

International Gramsci Society

Newsletter

March 1994

Number 3

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Editor: Joseph A. Buttigieg

The editor thanks the following for their generous help in preparing this issue of the *IGS Newsletter*: Nila Gerhold, Frank Rosengarten, and David Ruccio.

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Editorial

The creation of the International Gramsci Society was animated by a desire to bring individuals studying the life and thought of Antonio Gramsci in different countries and from diverse perspectives in direct or indirect contact with each other. From the start, members of the IGS wanted to learn more about the interpretations and uses of Gramsci that were taking place in countries and in disciplines other than their own. In this issue of the *IGS Newsletter* we have made a special effort to stress the international dimensions of Gramscian studies with information from countries as diverse as Colombia, India, and Japan. The bibliographical section, on the other hand, is quite illustrative of the wide range of approaches and applications that Gramsci's thought continues to elicit—and this is further confirmed by the innovative exploration of certain ideas of Gramsci's within the framework of social psychology about which we offer some general information (that we hope to amplify in the next issue).

One measure of the perdurable interest in Gramsci's work is the felt need to make his texts increasingly available to a wider readership. In the anglophone world two new important editions will serve this purpose and are bound to have a strong impact. The first of these is Frank Rosengarten's complete critical edition of the *Letters from Prison*, translated by Raymond Rosenthal and published in two handsome volumes by Columbia University Press earlier this year. (See the description in the "Gramsci Bibliography" section in this issue of the *IGS Newsletter*.) This edition is designed to attract both specialists and general readers. Its critical apparatus is thorough without being cumbersome or pedantic while the translation renders Gramsci's prose faithfully and, at the same time, stylishly and lucidly. The other important work is Derek Boothman's edition and translation of *Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks* that is about to be published in London by Lawrence & Wishart. This edition brings into relief many important aspects of Gramsci's thought hitherto unknown to anglophone readers who lack a knowledge of Italian. Boothman also supplies copious textual annotations that are of great value even to the finest Gramsci experts. (We are grateful to Derek Boothman for providing us with the discussion of his edition which we are reproducing in this issue of the *Newsletter*.) In the meantime, work is proceeding well on the German and English language complete critical editions of the *Quaderni*.

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In order to assess the status of Gramsci in the current political and cultural scene Giorgio Baratta, in the name of the International Gramsci Society, invited a number of intellectuals from different countries to reflect briefly on the relevance of Gramsci to their work and to the contemporary world in general. The results of that inquiry, together with two short introductory articles by Baratta himself and by Fabio Frosini, were published in the Italian literary monthly *L'Indice* of February 1993. Obviously, the question that comes most readily to mind is whether Gramsci has anything to say in what is now being described as a post-marxist world—and if he still does have something to say, what is it? Eric Hobsbawm confronts the question directly in his response:

The question: “What is left of Gramsci?”, like the question “What is left of Marx?” is largely rhetorical. It implies the answer: “After the collapse of the Soviet systems, and the Leninist type of communist party, very little can be left.” At any other time than the present, it would sound faintly ridiculous, rather like the proposition that Machiavelli must be dismissed as a thinker, because *The Prince* did not achieve the political object its author desired, and gained practical influence for quite different purposes. Gramsci knew better.

Hobsbawm then goes on to specify the aspects of Gramsci’s thought that remain indispensable, not just for our time but, like Machiavelli’s for all times. Among these aspects he singles out Gramsci’s concern with subalternity:

Gramsci remains essential reading for anyone concerned with the relationships between rulers and ruled, leaders and led, in democratic movements and political systems. Those who, for most of history and even today, are subaltern, are his subject; and, incidentally, his pages on the history of the subaltern classes remain as brilliant and fruitful today as ever, and should continue to inspire social historians. Moreover, he shares with Machiavelli the rare combination of moral passion, practical, indeed professional, political experience, sharp observation and theoretical intellect.

Edward W. Said, too, mentions Gramsci’s concern with “disadvantaged” in his response, and he links this concern with what he describes as Gramsci’s “worldliness”: “. . . Gramsci’s work is always worldly in the best sense of the word. In other words, it is never not anchored in the lives of human beings, in the historical experiences of classes and individuals at the same time. And he has an extraordinarily lively sense of the role of culture in the lives of even the most disadvantaged human beings.”

The other respondents dwelt on other aspects of Gramsci’s thought. For Étienne Balibar Gramsci compels us to “think differently”—something desperately needed in the current state of political and cultural disorder or confusion. Peter Glotz laments the fact that

the European left has not yet learned to follow in Gramsci's footsteps and therefore it has failed to create a "cultural front" capable of playing a leading role in the critique of the fashions of the "culture industry" or of today's fashionable "lay popes." Romano Luperini likewise stresses the value of Gramsci as a cultural critic—a cultural critic who provides us with the instruments for conducting an analysis and a critique of power, and who also shows us by his example how to remain grounded in history, in the realm of the particular, and thus avoid the dogmatism of totalization. According to Irina Gregorieva the current efforts in Russia to arrive at a better understanding of the relation between State and civil society should lead to a better appreciation of Gramsci's ideas; unfortunately, however, "the cultural climate in Russia today is definitely 'anti-gramscian.'" For Valentino Gerratana, the main problem is not so much "anti-gramscianism" as the de-politicization of Gramsci and, worse still, the moral and intellectual disorder of our times. Gramsci was a revolutionary who, as Gerratana points out, was convinced that "one cannot have a revolution with intellectual and moral disorder." One might add that, perhaps, this is an appropriate time to take a close look at certain pages of the *Quaderni* that have so far received scant attention—namely, Gramsci's attacks on Lorianism; for Gramsci's anti-Loria notes are precisely an attack on the lack of intellectual rigor, on the poverty of critical thought which left the fragile civilization of Europe defenceless and at the mercy of Fascism and Nazism.

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This issue of the *IGS Newsletter* should have been published several months ago. The extremely long delay was unavoidable, for production of the *Newsletter* is entirely dependent on the volunteer work of individuals whose many institutional and scholarly commitments often deprive them of any spare time. Once again, the *Newsletter* is only being published in English—not because we attach less importance to providing an Italian language version, but because at the present time the resources that would enable us to do so are lacking. The same lack of resources has also forced us, once again, to postpone plans for an international conference, but we keep hoping that an institutional sponsor will be found to help us organize it.

The *Newsletter* has been expanded and we hope that the next issue will have as many pages or even more—this will make it possible to publish more articles along with the other items of information. Much depends on the materials sent us by IGS members—so we encourage everyone to send us not only information about their activities (you may wish to use the forms provided at the back of this issue), but also articles on topics of interest to the other members. Those members who have access to electronic mail may also contact us via computer at the following e-mail address: Joseph.A.Buttigieg.1@nd.edu

Editing Anthologies of Gramsci

by

Derek Boothman

In early 1994 Lawrence and Wishart (London) will publish the third volume—*Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks*—of their thematic anthological edition of Antonio Gramsci’s notebooks. The main themes that emerge in what might at first sight seem otherwise rather disparate material are those of ideology at its various levels and the construction of hegemony. The outline that follows of this book summarizes the editorial choices made in bringing out these factors.

The most widespread and popular of all ideologies—religion—is the topic of the opening chapter: faith, like theory, does indeed become, in Marx’s words, “a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.” Though, naturally, the Catholic Church is pre-eminent in Gramsci’s reflections, the categories of analysis that he forges are of more general applicability for the approach to other faiths. Distinctions are drawn between right, left, and center in particular within Catholicism, and the complex intertwining of religious and political activity is analyzed in its historical development in Italy. The divisions among the faithful and the radically-oriented individuals and movements Gramsci comments on find their analogy today in, say, liberation theology and radical black churches and, more ambiguously, in some aspects of the upsurges in non-Christian religions that lay emphasis, through a refusal of “western values”, on the dignity of the human person expressed in a nationalist and newly-rediscovered popular consciousness (the conditions for which occupy some of Gramsci’s reflections in the paragraphs chosen as the last part of the chapter).

The role of education in building a counter-hegemony is then dealt with in a number of notes (predominantly from *outside* Notebook 12 on “The Intellectuals”, already almost published in its entirety in the Hoare and Nowell Smith anthology of 1971, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*) that form the second chapter. These paragraphs deal strictly with the educational process, from elementary schools onwards, through the university, to adult education. Emphasis is consistently put on the social and historical, rather than genetic, formation of the human individual, in polemic with the “curious involutions” noted in the theories of some educationalists (like Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, an important reference point for Gramsci when, in 1917, he organized his first educational class—the “Club for Moral Life” of the Turin Socialists), but also in part with his wife and her family, much influenced by Rousseau. Gramsci, of course, had constantly in mind the experience of the

school organized by *L'Ordine Nuovo* and, again, some years later, the similarly short-lived Party cadre school in the period immediately before Fascism imposed its dictatorship. Through the whole of this, education is seen, not in the abstract, but as education for hegemony.

One of the important themes of the last-named school was to have been economics, as emerges from the original documents gathered together and now available in Corrado Morgia's volume *Il Rivoluzionario Qualificato*. It is my contention that the economics notes (above all from the second part of Notebook 10, and almost all written during an exceptionally fruitful period in the first months of 1932) are, to a great extent, Gramsci's attempt, under the near-impossible conditions of prison life, to sketch out a history of economic science. His reconstruction begins, I would say, with the original interpretation of Machiavelli as showing perhaps traits of the physiocratic position, rather than the earlier mercantilist one with which his views were normally thought more compatible, and, from a historical-philosophical perspective (typical of Gramsci but too often ignored by economists themselves), attempts to establish the autonomy, line of descent and credentials of Marxist economics. From this one can more readily appreciate the reason for the inclusion of these reflections in a Notebook dedicated not so much to Croce (as its title indicates it was first intended to be) as to philosophical problems in general. The important role that David Ricardo played for Marx is well known, but in Notebooks 10 and 11 Gramsci sheds new light; in a quite striking insight he raises the question of Ricardo's philosophical-methodological influence, rather than his accepted economic one, a stance that left Piero Sraffa, then just beginning his monumental edition of Ricardo, somewhat non-plussed. In Notebook 10, II, §57 (early 1933) Gramsci went back in part over ground already covered previously, but given the rather denser and richer nature of this note, it seems to me that this time he did so in order to draw tentative conclusions. With this in mind, this note has been placed right at the end of Chapter III ("The Nature and History of Economic Science") and not at the beginning of the "Brief Notes on Economics" ("Noterelle di economia") as did the Platone-Togliatti first edition of Gramsci.

Just after this last-named paragraph, Gramsci jotted down two notes (i.e. Notebook 10, II, §53 and §55) that, after a gap of two years since his previous notes on the topic, once again take up the question of the world economic crisis. First, however, in the order of presentation of material in Chapter IV of *Further Selections* there are included a number of early paragraphs (mainly from Notebook 2, but in any case dating almost exclusively from 1930) on general geo-political developments that, I hope, help to put the notes on the crisis in context. It came to me as a surprise, but is useful as a glimpse into the way Gramsci worked, that three of the crisis paragraphs (Spring 1931) are in Notebook 6 while the other, later ones

are scattered among three other Notebooks (10, II; 14 and 15—with four notes, according to Gianni Francioni's *L'officina gramsciana*, dating from February and one, the latter of two in Notebook 15, from May 1933). In the Platone-Togliatti edition the notes specifically on the world nature of the crisis are included in three different volumes.

Gramsci examines the role of some of the major countries in the world economy in an attempt, *inter alia*, to see which direction economic affairs were likely to move in, and, in the case of the United States, how the intellectual strata (“*ceti*”) were being formed in an atmosphere at that time dominated in his view by an industrially-oriented culture. It may be noted that there are a score or more of (mostly short) paragraphs—not included in *Further Selections*—on land tenure and conditions of life in Italy, in particular among the peasantry. All this forms part of the reconnaissance of national social-economic territory, essential to the exercise of hegemony. While some of his comments on specific aspects have been overtaken by subsequent developments, it would nevertheless be mistaken to regard them as out-of-date; there is much in his analysis at both the international level and the national Italian level (e.g. the North-South or, more precisely, as is found in the later writings, the city-countryside difference) that acts as a real object lesson in the examination of economic trends today. A shift in the world's economic axis (hypothesized in Notebook 2, §78) from the Atlantic (Europe-United States) to the Pacific (United States-East Asia) seems to be now well underway, while the city-countryside relation can be updated and translated profitably and comprehensibly into the terms of the division between the North and South of the contemporary world.

