
International Gramsci Society

Newsletter

May 1997
Number 7

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Editor: Joseph A. Buttigieg

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Editorial

The sixtieth anniversary of Gramsci's death has brought with it an explosion of interest in his life and work. The publications, conferences, seminars, lectures, and commemorative events all over the world have been too numerous to count. Nor has this interest been confined to the academic world. The Italian post office has issued a special commemorative stamp. Moreover, the Italian dailies and weeklies have been devoting innumerable pages to discussions of Gramsci's life and work, to polemics about the significance and present relevance of his ideas, and to coverage of the various activities related to the anniversary.

Thanks to the organizational efforts of the IGS-Italia, members of the International Gramsci Society will have the opportunity mark this anniversary with a three-day conference that will be held in Naples and on the island of Ischia in October. A letter from Giorgio Baratta with detailed information about the conference has been sent to all IGS members—it is also reproduced in both Italian and English in this *Newsletter*. Everyone is strongly encouraged to attend. In addition to a great deal of stimulating discussion, this conference provides us with an opportunity to make plans for the future development of the IGS.

The contents of this issue do not constitute a comprehensive record of the Gramscian activities and publications of the past year. They are indicative, however, of the widespread interest in Gramsci worldwide, of the diversity of approaches to contemporary issues that his ideas continue to inspire, and of the scholarly attention that his work continues to attract—in other words, they are a testimony to the continuing vitality of Gramsci's thought. One of the many impressive phenomena that deserves mention is the increased availability of Gramsci's writings. In Italy, Antonio Santucci, has edited an anthology of Gramsci's writings, a selection of Gramsci's journalism, and the text of Gramsci's only parliamentary speech—these will make Gramsci's texts available to students and general readers. At the same time, work continues on complete critical editions of the *Prison Notebooks* in German and English—editions that will surely foster more rigorous studies and closer critical analyses of Gramsci's writings.

As interest in Gramsci continues to grow, it is important to cultivate networks for the exchange of information among individuals working in the field. We urge members to write to us about their work, to send us reports on conferences they have organized or participated in, to help us update the *Bibliografia gramsciana*, and to provide us with "news" and reports on issues and events of interest to other members. This issue would have been difficult to assemble without the collaboration of several individuals—especially, Guido Liguori, John Cammett, Frank Rosengarten, and Derek Boothman.

IGS Italia October '97 International Conference An Invitation

21 May 1997

Dear friend,

The International Gramsci Society and the IGS-Italia, of which I am vice-president, are planning an international conference on "Gramsci: From One Century to Another." The conference, which is being organized with the assistance of the Istituto di Studi Filosofici of Naples (directed by Gerardo Marotta) will be held on 16-18 October 1997.

The three-day conference will also provide the occasion to hold the first world congress of the IGS. It will open in Naples on the afternoon of Thursday, October 16th, at the Palazzo Serra di Cassano. The conference will then move to the island of Ischia nearby, where the Friday and Saturday sessions will be held. On Saturday afternoon, the International Gramsci Society will hold its first formal international meeting.

The goal of the conference is to examine the ways in which the diverse readings and "uses" of Gramsci in various political and cultural contexts worldwide contribute to the discourse of liberation of subaltern classes. The following are among the topics we would like to see addressed: rulers/ruled (democracy, freedom); North/South in a global context; ethics/politics; americanism/postfordism; public/private sectors of the economy; new forms of hegemony.

Thus far, we have secured only a very small amount of external funds to cover the costs of the conference. We are, therefore, unable at the present time to defray your expenses should you decide to participate in our conference. We hope that you can obtain the necessary travel funds from your university or institute. If we can be of any assistance in this matter, please let us know. If, between now and October, we succeed in obtaining additional funds, we will use them to reimburse at least part of the travel expenses of participating IGS members.

In order for us to be able to make the necessary organizational arrangements (including hotel bookings), it is important that you let us know as soon as possible if you intend to participate in the conference.

I look forward to hearing from you. Thank you and best wishes,

Giorgio Baratta

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Gramsci still not a prophet in his own country?

At the end of February 1997, an unexpected controversy erupted when the Italian Minister for Public Instruction and the University, Luigi Berlinguer (cousin of the former General Secretary of the PCI, Enrico) sent a ministerial circular to schools, urging them to include, for students in their last years at school, “reflections on the figure of Antonio Gramsci, in this, the sixtieth anniversary of his death.” This recurrence, added Berlinguer, “offers the opportunity to call attention to a page of contemporary history, of which Gramsci was undoubtedly a protagonist and to reflect on the role that he played as politician, thinker of a decided character and witness to the assertion of the values of freedom and democracy.” The Minister concluded by encouraging teachers to have their students “carry out a research on Gramsci’s thought, on the originality and importance of his writings, on the wide ranging commitment to the world of the workers and on the value of the testimony offered by his suffering.”

There was an immediate protest from parliamentary representatives of Silvio Berlusconi’s Centre-Right Forza Italia and its allies, with accusations being levelled at Berlinguer of authoritarian leanings. The secretary of the United Christian Democrats (the would-be “philosopher”, Rocco Buttiglione) accused Berlinguer of wanting “to homogenize Italian citizens to a set of common values decided by the centre, which are those of the Gramscian project of hegemony. . . .Such a circular could be sent out by the Director of the Istituto Gramsci, not by the Minister of Public Instruction of the Republic of Italy.” The former Marxist—and this time real philosopher—Lucio Colletti (he, too, now of Forza Italia) complained that “the State which has its own conception of the world and which orders the local educational authorities (“*Provveditorati agli Studi*”) to see to spreading [Gramsci’s] ideas is nothing more than a totalitarian State. No one wants to expel Gramsci from the Italian political and ideological tradition, which would be senseless, just as no one can think of expelling Mussolini, but if we had a circular from a Minister of the Alleanza Nazionale [the “post-fascist” heir to Italian fascism] suggesting that the educational authorities should deepen the knowledge of the work and thought of Mussolini, we would probably have barricades up in the streets.” Another leading Forza Italia representative, Marcello Pera, claimed that “Gramsci is not part of the common culture of Italy of today, he does not belong to the fathers of the nation.” The ex-Marxist historian Piero Melograni (with so many ex-Marxists now in Forza Italia one sees the continuing relevance of Gramsci’s analysis of “transformism”) brought up the hoary old chestnut that “very few teachers know that Gramsci, in the prison years,

was in reality expelled from the PCI [not even the PCd'I, as a historian would more accurately write] because he found himself in opposition to the pro-Stalinist line adopted by his comrades. In the last years of his life Gramsci came out of prison and, although there was Mussolini's regime in Italy, he died in one of the most luxurious clinics in Rome, the Quisisana. . . . Italian students do not need rhetorical celebrations: they need, instead, to know the truths of this century in all their terrible rawness."

