He had too much of caprice and not enough of loyalty.<sup>93</sup> By contrast, Lenin praised Trotsky as a "devoted revolutionist" and as the ablest and greatest member of the Central Committee.<sup>94</sup> Trotsky also had the support of the majority of the Party, and would have been elected as Secretary of the Party if an election had been held.<sup>95</sup> Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, being in power when Lenin died, prevented such an election.<sup>96</sup> Eastman felt that Stalin's main objectives as ruler of Russia were increasing his personal power and getting revenge on his enemies,<sup>97</sup> while fulfillment of the promises of Socialism seemed never to enter his mind. Eastman was shocked to find that Stalin's counter-revolution killed many of the most competent people in Russia. In such a backward country, which sorely needs people of ability and intellect, Stalin's "liquidations" and "purges" have been a great and permanent detriment. Eastman wrote: "He (Stalin) has reversed

---

92 Eastman, Since Lenin Died, p. 29

93 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 66

94 Eastman, Since Lenin Died, pp. 30-31

95 Ibid., p. 32

96 Ibid., p. 35

97 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 67 (Eastman wrote Stalin has a "passionately vindictive character.")



Napoleon's maxim: 'Careers are open to all men of talent.' The place for men of talent in Russia, generally speaking, is the bloodstained cellar of the Lubianka prison."<sup>98</sup>

Stalin's counter-revolution. Stalin's obvious contempt for the principles of Socialism and Communism, as shown in the persecution of specific classes of people, would have been enough to convince Eastman that Communism had failed in Russia. But Stalin's counter-revolution to consolidate his absolute power by killing all of Lenin's lieutenants convinced Eastman beyond the shadow of doubt that the failure of the Revolution was complete. Eastman wrote of this: "His (Stalin's) counter revolution has been the bloodiest in all history...he has put to death more sincere and loyal party-militants than ever died before with the death of a revolution."<sup>99</sup>

Purge of the old revolutionists. The part of this purge which most effectively turned Eastman against Communism was the shameful murder of his friends and associates, the old revolutionists. During the two years he spent in Russia (1922-1924) Eastman came to know personally

---

<sup>98</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 88

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 52

many of the old Bolsheviks who were later forced to "confess" in the Moscow trials of 1936-38. Eastman knew these men as trusted co-workers of Lenin who were as true to the Revolution as any human beings could be. They were men whom Eastman considered far superior to Stalin in intellect, integrity, and motivation.<sup>100</sup> During the purge these men were forced to make confessions in which they were compelled to state that they were the counter-revolutionists, motivated by "sheer spitefulness" and "thirst for power," (Stalin's own motives). They were forced to admit spreading disease germs in the Red Army and tearing down the industries of Russia. They admitted being depraved, criminal and degenerate traitors to the working class and the Party.<sup>101</sup> It was obvious to Eastman that Stalin was manipulating them to confess to his own crimes, making them his scapegoats.<sup>102</sup>

Eastman had many words of praise for these unfortunate men. He wrote about Serebriakov: "A stronger hearted, honester, and braver man I never knew." Muralov was a hero to Eastman and to the Russians as well--a big man, physically and morally, one of the best-loved of all the old revolutionists. Pitiakov was a highly intellectual

---

100 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 55-58

101 Ibid.; p. 274

102 Ibid.; p. 276

gentleman with a thinking mind--"...a fine, loyal and humane character...who represented...the highest intellectual culture to be found in the Bolshevik party."<sup>103</sup> Lenin, in his Testament, gave unqualified praise to Pitiakov as one of the two most promising of the younger Bolsheviks. (The other was Bukharin, whom Lenin praised in a qualified manner).<sup>104</sup> Another splendid man was Budu Mdvani, loved by Lenin, Trotsky, Eastman, and all others who knew him--except Stalin. He was "one of the gorgeous people of the earth..." a "prince if there ever was one."<sup>105</sup> Bukharin, while not as intellectual as some of the others, was a sensitive and talented man who had devoted his entire life to patient labor for the ideals of Socialism.<sup>106</sup> Eastman also knew and like Sosnovsky, Pravda's chief feature writer under Lenin, and admired him greatly for his superior courage and mental stature.<sup>107</sup> In Eastman's opinion these men were all sturdy and high-minded men, "The best men of an epoch."<sup>108</sup> All of them and many more were killed by Stalin in his counter-revolutionary purge. "For every one of the old Bolshevik

---

103 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 56

104 Eastman, Since Lenin Died, p. 30

105 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 56-57

106 Ibid., p. 57

107 Ibid., pp. 57-58

108 Ibid., p. 274

leaders who "confessed", one hundred were shot behind closed doors.<sup>109</sup> Eugene Lyons estimates the total number killed in the purge at 40,000 to 50,000.<sup>110</sup> Thus Stalin consolidated his own dictatorship, putting the fear of torture, disgrace and death into the hearts of the leaders who were left.<sup>111</sup>

Eastman does not stress Stalin's liquidating 30,000 of the highest officers in the Red Army in his purge--about two-thirds of those in the higher officers' corps.<sup>112</sup> These men were strangers to Eastman and their deaths merely made statistics, but the death-with-dishonor of his friends and associates turned him forever against Communism. The statistics did shock him. He accused Stalin of killing as many people as died in World War I, and placed him beside Genghis Khan as one of the greatest mass killers in all history.<sup>113</sup> So, by this bloody means, Eastman was convinced that Stalin's political tyranny had negated the promises of Socialism and that this was conclusive evidence that Communism had failed in practice.

---

109 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 69

110 Lyons, Eugene, Stalin, Czar of all the Russias, p. 235

111 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 62

112 Lyons, Stalin, Czar of all the Russias, p. 234

113 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 277

## V. COMMUNISM BEGETS TOTALITARIANISM

After observing the failure of the Russian experiment in Communism, Eastman concluded that Communism begets totalitarianism.<sup>114</sup> The process of taking the wealth-producing capital away from those citizens who had laboriously organized it and proven their ability to make it produce successfully in a competitive economy, and placing this wealth producing capital at the disposal of the politicians who ran the government, had deprived the citizens of their wealth and power, had concentrated all wealth and power in the hands of those politicians, and had reduced all other citizens to the status of hired help. Then the State owned all the jobs, all the wealth, all farms, factories, mills, mines, and business enterprises as well as all services available in the nation. The all-powerful State thus produced is lord and master of the nation and all its people, even as the feudal lord of the manor was the all-powerful dictator in his own domain. Such a complete monopoly over every phase of the nation's life places far too

---

<sup>114</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, pp. 159-160

much power in the hands of the politicians who run the State. Even though the State may be democratic when it first gathers all this power unto itself, it will not long remain so. One of two things will happen: either the politicians in power will become corrupted and drunk with power, or they will eventually be replaced by tyrants whose thirst for power impells them to get control of the State by fair means or foul.<sup>115</sup> Honest and intelligent men will hesitate, as Trotsky did, to take the top position of power in the State because they realize that no man is capable of successfully operating such a huge, complex and all-inclusive monopoly, while shrewd and crafty politicians, such as Stalin, without the intelligence to realize either their own limitations or the unprecedented complexity of the duties involved in administering the affairs of the omnipotent state, will use every means to seize the power which they crave. The all-embracing monopoly of the socialized or nationalized economy is the perfect invitation for the despot to jump into the saddle and take the reins. Naturally, he will make mistakes, for only an omniscient

---

<sup>115</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 187

God could successfully run a completely socialized state. The concentrated power of a tyrant in the collective state is used to force the people once more into the old system of class exploitation which existed under the feudal system.<sup>116</sup>

Such a process of reasoning led Eastman to conclude that: "Stalin's totalitarianism is not only a parasitic growth upon a nationalized industry; it is an inherent part of the process of nationalization in the only case in which it has been tried."<sup>117</sup> In those cases where nationalization has gone half-way, where complete control of industry was taken over by the government, as was done in Hitler's Germany and in Mussolini's Italy, savage and criminal despotism was also the result. Eastman believes that it is natural for totalitarian rule to result from the process of nationalization, due to the concentration of power in the government.<sup>118</sup> The same principle was expressed much earlier and more concisely by Lord Acton, who said: "All power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."<sup>119</sup>

---

116 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 188

117 Ibid., p. 153

118 Ibid.

119 Lord Acton, History of Freedom, (1909), (quoted in Stevenson, Burton, The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases, p. 1858)

Eastman asks the question: "Where, in general, lies the guarantee that government-owned or government-controlled industry does not as its natural political form beget the totalitarian state?" Finding no answer to this difficult question, he continues: "I think that the democratic socialists and the Trotskyists have failed to suggest any scheme by which total government ownership of industry can be dissociated from totalitarian government because there is none."<sup>120</sup>

## VI. SUMMARY

Eastman's writings make it clear that his acceptance of Socialism, and, later, of Russian Communism, occurred as a result of emotional idealism and a desire to work for a cause which he considered noble, rather than as a result of careful thinking based on a logical weighing of facts as presented in the record of collectivist organizations. He admits this frankly and courageously in such statements as the following: "Since I fell for all these things without the support of a benignly dialectic universe, I might perhaps be condemned

---

<sup>120</sup> Eastman, *Stalin's Russia*, p. 159



as more gullible than the orthodox Marxians, not less so."<sup>121</sup> His acceptance of revolutionary socialism was the decisive step in his progress towards his later position as a fellow-traveler. Having been a revolutionary socialist since 1912, his enthusiastic support of the Russian Communist experiment was logical enough, for it seemed the practical means of achieving Socialism.