The economic factor is never a merely technical one but an integral part of the overall discourse on hegemony: in fact, half-hidden away in §18 of the monographic Notebook 13 on Machiavelli, such that its implications tend all too often to be overlooked, Gramsci states quite explicitly that “if hegemony is ethico-political [first draft, before his work on Croce, simply: “political”], it cannot but also be economic.” It would seem to me that, together with Notebook 22 on “Americanism and Fordism”, a number of notes written sporadically over three or four years (principally, Notebook 6, §11; Notebook 7, §12; Notebook 8, §52 and §62; Notebook 9, §23; and Notebook 15, §74), begin to sketch out the basis for the economic component of hegemony and for hegemony in a socialist society. The notion of “social conformism” is used on a dozen of occasions in these notes in a polemically positive sense as the consonance between the new society and the new types of individual making it up; this conformism is constructed from the bottom of society up on the basis, as he says in Notebook 7, §12, “of the position occupied by the collectivity in the world of production.” The link with hegemony comes over very strongly in this same paragraph when he says explicitly that “we are now dealing with a struggle between ‘two conformisms’; i.e. with a

struggle for hegemony, with a crisis of civil society.” It may be observed at this point that if civil society is the arena in which the combat between rival hegemonies is played out—as I believe is Gramsci’s fundamental concept of civil society—then, despite what some authoritative critics, like Norberto Bobbio, have written, in one important meaning for Gramsci, civil society does in fact encompass the economy and, while he quite rightly widened the notion, in a development and enrichment of Marxism, in this sense it either coincides with or is close to Marx’s.

Included almost as asides in a number of Gramsci’s economic notes—and also in some of those in Notebook 11, more generally on philosophy—are also comments on the nature of the sciences, mainly dealt with in Section III of Notebook 11 (“Science and ‘Scientific’ Ideologies”) which with Section IV (“The Logical Instruments of Thought”) and Section V (“The Translatability of Scientific and Philosophical Languages”) and associated notes from elsewhere, form Chapter V. “Sciences” is quite deliberately written in the plural since he takes the very firm stance that one must fight the prejudice (present in the “unity of science” thesis of the Vienna Circle and in some of the later writings of Karl Popper) “that, in order to be a ‘science’, a certain research should be grouped together with other researches in one type and that ‘type’ is ‘science’” (Notebook 10, II, §57). As emerges from Section III of Notebook 11, the line he takes on science, as on philosophy in general, consists of a double-pronged attack on both positivism (as seen here) and idealism. While in some ways Gramsci’s anti-positivism is similar to that of the Frankfurt school that was beginning its work while he was in prison (in maintaining, for example, that even the “exact sciences” at certain basic levels of interpretation must be subject to historical change and development), there are also important differences: it is simplistic to regard science and technology as just structures of domination, as some of the Frankfurt school have tended to do.

There are at times quite startling similarities between certain positions of Gramsci on science (and scientific epistemology) and those, unknown to him, expressed by Marx, in particular in the 1844 *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. While undoubtedly there are weaknesses in Gramsci’s ideas on science, there are also positions whose implications show him as a precursor of the realist epistemology that has grown up since publication in 1962 of Thomas Kuhn’s epoch-making *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. To quote a striking parallel between the two: what is Gramsci’s “period of struggle and polemics”—when a new scientific outlook tries to establish itself against an older one—followed by a “classical period of organic expansion” (Notebook 10, II, §37, ii) but Kuhn’s struggle between rival paradigms, followed by a period of “normal science”?

From science Gramsci goes on, through “The Logical Instruments of Thought” to Section V of Notebook 11 on the “Translation of Scientific and Philosophical Languages,” where here “scientific” is, on the whole, to be regarded in the broad sense. Although near-totally neglected, it seems to me that these are some of the most important paragraphs of all the prison writings, for he expresses, at the level of theory, what underlies his wholesale approach to the development of Marxism. Societies at a given similar stage of economic development give rise to broadly similar currents of thought, although these may be expressed in different languages, according to the predominant national culture (e.g. classical German philosophy, British classical political economy, French politics and literature). There is naturally a certain approximation in this since, as he asks, “what language is exactly translatable into another?” (Notebook 11, §48); for him “only in the philosophy of praxis is the ‘translation’ organic and thorough-going” (Notebook 11, §47). What he means by this comes out in the terms that he himself, as is well known, borrows from other thinkers, usually from intellectual traditions different from and often hostile to Marxism: historical bloc (Sorel), intellectual and moral reform (originally Renan), civil society, Jacobinism, hegemony, and so on. The transformation of terms—in other words, “translations”—sometimes by keeping the same word but infusing it with new meaning, is for Gramsci part and parcel of what has been called his “living Marxism”: through this process—the reinterpretation in Marxist terms and subsequent incorporation into Marxism of the highest points reached in a country’s philosophical and cultural trends—he shows how Marxism can be, as was by him, renewed.

It is by no means coincidental that his notes on translation were written at the same time as his major work on Croce, for it is here perhaps most of all that he puts these ideas into practice. (This theme is represented in *Further Selections* by Chapter VI—Notebook 10, I, in its entirety—and Chapter VII—the Notebook 10, II notes on Croce, alongside others from elsewhere that, together, coincide in so far as has been editorially possible with the aim Gramsci expresses in Notebook 10, I, §1 of examining: “1) Croce’s historicism . . . his philosophy *tout court*; 2) his dissent from Gentile and from actualism; 3) his dissent from historical materialism, hand in hand with his obsession with it.”) The notes on Croce are of course of interest in themselves as a critique of the major Italian idealist intellectual figure of the time, with interests spanning aesthetics, literary theory, historiography and philosophy (as the methodology of historiography). They are, however, of more interest than this in that it is to a large extent through his critique of Croce that Gramsci expresses certain basic tenets of his own outlook, or restates and refines certain aspects of established Marxist positions, and opens up the way for others to carry out future explorations. One such example is the philosophy-ideology nexus; whereas Croce considers ideology, as an instrument of

government, and philosophy, as a dispassionate search for truth, to function at quite different levels, Gramsci typically rejects these rigid divisions. While both maintained the necessity for a reform of society, the consequence of Croce's position was that the intellectual should keep aloof from day-to-day struggles, merely offering (as he himself did in his "minor" works and through the pages of his review *La Critica*) a rather detached moral guidance. While Gramsci's position was that intellectual and moral reform was a matter of social praxis and that therefore a political party was necessary to this process, Croce maintained right to the end (*Quaderni della "Critica"*, 1950, pp. 231-22) that Gramsci's intention to found such a party "was an office that has nothing to do with the dispassionate search for the truth." Linked to this was their different view of the dialectic: the clash of forces and qualitative leap typical of the Hegelian and Marxist views was for Croce an example of "anti-history"; history for him would soon revert to type and proceed by a myriad of small steps ("reformism" in Gramsci's terminology). By ignoring or maintaining the illegitimacy of qualitative changes—including, in his *Histories* of Italy and Europe, those stemming from the moment of force that established a new order—his "ethico-political history" remained incomplete; only by reincorporating the moment of force, developing the classical notion of the dialectic and including the most advanced notions from elsewhere (Lenin and even language factors—see Franco Lo Piparo's *Lingua, Intellettuali, Egemonia in Gramsci*) could it be transformed, in Gramsci's hands, to the modern theory of hegemony.

At the PCI's *Festa Nazionale dell'Unità* in Milan a few years back, Mario Spinella noted that all translations are, of necessity, also an *interpretation*. Individual translators do their best, trying not to overinterpret or run the risk of misreading. But in the end, for Gramsci as for others, only the community itself can decide how ideas are best translated through *social praxis*.

Gramsci in Colombia

Mr. Jorge Gantiva Silva has kindly provided us with information concerning the founding and the activities of the **Sociedad Colombiana Antonio Gramsci** which he helped establish and which he also directs.

The Antonio Gramsci Society of Colombia was formally established in Bogotá at a seminar on “La realidad colombiana y el pensamiento de Antonio Gramsci” at which a large group of intellectuals and social activists participated. The work of the seminar (which took place on 4-5 May 1991) resulted in a book: *Antonio Gramsci y la realidad colombiana* (Santafé de Bogotá: Ed. Foro Nacional por Colombia, 1991).

On 21-22 September the Sociedad Antonio Gramsci organized another seminar in the city of Medellín. Under the general title “Gramsci y la realidad colombiana” this seminar explored some broad but also very topical themes: modernity, social movements, the relation between culture and everyday life. Once again this seminar provided the occasion for scholars and for leaders of democratic organizations to discuss together the work of Gramsci and the importance of developing a democratic political culture.

The Sociedad Gramsci of Colombia was also represented at an international conference held at the Universidad Central in Caracas Venezuela on 2-7 December 1991 to celebrate the centenary of Gramsci’s birth. On that occasion Mr. Gantiva Silva presented a paper; “Gramsci: un horizonte de pensamiento.”

In addition to disseminating knowledge of Gramsci’s thought and work, the Sociedad is committed to the task of fostering a democratic political culture in Colombia.

For the information of our members—many of whom have repeatedly expressed a special interest in Gramsci’s presence in Latin America—we are reproducing in a somewhat schematic form documents and other materials forwarded to us by Mr. Gantiva Silva.

ACTA DE INTENCION PARA LA CONFORMACION DE LA “SOCIEDAD COLOMBIANA ANTONIO GRAMSCI”

En Bogotá, hoy sábado 4 mayo de 1991, en pleno uso de nuestras atribuciones ciudadanas, nos hemos puestos de manera libre y voluntaria de común acuerdo, para conformar la Sociedad Colombiana Antonio Gramsci, con base en los siguientes preceptos:

1. A tono con los tiempos, no necesitamos otro “ismo”; lo de Gramsci es un compromiso intelectual, ético y cultural. Los italianos, al respecto, nos dan un testimonio ejemplar de superación creadora y proyección histórica del pensamiento de Antonio Gramsci. El propio Gramsci preguntaba con ironía: “¿somos marxistas? ¿Existen marxistas?” y, respondía con un claro estilo antidogmático y ético “Tú sola estupidez, eres eterna”.

2. Nuestro proyecto consiste entonces en la recuperación del pensamiento de Gramsci que con autonomía e imaginación nos enseñe a pensar con cabeza propia y a constituir alternativas surgidas de las culturas y de la sociedad civil. Todo ello dentro de una perspectiva ético-política para hacer acceder a las clases subalternas a la condición de actores sociales con personalidad democrática.

3. En Colombia, la obra de Antonio Gramsci fué conocida en la década del 70, pero incomprendida y pobremente asimilada. En los 80, en virtud de significativos procesos de renovación política e intelectual, la reflexión de Gramsci ha adquirido un valor y proyección de primer orden en el mundo filosófico, político y cultural.

En el marco de estas consideraciones políticas e intelectuales hemos decidido constituir la Sociedad Colombiana Antonio Gramsci y, proponemos la realización de actividades científicas sobre la realidad colombiana y el pensamiento socialista, que tenga como eje central la reflexión teórica y la alternativa democrática sobre las base del proceso político y social que adelanta el país.

En relación con el reconocimiento de la personería jurídica de la Sociedad Colombiana Antonio Gramsci existe en equipo que viene trabajando para su constitución legal como organización civil, reconocida también por el Instituto Gramsci de Italia.

Como se comprenderá esta propuesta por su carácter y proyección es independiente de los agrupamientos políticos y por tanto, para su conformación no depende de la representatividad de cada una de las organizaciones y corrientes políticas, sino de trabajo intelectual, cultural y social que en una dimensión democrática y socialista desarrollen sus socios y colaboradores.

La Sociedad Colombiana Antonio Gramsci tiene un objetivo concreto: potenciar intelectual, teórica y políticamente una corriente de pensamiento que genere un nuevo discurso y un nuevo saber en torno de las relaciones entre Estado y la sociedad civil, de la ética y de la cultura y, reinterprete la voluntad nacional-popular y proyecte la acción política en el ámbito de las corrientes contemporáneas del pensamiento democrático.

PROGRAM OF A SEMINAR ON “LA REALIDAD COLOMBIANA Y EL PENSAMIENTO DE ANTONIO GRAMSCI” HELD IN BOGOTÁ ON 4-5 MAY 1991

Opening Session:

Vida y Obra de Antonio Gramsci (Jorge Gantiva Silva)

Istituto Gramsci de Italia (Donato Di Santo)

First Plenary Session:

Panel 1: Filosofía, Cultura y Política en el pensamiento de Antonio Gramsci

Panel 2: Democracia, socialismo y modernidad

(The work of the first day was concluded with the formal presentation of the Sociedad Antonio Gramsci de Colombia.)

Second Plenary Session:

Panel 3: Estado, sociedad civil y partidos políticos en Colombia

(The entire second day of the seminar was devoted to a discussion of this topic.)