All the left and other democratic newspapers carried stories the next day (1 March) with counter-comments from representatives of the cultural world in Italy. Colletti's appalling blunder and (one hopes unintentional) lack of good taste in bringing in Mussolini as a comparison was hardly worthy of comment by anyone. In its usual style, *Il Manifesto* carried the ironic headline "Don't open *those* Notebooks" and quoted the Ancient Greek specialist Luciano Canfora, who noted the ignorance of the right in apparently not even knowing that the preceding week a "committee had been nominated by the Minister of Cultural Affairs, for the preparation of the Works of Gramsci. The Communist intellectual is like Mazini, like Foscolo. Nothing else need be said." An article in *Liberazione*, the Rifondazione Comunista paper, noted the backwardness of the present day right as compared even with Croce in his most right-wing phase towards the end of his life; Croce in fact had no hesitation in claiming Gramsci—"one of ours" as he is quoted as saying—for the whole of Italian culture.

The words of Giuseppe Vacca, Director of the Fondazione Istituto Gramsci, were quoted everywhere, including of course *L'Unità*, the paper founded by Gramsci, as a more or less official response: "Gramsci's thought is a reference point for twentieth-century culture . . . In the past I often wondered why the Italian school system never arrived at studying the 20th century, but from today's reactions I can understand why; perhaps because the forces that have ruled this country for fifty years thought and still do that its citizens' education should not contain a historical knowledge and intelligence of its own time."

Derek Boothman

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Gramsci Piano Competition in Sardegna

At the beginning of November 1996 at Cagliari, the *Associazione Suoni & Pause* held the Third *Premio Gramsci di Pianoforte* for young musicians. The jury was composed of its Russian chairman, the musicologist Valerii Voskoboïnikov, the Egyptian pianist Ramzi Yassa, and the Armenian duo Haik Davtian (violin) and Arthur Abaronian (pianoforte). The three day competition was opened by talks about Gramsci and education (Aldo Accardo, Univ. of Cagliari), and Gramsci and the concept of national-popular in the arts (Derek Boothman, Univ. of Perugia), while recitals were given by the musicians.

Gramsci on the World Wide Web

John Cammett has created a World Wide Web page entitled:

Resources on Antonio Gramsci

The resources now available through this new electronic site include:

a) an online searchable version of the complete *Bibliografia gramsciana*. This research bibliography, which comprises 10,350 items, combines and integrates the two previously published bibliographical volumes—the *Bibliografia gramsciana: 1922-1988* by John M. Cammett (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1991) and *Bibliografia gramsciana: Supplement Updated to 1993* by John M. Cammett and Maria Luisa Righi (Rome: Fondazione Istituto Gramsci, 1995). The published volumes were sponsored and supported by the Fondazione Istituto Gramsci in Rome.

b) an Introduction and Appendices to the bibliography

c) the complete text of all past issues of the International Gramsci Society *Newsletter*

d) a link to the home page of the Fondazione Istituto Gramsci in Rome

The electronic address of **Resources on Antonio Gramsci** is:

<http://www.soc.qc.edu/gramsci>

Surfing the internet

STRANGE ENCOUNTERS WITH GRAMSCI IN CYBERSPACE

Next time you are linked to the internet, choose a search engine—Yahoo, Excite, or any other—and enter "gramsci" as the keyword. You will be quickly presented with hundreds of items. As you start clicking away at them, you'll find several that are useless: numerous businesses scattered all across Italy that are located on a "via Gramsci." You'll also find several articles, course syllabi, and reading lists that mention Gramsci and/or refer to his work. And, of course, you'll also come across the web site set up by John Cammett with its searchable bibliography and the text of the past issues of the *IGS Newsletter*. If you look closely enough, you'll also discover some very surprising items.

A recent search for "gramsci" on the world wide web unearthed a most unlikely site wherein references to Gramsci abound. It is the site of "The Fatima Network". Its electronic address is: <http://www.fatima.org>. The home page of this site offers a number of options for further exploration: "News", "History", "Apostolate", "Prayer", "Resources". "Bookstore." A click on "Resources" leads to a page titled "Our Lady's Library. Articles, Essays, Stories, from the Pages of *The Fatima Crusader Magazine*." Directly under that general heading is the title of the first article: "Russia Harkens to Gramsci's Ghost" by John Vennari.

What is Gramsci—or, rather, Gramsci's ghost—doing here? The blurb introducing the article explains:

We continue to lose ground because the culture war against us continues to secularize our minds, preparing the West to openly embrace Marxism. This is the strategy of Gramsci. Read about this to arm yourself.

The Perestroika and Glasnost initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev is not the conversion of the Soviet Union as is naively proclaimed by many Churchmen in high place and even by the majority of Fatima Apostolates. The so-called "conversion" of Russia is nothing more than the implementation of a kinder and gentler Marxism/Leninism, one more acceptable to the West, according to the strategy of the Italian Communist, Antonio Gramsci, who died just before World War II.