Eastman's books. Perhaps the world is better off for Eastman's having been a Socialist and a fellow-traveler, for as a result of his experiences and his observations, he has written some of the finest and most brilliant of the "literature of disillusionment." His books in this field should be of great value in warning the human race against the viciousness of Russian Communism as it is today. These books and the dates of their publication are:

Since Lenin Died, 1925,

Leon Trotsky, the Portrait of a Youth, 1925,

Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution, 1926,

Artists in Uniform, 1934,

The End of Socialism in Russia, 1937,

Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism, 1940,

Marxism, Is It Science? 1940.

---

121 Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 9

The most valuable of these books is Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism. It contains much of the important material set forth in the other books listed and is Eastman's finest contribution to the literature of disillusionment. This book, alone, is enough to establish Eastman's fame as an author who has successfully exposed the failure of the Russian experiment in Communism.

## CHAPTER V

### POLITICAL IMPACT OF COMMUNISM

#### ON LOUIS BUDENZ

##### I. BUDENZ' LIFE BEFORE JOINING COMMUNIST PARTY

Birth and early life. Louis Budenz was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, July, 1891, of middle class, Catholic parents.<sup>1</sup> His mother was of Irish ancestry. His father, a bankteller of German descent, owned many good books which Louis began to read when he was about nine years old.<sup>2</sup> By the time he was twenty-one years old he had studied under the Brothers of the Sacred Heart and the Jesuits and had received his degree in law. During his high school years he was impelled by his interest in labor problems to regular attendance at the sessions of the United Mine Workers of America, which were held in his home town. From these conventions he gained a practical knowledge of the laboring man's problems and a deep sympathy for his hopes and aspirations. Here he was inspired by the fiery leader of the miners, John L. Lewis. Many of the

---

1 Budenz, Louis, This Is My Story, p. 3

2 Ibid., p. 6

delegates to the United Mine Workers Conventions were Socialists advocating "common ownership of the means of production and distribution."<sup>3</sup>

Social doctrine of the Catholic Church. Budenz insists, however, that the driving force behind his interest in labor problems was the social doctrine of the Catholic Church<sup>4</sup> as expressed in the Rerum Novarum of Pope Leo XIII in 1892:

Religion teaches the rich man and the employer that their work people are not their slaves; that they must respect in every man his dignity as a man and as a Christian.<sup>5</sup>

The Pope further stated in his message on the "Condition of Labor" that the worker's wages must provide at least "enough to support the wage earner in frugal comfort."<sup>6</sup>

In the Catholic World, Budenz read the account of Orestes Brownson, who had been a campaigner for the rights of workingmen in Andrew Jackson's time. Admiration for Brownson led young Budenz to work for the rights of labor to organize and to demand a living wage.<sup>7</sup> Monsignor John A. Ryan's works also provided inspiration.<sup>8</sup>

Editor of The Carpenter. These early contacts with the problems of the mine workers and the social and economic

---

<sup>3</sup> Budenz, This is My Story, p. 19

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 16

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 10

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 11

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 12

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 14

doctrines of the Catholic Church aroused in Budenz the burning desire to make the world a better place by improving the lot of the working man. He was an idealistic youth and as is so often the case with idealistic youths he sought a noble cause to champion. Had he lived in King Arthur's time he would have sought the Holy Grail. If he had lived in the time of King Richard the Lion-Hearted he would have gone on a crusade to the Holy Land. But in his time and in his environment he became a labor leader and an editor of a labor paper--The Carpenter, the official organ of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which was then the largest union in the American Federation of Labor.<sup>9</sup> He won this position because of the speeches he had made when he was national organizer for the Catholic Young Men's Institute--speeches "in behalf of the alliance of Catholicism, Americanism, and the right of association."<sup>10</sup>

In 1913 he went to St. Louis to work with the Central Bureau of the Catholic Central Verein,<sup>11</sup> a Catholic cultural and publishing organization. He was well informed on Catholic doctrine and policy as set forth by the leaders of the Church, and he fully believed that these

---

<sup>9</sup> Budenz, This is My Story, p. 30

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

policies could be put into practice with great benefit to our country. He was sincere and idealistic, burning to do a great work for his country and his Church. In short, he was what some present-day skeptics would call a "do-gooder."

Marriage and excommunication. Then, in 1914, he married a divorced woman and was promptly excommunicated from the church.<sup>12</sup> He was aware of all that this meant,<sup>13</sup> but he had been heading towards a break with the Church anyway. He was impatient with gradual means of reform, amazed and disgusted by the living conditions he found in the slums, indignant at the approach of World War I. He thought the Church should have prevented such evils.<sup>14</sup> His action in leaving the Church was emotional rather than logical.<sup>15</sup> To blame the Church for social and economic conditions over which it had little or no control does not seem to be a reasonable act. But it is quite often the case that men are not entirely rational where women are concerned, and Budenz' new wife was probably his real reason for leaving the Church.

---

12 Budenz, This is My Story, p. 36

13 Ibid.; pp. 36-37

14 Ibid., p. 38

15 "Those who break with the Church do so in passion but seek to rationalize their departure as 'intellectual' and the fruit of reason." Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 38

Guild Socialism. Budenz now sought a quicker and more direct remedy for social and economic injustice. He had investigated Socialism thoroughly and had rejected it. He believed Socialism would rob men of freedom, religion, and the privilege of owning private property.<sup>16</sup> Now he turned to Syndicalism,<sup>17</sup> and particularly to Guild Socialism, which "aimed to set up workers control through strong unions, but did not reject the state entirely."<sup>18</sup> In This Is My Story, he wrote:

Could I have foreseen how in the future this exaggerated antistate attitude which led me to Syndicalism would bring me along the road to Communism, the last word in the deification of the State, the irony of the political circuit would have been overwhelming.<sup>19</sup>

Budenz now became secretary of the Civic League, St. Louis, which worked for reform in municipal government.<sup>20</sup> During this time he wrote articles for the National Municipal Review, which expressed the attitude of civic reformers in general.<sup>21</sup> These articles interested Lincoln Steffens, who called on Budenz later, in New York in 1920.

---

<sup>16</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 19-21

<sup>17</sup> "Syndicalism sought to abolish the wage system and to establish common ownership--not through the state but through revolutionary industrial unions. The general strike was the means by which it fervidly expected to shatter the state machine and put the workers in control of the nation." Ibid., p. 40

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 39

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 41

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 42

Steffens, like many other liberals, had become a starry-eyed admirer of the Russian Communist Government. Budenz disagreed with him, contending that capitalism could still be saved.<sup>22</sup>

## II. WHY BUDENZ JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Communist Literature. Why should Budenz, who had been active in the Catholic Church, an advocate of the right to possess private property, and a critic of Socialism, join the Communist Party which denies God and the rights of individuals? One answer probably lies in Budenz' extensive study of Communist literature. He gives the Soviet "classics" of Marx and Lenin, which contain many arguments for the Communist way of life, much of the credit for convincing him that he should embrace Communism.<sup>23</sup> As early as 1914 he had spent the entire winter taking a course in Marxist literature from two left wing Socialists in the Neighborhood House settlement.<sup>24</sup> He recognized and appreciated the faults and imperfections of capitalism and firmly believed that if these faults were not remedied capitalism would have to yield to some other economic system.<sup>25</sup>

---

22 Budenz, This is My Story, pp. 42-43

23 Ibid., p. 55

24 Ibid., p. 55

25 Ibid.



Budenz was a crusader and a reformer. His work in the labor movement proves this. He had become increasingly impatient with the Catholic Church for not bringing about reforms more rapidly.<sup>26</sup> He wanted reforms to come right now and felt that it was his duty to help bring them about without delay. While working as a labor organizer, from 1914 to 1935, he continued to study the Communist "classics," particularly the works of Lenin.<sup>27</sup> These works tended to guide his one-man crusade for the betterment of mankind. He was especially impressed with Lenin's State and Revolution, in which Lenin promised that the Communist dictatorship would "wither away," leaving a perfect Communist society in which there would be no government and no need for government.<sup>28</sup> This sounded good to Budenz. Here was a rosy future worth working for. And the more often he read Lenin, the more convinced he became that this was the direction in which lay the greatest promise for the human race.

