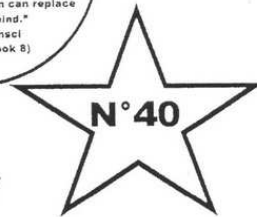


THE GRAMSCI MONUMENT- NEWSPAPER



www.gramsci-monument.com

"A periodical, like a newspaper, a book, or any other medium of didactic expression that is aimed at a certain level of the reading or listening public, cannot satisfy everyone equally; not everyone will find it useful to the same degree. The important thing is that it serve as a stimulus for everyone; after all, no publication can replace the thinking mind."
Antonio Gramsci
(Prison Notebook B)



August 9th, 2013 - Forest Houses, Bronx, NY

The Gramsci Monument-Newspaper is part of the "Gramsci Monument", an artwork by Thomas Hirschhorn, produced by Dia Art Foundation in co-operation with Erik Farmer and the Residents of Forest Houses

<<QUOTE OF THE DAY>>

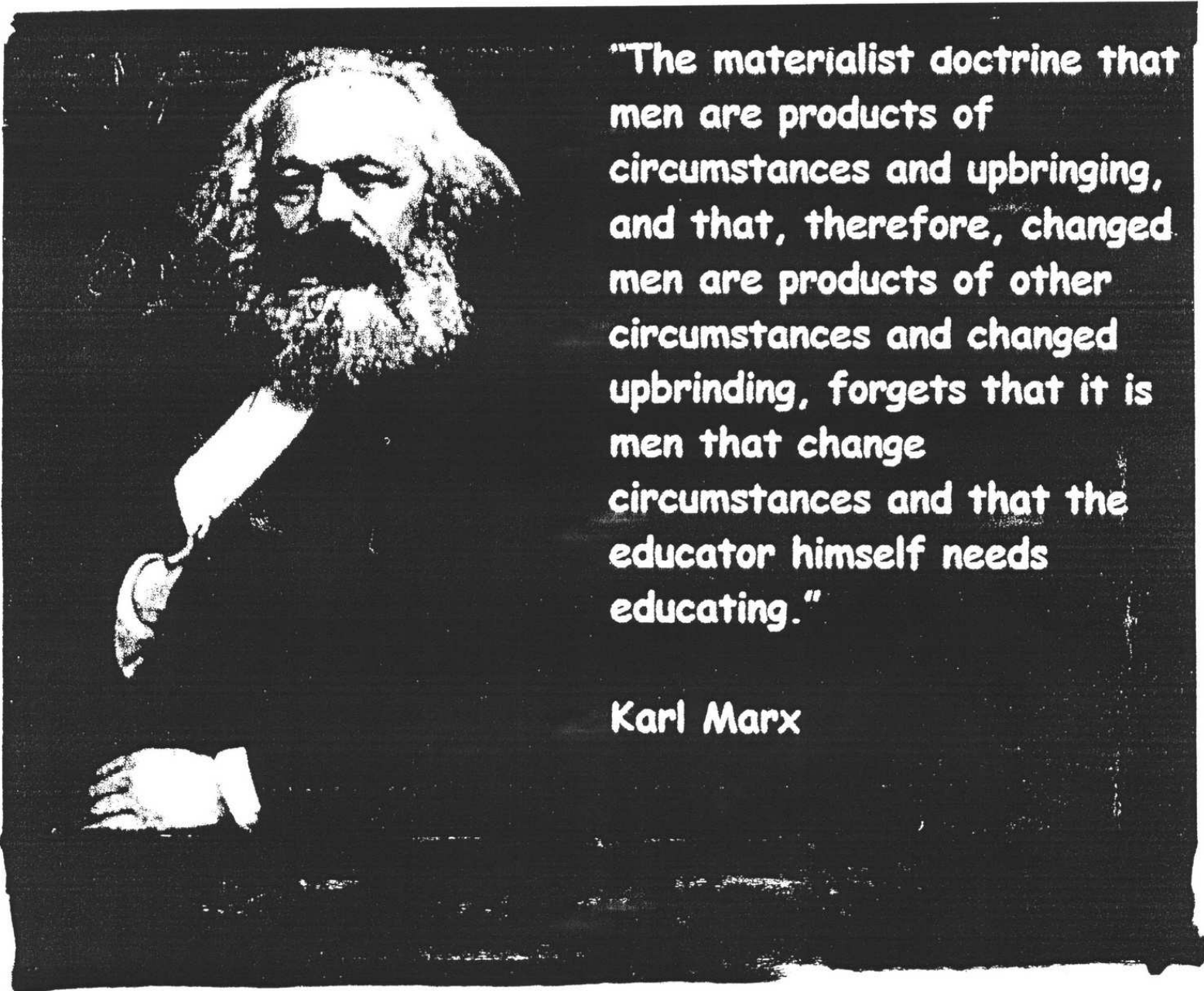


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Bronx, NY 10456

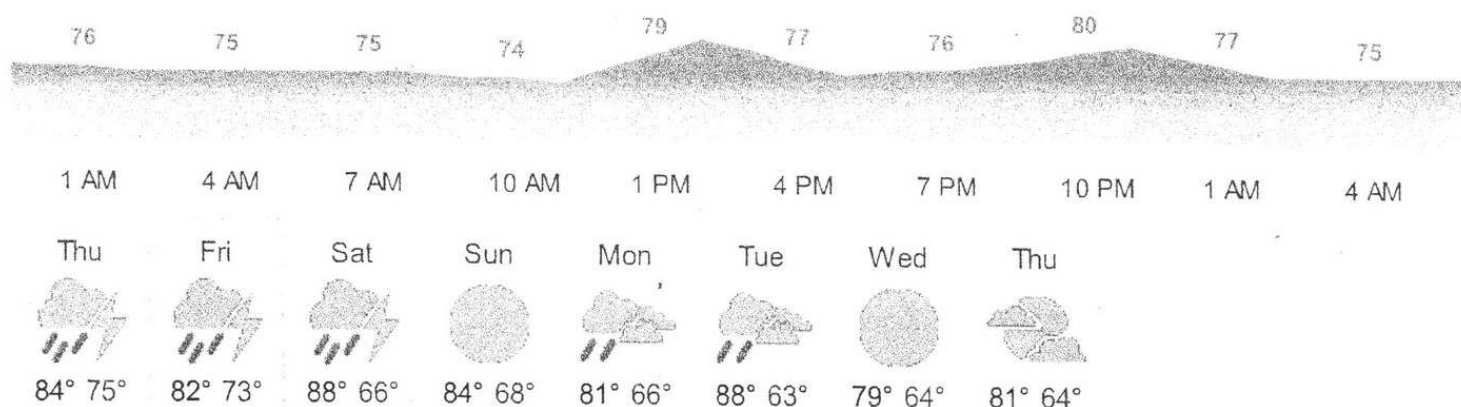
Friday
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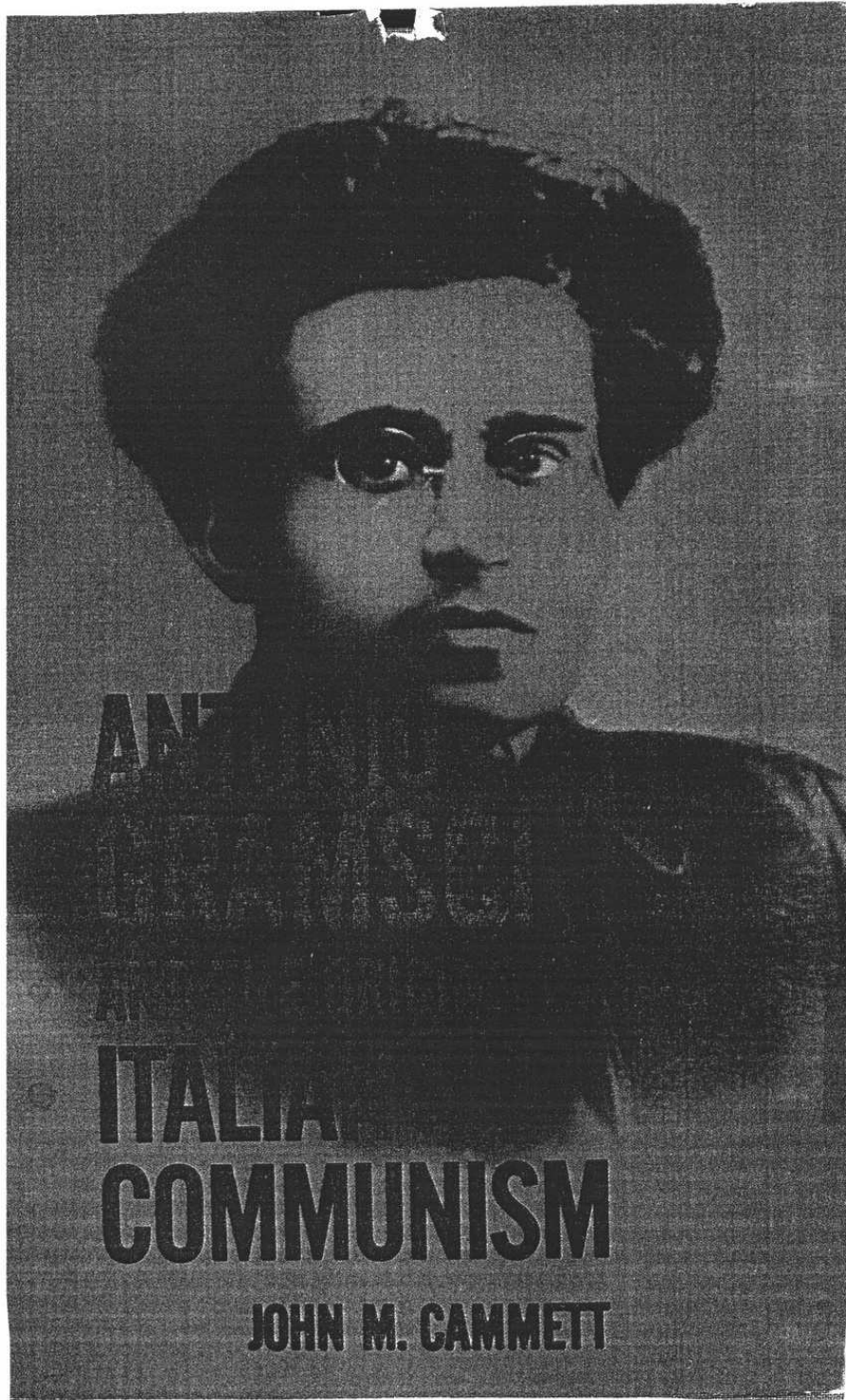
82° F | °C

