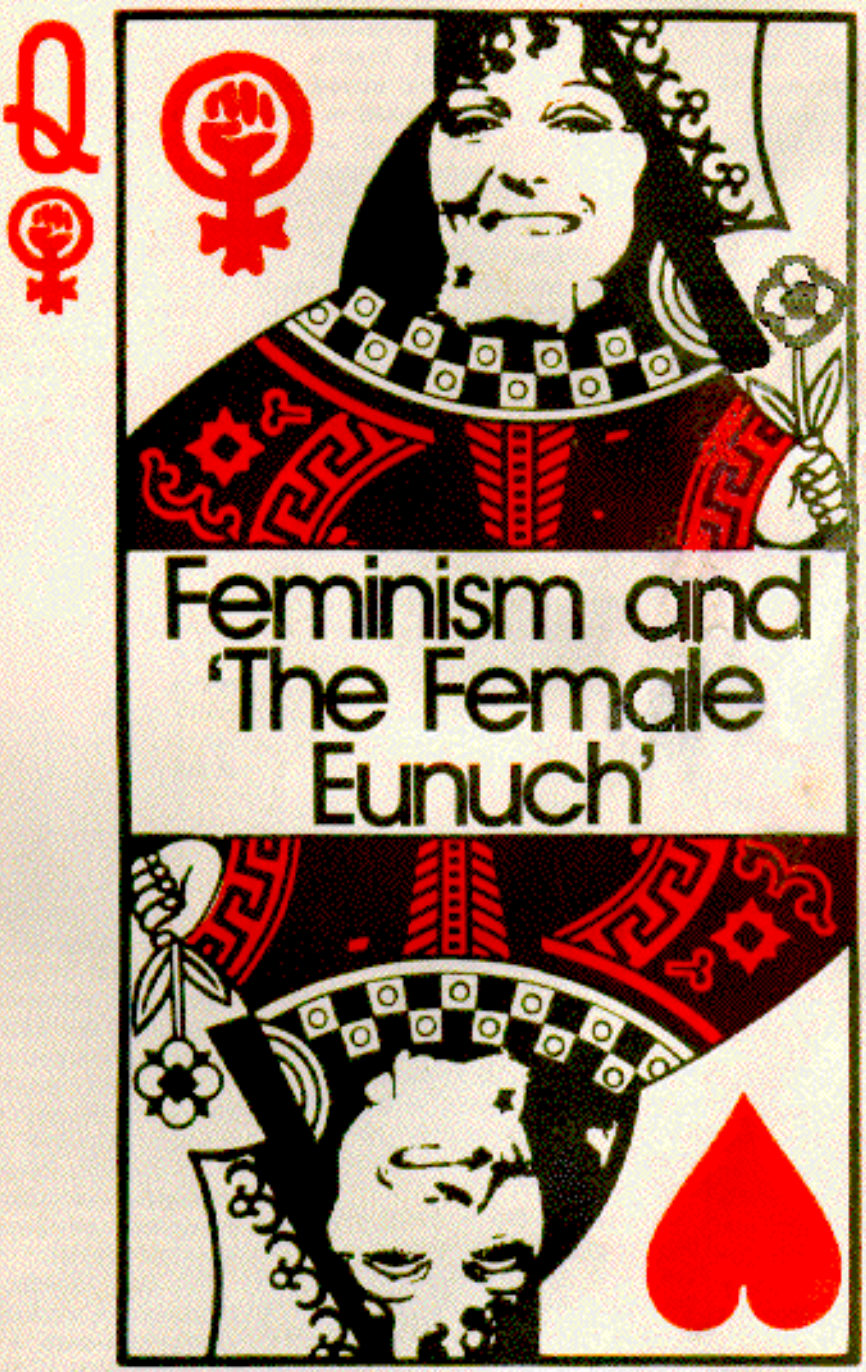
International Socialist Review
JULY-AUGUST 1971 FIFTY CENTS



# Feminism and 'The Female Eunuch'

Evelyn Reed answers Germaine Greer

Derrick Morrison: Newark - A Case Study

Fred Halstead: Comments on Mayday

# up front

AN IMPORTANT conference has been set by the women's movement for July, promising a summer of continued growth of this struggle.

The nationwide gathering has been called by the Committee For a Women's National Abortion Coalition for July 16, 17, and 18 in New York. The committee, endorsed by a wide spectrum of women from many different organizations, declared in a June 4 letter: "We owe it to ourselves to organize on a national basis into a powerful force that can defend the right of every woman to decide for herself whether or not she wishes to bear children. We are convinced that nationwide coordination is needed to make visible and powerful the protests against abortion laws that are taking place in every state."

"Why We Should Fight the Anti-abortion Laws" by Linda Jenness, gubernatorial candidate of the Georgia Socialist Workers Party in last year's election, discusses some of the arguments that have been raised against building a mass movement to win the repeal of all abortion laws.

GERMAINE GREER'S book *The Female Eunuch* has become an overnight bestseller, receiving laudatory reviews from male critics who were put off by the insights of Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*.

In her book Greer singles out Evelyn Reed, a Marxist author and lecturer on female oppression, for special attack. "Feminism and 'The Female Eunuch'" is Reed's answer to this challenge of the Marxist approach to understanding the origins of women's present role in society and to projecting a perspective for female emancipation.

*"THE SUMMER of '71:* A Lack of Recreation And Jobs for Youths Cause Fears of Unrest" was the lead article of the June 9, 1971, *Wall Street Journal.* The article pointed out that joblessness among Blacks, the hardest hit in a general increase in unemployment, has climbed to 10.5 percent, up from 7.9 percent in May 1970, and that no relief is in sight.

The *Journal* piece quoted Gus Henningburg, president of the Greater Newark Urban Coalition, on the situation in his city: "Unemployment among black teenagers is 40% to 50% in some areas. Many high school kids never went back to school [after the teachers' strike] so they've been idle for five months or more. . . . On top of that, many blacks expect the new black mayor [Kenneth Gibson] to perform miracles, which, of course, he couldn't do."

In "Newark: Case Study of a City in Crisis," Derrick Morrison documents the failure of the Gibson administration to come up with even elementary reforms, let alone miracles. He examines the implications of this experience for the struggle of Black liberation.

RISING UNEMPLOYMENT has become a serious threat for working people since the beginning of the 1970 recession. In "Catalysts of a Working-Class Radicalization Today," Frank Lovell, a revolutionary socialist and experienced trade unionist, takes up a question often discussed by today's youth: How will labor become a part of the radicalization that is taking place? He shows how unemployment could be the link.

Interest in the working class today is coupled with a need to know the truth about union struggles of the past. Milton Alvin in his review of Len De Caux's widely publicized autobiography *Labor Radical* exposes some of De Caux's distortions of the explosive history of the organization of the CIO.

OUR EDITOR Larry Seigle is leaving the *ISR* to take on another important job in the socialist movement: preparing for the 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. He had been editor since May 1970 when the bimonthly *International Socialist Review* and the monthly magazine of the Young Socialist Alliance, the *Young Socialist,* combined in the present expanded monthly format, to bring out a theoretical and polemical magazine of American Marxism. Reception of the new *International Socialist Review* has confirmed the projection on which the expansion was based: that the radicalization has produced an interest in Marxist analysis and ideas among a broader audience in this country than at any time in the last twenty-five years.

With our last issue, Les Evans, managing editor for the past two years of the newsweekly *Intercontinental Press,* took over the editorship of the *ISR.*

IF YOU are a subscriber and will be moving in the next few months, please be sure to send in a change of address. Include your old and new zip code. If you are not yet a subscriber be sure to take advantage of our introductory offer of three months of the *ISR* for only $1.00. There is a coupon on the back cover.

This is our double summer issue. We will resume on our regular monthly schedule in September with more in-depth treatment from a revolutionary socialist viewpoint of the struggles and issues that are key to social change.

For easy identification of our contributors we are beginning to include along with each article a brief biographical note about the author.

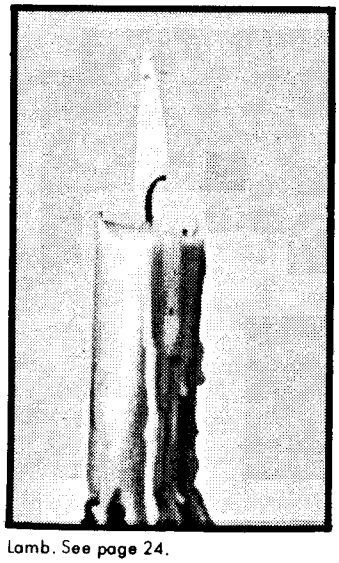
**DAVE PRINCE**

# international socialist review

JULY-AUGUST 1971 Vol. 32 No. 7


## contents





Lamb. See page 24.

**The Two-Party System** © 1971 by Myrna Lamb








Published monthly (except during July-August when bimonthly) by International Socialist Review Publishing Association, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. SUBSCRIPTION RATES: 1 year (11 issues) $5.00. Add $1.00 per year outside U.S. Write for airmail rates. Single copies 50 cents, bundles 35 cents a copy for 5 or more, domestic or foreign. All rights reserved.

# reading from left to right

# Pan-Africanism and a Black Political Party

Since the Congress of African Peoples, the national Black Power conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, last year, the discussion on the need for a Black political party has deepened, especially within the Pan Africanist trend of the nationalist movement. That conference adopted a proposal for building a Pan Africanist political party drafted by Immamu Amiri Baraka of Newark, New Jersey. (His slave name was Leroi Jones.)

Two articles appearing in the February and March issues of *The Black Scholar* make some important contributions to this discussion: "The Pan-African Party" by Max Stanford in the February issue and "The Pan-African Party and the Black Nation" by Immamu Amiri Baraka in the March issue.

Stanford's main contribution is an examination of the relationship between a Black party and the mass struggles and organizations of our people. One of the main failures of the Black Panthers and other Black organizations so far has been a tendency to counterpose themselves to broader organizations of the Black community, or to set up sectarian front organizations to substitute for community organizations and struggles. A case in point is the Panthers' setting up of the United Front Against Fascism — not a genuine united front at all, but composed in many areas only of the Panther Party itself — rather than building broad united front community legal and political defense groups.

Stanford correctly sees that it is through building mass organizations that a Black party will reach the community. He sees united-front action as part of this strategy. Stanford writes:

"At the same time the party must have a program of action to satisfy the *immediate* needs of the people. Party members work wherever our people are. . . .

"Party members [must] attach great importance to mass organizations — Black labor unions, neighborhood groups, Black women's associations and Black youth groups. *The African people's party has no desire to deprive these organizations of their independence* [emphasis in original]. . . .

"In unions, party members show themselves consistent fighters for the interests of Black workers. When it comes to strikes, they show themselves the strongest and most energetic organizers of the strike. . . . Party members must find ways to the people; we should belong to organizations where leaders and sometimes a large number of the members are indifferent or hostile to nationalism. . . ."

Further on Stanford says: "A revolutionary party can only become the vanguard of the people by leading the struggle for immediate economic needs and political interests of the people. . . . An important aspect in the art of political leadership is the ability to *unite* the efforts of *all forces* with whom it's possible to achieve unity, including those with whom there are fundamental differences. . . ."

Unfortunately Stanford makes no mention of the type of program needed to build such a party beyond correct but vague statements that it should be nationalist and should fight around the immediate demands facing the Black masses.

The question of the program of demands for a Black party is important since it indicates the strategy it will use to win the support of the masses of our people, and also the types of struggles out of which such a party may come.

The demand for Black control of the Black community, linked to the immediate problems of Black people in the factories, schools and other institutions of society, forms the basis for such a program and strategy. The fight for Black control of the Black community would strike at the roots of our oppression — the control of the institutions affecting the masses of African-Americans by white exploiters — and thus lead to the downfall of U. S. capitalism.

At the same time the fight for community control can be linked with all the problems facing the Black community: the schools are run down because we don't control them; the police brutalize us because they are there to control us rather than be controlled by us; we are drafted in Vietnam-style racist wars to fight against our brothers because we lack control over the politics of our community; we work the worst jobs or no jobs at all because we don't control the economic resources built on our exploitation.

This nationalist strategy already put into practice by struggles in our communities across the country, provides a bridge to revolutionary action for African-Americans fed up with their situation. At the same time, inasmuch as the struggle for community control embraces all of the issues facing Black people in concrete terms readily understandable by masses of our people, this means that it can be the base for building a massive Black political

party. (For a further discussion of the types of demands and strategy needed see *Transitional Program for Black Liberation* [New York: Pathfinder Press, 1969], and Malcolm X's "Program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity," reprinted in Malcolm's book *By Any Means Necessary* [New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970].)

Baraka's article, "The Pan-African Party and the Black Nation," points out why a Black political party should participate in electoral politics. Baraka's strategy for building a Black party underlines the need for the organization of the masses of the Black community: "There is no revolution without the people. It is the organized community that is our only chance of self-defense or self-determination. The larger the community involvement the quicker change will come. No so-called vanguard organization can bring a revolution, only the people themselves can do this."

He sees voter education and registration as a means of "getting into the homes of Black people every day, organizing from strictly local, to regional, to state [level]. . . ." Pan Africanist activists, he feels, "must not only conduct voter registration, actually voter education drives, but also *run candidates* in all elections. . . .

"When the most conscious Black activists do not move in 'electoral' politics, the area is left to stooges, thieves and toms. . . . We must get beyond idle neophyte militancy to effective political organizing . . . by co-opting all so-called or seemingly legitimate political processes in the Black communities." (Emphasis in original.)

Baraka seems to be struggling for community control as a means for building a Black nation and doesn't counterpose the two as some nationalists tend to. "That is, you can talk about Black mayors to more Black people, with some credibility than you can about nations, which is the problem. . . . But you must build where you are, and through such building and continuous development through association and acquisition of some actual power, finally make talk of nations *legitimate*."

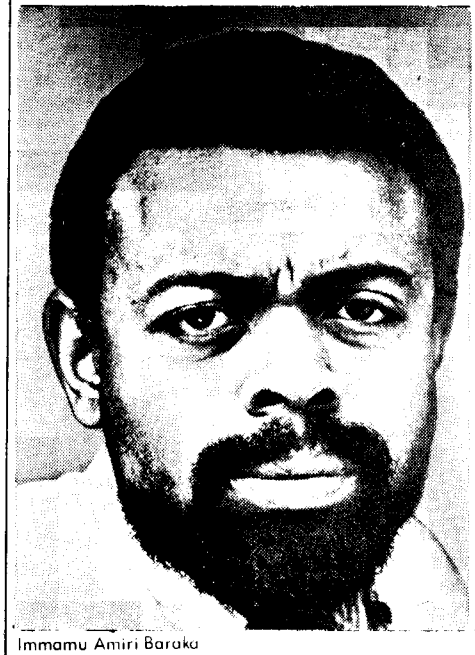
One contradiction in Baraka's position is that he has yet to clearly distinguish between a Black administration responsible to the Black community and Black mayors and officials elected under the racist Republican and Democratic parties such as Carl Stokes of Cleveland and Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana.

He also fails to recognize that for Black control of Black communities to exist, it isn't enough to simply elect a Black mayor—even one not elected on the Democratic or Republican party tickets. There must be institutions and forms by which the rank-and-file African-American community can exercise its power and control.

In Newark Baraka equated the Gibson administration which was elected by a coalition of Black and Puerto Rican community groups with Black and Puerto Rican control of Newark.

Because there was no Black political party with a mass membership, carrying on 365 day-a-year activities, and no community boards elected to control each institution, the Gibson administration was able to act against the Black community in Newark, attacking Black student and community demands for greater control of the schools.

Baraka himself came into conflict with Mayor Gibson during the recent Newark school strike when Gibson refused Baraka's demand that white police chief John L. Redden be fired after police attacked Black parents and other community groups. Not only did Gibson refuse Baraka's demands, but he also attacked Baraka as a "troublemaker" for trying to disrupt "racial harmony."



Imamu Amiri Baraka

To move from the discussion now going on within the Pan Africanist trend and other sectors of the Black nationalist movement on the need for a Black party, to the creation of an actual Black party with real authority in our communities will be a long, difficult road.

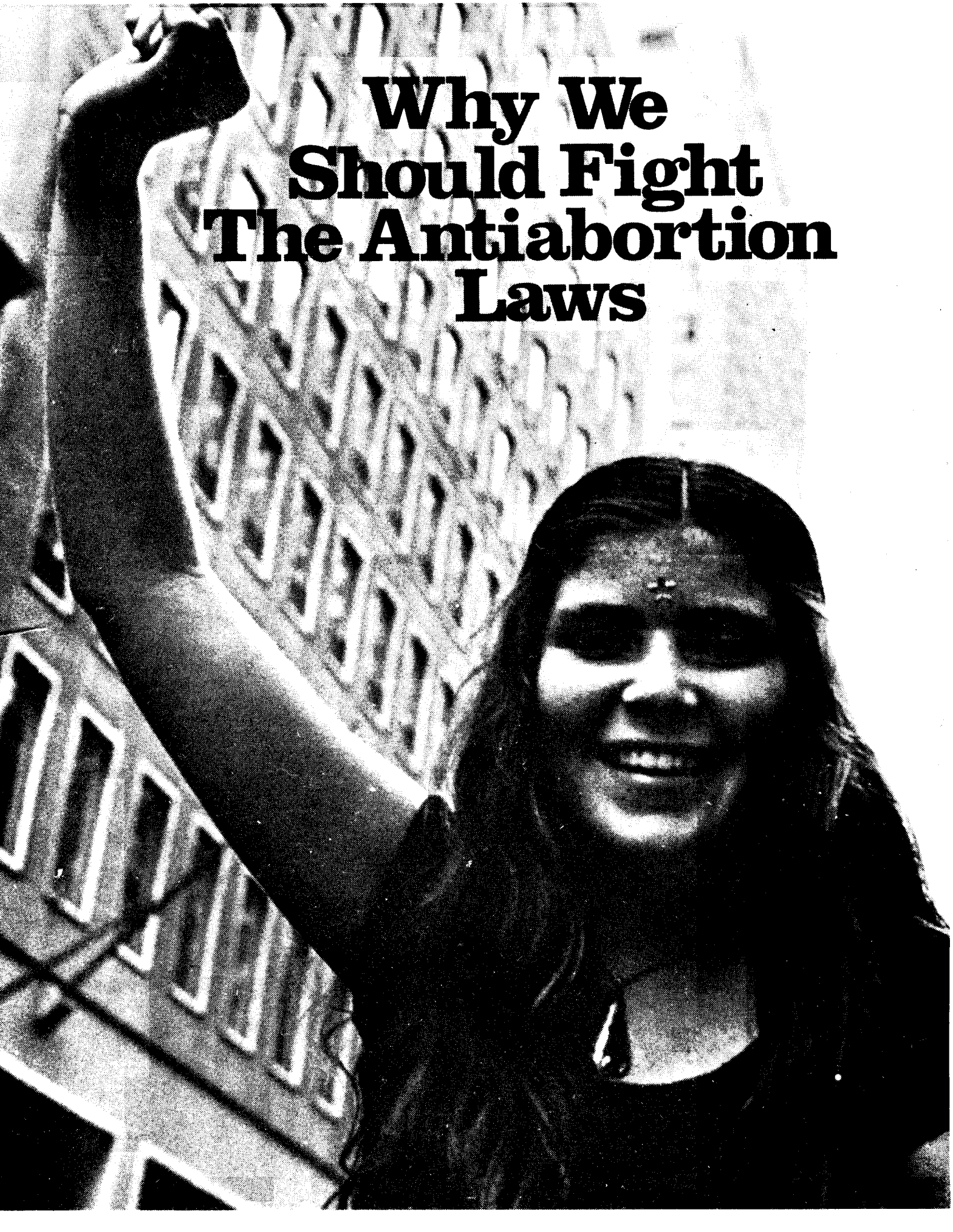
The solution to the problems of building such a party lies not only in discussion of the idea of such a party and how it would operate—this is essential and must continue. Necessary also is united action of Black activists and organizations around community issues, the war in Vietnam, Black studies, the demands of Black workers, defense of Africa from imperialist attacks such as the recent Portuguese attack on Guinea, and so forth.

This will enable supporters of a Black political party to heighten consciousness in the Black community, and expose the racist political parties. The type of mass action within our communities suggested above and the drawing together of militants that will flow from it is also essential to the creation of conditions to build a mass Black party.

The organization by Chicanos of the Southwest in Colorado, Texas, California and Arizona of Raza Unida parties—which have won office in several areas of Texas—should be closely watched by supporters of a Pan Africanist party. This Chicano party will ultimately be joined by a Black party in the fight for self-determination.

**TONY THOMAS**

# Why We Should Fight The Antiabortion Laws



## BY LINDA JENNESS

The fight of women to gain control over our bodies is an explosive and central part of the feminist struggle. The fight to control our own bodies is the first step to controlling our entire lives. Laws restricting the right to abortion are an important underpinning of the slave mentality which this society imposes on women. By challenging these laws, we are directly challenging and threatening the right of the U.S. government to control us. This is why we must launch a powerful, national women's fight that can win the abolition of all abortion laws.

The number of women who have already been involved in and are now joining the struggle for legal abortions is an indication of the importance of this struggle as a significant step toward liberation. It can unite all the different sections of the women's movement in action for a common goal.

Unfortunately, after the first few gains were made, there were some sectors of the women's liberation movement who shied away from or even condemned the demand for legal abortions.

One of the most shallow arguments raised against the fight for repeal of the antiabortion laws is the notion that we don't need to fight for it; that the government has already decided to grant this concession; that we'll get it anyway.

All the evidence points to the opposite conclusion. The reactionary forces in society are digging in their heels in an effort to **prevent** a change in the laws. President Nixon deemed it necessary to make a public statement against abortion; the Catholic hierarchy is spending large amounts of money and energy to propagandize against abortion; and in New York, where some initial victories were scored, the state legislature is feverishly trying to take away some of the gains that have already been won.