SEMINAR ON “EL PENSAMIENTO DE ANTONIO GRAMSCI Y LA REALIDAD COLOMBIANA” HELD IN MEDELLIN ON 21-22 SEPTEMBER 1991

This seminar (which opened with a talk on the life and work of Antonio Gramsci by Jorge Gantiva Silva) was dedicated to presentations and discussions on three major themes:

I. Estado, Partidos, Sociedad Civilo en Colombia:

- a. “Legitimación y Deslegitimación del Movimiento Sindical Colombiano” (Medófilo Medina)
- b. “El Concepto de Hegemonía en Gramsci y su posible aplicación a la realidad colombiana” (Mauricio García Villegas)

II. Democracia, Socialismo y Modernidad:

- a. “El Concepto de Historia y de Etica en A. Gramsci” (Olga Lucía Echeverry and Alberto Echeverry)
- b. “La Muerte de la Política” (Iván Cépeda)
- c. “Gramsci: Heterodoxia de Una Vida, Ortodoxia de una Doctrina” (Alberto Rincón)

III. Filosofía, Cultura y Política en el Pensamiento de Antonio Gramsci:

- a. “Nietzsche y Tomás Carrasquilla: Puntos de Reflexión en torno del Intelectual Específico” (Jorge Alberto Naranjo)
- b. “La Teoría de Gramsci y su Posible Aplicación a la Problemática de la Mujer” (Beatriz Hartz and María Isabel Giraldo)

**ONE DAY INTRODUCTORY COURSE ON “PERSONERIA JURIDICA EN TRAMITE”
ORGANIZED BY THE SOCIEDAD COLOMBIANA ANTONIO GRAMSCI ON 10
DECEMBER 1991**

The day-long course comprised the presentation and the discussion of the following six lectures:

1. Semblanza de A. Gramsci (José Arizala)
2. Elementos conceptuales en la teoría de A. Gramsci (Pedro Santana)
3. Teoría del Estado. Sociedad Civil. (Miguel Cardenas)
4. Programa de Gobierno Democrático (Daniel Libreros)

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The work of the seminar held in Bogotá on 4-5 May 1991 led to the publication of a book: *Antonio Gramsci y la Realidad Colombiana* (Santa Fe de Bogotá, D.C.: Ediciones Foro Nacional por Colombia, 1991).

Printed on the back cover of the book is the following succinct description of the ideas that animated the seminar and the contributions collected in this volume:

La crisis de las ideologías en el mundo, el marxismo en particular, han dejado sentir su influencia en los cambios y replanteamientos que se observan en la izquierda colombiana. Tradicionales principios, modelos de socialismo y estrategias políticas han quedado hoy en cuestión. En medio del desconcierto ideológico y político volver a Gramsci significa retomar uno de los más agudos pensadores políticos modernos, su anti-dogmatismo, su visión creadora del marxismo y su apego a una lectura nacional del socialismo. Tal es el propósito que animó el Seminario “La realidad colombiana y el pensamiento de Antonio Gramsci”, realizado en Santa Fe de Bogotá en el reciente mes de mayo, organizado por la Sociedad Antonio Gramsci. Sus principales ponencias son recogidas en este libro que Ediciones Foro

Nacional por Colombia ofrece a sus lectores como una contribución a la formación de un nuevo pensamiento democrático en Colombia.

The contents:

Angelino Garzón, “Presentación”

Diego Montaña Cuéllar, “El Seminario sobre Antonio Gramsci en Colombia. Gramsci, constructor de sí mismo”

Donato Di Santo, “El pensamiento de Antonio Gramsci y la realidad actual. 1. El pensamiento de Gramsci y la realidad contemporánea. 2. Asumir a fondo la crisis del socialismo real. 3. El socialismo actual y la internacionalización económica.”

Bernardo Gutiérrez, “Es el tiempo del derrumbe de los muros

Navarro Wolff, “Mensaje”

Jorge Gantiva Silva, “Gramsci, un horizonte de pensamiento”

Pedro Santana Rodríguez, “Replanteamiento político y el pensamiento de Gramsci. 1. Los replanteamientos políticos a que induce el pensamiento gramsciano. 2. El lugar de la sociedad política y los nuevos horizontes. 3. La construcción de una sociedad política democrática en la Colombia de hoy.”

Fabián Acosta, “Hacia un nuevo sujeto político. 1. De un nuevo protagonista a un nuevo sujeto político. 2. Sobre los postulados ideológicos. 3. Reflexión última.”

Fernando Romero Loaiza & Alfonso Ruiz, “El camino de una nueva hegemonía. 1. Los actores sociales: las distancias. 2. El buen sentido y la dirección social y política. 3. Los nuevos espacios. 4. El camino de una nueva hegemonía.”

Fabio López de la Roche, “El pensamiento de Gramsci, la alianza democrática y la política en Colombia. 1. Los méritos y los aspectos problemático de la cultura política del M-19. La redefinición de la herencia cultural del Eme. Hacia un redimensionamiento de la herencia cultural del M-19: a) la cuestión del nacionalismo y de la identidad nacional; b) el manejo de la simbología; c) la necesidad de configurar una concepción propia sobre el país; d) el manejo de los medios de comunicación a partir de una nueva concepción de la democracia informativa; e) la construcción de una sólida organización interna. 2. Una eventual opción de la relación con las izquierdas y con su tradición política y cultural. 3. La definición de propósitos colectivos fundamentales. 4. La relación de un movimiento alternativo con los intelectuales y la relación de éstos con el movimiento popular y con la sociedad.”

Medófilo Medina, “Algunos elementos históricos de la cultura política de los colombianos. 1. Hacienda y política: sus correlatos. 2. El factor religioso y la cultura política. 3. El bipartidismo. 4. Oposición y marginalidad. 5. Renovación de la cultura política.”

Iván Cepeda, “La muerte de la política. 1. Cultura y negación autorreferida. 2. La autonegación del arte. 3. La muerte de la política.”

Alvaro Villarraga, “Replanteamiento teórico y renovación política. Introducción. 1. Certeza de un viraje histórico. 2. Reconocimiento de la crisis del marxismo. 3. Dilucidar las características de nuestro proceso. 4. La acción democrática y la recomposición del ideario socialista. 5. Importancia del legado de Antonio Gramsci.”

Miguel Eduardo Cárdenas Rivera, “La responsabilidad del estado.”

Chantal Mouffe, “Hegemonía e ideología en Gramsci. 1. Gramsci y la hegemonía. 2. Hegemonía e ideología. 3. Conclusión.”

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Mr. Jorge Gantiva Silva also sent us a copy of the program of an international conference—MEMORIA Y VIGENCIA DE UNA PASION POLITICA: HOMENAJE A GRAMSCI—that was held on 2-7 December 1991 at the Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV) in Caracas to mark the centenary of Gramsci’s birth. Since we had not previously taken note of this important conference and since many of our readers are especially interested in the various approaches to Gramsci in Latin America, we are here reproducing the program of the conference in its entirety.

2 December:

• ACTO ACADEMICO: Bautizo del libro *Gramsci en America Latina*

Palabras a cargo del Dr. Luis Fuenmayor, Rector de la UCV

Palabras del Lic. Carlos Mezones (Ateneo de Los Teques)

Palabras del Prof. Elías Eljuri, Decano, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales, UCV

Salutación del representante del Instituto Gramsci, Prof. Mario Teló

Presentación del libro, a cargo del Prof. Igor Colina, Decano, Facultad de Humanidades y Educación de la UCV

• GRAMSCI Y LA FILOSOFIA DE LA PRAXIS

Jorge Gantiva Silva (Univ. Nacional de Colombia): “Gramsci: un horizonte de pensamiento”

J. R. Núñez Tenorio (UCV): “Gramsci entre la política y la teoría”

Carlos Kohn (UCV): “Gramsci: *vis á vis* la tradición marxista”

- FORO: GRAMSCI EN AMERICA LATINA

Participantes: Invitados internacionales; Héctor Mjuica; Moisés Moleiro.

3 December:

- LA DIMENSION ETICO-POLITICA EN EL PENSAMIENTO DE ANTONIO GRAMSCI I

Mario Teló (Univ. Libre de Bruxelles & Istituto Gramsci): “La teoría política de Gramsci y el desafío de la modernización”

Michel Mujica (UCV): “Hegemonía y economía: una lectura desde los Cuadernos”

Omar Astorga (UCV): “Gramsci y el problema de la libertad”

- LA DIMENSION ETICO-POLITICA EN EL PENSAMIENTO DE ANTONIO GRAMSCI II

Pablo Guadarrama (Univ. Central de las Villas, Cuba): “El marxismo orgánico de Gramsci en América Latina”

Victor Martin (Univ. del Zulia): “Gramsci y la crítica de la cultura política en América Latina”

José E. Molina (Univ. del Zulia): “La consolidación de la hegemonía política en Venezuela”

Carlos Lanz (UCV): “Gramsci y las crisis de la hegemonía en Venezuela”

4 December:

- EL HOMBRE COMO BLOQUE HISTORICO

Seny Hernández (UCV): “La visión del hombre en Gramsci”

Cesia Hirshbein (UCV): “El arte en Gramsci: equilibrio entre hombre y entorno”

Susana Neuhaus (IUTE): “El lugar de la subjetividad en Gramsci”

- HEGEMONIA Y CULTURA EN GRAMSCI

Waldo Anzaldi (Univ. de Buenos Aires): “El uso de las categorías gramscianas en el análisis de la historia social latinoamericana”

Enrique González Ordogosti (Venezuela): “Gramsci y el problema de la cultura”

Gloria Martin (UCV): “Gramsci y el análisis de la cultura en América Latina”

Maria Fernanda Madriz (UCV): “Sentido común y cultura popular en Gramsci”

5 December:

- EDUCACION Y REFORMA INTELECTUAL Y MORAL

Orietta Caponi (Univ. Simón Bolívar): “Gramsci y el problema de la democracia”

Eduardo Zuleta (Univ. de Los Andes): “Teoría socialista de la educación en Gramsci”

Carlos Mezones (Ateneo de Los Teques): “Gramsci: teórico de la Escuela Unitaria”

- DIALECTICA E HISTORICISMO EN GRAMSCI

Eduardo Quintana (UCV): “Gramsci y el sujeto”

Vladimir Lazo (UCV): “Gramsci y el historicismo absoluto”

Carlos Paván (UCV): “El concepto de oposición dialéctica en Gramsci”

José Herrera (UCV): “Gramsci crítico de la dialéctica de los distintos”

6 December:

• LA CONCEPCION DE LA CIENCIA EN GRAMSCI

Vincenzo P. Lo Mónaco (UCV): “Ciencia y Método en Gramsci”

Benjamín Sánchez (UCV): “El concepto de Ciencia en Gramsci”

Luis Damiani (UCV): “Gramsci y la investigación de la acción política”

• MESA ROTUNDA

CON ESTUDIANTES DE LAS ESCUELAS DE FILOSOFIA, COMUNICACION SOCIAL Y ARTES DE LA UCV;

ESTUDIOS POLITICOS DE LA USB; FILOSOFIA DE LA LUZ U ATENEISTAS

• ACTUALIDAD DEL PENSAMIENTO DE GRAMSCI

Rafael Díaz Salazar (Univ. Computense de Madrid): “Gramsci, el PCI, el PDS y el Nuevo Orden Internacional”

Alistair Davidson (European Univ. Institute); “Gramsci vis á vis el Liberalismo Democrático”

Héctor Silva Michelena (UCV): “Gramsci: Economía y Sociedad Civil”

Hugo Calello (UCV): “Gramsci: entre militares y civiles”

7 December:

• FORO: GRAMSCI Y EL FUTURO POLITICO DE AMERICA LATINA—CONCLUSIONES

Participantes: Invitados internacionales y Relatores de cada mesa de discusión

• ACTO DE CLAUSURA

Exposición pictórica y libros

For further information about the activities and publications of the Sociedad Antonio Gramsci de Colombia and its members, contact: Jorge Gantiva Silva, Director, Sociedad Gramsci; A.A. 48586 Santafé de Bogotá; Colombia. Fax: 2865675.

Gramsci's Presence in India

by

Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta

To understand the exact nature of Gramsci's reception in India, it is necessary to keep in mind certain historical complexities underlying it. Gramsci remained virtually an unknown figure in India until the availability of Louis Marks (ed.), *The Modern Prince and Other Writings* (New York, 1957). Very soon, this book was reviewed (in Bengali) in *Parichay*, a well established left wing periodical, by Bhabani Sen, a very important political leader of the then undivided Communist Party of India (in India the Communist Party was split in 1964). However, the major attempt to introduce Gramsci to the Indian reader was made by Susobhan Sarkar, a distinguished marxist historian, in his article "Thought of Gramsci" in *Mainstream* (2 November 1968). Interestingly, till now the response of the mainstream political parties of the left towards Gramsci has been rather lukewarm, if not indifferent. The availability of *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York, 1971), the selection from the *Letters from Prison* (London, 1979), the two volumes of *Selections from Political Writings—1910-1920 and 1921-1926—*(New York, 1977 and 1978), *Selections from Cultural Writings* (London, 1985), and a new selection of *Prison Letters* by Hamish Henderson (London, 1988) throughout the 1970s and 1980s, however, evoked a very warm, serious and encouraging response on the part of the marxist intellectuals towards Gramsci. This was largely facilitated also by the publication and availability in India of the following commentaries on Gramsci: John Cammett, *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism* (California, 1967); G. Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci: Life of a Revolutionary* (London, 1970); and A. Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci: Towards an Intellectual Biography* (London, 1977).