The rest of the article describes what it calls "the political formula Gramsci devised . . . to spread Marxism through the capitalist West", and it purports to reveal how that "formula" is being applied today by the enemies of religion and Western civilization. The connection among Russia, Gramsci, and Our Lady of Fatima is made more explicit as the article proceeds, and especially towards the end where one reads:

Leninist flexibility, colored by Gramsci's subtle tactics and modified to supply whatever was lacking in Gramsci's blueprint for victory—this constitutes the Glasnost/Perestroika program. NOW, EVEN OUR LADY OF FATIMA IS BEING USED AS A GRAMSCI ALLY [caps in the original], by those who say this Gramsci ruse is actually the long-awaited Triumph of Our Lady's Immaculate Heart promised at Fatima.

The author of the article, John Vennari, is described as "the editor of *Catholic Family News*" and the article itself is the text of a speech "given to the Bishops in Mexico City"—no date is provided.

There are several other articles at the same site in which Gramsci is demonized in similar fashion. Interestingly, this view of Gramsci echoes, or is echoed by—it is hard to determine the sources—Rush Limbaugh's (see Charlie Bertsch's article, "Gramsci Rush: Limbaugh on the Culture War" in the previous issue of the *IGS Newsletter*).

* * *

When surfing the web you may want to take look at this site:

<http://www2.quarry.com/cs300/96/mollivier/contents.htm>

Its wealth of material is divided into the following sections:

Biography of Antonio Gramsci

Gramsci's Politics

Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony

Definitions of Hegemony

A Brief Look at Hegemony and the Internet

Reflections and Conclusions

References

Links to Other Sites Pertaining to This Topic

CONFERENCES, COLLOQUIA, SEMINARS, ETC.

**Gramsci in Massachusetts, Salerno, Havana, Palermo, New York, Naples,
Berlin, Franca (Brazil), Calabria . . .**

The sixtieth anniversary of Antonio Gramsci's death occasioned numerous conferences, seminars, and lectures on various aspects of his life and work. A quick survey of these events reveals more than the vitality of Gramscian studies across the world; it is indicative of the impact of Gramsci's ideas on a remarkably wide range of debates in many different spheres of inquiry, and of the rich diversity of approaches to contemporary issues that the study of his writings has inspired.

The IGS co-ordinated three sessions at the large international conference on the "Politics and Languages of Contemporary Marxism" that was organized by the journal *Rethinking Marxism* at the University of Massachusetts—Amherst on 5-8 December 1996. One of these sessions was devoted to "Gramsci's Political Language" and chaired by John Cammett. Three papers were delivered at this session. Evan Watkins (Pennsylvania State University) spoke on "Common Sense"; Benedetto Fontana (Baruch College—CUNY) discussed "Gramsci's Concepts of State and Nation"; and William Hartley (Chicago) dealt with the concept of "Hegemony." The second IGS session was chaired by Benedetto Fontana and it focussed on "The Presence of Gramsci in Different Fields/Disciplines." At this four-hour long session, Kate Crehan (New School for Social Research) delivered a paper on "Gramsci Among the Anthropologists"; Robert Dombroski (CUNY) discussed the presence of "Gramsci in Literary Studies"; Carl Dyke (California State University—Hayward) examined the place of "Gramsci in History and Sociology"; and Maurice Finocchiaro (University of Nevada—Las Vegas) spoke on "Gramsci and Philosophy." In the third IGS-sponsored session, entitled "Reading Gramsci" there were four presentations: Antonio Santucci (Rome) on "Gramsci, a 'Classic' from Abroad"; Wolfgang F. Haug (Freie University of Berlin) on "The Publication of Gramsci's Work in Germany"; Charles Klopp (Ohio State University) on "The New Columbia University Press Edition of the *Letters from Prison* in the Context of Italian Prison Writings"; and Joseph Buttigieg on "The Critical Edition of the *Prison Notebooks* in English." An additional session was devoted entirely to a discussion of Gramsci; under the general rubric "Hegemony, Language, Politics: New Directions in Gramscian Marxism" the following papers were delivered: Nancy Bell and Lily Ling (Syracuse University) on "Theorizing Hegemony:

A Critical Examination of Race and Gender in Gramscian IPE”, Derek Boothman (University of Perugia) on “The Historical Bloc and Notions of a Dynamical Totality”, Peter Ives (York University) on “Incongruous Languages: Where Gramsci and Bakhtin Diverge”, and Jeff Williams (Texas Tech University) on “Gramsci and Comic Books.”

Gramsci and “gramscian themes” featured prominently in many other sessions and individual papers at the Amherst conference. In a session on “Hegemony in a Transnational Context” (cosponsored by the journal *boundary 2*) Terry Cochran (University of Montreal) spoke on “Hegemony in the Age of Media Globalism” and Joseph Buttigieg on “The Emergence of the Concept of Hegemony in Gramsci’s *Prison Notebooks*.” A session on “Althusser, Gramsci, Weber” included a paper by James Beeby (Bowling Green State University) on “Antonio Gramsci, Hegemony, and the Marxist Historical Project.” Equally noteworthy papers delivered in other sessions include: Wolfgang F. Haug on “Brecht, Gramsci, and Wittgenstein: The Language Question in the *Philosophy of Praxis*”; Jo-Young Shin (University of Massachusetts—Amherst) on “Gramsci’s Marxism in Light of Althusserian Overdetermination”; and Joe Galbo on “Gramsci, Popular Film, and the Politics of Empire.” Aldo Tortorella, a founding member of IGS-Italia, attended the Amherst conference and delivered a paper on “The Feasibility of Communism: Past and Present” in which he discussed, among other things, the way in which “Gramsci rejects Marxism as a form of absolute certainty, and therefore puts it forward as radically critical thought, anti-dogmatic and anti-ideological, including in relation to itself.”

The Amherst conference inspired a five-page spread entitled “Marx è vivo e lotta negli States” by Chiara Valentini in the Italian weekly, *L’Espresso*. It included a “boxed” item with the headline “Gramsci a stelle e striscie” (Gramsci in Stars and Stripes) which highlighted the circulation of Gramsci’s works and ideas in U.S. intellectual and oppositional circles.