Precipitation: 60%
Humidity: 80%
Wind: 14 mph

Temperature	Precipitation	Wind
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A TEXT ON ANTONIO GRAMSCI



John McKay Cammett



Scholar of Antonio Gramsci; AHA member since 1956

Our beloved colleague, mentor, and friend, John McKay Cammett, died at home on July 30, 2008. Born July 8, 1927, U.S. Navy veteran (1945–46), John Cammett, began life as an auto worker and union organizer. After World War II, he attended Wayne State (BA 1949) and became a devoted scholar and researcher. John Cammett was a brilliant historian, for many years chair of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY, Department of History. As dean of faculty and provost at John Jay, he, along with Presidents Don Riddle and Gerald Lynch, invented a program to integrate criminal justice with liberal arts studies.

Internationally known as the pioneering scholar of Antonio Gramsci, he began his work on Italy from the Renaissance to the present at Columbia University (PhD 1959). On a research trip to Rome, he discovered the significance and impact of Antonio Gramsci on the Italian communist movement, which became the most significant feature of his life's work. His award-winning dissertation (the 1960 prize for the best unpublished work of the year, awarded by the Society for Italian Historical Studies), was subsequently published as *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism* (Stanford University Press, 1967). In his introduction to the Italian edition, Domenico Zucaro noted that Cammett's study was remarkable not only as the first serious work in English about Gramsci, but also because Cammett introduced "many new elements into the Gramscian debate," and precisely analyzed "that continuous line between thought and action" that defined Gramsci's contributions to communist ideology and experience.

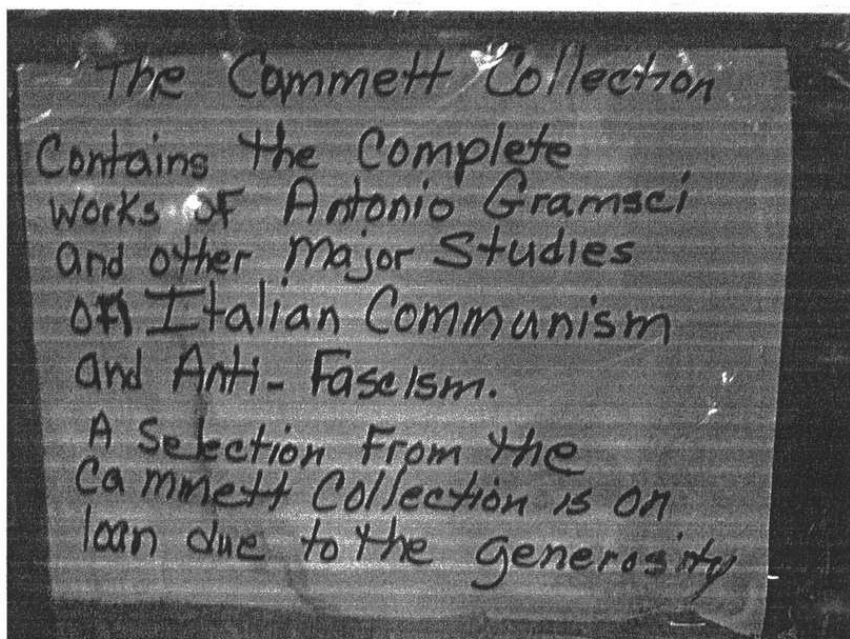
Subsequently, Cammett became universally known within the world of Gramsci studies for his *Bibliografia Gramsciana*, which includes all writings by and about Gramsci. In this project, which has been ongoing for over 20 years, Cammett brought together scholars, translators, and publishers from all over the world, including Latin America, the Middle East, Asia, and South Africa. The online bibliography eventually comprised over 17,000 titles in 40 languages. An indispensable reference, which resulted from the passion, perseverance, and vision of a great scholar, Cammett insured that Gramsci became the most widely known Italian thinker in the modern world.

He was the author of dozens of articles, papers, and essays, such as "The Impact of Eurocommunism on Americans," "Communist Women and the Fascist Experience," "The Historical Role of Italian Intellectuals," "Communist Theories of Fascism," "The Intellectual and the Working Class," "Italian Americans and the Howard Beach Tragedy," "Idealist Influences on Historical Materialism," and "The Police in Italy" (with Mary Gibson). He was co-editor with George Fischer, et al., *The Revival of American Socialism* (Oxford University Press, 1971), and co-editor with Sheppard Clough, et al., *The European Past* (Macmillan, 1970), and other books. An indefatigable athlete, John Cammett biked to and from work and played tennis almost daily. A public citizen of profound commitment and valour, he was a member of the AHA since 1956, the Society for Italian Historical Studies, the American Italian Historical Association, and Columbia University Seminars on War and Peace, Modern Italian History, and the History of the Working Class.

A stirring lecturer throughout the U.S. and internationally, Cammett won several academic honors, including Fulbright and National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowships. In addition to John Jay, over time he taught at the CUNY Graduate Center, Rutgers University, Hunter College, New York University, and Columbia University.

A radical activist whose entire life was dedicated to world peace and economic and social justice, John Cammett was always an inspiration and a warm generous friend. We send our condolences to his wife Sandi Cooper; his daughters Lisa, Ann (Marcia Gallo), and Melani (Angelo Manioudakis); grandchildren, Mena Cammett and Alex and Lena Manioudakis; and countless friends and colleagues.

www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2008/0810/0810mem1.cfm



THE GRAMSCI MONUMENT THANKS THE CAMMETT COLLECTION

6. Toward the Communist Party: Gramsci's Final Break with Maximalism

La verità è che il Partito socialista non era un' "urbe," era un' "orda": non era un organismo, era un agglomerato di individui.

—Gramsci, December 18, 1920

Gramsci's conception of the role of the factory council and his Leninist view of the Party as the vanguard of the proletariat set him apart from traditional Italian Socialism. His experiences in Sardinia and Turin—especially his training in Croceian historiography—gave him a more sophisticated view of the role of such forces as anarchism, liberalism, Christian democracy, and the peasant movement than most of his fellow Socialists enjoyed. Many of his comrades were sincerely concerned about Gramsci's occasionally close relationships with these non-Socialist movements, although a closer examination would have demonstrated that such relationships did not lead Gramsci to any revision of his Marxist doctrine, but only to a greater understanding of these movements as historical forces.

Gramsci's views on these subjects did, however, play a part in his final break with Italian maximalism, in late 1920. These views, together with the defeats of the Turin labor movement in April and September and the results of the Second Congress of the Comintern in July–August, provide the background for understanding the long polemic between Gramsci and Serrati that destroyed the unity of the PSI and led to the foundation of the Italian Communist Party.