Budenz was enthralled by the "materialist conception of history" as set forth in the Communist writings. According to this concept, mankind is pictured as

---

26 Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. xi

27 Ibid., p. x

28 Ibid., p. x

having proceeded from primitive communism to slavery and hence to the feudal system and to capitalism by means of class struggle which will continue to promote the status of mankind until the perfect communist society is the final result.<sup>29</sup> This was the road that led Budenz to the Communist camp.<sup>30</sup> As he read and re-read the promise and prediction, it seemed to grow in plausibility.

Early in 1929 Budenz sensed the approach of a severe financial panic and depression. In seeking to refresh his knowledge of economics, he read through Marx' Das Kapital and Lenin's Imperialism, carrying the latter with him most of the time.<sup>31</sup> Even in 1929 he was almost convinced that Marx and Lenin had the right answers. Again in the early 1930's before joining the Party, Budenz read all of Lenin's books from cover to cover.<sup>32</sup> He became so thoroughly steeped in Marxism that his thinking was entirely in terms of production and material values, with a consequent disregard of all moral values.<sup>33</sup> Later, in commenting on his decision to join the Communist Party, Budenz definitely states: "Lenin's writings had done their work."<sup>34</sup> The evidence as found in Budenz' books points

---

29 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 56

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., p. 8

32 Ibid., p. 115

33 Ibid., p. 115

34 Ibid., p. 124

conclusively to the fact that the reading of Communist literature, and particularly Lenin's works, over a period of twenty years as an important reason for Budenz' entry into the Communist Party.

Efforts of the Communists to recruit him. In their efforts to recruit Budenz into the Communist Party, the Party members were spurred on by their knowledge of Budenz' prominence in the labor movement. Louis Adamio in the second edition of his book, Dynamite, refers to Budenz as "one of the leading strike strategists in America."<sup>35</sup> Other observers called Budenz "the best known man in the labor movement."<sup>36</sup> He was just the kind of man the Communists wanted to join their Party and work for them. He was intelligent and well-educated. He was familiar with the problems of labor. He was a crusader, and the Communists wanted him to do his crusading for them. Naturally they made a concerted effort to recruit him. Their practice of criticising themselves led him to a false belief that their Party could be improved from within.<sup>37</sup>

Asked to join Communist Party, 1921. In 1921 Budenz was first asked to join the Party by Jim Cannon

---

<sup>35</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 196

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 65

<sup>37</sup> "Then there was the constant breath beating of the Reds, which took me in pretty badly. They were always "self criticising" and explaining...This gave me high hopes of showing them the light..." Ibid., p. 98

and Mother Ella Reeve Bloor. Budenz refused to join at this time because of the underground nature of the Party and the fact that they were meeting in groups of ten only. Cannon and Bloor urged him to come in and help change that condition.<sup>38</sup> In 1922 Budenz met Earl Browder and William Z. Foster<sup>39</sup> who did what they could then and later to recruit Budenz to the Communist cause. They undoubtedly studied Budenz' personality, as they do all their potential recruits, and decided that high pressure techniques would get them nowhere with him. They probably surmised that Budenz would come into the Party of his own accord when he was quite ready to do so.

The proselyting efforts of the Party members are not accredited with much importance by Budenz in his books. Nevertheless, the way was always kept open for him and he was often reminded that he would be welcome whenever he wanted to join. Whenever he met Herbert Benjamin, a Party member who was Secretary of the National Unemployed Councils, Benjamin always asked: "When are you going to join the Party?"<sup>40</sup>

The depression of the 1930's. Although Budenz does not ascribe much importance to the depression of the

---

<sup>38</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 86-87

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.; pp. 56-67

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 106

1930's as a reason for his joining the Communist Party, it was one of the factors which drew him towards the Party. As a student of economics and a champion of labor, he was vitally interested at all times in the economic situation.<sup>41</sup> During the depression the thoroughly illogical enigma of poverty and unemployment in the presence of surpluses of all kinds made our capitalist system look foolish.<sup>42</sup> During this period most thinking people were looking for a solution to the problem of depression. The Communists offered their solution: a classless, Socialist economic system in which the means

---

<sup>41</sup> "Two avenues of speculation had been constantly in my mind. While recognizing the glory of the Church, I likewise had an understanding of the coming collapse in the economic setup. With scorn I had derided Professor Thomas Carver of Harvard for prophesying 'eternal prosperity' for the United States....Every analysis that Labor Age had made proved Carver wrong and showed the imminence of another depression...this fall would be harder than the Long Depression of the Seventies...I stressed it in all my speeches." Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 83

<sup>42</sup> As one writer aptly put it: "We have too much wheat, so the farmers are being pauperized and the unemployed of the cities are standing in line and begging for bread....We have too much wool, therefore no one can buy a suit of clothes. We have a vast oversupply of building material, so the unfortunates are without shelter and must sleep in the parks." Harlow, Growth of the United States, 1865-1950, p. 525

of production and distribution were owned and operated by the state for the benefit of all the people. The Communists told us that the profit system was the cause of the depression. It enabled the capitalists to take too much profit, interest and rent, while it left the workers without the purchasing power to buy the necessities of life. All this would be changed in the Communist system. There would be no capitalists exploiting the labor of their fellowmen. The fruits of labor would be equitably distributed among the workers. There would be no rich and no poor.

Russia, the new workers' paradise, pointed the way. No unemployed and no bloated capitalists there. No factories were closed in Russia. Everyone had a job and received his fair share of income. The Communists had all the answers. They took advantage of the depression to build up their party in the United States. Joseph Stalin had taken command of the American Communist Party in May, 1929, and had sent his personal representative to the United States with absolute power to dictate every move which the Party was to make. While commanding the Party here this representative used the aliases Carl Wall and Williams.<sup>43</sup> Capitalism was on trial in these years of

---

<sup>43</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 204

depression. Many people found it guilty and gave their allegiance to the Communist Party because it was the only clear solution they could see at the time.

In detailed instructions to the Party, Stalin said:

The revolutionary crisis has not yet reached the United States, but we already have knowledge of numerous facts which suggest that it is approaching.... You must forge real revolutionary cadres and leaders of the proletariat who will be capable of leading the millions of American workers toward the revolutionary class wars.<sup>44</sup>

The stock market crash of 1929 and the depression which followed gave the Communists the opportunity they sought. They believed that the time was fast approaching when capitalism could be killed and buried by the victorious communists.<sup>45</sup> In 1930-32 the Party organized hunger marches in many parts of the United States.<sup>46</sup> \$100,000 of Russian money was appropriated to finance the hunger march on Washington, D.C.<sup>47</sup> The Communists took over leadership and direction of as many labor unions as possible.<sup>48</sup> They organized the unemployed<sup>49</sup> with the slogan: "WORKERS Don't starve! Fight!"<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Ebon, Martin, World Communism Today, p. 282

<sup>45</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 204

<sup>46</sup> Ebon, World Communism Today, p. 283

<sup>47</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 218

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 207

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 207

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 208

One of the principal objectives of the Party during this period was to increase its membership. In this they were very successful. Membership increased from 9000 when the depression began in 1929<sup>51</sup> to 90,000 in 1939.<sup>52</sup> Of this tenfold increase which the Party claimed, Louis Budenz was one. The depression was one of the important reasons for his joining the Party.

The approach of World War II. The approach of World War II, which Budenz forecast with considerable accuracy,<sup>53</sup> was a major reason for his joining the Party. In 1934 he felt that the growing military might of Hitler's Fascist Germany was the principal threat to the peace and security of the world. In a letter to the New York Sun, he predicted that Germany, Italy and Japan would fight against the United States, Great Britain, France and Russia, just as it occurred in World War II.<sup>54</sup> He believed that the democratic nations and Russia were in jeopardy and that they should bind themselves together for mutual protection against the Fascist threat. He was morally certain that the defeat of the Axis powers would be followed by a "Golden Age of Communist democracy."<sup>55</sup>

---

51 Ebon, World Communism Today, p. 283

52 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 265

53 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 112

54 Ibid., pp. 112-113

55 Ibid., p. 134



The threat against Russia removed, the Communists could relax from their struggle for survival and settle down to the job of making Russia an ideal classless society. The "withering away" of the state would take place to such an extent that democracy would replace the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Russia.<sup>56</sup>

Budenz' need to identify himself with an organization. At this time all things were working together to pave Budenz' way into the Party. Besides the outward events, such as the depression and the imminence of another war, there were also strong psychological factors impelling him toward membership in the Party. During his youth he had been a member of the Catholic Church, an authoritative organization which provided an answer to every question. Since leaving the Church in 1914, he had been without such an organization. He had been crusading more or less on his own, though identified with different groups at different times. Crusading alone isn't much fun. It leaves one lacking that esprit de corps which is enjoyed by those who belong to something greater and more powerful than themselves. It

---

<sup>56</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 114

leaves one without the spirit of comradeship and brotherhood shared by those who work together for a common cause in a well-knit organization. It leaves one feeling that he "does not belong," especially after he has once been a member of such an organization and is later deprived of such membership.