We cannot count on the government to "give" us legal abortions because they know too well what's at stake. They know that they will be losing one of their most powerful and barbaric means of controlling us and keeping us in our place, and they can sense the potential dynamic of our struggle when women begin to mobilize in our own interest. We can't rely on anyone else to give us our freedom. We must organize ourselves and fight for ourselves.

Another argument raised against the fight for free and legal abortions is that it is a racist demand and will be used by the government as a means of population control directed specifically against Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities.

An example of this viewpoint appears in a position paper by Lynn Phillips, an activist from St. Louis, that has been widely circulated in the women's movement nationally.

"A good deal of the evidence at hand," Phillips asserts, "certainly supports the Black movement's argument that free, legal abortion and birth control will become a tool of **Preventative Genocide** in the hands of the U.S. Government as presently constituted."

Again, the contrary is true. Forced sterilization and other means of involuntary "population control" stem from the same source as forced motherhood—the fact that we do not ourselves make these decisions. We are demanding that women have the right to decide to either have or not have children. The fight to deny the government the right to make any laws regarding how and if women shall bear children is the best way to fight forced sterilization.

In her paper Lynn Phillips says that legal struggles around abortions "will be carried on by liberal forces and the population controllers anyway, though they may be useful in some cases."

Our movement for these elementary democratic rights has nothing to do with population control. The independent women's movement must lead the battle against the abortion laws and not leave this fight to the population alarmists who have their own axe to grind. To walk away from this confrontation is to turn it over to those who want to use contraception, abortion, and sterilization as another form of control over women's lives and bodies. The demands that ensure our right to decide are those to legalize abortion and prohibit forced sterilization. If this is how the laws are to be reshaped and not some other way, the women's liberation movement will have to be in the forefront of the fight.

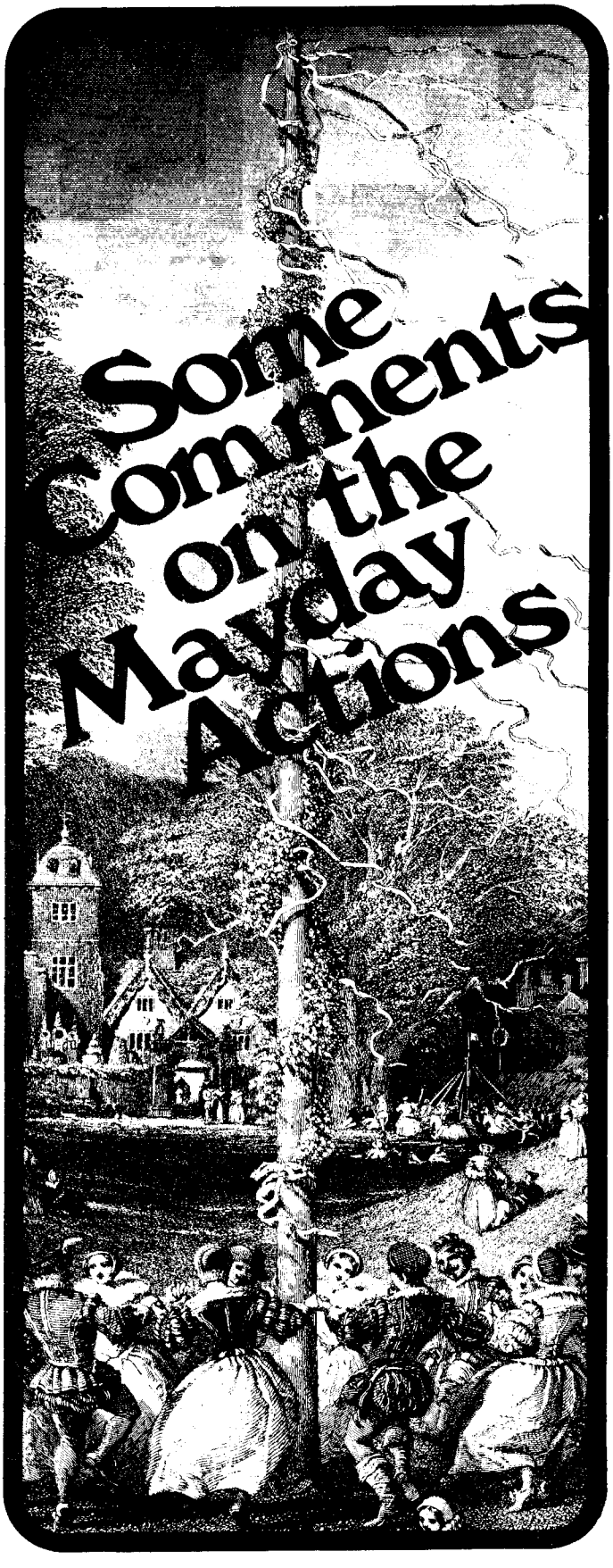
Furthermore, there is nothing "liberal" about fighting for control of our bodies. It is a revolutionary demand that challenges a right that the capitalist politicians assume to be theirs—the right to determine our lives.

As an alternative to building a mass movement to fight for repeal of all abortion laws, Lynn Phillips says: "helping women to get an abortion, giving information about pregnancy tests or birth-control on a one-to-one basis is political work in the richest sense—a chance to help people understand power and their right tc it." In other words, work on a "one-to-one basis" should take the place of a mass movement, and instead of challenging the reactionary laws making women criminals for seeking an abortion we'll just ignore them, and hope someone else will eliminate them.

On a "one-to-one" basis we could perhaps solve the problems of a few women, but not the problems facing masses of women. Tens of thousands of women today are ready and willing to fight. We can and must build a large and powerful national movement that will force this government to recognize the most fundamental right of women, without which we can never achieve liberation.

---

Linda Jenness ran for mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, in 1969 on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. In 1970 she challenged Jimmy Carter, Lester Maddox's handpicked successor, for the governorship of Georgia. She has recently completed a national speaking tour on the topic of feminism and socialism.




## BY FRED HALSTEAD

One problem with the Mayday Tribe demonstrations that took place in Washington May 3-5 is that they were initially advertised as more of a battle plan than a demonstration. It is true, however, that in some ways antiwar demonstrations — even nonviolent ones — are like military battles in a civil war.

I am not referring here to the obvious and superficial similarities like the fact that a certain number of police or troops may be deployed on the one hand and a certain number of demonstrators on the other. Nor am I referring to the quaint Mayday map of Washington with the key points marked where traffic was to be blocked. The fact that one side is armed and the other is not makes the analogy meaningless in this narrow "military" respect. The immediate outcome of any confrontation under that circumstance is never even slightly in doubt.

But whether there is confrontation or not, mass demonstrations resemble civil war battles in that each is a test of forces and wills; that the immediate results depend largely upon the prior preparations and the social context; and that the effects of the actions are molecular. That is, they touch the stuff of which the society is constructed and the effects can be profound and much more widespread than the people directly involved.

It is these latter effects that are the crucial factor for revolutionary socialists when they judge the results of any particular antiwar demonstration, or series of them. It is these factors that are left out of consideration by those who decry the mass demonstrations as repetitious or a waste of time or money, or who demand an action that is more "real" and less "symbolic." It is these effects that are not considered by those who ask: "What good did it do, the war is still going on, isn't it?"

The war is still going on, to be sure, but the country is not the same as before an effective mass demonstration, and neither is the war itself nor the ability of the warmakers to exercise their will.

The serious questions to be asked are such as these: How many new forces were involved in antiwar activity as a result? How many minds were opened? How many minds were changed? How many young men facing the draft attended this demonstration, or know someone who did, and what effect will this have on the armed forces? How many GIs participated, or saw the demonstration, or heard about it, and what effect will that have on them, and even on battles in Vietnam?

How many workers participated, or watched, or heard about the demonstration and what effect did it have

---

**FRED HALSTEAD** is a long-time leader of the antiwar movement. He was a staff member of the New York Peace Parade Committee from 1965 to 1967 and helped to organize the mass demonstration at the Pentagon in October 1967. He has been active in the National Peace Action Coalition and served as chief marshal at the April 24 demonstration of 500,000 in Washington. In 1968 Halstead was the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

on their attitude toward the administration's attempts to get them to sacrifice for the war? Will they be more or less inclined to accept a wage freeze, for example? More or less inclined to strike in their own interests? More or less inclined to back up GIs who oppose the war?

It is true that we have no way to obtain precise quantitative answers to these questions, but certain things should be obvious. To mention only two: When the mass antiwar movement was begun in 1965 the number of U. S. troops in Vietnam was being steadily increased. The government tried very hard to convince the American people that opposition to this escalation was either ineffectual or limited to a small section of the population. If it had succeeded, there is no reason to believe that the troop levels if decided from a purely military point of view would have been limited to 500,000. Why not 1,000,000 or 2,000,000, if the draftees and the civilian population were incapable of making their opposition known and felt?

Despite the fact that Nixon and his predecessor never abandoned the hope of defeating the Vietnamese, more American troops have been leaving Vietnam than going the other way. That is one measure of the molecular process going on in this country.

A second measurement is the fact that the union movement, despite its conservative and in part prowar leadership, neither invokes nor accepts from others the argument that the war is a sufficient reason to call off strike actions.

These are indications how mass antiwar demonstrations touch the sinews of real power, whether they stop traffic or not.

From this point of view the huge demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco April 24 — and the unique Vietnam Veterans demonstrations in Washington immediately preceding April 24 — were tremendously effective. From the same point of view the effectiveness of the actions sponsored by the Mayday Tribe May 3-5 in Washington is questionable.

Nevertheless the Mayday actions were quite large and cannot be dismissed as isolated actions of a handful of ultralefts. Those of us who represented the view of revolutionary socialists in the antiwar movement did not endorse the Mayday actions chiefly for two reasons: First, the stated political demands of the Mayday actions were confused and equivocal on the question of immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. Second, the announced tactic — to shut down the city of Washington — was doomed to failure on the face of it.

As advertised, the demonstrations were supposed to be an attempt to enforce the "People's Peace Treaty" which calls for setting a future date for withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam.

To be sure the treaty contains essentially the same position as that offered by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam in the Paris negotiations. But slogans pegged to particular conjunctural phases of the Paris talks are not necessarily more effective as demands for the American peace movement than "out now." Indeed, they are less so, as far as appealing to the broad mass of the American people is concerned. The Paris talks, after all, also involve demands made by Nixon on the Vietnamese — some of which are conceded to in the "Peace Treaty." One of the great lessons the American people are now learning is that they don't have the right to determine other people's governments.

It is one thing for the PRG, which is under the gun and which may feel it necessary to make certain compromises, to try to get Nixon to agree to leave their country even at some date many months in the future. It is a very different thing for Americans opposed to the war to put their stamp of approval on continued violation by the U. S. of Vietnamese sovereignty.

The American antiwar movement can do no less than demand that the U. S. get out of Vietnam immediately. It need do no more to completely satisfy any desire of the Vietnamese regarding the U. S. role in this war.

The People's Peace Treaty has a quality, however, which made it particularly attractive to the organizers of the Mayday actions. Mayday leader Rennie Davis explained this point repeatedly when the actions were called. He pointed out that the stated position of many congressional Doves — as reflected in such documents as the McGovern-Hatfield amendment — is very close to the Peace Treaty proposal. The liberal politicians who have endorsed the "treaty" have explained this by saying that it promises concessions by the Vietnamese as well as by Washington and thus doesn't commit Washington to unilateral withdrawal.

It seems clear that the political demands of the Mayday action were designed to appeal to a wing of the ruling class rather than the mass of the American people who just want the war to end as soon as possible. [For a further discussion of this question see "What's Wrong With the People's Peace Treaty" in the June *International Socialist Review* — Editor]

Strange as it may seem, the tactics chosen for the Mayday actions were aimed at the same audience, at least as advertised by the organizers of the Mayday Tribe. The call to action was a threat: if the government doesn't stop the war, the demonstrators will stop the government by tying up Washington. Behind all the escalated rhetoric and left-sounding verbiage lies a clear attempt to get the attention of the ruling class, not to mobilize the mass of the American people.

Of course, this position is not without its logic. The ruling class *is* one force that could stop the war if it decided to do so. But neither the threat, nor the unsuccessful attempt to "tie up Washington" has succeeded in making the ruling class change its mind.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 47

# Feminism and 'The Female Eunuch'

BY EVELYN REED

**". . . Greer has not yet caught up with the feminist struggle and the respect we have for our own sex. Greer's reflexes are still conditioned by the old patriarchal, male supremacist ideology which taught women to respect men but not themselves."**

*The Female Eunuch* (McGraw-Hill Co., 349 pp., $6.95) is a contribution to the continuing dialogue on the problems of women's liberation. Germaine Greer, the author, is from Australia, received her Ph. D. in Cambridge, and is now living and teaching in England.

Her best-selling book has had an impact like that of Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*—but there the comparison ends. Millett's indictment of patriarchal male supremacy and the glorification of sexual brutalities against women by famous male authors made her unpopular with male reviewers. Greer takes a different approach. She caters to men and castigates women for the sexual disabilities of our times. Her book has received a warm reception by male literary critics and others who are still smarting from the wounds inflicted upon their egos by Millett.

Thus in an April 20 review Christopher Lehmann-Haupt of the *New York Times,* barely recovered from the shattering experience of reviewing Millett's book, calls this "The Best Feminist Book So Far." Since "it is everything that Kate Millett's book is not," he wishes that "the timing of the publication of this book had been such that it could have caught the lightning that struck 'Sexual Politics.'" Greer is a model for those men who want more sex and less politics from women writers in the feminist movement.

A more objective appraisal is given by Sally Kempton, of the New York Radical Feminists, in the April 25 *New York Times Book Review.* "It is brilliantly written, quirky and sensible, full of bile and insight," says Kempton. However, "her book is a conglomeration of fact and speculation and polemic which is almost completely devoid of policy proposals for the feminist movement." What women need now, says Kempton, "are programs for revolutionary change, and of these Germaine Greer offers little."

Greer, who favors revolution and even communism, excuses this deficiency in the introduction to her book. It was not designed to answer questions, she says, but merely to ask them in a more proper way (p. 12). However, she does set forth her positions if only in passing. For example, "it is not true that to have a revolution you need a revolutionary theory." (p. 295) Her attitude on programs for action is no less negative. She belittles or does not even discuss the most elementary demands raised by women in the current liberation struggle such as adequate child-care centers and women's right to abortion.

Greer's crusade is largely restricted to furthering the sexual revolution of the 1960s. "Sex must be rescued

---

**EVELYN REED** has written and lectured widely on the roots of women's oppression from an anthropological, feminist, and Marxist viewpoint. She is the author of **Problems of Women's Liberation** (New York: Pathfinder Press).


Q
Q
A

from the traffic between powerful and powerless, masterful and mastered, sexual and neutral, to become a form of communication between potent, gentle, tender people, which cannot be accomplished by denial of heterosexual contact." (p. 8) She believes that sex can be rescued if enough women defy monogamous marriage, slam the door of the nuclear family behind them like Nora of *The Doll's House,* and find out they don't all have to be mothers to become fulfilled as women. These propositions are scarcely bold or innovative; they have already been abundantly discussed in the women's liberation movement.

Greer invites radical and revolutionary women to appraise her book and predicts that "The most telling criticisms will come from my sisters of the left, the Maoists, the Trots, the I. S., the S. D. S." These will be directed toward her, she says, "because of my fantasy that it might be possible to leap the steps of revolution and arrive somehow at liberty and communism without strategy or revolutionary discipline." (p. 12)

As one of the sisters of the left who has been singled out for special attention by the author in her critical review of feminist literature, I accept the invitation. Here is my answer as a feminist, a Marxist, and an anthropologist concerned with the matriarchal period of history.

Photo by Paul Sanders.

***". . .It might be possible to leap the steps of revolution and arrive somehow at liberty and communism without strategy or revolutionary discipline."***
***— GERMAINE GREER***

## The 'Female Eunuch'

Although the word "eunuch" is defined as "a castrated male person," Greer claims that it is the woman who is castrated. Frigidity in women, unconnected with any frigidity or impotence in men, lies at the bottom of the joyless sexual relations between the sexes today. "Cherchez la femme" is the expression commonly used in the search for a female scapegoat. Now this feminist from England proceeds along a similar line.

"Sex for many has become a sorry business," says Greer, a fact few will dispute. It is also no secret—even without the use of electronic devices in laboratory experiments to demonstrate it—that the most "enfeebled" sex relations occur in the "ideal marriage," where it is "dull sex for dull people." However, according to Greer the situation is scarcely better outside the bonds of holy wedlock. Although today "more girls permit more (joyless) liberties" than ever before, they seem to be getting as little satisfaction out of it as the married women. Thus, she complains, not only homosexuality but "group sex, criminal sex, child violation, bondage and discipline" are flourishing apace. But "simple sexual energy," presumably meaning heterosexual sex, is badly deteriorated (pp. 34-35).

What is the source of this sad state of disrepair in the sexual realm? Greer recognizes that women are "contoured by their conditioning" to adopt the passive feminine posture that is agreeable to men. They are badly brought up under "authoritarian" family and other forces, especially by mothers in the case of female children, so that they arrive at maturity not understanding and even fearing and loathing their own bodies. After marriage something happens to the love that the pair started with; the husbands neglect the wives or the wives freeze up at the insipid lovemaking doled out to them occasionally.

At the end of all this descriptive material there is little in Greer's book to pinpoint the root causes of these sexual disabilities. She hints that the problem is social when she exposes the ineffectiveness of seeking relief from psychologists, who might lessen some of the more galling conflicts but cannot provide a solution to the problem. In fact, as she says, those psychiatrists who seek to place the blame on the woman herself rather than on society are playing a "confidence trick" on the women. "Psychologists cannot fix the world so they fix women," she says (pp. 82-83).

Yet this observation does not lead Greer into an analysis of the real source of the sexual dilemma—the capitalist system which breeds profound alienations in every realm, including the sexual. In this patriarchal, male-supremacist society not only are men and women sexually alienated from each other, but the "contouring" of women alienates them from their own sexuality and makes them the passive objects of male sexuality.

Greer, however, skips over the capitalist social system to criticize its institution of marriage and the family. "If marriage and family depend upon the castration of women let them change or disappear." (p. 89) But this institution is an integral socio-economic unit of

the capitalist structure and can only be replaced through a revolutionary change in the structure itself. If a few women favorably situated can indulge in personal defiance of this institution, the great mass of women cannot free themselves in this manner. Their economic dependency obliges them to remain chained to the institution that according to Greer "castrates" them.

Under these circumstances, Greer's analysis of what is to be done is extremely superficial. Women should stop submitting to a conditioning which is so injurious to free and happy relations between the sexes. They should reject the ideal marriage as their goal in life since it is only "standard, low-agitation, cool-out monogamy." If women are to retain their humanity, "they must hold out not just for orgasm but for ecstasy." (p. 34) A good sexual goal, most women will agree, but how is it to be achieved?

According to Greer, women cannot wait for the social revolution that may or may not change things. Her advice to each individual housewife is to "begin not by changing the world, but by reassessing herself." (p. 4) Greer therefore begins not with politics and sociology through an investigation of the structure of capitalism which is the underlying determinant of female victimization but with biology and an investigation of the female organism. Moreover, "Female sexuality has always been a fascinating topic."

She accordingly examines the Body and proceeds through all its parts: the Bones, the Curves, the Hair, the Sex and the Wicked Womb. Considering the ignorance in which women are kept with regard to their bodily organs and functions, many of them will probably find here some elementary facts and helpful hints, along with some speculations.

Other chapters in the book discuss romance, love, marriage, the family, as well as the soul, the abuse, the misery, and the resentment of women. Though much of what is presented has been said before by other writers in the feminist movement, it is worth repeating for newly awakening women. More women will learn how they are exploited in the merchandizing of beauty preparations and other consumers' goods, and perhaps more will reject the myth of the Eternal Feminine which produces the stereotype of the husband-hunter and man-catcher.

Unfortunately, after digesting this pastiche of descriptive and prescriptive materials, homilies, lectures and advice to the lovelorn, many women will find themselves no wiser than before on the question of how they can shed their ignominious posture as "female eunuchs." The net result of the piled up data leans more toward castigation than illumination.

In the chapter on Misery, for example, we learn that this leads to Resentment. But the chapter on Resentment tells us this is no way to deal with misery. "Female revolt takes curious and tortuous forms, and the greatest toll is exacted by the woman upon herself," says Greer. She holds up the alarming picture of the wife who drives her husband away by "destructive carping" and "fighting off his attempts to make love to her, because somehow they seem all wrong." (p. 277)

But this raises the question: why would a woman fight off the lovemaking of her husband if the lack of it produced the carping in the first place? "Frigidity," is the reason, according to Greer. "Frigidity is still a major problem," she says — not for men but for women. She even draws a profoundly pessimistic conclusion about this female frigidity: "know-how about the female structure and orgasms will not change it." (pp. 277-278) In the end, then, the smorgasbord served up by Greer, which men find so delectable, provides little nourishment for women. What good is all the advice about the female body, curves, sex, etc., if, as Greer hints, women are locked into a permanent stage of frigidity?

Frigidity isn't the only thing that makes women such a difficult problem for men (the "male burden" in this sexual area is the counterpart of the "white man's burden" in relation to the colonial peoples). For, according to Greer, it seems that the same women who are so frigid are also low enough to use their sex as a means of punishing and "blackmailing" their husbands.