Gramsci and the Anarchists

The idea of the councils as forces for liberation of the working class attracted many anarchists to Gramsci's movement, to the great chagrin of some Socialist leaders. By midsummer of 1920, both of the Italian anarcho-syndicalist organizations had declared themselves in favor of collaboration with the Ordine Nuovo movement. Enea

Toward the Communist Party

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work from that of his students and imitators in France and Italy, for whom Gramsci had only contempt. As for Sorel, "In his best qualities, he seems to recall in himself a little of the virtues of his two masters: the harsh logic of Marx and the restless, plebeian eloquence of Proudhon." Most important for Gramsci was Sorel's insistence that "the proletarian movement express itself in its own forms, give life to its own institutions." Such a belief made it possible for Sorel to appreciate the soviet movement in Russia and in Western Europe. For this reason, Gramsci felt that "Georges Sorel has truly remained what Proudhon made him, that is, a disinterested friend of the proletariat."⁷

Nonetheless, Gramsci's basic objections to anarchism were numerous, particularly since he feared that Socialist ineptitude was driving many workers into the libertarian camp.⁸ True, since anarchism was a retrograde political movement whose strength varied in inverse proportion to the degree of industrialization in a given country, its appeal would gradually weaken.⁹ In the meantime, however, Gramsci regarded certain anarchist doctrines as particularly pernicious, especially the anarchists' fear of the State as such.

Gramsci's position on the State is very simple: anyone who maintains under present conditions that a workers' State is not necessary to carry out the revolution corresponds, on the political level, "to the charlatan who offers a potion of barley water to a victim of typhus."¹⁰ To demonstrate this, Gramsci uses two arguments, the first drawn from the Hegelian view of the State, the second from Lenin.

It is true, Gramsci observes, that communism is international, and hence anti-national economically and politically; however, if the national State is suppressed within the Communist International, the State as the concrete "form" of society or human collectivity is not. Society has always existed as a system and equilibrium of States, that is, of concrete institutions in which society acquires consciousness of its existence and development. "Each advance of civilization becomes permanent, is real history and not ephemeral and superficial episode, insofar as it is embodied in an institution and finds form in the State."¹¹

Gramsci then applies this theory to the Socialist movement:

The Socialist idea remained a myth, an evanescent chimera, a merely arbitrary act of individual fantasy until it became incarnated in the Socialist and proletarian movements, in the institutions of organization and defense of the organized proletariat. In them and through them it took historical form and progressed. From them it generated the national Socialist State, disposed and organized to be capable of interlocking with other Socialist States, con-

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Ordine Nuovo

Matta, an old militant, delivered a well-received speech on the councils at the Parma Congress of the Unione Sindacale Italiana.¹ In July the Bologna Congress of the Unione Anarchica adopted a manifesto supporting the councils as "the proper organizations for enrolling, in preparation for the Revolution, all manual or intellectual producers right on the job. [The councils] are, in accordance with the ends of anarchist Communist principles, absolutely anti-State organisms and possible nuclei for the future direction of industrial and agricultural production."²

A number of anarchists participated in the Turin council movement, above all Maurizio Garino and Pietro Ferrero, the director of the Fiom section in the city. Although the total number of anarchists in Turin was probably not great,³ the contributions of men like Garino and Ferrero to the labor movement were considerable. For a time, even *Ordine nuovo* had an anarchist named Carlo Petri on its staff.⁴

Gramsci was particularly impressed with Garino, who, opposing Tasca, defended the Ordine Nuovo thesis that the principal function of the trade union was to advance the interests of the worker as a wage earner, not as a producer. For Gramsci, Garino's action was proof that "in the real revolutionary process, the whole working class spontaneously finds its practical and theoretical unity; that every worker, insofar as he is a sincere revolutionary, will ultimately collaborate with the whole class to carry out a task that is implicit in capitalistic society and not at all an end freely proposed by the conscience and the individual will."⁵ Gramsci remarked that it mattered little to him if Garino and Ferrero were anarchists, so long as their activity remained "real and concrete."

By far the most significant support that Gramsci obtained from the anarcho-syndicalist camp came from Georges Sorel, the theoretician of revolutionary syndicalism. On October 5, 1919, in an interview with *Il Resto del Carlino*, Sorel exclaimed:

Rather than asking Kautsky and his emulators for the design of the city of the future, let [the workers] carry out their education by conquering more extensive powers in the factories. This should be the work of Communists! The experience they are undergoing in the Fiat plants is more important than all the writings published by *Neue Zeit*.⁶

Commenting on this judgment, Gramsci also stated his general evaluation of Sorel. This was surprisingly positive, although Gramsci made it clear that much of Sorel's doctrine was unacceptable to him. It was particularly necessary, moreover, to distinguish Sorel's

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Ordine Nuovo

ditioned to be capable of living and developing only insofar as it adheres to other Socialist States for the realization of the Communist International, in which every State, every institution, every individual will find fullness of life and freedom.¹²

From the Marxist point of view, this argument at times seems close to being a positive defense of the State as an inevitable phenomenon; however, the real nature of Gramsci's disagreement with the anarchists becomes clear when he discusses the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although the limits of class competition and struggle have changed in a dictatorship of the proletariat, competition and classes remain. The workers' State must resolve the same problems as the bourgeois State, namely, internal and external defense. It would be disastrous for the working class to act as if these problems were already solved.

In fact, the rapid disintegration of the bourgeois State makes it essential to destroy certain prejudices "against all the forms of bourgeois domination," which both Socialists and anarchists have implanted. The defeat of capitalism will leave a residue of anti-State feeling: individuals and groups will want to be exempted from the service and discipline indispensable to the success of the revolution. But to suppress the State, a new State is needed; to suppress militarism, a new kind of militarism is needed. And unlike the bourgeois State, the Socialist State demands the active and permanent participation of its people in the life of its institutions.¹³

After defending the workers' State, Gramsci directly attacks anarchism. The anarchists are a "Masonic" or "religious" group who talk about "freedom" and "truth" as though they were absolutes, "revealed" rather than historically limited. Such notions have caused the anarchists to neglect the discipline proper to political parties, "a discipline born from the discussion of concrete political problems in relation to a fundamental political doctrine." Instead, they use irrelevant and misleading bonds to achieve political coherence: personal friendship or esteem, the prestige of a great name, the common fear of being called traitors.¹⁴

The anarchists' belief in absolute truth implies that such truth is "spontaneous" in the working class; hence, they are suspicious of attempts to govern and "direct" that class. To this, Gramsci answers:

Since we are more free spiritually [in the Marxist sense of understanding the limits of the historical situation]... than the libertarians, we perceive the facts themselves more clearly, and we do not judge as spontaneous (liber-

tarian, voluntary, conscious) the action of a mob that has heard anarchist speeches, but we say: this mob is also governed. It too is under the influence of a power, and it is governed badly because the power is exercised chaotically.¹⁵

Gramsci also asked why, if the anarchists possess "revealed revolutionary truth," they have never succeeded in drawing the masses along with them. The anarchist movement has stagnated because it does not realize that a determined truth, not an absolute truth, is necessary to move the masses to action: "For the ends of human history, truth is only found in action . . . is only translated into deep movements and real conquests by the masses themselves." By realizing this, the Italian Socialist Party, as the party of the Italian working class, has grown and developed. Its very errors and shortcomings are those of the Italian working class itself.¹⁶

The anarchist doctrine—and its basis, the idea of freedom—is not specific enough. It cannot be reduced to a program; whereas the Marxists interpret freedom as the organization of the conditions in which freedom can be realized. At present, this means preventing the bourgeoisie from sabotaging the creative work of the proletariat and organizing all national and international production on the model of large industry. Only by making the proletarian way of life universal can relations between individuals be based on the industrial relations of production and not the political relations of class.¹⁷

Gramsci denied that anarchism was an ideology confined to the proletariat. In "The State and Socialism" (June 1919) he had only partly developed this idea. After declaring that anarchism as a political movement was doomed to extinction with the progress of industrialism, he nevertheless conceded that it would survive for some time as an "idealistic ferment." In fact, anarchism would "continue the liberal [anti-State] tradition insofar as this had imposed and realized human values that ought not to die with capitalism."¹⁸ By the spring of 1920, however, Gramsci had gone much further in denying a positive role to anarchism in the future development of the working class:

Anarchism is not a conception proper to, and only to, the working class. . . . Anarchism is the elementary subversive feeling of every oppressed class and the diffused tendency of every dominant class. Because every class oppression took form in a State, anarchism is the elementary subversive conception that makes the State in and through itself the cause of all the miseries of the oppressed class. Every class, by becoming dominant, has realized its own anarchistic conception, because it has realized its own liberty.¹⁹

them, not even the so-called Liberal Party."²² Thus, liberalism is a form of historicism, which says that the mere existence of a political force proves that it has a real function—is meaningful. Yet, unlike many of the Croceians, Gobetti was not satisfied with knowing the historical function of a party, but also wished to lead it in a practical political struggle, which he called a "creative adhesion to history."²³

From Fortunato, Salvemini, and other conservatives and liberals concerned with the failure of Italian democracy, Gobetti derived a negative view of the Italian ruling class and a deep belief that the Risorgimento, a "Risorgimento without heroes," would have to be completed in the present century if the nation were to survive.