While the organised left parties in India formulated their political strategies primarily in terms on a Soviet or Chinese model, basically adhering to a rather mechanical or deterministic understanding of marxism, the intellectuals found in Gramsci an altogether fresh approach to marxism with its emphasis on consciousness, praxis and, above all, a framework for relating marxism to the history, society and culture of one's own country. Besides, there were also certain major political considerations underlying this appreciation of Gramsci in India—a process that began in the 1970s and matured in the 1980s and 1990s.

In the late sixties and seventies it was a feeling shared by the left that the collapse of India's rather fragile political order was almost imminent, faced as it was by a severe political

and economic crisis. By the late eighties, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it is becoming, however, increasingly evident that the growing economic crisis will not necessarily lead to the breakdown of the political system. Moreover, the sharpening of the crisis is in a way contributing to the rapid growth of reactionary forces and failure of the left to break new grounds. All these factors, coupled with the growing commercialization of culture, the entry of big business and foreign multinationals in India's public life and their growing control over the consciousness of India's masses, have led to a serious heart-searching and Gramsci is becoming increasingly relevant in the context. The compulsions of an extremely complex historical situation necessitating a shift of forces away from base to superstructure, economy to culture, force to ideology have brought Gramsci closer to India's marxist scholars and intellectuals who really long for socialism in the true, revolutionary sense of the term.

Significantly, under sustained pressure created by the marxist academicians, Gramsci's writings now constitute an inseparable component of the post-graduate and M.Phil. courses in sociology and political science in all the major Indian universities. The first doctoral thesis on Gramsci, written by Aditi Mishra, came out recently, under the title *The Political Philosophy of Antonio Gramsci* (New Delhi, 1991). During the last decade serious scholarly researches have been made by Indian social scientists to find out the relevance of Gramsci for India. In the field of history for instance, a school known as "Subaltern Studies" has emerged which draws its inspiration from Gramsci and aims at an understanding of what it calls "history from below."

The growing importance of Gramsci's ideas in India can be especially gauged from the fact that on the occasion of Gramsci's birth centenary and the fiftieth anniversary of his death, a series of seminars, conferences, workshops and lecture programs were held in recent years. Some of these are mentioned below:

- a seminar on "Antonio Gramsci's Ideas" organized by the Association for the Study of Society and Change in Calcutta in 1982;
- a workshop on "Antonio Gramsci and South Asia" organized the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta in 1987;
- a seminar on "The Current Relevance of Antonio Gramsci" organized by the Council for Political Studies, Calcutta in 1988;
- a course of lecture programmes on "The Importance of Gramsci's Marxism" meant for workers engaged in different industries and farming, organized by Programme for Social Action (New Delhi) in Madurai, Bangalore and Kottayam between July and October 1989;
- a seminar on "The Relevance of Gramsci's Cultural Ideas and India Today" organized by the Joshi-Adhikari Institute of Social Studies, Calcutta in 1991;

• a “Gramsci Centenary Seminar” organized by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi in 1993.

Besides, a number of special issues devoted to Gramsci were brought out by the following scholarly journals in social sciences at regular intervals: *Indian Left Review*, vol. I, no. 12, 1973; *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XXXIII, no. 5, 1988; *Socialist Perspective*, vol. XVI, no. 1-2, 1988; *Society and Change*, vol. VIII, nos. 3-4, 1991-92.

Furthermore, one can have an idea of how the Indian scholars have responded to Gramsci from the following list (which, however, is not exhaustive) of articles published in different journals during the last three decades:

- Susobhan Sarkar, “Thought of Gramsci,” *Mainstream*, 2 November 1968;
- Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta, “Gramsci’s Theory of Politics,” *Indian Left Review*, vol. I, no.12, 1973;
- Mohit Sen, “Leninism of Gramsci,” *Marxist Miscellany*, no. 5, 1974;
- Asok Sen, “The Frontiers of Prison Notebooks,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.XXXIII, no.5, 1988;
- K. Saldanha, “Antonio Gramsci and the Analysis of Class Consciousness,” *ibid.*;
- Arun Kumar Patnaik, “Gramsci’s Concept of Common Sense: Towards a Theory of Subaltern Consciousness in Hegemony Process,” *ibid.*;
- Partha Chatterjee, “On Gramsci’s Fundamental Mistake,” *ibid.*;
- Ajit Chaudhury, “From Hegemony to Counter-Hegemony: A Journey in a Non-Imaginary Real Space,” *ibid.*;
- Bholanath Bandyopadhyay, “Antonio Gramsci and Sociology,” *Socialist Perspective*, vol.XVI, no.1-2, 1988;
- Sunil Sen, “Thought of Gramsci: Agrarian Question, Revolutionary Strategy, and Contemporary Asia,” *ibid.*;
- Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay, “Gramsci’s Idealism,” *ibid.*;
- Sudipta Kaviraj, “A Critique of the Passive Revolution,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.XXXIII, no.45-47, 1988;
- Arun Bose, “Antonio Gramsci and Dialectics,” *Society and Change*, vol. VIII, no.3-4, 1991-92;
- Kalyan Kumar Sanyal, “On Revolutions, Classical and Passive,” *ibid.*

That Gramsci’s ideas continue to have an evergrowing impact is especially evidenced by the fact that already an initiative has been taken by a group of scholars working in Calcutta (incidentally, Calcutta happens to be the traditional centre of radicalism in India) to introduce Gramsci to the popular masses by translating the writings of and about Gramsci in Bengali. The first step in this direction was taken with the publication of Ajit Ray, *Antonio*

Gramsci: Life and Ideas (Calcutta: Pearl Publishers, 1989). This has been followed by the publication of Sourin Bhattacharyya and Samik Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Antonio Gramsci: Selected Writings*, vol.I (Calcutta: Pearl Publishers, 1993) containing, besides the editors' introduction and notes, selected pieces of Gramsci on "Intellectuals," "Education," "Philosophy," "Philosophy of Praxis," etc.; Sobhanlal Datta Gupta (ed.), *Antonio Gramsci: Evaluations*, vol.I (Calcutta: Pearl Publishers, 1993) containing, besides the editor's introduction, articles on Gramsci by Palmiro Togliatti, Christine Buci-Glucksmann, Alastair Davidson, and Giuseppe Vacca—it also contains a selected bibliography. The subsequent volumes of *Selected Writings* and *Evaluations* are now under preparation.

Correction

In the last issue of the *IGS Newsletter* we provided incorrect and incomplete information concerning Yannis Bulgaris's book. The entry should read as follows:

Bulgaris Yannis

I Epomeni Imera. Meta tin ptosi tou iparktou sosialismou
(*The Day after the Fall of "Really Existing Socialism"*)

Paratiritis:Thessaloniki, 1992

Gramsci in Japan: The Kyoto Gramsci Society

The interest in Gramsci among Japanese scholars and students of political science, sociology, economics, philosophy and cultural studies is quite extensive. Evidence of this can be found in the existing edition of John Cammett's Bibliografia Gramsciana—and it will be even more evident in the second (and much amplified) edition which is currently in the final stages of preparation and should appear within the next year. In addition to numerous publications, the Japanese contributions to Gramscian studies and to the analysis and application of Gramsci's ideas to current concerns include the work of the Kyoto Gramsci Society (KGS). The KGS has been organizing seminars regularly for five years, thanks to the organizational initiative of Professor Hiroshi Matsuda and the members of the society. The KGS has its office in the Faculty of Social Sciences of Ritsumeikan University, and its membership includes professors, researchers, and graduate students from various disciplines and different universities. Recently the KGS published an information bulletin which lists the numerous seminars that it organized over the past five years. The topics addressed in the seminars are indicative of the wide-ranging interests of the KGS members and of the diversity of approaches they bring to bear on their study, analysis, and application of Gramsci's thought.

The 1st seminar: 21-22 April 1989

Part I: Masumi Takeuchi (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)

"Investigation and discussion of *Reading A. Gramsci*"

Part II: Kiyotaka Katano (Ass. Prof. of Osaka Economics and Law Univ.)

"About the controversy of Post-Marxism"

Part III: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)

"Modern problematics and Gramsci"

The 2nd seminar: 15-16 July 1989

Part I: Shigeru Okamura (Ass. Prof. of Shizuoka Eiwa College)

Sciji Kobayashi (Lecturer of Osaka Foreign Language Univ.)

Yasuji Ishikura (Ass. Prof. of Hiroshima Univ.)

"Book review: *Gramsci in Modern History*"

(*Gramsci in Modern History*: Eisuke Takemura, Aoki, Tokyo, 1989)

- Part II: Takeshi Shinoda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Analysis of Modern Capitalism and Regulation Theory"
- The 3rd seminar: 2-3 December 1989
- Part I: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Gramsci and Fascism"
- Part II: Yasuji Ishikura (Ass. Prof. of Hiroshima Univ.)
"Gramsci and Croce"
- The 4th seminar: 23-24 March 1990
- Part I: Kiyotaka Katano (Ass. Prof. of Osaka Economics and Law Univ.)
"About the New Programme of the SPD"
- Part II: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Problems and Perspectives of Italian Socialism (1)"
- The 5th seminar: 6 May 1990
- Part I: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Book Review: *Eastern European Revolution and Socialism*"
(*Eastern European Revolution and Socialism*: Testuro Kato)
- Part II: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Gramsci: 'Revolution against Capital'"
- The 6th seminar: 22 July 1990
- Part I: Seiji Kobayashi (Lecturer of Osaka Foreign Language Univ.)
"Technicization and Rationalization of life-world"
- Part II: Kiyotaka Katano (Ass. Prof. of Osaka Economics and Law Univ.)
"Gramsci: Concept of Hegemony"
- The 7th seminar: 8-9 September 1990
- Part I: Yasuji Ishikura (Ass. Prof. of Hiroshima Univ.)
"Personality and Work-Society-State"
- Part II: Seiji Kobayashi (Lecturer of Osaka Foreign Language Univ.)
"Cultural reproduction of Society"
- Part III: Masaharu Hori (Ass. Prof. of Shimane Univ.)
"Norberto Bobbio and Gramsci"
- Part IV: Kiyotaka Katano (Ass. Prof. of Osaka Economics and Law Univ.)
"International Debate about Base-Superstructure and a viewpoint of Gramsci"
- Part V: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Bases of Gramsci's social theory: Logic and Perspective"

- The 8th seminar: 24 November 1990
- Part I: Kazuhiro Kubo (Lecturer of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"State and local autonomy"
 - Part II: Tadashi Nakamura (Ass. Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Gramsci and Culture"
 - Part III: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Hegemony and Passive Revolution, (Part 1)"
 - Part IV: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Book review: *Gramsci and Japanese modern politics*, F. Usiro"
 - Part V: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Action Theory of Weberian Sociology and Gramsci"
- The 9th seminar: 27 January 1991
- Part I: Seiji Kobayashi (Lecturer of Osaka Foreign Language Univ.)
"Change of life style and Hegemony"
 - Part II: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Socio-philosophical bases of Hegemony Theory"
 - Part III: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Hegemony and Passive Revolution, (Part 2)"
- The 10th seminar: 30-31 March 1991
- Part I: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Basic concepts of Gramsci's Sociology"
 - Part II: Tadashi Nakamura (Ass. Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Culture and Hegemony"
- The 11th seminar: 22 August 1991
- Part I: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Book review: *Gramsci and Modern Japanese Education*, Nobuaki Kurosawa"
 - Part II: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Trends of Gramsci studies in Italy"
- The 12th seminar: 8 December 1991
- Part I: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Report: Gramsci symposium 1991"
- The 13th seminar: 5 April 1992
- Part I: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Gramsci and contemporary thought"