Gramsci’s life and thought were the main focus of a week-long seminar held in Havana, Cuba, on 13-21 February 1997. The seminar was co-sponsored by the Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello, the Italian Associazione di Cultura Marxista (directed by Luigi Pestalozza) and the Department of Philosophy of the University of Pavia (Italy). The overall theme of the conference was “Los intelectuales y la sociedad actual: La creación de una nueva cultura.” In the course of the seminar, the participating Cuban and Italian scholars talked on wide range of issues, including the following: “Verdad y hegemonía de Gramsci”; “El marxismo de Gramsci”; “Los usos de Gramsci en Cuba y la actual discusión sobre la sociedad civil”; “Anticapitalismo y problemas de hegemonía”; “Gramsci y la crítica del Americanismo”; “Por qué Gramsci hoy”; “La nueva figura del intelectual y su tareas”; “Pensamiento de Gramsci y su época”; “Intelectuales ante la necesidad actual”; “Intelectuales, la protesta social y política, y construcción de una nueva cultura”; “Presencias femeninas en la vida de Antonio Gramsci.” Giorgio Baratta, Nicola Cipolla, and Guido Liguori were among the IGS members participating in

the seminar. The Cuban daily *Granma* published articles on the seminar on 12 and 20 February 1997.

Professor Roberto Racinaro, the Rector of the University of Salerno, and Professor Mariapaola Fimiani, chair of the Department of Philosophy at the same university, organized a seminar on “Gramsci e la tradizione democratica nel pensiero moderno e contemporaneo” (Gramsci and the Democratic Tradition in Modern and Contemporary Thought) at their university. The seminar, which took place on 26 February 1997, was held to honor Valentino Gerratana (who served as professor at the University of Salerno for over twenty-five years) and to celebrate the publication of his most recent book, *Gramsci: Problemi di metodo* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1997). The speakers included Roberto Racinaro and Livio Sichirollo (University of Urbino) who discussed Gerratana’s contributions to political philosophy and to Gramscian studies, Antonio Santucci who delivered a paper on the “classic” status of Gramsci’s work, and Joseph Buttigieg who spoke on Gramscian philology and on Gerratana’s special contribution to the study and interpretation of Gramsci’s texts. Valentino Gerratana was also present and concluded the formal presentations with some observations on his scholarly work and its reception. In the open discussion that followed, several of Gerratana’s colleagues intervened, including Giuseppe Cacciatore who touched upon, among other things, the significance of Gerratana’s reading of Gramsci—a topic he treated more fully in an article “Dall’intellettuale politico al ‘filosofo democratico’” (From Political Intellectual to Democratic Philosopher) that had appeared that same day in the cultural pages of *La Città* (26 February 1997). The event was the subject of an article by Eugenio Manca—“Il curatore dei *Quaderni* dà l’addio alla cattedra (Valentino Gerratana ha tenuto a Salerno la sua ultima lezione alla presenza di numerosi colleghi e allievi)” —published in *L’Unità* on 8 March 1997.

The city of Palermo has been the site of several “Gramscian events.” The cultural association CEPES (presided by Nicola Cipolla) organized an evening conference on the recent book by Guido Liguori, *Gramsci conteso* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1996) on 21 January 1997 that was attended by the author. Another evening conference organized by CEPES on 28 February 1997, focussed on *Gramsci in Europa e in America* (Bari: Laterza, 1995)—the speakers included the editor of the volume, Antonio Santucci, as well as Joseph Buttigieg and Nicola De Domenico (University of Palermo). Also in Palermo, on 7 March 1997, a round table discussion was held to mark the publication of Antonio Santucci’s new edition of the *Lettere dal carcere* (Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 1996) and to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of Gramsci’s death. The event was hosted by Giovanni Giudice, president of the Istituto Gramsci Siciliano and Elvira Sellerio. Among the speakers: Nicola De Domenico (University of Palermo), Franco Lo Piparo (University of Palermo), Nicola Mineo (University of Catania), Francesco Renda (honorary president of the Istituto Gramsci Siciliano), Antonio Santucci, and Aldo Tortorella (director of *Critica Marxista*).

At the University of Naples, Domenico Jervolino (Department of Philosophy) has organized a year-long seminar (which meets weekly on Thursdays) on “Il linguaggio e la prassi in Gramsci” (Language and Praxis in Gramsci). The seminar was launched on 11 November 1996 with a lecture by André Tosel of the Sorbonne on “La filosofia della prassi e la traducibilità dei linguaggi scientifici e come riforma del senso comune.” The question of “translatability” was further explored in a seminar that was given by Paul Ricoeur (on 29 April 1997) as part of Domenico Jervolino’s university course on the philosophy of language. Also in Naples, the student members of Rifondazione Comunista organized a round-table discussion “Gramsci, gli intellettuali e lo stato”. The speakers at the event—which was held in the Aula Magna of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Naples on 23 April 1997—were Francesco Borelli, Domenico Jervolino, and Raul Mordenti. (Domenico Jervolino, representing IGS-Italia, also gave talks in Ales and Ghilarza in Sardinia on 24 and 25 April 1997 at events commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of Gramsci’s death.)

The Italian Academy for Advanced Studies at Columbia University in New York City, in collaboration with the Fondazione Istituto Gramsci of Rome, and the Italian Cultural Institute in New York sponsored a day-long international conference on "Gramsci and Modernity" that was held in the "Teatro" of the newly refurbished Casa Italiana, at Columbia University, on 3 April 1997. The Director of the Italian Academy, Professor Richard Brilliant, opened the conference and chaired the morning session. The following presentations were made in the morning session: Giuseppe Vacca: "The Prison Notebooks and Twentieth Century Politics"; Joseph A. Buttigieg: "Gramsci's Analysis of Modernity and Modernization"; Renato Zangheri: "Notes on Gramsci and the Twentieth Century"; Gianfranco Corsini, "The American Way to Gramsci". Nadia Urbinati was the discussant. The afternoon session included the following presentations: Frank Rosengarten: "The Problem of Will and Coercion in Gramsci's Prison Letters"; Claudia Mancina: "Praxis and Pragmatism: The Influence of James on Gramsci"; John Cammett: "A Bibliography on Gramsci on the Internet." The discussant of the afternoon papers was Benedetto Fontana. On the eve of the conference, the participants also participated in a round table discussion on "The Impact of Gramsci's Thought at the End of the 20th Century" that was held at the Istituto Italiano di Cultura and was chaired by the director of the Istituto, Gioacchino Lanza Tomassi. *Il Manifesto* published two articles on the events in New York: "Antonio Gramsci ha conquistato l'America" by Elisabetta Castellani (3 April 1997); and "Gramsci in giro per gli States" by Giulia D'Agnolo Vallan (5 April 1997).