It was Gramsci's influence, however, that pervaded all of Gobetti's thinking. Gobetti's close association with the Ordine Nuovi convinced him of the strength and vitality of this movement, and led him to write a long article called a "History of the Turinese Communists Written by a Liberal," one of the most important documents on the Gramsci of this period. Undoubtedly what attracted Gobetti to Ordine Nuovo was not its Socialism, but its creative originality. He thought of Ordine Nuovo as a movement capable of renewing Italian life through the agency of the working class. Gramsci's concern with the southern peasantry also attracted Gobetti, who knew that the rural masses were essential to the creation of a better Italy. Finally, Gramsci's absolute intransigence before Fascism provided a model, as it were, for Gobetti. Unlike many liberals, Gobetti never flagged in his opposition to Fascism, though this intransigence ultimately brought him death.²⁴

Gramsci, for his part, had great respect for Gobetti's "intellectual loyalty and complete freedom from any vanity and meanness of a lower order."²⁵ Yet he recognized that Gobetti "was not a Communist and would probably never have become one."²⁶ Gramsci felt that Gobetti's direct experience with the working class, obtained through *Ordine nuovo*—in 1921 he became its regular drama critic—had enlarged his vision. Gobetti's real importance, to Gramsci, was as an "organizer of culture," as an intellectual who "established a line of no-retreat for those groups of honest and sincere intellectuals who in 1919–21 felt that the proletariat as a ruling class would have been superior to the bourgeoisie."²⁷ Gobetti represented a new stage in the development of Italian intellectuals: Gramsci later devoted much thought to this development, and derived a good part of his most important theoretical work from his reflections.

Thus the bourgeoisie, while opposing the control of the despotic and aristocratic State, was anarchist. It remained anarchist, in a sense, after its triumph because it had attained concrete liberty and was living under its own laws. When the proletariat seizes power, the bourgeoisie will again "be aware of a State" and return to their former anarchism. Similarly, the proletariat is inclined to anarchism because of its hatred of the bourgeoisie: anarchism has been the "marginal" ideology of every oppressed class. But neither the proletariat nor the bourgeoisie is hostile to the "State" as a concept; they oppose it in specific cases. The specific ideologies of the bourgeoisie and proletariat have been, respectively, liberalism and Marxian Socialism. Unlike anarchism, Marxist doctrine is incomprehensible when separated from the proletariat.²⁰

Gramsci and Piero Gobetti

Gramsci had considerable influence on the younger and more militant liberals of Turin—like Piero Gobetti, with whom he had a remarkable relationship. In February 1918, while still a student at a liceo, Gobetti had begun to publish a monthly review, *Energie nuove*, to which Gramsci occasionally contributed. Later, in February 1922, Gobetti directed and edited *La Rivoluzione liberale*, which became the focal point of liberal resistance to Fascism.

In March 1924, Mussolini instructed the Prefect of Turin to "make life difficult" for Gobetti.²¹ As a consequence, Gobetti was twice severely beaten by bands of Black Shirts. Finally, after the suppression of *Rivoluzione liberale* in November 1925, he went to Paris to recuperate from his wounds and to continue rallying anti-Fascist liberals around his publications. However, his physical constitution had been entirely broken, and he died the following February at the age of 26.

Gobetti's importance in the *primo dopoguerra* can hardly be exaggerated. As the formulator of a "revolutionary" liberalism, or "liberal revolution," he inspired many non-Marxists with a deep and inflexible opposition to Fascism. Even today, his name is constantly mentioned by those who wish to see a moral and political renewal of Italy. The inspiration for Gobetti's highly original liberalism was provided by Benedetto Croce, by the "Southernist" movements of Giustino Fortunato and Gaetano Salvemini, and by Gramsci.

From Croce, Gobetti learned that "liberalism as a doctrine explains and justifies all parties dialectically, without coinciding with any of

Gramsci and Christian Democracy

Gramsci's superior insight—and distinction from most other Italian Socialists of this period—is nowhere more evident than in his views on Catholic political action. This was a subject of great importance for Italian Socialism, since a Catholic party, the Italian Popular Party (PPI), had proved to be its only rival for mass support in the elections of 1919.

Gramsci had at first—with some truth, but rather flippantly—dismissed the formation of the PPI as motivated merely by the need for a "party of order," not too compromised by the war to mediate between the proletariat and the classes in power.²⁸ The decline of the liberal bourgeois parties had necessitated the rise of the PPI. By the fall of 1919, however, Gramsci realized that the new party would become an important political force. The result was an article entitled "I Popolari."²⁹

The very foundation of the new party, says Gramsci, marks the "spiritual renewal of the Italian people," for it demonstrates that the Church hierarchy, and with it the peasant masses, are moving from the domain of religious myth to a world of historical action based on human motives.³⁰ Actually, the Popular Party was merely the culmination of a long-standing process. For several decades any number of Catholic institutions with an "earthly" character, proposing "earthly" ends, had arisen in Italy: mutual-aid societies, cooperatives, agrarian credit agencies, and trade guilds were only a few examples of this phenomenon. Expelled from "public things" by the new Italian liberal State, the Church took refuge in the countryside, in the daily social activities of the backward rural masses. Deprived of any direct influence in the management of the State, it now threatened that State by its control over the local economic and social interests of the peasantry—interests that the liberal State had largely ignored.

Thus Catholicism reappeared in the process of history—but in a modified form. "The spirit has become flesh—and corruptible flesh, like that of all human forms. It is dominated by the same historical laws of growth and decline that govern [all] human institutions." The Church has moved from a narrow, mystic hierarchy, the absolute ruler of the faithful masses, to a position identified with those masses and their material interests. Its fate now depends on "the good or bad results of the economic and political action of men who promise earthly goods, who offer terrestrial happiness, in addition to, or rather instead of, the city of God." Thus, the Church does not compete

with liberalism and the secular State, but with Socialism, which promises the same ends. But this competition should not cause alarm. The Popular Party is a necessary phase in the development of the Italian proletariat toward Communism. It creates "associationism" and solidarity where Socialism could not, where the objective conditions of a capitalist economy do not exist. Although the postwar sense of bewilderment and disorientation also affects the countryside, the peasantry do not have the model of the great modern factory to guide them onto new paths.

Only "democratic Catholicism" could amalgamate this social group. But in so doing, the Church itself was committing suicide: once the peasant masses were organized, Socialism could influence them. When the peasantry became conscious of its real power, it would no longer want priests as spokesmen, but fellow peasants.

A few months after writing this article, Gramsci began debating the role of the Church in a Socialist State with a "Bolognese comrade." *Ordine nuovo* had stated that priests, monks, and nuns in a Socialist State should be treated as workers, insofar as they actually do work. The Bolognese was scandalized. He evidently feared that a new order of "Socialist" clerics would arise. Gramsci replied that some Socialists had similarly refused to support the establishment of soviets in Italy because they feared that a soviet at Bergamo (a stronghold of the PPI) would fall into the hands of priests. Gramsci asked the Bolognese what he would do in such an eventuality: "Should Bergamo be put to fire and sword? Should those workers and peasants who politically follow the left wing of the Popular Party be extirpated from Italian soil?" Gramsci asserted that Italian Socialism would have quite enough to do with its civil war against reaction without also beginning a religious war. Socialists must recognize that the Vatican did exist in Italy, that Catholicism was a real political force. The workers' State, like the liberal State, would be obliged to find a system of equilibrium with the spiritual force of the Church.³¹

Gramsci, the PSI, and the Peasant Question

The Socialist Party's greatest shortcoming, in Gramsci's opinion, was its weakness among the peasantry. In part, this was an organizational deficiency. The Party's only contact with the peasants came through the Federazione Italiana Lavoratori della Terra, a trade-union organization that included all agricultural workers, whether landholders or day-laborers. Because of the contrasting interests in this group, many of the small proprietors, tenants, and leaseholders

tached from the political parties of peasant coalitions" and, in particular, from the Italian Popular Party.³⁸ The peasants had to be shown that the industrial workers were the only class interested in increasing agricultural production, and ultimately in equalizing urban and rural levels of productivity. Once again, Gramsci pointed to the council as the instrument of education, and, indeed, asserted that an immediate task of the council movement should be spreading propaganda in the countryside.³⁹

Gramsci's increasing bitterness against the directors of the PSI was partly founded in his conviction that they were doing nothing to further such a coalition of workers and peasants. After September 1920, with the rising counteroffensive of the industrialists and Fascists, it became apparent that the best chance for a worker-peasant alliance had passed.