- Part II: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Report: Gramsci studies in Italy"
- The 14th seminar: 17 May 1992
- Part I: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Marxist philosophy of Gramsci"
- The 15th seminar: 28-29 July 1992
- Part I: Kazuhiro Kubo (Lecturer of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Neo Gramscian Theory and democracy: Centering around of
Hegemony and Socialist Strategy"
(*Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*: Ernesto Laclau and Chantal
Moffe, Verso, 1985)
- Part II: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Machiavelli and the science of politics (1): Centering around Q13"
- Part III: Tadashi Nakamura (Ass. Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Possibility of Gramsci's Cultural Theory"
- Part IV: Yasuji Ishikura (Ass. Prof. of Hiroshima Univ.)
"Social welfare and Gramsci: Production and Reproduction of Man"
- Part V: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Philosophy of praxis and empirical knowledge, social science"
- The 16th seminar: 14 September 1992
- Part I: Tadashi Nakamura (Ass. Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Cultural theory of Gramsci and its possibility"
- Part II: Kiyotaka Katano (Ass. Prof. of Osaka Economics and Law Univ.)
"Book review: *Gramsci's Concept of Democracy*, Golding"
- The 17th seminar: 28 November 1992
- Part I: Kazuhiro Kubo (Lecturer of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Book review: *Idea of Gramsci*, Kiminori Andou et al. eds. Syakai
Hyoron, Tokyo, 1992"
- Part II: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Comment: Culture and Politics of A. Gramsci, Satoc Kawakami"
- The 18th seminar: 27 December 1992
- Part I: Tomihisa Suzuki (Ass. Prof. of St. Andrews Univ.)
"Philosophy of praxis and Social Science of Gramsci"
- The 19th seminar: 24 February 1993
- Part I: Yasuji Ishikura (Ass. Prof. of Hiroshima Univ.)
"Gramsci's suggestion towards social service as Meta-theory"

- Part II: Satoc Kawakami (Researcher of Cyuo Univ.)
"Utopia and science on Gramsci's thoughts"
- The 20th seminar: 17 March 1993
- Part I: Hiroshi Matsuda (Prof. of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"F. Sunguinetti: *Gramsci e Machiavelli*/Machiavelli and science of politics (2): Centering around Q13"
- The 21st seminar: 8 May 1993
- Part I: Kyoichi Sameshima (Graduate Student of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Book review: *British Cultural Studies*, Gramc Turner, Unwin Hyman, 1990, London"
- The 22nd seminar: 26 June 1993
- Lecture: Eisuke Takemura (Prof. of Japan Welfair Univ.)
"Modernity and Classicality of the Thought of Gramsci"
- The 23rd seminar: 11 September 1993
- Part I: Seiji Kobayashi (Lecturer of Osaka Foreign Language Univ.)
"Book review: *Kritik der Macht*, Axcel Honneth, 1985"
- The 24th seminar: 13 November 1993
- Part I: Kyoichi Sameshima (Graduate Student of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Raymond Williams and British Cultural Studies"
- The 25th seminar: 18 December 1993
- Part I: Takafumi Sasada (Graduate Student of Ritsumeikan Univ.)
"Condillac and Ideology"
- Part II: Atsushi Fukasawa (Lecturer of Kyoto District Univ.)
"Regulation and Gramsci"
- The 26th seminar: 26 February 1994
- Lecture: Kaoru Katagiri (Lecturer of Cyuo Univ.)
"Marxism in Gramsci"

For further information about the Kyoto Gramsci Society and its activities, contact: Professor Hiroshi Matsuda; Faculty of Social Sciences; Ritsumeikan University; Toji-in Kita-ku; Kyoto 603-77; Japan. Tel.: 075-465-8164 (Internal 3311); Fax: 075-465-8249.

Gramsci Bibliography: Recent Publications

During the past year a number of books, collections of essays, and articles on Gramsci have been brought to our attention or sent to us by members of the International Gramsci Society. We are providing here a description of these publications.

Antonio Gramsci: *Letters from Prison*, 2 vols., ed. Frank Rosengarten, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994)

This two-volume critical edition is the most comprehensive collection of Gramsci's prison letters that is available in any language. The edition contains an introductory essay that places the letters in historical perspective and examines the human and political relationships that underlay Gramsci's rather extraordinary intellectual vitality in prison. Other features of this edition are detailed explanatory notes, photographs, and an analytic index. In his Preface to the edition, Frank Rosengarten provides the following description of its contents:

This edition of Gramsci's *Letters from Prison* has a number of other features that should be noted. First, all the printed letters of the 1965 and 1988 Italian editions have been checked against the originals, and mistakes that were inevitably made in editing and printing the manuscripts have been corrected. These include wrong words, misspelling of words and proper names, paragraphs in incorrect order, errors in punctuation, incorrect dates of letters, and missing postscripts and sentences or in a few instances even paragraphs. Many of these mistakes had already been found by Elsa Fubini and Sergio Caprioglio but not yet been made known in a new Italian edition. In all, 117 of the printed letters were found to have mistakes of some sort, mostly minor, but in some cases of such a nature as to misrepresent Gramsci's intended meaning.

Second, this edition contains two groups of letters never before published in *book form* in any language, including Italian. (Some of these did appear previously in various magazines and newspapers.) The first consists of 20 letters that I came across in 1991 and 1992 while pursuing my research at the Gramsci Institute. That brought the total of personal letters to family and friends to 476. The second is a group of letters written to Mussolini and to various medical and prison authorities by Gramsci during his eleven-year

prison ordeal. They concern matters that were of vital concern to Gramsci, who sought to avail himself of whatever opportunities the Italian criminal code allowed to political prisoners to obtain better treatment for his many illnesses and, above all, to read, study, and write in prison in as productive a manner as possible. With these, the total number of letters in this edition is 486. One of the 20 letters not yet published in book form has indeed never been published anywhere: it is letter written from Milan's San Vittore prison to a Communist comrade, Virginio Borioni, on May 7, 1928. The letter, only a portion of which is legible, had lain all these years in a folder marked "Letters to Berti, to Bianco and others," the victim of an oversight that haunts the consciousness of all researchers who work with these kinds of materials. Third the footnotes of this edition are based on a thorough review of existing documentation in preceding editions published in many different countries. Wherever existing notes were unclear or inaccurate, an attempt has been made to correct or to clarify them. Many new notes have been added (pp. ix-x).

Richard Bellamy and Darrow Schecter: *Gramsci and the Italian State* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993)

In their "Introduction" the authors describe the purpose of their study as follows: Why add another book to the voluminous literature on Gramsci . . .? Almost inevitably, most earlier studies—both in Italian and in other languages—sought to emply the study of Gramsci as part of an ongoing debate concerning the nature and tasks of Marxism in the present. As a result, his writings were often manipulated to apply to concerns and ideas far removed from his original preoccupations. Whilst it is ineviatable that a major thinker's theories will take on a life of their own in this way after his death, such creative developments by others as frequently detract from and diminish their significance, as contribute to their true value. For whilst Gramsci did theorise the nature of democratic struggles within western societies far more adequately than most other writers within the Marxist tradition, it must nevertheless be borne in mind that his ideas took shape in conditions that are fundamentally different to those that confronted western communist parties in the post-World War II period. We accordingly believe that the abiding interest in Gramsci can only be discovered by returning him to his historical context.

The purpose of this book is to examine an important aspect of his work that has been relatively neglected—namely the influence of the Italian

political tradition and social and institutional structures on his thinking. Our aim has been deliberately to shift the emphasis away from Gramsci's contribution to and engagement with western Marxism, and to concentrate on how his arguments were shaped by the contemporary debate on the nature of the Italian State. We shall show that Gramsci's attraction to and interpretation of Marx's conception of a future self-governing society of producers stemmed from a more particular concern with the social as well as the political unification of Italy. In contrast to the majority of studies surveying his whole career, this project has involved giving as much attention to his early writings as to the *Prison Notebooks*. The result of this exercise is to make us Gramsci's contemporaries rather than the other way round. We would suggest that this historical approach reveals the true and enduring worth of his life and work (pp.xiv-xv).

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The dialectic of 'force' and 'consent' in the Italian theory of the State from Gioberti to Mosca

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The new order: a 'progressive' totalitarianism

Johanna Borek, Birge Krondorfer, and Julius Mende, eds., *Kulturen des Widerstands. Texte zu Antonio Gramsci* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1993)

This volume, which grew out of the international symposium "Gramsci Oggi" held in Vienna in June 1992, contains an Introduction by Johanna Borek and fourteen essays some of which deal directly with Gramsci's work, while others address a wide range of major socio-cultural and political issues from a Gramscian perspective. The authors and the titles of their contributions are:

Kaspar Maase: "'Antiamerikanismus ist lächerlich, vor allem aber dumm.' Über Gramsci, Amerikanisierung von unten und kulturelle Hegemonie."

Rolf Schwendter: "Subkulturen und 'breiter organisierte Gegenmacht.' Notizen zur zeitgenössischen Hegemoniekritik."

Thomas Metscher: "Zivilgesellschaft und Kultur."

Verena Krieger: "Gramscis 'Zivilgesellschaft'—ein affirmativer oder ein kritischer Begriff?"

Hans Heinz Fabris: "Intellektuelle als Zugvögel? Zur Aktualität von Gramscis Intellektuellen-Konzept am Beispiel der EG-Diskussion in Österreich."

Sabine Kebir: "Gramsci und die zivilgesellschaftlichen Potentiale im Maghreb."

Julius Mende: "Traditionelle Bildung—Radikale Organisationsreform. Schulpolitische und pädagogische Vorstellungen bei Gramsci."

Peter Jirak: "Food-Power und Entmündigung."

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Johanna Borek: "Der Verstand und die Gefühle. Eine Träumerei."

Birgit Wagner: "Die Methode ist ein Politikum. Thesen zu Gramscis 'lebendiger Philologie.'"

Joseph A. Buttigieg: “Philologie und Politik. Zurück zum Text der ‘Gefängnishefte’ von Antonio Gramsci.”

Benedetto Fontana: *Hegemony and Power: On the Relation Between Gramsci and Machiavelli* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993)

The following extracts from Benedetto Fontana’s introductory chapter may help provide some indications concerning the general orientation and purposes of his study.

The purpose of this book is twofold: it will argue that the Gramscian interpretation of Machiavelli as the “democratic philosopher” and the “Italian Luther” is the vehicle through which he elaborates a fundamental and radical critique of bourgeois and liberal thought as expressed in Italy by the idealist philosophy of Benedetto Croce; and it will further argue that such an interpretation identifies Machiavellian thought as an “anticipation” or “prefiguration” of Gramsci’s notion of hegemony.

...

My aim is to understand the relation between Gramsci and Machiavelli in a novel and more fruitful way. Instead of looking at the Gramsci-Machiavelli relation in terms of the traditional and accepted perspective (which locates Gramsci’s reading of Machiavelli within a problematic circumscribed by the well-known and well-argued discussions centred on the nature of the political party—debates that tend to reproduce, and thus never escape, the liberal and bourgeois assumptions that underlie the relation between those who rule and those who are ruled, and between “those who know” and “those who do not know”), what this study proposes is to redirect the analyses of Gramsci and Machiavelli into an inquiry into the relation between Machiavelli’s political thought and Gramsci’s concept of hegemony as the unity of knowledge and action, ethics and politics, where such a unity, through its proliferation and concretization throughout society, becomes the way of life and the practice of the popular masses.

...

In effect, by focusing on Machiavelli, Gramsci is focusing on the question regarding the nature of politics, the role it plays, and the scope and boundaries that define it in the modern world. Gramsci’s interpretation of Machiavelli therefore serves a double purpose: by presenting his version of Machiavelli, Gramsci is at the same time presenting a critique of opposing and contemporary interpretations of Machiavelli. Gramsci attempts to fashion a

revolutionary Machiavelli in opposition to the liberal one. Thus a study of Machiavelli is also a critique of Italian politics and Italian history. Gramsci is able to use Machiavelli in order to construct a political and theoretical discourse whose purpose is simultaneously to uncover the established liberal contemporary interpretations of the Florentine secretary as rationalizations and justifications for the existing power structure, and to recover through such a critique the radical and revolutionary kernel of Machiavellian thought as a means by which a new conception of politics, both democratic and realistic (that is, humanly possible), might be formulated. This project is carried forward through the presentation of a basically Crocean and liberal interpretation of Machiavelli whose critical elaboration leads Gramsci to imagine the outlines of a counterinterpretation (pp. 1, 5, 11-12).

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8. Conclusion: Hegemony and Power.

Stephen Gill, ed., *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

This volume is described on the back cover of its paperback edition thus:

The essays collected here relate the writings of Antonio Gramsci and others to the contemporary reconstruction of historical materialist theories of international relations. The contributors analyse the contradiction between globalising and territorially based social and political forces in the context of past, present, and future world orders, and view the emerging world order as undergoing a structural transformation, a 'triple crisis' involving economic, political and socio-cultural change. The prevailing trend of the 1980s and early 1990s toward the marketisation and commodification of social relations leads the contributors to argue that socialism needs to be redefined away from

totalising visions associated with Marxism-Leninism, towards the idea of the self-defence of society and social choice to counter the disintegrating and atomising effects of globalising and unplanned market forces.