"Much wifely frigidity is the withdrawal of a pleasure as punishment, although this is never admitted," says Greer. Indeed, she knows this at first hand by the behavior of the wives of her male colleagues in the British university circles. With these women "sex is granted to the husband as a reward for something accomplished or as a consolation for some setback. The blackmail is that there is nothing in it for her, so that her husband feels both bestial and grateful when she allows him the use of his conjugal hole." (p. 287)

Greer does not investigate the possibility that the manner of use or even misuse of the conjugal hole may have made sexual intercourse "nothing" for the wives and turned them frigid in the first place. Yet in her chapter on Loathing and Disgust she indicates how this might and often does come about. In many cases the man regards the woman "as a receptacle into which he has emptied his sperm, a kind of human spittoon, and turns from her in disgust." (p. 250)

Whether or not this occurs in the university circles Greer frequents, we do not know. Such an investigation into the women's point of view would presuppose some sisterly collaboration between Greer and the wives of her male colleagues, which is not the case. Speaking frankly about the coldness between them, she says, "As a female lecturer at a provincial university I have to tolerate the antics of faculty wives, but they are fairly easy to ignore." (p. 127)

In general, Greer is quite pessimistic about the capacity of women to collaborate, much less to feel affection for one another. Women, she says, congregate only to "bitch" or backbite an absent member of their group. To be sure, women pent up in petty

CONTINUED ON PAGE 31.

# NEWARK:

# Case Study of a City in Crisis

BY DERRICK MORRISON

**"Since the election, nothing has changed. . . . The community control-oriented platform was totally repudiated. Even the . . . proposal for a police review board was brushed aside. Gibson appointed a white 'moderate' cop . . . to the position of police chief."**

Newark offers perhaps the most vivid example of the urban crisis racking American cities. The city, largest in New Jersey, has a population of 400,000. Statistics peg 60 percent of the population as African-American, 11 percent as Puerto Rican, and 29 percent as white. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of whites dropped 37 percent while the number of Blacks rose 50 percent.

Newark is considered the commercial and transportation hub of New Jersey. Many major insurance companies have their home offices in the city. But within the hub there are some very serious problems. And despite the election last year of Kenneth A. Gibson, the first Black mayor of a big northeastern city, the gravity of the situation has not diminished.

Unemployment in April stood at 14.2 percent. That's 23,300 people out of a work force of 163,000. Close to 30 percent of the population—almost one out of three persons—are welfare recipients. Newark has the highest crime rate in the nation. It also has the highest per capita incidence of venereal disease and infant mortality. Drug addiction claims 10 percent of the populace.

In respect to education, most of the seventy-eight school structures are between 75 and 100 years old. The high-school dropout rate is 24 percent.

The city's annual budget in 1970 was $161 million. The anticipated deficit in 1971 is $70 million, or 43 percent of last year's budget.

The source of budget difficulties is the fact that 60 percent of Newark's twenty-four square miles is tax-exempt. Newark Airport and Port Newark occupy more than one-third of this area. Port Newark is the scene of the world's largest containerized shipping operation, and by 1975 is expected to be handling two-thirds of the cargoes slated for New York City. But these facilities are operated by the Port Authority of New York and are therefore outside the bounds of taxation. When the Port Authority signed the lease for the land back in 1947, the annual rent provided was $128,000. As a result of court action by the city government, the rent was increased to $1 million in 1966. This is still a paltry sum considering the billions reaped by corporations from the airport and shipping port.

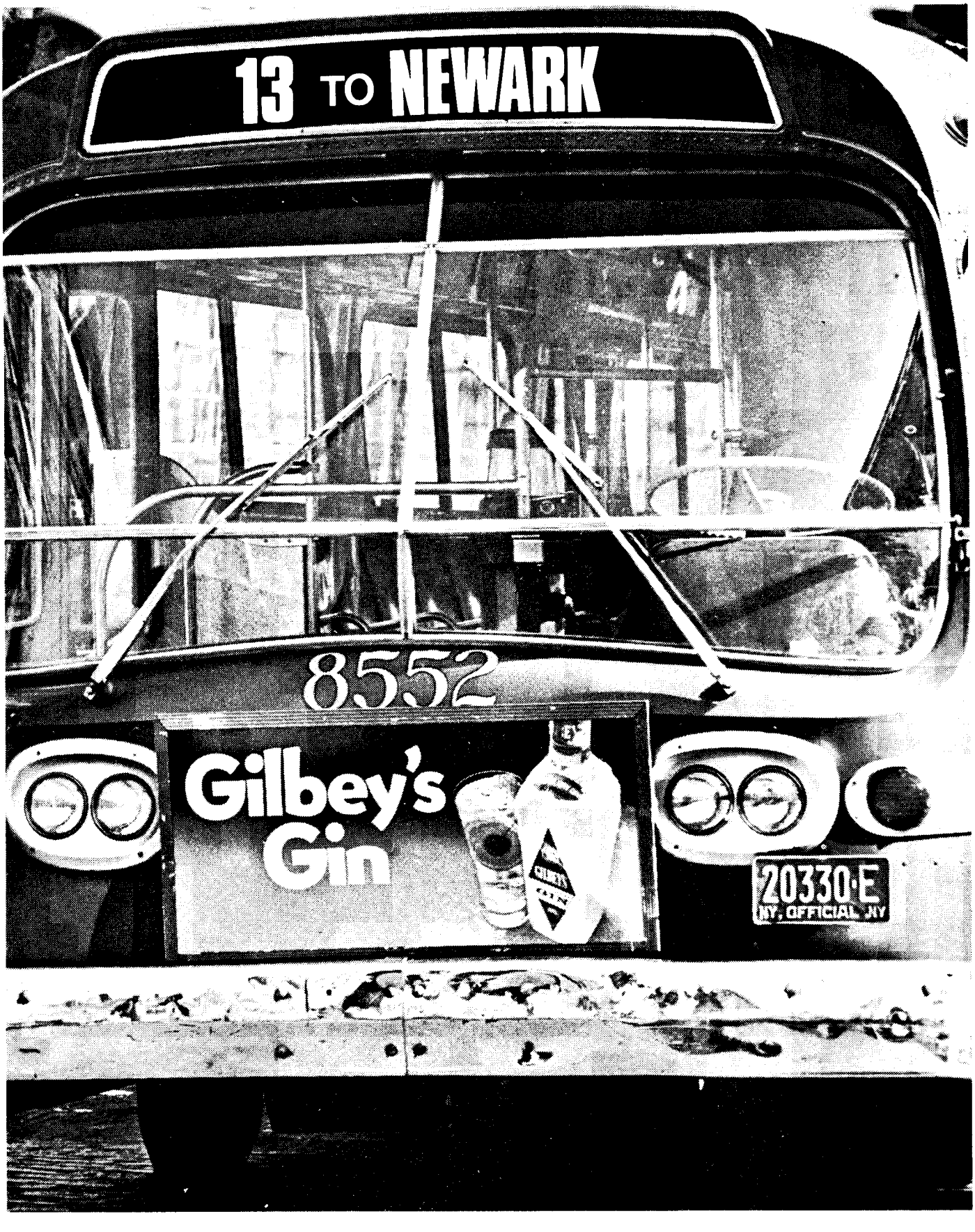
The insurance companies and banks operate in the same fashion. Prudential Insurance Company of America, Mutual Life Benefit, Fidelity Trust, and the First National State Bank, just to name a few, pay only property taxes, no city tax on their income or profits. Yet, these financial institutions hold 69 percent of the money resources of the state of New Jersey.

The Newark work force contains the highest percentage of nonresidents of any major city in the country. More than 200,000 people work in the city who do not live there. Swelled by students coming to Rutgers, a large state university; shoppers from the suburbs; and travelers coming through the airport, bus, and railroad terminals; it is estimated that Newark's daytime population climbs to between 600,000 and 800,000 people! That's a 50 to 100 percent increase.

Less than half of the residential work force go to jobs in nearby suburbs or in New York City.

---

**DERRICK MORRISON** is a staff writer for the socialist weekly newspaper The Militant, for which he covered the long and bitter Newark teachers' strike earlier this year. He is a contributor to the anthology Towards an American Socialist Revolution, A Strategy for the 1970s (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1971).


13 TO NEWARK
8552
Gilbey's
Gin
20330-E
NY, OFFICIAL INV

Most of the nonresident work force come from the surrounding suburbs, whose population is close to 1.5 million. What's happening is that manufacturing industry is leaving the city and commercial and financial institutions are entering the city, creating the need for a skilled, white-collar labor force. Thus Newark's Black and Puerto Rican majority are losing jobs in the fields in which they already have skills, while they are not being trained to fill the incoming jobs.

Prudential and other companies place prime importance on getting their predominantly white labor force into air-conditioned offices as fast as possible, and returning them to their air-conditioned suburban homes as soon as the day is done.

The outlook of these financial moguls on the central city area was related to me by Gus Henningburg of the Newark Urban Coalition. The Urban Coalition, a national organization created after the 1967 rebellions and financed by government and big business, is an excellent source of information on the problems of the cities. Its remedies, however, don't measure up to the needs of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Henningburg commented, "There are an awful lot of people [euphemism for the powers-that-be] who have decided that the role of the city, and this is not just Newark, is a place where you work, it's a cultural center. For example, you can't build a Symphony Hall [home of the New Jersey Symphony] in every little town in Essex County. Or you can't replicate the Newark Museum, or the Newark Public Library in all of these little towns around here. So the people who have left, even those who come in every day to work, perceive consciously or otherwise that the function of the city is not a place for people to live at all."

And what does this mean for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities concentrated in the heart of the cities? Henningburg responded, "It means that they are in serious trouble."

This "serious trouble," which can be more accurately defined as a crisis of capitalist rule, has been in long gestation.

As was stated in *Report for Action*, a document written by the Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder in New Jersey after the 1967 Newark rebellion:

> That this report had to be written is a manifestation of a deep failing in our society, for many of the problems that it analyzes should have been solved by now. Had we, as a society, made a more timely and determined effort to solve them, the events that led to the establishment of this Commission might never have occurred.
>
> Nor can we plead ignorance about the nature of these problems. The shelves of government offices and academic institutions are filled with studies that shed light on them and offer avenues for solutions. The question is whether we have the will to act.
>
> The record of history does not augur well for action. Although violence has marked the path of many ethnic and social groups, the major issues that were in contention in those conflicts have long since been resolved.
>
> But one great issue remains unresolved: the place of the Negro in American society. It is this issue that almost tore the nation apart one hundred years ago. It is this question that led to the Chicago riot of 1919, the Harlem riots of 1935 and 1943 and the mounting disorders in our cities in the years since World War II.

In Newark, as elsewhere, the issue of Black people's "place" is the question of who will control the city. And from the standpoint of the oppressed masses the question comes down to what type of political organization and program do Black people need in order to assert control over their own destiny? This article hopes to shed some light on that question.

The roots of racist oppression go back to the very founding of the city of Newark. The inhabitants of northern New Jersey before the arrival of the Europeans were a group of Native Americans called the Lenni Lenape. The area occupied by Newark today was their hunting ground.

After the Dutch established themselves in Manhattan in 1626, a few crossed the Hudson River to settle in New Jersey. Under the impetus of the Dutch West India Company, the Manhattan settlers sought trade in valuable animal furs with the Lenni Lenape and other Native Americans. The Lenni Lenape, a peaceful people, responded. But all they ever got in return was war, rum, and syphilis.

The wealth acquired from New Amsterdam, the name the Dutch gave Manhattan, led the English to seize it in 1664. Two years later, Robert Treat and a band of Puritans from Connecticut crossed the Hudson and established Newark.

The settlers sought to establish a theocracy. It was one of the last attempts by the Puritans to do so. The fantastic opportunities for appropriating wealth in North America constantly undermined their efforts.

Although the Lenni Lenape lived in peace with the early Newark settlers, eventually they were rounded up and put on reservations. They were herded to New York in 1801, and in 1832 the survivors were placed on reservations in Michigan. Today, no trace of the Lenni Lenape is to be found, except in museums.

Because of the growth of manufacture, industry, and trade, African chattel slavery never sunk any deep roots in Newark. In 1804, the New Jersey legislature manumitted all the children of slaves born after July 4. But as expected, this measure did not settle the question. On October 3, 1809, a massive town meeting was held "to concert means to suppress the riotous and disorderly meetings of Negroes in our streets at night. These disorders have grown to a very great pitch and call loudly for the vigorous application of the law."[1]

Newark was incorporated as a city in 1836 with a population of 19,732. Its manufacture of shoes, carriages, saddles, harnesses, and clothing found a ready

market in the South. This led to ambivalence among citizens about participating in the Civil War.

The period before the Civil War saw huge waves of Irish immigrants flood Newark. They went to work in the industries and on the docks and canals.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, waves of Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Russian, Lithuanian, and Greek immigrants entered the city. Between 1880 and 1910, the city's population rose from 136,508 to 347,469.

The Black population stood at 11,000 in 1911. This figure underwent great expansion in the wake of the first and second world wars. Large numbers of rural Southern Blacks, an industrial-reserve labor pool, came North not only to pick up the industrial slack left by the military mobilization of the working class and the difficulty of immigration from Europe, but to expand by leaps and bounds production for war.

***"Out of this rebellion of post- Civil War slaves was articulated the need for Black and Puerto Rican control"***

The Newark board of health estimated a Black population of between 27,000 and 30,000 in 1917. In a report on Black housing conditions at the time, a city sanitary division reported, "No white landlord seems to want this class of tenant at all, especially in any modern house, with the result that much overcrowding was unavoidable. There are simply not enough good houses to go around. The result is a living condition contrary to all good sanitary laws.[2]

In 1940, Blacks numbered 45,760 out of a population of 429,760. By 1950, there was a 60 percent increase to 74,965. Yet, Newark's population as a whole rose merely 2 percent, to 438,776.

These figures are indicative of what's happening nationally. "Statistically, the Negro population in America has become more urbanized, and more metropolitan, than the white population. According to Census Bureau estimates, almost 70 percent of all Negroes in 1966 lived in metropolitan areas, compared to 64 percent of all whites. In the South, more than half the Negro population now lives in cities."[3]

This migration is not explained by the world wars alone:

> The displacement of blacks from Southern agriculture was only partially due to the pull of labor demand in wartime. Technological innovation, being a necessary condition of production, acted as an independent force to drive the tenants out of the cotton fields. The push off the land occurred in two phases. Initially, right after the war, the introduction of tractors and herbicides displaced the cotton hands from full-time to seasonal work at summer weeding and harvest. The now part-time workers moved from the farms to hamlets and small towns. During the 1950s mechanization of the harvest eliminated most of the black peasantry from agricultural employment and forced them to move to the larger cities for economic survival.[4]

Newark's Black population doubled between 1950 and 1960. But the capitalism of the post World War II era was not the same beast as that which existed prior to World War I. Whereas the system before was just reaching maturity on a world scale, the system today is old and stagnant. It is in its death agony.

As part of the effort to stave off its impending entrance into the grave, North American capitalism concentrates untold misery, poverty, and want on the backs of African-Americans and other oppressed nationalities in the central cities. Thus, the decay and decline of the cities, and the effort to pacify the white labor force through the creation of the suburbs.

The Black response in Newark to this slow death by strangulation occurred July 12-17, 1967, with a massive rebellion. All types of resentments were let loose against the set of circumstances known as the ghetto.

Statistics record twenty-three Blacks dying at the hands of police and national guardsmen. One brother was sadistically shot thirty-nine times in the chest by the forces of "law and order."

Out of this rebellion of post-Civil War slaves was articulated the need for Black and Puerto Rican control of the Black and Puerto Rican communities, i.e., Black and Puerto Rican control of Newark.

This sentiment led to the convening of a Black and Puerto Rican convention to select candidates for the 1970 city government elections. The convention was held November 14-16, 1969, and was attended by more than 3,000 people. It was an all-Black and Puerto Rican affair. The architects of the convention ranged from Gus Henningburg of the Urban Coalition to Imamu Amiri Baraka (whose slave name is Leroi Jones) of the Committee For a Unified Newark.

The people came from the block clubs, Parent-Teacher Associations, the churches, various civil-rights organizations, and numerous other community groups.

People addressing the convention included Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana; Dick Gregory, the well-known comedian and pacifist; and Ossie Davis, actor and playwright. Democratic Party Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm also attended.

The candidates selected were: Kenneth A. Gibson for mayor; Dennis Westbrooks for Central Ward councilman; Al Oliver for East Ward councilman; Sharpe James for South Ward councilman; and Donald Tucker, Earl Harris, Ramon Aneses, and C. Theodore Pinckney for councilmen-at-large.

The platform passed by the convention and upon

which the candidates were to run demanded, in part, on financial matters:

> Legislation enabling Newark to levy a head tax at the Newark Airport and an aviation fuel tax. Legislation permitting Newark to levy regular property and/or obtain taxes on the Port Authority and all enterprises located on Port Authority land. The cost of education and welfare should be completely taken over by the State and Federal governments.

On the land question:

> Public officials must stop land acquisition for non-priority items. This means an absolute moratorium on projects such as useless school expansion, and highways and commercial projects. Recognizing the shortage of land in Newark, but also the shortage of housing, we demand that *construction begin immediately on all open land available in the city of Newark. Where necessary, building codes and zoning regulations should be changed so that construction is made feasible on vacant lots in the city. Certain unnecessary industrial areas should be converted into comfortable residential areas. The meadowlands* [a marshland adjacent to Newark Airport and administered by the federal government] *should be developed into complete communities featuring a housing and industrial mix in a well-planned manner.* (Emphasis in original, as published in Volume 1, Number 1, 1970, of the Newark *New Ark.*)

On education:

> City to be divided into school districts with duly elected governing Boards for each district. Representatives from the local Boards shall be appointed by the Mayor to the Central Board. Members of the Central Board can be appointed at large.

On the police:

> An effort be made to get more Blacks and Puerto Ricans on the police force and that the requirements for policemen be tailored to accomplish this purpose for example making the height requirements more flexible, having the entrance examination given in Spanish as well as English and that the standard used for character investigation be published.
>
> Establishment of an effective police review board to investigate and hear community complaints concerning police activity.

The platform was an attempt to codify the sentiment for community control, and its full application would be an important step in that direction. Some sections, however, are weak, in not spelling out *how* the institutions of oppression function and what kind of changes are needed to end that oppression. In relation to the police, for example, the demand for an effective police review board is an important reform, but genuine community control would have to go much farther.

The main function of the police is to enforce laws that protect the—mainly white-owned—private property of America's capitalist rulers. Adding Black and Brown faces to this mercenary army will not by itself change its role as an enemy of Black and Brown people. To end police brutality the Black community must have the power to keep the existing police out of the community altogether and to establish community defense organizations that can play the role that the police claim for themselves but do not carry out, that is, to protect Black people from those who prey on them.

The operations, policy, and recruitment standards of such a community self-protection force should fall entirely under the control of elected community boards.

Despite its weaknesses, the convention was still regarded as a threat by the political machines of the two big capitalist parties. The local Democratic Party denounced the whole convention as an exercise in "racism in reverse."

It should be noted that the convention planners were not consciously trying to organize outside and against the Democratic Party. The campaign for a "Black Mayor in '70" took form outside the Democratic Party from the beginning because Mayor Addonizio had been so thoroughly discredited and because the local Democratic machine was shattered by the impact of the 1967 Black rebellion. Those forces who wanted a Black mayor pragmatically arrived at the decision to convene an independent affair. It was this independence that caught the enthusiasm of the masses. The block of candidates became known as "The Community's Choice."

But the programmatic agreement achieved at the convention did not survive the election campaign.

## The teachers' strike

One of the events that broke through the surface unity was the Newark Teachers Union strike on February 1, 1970. The strike was to last for three-and-a-half weeks. It was basically for union recognition. The NTU entered the strike with only 200 members. But during and afterwards they recruited close to half of the 4,000 teachers in the school system. About 30 percent of the teachers are Black. And in keeping with the nature of the labor force in Newark, 60 percent of the teachers resided outside the city.

In the course of the strike, which was narrowly defined by the NTU, Black and Puerto Rican militants in the community raised the issue of community control of the schools. Since the teachers hadn't supported the community in any of its previous struggles against the school board, some of the militants backed the board against the union.

The convention forces were divided over how to approach the strike. Gibson and others chose to remain silent. Baraka came out and openly supported the board of education. The board was composed of 3 Blacks, 1 Puerto Rican, and 5 whites at the time. Baraka's decision to hitch his cart to the board was probably

prompted by the recent appointment of a couple of Black principals. These concessions by the practically all-white school administration were made only after the community put up a struggle. But now the board and administrators were using these crumbs dropped from the table to get community support against the teachers. And Baraka willingly accepted the role of strikebreaker, in spite of the fact that the convention platform had called for the subordination of the board to community control.

The candidate who took the best stand on the strike was Donald Tucker, running for councilman-at-large. He criticized the backward policies of the NTU but at the same time singled out the real enemy. His statement read, in part:

> The teachers' union is wrong—not in seeking higher wages, but in allowing itself to be separated from its natural allies—parents and children with whom they share a common cause. It is wrong because it has allowed the system to use the union to create disunity. . . . Instead of joining with the community to force the board of education to educate and liberate our city's young people, it has allowed the board to assume the false pose of "friend" of the community. . . . Had Newark's teachers helped to establish meaningful cooperation with the community, had the majority of Newark's teachers joined with the parents in the fight for quality education and dignity for our students, the parents might have led the fight to raise teachers' salaries. . . . I urge Newark's teachers and parents to unite and fight together the real culprit. . . . [5]

Thus, Tucker was the only one to apply the convention platform consistently to the struggle of the day.

Gibson viewed the platform as just a piece of paper. With the Black and Puerto Rican vote safely in his pocket he set out to calm the backward fears and racist prejudices of the whites.

In the April 23, 1970, issue of the New York *Village Voice* he blatantly contradicted the platform:

"I don't think community control is necessarily the answer. It's not necessarily who decides what that's important; it's quality education. In some of the best educational systems in the country there is no community control."

And so it went: equivocating, compromising, and contradicting the progressive aspects of the convention platform.

Similarly, Baraka and other campaign organizers were deep into voter registration, instead of using the campaign to heighten the political awareness and organization of the masses. Although Baraka talked about the need for a Black political party, his deeds contradicted it.

After the May 12, 1970, primary, where Gibson came out on top, the candidate backed by Prudential, John P. Caulfield, a former fire director, swung his support to Gibson.