The Disintegration of the PSI

The Turin general strike, the Second Congress of the Comintern, and the results of the occupation of the factories all divided the PSI into a number of factions so hostile that a schism became inevitable. This process of dissolution was completed from September to December 1920 by the argument over the adaptability of the "Twenty-one Points" to Italian conditions.

The Twenty-one Points, or conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, were promulgated at the Second Congress of the International, but they were not published in Italy until September 21.⁴⁰ On September 28 the Party directorate voted, seven to five, to accept these conditions without reservations.⁴¹

Serrati was unwilling to accept this decision: he was certain that it did not represent the majority opinion of the whole Party, and he was convinced that the very life of the Party depended upon its continued acceptance of the reformists. He was thus forced to oppose the Comintern openly and undertake a long and complicated polemic with Lenin and Gramsci. Serrati's stand split the maximalist group itself into two factions: the Left, led by Egidio Gennari and Nicola Bombacci, and the Right, led by Serrati and Adelchi Baratonio. Thus Serrati's attempt to maintain Party unity merely resulted in further division. Certain features of this attempt are important in understanding the origins of the Italian Communist Party.⁴²

In 1920 Lenin believed that the Socialist parties of Europe would succeed in their revolutionary tasks only if the reformists were purged from their ranks. In urging this step, he accused the reformists of

preferred to join the Catholic agricultural organizations affiliated with the PPI.³²

A more fundamental reason, however, for the impotence of Italian Socialism in the countryside was the ignorance of many Socialist directors concerning peasant problems. Moreover, a certain diffidence toward the peasantry prevented them from repairing their ignorance. This attitude is well illustrated in the official Socialist reaction to the forcible seizure of land by agricultural workers, a phenomenon that occurred frequently in the primo dopoguerra. In the words of Tasca, "the Socialist Party dealt with it [the occupation of land] very late and, in general, with suspicion and ill will."³³ Not a single Socialist deputy, for example, went to help the 150,000 peasants on strike in the province of Trapani, where such occupations were very frequent. The maximalist position on this question was clearly indicated by Serrati when he said, "Everyone knows that the movement for the occupation of lands—which was carried out, especially in Sicily, by veterans and Popolari—was a demagogic and petty-bourgeois movement aimed at entrancing the agricultural masses."³⁴

This lack of understanding exasperated Gramsci, who thought such ignorance especially dangerous because of renewed attempts by the Giolittian liberals to encourage collaboration between northern capital and the working-class "aristocracies" of the industrial North, at the expense of the southern peasantry.³⁵ The Giolittians felt that the postwar alliance between workers and peasants, insofar as it existed at all, would eventually break down because of the peasants' fear that Socialism would reappropriate their recent gains in land, equipment, and livestock.³⁶

Gramsci freely admitted that the Socialists did not regard the re-division of land as an adequate solution to the plight of the peasants. "Land to the peasants" must be interpreted as the control of agricultural establishments by the agricultural workers, organized in councils of poor peasants—who could never acquire capital sufficient to develop individual landholdings and raise the conditions and rewards of their agricultural production to the level of industrial production. Individualism was as inadequate on the land as in the factory. "The industrial proletariat, which is the basis of the workers' State, goes beyond plutocratic centralization, rather than destroying it."³⁷

Gramsci believed that winning the peasants over to Socialism was absolutely essential, since they alone possessed the numerical strength to overthrow the bourgeois State. The rural masses would revolt only when the poor peasants and small landholders were "violently de-

treachery, although he did occasionally admit that they were traitors "without realizing it."³⁸ Serrati, however, vigorously defended the Italian reformists—men like Turati, Modigliani, and D'Aragona—against such charges. He correctly pointed out that they, unlike their counterparts in other lands, had definitely accepted uncompromising adherence to the class struggle, the historical necessity of the use of violence, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a system of soviets to replace the Parliament.⁴⁴ Serrati justified the continued participation of the reformists in the Party on many grounds. He regarded their contributions as essential to the victory of the revolution in Italy: most of the directors of Socialist labor and of the communal governments held by the Party were reformists, as well as many of the deputies. He said the policy of the International was unfair, contradictory, and dangerous in demanding the expulsion of the reformists while permitting, and even encouraging, the adherence of those who, like Marcel Cachin in France, had taken a "social-patriotic" position during the World War. Finally, as representatives of the present position of many Italian workers, the reformists deserved a place in the Party of the working class.⁴⁵

The reformists were not traitors: even Egidio Gennari felt compelled to defend them from Lenin's charge of treason, and preferred to term their behavior "an incomplete comprehension of the new functions" of the Party.⁴⁶ But Serrati was wrong in assuming that the Italian reformists were fundamentally different from their comrades in other countries. Although they had taken relatively left-wing positions on many issues, they were motivated more by force of circumstances than by principles. It was either "bourgeois illegality" or the "political immaturity" of their comrades, who comprised a majority, that impelled them to the Left. Fundamentally, they were social democrats, and hence regarded any but the strictly "democratic" method for coming to power as inadequate. For them, the only revolution that deserved to succeed was one that had already completely won over the masses and could be achieved with the technical capacity of the masses themselves. Serrati had to either accept the reformists while frankly recognizing this principle or admit that there was no room for reformism in the PSI; he was unwilling to do either.⁴⁷

Ultimately, Serrati was driven to assert that the International, because it did not understand Italian conditions, was solely responsible for the demand to expel the reformists. According to him, not until the Second Congress of the Comintern did any member of the PSI seriously propose the expulsion.⁴⁸ In this, he was patently wrong, since Bordiga and his group had called for such a move as early as 1918.⁴⁹

Long before the summer of 1920, Gramsci had also urged such a step. Bordiga, in fact, considered Gramsci overly cautious because he had accepted the unity of the Party until February 1920.⁵⁰

The principal weakness of Serrati's position was that he had no positive political line to oppose to Lenin's; in fact, he completely agreed with Lenin on most issues. Lenin argued that the chances for a successful proletarian revolution would be greatly increased if the PSI became highly disciplined and centralized in doctrine. Serrati's weak rejoinder was that the success of a revolution did not depend on whether a handful of reformists remained in the Party or were excluded:

The Revolution is not a magical act by this or that "leader," even if personal influences do have a value in themselves. The Revolution is the sum of varied and diverse circumstances, of multiplex elements that together add up and lead to the solution, in a given historical moment, of a crisis that has stubborn and deep economic causes. To believe that the "pure" Communists in Italy will produce the Revolution when they are free of Modigliani or Turati... means to deny the importance and significance of the Revolution.⁵¹

This conception of revolution, whatever its other merits, meant that the Party could do little besides waiting for conditions to mature—this in a moment when reaction seemed the only force capable of "maturing."

Serrati's position was especially difficult because he was personally opposed to the politics of the reformists, was wholly loyal to the ideals of the Comintern, and, indeed, "looked to Moscow as to a beacon."⁵² Yet he could not bring himself to disrupt the tradition of Italian Socialism, to reject the sacrifices and contributions to the Party made by leaders like Turati and Modigliani. Serrati was eventually successful in retaining the reformists in the Party—but this caused the defection of a much larger group of "pure" Communists. Hence, the PSI preserved a separate existence, still nominally a revolutionary party, though its total strength was much less.

This victory was a great tribute to Serrati's personal influence in the Party. In fact, the subsequent history of the Italian Socialist Party, the only large European Socialist Party that remained fundamentally Marxist despite the existence in the same country of a large and dynamic Communist Party, can be understood only in the light of Serrati's position in these months. Ironically enough, he admitted his earlier error in 1922, demanded the expulsion of the reformists, and, two years later, joined the Communist Party himself.