Second marriage. The marriage which had caused Budenz to be excommunicated from the Church in 1914 lasted only fifteen years.<sup>57</sup> Thus he was without strong organizational or family ties at a time when Communism was making its strongest bid. As editor of Labor Age from 1920 to 1930,<sup>58</sup> he was in the thick of the fight for the right of labor to organize. His activities as a labor organizer led to his repeated arrests--he was arrested and acquitted twenty-one times.<sup>59</sup> When his religious life was at its lowest ebb<sup>60</sup> and his daily life full of turbulence, he entered into a second and, this time, a happy marriage. This met his need for family ties but left him without the feeling of esprit de corps which comes from belonging to a strong organization. The need for such identification with something stronger than oneself

---

57 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 82  
58 Budenz, Men Without Faces, jacket  
59 Ibid.  
60 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 115

becomes particularly acute when one is ill and has time to think. For a year before joining the Communist Party, Budenz was too sick to work.<sup>61</sup> During this time he thought a great deal about the urgency for closer relations between the United States and Russia.<sup>62</sup> The strength of the Communist organization appealed to him<sup>63</sup> all the more, perhaps, because he was weak. He had already accepted Communist principles.<sup>64</sup> Now he felt a strong urge to become an active member of this potent organization, to enjoy the esprit de corps of it, to have the feeling of belonging, and to offset his own feeling of weakness due to illness. He believed, too, that war was approaching. When a war is

---

61 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 123

62 Ibid., p. 123

63 "To any one looking over the labor scene in 1935 the Communists seemed to stand out favorably in one respect. That was in the alleged 'monolithic' character of their membership, which they frequently and fulsomely stressed in press and on platform...the organization itself stayed constantly and actively before the public. That commended it to many people who were looking for some continuing form of radical political expression." Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 108

64 "I had previously read Lenin and other Communist authorities and had accepted the Communist viewpoint some years prior to this time." (1935) Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. ix

about to start, men often take sides and make up their minds as to where they will fight. Some decide to join the army, some the <sup>Nav</sup> navy, some the marines: Budenz decided to join the Communist Party.

Change in Party line to People's Front was the final factor in Budenz decision to join Communist Party.

By late summer of 1935 Budenz was almost ready to join the Party.<sup>65</sup> He was steeped in Communist literature,<sup>66</sup> he had a bid from the Party,<sup>67</sup> he had lost faith in capitalism due to the depression,<sup>68</sup> and, being weak and tired after a protracted illness,<sup>69</sup> he felt a definite need to ally himself with an organization of a radical and anti-Fascist nature.<sup>70</sup> He was almost ripe for Party membership. Two principal objections stood between him and the Party: first, Communism was anti-religious,<sup>71</sup> and second, Communism was anti-American.<sup>72</sup> Budenz was a firm believer in freedom of religion and could not accept the atheism of the Party and its efforts to discourage or to

- 
- 65 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 111
  - 66 Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. ix
  - 67 Budenz, This is My Story, p. 106
  - 68 Ibid., p. 155
  - 69 Ibid., p. 117
  - 70 Ibid., p. 108
  - 71 Ibid., p. 341
  - 72 Budenz, Men Without Faces, pp. 6-7

stamp out religion. He was also a loyal American who disapproved of the Communist program of conquering the capitalist nations of the world, including the United States.<sup>73</sup>

A ready-made answer to these two objections was released to the world on August 3, 1935, when the Daily Worker announced a change in the Party line to the "People's Front." The new Party line urged the members to unite with all right-thinking groups in all nations for a People's Front against the threat of Hitler's Fascist Germany. They were told to respect the religions and nationalities of all<sup>74</sup> those who would oppose Fascism.<sup>75</sup> This change in Party line was the "final straw" which caused Budenz to join the Party. In his own words: "The immediate reason I became a Communist Party member was the adoption of the People's Front policy at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in the summer of 1935."<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Budenz, Men Without Faces, pp. 6-7

<sup>74</sup> As Gitlow expressed it: "The people's front tactic marked a distinct departure in Communist policy on an international scale...The Communist International directed all Communist parties in their respective countries to start negotiations with all liberal and progressive forces in the capitalist countries to form a coalition against the right, the reactionary and fascist forces." Gitlow, Benjamin, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 258

<sup>75</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 117-125

<sup>76</sup> Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. ix

The Kremlin had planned this change of line specifically in order to gain new converts and allies to fight the growing menace of Hitler's Germany.

Budenz was strongly anti-Fascist, believing that the Hitler threat must be met at any cost<sup>77</sup> and that an alliance between the United States and Russia would make the United States more progressive, Russia more moderate as they fought together against Hitler. He wrote: "I reasoned that the Soviet Union, with its 'withering away' tendencies, would become a democratic ally, and that the Communists would help to bring it about."<sup>78</sup> He also held the mistaken idea that by working with the Communists it would be possible to improve their hostile attitude toward all outsiders. "My hope then--the hope of so many innocents--"he wrote, "was that cooperation with the Communists would tend to change the course of their organization."<sup>79</sup>

Budenz joined the Communist Party, 1935. He had many reasons for wanting to join the Party and he now admits that he rationalized a little to justify him in taking

---

<sup>77</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 112-113; 120-134

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 114

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 89

the step that he wanted to take.<sup>80</sup> He wanted to believe that the new twist in Party line would be followed more closely than previously stated objectives of the Party, so he did believe it.<sup>81</sup> He looked up a few of his Communist friends and joined the Party which was to direct his life for the next ten years.<sup>82</sup> His decision was not a hasty one, made on the spur of the moment. As he states: "This decision of 1935 had been in the making for twenty years."<sup>83</sup>

### III. WHY BUDENZ LEFT THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The dictatorial nature of the Communist Party. Louis Budenz' two books, This Is My Story and Men Without Faces, indicate his belief in democracy and in Christianity. Having been a Catholic most of his life, his concept of Christianity is the Catholic one. He also believes in religious freedom and in the fundamental rightness of Christian ethics. He is a loyal American citizen who holds the welfare of America a precious heritage. Such a man could scarcely remain long in the Communist Party once he became fully aware of its true nature.

One reason why he left the Party was that he was

---

80 Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 123-124

81 Ibid., p. 122

82 Ibid., p. 125

83 Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. x

revolted by the dictatorial nature of the whole organization. Democratic processes are not practiced anywhere in the Party. Stalin is the unquestioned dictator and ruler of the entire Party, controlling with complete and absolute authority the objectives and methods of the Party. He determines what Party members shall think, read, say, and do. Those who oppose Stalin are punished as Stalin sees fit. The American Communist Party is not controlled by its leaders but by Stalin through agents from Europe who are constantly receiving his directives.

Budenz was amazed to find that the Communist Party does not permit democratic discussion or democratic procedures in its meetings. Members of the Party learn parliamentary law and even become experts at using it, so that they will be able to dominate or confuse the unions and other groups which they infiltrate. They are forbidden to use parliamentary law in any national or state Party committee meetings or conventions. Meetings held in the Party are more like classrooms with teachers instructing pupils, with the exception that the Red pupils must never argue or disagree in any way with their instructors.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Budenz, Men Without Faces, pp. 23-24



Communist International Representatives: "mystery men." Where do these Party leaders or instructors get their infallible precepts and omniscient decisions for the conduct and operations of the Party? Directly from the horse's mouth, and in this case the horse is Joseph Stalin himself. The orders are usually relayed through his personal representatives, called Communist International Representatives,<sup>85</sup> or "mystery men," or "men of the mist," who are actually members of the Soviet Secret police.<sup>86</sup> Benjamin Gitlow wrote about these people: "Headed by the Communist International Representative this group of foreigners exercised absolute power over the American Party. The Party leadership obeyed its wishes and were in deadly fear of arousing its animosity."<sup>87</sup> This arrangement is designed to keep the Communist Parties throughout the world under the personal domination and complete control of Stalin.<sup>88</sup> It is so effective in controlling the lives of American Communists that Budenz refers to it as the "Red straight jacket."<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Gitlow, Benjamin, The Whole of Their Lives, pp. 151-152

<sup>86</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 239-240

<sup>87</sup> Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 150

<sup>88</sup> "An organization ever under the thumb of a foreign dictator, accepting subsidies from him, agreeing always with him, idolizing him, directed by his agents, refusing to permit any democratic life within its ranks-- that is not a legitimate political party. That is a fifth column. And that is Stalin's creature, the Communist party, U.S.A." Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. 49

<sup>89</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 276

Budenz makes it very clear that one of the "musts" for a Communist is to realize that he is serving Soviet Russia and its leader, Stalin, to the exclusion of all other loyalties. The professional Communist is not permitted to find any fault with the orders which come from Stalin. If he were to question the infallibility of these orders he would be denounced and condemned as a liar and an enemy of the Soviet Union.<sup>90</sup>