The Berliner Institut für kritische Theorie organized a large conference on Gramsci that was held on 18-20 April 1997 at the Jagdschloss Glienicke in Berlin. The opening plenary session, chaired by Wolfgang Fritz Haug, included presentations by Frank Deppe (Marburg) on "Gramsci und Machiavelli", and Harald Neubert (Berlin) on "Parteientheorie bei Gramsci." The overall

rubric of the four simultaneous sessions held on the morning of 19 April was "Gramsci-Studien." In the afternoon, four more simultaneous sessions focussed on "applications" of Gramsci's thought. The four simultaneous sessions scheduled for the morning of 20 April were devoted to presentations on various issues related to postfordism and to neoliberalism.

In Brazil, Professor Alberto Aggio, of the Faculdade de História, Direito e Serviço Social of the Universidad Estadual Paulista, coordinated a four-day conference—"Gramsci-60 Anos. A Vitalidade De Um Pensamento"—that was held on 19-22 May 1997 at UNESP, Campus de Franca (Sao Paulo). The advance copy of the program (kindly provided by Alberto Aggio) listed Carlos Nelson Coutinho as the opening speaker. He was to speak on "A Atualidade de Gramsci." Other plenary speakers included Ivete Simionatto on "O Social e o Político no pensamento de Gramsci" and Marco Aurélio Nogueira on "Gramsci e os desafios da política democrática." Luis Werneck Vianna was to conclude the conference with a talk on "Gramsci e nós: perguntas e desafios." Three round table discussions were planned, dealing with: "Gramsci, os intelectuais e a política"; "Gramsci e a esquerda ocidental"; and "A presença de Gramsci na política brasileira." In addition, three workshops were to be held on: "Gramsci, a História e os Historiadores"; "Gramsci, o Direito e a Justiça"; and "Gramsci e a Teoria do Serviço Social."

On 19 July 1997 the Calabrian-Albanian comune of Plataci (in the province of Cosenza, where Albanians settled in the 15th century) will host a conference on "Gramsci: origini e pensiero." During the conference, members of the Centro Studi di Politica ed Economia della Calabria (CESPE.CA) will present the results of their genealogical research which traced Gramsci's forebears back to the Albanian community of Plataci. (They also conducted research in Albania and specifically in the province of Gramsh.) Albanian scholars will also be participating in the conference.

(See also the reports on conferences and events in San Francisco, Cagliari, and Rome in the other sections of this Newsletter.)

GRAMSCI AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: CAGLIARI, APRIL 1997

by

Frank Rosengarten

A four-day international Conference on “Gramsci and the Twentieth Century” was held in Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, from April 15 to 18, 1997. Forty-seven speakers, almost all university professors, from nine countries (Argentina, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Germany, Italy, Mexico, Russia, United States) met in the spacious conference hall of the Bank of Sardinia. From 100 to 200 persons, including large contingents of students from local high schools and from the University of Cagliari, attended at least one of the Conference’s seven sessions, which were held to mark the 60th anniversary of Gramsci’s death on April 27, 1937. The municipal administration of Cagliari, the provincial governments of Cagliari, Ales and Ghilarza, the regional government of Sardinia, the Universities of Cagliari and Sassari, and the Gramsci Foundation Institute of Rome collaborated in sponsoring the Conference, which also had the official approval and patronage of the President of the Italian Republic.

Papers in Spanish were simultaneously translated into English and Italian; papers in Italian and English were also reciprocally translated.

The following individuals presented papers at the Conference:

From Canada: Robert W. Cox, Stephen Gill

From the U.S.: John M. Cammett, Jean L. Cohen, Mitchell Cohen, Benedetto Fontana, Frank Rosengarten, Nadia Urbinati

From Mexico: Dora Kanoussi, Reyes Garmendia Ernesto Soto, Marco Velazquez

From Argentina: Juan Carlos Portantiero

From Brazil: Carlos Nelson Coutinho

From Britain: Anne Showstack Sassoon

From Germany: Ursula Aptizsch

From Italy: Alfonso Berardelli, Remo Bodei, Paolo Bonetti, Giuseppe Cacciatore, Michele Ciliberto, Emma Fattorini, Giulio Ferroni, Emma Giammatei, Francesca Izzo, Tommaso La Rocca, Claudia Mancina, Luciano Marrocu, Marcello Montanari, Massimo Montanari, Eugenio

Orrù, Maria Carmen Pericolo, Massimo Pivetti, Silvio Pons, Roberto Racinaro, Mario Ricciardi, Nereide Rudas, Giulio Sapelli, Enzo Siciliano, Giancarlo Schirru, Silvano Tagliagambe, Walter Tega, Mario Telò, Maurizio Viroli, Mario Zanantoni, Renato Zangheri

From Russia: Viktor Petrovic Gajduk, Irina Vladimirovna Grigoreva.