In the stretch to the June 16 runoff, Mayor Addonizio and his aides were indicted and brought to trial on Mafia-linked activities.

Gibson won the runoff handily. Three of the seven convention councilmanic candidates also made it. They were Dennis Westbrooks of the Central Ward, Sharpe James of the South Ward, and Earl Harris at-large. The other six members of the city council elected were all part of the Addonizio machine.

Since the election, nothing has changed in Newark. The community control oriented platform was forgotten. Even the modest proposal for a police review board was brushed aside. Gibson appointed a white "moderate" cop, John L. Redden, to the position of police chief. Gibson's aides told me that the administration was opposed to any attempt to establish a police review board on the grounds that this would seriously undermine Redden's authority!

When Gibson addressed an audience on the West Coast in February of this year he was asked about the Berkeley community control of police amendment to be voted on in April. He is reported to have said, after beating around the bush, "People always want to control what they consider the enemy. We do not have the Berkeley problem, because I am the police department."[6] What demagogy!

The recent teachers' strike and the fiscal crisis provide an index as to what is really happening in Newark.

The NTU struck again on February 1, 1971. Although the union had grown to more than 3,000 members, its right to existence was being challenged by the board of education and the Gibson administration.

In July of 1970 when the three-year terms of three school board members expired, Gibson had appointed two Blacks and a Puerto Rican. This reduced the number of whites on the nine-person board to four. The appointments provided a better smoke screen from which to attack the teachers' union. Further cover came when Baraka and other community leaders threw their support to the board. The aforementioned convention platform plank on the organization of local community school boards proved to be a dead letter for Gibson.

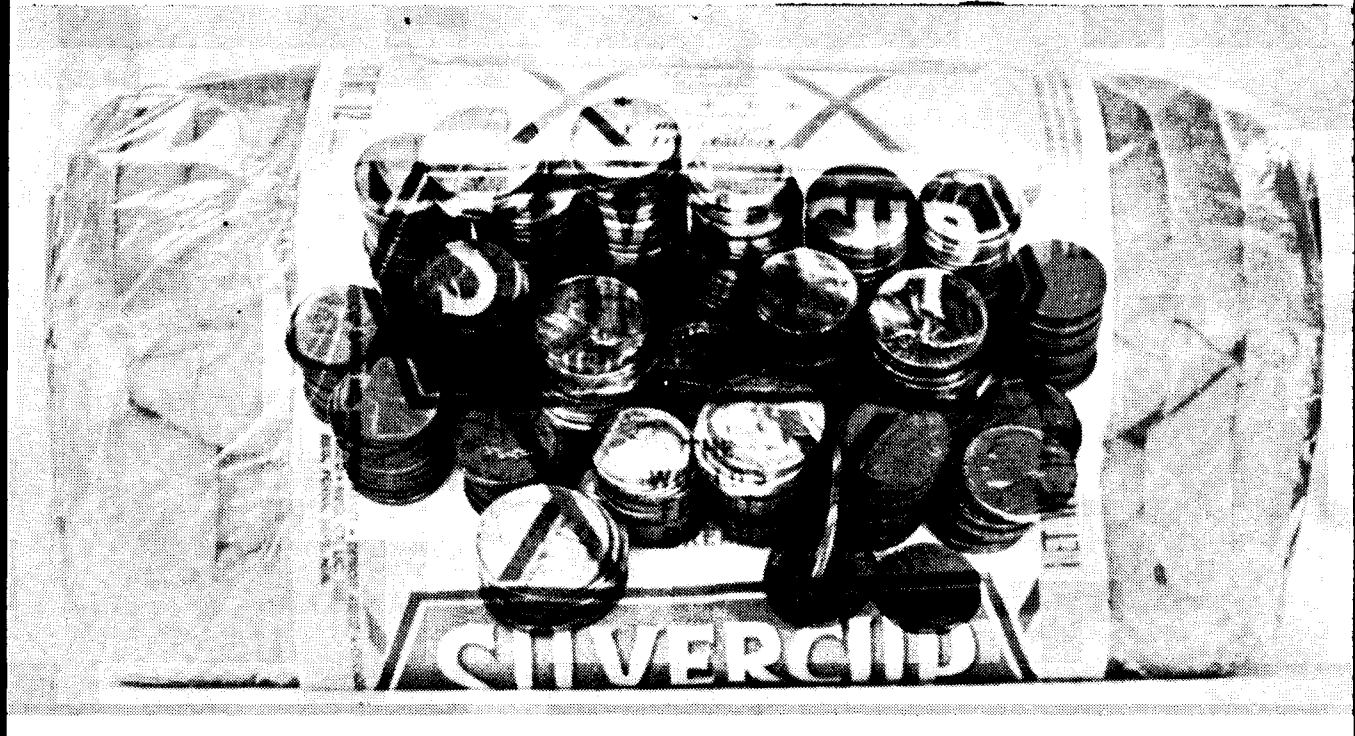
Unquestionably, the NTU in its struggle for survival displayed complete insensitivity to the community and the issue of community control. It could have pulled the rug out from under the board and the city administration by extending unconditional support to the right of Blacks and Puerto Ricans to control Black and Puerto Rican education. Instead, it accepted the support of Anthony Imperiale and other white racist vigilantes in the North and East Wards. These racists sought to use the union to fight the specter of Black and Puerto Rican control.

The strike lasted eleven weeks, the longest teacher strike in U. S. history. The board and city finally came to terms not because of the strength of the union, but because a community mobilization against the strike was threatening to generalize into something else, i.e., into a mass break to the left from the Gibson experiment.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 28.

# Unemployment & Inflation: Catalysts of Working-Class Radicalization

BY FRANK LOVELL



While the recession that began last year has abated somewhat for the New York Stock Exchange, there is no such hopeful news for those who make their living in more strenuous ways than by clipping coupons. Unemployment and inflation are continuing to spiral and promise to become the catalysts that can draw the industrial working class into the radicalization that has already so profoundly affected the student youth, women, and Blacks, Chicanos and other oppressed national minorities.

A report issued by the Census Bureau on May 20 showed that purchasing power of the average American family actually declined in 1970 for the first time in ten years—the median income for last year rose 4.7 percent while consumer prices went up by 5.9 percent, for a net loss of 1.2 percent.

The job situation is even grimmer with no improvement in sight. Labor Department figures for April showed 5 million unemployed—6.1 percent of the labor force. Ten percent of all Black workers were jobless in April, up from 9.4 percent in March. Among teenagers the rate was a staggering 17.2 percent. None of these figures include those on welfare who have abandoned hope of finding a job (welfare "clients" number 1.2 million in New York City alone).

A series of strikes in the past two years—most notably the postal workers, General Electric, and auto—indicates the rising anxiety in the labor movement over the twin threat of unemployment and inflation. It is significant that mounting job insecurity is being met by a willingness on the part of the workers to take action rather than by renewed conservatism out of fear of reprisals by the bosses.

The campaign by ruling-class spokesmen to blame inflation on workers' efforts to defend their standard of living has met with failure. The attempt to put the damper on strikes in deference to patriotic support of the "war effort" in Indochina has been equally unsuccessful.

Furthermore, the two tactics that the U. S. ruling class would like to use to control the economy and continue the war—wage guidelines and induced recession—have the potential of provoking a massive reaction.

We should be careful not to view the working class too narrowly when we talk about "the workers."

Many of today's workers, unionized and nonunionized, are young; they include Blacks, Chicanos, women, former students, Vietnam veterans. They are affected by and concerned with the different social movements they see around them and often participate in as individuals. The examples of independent mass action, taking to the streets and organizing outside the Democratic and Republican parties have become a part of the climate, the atmosphere of the United States over the last ten years. The working class in defending its living standards will inevitably take cues from the methods and ideas of these related struggles.

The federal government for its part has made clear that its priorities do not include significant concessions to the unions, the unemployed, or the poor, unless these are extracted by those determined to see real changes made.

## Poverty amid plenty

Nixon defends the government's abandonment of the poor and the unemployed with the argument that our society is sufficiently affluent to make a policy of benign neglect sufficient to deal with these problems. It is true that there is no lack of wealth. The Gross National Product—the yearly sum of the prices of all goods and services—has reached a trillion dollars. But the distribution of this wealth is as lopsided and unjust in the government sphere as it is in the private sector.

When the national budget is prepared and income balanced against expenditures, there are two items of top priority. The first is interest payments on the national debt—which go to investors, mainly bankers, who have put their money into government bonds rather than stocks. The current limit on the national debt is $430 billion. The other priority is euphemistically called national defense. All other items are whittled and pared to accommodate these imperative demands.

The projected 1972 budget calls for spending $229.2 billion in the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1971. The military will take approximately a third of the entire amount—somewhere about $76 billion.

Interest payments on the national debt take between $23 billion and $25 billion.

This tells the story of priorities. The first $100 billion of all federal funds goes right away to the generals and the bankers. After they are fed, some of what is left may go to feed the poor.

Nor is poverty disappearing, as the persistent propaganda of the Nixon administration would have us believe. As the *New York Times* reported May 8: "The number of the poor in the nation increased sharply last year, reversing a 10-year trend, the Census Bureau reported today [May 7].

"There were 25.5 million poor persons in 1970, a rise of 1.2 million over 1969, the bureau found in its annual population survey."

The government defines poverty as an annual income of $3,968 or less for a family of four. The very poor, those on welfare, numbered 12.5 million in 1970. If the poverty line were drawn at what would seem to be a more realistic level the figures for those living in poverty would be much higher. In 1968 federal income-tax returns showed that 59 million people belonged to families with incomes less than $5,000.

In contrast to the tens of billions spent on armaments and the war in Vietnam, the total dispensed in welfare

---

**FRANK LOVELL** has worked in industry and the union movement since the mid 1930s. He was active in the Sailors Union of the Pacific from 1936 until 1950 and later was in the carpenters union and the UAW. He is a regular contributor to The Militant, International Socialist Review, and Intercontinental Press.

by federal, state, and city governments to those the system was unable to provide with jobs amounted to only $8.5 billion in 1970. The recipients include many who until recently were part of the employed working class. Under the present relief setup, the unemployed graduate from unemployment compensation (after twenty-six or thirty-nine weeks) to welfare.

It is not only socialists who say that chronic unemployment and poverty are not temporary phenomena but are endemic to the system. In the March 7 *New York Times Magazine,* for example, Professor Herbert J. Gans of MIT wrote:

"That problem is really in the heart of the American economy, which simply does not need all the unemployed looking for work at a living wage and which cannot provide for all the working poor who require higher wages to support their families."

The question, then, is how and around what kind of demands can workers organize to protect themselves from the threat of unemployment; and how do such struggles relate to the deep-going changes in attitude in other sectors of the population that constitute the present radicalization.

Millions of workers have been affected by the antiwar, Black, Chicano, women's and other mass movements for social justice. But the new moods have not yet been expressed through the official trade-union apparatus which is cumbersome, conservative, and slow to respond to changes within the ranks. This is only beginning to happen.

One of the signs of change is the number of union officials that are now joining the antiwar movement. They are not simply endorsing statements against the war. They are getting into the movement and helping to organize demonstrations to end this war now.

The reason we see this belated development at this time is the pincers of rising prices and increasing unemployment. The combined effect is to squeeze down the standard of living of the working class, forcing the union movement to find ways to relieve the pressure.

Two methods have been used on a limited scale thus far to protect union members against the combined blows of inflation and unemployment. One is the escalator clause in union contracts which pegs wages to changes in the cost of living, providing for an automatic increase in wages as the Consumer Price Index rises. The other is the demand for a shorter workweek with no reduction in take-home pay, to provide jobs for the unemployed.

The escalator clause was first included in a major union contract and received wide attention when the United Auto Workers and General Motors Corporation agreed to it in 1948. It steadily gained acceptance and popularity within the union movement, and is now becoming a standard demand of unions. Even so only about 3 million of the present 78 million workers have cost-of-living protection.

The demand for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay has been raised periodically during recessions since the second world war. Some craft unions have succeeded in reducing the hours of work, among them the printers and electricians. Some UAW locals have raised the demand of thirty hours work at forty hours pay—"30 for 40"—but this has never been submitted as a bargaining issue in negotiations with the auto industry.

***"The question, then, is how and around what kind of demands can workers organize to protect themselves from the threat of unemployment"***

These are variations and adaptations of the concept of a sliding scale of wages and a sliding scale of hours, first advanced by Leon Trotsky in 1938 as part of a transitional program from capitalism to a more rational system of production.

Trotsky wrote then that "two basic economic afflictions, in which is summarized the increasing absurdity of the capitalist system, that is *unemployment* and *high prices,* demand general slogans and methods of struggle."

To cope with high prices he urged the following course: "Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of *a sliding scale of wages.* This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in price of consumer goods."

His understanding of the problem of unemployment and how to cope with it was stated in equally succinct terms:

> Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. *The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, "structural" as well as "conjunctural," the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a *sliding scale of working hours.* Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week. Wages, under a strictly guaranteed *minimum,* would follow the move-

ment of prices. It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period. [Emphasis in original.]

Trade-union officials have tended to see the problem of unemployment only in relation to a particular industry—"my" industry—and to think of overall unemployment as a temporary, episodic, or conjunctural crisis of the economy over which they can have no control.

In some industries where it was known that new technological changes would severely reduce the number of workers, union representatives have negotiated elaborate pension and retirement plans to allow for the early retirement of some workers and the gradual reduction of the work force by attrition instead of mass layoffs. In this way those workers who were on the job were convinced that their immediate and lifetime interests were protected.

This happened in the coal mining industry shortly after the second world war, and later in the longshore industry on the West Coast. The employers in each instance agreed to pay into retirement-pension-hospitalization funds out of the vastly larger savings they gained from the new machinery and methods of production.

This resulted finally in reducing the size and strength of these unions, freezing young workers out of these industries for several years, and aggravating overall unemployment as the disease spreads throughout all industry.

The general problem of mass unemployment throughout a whole sector of industry, resulting from major economic dislocation, often coincides with cutbacks in armaments and a reduction of troops. The late Walter Reuther urged conversion of some war plants following World War II to the production of prefabricated low-cost houses. Shortly before his death he submitted a similar plan, more elaborate, to Congress for the conversion of war industry to peacetime needs following an anticipated withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

John Taylor, president of Boeing UAW Local 1069 in the Philadelphia area, recently attempted to persuade the Boeing Company to convert for peacetime production. According to an article in the January 11 *Nation,* Taylor had little success. He said:

> My argument is that there are thousands and thousands of unused square feet of production space at the Vertol division that could be used to produce low-cost housing and transportation on a production line basis. Or rapid transit equipment. Mass transportation in our country stinks. With the proper effort, Boeing could easily produce rail cars, buses and other sorely needed equipment. All sorts of things could be done—medical equipment, such as kidney machines; devices for air and water pollution control. All that is needed is some imagination and some initiative.

The reaction of one company official: "But think of how many units of housing we'd have to sell to make as much money as we do on a single helicopter."

The steel industry in recent years has greatly increased productivity, resulting in a loss of jobs. *Steel Labor,* official publication of the Steelworkers Union, reported (November 1970): "Between 1948 and 1965, companies involved in mergers closed more than 700 plants in just one region of the United States."

In 1965 an automated steel mill in Lorain, Ohio, got ten times the production it got before with one tenth the labor force, according to the Steelworkers Union there.

But settlements in the can industry in March ignored the shorter workweek demand in an industry plagued with unemployment. It is not likely that the union will win a shorter workweek from the more powerful steel industry in the round of negotiations that began in May.

## The cure for chronic unemployment

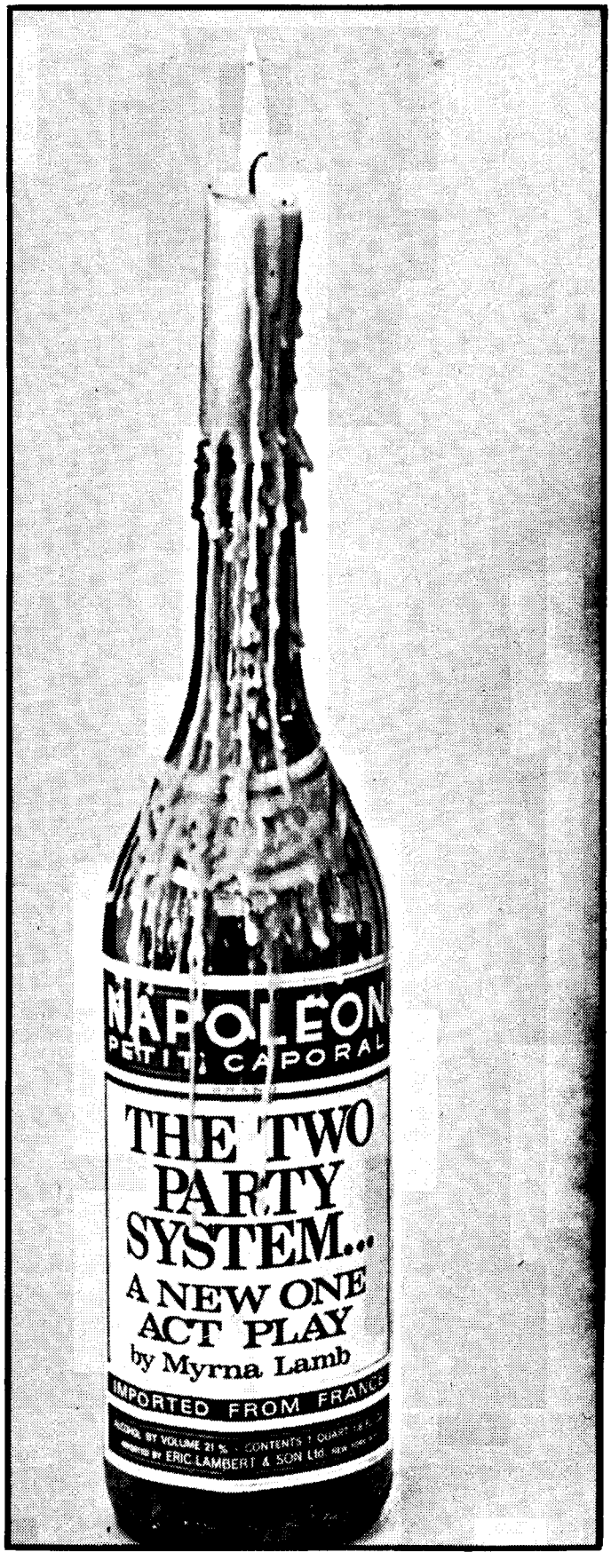
But as unemployment advances, cutting deeper into the ranks of those now holding jobs, the advantage of a shorter workweek becomes more apparent to union members and begins to penetrate the consciousness of union officials. The most obvious advantage is that the unemployed are absorbed into the productive process, obviating the need to appeal to the government for huge outlays of federal funds with the accompanying rise in taxes on those who are still employed. Another advantage, from the standpoint of the unions, is that this demand for a shorter workweek unites the union forces with the ranks of the unemployed and increases their striking power. In addition, it is now generally recognized by all who are familiar with the great technological advances in recent years that the material basis for a shorter workweek has been achieved and the social need for it is long overdue.

It should surprise no one when young union members begin to raise the cry for a shorter workday with no reduction in take-home pay. It may be one of the ways the new radicalization will find expression within the structure of the established union movement.

Even though the demand for a sliding scale of hours will be advanced in somewhat different form in different industries, it is not a narrow demand affecting a limited number of workers in a particular industry. In this respect it is different from the struggle for a wage increase; and different, also, from the demand for a straight reduction of the workday.

This concept of the sliding scale of hours takes account of the total work force. It embodies the idea that everyone is entitled to a job, that whatever amount of work needs to be done—for whatever reasons—everyone should share it. In this way everyone is guaranteed a job and an adequate minimum income. None are required to work long hours while others are locked out of industry. It is such a reasonable plan that it would appear on the face of it to be acceptable to everyone.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 27.




***Since the opening of* What Have You Done For Me Lately? *at the Martinique Theater in 1969, Myrna Lamb has become one of the most controversial of this country's new playwrights. Her productions have been condemned as subversive by the theater establishment while their popularity has steadily risen among theatergoers of an iconoclastic bent, among youth, in the women's movement, and among partisans of radical social change.***

**What Have You Done For Me Lately? *was followed in 1970 by* The Mod Donna *which played at the New York Shakespeare Festival's Public Theater, was published in our July/August 1970 issue, and later brought out in a collection of Myrna Lamb's plays,* The Mod Donna and Scyklon Z: Plays of Women's Liberation *(New York: Pathfinder Press, 1971).***

***We are pleased to publish here for the first time her latest work,* The Two-Party System. *Myrna Lamb is currently completing an opera entitled* Apple Pie.**

**PLACE**: Party

**VOICES**
Party
Colored candles
Colored tights
Betrayed or soon-to-be-betrayed wife
Staging area
Coffee
Sandwiches
Hostess working at oven
Hostess nodding yes in arms of betrayed wife's newly successful husband
Betrayed wife or soon-to-be
All those years the wife has been strong for the struggling husband
Working for him
Being there as he went through his problems
Now she feels useless
Plain
She cannot have her own baby
It is by your husband's position in the world you stand or fall
If your husband falls it is your fault
If he stands, . . . you are unworthy

Everything reflects the basic inferiority of the wife
They couldn't have any children
**Her** inferiority

**REGGIE**
A fund-raising party! Fun-raising! The flyer said! How clever! Colored candles melting on the buffet, melting, melting across the room. . . . and there is our hostess. Colored candles melting on our hostess and now our hostess is melting melting back to go under the Limbo bar . . . Is that how you melt back in a man's arms, Hostess? Is that how you melt back in my husband's arms?