Stalin's power and misuse thereof. Such complete subservience to a foreign dictator was disgusting to Budenz. He was even further disgusted and disappointed when he found that Stalin had and used the power to change the fundamental teachings of Lenin whenever he chose to do so. Budenz had contended that Communism would some day develop into democracy with the end of dictatorship, as promised by Lenin in the withering away of the state.<sup>91</sup> But Stalin changed this prospect in 1939<sup>92</sup> when, in his History of the Communist Party of the USSR, he discarded the withering away theory as outworn.<sup>93</sup> Stalin justified this bold change in theory by stating on page 358 of his History that: "Stalin and the other disciples of Lenin are the only Marxists capable

---

90 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 234

91 Ibid., p. 162

92 Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. 149

93 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 162

of interpreting Communist beliefs."<sup>94</sup> Budenz was finding out, to his sorrow, that there is no assurance of anything but slavery under the dictatorship of Stalin.<sup>95</sup>

In commenting on the dictatorial nature of the Communist Party, Budenz wrote: "No one could say nay or yea--or even sneeze should that be considered important--without the consent of the puppets of still other puppets responsible directly to Moscow."<sup>96</sup> When Budenz became managing editor of the Daily Worker in 1940<sup>97</sup> he was in close contact with the top leaders in the American Communist Party. He says that all of these leaders had one common characteristic--they were all afraid of the "MysteryMen" (Men without faces): the agents sent from Moscow to be their incognito bosses. They were also afraid of the Soviet Secret Police agents. Budenz had seen them threaten Stachel and give an ultimatum to Browder, thus showing clearly who bossed the American Communist Party.<sup>98</sup>

Stalin worship. The crowning insult to Budenz' intellectual nature and desire for democracy was the cult which set Stalin before the Communist faithful

---

<sup>94</sup> Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. 32

<sup>95</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 344-345

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 122

<sup>97</sup> Budenz, Men Without Faces, jacket

<sup>98</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 185-189

as an object to be revered and worshipped. In Budenz' words:

Stalin worship is a reality....Stalin worship is the mighty dynamic force which is killing off Chinese peasants, murdering men of religion, making great sections of the world huge concentration camps.<sup>99</sup>

Again, in referring to the magic of Stalin's name, Budenz wrote:

...these hosannas to Stalin are not fantastic ravings, but part of a cold, deliberate program designed to undermine any remnants of patriotism among Communists in capitalist countries and to obliterate democratic sentiments everywhere.<sup>100</sup>

In other words, Marxist-Leninist theory is just what Stalin says it is, and he can change it to suit himself whenever he sees fit. He can make up the rules as he goes along and the Party members must follow along in worshipful obedience. Eugene Lyons, referring to Stalin, wrote:

Having captured the greatest social revolution in the history of mankind, he remolded it in his own grotesque image...warped, handicapped, without exceptional endowments of mind or spirit...brutally clawed a path to the mastery of his world.<sup>101</sup>

Before entering the Party, Budenz did not realize that Stalin exercised complete and absolute power over the Party and its members. He did not realize what it

---

<sup>99</sup> Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. 157

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 158

<sup>101</sup> Lyons, Eugene, Stalin, Czar of All The Russias, pp. 13-14

would mean to live under a totalitarian dictatorship, with worship of the dictator thrown in for good measure. After experience in the Party taught him what such a dictatorship was like, he compared it to a straight jacket from which he desired to escape.

The anti-religious nature of the Party. In addition to being revolted by the dictatorial nature of the Communist Party, Budenz was also offended by its anti-religious nature. He soon found that Communism was opposed to all religions and most strongly opposed to Catholicism. He wrote:

The Communist position is irrevocably built on that obscure but malignant dictum of Marx, "Religion is the opiate of the people." The folly of such a position is that history, experience and the aspirations of all human beings reveal religion as the medicine of the people; the Communists propose by force to dash it from the people's lips.<sup>102</sup>

He admits that the Catholic Church had foreseen and predicted the undesirable aspects of Communism, while he learned them only through bitter experience.<sup>103</sup>

Use of force to suppress religion. He found that the Soviet masters were determined to eliminate religion by military force if it could not be accomplished by other means.<sup>104</sup> When he wrote an article for The Communist in

---

<sup>102</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, p. xii

<sup>103</sup> Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. xi

<sup>104</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 181

1940, in which he used the phrase "religion is a private matter," one of the mystery men called him into conference to straighten him out and told him that such a phrase could not be used in any Communist theoretical organ. Budenz was told that the Reds, when they used the expression "separation of church and state," meant the complete control of religion by the state so that they might abolish religion entirely. If persuasion failed, they would use force--the secret police and the Red army.<sup>105</sup> This agent of Stalin's said: "We can't suffer any false ideas among ourselves on this matter; religion has to be completely torn out by the roots."<sup>106</sup> This offended Budenz, for he had hoped that as a result of the People's Front policy there would be cooperation between the forces of Communism and Catholicism in the war against Fascism.<sup>107</sup>

Again, in 1945, Budenz had this same idea, of uprooting religion, expounded to him by Foster, who was soon to be the American leader of the Party. In answer to Budenz' question as to the possibility of working with the Catholics, Foster replied:

---

105 Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 184-186

106 Ibid.

107 Ibid., p. 119

Oh, fiddlesticks!...The two chief enemies of the Soviet Union and progress are American imperialism and the Vatican. They are eternal foes of Socialism and have to be fought endlessly. We've got to get out of our heads some of the illusions Browder planted there--and carry on war against American imperialism and the Vatican today and tomorrow and until victory over them is achieved....Every Leninist knows that religion is a poison that has to be eradicated by argument or arms from the body politic--and the cornerstone we have to get rid of first is the Catholic mythology and the Catholic organization.<sup>108</sup>

This conversation with Foster is credited by Budenz as having been the "final straw" which caused him to break with the Party.<sup>109</sup>

One of the methods used in 1945 to weaken the Catholic Church was to incite several groups of Protestants against the Catholics.<sup>110</sup> The idea was that Catholicism was the stronger and Protestantism could best be used to dupe its adherents into condemning Catholicism and thus weakening religion.<sup>111</sup>

As early as October, 1943, Budenz had definitely decided to return to the Catholic Church even if he had to leave the Communist Party. He still hoped Communism and Catholicism could be brought into closer cooperation with each other.<sup>112</sup> Later, while actually planning the means of returning to the Catholic Church, he was still

---

<sup>108</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 340-341

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 339

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 359

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 360

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 314

trying for a "closer relationship between Communists and Catholics."<sup>113</sup> But it was a vain hope and a vain try, as events were to prove.

"End justifies the means" doctrine. Budenz, imbued as he was with Christian ethical principles, was further offended by the unethical principles and practices of the Communists. There is a special brand of Communist morality, as set forth by Lenin, which requires the Red to use any method, legal or illegal, which may be required to achieve the objectives of the Party.<sup>114</sup> Communists will violate the ethical concepts of civilization at any time when so doing will advance their cause. In other words, "the end justifies the means."<sup>115</sup> Whatever the Communist Party does is right, no matter how criminal or unethical it is in the eyes of decent people.<sup>116</sup>

Stalin's official lies: People's Front, 1935. The most common unethical practice of the Reds is lying, which they do whenever it suits their purpose. The Reds are past masters of the art of lying.<sup>117</sup> The leaders lie to the members and the members lie to each other and to outsiders. An example of the official Communist lie was the "People's

---

113 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 334

114 Ibid., pp. 30-31

115 Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, pp. 80-81

116 Ibid., p. 82

117 Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. 31



Front policy," announced in 1935. It was not Stalin's purpose to be more tolerant of people's religions and national loyalties. But he needed help against Hitler's Germany, and used the "People's Front" to deceive people and to lure them into becoming his allies against Fascism.<sup>118</sup> Budenz was particularly irked by this lie, because he himself was taken in by it.<sup>119</sup>

Stalin's official lies: Teheran conference, 1943.

Another example of official lying by Joe Stalin occurred at the Teheran conference in 1943 when Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin signed a promise of peace, to be kept after the defeat of Germany, to keep the world free from war as long as possible.<sup>120</sup> This solemn pledge of Stalin's was deliberately broken by him in 1945 when, acting through Duclos, he removed Browder as the American leader of the Party and quietly informed the Party faithful that the Soviets were starting a long period of aggression, cold war, and eventual conquest of the United States.<sup>121</sup> This evidence of lying duplicity helped Budenz make up his mind that it was time for him to leave the Party.