The reason for Gramsci's opposition to Serrati's political line ought

provinces. But the Socialists did suffer important defeats at Turin, Genoa, and Florence, caused partly by factional dissensions and partly because the opposition parties often combined against them.⁵⁷ At Turin, the Party section had declared that only "Communist" candidates would be presented. This decision automatically excluded Giulio Casalini, a reformist who in previous elections had always received many votes from the middle classes. The consequent bitterness, plus alleged fraud, and an alliance between the Giolittian group and the Catholics led to a Socialist defeat (though only by 300 votes out of a total of more than 100,000).⁵⁸

This electoral campaign was the last political action undertaken by the Turin Socialists within the framework of the PSI. On October 17 the Piedmontese edition of *Avanti!* declared its complete independence from the Milan edition, and stated its intention to agitate on the national level as the organ of a "particularly advanced movement."⁵⁹ Shortly thereafter, the organization of the Communist faction at Imola, to which the Turin Socialists adhered *en bloc*, created the need for a newspaper expressing its point of view. Therefore, the executive committee of the Turin section voted unanimously (with one abstention) to merge *Avanti!* and *Ordine nuovo* into a new daily called *L'Ordine nuovo*. Its first number was to appear on January 1, 1921. Gramsci, who was appointed editor, described the position of the newspaper as "Communist according to the line laid down by the [2nd] Congress of the International and by the meeting [at Imola] of the Italian Communists, and according to the tradition of the Turin working class and the majority of its Socialist section."⁶⁰

Gramsci's Reputation at the End of 1920

Gramsci's development had been great indeed in the years since 1917. He had begun with a somewhat "idealistic" concern for the creation of an autonomous "Socialist" culture to replace the eclectic culture, of bourgeois origin, so often found among his comrades. Later, in the *Ordine Nuovo* period, he attempted to combine this need for cultural renewal with a real political movement. The result was the campaign to organize factory councils in Turin.

Outside of Turin the council movement had little success; however, it did focus the attention of the European Left on Gramsci, as the laudatory comments of Lenin and Sorel affirm. The *Ordine Nuovo* group was also praised by Henri Barbusse, who, by giving a benefit lecture, helped the newspaper to remain solvent.⁶¹ *L'Humanité*, the organ of the French Socialist Party, complimented *Ordine*

to be clear from the article "Capacità politica" (see pp. 121–22), in which Gramsci called for the creation of a proletarian "general staff." Even more hostile toward the reformists than Lenin, he completely supported the Russian leader in this dispute. He especially insisted on greater discipline in the Party and the International, since he felt that the Italian revolution would need the support of the world proletariat: a revolution would certainly cause a blockade of Italy by the capitalists; moreover, the limited Italian economy had to be integrated with the economies of other Socialist countries.⁶³ Serrati's break with the International, therefore, particularly exasperated Gramsci. For him, expulsion of the reformists was warranted if it could be proved that they had not unconditionally accepted the Twenty-one Points, or had shown misgivings about Soviet Russia.⁶⁴ Since, at the beginning of October, the reformists had demanded "interpretative autonomy in the application of the Twenty-one Points according to the conditions of each country," Gramsci contended that they no longer belonged in the Party.⁶⁵

At the end of October, representatives of all the "Communist" groups who agreed with Gramsci that the reformists should be expelled met at Milan to draft a program-manifesto for the coming Party Congress. This document bore the signatures of Gramsci, Terracini, Bombacci, Bordiga, Bruno Fortichiari, Francesco Misiano, Luigi Polano, and Luigi Repossi. It demanded a transformation of the PSI into a new and highly centralized Party, to be called "The Communist Party of Italy (Section of the Communist International)." The Party line was to be strictly in accordance with the directives of the Comintern. "Communist groups" were ordered to begin propaganda work in "all the trade unions, leagues, cooperatives, factories, farms, etc.," with the aim of winning majorities for the new party. This program, confirmed by a "Congress" at Imola on November 28, 1920, was the first document of Italian Communism. It was later accepted by many of the "Left" maximalists, including Egidio Gennari, Antonio Graziadei, and Anselmo Marabini.⁶⁶

Despite these factional disturbances, the PSI was still supported by the majority of the working class and much of the northern peasantry in the municipal elections of October 5 and November 7, the first local elections since 1914. The Socialist Party duplicated its victory in the national elections of 1919, which meant a vastly increased role in the communal and provincial governments of Italy. From the 300 communes previously held, the PSI moved to the control of 2,162 (of a total 8,059) and obtained a majority on the councils of 25 out of 69

nuovo for its high intellectual level and its educational successes among the Turin workers.⁶² Many non-Marxist Italian intellectuals were also impressed by the work of *Ordine nuovo*. Besides Gobetti, there were Benedetto Croce, who one day paid a visit to the newspaper, and Giuseppe Prezzolini, the editor of *La Voce*, who in November 1920 urged Gramsci to publish a collection of his lead articles from the Turin weekly.⁶³ More interesting—and ominous—is Mussolini's reference to Gramsci in a speech in December 1921. This "Sardinian hunchback and professor of economics and philosophy," said the future dictator, had "an unquestionably powerful brain."⁶⁴

Of course, Gramsci had not yet attained the stature in the Italian Left of a Serrati, or even of a Bordiga. Outside Turin he was well known only to a small group of intellectuals and workers.⁶⁵ In 1921, however, with the founding of the Italian Communist Party, Gramsci was to receive his first opportunity to serve as a national leader of the Italian proletariat.

A TEXT FROM THOMAS HIRSCHHORN

Project « Denkmal-Spinoza »

I want to make a Denkmal (memorial / monument) at the Amsterdam St. Annenstraat quartier for the exhibition « Midnight Walkers & City Sleepers ». It is a non-permanent monument, about 5 meters long, 2,5 meters wide and 3 meters high ! It is a resolute 24 hour public monument. It will be placed in a non-strategic, non-disturbing place, in a not-special monument site, for exemple on a parking place for cars. Somewhere on the side, as garbage is placed in the morning before pick-up.

I have in mind, from memory from my trip to Amsterdam, a space along one, of the Graacht near and beside the prostitute's windows. But we have to decide the final emplacement together on the spot. The Monument will be made of cardboard covered with grey plastic, the base shaped like a rock emerging from water. On one side a human statue stands holding a book in one hand. It is Spinoza.

Integrated in the base of the monument there will be a video and some copies of parts of Spinoza's book « Ethics ». The size of the statue will be a bit larger than human size, circa 2,5 meters. His name will be written out in cut-out letters. There will be two different flags that can represent passion and reason. Some flowers can also be there on the ground ring about, as when a monument is reactualized on some yearly occasion. All around the monument there shall be a bench, as protection, and to accentuate the sculptural power and precarious aspect of the Denkmal. Like the impression of an appartement burned down with the belongings scattered on the sidewalk beneath.

A neonlight will be installed on the top of the monument to illuminate the sculpture like a streelight, day and night. The electricity will be provided for the lamp and the TV-monitor by some red-window-prostitute place near by. To accentuate connexion and dependance.

I chose Spinoza for Amsterdam (as the first of a series of « Denkmals » that I will do with Deleuze, Bataille and Gramsci elsewhere). Spinoza, born in Amstedom, I like his purity strength, and non-moralist thoughts. I like the organisation of thinking in propositions, demonstrations, corollaire, colie in « Ethics ». I like his logic. I like the strongsense of human existence and how human can think, that I feel when reading his work. It is a full-time thinking. This is the relation, with, of course, the birth place of Spinoza in Amsterdam, to the St. Annenstraat quartier : 24 hours sex and money.

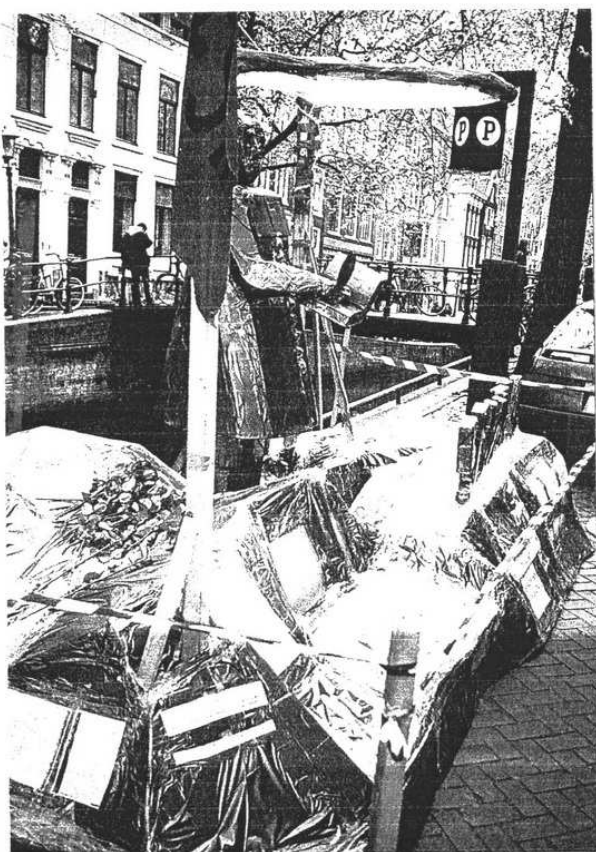
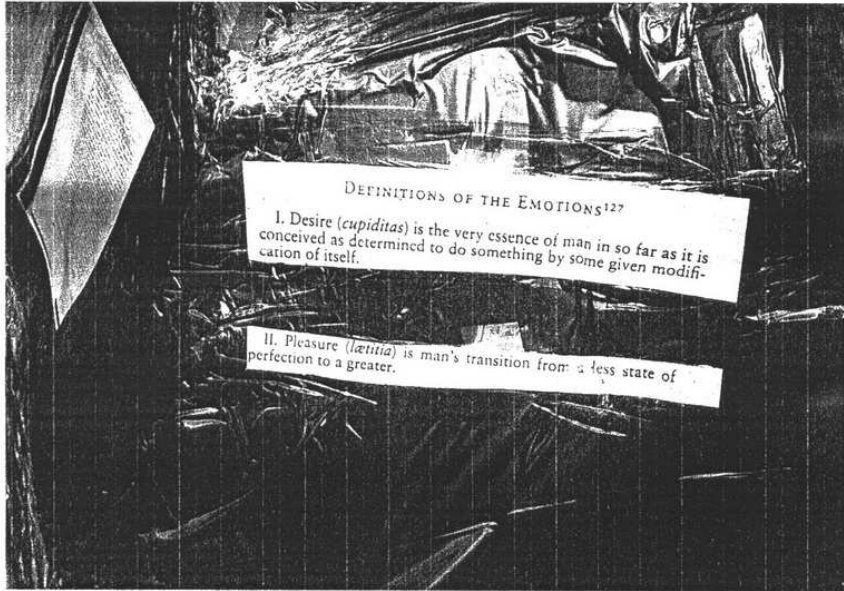
T.H. April 1999