**VOICES**
Parties
All roads going nowhere
A flirtation
What's a party without a flirtation?
It will never lead to love
Will it?
Or marriage
Will it?
Parties provide sudden intimacy that will die in the cold
Some people like essays without end
Some people like microcosms of life rather than life itself
A party is gratification without pain
Joy without payment
Colored candles abandoned to the heat
Women in shiny candle-color dresses melted obligingly into poses of abandon
Into men's arms and on couches, chair arms
The floor
Reggie sets herself a bit more uprightly on the one really comfortable chair
It is artificial orange and clashes with her dress
No matter
It is better than peering around the portico to watch the Limbo dancers

**REGGIE**
Well! Now! Well! I'm drunk! But it's patriotic or something to be drunk at a fundraising party where they sell drinks to raise funds. But they welshed! They welshed! I raised some funds but they didn't raise any fun for me and it was guaranteed! Or your money-back! Would they want their drinks back, do you think? If they want their drinks back I can give 'em to 'em!

**VOICES**
Watch the Limbo dancers
Rudy is frankly athletic
So is Craig
So is Vera
They go under the bar with agility and strength
And absolutely no grace
Here comes Diana
She will soon have to hoist her tight skirt over pettipanted hips
Her narrow little back will arch itself smugly
Jean is flexible and a bit looped and she sway-balances gently
A slowmotion tightrope walker
Our hostess thinks of everything including the Limbo
It shows her off to such advantage
She is the only one who does the rhythmic little preparatory steps
Turns her feet and knees in
Lets her thighs bear the weight
In perfectly authentic undulant-propulsion
She goes under the Limbo bar
Suspense
Her body moves slowly and sensually backward
Unbearable compulsion
Hold your breath, everyone
Her authentic bosom tease-touches the bar
The Limbo revelation
Melted-candle colors run gratefully around the shapely legs
Leotard bodice seconds the motion
The brief skirt slides naturally back across the thighs
Splendid spectacle
The hostess emerges face-up with a final flip of her long dark straight hanging hair
A rival to conjure with

**REGGIE**
All I have to do is lean all the way back, a-a-a-a-lll the way back like the hostess . . . and they'll get their drinks back . . . But my hair won't dust the floor like hers. And my legs won't be all tight and melted candle colored like hers . . . Isn't she smart to be tighted when the best the rest of us can do is to be tight? But it's her party . . . Everything is her party. Everyone is her party . . . My husband is her party . . . My husband makes a lot of money. **Now** he makes a lot of money. All those years, ten-eleven? No money years. Dutiful little wife years. Dutiful big wife years. Nice big strong wife can go out and work. Enough to pay for shrinks. Two shrinks. That's what they call them. Very casual. Not life-and-death. Only hers-and-his. Folded up neatly ready for use. Do not, however, blow your nose in the shrinks. Only

blow your dough in the shrinks. And a lotta years.

Psychiatry is very patriotic. Jim is not any more a leaver of jobs. He's a success! Hurray for Jim's shrink! Stay home and have babies now, Jim's wife. Oh? No can do? No hurray for Reggie's shrink. No hurray for Reggie. Have a baby? No thanks. Can't. No more medical secretary. Efficient. Just not a woman. Authentic. My husband, Jim. He's very authentic. Charming as a failure. Even more charming as a success. Do you know about success? Do you know it's the greatest virtue and it's its own reward? It's its? Yes. It's its **is!** I, on the other hand, am the biggest sinner at this party or maybe any party. You wouldn't think it to look at me, and that's the biggest sin of all. I am a **big** sin. A sin and ashamed. I'm so big. Tonight I'm really big. My head is farther from my feet than it ever was. And my back, I have a weak back, you know, most tall people **do!** And my back is so weak, that I can't sit up in this **chair**--Tonight, I keep sliding down. Or back. I never backslid in all my life. Before tonight. Tonight, they will have to raise funds 'n'fun'n **me**. Me Reggie Miller Lady Failure. Him Jim Miller Lady Killer. Honestly, that's funny, you know? Ladykiller. While you're knockin' 'em dead, you may be killing a lady. Ho-ho! That was no lady, that was my wife. Well! That's all right, then! Puhfectly puhmissible suh to kill a wife. Especially one all she can do is eat. And drink. I didn't used to drink. I couldn't afford shaking hands. No. Shakey hands. No surgeon could afford shakey hands. I thought I might be a surgeon. No, really. I'm drunk enough to tell you. Seems funny, doesn't it? A surgeon? A nurse. Am a nurse. I think. First a medical secretary. Then a nurse. Haven't worked a while. Husband makes too much money now. 'Sfamily thinks I should stay home make beds make babies. Make a home! I think they think I'm a carpenter or something.

Make a baby. Can't. I'm a nurse. Did I tell you? Know everything about it. Tall women have these problems. But no one knows why me. Low thyroid. High block. Low tackle. Foul. But could happen any day. Any year. He wants his baby. Once, y'see I never told this to a soul, but unless you count psychiatrists and they positively have no soul, honor bright, no soul at all, but . . . there was this nurse. Friend of mine. Not married. Having a baby. Oh yes. I had the feeling it was his. This nurse was a friend but a tramp and it could have been anybody's. You wouldn't think a nurse . . . but I had the feeling that she did it deliberately, you, know, to get someone to marry her. Someone, y'unnerstand, whose wife maybe **couldn't have children** . . . smart, huh? But she was a **real** tramp. He never could go for a **real**. Maybe an **authentic**. That's different. Notareal. Anyway, I couldn't take that baby. His baby. He must have suggested it to her. He did to me. Well what could she do? She offered. His baby. She didn't say so but I kept thinking . . . his baby his baby. But then her baby her baby her baby. Anyway, I would've said yes anyway. But the psychiatrist, the shrink, when I went . . . was it ever more formal, anything costs that much deserves to be formal . . . anyway the baby. It went away. I mean the girl, the nurse who was having it went away. Because I couldn't have it. I mean take it. The psychiatrist said. You know, I think Jim pays for it. The baby. Her. To her. I think he paid to send her wherever she went. Well, how would I know? Not that I want to. He makes a lot of money. He could support a dozen babies all around the country . . . which is where he goes, you know. All around the country. Conferring. Conventioning. And I could go with him, I guess, except that even if he wanted me to, maybe does once in a while, just to hold his coat, I'm afraid of planes. I mean babies. Planes. You'd think a shrink could fix it. Maybe I'm not a good subject. For analysis. I certainly seem to be a subject, maybe not a good one, but a subject. Can't get my mind off it.

Look I'm not even going to ask you if I'm boring you, because I probably am, but I really want you to stay and listen to me, if you don't mind. I really am in trouble. You wouldn't think it to look at me, either. I know how neat and calm everyone thinks about me. I am, I mean. I mean everyone thinks I am. And before I even walk into one of these things. These . . . parties! I wear very good clothes and nobody is rude to me, you understand, but my heart is pounding and my hands are cold and sweaty at the same time . . . It's terrible . . . and the least little thing makes me want to cry.

Anxiety syndrome. I am a syndrome. Is that better than being a camera? Well, a camera. Pictures. My mind is full of pictures. Pic-

tures of him in bed with that nurse. With everyone but me. With the hostess. With our hostess, the authentic mother of three children. I don't know why I see it. Or say it. Maybe because I think it should be. I can see them together. It's right. But I can't see me. I tell myself, get up! Do the Limbo! Do something! But the message doesn't come through. Just won't ever come through. Too far to travel. Not possible. So I slide. Soon I slide. And in a little while he'll pick me up. He always does. Very nicely and tenderly and everyone feels sorry for him. So he's forgiven for having a nice time with the hostess. See, I've got something going for me. That the hostess never will. She's lovely. She's authentic. She does the Limbo. But **she doesn't make him guilty!** And that's what I've got going for me! Guilt! I do the best I can with what I've got. Don't we all?

**UNEMPLOYMENT/CONTINUED FROM PAGE 23**

The employers reject it. They favor unemployment if it does not get out of hand. Some of their most prominent representatives have said that a certain amount of unemployment is a good thing for the economy. What they mean is that unemployment is a threat to the working class and serves to keep wages down. It provides a reservoir of cheap labor. The employers want this reserve labor force because they are constantly in search of ways to reduce their labor costs.

Another and more basic reason the employers oppose a sliding scale of hours in industry with no reduction in pay is that this simply means less profit for them.

For the same reasons that the employers reject this concept of a sliding scale of hours, it meets the needs of labor. It is in no way useful to only a limited few; it serves no privileged group. It incorporates the basic concepts of equal rights and equal opportunity into the productive process upon which society rests.

It is possible that those who have been first hit by the new wave of unemployment will demand work and shorter hours in industry to make more jobs before the unions take it up as one of their key demands. The students coming out of school now with the prospect of no jobs have every right to press for the shorter week to make room for them in the productive process. Likewise, women who are seeking a new social status want jobs outside the home and in industry, and they demand that jobs be opened up to them. The national minorities, especially Blacks and Chicanos who have only recently broken through some of the barriers of racial discrimination and have little seniority and are now the first fired, will not accept the prospect of going on relief while others work long hours.

The right to full employment is a very basic demand common to all.

Carl Roberts, assistant to the president of Steelworkers Local 1104 in Lorain, Ohio, several years ago (in 1965) suggested that Congress amend the wages and hours law to establish the thirty-hour week throughout industry. He wrote: "All it takes to make the 30-hour week the law of the land is a one-paragraph amendment to the Wages and Hours Act. Also a supplementary paragraph raising the minimum hourly rate by one-third, so that there would be no cut in weekly take-home pay for workers earning the minimum wage." (Reprinted in the *Lorain Labor Leader,* December 17, 1970.)

Of course, as Roberts recognized, "The big question is: Who is going to get Congress to agree to these amendments?"

His answer was the AFL-CIO: "Not only because it's the biggest membership organization in the U. S. but because its main reason for existence is to help workers earn a decent livelihood."

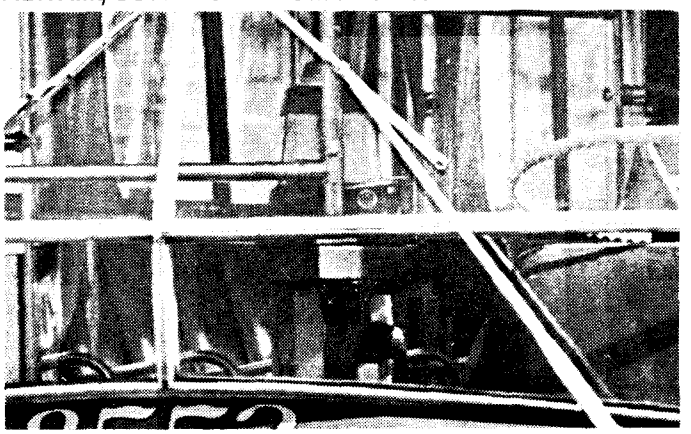
There is no indication that the present leadership of the AFL-CIO is preparing to launch such a campaign now or in the near future. And if the movement for a shorter workweek must wait upon the present leadership in this quarter it will never get started.

It will draw support from the ranks of the union movement. It will embrace many among the millions who are now active in the antiwar movement. And it must become just such a movement, a movement that marches, demonstrates, demands. Its slogans will be "End Unemployment Now!" "Shorter Hours!" "Jobs For All!" This is the only way any of the plans for more jobs, for higher incomes, for public works, will be won.

The concept of a sliding scale of hours and a sliding scale of wages is not counterposed to public-works programs and other cures for the impoverished millions. These are not mutually exclusive. All depend upon organized mass support if they are to be won. They have every possibility of success.

The task is to organize these millions to march in the streets to reorganize industry in defense of their own most elementary right—the right to a decent living with jobs for all.

NEWARK/CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19



Close to 1,000 Blacks attended an April 7 board meeting where the teacher contract was to be voted. Misled by community leaders into thinking that the majority-white NTU was out to control the school system, the Blacks vehemently denounced the contract. The board voted it down. But afterwards, police roughed up some people and arrested one Black councilman.

The next day, Baraka and others held a press conference condemning the police in no uncertain terms and calling for the resignation of Redden. But Gibson backed Redden, thus marking the first real breach among the convention forces. If Baraka had sought to mobilize the community behind a campaign of demonstrations and rallies against the police, many illusions about Gibson would have been laid to rest. Shortly after April 8, wanting to defuse the situation, the city settled with the teachers.

## Fiscal crisis

Another index of the gravity of the situation in the city is the fiscal crisis. Upon taking office, Gibson discovered that a 43 percent increase in the budget was required just to maintain city services in 1971 on the level of 1970. This meant finding an additional $70 million.

The single source of revenue at the disposal of the city is the property tax. Property taxes in January of this year were $8.44 for every $100 of assessed valuation. They have since been increased to $9.14.

This tax mainly hits homeowners and landlords. Because of the high tax, most of the wooden-frame houses in Newark are rented. Those who want to own homes move to the suburbs where the taxes are considerably lower.

To finance the deficit solely through the property tax would have required a 50 percent increase. This was unthinkable, at the time and for now. As Gibson said before a joint economic committee of Congress on January 22:

> Newark's property tax is presently among the highest in the nation, and considered confiscatory by experts. Property owners are already abandoning property in such large numbers that the city can only collect 88% of what it levies (compared to 97% for New York City). When the city takes over property and attempts to sell it for taxes, no one wants to buy it. . . . As a result, the city is forced to collect rents on abandoned properties to cover taxes, and is fast becoming the biggest landlord in the city.

To get out of the deficit, the Gibson administration proposed a whole new set of taxes, expected to raise $27 million annually, which had to have the approval of the state legislature. Worked out last December, the taxes included a 1 percent sales tax, a 1 percent payroll tax to be paid by employers (the Chamber of Commerce balked at an original proposal of 2 percent), taxes on commercial leases, alcoholic beverages, parking fees, and sewer assessments, including a $0.015 per gallon tax on gasoline pumped at Newark Airport.

In February, however, only the payroll, alcohol, parking, and sewer taxes were approved. They will raise $19 million.

The gasoline, sales, and commerical lease taxes would have raised an additional $8.5 million. However small the amount, these taxes with the exception of the sales tax would have set a precedent for further taxation of big business profits.

Even though the state government threw in $32 million as urban aid, the deficit, which climbed to $80 million, was merely cut to $30 million.

To compound the fiscal problems, the city council passed the tax package but not the $300,000 required to implement it!

The administration is truly in a bind, if viewed from a reformist standpoint. The theory is that it cannot really tax the business community because industry and commerce would be driven away. Raising the property tax would quicken the exodus into the suburbs, leaving poorly-paid workers and welfare recipients as the base of the city.

However, new office buildings are going up along with major additions to Rutgers and Essex County Community College. The Newark newspapers point with pride to the 1.7 million square feet of office space that has been built over the past eight years. Despite the high property tax, office space in Newark is cheaper than in New York. Yet, over 80 percent of the housing in Newark was built before 1929. Construction contractors make huge profits building offices and private housing, not public housing. And moreover, the Gibson administration realizes that not much tax money comes from public housing. Most citizens in Newark, however, require public housing.

The public housing that exists is abominable. The buildings are tall, forbidding structures, more akin to silos than homes. Over 18,000 people are jammed into one area that has a radius of only one-and-a-half miles. There is little grass and no air conditioning.

The Newark Housing Authority, a federal agency, is not concerned about this although it administers public

housing and "urban renewal." The NHA's chief concern is getting industry and commerce to set up shop on huge tracts of land cleared for "urban renewal." Thus, "urban renewal," which in the minds of many connotes the razing of slums to build new homes, is actually a plan to remove huge concentrations of Blacks and oppressed nationalities from the central cities. Before the 1967 rebellion, Blacks vigorously protested a plan for a medical college and highway that would dispossess them from their homes with no guarantee of any better place to live. This resulted in the medical college being restricted to already cleared tracts of land, and plans for the highway were shelved.

## The power of independent politics

It is true that the power of any city administration, no matter what its intentions, is severely limited. Much of the financial and legal control rests with state legislatures and with the federal government. But this can be used as an excuse by reformists like Gibson to avoid using the resources that are available on the city level to mobilize people in a fight for social change. A good current example of the power of mass independent political organization even in a small town is found in Crystal City, Texas.

There, Chicanos, who constitute 85 percent of the population of 10,000, organized themselves into La Raza Unida [The United Race] Party in April 1970. The party emerged from a school boycott in which the community became very aware of the nature of the school system. So when the April elections rolled around, Chicano militants led the formation of RUP and elected three of their candidates to the seven-person school board.

The three successful Raza Unida candidates secured the support of one other Chicano board member, thus achieving a majority.

With this majority, the school board instituted such demands as bilingual education, a moratorium on the use of I.Q. and English proficiency tests, adoption of textbooks that tell the truth about Chicano contributions to history, free breakfast and lunch programs, and a declaration that student records are off-limits to the draft board.

The Raza Unida board members led the way in creating advisory committees composed of parents, students, and teachers. That is, the Raza Unida Party understood that their school board members could not bring about any changes unless the community was organized to participate and control the changing process.

The board backed the organization of school janitors, maintenance people, and bus drivers. One of the first demands raised and obtained by these employees was a raise in wages.

The board also supported and aided Chicano school boycotts in other nearby towns.

At the same time, the RUP also elected two of its members to the all-Chicano city council. The council is composed of five persons.

Through these two members, the RUP got resolutions from the council checking the comings and goings of the anti-Chicano Texas Rangers, an elite state police force.

The council also moved to establish a community committee to review complaints against the police, scrutinize police behavior, check out applicants, procedures and policies, and review the judge's records and trial procedures.

From the impact of these sweeping changes, Chicano workers at a DelMonte plant just outside the city limits began to move. First, the 250-odd workers repudiated the corrupt local chapter of the Teamsters, and formed Obreros Unidos Independientes (United Independent Workers). Then the city council initiated procedures to have the plant incorporated in the city's limits. The DelMonte plant was situated beyond these limits in the first place to operate without restraints. By bringing it in, the city council could obtain $13,000 a year in property taxes.

Since all of the agricultural land in the county is owned by whites with very little county tax paid, the RUP sees as its goal the achievement of political power on the county level. Then the power of taxation will fall into Chicano hands, where the resources of the land will be used for their benefit rather than against them.

On this account, independent Chicano political power in Crystal City is seen as *an organizing base* to enable Chicanos to take over the county and eventually the rest of South Texas. There are Raza Unida parties in other counties as well.

Unlike Gibson who accepts the status quo created by Prudential and Port Authority of New York through their political parties, the Democrats and Republicans, Raza Unida Party rejects this setup, using political office to continue the struggle in the streets for Chicano control of the Chicano community. If this independent Chicano political organization is needed to deal with community problems in a city of just over 10,000, then the need in Newark for independent Black political organization is magnified a thousand times.

Raza Unida officeholders speak out against the Indochina war and help build the Chicano Mobilization Committee, a Texas antiwar organization. The CMC chartered buses to take Chicanos to the giant April 24 antiwar march in Washington.

Gibson speaks of the urban crisis without relating it to the war in Vietnam and, even more important, without making the slightest effort to use the resources of his office to build the antiwar movement. He thinks by remaining "respectable" on the war question he will get President Nixon and other state officials to listen to his pleas for more federal and state funds.

Raza Unida officeholders aid and support the efforts of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), whose militants are the backbone of the RUP.

Gibons's only need for youth was during the cam-

paign. He evinces no interest in building Black student and youth organizations to fight for Black studies and other demands.

On one of the key fronts of the struggle for Black self-determination, Cairo, Illinois, Gibson has assumed a posture of disinterest and noninvolvement. And those convention forces that have first-hand knowledge of the Cairo situation, like Baraka, refrain from organizing a defense campaign. The Black community of Cairo has been mobilized for the last two years, locked in physical, political, and economic combat with state-organized white vigilantes. The ruling class in this country is organized on a national and even international scale. Blacks can never hope to win liberation only through local organizations but must act in solidarity with struggles of Black communities in other cities as well.

Nor has Gibson used the resources of his office to help organize the defense of Angela Davis, the Panthers, and other Black political prisoners.

All of these issues are part and parcel of the "urban crisis." The Black reformists attempt to compartmentalize, divide, and redefine the crisis, so as to make it more palatable to the tastes of their capitalist masters. This is a strategy of defeat.

## Reformism

With a declining tax base and bankruptcy staring the city in the face, Gibson scrambles around the country, with other mayors of crisis-ridden cities, trying to pressure states and the federal government into "reordering priorities." He is fond of saying of the predicament of the cities, "Wherever America's cities are going, Newark will get there first."

However, the politicians and political parties he appeals to are the very agents and agencies responsible for the decline and decay of the cities. If the Democratic- and Republican-controlled state legislature won't even allow Gibson to tax gasoline at Newark Airport, and Prudential won't get up off some funds, then the methods of approaching them have to change.

Estimates of the cost of rehabilitating Newark are put at around $3 billion. To make any headway in that effort, there must be a radical reorganization of the status quo.

What Gibson demonstrates is that Black reformism does not measure up to the task required. The failure in Newark is typical of the efforts to change the system from the top without the active participation of the Black community—the same case could be made for Gary, Indiana, and Cleveland, which also elected Black mayors on a reformist program. The Newark situation is the most dramatic because Gibson, unlike Hatcher and Stokes, is at least formally outside the straitjacket of the Democratic Party and because Newark community organizations were more directly involved in his campaign.

Reformism's response to the crisis of the cities is like trying to get a chicken to lay a duck egg (or in Gibson's case, a golden goose egg).

The Black and Puerto Rican convention should have been the starting point rather than the ending point of the participation by the masses in the political process. It should have been the beginning of the independent political organization of the Black and Puerto Rican communities around demands that could lead to immediate reforms and improvements in the life of these communities, but at the same time would organize the community to struggle for eventual control, for power.

Such efforts would entail the creation of community organizations or committees on issues like the Indochina war, housing, education, oppression of women, oppression of homosexuals, employment, drug addiction, medical care, community self-defense, pollution, etc. All of these committees would be part of an independent Black political party, an independent Puerto Rican political party. The activity of these committees would be guided by a program of demands geared toward giving the people a concrete understanding of not only the need for Black and Puerto Rican control of Newark, but how to go about attaining that control.