In his introductory essay, Gramsci and Global Politics: Towards a Post-Hegemonic Research Agenda,” the editor of the volume, Stephen Gill, writes:

As there is no single school of Marxism (Marx himself denied he was a Marxist) so too there is no single Gramscian or ‘Italian’ school. Nor is there any consensual interpretation of Gramsci’s fragmentary and often contradictory thoughts concerning social theory. Instead, there are clusters of scholars working in ways that address some of the questions raised and posed in Gramscian terms, across different disciplines, in a large number of countries. These scholars have begun to communicate, and to participate in joint conferences, and have thus begun to form the embryo of a global research community. Some research is of practical consequence in so far as it is linked in different ways to supporting the activity of socialist and progressive political parties and social movements.

Some initial work from the neo-Gramscian perspective has entailed a constructive dialogue with, as well as a critique of, different perspectives, including the prevailing, or in Gramscian terms, hegemonic theorisation in the fields of political economy and international relations . . . The need for this is, in my view, occasioned by at least two important factors. First, whilst Marxism has always had an integrated approach, in large part because of the orientation and predominance of American theory in the field, historical materialism has tended to become marginalised from many of the major debates in international studies. This marginalisation is occasioned in no small part by the limitations of a rather mechanical and ahistorical application of many Marxist ideas and theories, some of which are linked to a fundamentalist tendency to generate ‘ever-increasing expectations of the collapse of capitalism’ (whereas Gramsci argued pointedly that there was no necessary relationship between economic and political crisis, or *vice versa*).

. . .

Most of Gramsci’s substantive work focused upon the analysis of national social formations in particular historical periods, particularly Italy. Gramsci argued that this was the initial level at which the state and civil society (and its anatomy, the political economy) should be analysed, and where the foundations of social hegemonies were built. This national focus

predominates in Gramsci scholarship in not only Japan and Latin America but also in Western Europe, as reflected in the work of the Birmingham University Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies . . . and in the ongoing debates in *New Left Review* and *Socialist Register* on the nature of culture, ideology, the state, civil society and hegemony in capitalist society. There have also been many discussions in left-wing journals over the question of imperialism, although these have usually been couched in terms of theories of ultra- and super-imperialism, rather than posed in Gramscian terms.

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Sue Golding, *Gramsci’s Democratic Theory. Contributions to a Post-Liberal Democracy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992)

A succinct description of the contents of this volume is provided on its flyleaf: The prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci serve as the foundation for Sue Golding’s in-depth study of Gramsci’s contribution to radical democratic theory. Her analysis encompasses English, Italian, and French debates on the subject, as well as political and philosophical discussions on the limitations of liberal and socialist democratic theory.

Golding explains how Gramsci arrives at the conclusion that a fundamentally pluralistic ‘post-liberal’ democracy—that is to say, one that is

‘open,’ fluid, and based on an immanent and heterogeneous will of the people—is not only possible and preferable, but actually obtainable.

The consequences of his analysis are dramatic: on the one hand, Gramsci is able to provide a conception of the structure which is no longer static or reducible to a formal economic moment; it is, instead, profoundly political, since it becomes both the repository and expression of change as well as the terrain upon which a better society can emerge. On the other hand, he is able to incorporate as fundamental to a post-liberal democratic theory a number of concepts often overlooked in the theoretical discussions of socialist democracy.

Gramsci demonstrates that if one is to take seriously historical materialism and the kind of democratic society to which it points, one will necessarily be faced with a clear choice. One can either accept a flawed but strategically powerful methodology based on dialectics of a philosophy of praxis or, more to the point, take as a given the profundity of the political and the radical diversity this implies, and search for a new logic. In the concluding chapter, Golding takes a look at the possible resolutions offered by way of a discursive (or what has come to be known as postmodern) philosophy outlined in part by the surrealists and further developed in the work of Laclau, Mouffe, Foucault, and Derrida.

In his Foreward to the book, Ernesto Laclau singles out three aspects of Golding’s “original contribution to Gramsci’s scholarship”:

First, she locates Gramsci’s work within the literature concerning democratic theory, in relation to both the limits of liberalism and what might be considered the best areas to be retrieved and strengthened. . . . Second, she clearly points out the relevance of Gramsci’s work for contemporary debates—such as deconstruction or radical pluralism and the question of contingency—debates that for so long have been considered very distant from her subject matter. . . . Finally, the wide historical canvas within which Golding inscribes her subject makes her acutely aware of the unresolved tensions in Gramsci’s thought and the incompatible elements he tried—unsuccessfully—to combine. In this respect the book is more than a mere exercise in intellectual history: the contours of a post-liberal conception of democracy, which are presented in the last chapter, are a very promising contribution to political theory.

The following extracts from Sue Golding's Preface to her book may help convey a general sense of the basic outline of her complex and detailed discussion and of her stimulating central arguments:

it would not be over-stating the case to say that, in Gramsci's prison notebooks, we are given a series of vital and challenging concepts, which, taken together, begin to articulate the basis of what has come to be known as a 'post'-liberal democracy. His is a theory about democracy that incorporates the central premiss that society, and indeed, 'the people,' must be understood not simply as entailing a specific historicity—without a natural order or essence—but as necessarily born out of and sustained by an open, creative, and immanent intellectual as well as practico-political 'will.' His theory takes this 'will,' itself diversified and fractured, as both the ground *and* the horizon—as both the 'is' and the 'ought'—of a democratic possibility.

And yet this focus on a subjective will is neither innocent nor without its consequences: for not only does it challenge certain liberal and idealist assumptions, it rethinks the entirety of marxism itself. Questions around objectivity and science and truth are reinscribed to include, indeed to privilege in a certain sense, the subjective moment. In turn this provides not only a fundamental rewrite of dialectics as historicized immanence, but grounds political agency in a radical pluralism and fluid diversity of the social structure itself.

This book delineates what is entailed in Gramsci's provocative proposition. It tries to show why a 'radical' openness, diversity, and contingently formed consent must become the integral basis for a post-liberal democracy, and why, in becoming that basis, a kind of social ethics, which Gramsci quite simply calls 'progressive,' can be established. Moreover, it tries to do so by following the methodological and theoretical route Gramsci took, the dilemmas he encountered, and the resolutions he finally offered. But it also discusses how, in the end, he is caught in a trap from which he cannot escape.

...

. . . now we come to the troubling difficulty: in relying on a notion of the social order as a totality, dialectical or otherwise, Gramsci becomes caught in a kind of gordian knot from which he is unable to escape. For, while he wants to argue that any democracy configured as a 'real democracy' must emerge from the organic and heterogeneous *Sittlichkeit* of a specific 'the people,' he

wants also to argue that that specificity must be linked to and expressed by the working class. That is, he wants to pose the working class as, ipso fact, the bearer of this radical totality; and he wants to press that argument forward not simply on the basis of strategic or practical political grounds, but in terms of a precise analytic necessity.

Insisting that the working class must be the inheritors and standard bearers of historical truth means, in part at least and despite his attempts to avow the contrary, to accept as necessary an already given communal ethicality teleologically unfolding prior to the political moment. For, in order to ‘ground’ the ethical content of this radical vision, Gramsci is forced to accept, among other problems, a privileging of an originating and transcendent political subjectivity, now cast somewhere ‘outside’ the structure. . . . Instead of an immanent and contingent social order sutured by hegemonic struggle and all that this has implied, we find the notion of a totalized and statically ‘objective’ system taking precedence over and against the notion of an ‘open link’ as the fundamental requirement for a democracy empowered by the will of the people.

Does this mean that Gramsci’s work for a post-liberal democratic theory is for naught? The short answer is no. And, in the concluding remarks of chapter 6, Gramsci’s contributions and the possible choices we can in light of the more recent debates by Foucault and Derrida are set out and assessed (pp. xii-xiii, xvii-xviii).

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The continuing search

David Harris: *From Class Struggle to the Politics of Pleasure. The Effects of Gramscianism on Cultural Studies* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992)

This book does not deal with Gramsci's work but rather with what the author characterizes as the "gramscianism" that in his view pervades the mainstream of cultural studies and other leftist currents in Britain. The basic thrust of the book and its motivation are described in the blurb on its flyleaf:

This book arises from reading and teaching gramscian work in cultural studies, education, media studies, leisure and politics over the last twenty years. It argues that gramscian work is undoubtedly powerful and persuasive. Indeed by the 1990s one can almost say that it has become the governing orthodoxy. This book tries to read the work critically and in detail, tracing arguments across time and across different specialisms, assessing them, and trying to examine how they deal with critics and with new challenging topics. The author maintains that cultural studies contains many absences, silences and closures, and that it deploys a number of narrative techniques to remain credible.

Wide ranging and critical, the book provides an ideal critical assessment of one of the most fashionable and powerful intellectual traditions in contemporary social science. The book will appeal especially to students in cultural studies, media studies, leisure studies, education and the sociology of culture. They will find a way of critically reading gramscian work which should enable them to decide where its strengths and weaknesses lie for

themselves, and make them less dependent on the gramscians' own accounts and agendas.

In an "Author's Note" that prefaces the book, Harris provides some background information for those readers who might be unfamiliar with the British academic and leftist scene. He explains:

Gramscian cultural studies in Britain has been organised around a number of groups, networks or 'colleges', both concrete and invisible. This has given it a consistency and a continuity which has been taken almost for granted by those of us who have followed the work over the years . . . There are also less formal groups clustered around particular journals or particular conferences.

He specifically describes the activities and orientations of the following groups, institutions, journals, etc.: the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies; the Communist Party; the New Left; *Marxism Today*; *New Left Review*; and the Open University.

In his "Introduction" Harris writes:

I have chosen to focus on the 'British gramscians', those writers who stitch together their stories using Gramsci's work at strategic moments. Roughly, anyone who lets Gramsci always, necessarily, have the last word, in any debate whatsoever, is a gramscian, although I have also further reserved the use of the term to mean those who use selected concepts based on a reading of Gramsci, to develop a certain 'mobility', to be able to manipulate these concepts, define them flexibly, and make them refer to a wide range of phenomena, or use them to endlessly generate a sense of newness, relevance and beginning. Gramscians vary in terms of how they manage a return to the familiar terrain.

Harris opens his concluding chapter with the following observations:

In the course of this book, I have tried to discuss both the strengths and the weaknesses of gramscianism. In case the critical focus of the piece has been misunderstood, let me repeat that gramscian work has opened a number of areas to critical inspection in a novel and interesting way. It has been responsible for the emergence of a critical sociology of culture and for the politicisation of culture, and these developments have generated very successful academic programmes of research and course construction.

However, to summarise my reservations about the project, there are also a number of tendencies towards closure in gramscianism too. I still think of these tendencies in terms of work like Adorno and his attack on 'identity thinking' . . . or Habermas, and his work on the limitations of 'strategic communication'. . . Very briefly, gramscianism for me is far too ready to

close off its investigations of social reality, to make its concepts prematurely identical with elements of that reality in various ways. Gramscianism's writings are liable to premature closure by being too 'strategic' for me, as well—by letting a politics privilege analysis, both an explicit national politics, and a less explicit local academic politics. Such closures have benefits, but there are also considerable losses, as I hope I have demonstrated.

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Renate Holub: *Antonio Gramsci: Beyond Marxism and Postmodernism* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992)

The blurb on the back of the paperback edition points out that this book offers a “detailed account of Gramsci's work in the context of present-day critical and socio-cultural debate” and then goes on to explain:

Renate Holub argues that Gramsci was far ahead of his time in offering a theory of art, politics and cultural production which engages these issues at a high level of practical and theoretical concern. She takes stock of Gramsci's achievement with particular reference to the Frankfurt School (Adorno, Horkheimer, Benjamin, Bloch, Habermas) and to Brecht's theoretical writings. She also discusses Gramsci's writing in relation to thinkers in the phenomenological tradition—especially Merleau-Ponty—an angle which has so far received little attention from Anglo-American commentators.

She also has some strikingly original points to make about Gramsci's continuing relevance at a time of widespread retreat from Marxist positions among those on the postmodern left. 'Differential pragmatics'—in Holub's suggestive phrase—is a theory of cultural production and critique derivable

from Gramsci's writings with the benefit of other, more recent ideas, like Habermas's theory of communicative action and the insights of feminist criticism.

It should also be pointed out that in the opening pages of her book Holub provides a detailed comparison between Gramsci and Lukács, while in other sections she discusses Gramsci's ideas in relation to the work of several poststructuralist theorists and critics.