The papers covered an extraordinarily wide selection of topics and problems pertinent not only to Gramsci studies proper but also to currently debated issues in Italian and world politics. Among the latter were the causes of the crisis and downfall of communist governments in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe; the areas of compatibility and contradiction in the relationship between socialism and democracy; neo-liberalism and globalization; and ethnic and other particularistic claims on political loyalty and commitment. Among the former were the nature and meanings of civil society and the relationship between civil society and the state in Gramsci's thought; philosophy and religion in the *Prison Notebooks*; Gramsci's attitude towards the polity of the Soviet Union; Americanism and Fordism (a theme touched on by Massimo D'Alema, general secretary of the PDS, in his address at the closing session of the Conference held in the Cagliari Town Hall); the notion of "crisis" in Gramsci's writing; intellectuals and hegemony; and Gramsci's prison experience and its impact on his world view. Also of considerable practical importance were presentations dealing with the study and diffusion of Gramsci's thought. These included an up-to-date account of the holdings of the "fondo Gramsci" in Rome, John Cammett's explanation of what can be accomplished by consulting the newly created Web page entitled "Resources on Antonio Gramsci" (<http://www.soc.qc.edu/gramsci>), and two excellent papers on the critical reception of Gramsci in Germany and Russia by Ursula Aptitzsch and Viktor Gajduk, who spoke respectively on the German critical edition of the *Letters from Prison* and on the tormented history of censorship, selective editing and translating, and politically motivated publishing that marked the history of Gramsci studies in the Soviet Union, and that still today limit to a certain extent a full comprehension of Gramsci's historic achievement.

Renato Zangheri's "introductory considerations" and Eugenio Orrù's closing presentation provide a measure of some of the intellectual and political concerns in evidence at the Conference. Zangheri stressed the "new and complex" quality of the language of the *Prison Notebooks* which, he feels, reflects Gramsci's "renunciation of an earlier and contemporary dogmatic codification of Marxism." Zangheri was in agreement with several other speakers in his belief that the famous pages on "Americanism and Fordism" in Notebook 22 reveal Gramsci's independent appreciation of American cultural vitality and of the viability of American capitalism at a time—the early to mid-1930s—when most leaders of the Third International were predicting its imminent downfall. Zangheri also praised Gramsci's clarifications of the philosophy of praxis, which set him apart from the still predominantly positivist brand of Marxism professed by most official exponents of Marxism in the 1930s. Indeed, Zangheri, like Massimo D'Alema and other thinkers of the PDS,

seems to be anxious to reclaim Gramsci for the liberal as well as for the socialist project: “I have no doubt that Gramsci was thinking of a constitutional and representative socialist system,” Zangheri said. “It is also certain from his explicit assertions that, in the final analysis, he conceived of the struggle of ideas and the search for truth in terms of individual freedom.”

For his part, Eugenio Orrù, director of the Gramsci Institute in Sardinia, spoke on “Subjectivity, identity and pluralism.” His paper surveyed both the catastrophic and the progressive features of 20th century world history. Orrù focussed on the janus-faced character of current struggles by oppressed groups, races and nations for a free and independent life, which are in some instances necessary outgrowths of the ideals that animated democratic nations in World War II. Yet Orrù did not fail to register his alarm: “Today, while gigantic processes of globalization advance and materialize, we witness a reawakening, sometimes almost an explosion, of identity and subjectivity which had been previously, at least on the surface, inert and submerged. But this reawakeing has often been tumultuous, disordered and tragic. It is sufficient to think of the former Yugoslavia, of eastern Europe, and of Africa. That is already enough. Nor does western Europe appear to be entirely immune to dangerous epilogues, not even Italy. Just think of the Northern League.”

Intellectually ambitious papers on civil society and the state were given by Anne Showstack Sassoon, Jean Cohen, and Robert W. Cox.

Sassoon reviewed the “debate in English” on civil society in an extraordinarily thorough effort to summarize the main ideas of various schools and trends in the present-day sociological and political literature. Running through her analysis was the admonition “not to idealize civil society” and to remember that civil society and political society, although separable for analytical purposes, cannot really be detached from each other, as Gramsci himself made clear in several passages of the Notebooks. Sassoon emphasized the importance of historical context for any productive study of civil society, since it is the specific circumstances of civil society and state at any one moment in time and in any one country that condition the ways in which civil society is conceptualized. For example, during the 1930s, “the expanded role of the state” was a leading political issue not only in the USSR but also in fascist Italy, nazi Germany, and New Deal North America, which led to a redefinition and a “recomposition” of the public and the private realms. Moreover, during the 1930s, “social engineering and attempts to change human beings were being made through concerted state action and through private initiatives.” How these two realms articulate with each other are always subject to new and sometimes radical reinterpretation.

Two points made by Sassoon concern, first, the great importance that Gramsci attributed to the question of civil society in his analysis of transition in the West and in the Soviet Union, and second that for Gramsci, unlike many contemporary social theorists belonging to liberal, non-Marxist schools of thought, “civil society is an *analytical* concept *not a normative* one as much of

current debate would have it.” (emphasis in the original). Gramsci’s concerns about the prospects for democratic development in the USSR were caused, Sassoon believes, by his conviction that “a fully developed civil society was a political project to be achieved” that “would not be the automatic outcome of economic transformation and even less brought about by an identity between party and state.” In this observation Sassoon joined company with several other Conference speakers who found evidence in the Notebooks for claiming that Gramsci had effectively dissociated himself from the thinking and from the politics of Soviet apologists during the crucial years 1928 to 1935.

Jean Cohen, on the other hand, advocates belief precisely in the “normative thrust” of the idea of civil society denied by Sassoon, since she believes in its inherent “relevance to political projects of democratization.” She wants to save the notion of civil society from those on the political Right who strive to appropriate it for narrowly partisan purposes, and from a Left that denies its distinctively liberatory content. Her paper had four parts: 1) a discussion of the context and concerns of the current American civil society debate; 2) an exploration of the “neo-republican” contribution of Robert Putnam to the civil society debate; 3) a critical look at the “reductionist conception of civil society” and its connections to “an untenable *theory* of American civic decline” (emphasis in original); and 4) an argument that the rhetoric of decline “plays into the hands” of people more concerned with “pushing back the achievements of welfare states. . .and/or reviving ‘traditional’ (authoritarian) forms of civil society. . .than with its further democratization.” Cohen believes that Gramsci’s key contribution to the conceptualization of civil society was his “emphasis on its politically-relevant cultural dimension.”