In this way, a Black political party would be active 365 days of the year, not just at election time. There were only five days in which the masses participated in the Gibson campaign: the convention of November 14-16, the May 12 primary, and the June 16 runoff.

With the power of a mass independent Black political organization, the problems of Newark can then be placed in a different framework. On this basis, the power of Prudential, the banks, and Port Authority can be dealt with. To argue about the problems any other way, in the absence of this mass political organization, is wishful thinking.

## NOTES

1. Frank John Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark, New Jersey,* Volume II (1913).
2. Cited in *Report for Action,* Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder, State of New Jersey (1968), p. 6.
3. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp.242-3.
4. Harold M. Baron, "The Demand for Black Labor: Historical Notes on the Political Economy of Racism," *Radical America* (March-April 1971), p. 33.
5. Nat London, "Newark Teachers Pact Proves a Mixed Bag," *The Militant* (March 20, 1970).
6. Echezonah Chiazor, "'People Are Greatest Resources,'" *The Sun Reporter* (San Francisco, February 20, 1971).

FEMALE EUNUCH/CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

homes doing petty chores often become petty-minded. But what social forces have made them this way? According to Greer, it is the fact that they are female eunuchs, plus a defect in self-love that lies at the bottom of this "impotence" of women to love one another.

A brotherhood of men seems more conceivable to Greer than a sisterhood of women. While men "nip down to the local," or collect coins, or find other pretexts to get together for fun, women do not rejoice in the company of other women. "Of the love of fellows [read: sisters] they know nothing. They cannot love each other in this easy, innocent, spontaneous way because they cannot love themselves." (p. 138) This passes beyond simple description to condemnation.

It is odd that this downgrading of women is stressed at the very point of the burgeoning of the women's liberation movement. Perhaps her visit to the United States will show Greer that multitudes of women are already coming forward and joining together in considerable excitement at their reunion after so many centuries of patriarchal dispersal and isolation—and this is only the beginning.

Sister Greer, however, is unconvinced that women can ever trust one another. "Those women who boast most fulsomely of their love for their own sex (apart from lesbians, who must invent their own ideal of love)," she says, form relationships with other women that are usually "disloyal, unreliable and tension-ridden, however close and longstanding they may be." (p. 138) Doesn't this echo the propaganda used by men for ages to keep women in their cages?

Although women get most of the heat, men are by no means exempted from Greer's criticisms. She does not hesitate to point out their defects and chastise them for their bad behavior. In her section on Hate, for example, she writes, "Women have very little idea of how much men hate them." (p. 245) One reason is that men have been conditioned to despise women who "give" themselves without insisting on marriage. "Any woman who goes to bed with a man for the first time knows that she runs the risk of being treated with contempt," she says. (p. 252) The situation is even worse with prostitutes who "must undergo the bestial rituals which civilized men find necessary for sexual release," and she adds: "The unfortunate girls found strangled with their own stockings and raped with bottles are the victims of male fetishism and loathing, and yet no woman has ever cried out after such an outrage on her sex, 'Why do you hate us so?' although hate it clearly is." (p. 253) Greer misses the main point. Women today have gone beyond merely voicing their outrage—we are creating a movement of liberation that all women are invited to join, not merely in talk but in actions.

Greer, however, is concerned with explaining why men are not to be totally faulted for their weaknesses and defects. For one thing, "Men do not themselves know the depth of their hatred. It is played upon by inflammatory articles in the magazines designed for morons with virility problems which sell for high prices in transport cafés." (pp. 247-248)

Then, again, the women themselves are to blame, she feels, since they are too stupid and awkward to arouse the respect and love of the young men. "Any Saturday afternoon in a provincial English town," she writes, "one may see groups of girls clad in the uniform of their accepted image standing about the streets feigning to ignore the groups of boys who express clear scorn for them. Their susceptibility combined with insipidity and dishonesty offers them no ground for genuine intercourse with their male contemporaries." (p. 78)

This disdain for the young women shows that Greer has not yet caught up with the feminist struggle and the respect we have for our own sex. Greer's reflexes are still conditioned by the old patriarchal, male supremacist ideology which taught women to respect men but not themselves.

Despite her displeasure with masses of women, Greer undertakes to improve matters between the sexes through an intellectual appeal to men, presumably from academic circles. Since they are members of the brainy sex, she does not give them instructions about their bodies as she does to the female sex; she aims to reach their logic and reason.

On this lofty level, Greer argues: "The castration of women has been carried out in terms of a masculine-feminine polarity in which men have commandeered all the energy and streamlined it into an aggressive conquistatorial power, reducing all heterosexual contact to a sadomasochistic pattern." (p. 6) Translated, this means that men who enjoy male supremacy in society have also carried their brutalities against women into the sexual realm—a proposition that Kate Millett has documented with great skill and honesty. If Greer agrees that men are sadistic toward women, how will an appeal to men's reason change the social causes that gave them their power in the first place?

Greer skirts around the socio-economic foundation of capitalist society that made women inferior to men; she ascends to the psychological stratosphere where she arrives at a misty, pacifistic conclusion. We learn from her that just as Eros and Thanatos (Love and Death) are hooked together but are at war with each other, so is the masculine-feminine polarity. Men are identified with aggression-war-death-sadism; women with peace-love-masochism. In her chapter on Womanpower she debates

this dubious schema in an involved polemic with Otto Weininger, the misogynist, whose work few psychologists take seriously. The net result of her argument can be summarized in the plea Greer addresses to all woman-hating men: give women a chance and they will soon demonstrate that they are fully capable of earning the genuine love and respect of men.

Greer goes on to amplify this entreaty because she is concerned not merely with love in the bedroom but also with peace and love in society at large. "We cannot survive in the environment of male sadism and female masochism, a universe of aggressors and victims," she writes (p. 85). Presumably, through a proper appeal to men's intellect, they will cease their punishment of women and perhaps even follow their lead on the path toward a brave new world of peace and love. "If women can supply no counterbalance to the blindness of male drive the aggressive society will run to its lunatic extremes at ever-escalating speed. Who will safeguard the despised animal faculties of compassion, empathy, innocence and sensuality?" (p. 108) In short, as certain pacifist antiwar slogans put it: "Make Love, Not War," and "Give Peace a Chance."

Greer winds up with the following exhortation: "Womanpower means the self-determination of women, and that means that all the baggage of paternalistic society will have to be thrown overboard. Woman must have room and scope to devise a morality which does not disqualify her from excellence, and a psychology which does not condemn her to the status of a spiritual cripple." (p. 108) Agreed. That still leaves open the question: how do we go about achieving this goal?

## Feminism and Marxism

There is nothing wrong with appealing to man's intellect any more than with giving instructions to women about their bodies, curves, sex, etc. For it sometimes happens that men are as ignorant about what goes on in their minds as women are about their bodily organs and processes. It might even be advantageous to turn it around; give men instructions about their bodies of which they are also in great need and appeal to the intellect of women. Either way, however, it must be borne in mind that such rationalistic, reformist methods are strictly limited in scope and function.

The notion that petitions, lectures, and intellectual confrontations will by themselves bring about the desired fundamental changes in social and sexual relations is a liberalistic or reformist doctrine. Marxists have a different method of thought and practice. We believe that basic social issues will only be decided through great social struggles, and that these require a revolutionary strategy and tactics if they are to be victorious. Consequently, to say as Greer does, that Marxists are "doctrinaire" is a version of the liberal's device for disregarding or denying this necessity. Liberals are no less "doctrinaire," except that they hold to a nonrevolutionary doctrine which seeks to amend rather than abolish the status quo.

The Marxist program for revolutionary struggle includes fighting for immediate, progressive reforms in every realm, including the realm of women's liberation. That is why we are in the forefront of the fight for such basic measures as the repeal of all laws against abortion; for the setting up of twenty-four-hour child-care centers under the control of those who use them; for equal education of women with no tracking; for equal jobs and pay for women. However women may differ in their political views, we think we can all mobilize as women around these demands, and thereby win greater control over our own bodies and lives.

Greer, however, is opposed to reforms. She counterposes individual defiance through an experimental life style to mass struggles of women in the social and political arenas. Women don't have to mobilize in actions. All they have to do is to defy a curious male figure she calls the Omnipotent Administrator. "The Ultra-feminine must refuse any longer to countenance the self-deception of the Omnipotent Administrator, not so much by assailing him as by freeing herself from the desire to fulfill his expectations." (p. 8)

Whoever this Omnipotent Administrator is, Greer's advice to women is: "The world will not change overnight, and liberation will not happen unless individual women agree to be outcasts, eccentrics, perverts, and whatever the powers-that-be choose to call them." (p. 325) In other words, be anything you wish on an individual basis; just don't mobilize on a mass basis for struggle in actions.

Her prejudice against actions can be seen most clearly in Greer's chapter on Work, where she shows that the discrimination, exploitation and oppression of working women in England is, if anything, worse than in the U. S. There is the same tracking of women in education and shortening of their schooling. Women's situation in the professions is also dismal. Nonetheless, she sees little or no value in women getting together to fight for their rights on any level, academic, trade-union, or legislative. In fact, on these questions she is not only negative but hints that the difficulties women suffer from are mostly their own fault.

In education, for example, she holds that the fully educated woman is the exception rather than the rule largely because of the problems of female puberty. "The odds against the average pubescent girl pursuing her education are long, however, because of the loss of enterprise and energy which accompanies female puberty," says Greer. Apparently boys do not suffer from this affliction in the vital realm of education.

Greer shows the relentless pressure put upon the young woman by her family which is usually more interested in seeing her safely married than in becoming a scholar. But Greer is herself highly ambiguous on whether or not women have the intellectual capacity for the same kind of higher education that is taken for granted in

***"The notion that. . .intellectual confrontations will by themselves bring about. . .fundamental changes in social and sexual relations is a liberalistic or reformist doctrine."***
***— EVELYN REED***

the case of men, and she seems to feel that there is some kind of innate conflict between femininity and education. "Girls are seldom brilliant," she says, thus they must work twice as hard to be merely recognized as being as good as a man. Even more disastrous, "If she feels that she must also retain her sexual identity by being feminine the conflict of desires can have radical effects."

Finally, Greer gives the clincher: "The prejudice that academic women are neurotic is justified in actual experience if not in theory." (pp. 128-129) What young woman would want to fight for a higher education against all the deterrent forces only to come out a desexed neurotic?

Betty Friedan documented this manipulation and brainwashing of young women far more effectively and with considerable passion in *The Feminine Mystique.* That book inspired women to rise against these insidious forces and is rightly held to mark the inception of the second wave of the feminist movement. Greer has nothing more to say on the subject than "if a girl feels that she can make it there is no reason why she shouldn't." (p. 128)

No less negative are Greer's observations of feminist struggles in the political and industrial fields. "The sad fact is that prejudice and discrimination cannot be legislated out of existence." In any case, women themselves are to blame, since they are afflicted with inertia and are "not interested" in the problems of their oppression and exploitation. In politics women are often more "antifeminist" than men, says Greer, and cites a UNESCO report by Maurice Duverger, written in 1955, fifteen years ago (p. 114).

Women are also held responsible for the lack of struggles in English industries. Because of the "claims of home," women fail to unionize themselves, says Greer, and those who are unionized are not active in their unions. But she disdains even those actions which have been taken or contemplated. On the question of setting up nurseries to relieve women of the claims of home and family, she is positively amused. "The intrusion of sex and children adds a tinge of frivolity to the arguments: in fact, an employer who faces problems of organizing his employees' children as well as themselves might well be inclined to discriminate more and more." (pp. 114-115) Let's pity the poor employer carrying the female burden!

As for a mass rally in England called for women's equal rights in 1969, which "attracted no more than a thousand," according to Greer all these militant women succeeded in doing was to make themselves very unattractive to men. "The activist women are forced in such an eventuality to make up for their rareness by an increase in raucousness invoking the mockery and sabotage of their own sex." (p. 115) Presumably American women will learn from the failures of their English sisters not to start any actions unless they are guaranteed in advance to be very large and attractive to men.

Professional women in both countries are also castigated. Of the teaching profession to which Greer belongs, she says, "In the higher educational establishments in which women are segregated there is a curious air of constipated revolt." But she does not furnish her female colleagues with any guidance on how to pass from constipation to movement. Rather, we learn that the real reason for their plight is that they are female eunuchs. "Most women teachers are not married and do not have any very significant intercourse with the opposite sex." The "extreme repressions" they practice on themselves are the indicator of their "impotence in this regard." (p. 292)

Greer regards herself as an exceptional case, proving that women can get ahead in life through their own individual talents, without organizing in fighting units which only make them raucous and unattractive to men. "I do receive equal pay," she informs us; "I was appointed in preference to male competition and nothing can prevent me from being promoted in the natural course of events. Guiltily I must also admit that I did not toil particularly hard to attain what academic distinction I have." (p. 127)

Greer offers other "success stories about women" to prove that some women can make it in a man's world without losing their femininity. Naturally, the examples she gives are not women known to be feminists or out in front fighting for women's liberation. They are "canny and creative women" primarily in the business world

who are helping men make lots of money and even making lots of money on their own.

Asha Radnoti, for example, "graduated with honors in Politics, Philosophy and Economics from Oxford," worked her way up the ladder to become a portfolio manager for a big Canadian investment firm "with day-to-day responsibility for the investment of more than four million pounds." Miss Ishbel Webster, after twelve years of aerosol depilator work, has now patented her own formula called "Spray Away." Marjorie Hurst "is a millionairess and joint chairman of Britain's biggest secretarial agency," which just about rules her out as an organizer of secretaries in the women's liberation movement. Fashion designer Mary Quant is so feminine, despite her financial success, that she "has had her pubic hair shaved into a heartshape by her adoring husband." Among the dozen or so American women successes who "have conquered male chauvinism" in the business world, are Jane Trahey, 1969 "Advertising Woman of the Year." (pp. 129-130) Greer's listing of these token successes is reminiscent of show-window Blacks in white supremacist capitalist America.

To Greer, the feminists fighting for women's liberation stack up poorly alongside the female careerists in the business world. She praises Betty Friedan as a woman of "considerable reputation and attainments," and acknowledges that her NOW movement which first organized feminist groups on a national scale, has achieved "recognition from the political establishment." However, she has a low opinion of these accomplishments.

It is true that Friedan works within the existing system. But at least she has the merit of helping to organize women against specific inequalities. And this recourse to action is worth more than mere verbal declamations in favor of revolution. The ultraradical Greer, however, sneers at the results of the actions taken by NOW and other organized groups in fighting against discrimination.

In her attitude toward theory, Greer is flagrantly contradictory. In one place she asserts there is no need for revolutionary theory to achieve liberty and communism. In another she looks to "inventing a new mythology" made up of borrowings from such eclectic sources as "mystics like Lao-Tse, scientists like Whitehead and Needham and Merleau-Ponty," and "brilliant speculation from Norman O. Brown, Herbert Marcuse, Borges." (p. 106)

She is no less vague as to what women should do specifically to promote their freedom. Insofar as an alternative to the Marxist program can be pieced together from her pages, she urges women to withdraw from the system and do their own thing. Greer's own thing is a private Utopian fantasy. She dreams of an extended family setup in a farmhouse in Calabria, Italy, where her hoped-for child (a male child) can be brought up with a few others also born without benefit of wedlock by their mothers, in a household served by a local peasant family (p. 232). This anarchistic, individualistic solution may be possible for a few comfortable professional women, but it is hardly a realistic solution for millions of poor and oppressed women.

## Matriarchy: Gut issue of anthropology

For half a century or more the question of the matriarchy, the ancient communistic society uncovered by the pioneer anthropologists, has been ignored, played down or concealed. Few students were encouraged to add to the findings made by Bachofen, Morgan, and others; instead, they were taught the official line that such a system had never existed. Now the women's liberation movement has rekindled interest in this subject among many women desirous of reconstructing our own history. Many have rediscovered Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,* the basic text that analyzed the findings of the early anthropologists in the light of historical materialism.

My book, *Problems of Women's Liberation: A Marxist Approach,* adheres to this viewpoint. It is a compilation of articles and speeches presented over the past sixteen years that defends and amplifies the matriarchal structure of preclass society. Such a study of the past can open doors for women today who are trying to fathom how and why we have been reduced to the "second sex."

Greer attacks my book, primarily because it combines Marxism with anthropology. "Unlike other theorists," who confine themselves to Marxism alone, she thinks I have been duped into falling for "Engels' dubious anthropology." (p. 296)

Her criticisms appear in the two last chapters of her book; one on the uselessness of Rebellion, and the other on the uselessness of Revolution. Greer scoffs at my "naïve attempt" to show that the struggle of women against oppression is part of the class struggle. "Her arguments are couched in typical Marxist doctrinaire terminology, buttressed by phony anthropology and poor scholarship," she says. It is bad enough that I pinpoint, in her phrase, the "deliberate sinister ploy of money-hungry capitalists" to exploit women. Even more ridiculous is my contention that such victimization of women did not exist in ancient society, the period of the matriarchy. It is a great "pity," she feels, that my book is "unusually well-distributed and may be influential . . . for much time will be wasted debating invalid conclusions." (p. 298)

By this Greer infers that the study of the main stages of social evolution is a waste of time and can shed no light on the changing status of women in history. "It is not necessary for feminists to prove that matriarchy is a prehistoric form of community or that patriarchy is a capitalist perversion in order to justify our policies, because the form of life we envisage might as well be completely new as inveterately ancient. We need not buy dubious anthropology to explain ourselves . . ." (pp. 327-328)

Prominent male reviewers, like Lehmann-Haupt in

the *New York Times* eagerly quoted from and endorsed Greer's position on this issue. Max Lerner, in his April 28 review in the *New York Post,* even offered up a prayer of thanks for her criticisms. "I am glad that Miss Greer is sensible on the currently fashionable topic of the return to the matriarchy . . . To which I say Amen."

The fact is, Marxists have not dealt with the prehistoric form of the community in order to advocate a return to that primitive condition of life and labor. Their purpose was to give a scientific exposition of how and why primitive collectivist society differed from class society culminating in capitalism, to shatter the myth that what we endure today is unchanging and everlasting.

The message in my publication is in line with these revolutionary implications. As women, we can learn from our ancestresses, the leaders in founding the first sisterhood and brotherhood of humanity. We can learn that we were not always the "second sex," that relations between women and men have been and can be quite different than they are today, and that we can aspire to and help create a superior social system in place of the present capitalist jungle.

Curiously enough, Greer makes no comments on the contents of my book nor does she give the essence of my position. She directs her attention exclusively to the illustration on the cover, a female figure from an Attic vase. She claims it is not "a goddess symbol of the matriarchy," as the caption says, but "a graceful Bacchante with thyrsus and dead wildcat. Evelyn Reed would have been horrified if she had realized that her work was decorated with the symbol of hippiedom and drug culture, flowing hair, snake diadem and all." (p. 297) The question at issue, then, is what does this figure signify and is it appropriate to the contents of my book?

The figure in question is a Menad (Maenad, Mainad), also called Nymph, defined as a lesser divinity, also called Priestess, also called Bacchante, worshipper of Dionysus and Bacchus. All the Greek goddesses, nymphs, and innumerable other females in groups, such as the Nurses, the Fates, the Charities, the Muses, etc., including the Menads, stem from the matriarchal era before the gods and goddesses were born. At that time they had only the simple designation of "The Mothers," which meant not simply the mothers of new life but the mother-governesses of social and cultural life. Reduced to their most basic symbol, the women in groups are often called "Mother Earth" or "Mother Goddess."

The insignia that the Menad in the illustration wears, from the snake diadem to the thyrsus in one hand as Mother of Vegetation or Agriculture, to the cat in the other as Mother of Wild Animals, hark back to her matriarchal origin. Her encirclement by the moon is another symbol of the matriarchy, for the earth goddess is also a moon goddess.

Thus the figure in question is not merely a graceful Bacchante holding a thyrsus and dead cat. Still less is she a symbol of the hippiedom and drug culture of our times. To a historical anthropologist she is representative of the matriarchy whether or not Greer thinks she should be admitted into the ranks of the goddesses.

More than this, the Menads are among the most interesting of the female figures in ancient Greek myth-history since they tell us something about that critical period—the transition from the matriarchy to the patriarchy. "The character of the Maenads was long a subject upon which the most mistaken ideas prevailed," says a summary article about them. "The accounts of them given by the poets, mythographers, and historians were all mingled together, and were, moreover, mixed up indiscriminately with the representations of the cult of Dionysus in art, while, again, these artistic products were not submitted to any process of critical analysis." (*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* Hastings; 1910, viii, p. 240)

The connection between the Menads and Dionysus provides a clue to their changing roles as women in a changing social system. For many millenia the mothers and their daughters, equipped with digging sticks, cultivated the ground until, with the rise of a new economy rooted in agriculture, men were liberated from their former occupation as hunters to become farmers and stock-raisers. It was in the course of these developments that a male culture-hero made his appearance in history and evolved into Dionysus. This god is most closely associated with the grapevine and thus also became known as Bacchus. The Menads were connected with the rites of the Dionysiac agricultural cult.

Although it may not be explicit in the large body of data available on the cult of Dionysus, in my view this signifies that women were passing through a drastic social change. They were no longer looking to one another for joint leadership and guidance in the activities of a communal society. They were now performing rites for a solitary male who arose as a matriarchal culture-hero but was becoming a patriarchal god.

This is one of the signals that the patriarchy has overtaken and will soon crush the matriarchy. In the final stage of their metamorphoses, the Menads will become the "Bacchae" or Bacchantes, the "worshippers" of the god, their lord Bacchus. Here in refracted form we can see the downfall of the women. Originally free, proud and independent, women have ever since been down on their knees before their male lords on earth as in the heavens.