Thomas Hirschhorn
«Spinoza Monument», 1999



Thomas Hirschhorn
«Spinoza Monument», 1999
'Midnight Walkers City Sleepers', W 139, Amsterdam, 1999



Thomas Hirschhorn
«Spinoza Monument», 1999 (details)
'Midnight Walkers City Sleepers', W 139, Amsterdam, 1999

A DAILY LECTURE WRITTEN BY MARCUS STEINWEG

40th Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC: 9th August 2013
THINKING THE UNTHINKABLE
Marcus Steinweg

1. The dimension of truth is the dimension of what is unfamiliar or monstrous.
2. That truth exists means that knowledge and its certainties are limited.
3. Truth is the name of this limitation.
4. Truth refers to the groundless and nameless dimension that is uncanniness.
5. Certainty can only exist in the form of this functional form or way of living which brings the human subject close to monstrous chaos without sacrificing it to the authority of what is unsayable.
6. Therefore it can be said of the subject's way of living that it is *logical* because the logos maintains contact with the groundless abyss above which it is held.
7. There are such things as knowledge and certainty and logic, but they themselves are entrusted to what is unknowable, uncertain and illogical.
8. Philosophy was never anything other than the attempt to mediate what is problematic: reason with non-reason, finitude with infinitude, being with becoming, the ordinary with the monstrous, the sayable with the unsayable.
9. That is the dialectic of the movement of Western thought in which what cannot be mediated tries to find a mediation without coming to any valid solution.
10. Obviously it is a matter of the subject entering into an exchange with chaos and affirming a kind of osmotic or chaosmotic intimacy.
11. A subject (a subject of knowledge and certainty) exists only as the operator of a *chaosmosis*.
12. To be a subject, the subject must make contact with the chaotic non-ground.
13. Continually it surrenders itself to the unthinkability of what is monstrous — self-surrender which is opening up and resistance at one and the same time.
14. It is an opening up insofar as the subject does not refuse chaos.
15. It grants chaos entry into its thinking.
16. It gives chaos the possibility of stirring up its stocks of knowledge in order to rename them, to reorder and reclassify them.
17. The subject is resistant to this turbulence because it not only threatens its cognitive stocks, its knowledge household, but reaches out directly for the subject itself, for its *existence*.
18. The subject resists the chaotic whirl to prevent itself by being torn away once and for all into the night of non-knowledge and silence.
19. It opens itself to the monstrous dimension only to return from it.
20. It has thus become a ghostly figure which has survived itself, its own death.

POEMS WRITTEN BY RUDYARD KIPLING

A Child's Garden

Now there is nothing wrong with me
Except -- I think it's called T.B.
And that is why I have to lay
Out in the garden all the day.

Our garden is not very wide
And cars go by on either side,
And make an angry-hooty noise
That rather startles little boys.

But worst of all is when they take
Me out in cars that grow and shake,
With charabancs so dreadful-near
I have to shut my eyes for fear.

But when I'm on my back again,
I watch the Croydon aeroplane
That flies across to France, and sings
Like hitting thick piano-strings.

When I am strong enough to do
The things I'm truly wishful to,
I'll never use a car or train
But always have an aeroplane;

And just go zooming round and round,
And frighten Nursey with the sound,
And see the angel-side of clouds,
And spit on all those motor-crowds!



RUDYARD KIPLING

If

If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too;
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or, being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise;

If you can dream---and not make dreams your master;
If you can think---and not make thoughts your aim,
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same:
If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,
And stoop and build'em up with worn-out tools;

If you can make one heap of all your winnings
And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,
And lose, and start again at your beginnings,
And never breathe a word about your loss:
If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
Except the Will which says to them: "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with Kings---nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much:
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
And---which is more---you'll be a Man, my son!

Zion

The Doorkeepers of Zion,
They do not always stand
In helmet and whole armour,
With halberds in their hand;
But, being sure of Zion,
And all her mysteries,
They rest awhile in Zion,
Sit down and smile in Zion;
Ay, even jest in Zion;
In Zion, at their ease.

The Gatekeepers of Baal,
They dare not sit or lean,
But fume and fret and posture
And foam and curse between;
For being bound to Baal,
Whose sacrifice is vain,
Their rest is scant with Baal,
They glare and pant for Baal,
They mouth and rant for Baal,
For Baal in their pain!

But we will go to Zion,
By choice and not through dread,
With these our present comrades
And those our present dead;
And, being free of Zion
In both her fellowships,
Sit down and sup in Zion --
Stand up and drink in Zion
Whatever cup in Zion
Is offered to our lips!

Rudyard Kipling

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Joseph Rudyard Kipling (/ˈrʌdjɔːrd ˈkiplɪn/ *RUD-yəd KIP-ling*; 30 December 1865 – 18 January 1936)^[1] was an Indian-born English^[2] short-story writer, poet, and novelist chiefly remembered for his tales and poems of British soldiers in India and his tales for children. He was born in Bombay, in the Bombay Presidency of British India, and was taken by his family to England when he was five years old.^[3] Kipling is best known for his works of fiction, including *The Jungle Book* (a collection of stories which includes "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi"), *Just So Stories* (1902), *Kim* (1901) (a tale of adventure), many short stories, including "The Man Who Would Be King" (1888);^{[4][5]} and his poems, including "Mandalay" (1890), "Gunga Din" (1890), "The White Man's Burden" (1899) and "If—" (1910). He is regarded as a major "innovator in the art of the short story";^[6] his children's books are enduring classics of children's literature; and his best works are said to exhibit "a versatile and luminous narrative gift".^{[7][8]}

Kipling was one of the most popular writers in England, in both prose and verse, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.^[6] Henry James said: "Kipling strikes me personally as the most complete man of genius (as distinct from fine intelligence) that I have ever known."^[6] In 1907 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, making him the first English-language writer to receive the prize, and to date he remains its youngest recipient.^[9] Among other honours, he was sounded out for the British Poet Laureateship and on several occasions for a knighthood, all of which he declined.^[10]

Kipling's subsequent reputation has changed according to the political and social climate of the age^{[11][12]} and the resulting contrasting views about him continued for much of the 20th century.^{[13][14]} George Orwell called him a "prophet of British imperialism".^[15] Literary critic Douglas Kerr wrote: "He [Kipling] is still an author who can inspire passionate disagreement and his place in literary and cultural history is far from settled. But as the age of the European empires recedes, he is recognised as an incomparable, if controversial, interpreter of how empire was experienced. That, and an increasing recognition of his extraordinary narrative gifts, make him a force to be reckoned with."^[16]

en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudyard_Kipling

Rudyard Kipling



Rudyard Kipling by E.O. Hoppé (1912)

Born	Joseph Rudyard Kipling 30 December 1865 Bombay, Bombay Presidency, British India
Died	18 January 1936 (aged 70) Middlesex Hospital, London, England, United Kingdom
Resting place	Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey, London
Occupation	Short story writer, novelist, poet, journalist.
Nationality	British
Genres	Short story, novel, children's literature, poetry, travel literature, science fiction
Notable work(s)	<i>The Jungle Book</i> <i>Just So Stories</i> <i>Kim</i> "If—" "Gunga Din"
Notable award(s)	Nobel Prize in Literature 1907
Signature	

WHAT'S GOING ON? FEED BACK

8/7/13

NYC's First NYCHA Farm Takes Root in Red Hook | Brooklyn Based



08/06/13 9:18am

NYC's First NYCHA Farm Takes Root in Red Hook

by Gabrielle Alfiero Gardening, News & Features No Comments

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Members of the Urban Farm Corps teach local elementary school students about urban agriculture during the launch of Red Hook Urban Farm. Photo: New York City Housing Authority

At the intersection of Otsego and Lorraine streets in Red Hook, the IKEA-bound B57 bus stops in front of US Fried Chicken & Pizza and a bodega that sells sandwiches and 99-cent bags of chips. A discount supermarket occupies the neighboring retail lot, and the garbage bins on the corner overflow with Styrofoam takeout containers and empty soda bottles.