Conflict between Communism and religion. Budenz

observed that Hitler's brand of Fascism and Stalin's

---

118 Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 113-114

119 Ibid., pp. 113-114

120 Ibid., p. 283

121 Ibid., p. 279

totalitarianism were both founded on hate. He decided that such an anti-Christian doctrine as held by the Soviets could not possibly be of any benefit to the world--that it was, in fact, paving the way for another war before the ashes of World War II had cooled.<sup>122</sup> He felt that the world would be better off following the old Christian principle, "Love thy neighbor."<sup>123</sup>

He now understood that Communism entailed a complete disregard for the dignity and decency of the individual. It seemed to him that there was a world wide conflict between the slavery of the Soviet state, which deprived individuals of their dignity, and the abiding faith of those who believed in a person God and the promise of a future for the human soul.<sup>124</sup> He was convinced of the truth of the Catholic scholars' predictions that slavery would be the fruit of Marxist philosophy. If Americans under the Communist yoke in this country lived in such fear and terror as he had seen, life in the Soviet Union where the Reds held complete power over their people must be the worst kind of slavery.<sup>125</sup> Budenz had had his fill of Communist subservience and was on his way out of the Party.

---

122 Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 323

123 Ibid.; p. 324

124 Ibid.; p. 344

125 Ibid.; p. 345

The Anti-American nature of the Communist Party:

Lenin's aim to conquer the United States. Budenz was dismayed by the anti-American nature of the Communist Party. He became thoroughly convinced that one of its main objectives was the conquest of the United States.<sup>126</sup> When the Soviets first came to power Lenin wrote in his State and Revolution that the chief aim of the Soviet regime is the violent smashing of the civil, military and judicial apparatus of the "bourgeois" states so that they may be ruled from Russia. In this book, Lenin put the question: "Does this apply to the United States of America?" and answered that it surely did so apply. In another work, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, Lenin repeated this aim to conquer the United States and rule it from Russia. These books are necessary texts which every Marxist-Leninist must study as guides to his activities in the Party.<sup>127</sup>

Stalin's objective--to conquer the United States.

This same objective, conquering all bourgeois nations including the United States, was carefully written by Joseph Stalin in his two most important works, Foundations of Leninism, and The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). These books are required reading for Communists

---

<sup>126</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 279

<sup>127</sup> Budenz, Men Without Faces, pp. 6-7

all over the world.<sup>128</sup> The History "specifically urges the violent smashing of all 'imperialistic' governments, of which the United States is the outstanding example."<sup>129</sup> In 1948 the Communist convention referred to this book as "the classic of our time" and directed the convention members to study it vigorously.<sup>130</sup> The Communists in the United States are studying Stalin's books to prepare themselves to destroy by violence the United States government. They may not be committing treason yet, according to strict legal definition, but they are certainly getting ready to do so. Budenz wrote: "By its own banner, the Communist party of the United States proclaims itself Soviet Russia's fifth column and nothing else."<sup>131</sup>

Foster's anti-American statement. Foster made this point unmistakably clear to Budenz in June, 1945, when he said:

Until the Soviet regime governs the earth, a state of war will exist. Every Marxist-Leninist knows that....And the Soviet Union will have to undermine and destroy the chief example of that capitalism, American imperialism, and do a thorough job of it. Any other view is poppycock.<sup>132</sup>

Budenz knew that Foster was stating correctly the official

---

128 Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. 7

129 Ibid., p. 22

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid., p. 23

132 Budenz, This Is My Story, pp. 339-340

Soviet attitude. The basic philosophy of Communism calls for world conquest. This point is repeated by every Marxist prophet, including Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. World conquest is the most important objective of Communism.<sup>133</sup>

Budenz left Communist Party, 1945, and re-entered Catholic Church. Budenz was painfully aware of being part of an infamous conspiracy to conquer the United States and force it to become one of Stalin's slave-state satellites. He felt that it was his duty to stop this traitorous activity, to leave the Party, and to be once more a loyal citizen. In October, 1945, he left the Party and re-entered the Catholic Church.<sup>134, 135</sup> In a declaration he made at the time he said: "Communism, I have found, aims to establish a tyranny over the human spirit; it is in unending conflict with religion and true freedom."<sup>136</sup> He

---

<sup>133</sup> Budenz, Men Without Faces, p. 293

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., jacket

<sup>135</sup> In commenting on Budenz reaffiliation with the Church, Schlesinger wrote: "And many once they have made the break (from Communism) have become so dependent emotionally on discipline that like Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley, they rush to another form of discipline in the Roman Catholic Church, moving from one bastion to another in their frenzied flight from doubt." Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr., The Vital Center, pp. 105-106

<sup>136</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 349

felt as if he had escaped from prison.<sup>137</sup> It had been a long and painful ten years lesson, but he had learned what Communism is. Now he welcomed the opportunity to share this knowledge with others, hoping that he might help to stem the Communist advance by exposing the Communist ideology.

#### IV. SUMMARY OF BUDENZ CAREER

From Rome to Moscow and return. Budenz has spent most of his life as a crusader, trying to make this world a better place. His first crusade was in the cause of organized labor. His second crusade was in the cause of the Communist Party, which he joined in the hope that, by so doing, he could work for world peace and the brotherhood of man. But he found that he had been duped into joining a totalitarian conspiracy which sought to abolish religion and morality, and subject the United States to Communist slavery. Communism was making human life worse instead of better in those areas where it was dominant. Therefore Budenz left the party of Stalin, returned to his Church, and became once more a loyal citizen of the United States.

---

<sup>137</sup> Budenz, This Is My Story, p. 350

Why did it take Budenz ten long years to find out the true nature of Communism and to break with it? Part of the answer may be found in the alliance between Russia and the United States to defeat the Axis. Another part of the answer which would hardly occur to one who had never been a Communist is explained by Benjamin Gitlow. This answer should help make clear the psychological effect of Party membership upon the individual. Gitlow wrote:

...the communist movement succeeds in doing what no other organization has so far been able to do. Upon the members it takes into its ranks, the Communist party performs a feat in psychological transformation by freeing them from frustrations and a sense of inferiority. What mental therapeutics has accomplished only in a small way, the Communist party, as far as its membership is concerned, has accomplished on a large scale....The Communist man is convinced of the messianic power of his way of thinking, of the superiority of his intellect and of the ultimate justice of his conduct. He is imbued with the idea that he is called upon to serve history, that the future belongs to him. In the Communist movement nobodies become somebodies with a purpose. The doldrums of life are transformed into violent currents which stimulate the emotions, and change life for the Party member from a dull purposeless state of inactivity into a state of agitated purposeful activity and interest.<sup>138</sup>

Here is the esprit de corps of an army in wartime, coupled with missionary zeal. It is not hard to imagine how this

---

<sup>138</sup> Gitlow, Benjamin, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 236

psychological effect would be the ideal stimulus to a crusader--if he could overlook the undesirable aspects of the Party. Budenz was too conscientious and intelligent long to overlook the Party defects.

Budenz' books. Separation from the Party did not put an end to Budenz career as a crusader. Rather it launched him into the most important crusade of his life--a crusade against the Communist conspiracy. His two books, This Is My Story, and Men Without Faces, are parts of this crusade. So is the third book he is writing, which deals with Communist ideology. He gave valuable aid to the United States Government in convicting the eleven top Communists in the American Party. Now, at last, he is engaged in a useful and worthy crusade which is of great value both to his Church and to his country.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS REACHED

#### I. ATTRACTIONS OF COMMUNISM

Political attractions. The attractions of Communism are many and varied, just as the baits and lures used by fishermen to attract the unwary fish are many and varied. The political attractions of Communism are an effective lure for many people who see the faults of our present political system. The promise of Socialism has served to attract many to the Communist cause, including Ben Gitlow and Max Eastman, who had been Socialists for some time before the Russian Revolution and gave their support to Communism at its inception in the hope that it would achieve Socialism. The anarchists of the world and others who disliked strong governments were caught by the lure of Lenin's promise of a "government of workers and peasants" and his further assurance that the state would "wither away" after Communism was well established. Emma Goldman was in this group.

The attraction Communism has for Socialists and anarchists is rather obvious. A less noticeable group, those who seek political power for themselves, is also attracted by the Communist power machine in which these people are made to feel important and powerful even in their early and small positions, while before them, like the carrot dangling before the donkey's eye, is the picture of the power which they may someday hold over their fellow men if they are faithful in the Party. This lure of power to the power-hungry also serves to hold people in the Party after they have become members, and to quiet any doubts which might otherwise lead to disillusionment. It is quite probable that the enjoyment of power and the desire for more power helped make Benjamin Gitlow the "most devoted Communist in America." In his words:

The gospel of control, of securing the actual power--that is the heart and soul of Bolshevik philosophy, that is the fascination that draws such a varied assortment of the disgruntled and the dissatisfied to the banner of Communism.... It is a fascination virtually irresistible to the power hungry.<sup>1</sup>

Max Eastman points out that people who enter the Communist camp full of high ideals and desires for a better

---

1 Gitlow, Benjamin, I Confess, p. 473

political system are held in the movement by their desire for power, after they become disabused of their ideals. The early desire for political power for the workers and peasants is replaced by a desire for personal power.