As transitional figures in the period of the death agony of the matriarchy and the rise of the patriarchy, the illustration is entirely appropriate on the cover of my book. For the Menads are also called "the frenzied ones" or "the raging ones." They forecast that in this period of the death agony of patriarchal class society, new "raging ones" will arise to participate in the revolutionary events ahead. Women, getting up off their

knees will help settle accounts with a rotten, racist, sexist capitalist social order whose time is up.

In her introduction Greer says, "Hopefully this book is subversive." She hopes it will "draw fire from all the articulate sections of the community." She even says if it is "not ridiculed or reviled it will have failed of its intention." (pp. 11-12) An appeal of this intensity cannot be ignored.

Greer's book will not be — and has not been — regarded as subversive by the powers-that-be merely because of her "denial of the Holy Family," her "denigration of sacred motherhood," or her "inference that women are not by nature monogamous." (p. 11) The capitalist rulers can easily assimilate and even sensationalize such criticisms these days when they involve no more than individualistic expressions of defiance.

From the standpoint of the feminist movement, however, Greer's query is relevant. Adding up all the castigating and scornful remarks scattered throughout the book, she seems to be as much against the feminist struggle as for it. Consider the following items which are illustrative:

Item: "The concept of liberty implied by such liberation [as organized actions] is vacuous; at worst it is defined by the condition of men, themselves unfree, and at best it is left undefined in a world of very limited possibilities." P. 4. (Moral: If even men can't all live like humans, women must stay where they belong at the end of the line.)

Item: "Insofar as such movements *demand* of men, or *force* men, to grant their liberty, they perpetuate the estrangement of the sexes and their own dependency." P. 8. (Moral: Do you want to turn men off for the sake of liberty — or will you settle for love?)

Item: "It is a kind of female rebellion to eschew cosmetics and the business of attraction. . . . Such unremarkable and unconscious forms of rebellion against the feminine role are old and ineffectual." Pp. 292-293. (Moral: Feminine attractiveness to men isn't all that bad; look at Greer's awful example, the Englishwoman "who was famous for farting and belching at table.")

Item: "It is dangerous to eschew sex as a revolutionary tactic because it is inauthentic and enslaving in the terms in which it is now possible, when sex is the principal confrontation in which new values can be worked out." P. 295. (Moral: Never mind what Greer said previously in her book, where she castigates women who use "pussy-power" to "manipulate their menfolk" — use it.)

Item: "The chief means of liberating women is replacing of compulsiveness and compulsion by the pleasure principle . . . It is possible to use even cooking, clothes, cosmetics and housekeeping for *fun*." P. 324. (Moral: The feminine role isn't all that wrong; take the "anxiety quotient" out and replace it with a little "spontaneity" and it's fun.)

Item: "That women should seek a revolution in their circumstances by training themselves as a fighting force is the most obvious case of confusing reaction or rebellion with revolution." P. 313. ("The process to be followed is the opposite; women must humanize the penis, take the steel out of it and make it flesh again." P. 315.)

Item: "Men are tired of having all the responsibility for sex; it is time they were relieved of it. And I do not mean that large-scale lesbianism should be adopted, but simply that the emphasis should be taken off male genitality and replaced upon human sexuality." Pp. 315-316. (Moral: Take the heat off the Misters — and load it on the sisters.)

Greer's capacity for double-talk can perhaps best be seen in the last paragraph of her book. On the one hand, she tells women that in pursuing their freedom they will also free men. On the other hand, she advises sympathetic men not to support the freedom struggle of the women because it is only a middle-class movement. She writes:

"The first significant discovery we shall make as we racket along our female road to freedom is that men are not free, and they will seek to make this an argument why nobody should be free. We can only reply that slaves enslave their masters, and by securing our own manumission we may show men the way that they could follow when they jumped off their own treadmill."

The next sentence is presumably addressed to the men: "Privileged women will pluck at your sleeves and seek to enlist you in the 'fight' for reforms, but reforms are retrogressive. The old process must be broken, not made new. Bitter women will call you to rebellion, but you have too much to do. What *will* you do?" (pp. 328-329, end of book)

One of the most striking achievements of the new feminist struggle is that women are viewing — and reviewing — their social, political and sexual problems through the eyes of an awakened female sex. But Greer's outlook remains infected with the sick femininity imposed upon us by patriarchal society; she keeps one eye cocked upon what men will say, think or do about our struggle.

This is hardly a posture that can be called subversive. But more importantly, if as Greer says, mass revolutionary struggle is unnecessary and even reforms are "retrogressive," her book is demonstrably not subversive of patriarchal capitalism or of the dominant position occupied by men in it.

What kind of service, then, does Greer's book perform for the women's liberation movement? It contains a number of sprightly expressed truisms about the conditions of life for women today with which most of us will agree. But insofar as she presents no proposals for changing these conditions through common struggle, the feminist cause cannot be benefited by a writer who is a "female eunuch" in revolutionary theory and practice.

# 'LABOR RADICAL' A dishonest history of the CIO

BY MILTON ALVIN

*LABOR RADICAL: From the Wobblies to the CIO: A Personal History by Len De Caux. Beacon Press, Boston, 1970. $15.00.*

The author of this autobiography was editor of *CIO News,* the official organ of the Congress of Industrial Organization from 1937 to 1947, the ten-year period of its most rapid growth. He had started working for the CIO in 1935 when he accepted a job handling publicity for the newly formed organization. De Caux's work during these twelve years form the heart of the autobiography and the part with which this reviewer wants most to deal.

Len De Caux was not a neophyte who stumbled into the CIO by accident. Raised in England by middle-class parents, he began his education at Harrow and continued at Oxford. However, before completing his studies he was influenced by working-class and socialist ideas and decided to throw in his lot with the workers.

He migrated to the United States in 1921 and during the 1920s and early 1930s became a sophisticated, experienced and educated radical. He visited western Europe and the Soviet Union, worked at many kinds of jobs in America, and as an activist in the labor movement observed all its political tendencies.

At the same time that De Caux was beginning his career with the CIO, the Communist Party was completing its turn from ultraleft sectarianism to Peoples Frontism, a switch originating from Moscow where the leadership of the Third International resided. In its practical results in the United States union movement it meant the CP liquidated its small sectarian unions organized outside the AFL, such as the Trade Union Unity League, which never amounted to much anyway, and its forces reentered the other existing organizations of workers. It stopped calling Roosevelt a "fascist" and Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas a "social-fascist." It began an aggressive campaign to support and get into the Democratic Party which it saw as the American expression of the Peoples Front. In short, from calling for a Soviet America on every conceivable occasion, and demanding a revolution almost every day, as it had been doing since 1929, the CP in 1935 started its prolonged practice of class collaboration, undisguised, unabashed, and completely un-Marxist.

De Caux, close as he was to the Communist Party, seems not to have noticed this development although in many instances it turned radical circles as well as union organizations upside down.

On every occasion that the author writes about unions in which CPers were the dominant leaders, we are told that they were the most militant, the most democratic, and the best organized in the CIO. These praises are sung intermittently throughout the book for the twelve-year period 1935-1947.

De Caux's statement that, "The 'Communists', the left, did most to push rank-and-file democracy . . ." in the CIO is pure bunkum. Those who were in or anywhere near such unions as the Fur Workers, United Electrical Workers, National Maritime Union, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and others, know better. The thoroughly Stalinized U.S. Communist Party, which has always been one of the

**MILTON ALVIN** has been an active socialist since 1935. In the early 1940s he worked as a CIO organizer in the steel industry. He is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

most subservient to Moscow in the whole world, converted every union it could into a bureaucratic prison in which an independent militant made a criticism only at his or her peril. No one with any knowledge of the unions led by CPers would recognize them from the descriptions given by De Caux. The Stalinists did such a job of bureaucratizing these unions that even old-line dictators, such as Tobin and Hutcheson, who remained in the AFL, were green with envy.

At the same time the author does not hesitate to single out and play up the names of prominent CP union leaders who are praised by him for their activities. For example, in the 1937 General Motors strike the sit-down occupation of the factories in Flint, Michigan, was the decisive stroke that not only led to victory but firmly established both the auto union and the CIO. De Caux mentions the names of certain CPers who were active in this strike as well as the names of such figures as John L. Lewis and some of his associates.

But he finds no room to state the name of the chairman of the strike strategy committee, elected by 200 United Auto Worker delegates who gathered to authorize the strike and actually led it. That man was Kermit Johnson, who later became a Trotskyist. De Caux has no room for the name of the woman who led the Women's Emergency Brigade that fought so heroically and whose intervention was critical to the success of the strike. She was Genora Johnson (now Dollinger) who also became a Trotskyist. For a truthful account of these and other events concerning the CIO, one must go to *Labor's Giant Step,* by Art Preis, a twenty-year record of the CIO, and the only complete history of that organization.*

Communist Party tactics in the CIO were determined not by the interests of the workers but in accordance with dictates from the Kremlin. Thus, when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed in 1939, signaling the opening of the second world war, the American CP raised the slogan "The Yanks are not coming." The unions in which they had influence adapted, insofar as they could, to this policy with all the necessary refinements. These included condemnation of British and French imperialism and soft-pedaling of Hitler's crimes.

When the Murray leadership of the CIO took advantage of the unpopular position of the Stalinists and pressed an anti-Communist resolution at a CIO convention, the CPers themselves voted for it in order to avoid a fight with the bureaucracy. Of course, the sophisticated elements in the unions, many of whom had no use for the CP in the first place, held them in contempt for not fighting for their own principles, to say nothing of their honor. In this way the Communist Party gradually and step by step destroyed its moral authority even among its own members and sympathizers.

De Caux whitewashes the role the Stalinists played during the period when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was in effect as follows: "In the anticommunist year of 1940—almost as isolated and exposed as in the later Cold War years—CIO's lefts had much to lose from an open right-left fight in national CIO. In this instance, they acted as practical union politicians to preserve their influence in the CIO and to protect the interests of their unions, as they saw them."

If the "lefts," as the author calls them, had really worked out a policy to "protect the interests of their unions" they would have met the red-baiting attacks head-on instead of voting for right-wing resolutions to deny democratic rights to the CP or *any* faction or tendency in the unions.

It is only by twisting logic out of all proportions and violently disconnecting it from all reason that one can come to the conclusion that fighting red-baiting can best be done by joining with the red-baiters.

De Caux describes himself largely as a Lewis man in the CIO and after Lewis' departure a Murray man. At the same time he also describes himself as a leftist. De Caux tells how the FBI dogged his steps after he was separated from the CIO and how congressional committees called him to testify. It is to his credit that he did not turn informer as others did in the Cold War-McCarthy period of the 1950s, despite the fact that it was often difficult for him to hold jobs after Murray fired him as editor of the *CIO News.*

While never a member of the CP, by his account, De Caux's autobiography nevertheless heartily approves of what the Communist Party did and said during the years in review.

De Caux describes his relationship with the CP in 1932 when he visited the party's national office in New York. He writes, "Clarence Hathaway, with whom I met, had a soothing voice and manner . . . I felt more confidence in him than in a Lovestone. He indicated that a member-at-large need not suffer too much tanning from overexposure."

Communist Party policy changed abruptly in the summer of 1941 when the Nazi armies invaded the Soviet Union. To the slogan "The Yanks are not coming" the words "too late" were added. Thereupon the CP and, of course, its representatives in the unions, began an unrestrained jingoistic binge that was completely unprecedented in the American labor movement. The CPers demanded that everything now be subordinated to the winning of the war. The fact that United States participation in the hostilities was motivated not by antifascism but by solid imperialist interests did not deter the Communist Party.

Although De Caux is rather silent about these events, the new prowar policies of the Stalinists created a big stir in union circles. Even the most patriotic union leaders in both CIO and AFL were left far behind by the unbridled jingoism of the CP.

While the former campaigned in favor of the no-strike pledge which was given to Roosevelt by almost

*The book Labor's Giant Step by Art Preis may be obtained from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

all the top union leaders except John L. Lewis, without consulting the ranks, Communist Party representatives went even beyond that. Browder, the nominal leader of the party, who had been imprisoned on a passport violation during the previous period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, was now released and quickly moved to head the CP chorus, even going so far as offering to shake hands with banker J. P. Morgan. Harry Bridges, leader of the International Longshoremen, and other recognized supporters of CP policies, proposed that the no-strike pledge be made permanent after the war. Even the conservative leadership of the AFL had never dared to go that far.

Communist Party spokesmen were the loudest supporters of Roosevelt's labor policies including the wage freeze, which the workers opposed. They also demanded increased production through installing piecework systems in the factories. Most workers were also against this. These positions taken by CPers in the unions made them unpopular and exacted a heavy price in later years.

When the miners conducted a series of strikes right in the middle of the war, strikes that were solidly supported by the rank and file, the CP did everything it could to bring about their defeat. Communist Party unionists were given special rations of gasoline by the Roosevelt administration so they could tour the mining towns and talk against the strikes. The miners paid them no heed and won important victories that eventually benefited all workers in the U. S. De Caux does not deal either with these great class battles or the efforts to crush the miners.

In 1942, when Black people began to move toward action to get a better break in job opportunities, supporting the mass March on Washington Movement led by A. Philip Randolph, head of the AFL Sleeping Car Porters Union, the CP did all it could to dissuade them and urged them to concentrate on winning the war. This policy lost the CP almost all the sympathy and support it had in the Black community. De Caux also fails to tell anything about this very important development. The loss of standing by the CP among Blacks effectively terminated the influential position it had gained during the 1930s. The CP has not, to this day, regained its lost authority among Black workers.

One of the prominent CPers whose name De Caux mentions with hosannas to his brainiess and democratic policies in his union is Julius Emspak, a leader of the United Electrical Workers. This individual, well known as a Stalinist hack, was a loud voice in the top CIO leadership demanding no support of the leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters and Socialist Workers Party who were the first frame-up victims of the notorious Smith Act. His efforts were in vain.

Emspak, of course, was merely following the well-advertised Communist Party policy which demanded that the Minneapolis defendants be tried as fascist agents and be sent to jail forthwith. The CP made a bloc on this issue with Roosevelt and Daniel Tobin, the then-head of the Teamsters Union and Roosevelt-appointed head of the Democrat's Labor Committee, who was gunning, literally, for the Minneapolis leaders of his own union. This terrible violation of the most elementary working-class principle of solidarity in face of the class enemy and its agents like Tobin came back to haunt the Communist Party and its leaders during the Cold War and witch-hunt days when they were put into the dock as victims of the very same Smith Act whose application they had supported against the Trotskyists.

By the time the Stalinists were faced with persecution, their standing among the workers, the unions and the radicals had declined to such a low point, they were so hated for their many crimes of years gone by, that hardly a voice in labor circles was raised in their defense. In contrast, the Trotskyists won the support of unions numbering over five million members in their defense campaign around the Minneapolis trials on the eve of U. S. entry into the second world war. Unfortunately, De Caux does not find it necessary to write on these matters, but the fate of the Communist Party in this country was settled for years largely by just such things.

When the going got rough for the CP in the unions and the Cold War winds were blowing throughout the whole labor movement, the right-wing CIO leaders headed by Murray moved in for the kill. Many unionists, including those who had never deviated by a hair from the CP line in the past, now began to weigh their cushy posts against their loyalty to the CP. In some cases, the scales were tipped and very decidedly indeed in favor of the posts.

Prominent among these careerists were Joe Curran, head of the CIO National Maritime Union, and Mike Quill, head of the CIO Transport Workers. They broke with the CP and made their peace with the right-wing leaders. In the course of so doing they purged their unions of CP and other oppositionists by conducting the worst kind of red-baiting campaigns. De Caux treads too lightly over this stony path and fails to explain how it came about.

The Stalinist leaders who found it so easy to switch from the CP to the right wing of the union movement had gone through a long course of training in betrayals of the interests of the workers. They had learned how to red-bait their opponents in the unions. The Communist Party school had trained them in how to bureaucratize unions and how to clamp down on critics. They used all this and a few other choice means to lock their organizations into a vise from which they have not been freed to this day.

This entire book is a dishonest snow job calculated to whitewash the Communist Party, distort the history of the CIO and the part played by the various elements within it in its better days and to pull the wool over the eyes of the present generation of radical youth who want to know about the past, especially the role that the workers in industry played in the 1930s and 1940s.

# our revolutionary heritage

Larissa Reisner.

# Larissa Reisner, Soldier of the Revolution

**BY KARL RADEK**

## INTRODUCTION

Larissa Reisner was twenty-two in October 1917. She became a well-known figure in the Russian Revolution, both as a writer and as a participant on various fronts in the civil war that followed the founding of the Soviet Republic. It was only with the battle of Svyazhsk and the combat against the Whites in Kazan in 1918 that the Red Army began to take shape and turn into a force that was to defeat the counterrevolution. Larissa Reisner took part in those engagements. She also sailed on the gunboats of the Volga fleet and served as a spy behind the lines in Kazan, where she was captured, escaping during an interval in her interrogation by a Japanese intelligence officer.

Her book **The Front**, a collection of stories about the civil war, was highly regarded for both its literary and journalistic merits. Various districts of the Communist Party—Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals, etc.—vied with each other in bringing out scores of editions.

The tribute reprinted here was written by Karl Radek shortly after Larissa Reisner's death from typhus in 1926. It later was used as an introduction to a compilation of her work, **Oktober: Ausgewaehlte Schriften** (October: Selected Works) which was brought out in Germany by the official Comintern publishing house in 1930.

All too often we find out about the lives of revolutionists from writers who are hostile to revolution, or do not have a full appreciation of the cause to which revolutionary socialists dedicate their talents and energies.

For that reason this piece by Karl Radek is a welcome change. Radek worked with Larissa Reisner and was himself one of the leading figures in the Russian Revolution.

Before coming to Russia shortly after the October Revolution he had been

active in the Polish Social Democratic Party and the left wing of German socialism. For nearly a quarter of a century he fought for socialism and was one of the outstanding Marxist journalists.

* * *

The crushing of struggles such as that in Germany in 1923, and later China in 1926-27, isolated the Soviet Union, and the new workers government had to fall back on its own limited resources and heritage of backwardness.

Under these adverse conditions a conservatized, privileged social strata took form in the party and government, finally consolidating its power in the Stalinist bureaucracy. In the process the party of Lenin and Trotsky was destroyed.

There was resistance to these developments. Radek was one of the leaders of the Left Opposition, founded by Trotsky, which opposed the growth of Stalinism and defended revolutionary internationalism. But under the pressure of continued ebb in the mass movement Radek finally capitulated to Stalin in 1929, only to be framed up in the Moscow purge trials of 1937. He disappeared somewhere around 1939 in a prison camp.

It is noteworthy that in this article, written in 1926 or 1927, Radek avoids mentioning the Left Opposition or stating Larissa Reisner's views on the rise of Stalin. We have taken the text from Radek's book, **Portraits and Pamphlets**, published in English in 1935 during the author's last decade in which he played the ignominious role of a professional apologist for Stalin. The other selections that make up this work were carefully culled from Radek's prolific output to exclude any direct or implied criticism of the bureaucracy.

There is ample evidence that the Stalinists regarded Larissa Reisner's books as subversive. After the purge trials began in 1936 her works were banned because her truthful account of the leaders and events of the October Revolution stood as a refutation of the falsified history written to order by the Stalinist epigones.

Despite the cloudiness surrounding Larissa Reisner's politics in her final years, Radek's portrait has succeeded in capturing for the youth of today the courage and determination of this fighter in the first decisive victory over capitalism.

**EDITORS**

We are drawing nigh the tenth anniversary of that moment when in the dark night of mankind over the trenches in brilliant splendour rose the red star of the Soviets. Out of the fire of guns, out of the blood of the slain, out of the sweat of munition workers, out of the sufferings of the millions asking themselves what purpose those sufferings could serve—was born the October Revolution. The roar of guns and yelps of the capitalist and Social-Democratic Press tried to drown it; but it stood firm and unshakable, stood and all mankind cast timid glances on it; some with benedictions and hope, others with foul language and curses. It became a boundary between two worlds—a world perishing in filth, and a new world in travail. It became a touchstone of the spirit. All that was 'spiritual' in the bourgeois world, not only its priests and its scholars, not only its writers and its artists, but all the 'intellectuals' of the labour movement (that is to say, the great majority of the bourgeois intelligentsia)—all those graciously deigning to 'save' the proletariat—all were terrified by the form of the proletarian revolution. Men like Kautsky, Plekhanov and Guesde who had spent a lifetime calling men and women to revolution, now turned the other way.

Part of the western-European intelligentsia that did show some sympathy for the October Revolution saw in it no more than the end of the war—a revolt against war. They were rare ones who foresaw the beginning of a new world, and most of them were in a state of jitters. Only an insignificant part of the intelligentsia joined the Bolsheviks in Russia. Russian intellectuals, even those who had been close to the proletariat, were unable to conceive of this backward country breaking the front of world capitalism.

Among those few who joined the struggling proletariat not merely with determination, but also with a profound understanding of the world significance of what was happening and with undaunted faith in victory, with a cry of rapture, was Larissa Reisner. She was only two and twenty when the death hour of bourgeois Russia struck, but it was not given her to see the tenth anniversary of the revolution in the ranks of which she had served so courageously, whose struggles she portrayed as they could only be portrayed by one in whom the soul of a great poet was one with the soul of a great fighter.

A few articles and small books are all Larissa Reisner has left. Her one theme is the October Revolution. But so long as people struggle and think and feel—so long as they want to know 'how it all happened,' they will read those books and, once they begin them, will not lay them down until they have reached the last page, because they breathe the revolution.

It is not yet the time to write this outstanding woman's biography. Her biography should include not only breathless pages of the political history of the October Revolution, but should also dip deep into the history of the spiritual life of pre-revolutionary Russia, into the story of the birth of New Man. My intention here is merely to jot down a few thoughts, an outline sketch, some notes which may serve as guide to such a work.