Robert Cox, like Sassoon, argues that “to be true to Gramsci’s way of thinking, we should try to relate changing meanings of civil society to historical changes in social relations.” In other words, like Sassoon, he employs the notion of civil society analytically, not normatively. After briefly reviewing the history of the phrase, Cox identifies two notable changes in the world order that must be taken into account in order to deal realistically with the defining conditions of civil society in the present day: the collapse of “real socialism” which was heralded as a possible rebirth of civil society in countries dominated by a Party-state; and the restructuring of production by globalizing capitalism. New “social cleavages” have vastly complicated what was at one time a world in which the bourgeois/proletarian cleavage could still be claimed by Marxist thinkers as basic to an adequate understanding of society. A crucial judgment underlying Cox’s analysis is his view that: “In global governance, the influence of corporate capital and global finance outweigh the autonomy of states which function increasingly as agencies to adjust national economies to the perceived exigencies of the global economy, with competitiveness in world markets as the ultimate criterion of policy.” Recalling Gramsci’s various theorizations of the civil-society/state nexus in the context of the socialist project understood in its broadest terms, Cox believes that the problem for the Left today is “how to bridge the fragmented and often mutually antagonistic forms of

consciousness of the opposition to globalization towards the formation of a counterhegemonic bloc of global dimensions.”

In the domains of philosophy and religion, Dora Kanoussi, Nadia Urbinati, Mitchell Cohen, Tommaso La Rocca, Benedetto Fontana, and Carlos Nelson Coutinho spoke respectively on “the philosophical coherence of the *Prison Notebooks*,” “the democratic individual in Tocqueville, Dewey and Gramsci,” “Tragedy and the fate of Marxism in the 20th century, from Lukàcs to Goldmann,” “Gramsci on religion: a teacher of secularism,” “What is truth? Modernity and Hegemony in Gramsci,” and “The General Will and democracy in Rousseau, Hegel and Gramsci.”

Kanoussi, who delivered her paper in Spanish, argues that there is a “theoretical nucleus” at the core of the *Prison Notebooks*, which are often seen as completely fragmentary and lacking an organizing principle. There is a “rhythm” of thought and a methodological concern in Gramsci’s prison writings that give his notes their coherence. At their center are reflections on the process by which Modernity, seen as the leading characteristic of western civilization, enters into crisis, a crisis which “affects the philosophy of praxis itself inasmuch as this philosophy too was born within the very interior of this process” as its critical moment. The critique made possible by the philosophy of praxis, she believes, runs through the Notebooks, and can be traced from its first fairly extensive treatment in Notebook 4 through Notebooks 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 19 and 22.

Urbinati agrees with Kanoussi in her belief that for Gramsci, as for Tocqueville, “democratic society is a synonym of modernity,” but emphasizes that for both thinkers, “modernity and democracy reveal themselves clearly only in America”—in relation to which she cites Gramsci’s assertion that this condition “exists naturally” in America (Notebook 23, Gerratana edition, p. 2141.) For both Tocqueville and Gramsci, Urbinati claims, the new civilization of the United States was free of all the traditional political and philosophical encumbrances that impeded the full development of democratic institutions in Europe. Gramsci also resembles John Dewey in several ways, one of which is his acceptance of a necessary “conformism” provided that it is limited to socially beneficial routines and habits, and his corresponding notion of individuality, which has nothing to do with the “atomistic individualism” that characterizes the point of view among exponents of an unbridled capitalism in the U.S.

Mitchell Cohen devoted his inquiry to the fluctuating currents of dialectical and positivist forms of Marxist thought, from Lukàcs to Goldmann, whom Cohen credits, together with Gramsci, for consistently expounding a dialectical conception of Marxism. His paper asks the question: What happened to dialectical thinking after it was suffocated by Stalinism and fascism?

La Rocca attempts to clarify the particular character of Gramsci’s secularism. He argues that Gramsci did not let himself fall into the trap of dogmatic anti-clericalism, because he recognized the enormous importance, for an understanding of Italian culture and society, of religious ideas and sentiments. Gramsci followed Labriola’s example in rejecting a simplistic “negative secularism” in

favor of a “positive secularism” that could accommodate serious study of religious—especially Catholic—beliefs and practices.

In his paper, Fontana probed the question of “truth” in Gramsci’s thought, arguing that in the *Notebooks* “truth” is a “socially and historically constructed value, whose meaning is constantly in motion.” Moreover, for Gramsci, the search for truth is an enterprise properly undertaken collectively. “The altering of men’s consciousness occurs on various levels [for Gramsci],” Fontana argues: “the moral, the emotional, the intellectual, and the social. It is the coming together of these moments that establishes the truth.” The truth is not, as in Plato or Croce, given by autonomous reason, but rather is an “historical truth” generated by the activity of a given social group. Fontana illustrates his arguments by commenting on the confrontation between Christ and Pontius Pilate, the ironic and paradoxical nuances of which are too complex to be explained here.

Coutinho attempts to establish a direct link between Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s theory of the “general will” in the *Social Contract* and Gramsci’s notion of “collective will.” For both thinkers, deliberation about matters of social concern and the entire decision-making process in an authentic democracy must be based on a “consensual inter-subjective interaction.” He also argues that Hegel is the thinker who provided Gramsci with the insights he utilized in formulating his concept of civil society. For both Rousseau and Gramsci, the general will must take precedence over the single or particular will, a precedence that has its origins in the political philosophy of Aristotle. This places both thinkers effectively outside the framework of the liberal tradition. Coutinho sees a weakness in Rousseau’s formulation in that it rests on “the presupposition that this general will is something that counterposes itself drastically to particular wills and, in the final analysis, represses them (men are ‘forced to be free’ in order that they act in accordance with the general will).” Hegel understood this problem, and acknowledged the existence in the Modern Age of a social sphere that had not existed in Antiquity, namely that of “civil society.” In the concluding section of his paper, Coutinho proposes the hypothesis that “if in the work of the Italian thinker, in particular in his specific concept of hegemony, it is possible to single out a reception of what is most valid and lucid in the political reflections of Rousseau and Hegel, this same work also contains some fruitful indications of the way in which to overcome their limits and aporias.”