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Tibor Szabó, ed., *Ellenzélben. Gramsci és Lukács—ma* (Szeged: 1993)

This book is divided into five sections. The first four sections comprise a total of 21 essays in Hungarian. The fifth section consists of four essays, three of them in Italian and one in English. There are also two versions of the table of contents—one provides the titles in the language in which the essay appears in the volume, while the other offers an Italian translation of those titles that are in Hungarian. A note in both Hungarian and Italian explains how this volume had its origins in an international conference held in Szeged on 14-15 February 1991 to mark the centenary of Gramsci's birth. The conference is described as follows:

Nel centenario della nascita del filosofo Italiano è stato organizzato nella città universitaria di Szeged (Ungheria), un convegno internazionale di due giorni (14-15 febbraio 1991). Allora non sapevamo ancora che esso sarebbe risultato, fino ad oggi, l'unico convegno organizzato in un paese dell'ex "socialismo reale"—reso possibile da un lavoro tenace di un gruppo di studiosi (assistenti e docenti universitari) che da più di dodici anni studia il pensiero filosofico di sinistra del nostro secolo, soprattutto l'opera di György Lukács. Questo gruppo, il "Circolo Lukács" di Szeged, con l'esperienza di altri convegni internazionali, ha pensato di celebrare tale centenario anche, evidentemente, visti i tempi, in "controcorrente."

Il nostro convegno aveva un *duplice scopo*: di radunare sia gli studiosi dell'Ovest e sia dell'Est europeo—prevalentemente questi ultimi—per discutere la possibilità stessa di un pensiero di sinistra oggi, in questa nuova situazione; e, secondariamente, di confrontare le idee filosofiche, politologiche ed estetiche di questi due filosofi di spicco del Novecento, cioè Gramsci e Lukács. Durante i lavori del convegno da ambedue i temi siamo riusciti ad ottenere dei risultati interessanti.

Per quanto riguarda la possibilità di un pensiero di sinistra, già il primo giorno di questa iniziativa, dopo le relazioni introduttive, si è tenuta una tavola rotonda dal titolo: "È attuale oggi il pensiero filosofico di sinistra?", alla quale hanno partecipato quasi tutti gli invitati. I due poli del dibattito sono stati formulati dagli studiosi Ferenc Tókei e Péter Sárközy. Tókei (ex-allievo di Lukács, buon conoscitore dell'opera di Gramsci, presidente della Fondazione Lukács di Budapest) ribadiva la tesi sul carattere "controcorrente" del pensiero di sinistra e sottolineava l'importanza della continuazione delle ricerche, nonostante le difficoltà. Secondo Tókei, infatti, proprio il pensiero di Gramsci e di Lukács potrebbe costituire la base solida

per ripensare una nuova società socialista, che per adesso è un compito di lunga lena e difficile da realizzare.

Al contrario, Sárközy (dell'Università "La Sapienza" di Roma, noto studioso di Gramsci) metteva in rilievo l'attualità del pensiero di Gramsci in Ungheria nei nostri giorni. Non ha condiviso le opinioni secondo le quali si collocava in una situazione di "controcorrente" in Ungheria. Anzi, sosteneva che adesso Gramsci è più attuale che mai. Ma per fare ciò, bisogna liberarsi prima di tutto da una interpretazione "ufficiale" (dogmatica) del filosofo italiano che molte volte è stato strumentalizzato dall'*intelligencijs* dello Stato-partito. In Gramsci si possono scoprire due idee significative, attualissime. La prima è l'importanza data da Gramsci al momento culturale della politica: dalla fondazione dell'Ordine Nuovo fino ai Quaderni del carcere; e la seconda è l'insistenza sul momento nazional-popolare sia in politica sia in letteratura. Sárközy ritiene che con quest'ultimo concetto Gramsci abbia anticipato molte concezioni degli attuali dirigenti dei paesi dell'Est europeo. Per l'Ungheria il Forum democratico, infatti dà un maggior rilievo alla formazione di un senso comune "nazional-popolare." . . .

The volume contains essays based on the papers presented at the Szeged conference as well as additional essays contributed by R. Finelli, A. Santucci, A. Infranca, L. La Porta, W. Adamson, A. Showstack Sassoon, N. Tertulian, Gh. Lencan Stoica, B. Wagner, and V. Chacon. In reproducing the table of contents below we have used the Italian version as it appears in the volume itself—but one must bear in mind that all the essays that appear in the first four sections of the volume are in Hungarian

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Anne Showstack Sassoon (London): “Back to the Past, On to the Future: Rethinking with Gramsci”

A Special Issue on Antonio Gramsci. *Italian Quarterly*, vol. XXXI, nos. 119-120 (Winter-Spring 1990)

This is the second special double issue of *Italian Quarterly* dedicated to Gramsci—the earlier one was vol. XXV, nos. 97-98 (Summer Fall, 1984). This issue contains six essays as well as some reviews of books that deal directly with Gramsci. The essays are:

Howard K. Moss: “Gramsci and the Idea of Human Nature”

William Hartley: “Notebook Ten and the Critique of Benedetto Croce”

Darrow Schechter: “Gramsci, Gentile and the Theory of the Ethical State in Italy”

Michael G. Smith: “Gramsci in the Mirror of Italian Fascism: Mussolini, Gentile, Spirito”

Naomi Greene: “Pasolini: ‘Organic Intellectual’?”

Alexander De Grand: “The Italian Communist Party, the Italian Socialist Party and the Communist International: Alternative Visions of Proletarian Unity and Leadership”

The reviews of books dealing directly with Gramsci are (with the reviewer's name first):

William Hartley: Robert S. Dombroski, *Antonio Gramsci* (Boston: Twayne, 1989) and Maurice Finocchiaro, *Gramsci and the History of Dialectical Thought* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988)

Frank Rosengarten: Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Political Writings*. 2 vols. ed. Quintin Hoare (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1990)

William Hartley: Esteve Morera, *Gramsci's Historicism: A Realist Interpretation* (London & New York: Routledge, 1990); Dante Germino, *Antonio Gramsci: Architect of a New Politics* (Baton Rouge & London: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1990); and Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*. vol. I, ed. Joseph A. Buttigieg (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1992)

Two new essays by Valentino Gerratana

"Impaginazione e analisi dei *Quaderni*" in *Belfagor*, XLVIII, iii (31 maggio 1993), pp. 345-352

"Sulla 'classicità' di Gramsci" in *Bollettino Filosofico* (Dipartimento di Filosofia dell'Università della Calabria), 10 (1993), pp. 181-194

Two essays on Gramsci in *Rethinking MARXISM*

In the last issue of the *IGS Newsletter* we published an article ("Gramsci in Rethinking Marxism") in which Jonathan Diskin surveyed and discussed the essays on Gramsci that have been published in that journal. Since that article was written, two more essays on Gramsci have appeared in *Rethinking Marxism*:

Daniel O'Connell: "Bloom and Babbit: A Gramscian View" in vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 96-103

Steven R. Mansfield: "Gramsci and the Dialectic: Resisting 'Encroachment'" in vol. 6, no. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 81-103

A Note on Edward W. Said's *Culture and Imperialism*

Edward W. Said's latest work, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993) is indebted to Gramsci in several respects, even if less obviously than *The World, the Text and the Critic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983). Gramsci unfinished essay on the southern question is one of Said's points of reference as a work that sets the stage for the critical attention given in the *Prison Notebooks* to the "territorial, spatial and geographical foundations of life." Said's analyses of a wide range of literary texts, which he uses as sources for understanding the dynamics of politics and culture in their connections with the whole imperialist enterprise, can be read as fulfillments of the historical materialist premises outlined in fragmentary form in both the *Prison Notebooks* and the *Letters From Prison*.

Unlike Gramsci, Said does not adhere explicitly to Marxism, nor does he identify himself with any one political current of movement. Nevertheless, underlying his work is a set of theoretical principles and practical stances that are certainly in harmony with a Gramscian world view. Certain tensions in Said's relationship to Marxism have been noted by the Indian Marxist Aijaz Ahmad, who argues in his book *In Theory* (New York & London: Verso, 1992) that Said has not really assimilated the materialist and revolutionary principles undergirding Gramsci's work. Ahmad frames his critique of Said within the boundaries of a rather strict interpretation of Marxism in his commitment to socialism as the foundation on which to build a genuinely oppositional culture. He is skeptical of Said's foregrounding of anti-imperialism and the principle of "liberatory" politics that avoids explicitly socialist partisanship.

What is of interest to readers of this Newsletter is that Gramsci continues to occupy an important place in the cultural, political and ideological debates of the "post-communist" era. His ideas and methodological innovations continue to provide such thinkers as Said, Ahmad, and Cornel West with insights into the nature of contemporary reality, despite the recent defeats suffered by the countries of existing socialism.

Frank Rosengarten

Gramscian Approaches in Social Psychology

As part of the celebrations commemorating Gramsci's birth, the Istituto Gramsci of Emilia Romagna, in collaboration with the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris), organized an international symposium (held in Bologna on 4-5 December 1991) on the topic: "Praxis, senso comune, egemonia: la psicologia dei problemi sociali complessi" (Praxis, Common Sense, Hegemony: The Psychology of Complex Social Problems).

The primary organizer of the symposium, Professor Francesco Paolo Colucci (a professor at the Institute of Psychology of the School of Medicine at the University of Milan) prepared the ground for the entire project with the publication of two documents which he authored. The first of these was an essay "Praxis as Tätigkeit: Antonio Gramsci's Ideas on the Subject of Common Sense and their Relevance to Psychology" in the *Multidisciplinary Newsletter for Activity Theory*, no. 9/10 (1991), pp. 41-49—this "Newsletter" is the official organ of the International Conference for the Research on Activity Theory (ISCRAT). The second document was a booklet, *Antonio Gramsci 1891-1991. Praxis, senso comune, egemonia: la psicologia dei problemi sociali complessi*, published by the Istituto Gramsci of Emilia Romagna and distributed to the participants in the symposium prior to their gathering in Bologna. The booklet comprises two chapters and an appendix, together with relevant bibliographies. The first chapter is entitled "Attualità e rilevanza per la psicologia delle idee di Antonio Gramsci sul senso comune. Praxis come Tätigkeit"; the second chapter, "Progetto del seminario. Praxis, senso comune, egemonia: la psicologia dei problemi sociali complessi"; and the appendix, "La Teoria dell'Attività: origine e presentazione di un attuale indirizzo di ricerca."

The opening two paragraphs of Colucci's essay on "Praxis as Tätigkeit" provide some indication of the point of departure for his proposal to consider the relevance of Gramsci's ideas on "common sense" to current research in psychology:

Gramsci's ideas on common sense refer precisely to the tradition of Enlightenment thought and, at the same time, they present aspects of remarkable up-to-dateness for today's psychological research. These ideas link up with the problem, at present so important for social psychology, of social representations. Furthermore, Gramsci's ideas on common sense are founded, as all Gramscian thought, on the Marxist concepts of praxis and historicity which, in the original and characteristic way they are developed by

Gramsci, present important consonances with the Cultural-Historical School founded by the Soviet psychologist Vygotsky and hence with the concept of Tätigkeit (Activity) as it is developed by this psychological school.

I have deemed it useful to concentrate this paper on Gramsci's ideas in order to facilitate the remarks, about the posed problem, of the psychologists well versed in their own field of research, hypothesizing that these ideas of Gramsci's can give rise to a comparison of different psychological theories and in this way contribute to the progress of psychology.

The body of the essay is divided into three sections: 1) "Introduction: meaning and importance of the problem of common sense in Gramsci"; 2) "Essential points concerning the problem of common sense in Gramsci"—which takes a close look at certain passages from the Quaderni; 3) "Hypothesis on the relevance to psychology of Gramsci's thought and on the relation of praxis-Tätigkeit.

Francesco Paolo Colluci also wrote an essay that provides a description and a detailed critical analysis of the presentations made at the international symposium held in Bologna. This essay has been published: "Il pensiero di Antonio Gramsci e la psicologia oggi" in *Psicologia e Società. Rivista di Psicologia Sociale / Psychology and Society. Review of Social Psychology*, XX (XLI), 1-2 (1993), pp. 95-129. Professor Colucci has kindly furnished us with an English version of this essay—we will publish extensive extracts from it in the next issue of the *IGS Newsletter*.

“Reading Gramsci”—A Graduate Course

by

**Professor Kate Crehan
at The New School for Social Research**

The following is the description and syllabus of a graduate course, “Reading Gramsci,” designed and taught by Professor Crehan (of the Department of Anthropology) in the Spring 1994 semester at The New School for Social Research in New York City.

Course description:

While many major figures in the marxist tradition have fallen from favour in recent years, Antonio Gramsci’s reputation continues to grow. Social scientists, literary theorists and historians, both marxist and non-marxist, are turning to his work in increasing numbers and there is now a huge, and ever growing, secondary literature on Gramsci. This course, however, will focus on a careful and close reading of Gramsci’s own texts, primarily ones from the series of notebooks he wrote during his long imprisonment under Mussolini from 1927 until just before his death in 1937. In the notebooks Gramsci ranges over an enormous number of topics, and the course makes no claims to be exhaustive; the stress is on depth rather than breadth. In the final part of the course we will look at some recent case studies that in various ways engage with Gramscian themes.