Larissa Reisner was born on May 1st, 1895, in Lublin (Poland) where her father was one of the staff of the Pulawa Agricultural College. The Baltic-German blood of her father in her made a happy mixture with the Polish blood of her mother. She inherited both the old German culture of generations of disciplined ju-

rists and the passionate fieriness of Poland.

She was educated in Germany and France, to which countries her father first went for scientific studies and where he remained as a political refugee. At home she saw a hard spiritual struggle, as her father changed from a conservative jurist and monarchist into a republican and socialist. The atmosphere in which Larissa grew up underwent fundamental changes. German democrats — Bratt and Treger — and the Social-Democrats took the place of Russian professors.

The young girl's lively intelligent eyes were very observant. She saw both Bebel, and cheerful Karl Liebknecht, with whom Professor Reisner, chief expert in the Koenigsberg trial, often had meetings. All her life Larissa remembered her visits to 'Auntie Liebknecht.' As if it were but yesterday she would tell of the steaming coffee-pot brought onto the table during these visits, and the shortbread to which her 'auntie' treated her. These memories were soil in which grew later her warm attachment to Germany. Children of the workers of Zehlendorf with whom she went to school, Theresa Benz, the working-class woman who helped her mother in the house — all lived in Larissa's memory, so that when in 1923 she was living illegally in a worker's family in Berlin she felt quite at home. Both the maid who had once scolded her, and was now old and the maid's granddaughter, with whom Larissa went walking in the Tiergarten, saw in her someone near to them, not an intellectual superior foreigner.

The Russian revolution whose waves reverberated across the German border found an echo in the little girl. Her father and mother kept up friendly connections with the Russian revolutionist refugees. Of course the little lass did not know that the letters Lenin wrote to her father were one day to be her pride. Comrades who appeared and disappeared mysteriously were, naturally, more exciting to her imagination. Then the revolutions of 1905-1906 broke out and her father was able to return to Russia. So Larissa found herself in St Petersburg. Up till then her way had led straight to the revolution. Now it turned aside, and the remarkable thing is that she was not entirely led astray from the true road, the road of her whole life. Her father, a lecturer in public law, but a Marxist, came into conflict with the liberal professorate of St Petersburg University. The great world of science is after all only a very tiny worldlet of scientists. And there was no filth, no meanness, no villainy, which these great scientists would stop short of using in their struggle with an enemy. They were suspicious of the socialist — and what was the worst suspicion they could have of a socialist? Why, that he was in secret contact with the reactionary movement. Actuated in part by personal motives, that old gossip Burtsev spread these rumours. For years Professor Reisner fought for his political honour against the 'one-eyed monster' of Peer Gynt, against slanders, lies, rumours, against suspicions against which no legal proceedings were possible. He dropped out of political life. The house became filled with need and worry, and at last Reisner was hopelessly soured and disillusioned. The little girl, being bound to her parents by close bonds of love, knew quite well why the parental home came to be more and more deserted, why her father's voice was less and less often to be heard, why he paced restlessly up and down for hours. Memories of this left a deep mark in her heart, and though they erected a wall between her and the revolutionary circles they could not distract her from the problems of socialism. While still in the secondary school, which was a real torture for the talented and lively girl, she wrote a play, 'Atlantis,' which was published in 1913 by Shipovnik. This drama, though not well developed in form, already showed the direction of her thoughts. She depicts a man whose aim is to save society from ruin at the cost of his own life. A true child's work! No individual, whatever he may do, can save the world from destruction. But the girl who wrote it certainly spent long nights sitting up in bed thinking about humanity and its sufferings. The material for this first work of Larissa's had come from Pelman's *History of Communism and Socialism in the Ancient World.* What makes it still more interesting is that at this time Larissa was under the direct influence of Leonid Andreev. This considerable individualist writer was not only her teacher in literature; he also influenced her spiritual development. Yet he did not succeed in diverting her from the path she had chosen. Neither he, nor the 'acmeist' group of poets — such as Goumilyov, who influenced her in her form — were able to do that.

When in 1914 all these poets became defenders of the imperialist war, she, like her father, without a moment's hesitation, put up a determined defence of international socialism. They pawned their last belongings to get means to publish a magazine *Rudin,* to start a struggle with the betrayers of international solidarity. Only the political isolation of the Reisner family, which was of course well known to the political police, explains how such a magazine was allowed to make an appearance at all. Otherwise the merciless cartoons against Plekhanov, Burtsev and Struve would have been enough to have it stopped. The struggle with the censorship and with financial difficulties was carried on by the nineteen-year-old Larissa. It was she who carried on the battle of wits, by means of sharp biting verse and cutting sarcastic notes. But the struggle had to come to an end. Like any war it required money, and that they had not. When there was nothing more to be pawned the journal ceased to exist. Larissa began to work on the *Letopis* (Chronicle) — the only internationalist journal then legally existing in Russia.

From the very outset of the February revolution Larissa started work in workers' clubs. Besides this she wrote for Gorki's paper *Novaya Zhizn* ('New Life') which, though it could not make up its mind to come out wholeheartedly for Soviet power,

did at least carry on a struggle against any coalition with the bourgeoisie. Larissa's pamphlet against Kerensky shows that with her refined artistic sense she understood at once the falseness and inner emptiness of the Kerensky Government. The little sketches and essays, in which she describes the life of workers' clubs and theatres in the days preceding October, are very interesting. What is striking in these essays is the deep understanding of the masses' natural urge towards creative work. In the first clumsy attempts of workers and soldiers to put their own picture of life on the stage, which to superior intellectuals was a subject for contemptuous sneers, Larissa could see a manifestation of the creative powers of the new class, of new social strata, which did not merely want to perceive reality but also to represent it and hand it on. Her deeply creative nature sensed the creative impulse of the revolution and she followed at its call.

In the first months after the October revolution she worked at the reception and cataloguing of art treasures brought in to the museums. With her excellent knowledge of the history of the arts, she helped to safeguard for the proletariat much of the cultural material left by the bourgeoisie. Soon, however, the first battles with counter-revolution began. Now the first need was to fight for very life, for the revolution's right to existence, so that the foundations for its distant triumph might be laid. Larissa, who now joined the Party, left for the Czechoslovakian front. She could not be satisfied with being only an onlooker in the struggle between the old and the new worlds. She worked in Sviyazhsk where in the struggle with the Czechs the Red Army was being hardened. She was in the Volga fleet struggle. But she does not mention this in her book *The Front.* She tells there only of the fight of the Red Armies and modestly leaves unsaid the part she played in them. So we must let another who took part in these struggles, A. Kremlev, Larissa's comrade, tell about her. In the *Red Star,* organ of the Revolutionary Military Council, he wrote on the occasion of her death:

'It was near Kazan. The whites were sweeping ahead. We had just learned that in our rear, at Tiourlyama — the whites had broken through, massacred our guards, and exploded eighteen trucks of shells. Our unit was cut in two. The staff was with us, but what had become of those who were cut off?

'The enemy was moving towards the Volga not only in the rear now of the army, but the fleet too.

'Order: to break through, reconnoitre and get in touch with those who were cut off.

'Larissa went, took with her a lad named Vaniushka Rivakov and a third, I don't remember exactly who.

'Night, freezing cold, alone, not knowing what lay ahead. But Larissa stepped out confidently, oh how surely, down the unknown road!

'Near the village of Kurochkino they were spotted. Fired on, all round. Could scarcely creep along. Cover! But yet she joked . . . her inward agitation only made her voice more velvety.

'They slipped out of the line of fire — they were through.

'"Tired, brother? And you, Vania? . . ."

'By her solicitude she seemed to tower high above the others.

'They could have kissed that wonderful woman's road-soiled hands.

'She moved fast, with long strides, they had to half run to keep up with her. . . .

'And in the morning they were in the camp of the whites. The remains of camp-fires, corpses — Tiourlyama. From here, almost dropping with fatigue, they made for Shikhrani where the Red Lithuanian regiment stood.

'The front was reunited. And this woman with her frail smile was the link which bound it.

'"Comrades, look after these lads. . . . Me? No, I am not tired."

'. . . . And then: reconnaissances around Upper Ouslon and the two Sorkvashes, up to Pyani Bor. Eighty-verst [one verst equals about two-thirds of a mile] journeys on horseback without showing fatigue.

'There was but little pleasure these days, though there was often a smile on Larissa's lips during those heavy marches.

'Then came Enzeli, Baku, and Moscow!'

This is the account given by a sailor who was in one of the landing parties.

It is not Larissa Reisner who has died but a woman from the barricades.

The sailors in the field came to love her, warmly, as one of themselves, because her courage was combined with simplicity and humanity. There was no falsity in the attitude of the masses towards her. It did not enter anyone's mind on the front that she was not only their companion in arms, but also the wife of the Commander of the fleet. She had married Raskolnikov in 1918. And in just the same way, when she was Commissar attached to the Naval Staff in Moscow in 1919, she was able to establish really friendly relations with the office specialists who had come over to our side — Admirals Altyater and Behrens. Her culture, delicacy, tact, kept these former admirals of the tsarist fleet from feeling too keenly that they were under the control of an outsider.

In 1920 she left for Afghanistan, where her husband had been appointed as plenipotentiary. She spent two years at the court of the Eastern despot, playing the part required of her in the colourful diplomatic festivals, carrying on the diplomatic game in a struggle to influence the Amir's wives. A 'brilliant' and dirty job, and it would not have been surprising if it had ruined this young woman, now so far away from the struggling proletariat and torn her away from the Revolution. But Larissa Reisner was reading serious Marxian literature. She studied British imperialism, the history of the East, the history of the struggle for liberation in neighbouring India. There in the mountains of Afghanistan she felt herself a part of the world revolution and prepared for a new struggle. Her

book *Afghanistan* shows the widening of her horizon, how from being a Russian revolutionist she became a fighter in the international proletarian army.

In 1923 she returned to Soviet Russia. The land of workers and peasants had now an entirely different appearance from when she left it. The Spartan days of military communism, which seemed to have made a direct leap from capitalism to socialism, had given place to the New Economic Policy. Larissa understood, as we all did, the necessity for this step. It was essential to give scope to the economic initiative of the peasantry, not merely in order to get raw material for industry, but simply in order not to die of hunger. Larissa understood it by reason. But she wondered whether it was possible by that road to arrive at socialism. The answers given her by the Party and by her own mind could not quiet her uneasiness. She undersood that no continuance of the regime of war communism was possible. But in the depth of her heart she regretted the impossibility of an immediate heroic breakthrough, arms in hand, to the new social order. Yes, she was ready to admit the streets of our cities were alive again. Trucks were laden with goods, shops were opened, factory whistles sounded again, but perhaps it was not only we who were growing stronger, but also our bourgeoisie. Should we be able to manage them? Would not corruption penetrate even our ranks? If forced to participate in commerce, would not our economic leaders be infected by the poison of capitalist morals? Would not the rot reach even the body of the party? All through the summer of 1923 Larissa was in a state of anxiety looking about her with inner apprehension.

In September she came to me with a request to help her to go to Germany. This was after the mass strikes against the Cuno Government in which the proletarian masses of Germany made another attempt to throw off their chains. Poincaré had occupied the Ruhr, the mark was falling with giddy rapidity and the Russian proletariat was watching the situation in Germany with breathless attention. Larissa was longing to be there. She was longing to fight in the ranks of the German proletariat and to draw them into close understanding with the Russian workers. The proposal pleased me very much. If it was true that the German working class did not clearly understand what was going on in Russia, it was also true that our Russian workers were wont to represent the struggle of the German proletariat in too simplified and schematic a form. I was convinced that Larissa would be better than anybody else at establishing vital connection between these two armies of the proletariat. She was not only a contemplative artist, but also a fighter artist who was able to see the struggle from within and to depict its essential forward drive—the forward drive of human destiny. Yet I could not help feeling that her trip to Germany was a flight from unresolved doubts.

Larissa arrived in Dresden on October 21st, 1923, at the very moment when the troops of General Mueller reoccupied the capital of Red Saxony. As a soldier she understood the necessity for retreat. But when a few days later there came news of revolt in Hamburg, life returned to her. She wanted to leave for Hamburg at once, and grumbled because she was obliged to remain in Berlin. For days by market stalls and shops she mingled with the unemployed and hungry masses, who were trying to buy a scrap of bread for some millions of marks. She sat for hours in hospitals filled with exhausted workers, and learned of their bitter thoughts and cares. I was living illegally in Germany at that time (under a false name) and meeting only Party leaders, who were unable to be in direct contact with the masses. Larissa was living the life of those masses.

Whether in conversation with the unemployed in the Tiergarten, on November the 9th, at the Social-Democratic celebration of the German Revolution, or celebrating their twenty-fifth anniversary with the communist group, she knew how to find a key to people's hearts, was always able to grasp a piece of their life. She lived among the working masses of Berlin, and they were as near to her as the proletarian masses of Petersburg, as the sailors of the Baltic fleet. Proudly she returned from a demonstration in the Lustgarten, where despite General Seeckt's armoured cars the Berlin proletariat had given visible proof of the existence of the 'forbidden' Communist Party.

At last Larissa was afforded the opportunity of leaving for Hamburg in order to describe and immortalize for the German and world proletariat the struggles of the Hamburg workers.

'After all that flabbiness and greasiness, here is something solid, strong and vital,' she wrote immediately after reaching Hamburg. 'It was difficult at first to conquer their mistrust and prejudice. But as soon as the Hamburg workers recognized a comrade in me, I was able to plumb the depths of their simple, great and tragic experiences.'

She lived among the desolate wives of the Hamburg fighters for freedom, sought out the fugitives in their retreats, attended sessions of the court and meetings of the Social-Democrats. At night she read Laufenberg, the historian of Hamburg and of the Hamburg movement. The stacks of material she collected in the course of those weeks are piled before me as I write. They witness how she worked —with what feeling of deep responsibility, of awe—because every trifling episode of that struggle sounded to her like a 'song of songs' of humanity. Even when back in Moscow she spent many hours with a comrade who had been a leader of the uprising and had been obliged afterwards to flee. With him she went through all this material, and when doubts arose concerning particular facts, she corresponded with other comrades about them. Her little book *Hamburg at the Barricades* was written not only by an enthusiastic artist but by a fighter for fighters. The German proletariat has been in hundreds of skirmishes and battles with their enemies, but none has been described with such love and appreciation as this struggle of the Hamburg prole-

tariat. Larissa Reisner dealt generously by those whom she loved, and the respectable Reichs-Tribunal made no mistake when it ordered this thin little book by a Russian Communist to be committed to the flames.

She returned from Germany, but defeat did not dismay her. In Hamburg she had seen the fire under the ashes. She knew how even unsuccessful fights produce strong men for future fights. But she also learned that it was useless to expect any near victory of revolution in Europe.

After her return to Soviet Russia she needed to examine herself and also find out what had been going on among the masses, who after all are now the determining factor of history. And being a person who perceived reality directly, she could not get the clarity she wanted merely by way of reading and discussion. She went to the industrial and coal-mining districts of the Urals and of the Don basin, to the textile district of Ivanok-vosnesensvo and to petty middle-class white Russia. She spent whole days in trucks, in horse-carts, on horseback. Once again she lived with working-class families. She went down into the mines, she took part in meetings of factory managements and committees and trade unions, and talked to the peasants. All the time she was feeling her way through the darkness, sensitively catching the realities of life. Her book *Coal, Iron and Living People* was the fruit of this work, and it was work writers would have taken up—hard both physically and morally. Yet her book reflects but a trifling part of what she went through, what she thought and felt.

With this book began a new artistic and ideological period in Larissa Reisner's creative life. With this book she took her stand on solid ground ideologically as a communist; and as a writer she had found her style. Her doubts had disappeared. She saw how the working class could lead in construction. They were building socialism. Though they dripped with sweat from blast furnaces, or went down half-naked into mines, or grumbled at times about their wages, the best part of them were firmly convinced that their labour and sufferings were in the name of socialism. In a clumsy uncouth manager she recognized an old comrade from the front, who even here had to hold the reins with an iron hand, though at the same time he listened attentively to the masses in order to make allowance for every possible factor. She saw the colossal force which the revolution had awakened in the lowest strata of the population. This strengthened her faith that we should overcome all those difficulties connected with the revival of capitalist tendencies. She knew that petty bourgeois elements were like a bog which threatened to swallow up the mightiest of forces, but she also learned to see the strange flowers which blossom in this marsh. At the same time she now saw quite clearly the way the struggle against the dangers threatening the republic of labour should be waged and by what barriers the proletariat and the Communist Party should safeguard themselves. When she felt that she had gained clear insight and had decided that her place was in this struggle, she began to sharpen her weapon. Her pen was her weapon. Formerly Larissa had not given particular thought to the question *for whom she was writing.* She had an excellent knowledge of the history of literature and the arts. Her style, rich and refined, revealed not only her natural keeness of observation, but also the many-sided culture embodied in her. The style of *The Front* and *Afghanistan* reminds one of fine lace, of filigree. But now she quite consciously threw away some of this ornamentation, and simplified the designs of her embroideries, though this did not mean that she tried to become a 'popular' writer for worker readers. Her desire was to create for the proletariat an art full and rich in all real values.

Larissa did a great deal of work towards the end of 1924 and throughout 1925. She read a vast number of books on Russian and world economics. I am not going to say she was any lover of figures. When she had waded through one or two tedious text-books she would beg you to give her something 'with some taste to it' about oil or wheat, and she would relax over Delaisi's work on oil trusts, Norris's epic of wheat-growing.

At the same time she was making a serious study of the history of revolution. She prepared lectures about the 1905 revolution for the Party cell of the armoured-car school. And, when after studying the actual material she began on Lenin's articles of this period (1904-1908), she discovered the greatness of the simplicity of our teacher's style and appreciated his work from a purely aesthetic standpoint. Thus her art came to include new elements. One can see this in reading her description of the Krupp plants, or her account of the Junkers' factories in *The Land of Hindenburg* and in *The Decembrists.* In the first two descriptions she keeps up a strictly technical style throughout. By this I do not mean that she larded her language with technical terms, but that her interest in economics had taught her to think methodically. She had learned to perceive a machine or a factory building not only visually, but also mentally. The style of *The Decembrists* was influenced by a historical view. But again there is nothing counterfeit, no deliberately archaic style. She simply saw those people in their real setting.

But neither history nor economics were her major interests. They were merely means of investigating human relationships, how men and women live and struggle under given conditions. Side by side with the colossal plants, Larissa described miserable workers' huts. In the Decembrist Kakhovski she showed a 'debased and insulted' person by drawing a never-to-be-forgotten silhouette of a German legal mind, who made a sketch of an ideal bureaucracy for the tsar, and ended his life in the snows of Siberia, derided and forgotten. She showed us pitiful human worms broken by a giant machine construction or on the wheel of history.

Now she was mature as artist and revolutionist, Larissa Reisner began

to plan a new work. She planned a trilogy of the life of the Ural workers. The first part was to show a serf workshop at the time of the Pugachov revolt; the second the exploitation of the workers during the time of tsarism, and the third—socialist construction. Together with this she had planned a portrait gallery of the predecessors of socialism—not only portraits of Thomas More, Münzer, Babeuf, Blanqui, but also portraits of unsung proletarian heroes right up to the titanic struggle of our days. Sometimes she was frightened by the tasks she set herself. She was very modest and often doubted the power of her own talent. But there is little doubt she would have mastered them, because her powers were growing daily.

But she was not destined to give all that was latent within her. She fell not in the struggle with the capitalist class, not in that fight in which she had so often looked death in the face, but in a struggle with that Mother Nature she had loved so passionately. When on her death bed her last gleam of consciousness was a rejoicing in the sun whose rays were sending her a parting greeting. She spoke of how fine it would be in the Crimea where she was going to recuperate, and how lovely it would be when her wearied brain filled up again with new thoughts. She promised to struggle for life up to the very end. And she only retired from the struggle when she finally lost consciousness.

A few articles and books are Larissa Reisner's sole legacy. Articles scattered in newspapers and journals, several scores of letters, all these have yet to be collected. They will live as long as memory of the first proletarian revolution. They will carry the news of what this revolution meant for all peoples, for West and East, for Hamburg, for Afghanistan, for Leningrad, for the Urals. And this woman-warrior, in whose intellect and heart everything found an answering chord will arise after death by her books and be a living witness of the proletarian revolution.

**MAYDAY**/CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

From the practical point of view, the more profound effects of the demonstrations of a week earlier, are the more powerful.

The Mayday actions did, however, involve significant numbers, especially considering that they were civil disobedience demonstrations. Twelve thousand were arrested. The authorities were reduced to an attitude characteristic of the U. S. role in Vietnam: at some intersections — especially around George Washington University — they considered the whole population as enemies and rounded up everyone in sight.

Three factors explain the unprecedentedly large turnout for this kind of action. First is the depth of feeling — indeed, moral outrage — against the war, which is still increasing. Second is the influence of the organized pacifists — such as the Nonviolent Action Group and the Quaker Project. They threw themselves into training thousands of demonstrators for the actions and succeeded in setting a tone of disciplined nonviolence. This allowed many people to participate who would not have stayed for a free-for-all. Third is the carry-over from the April 24 demonstration. The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice provided a series of activities to fill in between April 24 and the Mayday events.

It should also be noted that there was an agreement in Washington between the organizers of the Mayday actions and the National Peace Action Coalition which organized the April 24 demonstration. The agreement, which also involved the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, was as follows: On the one hand, there would be no civil disobedience or confrontation demonstrations called or encouraged on April 24. On the other hand, the NPAC marshals would not discourage people from staying over in Washington to participate in civil disobedience actions on the following days.

This agreement was kept all around. There can be no doubt that it contributed to the effectiveness of April 24, for it meant that all significant organized sections of the movement were agreed on allowing the character of the action to remain as called and disruptions were discouraged effectively.

One interesting sidelight of the Mayday demonstrations is that in many cases the troops who were called out to patrol the compounds where those arrested were detained fraternized with the arrested demonstrators. In some cases they even assisted detainees to escape.