Social attractions. The Communist Party is a social organization as well as a political organization, and its social attractions are powerful, particularly to those who have not found a satisfactory social adjustment in other institutions. To those people who are lonely and frustrated, to those who have the feeling of not being accepted by the ordinary social institutions of home, family, church, lodge, team, and military organizations-- to all these the Communist Party is a haven of refuge where they find acceptance and fulfillment. As Benjamin Gitlow indicates, the Communist Party gives meaning and purpose to those whose lives would otherwise be without any purpose or meaning. Here they find work to do and the plaudits of their comrades for doing it. There is also the added thrill which comes to those who engage in conspiratorial activity. If sexual fulfillment is lacking, it, too, can be provided in the Communist Party.<sup>2</sup> Dullness and monotony are banished for the

---

2 Schlesinger, A. M. Jr., The Vital Center, p. 104

Communist. He is a valued member of a consecrated brotherhood working for a revolution which is supposed to free mankind from its chains, and, incidentally, to bring the individual into a position of power. The emotional stimulus and satisfaction which come to those who work and live with such a group are among the powerful attractions of Communism.

Religious attractions. Closely related to the social appeal of the Communist movement is its religious nature, which is an attraction to many people. The present importance of this religious attraction is stated by Martin Ebon: "Communism today is less an economic school of thought than a modern cult. It has the characteristics of a religious movement."<sup>3</sup> Different observers recognized the religious manifestation of Communism in various ways. Eugene Lyons saw it as a means used by Stalin to attain the virtue of infallibility for his pronouncements:

By deifying Lenin, Stalin made himself the mouthpiece of deity. To contradict him, even to question his most absurd lies about simple facts, would soon become blasphemous and therefore punishable even unto the death penalty.<sup>4</sup>

Louis Budenz saw it as worship of the leader: "Stalin

---

<sup>3</sup> Ebon, Martin, World Communism Today, p. 435

<sup>4</sup> Lyons, Eugene, Stalin, Czar of All the Russias, p. 150

worship is a reality. Stalin worship is the mighty dynamic force which is killing off Chinese peasants, murdering men of religion..."<sup>5</sup> Gitlow had this to say about Communism as a religion:

Communists to be understood must be taken as human beings to whom Communism, the Bolshevik brand, with its idolizing of Soviet Statism, is a religion to which they adhere fanatically like dogmatic religious zealots.<sup>6</sup>

This religious facet of Communism is not passive. It expresses itself in an active crusade for power. It is an authoritarian religion, providing an answer to every question and a discipline such as is elsewhere found only in religious orders or in military organizations. Such discipline is an attraction rather than an obstacle to most of those who become enchanted by the Communist dream. "The great majority of members in America, as in Europe, want to be disciplined."<sup>7</sup> Eastman wrote: "I have learned...how much infantile and primitive yearning for dependence, for external authority, for the sovereign-father, there is in the average human heart."<sup>8</sup>

Such a two-fisted, active, well organized religion holds a strong appeal for people who have found

---

<sup>5</sup> Budenz, Louis, Men Without Faces, p. 157  
<sup>6</sup> Gitlow, Benjamin, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 97  
<sup>7</sup> Schlesinger, The Vital Center, p. 104  
<sup>8</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 10

ordinary religions too tame or too slow or too pious for their zealous dispositions. Budenz' conversion to Communism is a good example of this. The fanatical element in the Communist religion helps to insulate the consecrated member against facts which might otherwise disillusion him.<sup>9</sup>

Economic attraction. The economic attractions of Communism seem to occupy a subordinate position, except insofar as they serve to arouse the emotions of prospective converts. The economic appeal was strongest during the depression years when the capitalist system of production seemed to be falling apart of its own weight. Then it appeared to many thinking people that capitalism's failure to provide the masses with enough buying power to keep the factories and farms operating justified supplanting the outworn system with the socialistic system of distribution, where all economic activities would be conducted by the government of workers and peasants for the benefit of all the people. The propaganda of the Communists was most skillfully devised to ensnare idealistic people seeking

---

9 Massing, Hede, This Deception, p. 83

a solution to the recurring economic crises and imperialistic wars which plague the capitalist system. Whittaker Chambers has well expressed the lure which Communism offers to the middle-class idealist:

The making of a good living does not necessarily blind a man to a critical period which he is passing through. Such people, in fact, may feel a special insecurity and anxiety. They seek a moral solution in a world of moral confusion. Marxism, Leninism offers an oversimplified explanation of the causes and a program for action. The very vigor of the project particularly appeals to the more or less sheltered middle-class intellectuals, who feel that the whole context of their lives has kept them away from the world of reality. I do not know whether I make this very clear, but I am trying to get at it. They feel a very natural concern, one might almost say a Christian concern, for underprivileged people. They feel a great intellectual concern at least, for recurring economic crises, the problem of war, which in our lifetime has assumed an atrocious proportion, and which always weighs on the. What shall I do? At that crossroads the evil thing, communism, lies in wait for them with a simple answer.<sup>10</sup>

The Communist regime set forth its "ideals of equality and human liberation in its official decrees and laws."<sup>11</sup> This propaganda reaped a rich harvest of converts to Communism in the 1930's. Those who enlisted in the cause during this period believed that "Communism was the wave of the future..that it promised a

---

<sup>10</sup> From the record of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, August 25, 1948, as quoted in the Saturday Evening Post, February 16, 1952, p. 21

<sup>11</sup> Hook, Sidney, "The Literature of Disillusionment," Verdict of Three Decades, edited by Julien Steinberg, p. 607

better economic order..."<sup>12</sup> Louis Budenz was one of the thousands of idealistic people who joined the Party during the depression.

In recent years, however, the continuous failure of Communism to provide a decent standard of living for its people has demonstrated its failure as an economic panacea. The economic appeal of Communism to the intellect is slight, while its appeal to the emotions is great. The downtrodden and exploited workers do not flock to Communism seeking economic blessings.<sup>13</sup> Those who seek the Communist shrine are rather the lonely, thwarted people whose strong emotions have long been denied expression by their drab and meaningless lives. They want emotional expression; they want to belong to something greater than themselves; they want to feel important; they want to be crusaders for an idealistic scheme to make a better world; they want power, or at least a prospect of power; they want excitement and activity. These things Communism either gives them or promises them. Such are the attractions of Communism.

---

<sup>12</sup> DeVoto, Bernard "The Ex-Communists," The Atlantic Monthly, February, 1951, p. 62

<sup>13</sup> Massing, Hede, This Deception, foreword by Morris L. Ernst, p. xi



Of the four disenchanted individuals here considered, each one was sincere in wanting a better form of human society on this earth. Emma Goldman wanted to see suffering humanity freed from the tyranny of governments and employers. Gitlow and Eastman believed that a benign and paternalistic Socialism would solve the problems of mankind. Budenz wanted to crusade for a better life for the workers. They supported Communism because they believed it would achieve these goals. Yet in the end the political impact of Communism on these four people resulted in their complete and bitter disillusionment.

Each of these people was duped by the false promises of Communism, only to find later that the real objective of both Lenin and Stalin was personal power. Once this power was in their hands, they paid no further attention to the promises which they had used as bait to get the support of the people. Stalin's duplicity is evidenced by the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which states in Article 3: "All power in the USSR belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies."<sup>14</sup> In actual practice, all power in

---

<sup>14</sup> Spector, Ivar, An Introduction to Russian History and Culture, p. 411

the USSR belongs to Stalin. The Constitution is for "show" and propaganda purposes. Both in their pursuit of power and in their exercise of power, Lenin and Stalin continually used measures of unprecedented brutality and terrorism which were instrumental in disillusioning many idealistic comrades. In evaluating the effectiveness of brutality in causing disenchantment, Sidney Hook wrote: "What struck them most forcibly was the crudelty, the unnecessary crudelty, which pervaded almost every aspect of Soviet administrative practice....it was systematic, a matter of State policy..."<sup>15</sup> This crudelty was one of the decisive disillusioning factors in the cases of Goldman and Eastman, who saw their friends and associates crudely persecuted, defamed and killed. Both Goldman and Eastman saw the intellectuals as a class being liquidated in Russia. The terror was striking too close for them to retain a detached and impersonal attitude. Disillusionment followed quickly.

It is regrettable that the four people here studied learned so little from each other, except for Gitlow and Eastman, who were associates and contemporary in their support of Communism. Eastman knew Emma Goldman and

---

<sup>15</sup> Hook, Sidney, Verdict of Three Decades, p. 613

could easily have read her books, published in 1923 and 1924, nearly ten years before his own disillusionment with Communism. If he read them he does not so state in his own books. Her observations while in Russia differed radically from his, for he associated only with the consecrated leaders of the Party. He has written nothing of his observations of Russian living conditions among the masses: the obvious conclusion is that he was shown only the "show" schools, villages, factories, etc.

Louis Budenz, who did not join the Communist Party until 1935, must have ignored all the "literature of disillusionment" which had been written by that time. Goldman's My Disillusionment in Russia and My Further Disillusionment in Russia, Eastman's Since Lenin Died; Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution; and Artists in Uniform, to mention only a few titles, were available to him. Yet in his own writings he does not indicate that he had read any of these. He was too intent on reading and re-reading Lenin's works to heed the warnings given by those who had taken the Communist bait before him. He had to learn by his own experience because he did not avail himself of the opportunity to learn from the experience of others.