Red Hook is one of the most underserved neighborhoods in the borough. Without direct subway access, it's physically isolated, with little in the way of affordable, healthy food. The South Brooklyn neighborhood also includes the Red Hook Houses, the borough's largest public housing development, where the median household income for a five-person home is just over \$14,400 a year according to 2011 census data.

From proximity to price tags, fast food is easier to access than Fairway Market, but some green thumbs are working to change that.

On June 18, the Red Hook Urban Farm, a one-acre plot located within the Red Hook West Houses,

brooklynbased.com/blog/2013/08/06/nycs-first-nycha-farm-takes-root-in-red-hook/

became the first community farm on New York City Housing Authority property, intended as a model for additional farm sites on NYCHA land. Added Value, a local non-profit that has a nearly three-acre farm a few blocks away, oversees the growth of the farm from A to zucchini, while working closely with city organizations, including the Department of Sanitation and the Department of Parks and Recreation.



Members of Green City Force's Urban Farm Corps build trellises for cucumber plants. Photo: Gabrielle Alfiero

Through a partnership with Green City Force, the farm employs nine members of Urban Farm Corps, a paid, six-month job training program made up solely of public housing residents between the ages of 18 and 24. Participants in the first wave literally laid the groundwork for the project, building the raised plant beds and packing them with soil and compost. Added Value also recruits local teens to participate in a similar summer intensive program.

"The long term goal is to create a more just and sustainable Red Hook," says Ian Marvy, co-founder and executive director of Added Value. "Within that context there's an effort to educate and motivate people in the community to consume healthier food. There's the work to empower young men and women to take the steps they need to be successful and do so in a way that not only doesn't harm the planet but helps the planet."

Nigeria Barr, 19, a resident in the East New York Boulevard Houses, works in the Urban Farm Corps.

"Those are weeds," she says, pointing to a leafy green stalk at the base of a tree. "If I wasn't here, I wouldn't know what's weeds, what a basil looks like. Now I can just walk up, and say, 'Oh, that's this type of weed. Oh, that's kale. I know what that is. I'm growing it on my farm.'"

Of the Urban Farm Corp members who finished the six-month program on Friday, August 2, one member has already received two job offers in agricultural education and another started a community garden at her own housing development in the South Bronx. But the farm doesn't just train and employ local youth; it's also an outdoor classroom. More than 150 elementary school students from neighboring P.S. 15 and Brooklyn New School visited the farm, and many helped transplant, tend, harvest and eat the fruits and vegetables of their labors. In a community like Red Hook, where almost 20% of the population in the Red Hook Houses has been diagnosed with diabetes, a rate nearly 10% higher than both New York City and national averages, nutritional education is a practicable method of disease prevention.

Gauging the success of the program is often anecdotal, Marvy says, and forging a strong relationship with the community is part of that. As if on cue, a senior resident of the houses strolled slowly by the farm.

"Tan! Yooohoo! How are ya?" she called out.

Still, there is data that Added Value uses. Over 280 pounds of produce was harvested on the site, which was then donated to NYCHA residents, Urban Farm Corps members and food pantries.

"We can kind of see ripples," says Gwen Hill, Added Value's NYCHA farm coordinator. "People's parents are calling and being like, 'Can you harvest us some collard greens for dinner?' which is really cool."

As the farm's first summer season winds down, Hill is already thinking about improving the program's food distribution methods. She hopes to get more food into the kitchens of Red Hook residents who need it, which could mean setting up produce markets or distributing through the Red Hook Houses' senior center.

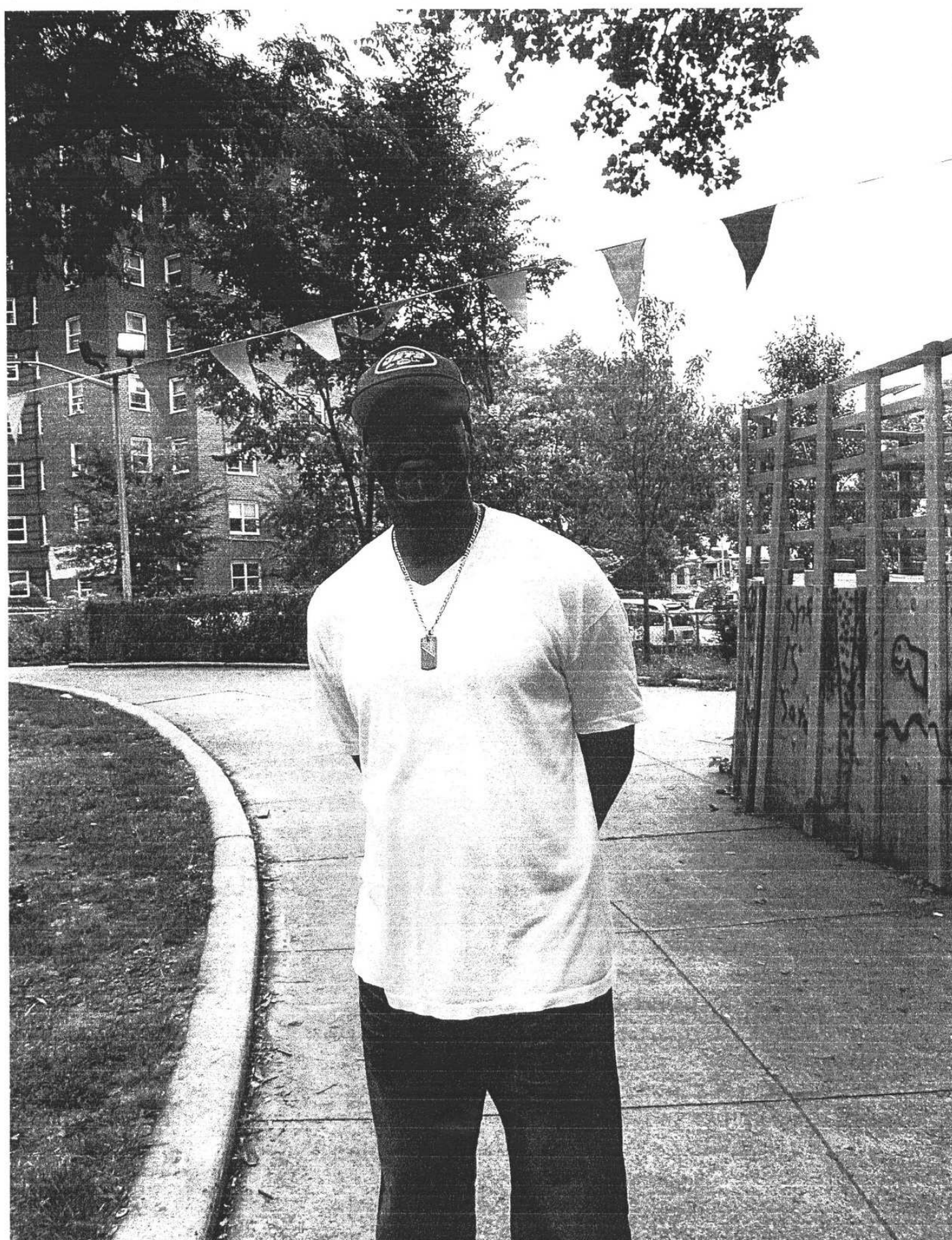
"We have some senior citizens who come by like a few times a week, and they're like, 'Do you have anything for us?'" Hill says. "We harvest them food and that's cute and adorable and lovely, but we want to be able to do it on a bigger scale than that because we have so much food here."



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Added Value, brooklynbased, community gardening, farming, food justice, gardening, New York City Housing Authority, NYCHA, Red Hook Farm, Red Hook Houses, urban farming

RESIDENT OF THE DAY



GLEN CARWELL