One of the reasons for the ever increasing interest in Gramsci, is undoubtedly his central concern with the nature of power and the ways in which power works. *How* do dominant groups maintain their dominance? *Why* is this dominance accepted by the subordinate? *How* can existing power relations be transformed? Much of the course is structured around two themes which run through all of Gramsci’s work and through which he explores various aspects of power; firstly, the concept of hegemony, and secondly, the nature of intellectuals and their role in organised political struggle.

RECOMMENDED BOOKS:

Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Q. Hoare and G. Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971)

David Forgacs (ed.), *An Antonio Gramsci Reader* (N.Y.: Schocken, 1988)—a useful reader which includes some selections from the *Prison Notebooks* together with selections from Gramsci’s pre-prison and cultural writings.

Anne Showstack Sassoon (ed.), *Approaches to Gramsci* (London: Writers & Readers Co-op Society, 1982)—an interesting collection of essays on various aspects of Gramsci’s work and including a short illustrated account of his life.

GRAMSCI’S OWN WRITINGS:

Antonio Gramsci: Selections From Political Writings 1910-1920, ed. Q. Hoare (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1977)

Antonio Gramsci: Selections from Political Writings 1921-1926, ed. Q. Hoare (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1978)

Antonio Gramsci: Selections From Cultural Writings, ed. David Forgacs and G. Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985)

Antonio Gramsci, *Letters From Prison*, 2 vols., ed. Frank Rosengarten (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994)—this is the first complete edition of Gramsci’s letters in English. Earlier shorter selections are: *Letters From Prison*, ed. Lynn Lawner (New York: Harper & Row, 1973) and *Gramsci’s Prison Letters*, ed. Hamish Henderson (London: Zwan, 1988).

BIOGRAPHIES:

Giuseppe Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci: Life of a Revolutionary* (London: Verso, 1990)—first published in Italian in 1965, a straightforward life that draws heavily on the reminiscences of those who knew Gramsci.

Alatair Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci: Towards an Intellectual Biography* (London: Merlin Press, 1977)—explores in considerable detail Gramsci’s intellectual and political development and how Gramsci should be located within the history of Italian communism (Gramsci’s role in the Turin factory occupations is discussed at length). Includes a detailed account of Gramsci’s childhood in Sardinia.

Dante Germino, *Antonio Gramsci: Architect of a New Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

CLASS TOPICS AND READINGS:

Week 1: Introduction

Week 2: Gramsci and Marx

Selections from the Prison Notebooks, “Introduction” pp. xvii-xcv.

Eric Hobsbawm, “Gramsci and Marxist Political Theory” in A. Showstack Sassoon (ed.), *Approaches to Gramsci*, pp. 20-36.

Week 3: Gramsci in Italy and the U.S.A.

John Cammett (a pioneering American Gramscian scholar and editor of *Bibliografia Gramsciana*, an exhaustive bibliography on Gramsci) will give a talk.

Week 4: The Prison Notebooks and their Form

Joseph Buttigieg, "Introduction" to *Prison Notebooks*, vol. I (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 1-64.

Anne Showstack Sassoon, "Gramsci's Subversion of the Language of Politics," *Rethinking Marxism*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1990), pp. 14-25

Week 5: The Nature and Role of Intellectuals

Selections from the Prison Notebooks, pp. 3-43

Week 6 & 7: The Modern Prince

Selections from the Prison Notebooks, pp.123-205

Week 8 & 9: State and Civil Society

Selections from the Prison Notebooks, pp. 206-276

Week 10: Gramsci and the Southern Question

"Some Aspects of the Southern Question" in *Antonio Gramsci: Selections from the Political Writings 1921-1926*, ed. Q. Hoare, pp. 441-462

Week 11: Americanism and Fordism

Selections from the Prison Notebooks, pp. 277-318

Week 12: The Philosophy of Praxis

Selections from the Prison Notebooks, pp. 321-377

Week 13: Gramsci Applied: A CSE Study in the Production of Hegemony

Paul Willis, *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1981)

Week 14: Gramsci: The Video

Screening of a British documentary film about Gramsci ("Everything that Concerns People") by Tom Nairn, followed by discussion.

Conferences

Professor Massimo Lollini of the University of Oregon organized and chaired a session on Gramsci at 1993 conference of the American Association of Italian Studies that was held on 15-18 April 1993 in Austin, Texas. Mr. Lollini has kindly provided us with the following description of the papers that were delivered on that occasion:

1. “Reclaiming Gramsci: Unearthing Italy’s Internal Colonial History”

Pasquale Verdicchio (University of California at San Diego La Jolla)

This presentation outlined uses of Gramsci in the fields of cultural and post-colonial studies. While Gramsci’s works are quoted with regularity, many of his concepts have been incorporated within the critical body of cultural studies without reference as to their provenance. As a result of the distancing of the works from the context that stimulated them (Italian nationhood and the North/South question), a large and valuable dimension has been lost. Restoring Gramsci’s signature to his works, and reconsidering them in the light of the colonial relationship that was installed by Northern Italy in the Southern part of the peninsula, would offer a revitalized Gramsci, useful not only to cultural and post-colonial studies, but also to an expansion of the scope of Southern Italian studies. This shift of focus would not subtract Gramsci from an internationalist view, and will redefine the relationship of the South to Italy and Europe, possibly toward a Mediterranean perspective.

2. “Gramsci, Mosca and the Fascist Law Against Freemasonry”

Maurice A. Finocchiaro (University of Nevada—Las Vegas; Dept. of Philosophy)

This paper discussed the hypothesis that the political theory of Gramsci is largely a constructive criticism or critical development of that of Gaetano Mosca. A crucial example of the theoretical convergence between Gramsci and Mosca is the recognition by Gramsci of the fundamental law of Mosca’s political science, which Professor Finocchiaro calls “The analytical principle of elitism.” Moreover, the two thinkers interpreted Freemasonry as an effective political organization; and both gave a partially positive favorable evaluation of Freemasonry.

3. “Cara Tania, Cara Julca, Caro Censore: Censorship and the Writing Strategy in Gramsci’s *Lettere dal carcere*”

Barbara Zaczeck (University of Oregon; Dept. of Comparative Literature)

This paper examined how the ubiquitous presence of the censor affected Gramsci’s correspondence, and what strategies Gramsci applied to make his letters conform to the guidelines of censorship and thus to ensure their smooth passage through the intricate machinery of the prison system. The paper studies also the hypothesis that Gramsci occasionally used the censor as a scapegoat, a writing device that allowed him to justify omissions and inexplicable silences in the correspondence with his wife.

4. “The Analysis of Feelings in Gramsci’s *Prison Letters*”

Frank Rosengarten (Queens College—City University of New York)

This paper dealt with six of Gramsci’s prison letters from the years 1929, 1930, and 1931 for the purpose of illustrating some of the ways in which he tried to make his feelings known to his wife Giulia, his sister-in-law Tania Schucht, and his mother Giuseppina. Professor Rosengarten concludes that Gramsci’s letters are extraordinarily revealing not only for their intellectual content but also in their emotional color, their analysis and expression of feelings through a wide gamut of rhetorical strategies.

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The program of the volksuni ’93 held on 28-31 May 1993, as usual, in Berlin (this was the 14th year of the Berliner volksuniversität and all its activities took place at Humboldt University) included a number of presentations and discussions centred on Gramsci’s thought and work. One entire session was devoted to a discussion on the topic: “Was ist Tot, was Lebendig am Denken von Antonio Gramsci?”—chaired by Wolfgang Fritz Haug with the participation of Giorgio Baratta, Joseph Buttigieg, and Georges Labica. A large crowd attended the ceremony at which the Wolfgang Abendroth Prize was awarded to editors/translators of the German critical edition of the *Prison Notebooks*. The speakers on that occasion included Walter Jens, Frank Deppe, and Joseph Buttigieg, in addition to the two principal co-ordinators of the edition of the *Gefängnishefte*, Klaus Bochmann and Wolfgang F. Haug. Also during the volksuni, Giorgio Baratta presented his new documentary film on Gramsci “New York e il mistero di Napoli.” In addition, Joseph Buttigieg delivered a lecture on “Philology and Politics in the Interpretation of the *Quaderni*” and Renate Holub spoke on “Differenzpragmatik und Gramsci.”

A New Documentary Film on Gramsci

“New York e il Mistero di Napoli”

Giorgio Baratta has produced a new fifty-minute documentary film on Gramsci entitled “New York e il Mistero di Napoli: Viaggio nel Mondo di Gramsci,” narrated by Dario Fo. The early part of the film examines Gramsci’s interpretation of Americanism and Fordism before turning its attention to the current U.S. scene, viewed from a Gramscian perspective. The focus then shifts to Naples and its “mystery” which Gramsci considered emblematic of the “South”, posing the question: how does one explain the co-existence of an industrious people and a parasitic society? The Italian language version of the documentary is already available in video-cassette, and an English language version is currently being prepared for distribution. On the video-cassette package the film is described as follows:

Nella prima tappa del viaggio, Dario Fo, svelando nel proprio lavoro di commediografo e attore una traccia dello “spiritello ironico” che era dentro Gramsci, ne illustra l’analisi dello spirito popolare creativo e la scoperta, nel peregrinare carcerario, della teatralità vissuta del popolo meridionale.

Giunti nel nuovo continente, ritroviamo l’americanismo e il fordismo interpretati da Gramsci, in pagine che ricordano il Chaplin dei “Modern Times”, mediante la metafora del gorilla ammaestrato; ad essa Dario Fo affianca oggi quella del “coniglio ammaestrato” dal consumismo culturale. Siamo ospiti di una congregazione nera a Brooklyn: una cerimonia religiosa diventa un happening. Ascoltiamo il filosofo West e il reverendo Doughtry che, come Moore e Buttigieg, rispettivamente editore e curatore dei Quaderni nella versione americana e il saggista Said, ci descrivono la sorprendente presenza di Gramsci negli Stati Uniti.

Ritorniamo in Italia e visitiamo Napoli, il cui “mistero”, sosteneva Gramsci citando Goethe, è emblematico per tutti i Sud del mondo: come mai l’industrialità della gente mette capo a una società parassitaria? Con l’aiuto di Gramsci, spunti critici ci vengono suggeriti da Eduardo de Filippo, Dario Fo e Antonio Capuano.

For more information about the availability of the documentary in different languages, contact: Giorgio Baratta, “Le Rose e i Quaderni”, via Saffi 2, 61029 Urbino, Italy.

Gramsci on Film/Video

Ms. Laura Arduini of the Archivio Audiovisivo del Movimento Operaio e Democratico has kindly drawn our attention to a valuable document that is likely to be of special interest to many members of the IGS. It is a booklet entitled *Gramsci e il Cinematografo* which was prepared for the Archivio Audiovisivo by Fabrizio Berruti. The booklet contains detailed information on films about Antonio Gramsci—many of which are now also available in video-cassettes. The Archivio Audiovisivo, which was founded in 1985, also houses an extensive collection of audio-visual material related to the history of labor and the labor movement, especially in Italy. For more information write to: Archivio Audiovisivo del Movimento Operaio e Democratico, Via F. S. Sprovieri 14, 00125 Roma. Their telephone number is: (6) 581-8442.

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Members' Notes

Renate Holub, of the Center for German and European Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, has kindly furnished us with a list of the papers on Gramsci which she delivered in 1993: "Gramsci and African American Feminist Thought," IRAS-Lecture, Center for German and European Studies, UC-Berkeley, February 1993; "Gramsci on Popular Culture," UC-Berkeley, March 1993; "The Political Implications of Gramscian Memory," International Association for Philosophy and Literature, Pittsburgh, May 1993; "Gramsci's Usefulness for a 'Differential Pragmatics,'" University of Zurich, May 1993; "Gramsci's Methode," University of Frankfurt, May 1993; "Differenzpragmatik und Gramsci," Humboldt University, Berlin, May 1993. Renate Holub has also produced a radio program on Gramsci for KPFA, San Francisco. It was aired in June 1993.

Luiz Jorge Werneck Vianna has written to us from Rio de Janeiro, giving the following description of his current research: "Negli ultimi due anni mi sono dedicato a studi sul confronto fra due delle matrici forti nella formazione della politica brasiliana: l'iberismo e l'americanismo. In questo senso, ho scritto i saggi *Americanismo ed iberismo: la polemica fra Oliveira Viana e Tavares Bastos*, nonché *Il problema dell'americanismo in Tocqueville*. Adesso, lavoro in un'altro saggio, *Il problema dell'americanismo in Gramsci*, per inquadrare la bibliografia brasiliana ispiratasi a Barrington Moore nella questione della rivoluzione passiva in Gramsci. Questa elaborazione riprende la prospettiva che ha segnato la mia tesi di dottorato, poi pubblicata sotto il titolo di *Liberalismo e sindacato nel Brasile* (1976), nella quale i concetti di Gramsci hanno svolto un ruolo centrale nella mia spiegazione del processo di modernizzazione capitalista nel Brasile."

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