## II. THE FAILURES OF COMMUNISM

The principal reasons for the disillusionment of these four people may be summarized in two brief statements: Communism is unsound in theory, and Communism has failed in practice.

Communism unsound in theory. Max Eastman has exposed the unsoundness of Communist theories in a most capable manner. The dialectic system of thinking used by Marx is unsound because it is based not on any scientific or factual evidence, but on "disputation" or argument, among several people, or by one man arguing with himself and convincing himself that what he wishes to believe is true. The dialectic system is merely "wishful thinking" without regard for facts or evidence of any kind. Marx also identified himself with the divine order of things by insisting that what he wished to occur would inevitably take place. He set himself up as a prophet who could not possibly be mistaken in anything he predicted. His predictions included seizure of power by the workers, a "dictatorship of the proletariat" which would set up a Socialist economic system so perfect that it would run by itself, at which point the state would "wither away",

leaving a "society of the free and equal" in which there would be plenty for all. Services would be contributed "from each according to his ability" and goods distributed to "each according to his needs." Marx gives no proof of any kind. Eastman says that his whole scheme is one of "wish fulfillment thinking...as crude and antiquated as it is ingenious",<sup>16</sup> and that its falsity is being proved by the failure of the Russian Revolution. Most preposterous, Eastman wrote, is the assumption that the state would "wither away" while administering all the economic activities of a country.

Lenin tried to inject "a scientific revolutionary attitude" into Marx-ism. He believed that he was the working class, and that his knowledge was "the highest product of Nature"--immune to the errors of ordinary human beings. Such conceit, based on Marx' theories, combined with the idea that "the end justified the means", made Lenin a tyrant who enslaved the workers, robbed the peasants, liquidated the intellectuals, and massacred the Kronstadt sailors.

With the same conceit and bigotry, Stalin set himself up as the sole arbiter of Communist theory. He

---

<sup>16</sup> Eastman, Stalin's Russia, p. 167

discarded the withering away of the state as outworn, but followed the dialectic system, making up his own rules as he went along, and making Marxism-Leninism a religion, with himself as its authorized prophet and spokesman.

Communism failed in practice. A further proof of the unsoundness of Communist theory was its failure in practice to produce the benefits it promised. This failure has been instrumental in disillusioning many of the faithful. The economic benefits predicted as inevitable by Marx and Lenin have failed to appear. Lenin was among the first to realize their failure. He proved that Communism would not work out in practice when, in 1919 to 1921, he conducted an experiment in which he placed one province on a strictly Communist basis, a second on a semi-Communist basis, and a third on a semi-capitalist basis. Economic progress was checked closely in each province. The success of the semi-capitalist province was so outstanding that even Lenin was convinced. He confessed to the Tenth Congress in 1921 that his investigation had proven to him that a strictly Communist system would not work successfully. Having seen the advantages

of the semi-capitalist policy demonstrated in this experiment, Lenin instituted the New Economic Policy, which established semi-capitalist procedures throughout the country. Under this N.E.P. Russia enjoyed greater prosperity than at any time since the Revolution, thus demonstrating on a large scale, as Lenin had previously proved on a small scale, that Communism could not succeed economically.<sup>17</sup> Emma Goldman quotes Lenin as saying: "Only fools can believe that Communism is possible in Russia now."<sup>18</sup>

The economic failure of the Communist scheme also had its effect on the four disenchanted here studied. Emma Goldman wrote of the famine of 1921, which was due to the bungling of Communist bureaucrats. She was appalled during her two years in Russia by the failure of the Communist system to provide food, clothing and shelter for the people. Gitlow saw the same stark poverty on his three trips to Russia. Eastman read of the same poverty in the books of Lyons and others who had become disillusioned.

Communism also failed in that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the "government of workers and

---

<sup>17</sup> Spector, Ivar, An Introduction to Russian History and Culture, pp. 294-297

<sup>18</sup> Goldman, Emma, My Further Disillusionment in Russia, p. 153

peasants" as predicted by Marx and Lenin failed to materialize. Instead, Communism has been governed by a totalitarian dictatorship under Lenin and Stalin. Under such dictatorship the will of the people meant nothing, elections were farces in which the dictator's candidates were unanimously elected. Anyone questioning the policies of the dictator could be liquidated without trial.

Communism begets totalitarianism. Eastman concluded that Communism by its very nature begets totalitarianism. Goldman, Gitlow, Eastman, and Budenz all stress their abhorrence of the Red dictatorship as one of the important factors in their disillusionment.

The "society of the free and equal," which Marx predicted as inevitable, is further from achievement under Communism than it was under the Czars. All of these disenchanted four record the disheartening effect of the mental and physical cruelty, oppression, and slavery forced upon the people by Lenin and Stalin. Persecution, slavery, torture, starvation and death, or the constant fear of these terrors, have been the lot of the Russian people under their new masters.



From its conception in the wishful thinking of Marx to its maturity in the horror of Stalin's man-made famine, purges, and cold war against the free world, the Russian Communist experiment had given these four, Goldman, Gitlow, Eastman, and Budenz, ample reasons to spend the remainder of their lives fighting against Communism.

THE END

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acton, Lord, History of Freedom, 1909 (quoted in Stevenson, Burton, The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases, p. 1858, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1948)
- Budenz, Louis Francis, Men Without Faces. The Communist Conspiracy in the U.S.A. Harper & Bros., New York, Copyright 1948, 1949, 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_, This Is My Story, Whittlesey House; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1947.
- Corry, J. A., Elements of Democratic Government, Hardy Professor of Political Science, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. Oxford University Press, New York, 1947.
- Crossman, Richard, editor, The God That Failed. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1949.
- Eastman, Max, Artists in Uniform. A study of Literature and Bureaucratism. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1934
- \_\_\_\_\_, The End of Socialism in Russia. Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Enjoyment of Living. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1948.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Heroes I Have Known. Twelve who lived great lives. Simon and Shuster, New York, 1942
- \_\_\_\_\_, Leon Trotsky: The Portrait of a Youth. Greenberg, Publisher, Inc., New York, 1925
- \_\_\_\_\_, Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, W.C.I., 1926

\_\_\_\_\_, Marxism, Is It Science? W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 1940.

\_\_\_\_\_, Since Lenin Died. Boni and Liveright, New York, 1925.

\_\_\_\_\_, Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism. W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1940.

Ebon, Martin, World Communism Today. Whittlesey House, New York, 1948.

Gitlow, Benjamin, I Confess. The Truth about American Communism, with an introduction by Max Eastman. E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., New York, 1940.

\_\_\_\_\_, The Whole of Their Lives. Communism in America--A Personal History and Intimate Portrayal of its Leaders, with a foreword by Max Eastman. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1948.

Goldman, Emma, Anarchism and other Essays. With Biographic sketch by Hippolyte Havel. Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 East Thirteenth St., New York, 1910.

\_\_\_\_\_, My Disillusionment in Russia. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1923.

\_\_\_\_\_, My Further Disillusionment in Russia. Being a continuation of Miss Goldman's Experiences in Russia as given in My Disillusionment in Russia. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1924.

\_\_\_\_\_, Living My Life. Two volumes. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1931.

Harlow, Ralph V., Growth of the United States. Volume II: The Expansion of the Nation 1865-1950. Revised Edition, Henry Holt and Company, 1951.

- Hook, Sidney, "Literature of Disillusionment," Verdict of Three Decades. Julien Steinberg, editor: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1950.
- Lyons, Eugene, Stalin, Czar of all the Russias. J. B. Lippincott Co., New York, 1940.
- Massing, Hede, This Deception. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1951.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr., The Vital Center. The Politics of Freedom. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1949.
- Spector, Ivar, An Introduction to Russian History and Culture. D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., New York, 1949.
- Steinberg, Julien, Verdict of Three Decades. From the Literature of Individual Revolt Against Soviet Communism: 1917-1950. Edited by Julien Steinberg. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1950.
- Tohernavin, Vladimir, "Slave Labor and Big Business," Verdict of Three Decades, Julien Steinberg, editor: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1950.

#### PERIODICALS

- Chambers, Whittaker, "I Was the Witness," The Saturday Evening Post, February 16, 1952, p. 21.
- DeVoto, Bernard, "The Ex-Communists," The Atlantic Monthly, February, 1951.
- Eastman, Max, The Liberator, March, 1918, April, 1918, May, 1919. Published monthly by Liberator Publishing Co., 34 Union Square East, New York.
- Eastman, Max, The Masses, published by The Masses Publishing Co., 150 Nassau Street, New York, from December, 1912 to July, 1917.
- Editorial, Goldman's Obituary, "The New Republic," June 3, 1940, p. 747. Published by Editorial Publications, Inc., 40 East 49th Street, New York.