Silvio Pons and Irina Grigoreva had original things to say about Gramsci’s views of the Soviet Union as articulated or hinted at in the *Prison Notebooks*, and readers are encouraged to write to the Gramsci Institute in Rome for copies of these two papers, since I cannot deal with them in this summary. Let it suffice here to say that both Pons and Grigoreva describe a Gramsci who was radically critical of the political involution taking place in the Soviet Union, and who, as evidenced in his commentary on Bukharin’s “Marxist” sociology, objected strongly to a type of materialist reductionism—an objection that can be read, implicitly, as a criticism of prevailing trends in Soviet political and social thought.

Mario Telò, Giulio Sapelli, Paolo Bonetti, and Stephen Gill dealt in their papers with various aspects of the pages on “Americanism and Fordism” and with the new forms of liberal hegemony in the post-communist world system.

Telò thinks that in prison Gramsci acquired the conviction that “American rationalism represented the referential horizon for the historical development of Italy and Europe and, as a consequence, the real challenge to the war of position of the European workers’ movement.” Gramsci did not agree with the catastrophic view of western capitalism, and in his “strategic orientation” did not share the widely held belief that the crisis of 1929 would lead to a quick resolution of problems that in reality, he thought, would remain unsolved for a long time to come. Despite the depression and the advent of nazism, between 1929 and 1935, in the competition between the two capitalisms, the statist and authoritarian type represented by Germany and Italy, and the liberal democratic type embodied by the United States, it was the latter that held the key to the future of the West.

Sapelli’s point of departure is also Americanism and Fordism, but he takes a more critical and oppositional stance towards the current manifestations of the “American century” than does Telò. Like Cox, he sees the long epoch in which nation-states determined the direction of world affairs coming rapidly to a close, to be replaced by a world order on which the 1990 Treaty of Maastricht serves to imprint an extreme form of *liberismo* that “blocks the use of public spending as a support to production and services and therefore imposes a drastic reduction of state indebtedness.” In the presence of still sustained economic growth, Sapelli argues, “instead of using its resources to modernize the capitalist system in its broadened capacity for reproduction, the political, industrial and financial ruling classes of the old demographic regressive bloc cloak themselves in the management of an oligopolistic and oligarchical power that increases corporate privileges and leads state finances to bankruptcy.”

In his paper, Bonetti stressed “the profound influence of liberal ideology” on the young Gramsci, and argues that his analysis of liberalism was undertaken from within a liberal framework. Gill’s long and wide-ranging paper on “Gramsci, modernity and globalization” attempts “to apply and develop some of Gramsci’s conceptualizations of state and civil society, historical bloc and his perspective on civilisations and to relate them to the explanation of the contours of modernity and to the current phase of neo-liberal restructuring of the contemporary capitalist global economy.” Prevailing forms of state and civil society are seen by Gill as being in a situation of “organic crisis.” In response to that crisis, which is currently being managed more or less to the benefit of the dominant financial and political élite, Gill asks the question: “how are we to sketch the potentials for resistance to neo-liberalism that can assume a more comprehensive counter-hegemonic historical bloc?” He is more explicit than Cox and several other speakers in

addressing the problem of how to mobilize and organize resistance to the current hegemony of the neo-liberal project.

Several speakers, notably Reyes G. Ernesto Soto, Juan Carlos Portantiero, and Marcello Montanari, tried to analyze the component features of “the crisis of modernity” at the end of the century. Soto looks at “two expressions of the present political and economic crisis in Mexico: the corrosion of the foundations of the modern Mexican State, and the failure of the neo-liberal economic policies implemented by the Mexican government since 1980.” Montanari believes that the old world dominated by nation-states has come to an inglorious end, but that a new subjective agency of change, in Gramscian terms, has yet to appear, an agency, that is, capable of founding a new ethico-political order. Among possible candidates to lead the world into a new age was that of the “American model” of development, an idea which, Montanari argues, was already glimpsed by Gramsci. No doubt this thesis, had there been time and the will to do so at the Conference, would and should have stimulated some lively debate. In any event, this model for the future was not the one envisioned by many of Montanari’s fellow speakers. Yet its attractions ought not to be underestimated by people wishing to understand today’s Italy. Portantiero addressed himself more to the “cultural crisis” of the late 20th century, claiming that Gramsci provides the basis for constructing a new “totality” of vision in a world that has lost just such an encompassing conception. The most urgent task is to struggle against new forms of utilitarianism and individualism, and to search for new forms of solidarity. The absence of solidarity constitutes a cardinal element of the “crisis of modernity.”

Giulio Ferroni, Giancarlo Schirru, Marco Velasquez and Marzio Zanantoni made valuable contributions to the discussion of intellectuals, to Gramsci’s ideas on language and politics, to “Zapatism” and the historiography of the Mexican revolution, and to the national question.

Frank Rosengarten and Nereide Rudas (who is director of the University of Cagliari’s Institute of Clinical Psychiatry) explored Gramsci’s prison letters as sources for understanding how his confinement affected both his psychological situation and his political perspective.

Unfortunately, the limits of space do not allow for an account of other important presentations. A mere listing of topics not yet mentioned will have to be sufficient:

In session one: “Forms of subjectivity in the 20th century”:

Francesca Izzo: Political subjectivity in the century of industrialism

Silvano Tagliagambe: Institutions and modernity

In session two: “Industrialism, socialism, nation”:

Michele Ciliberto: The problem of the Italian nation from antiquity
to the modern epoch

Emma Fattorini: Church and political Catholicism in 20th cent. as seen by Gramsci

Maurizio Viroli: Gramsci and the nation

In session three: “Philosophies and politics”:

Roberto Racinaro: The Gramscian interpretation of idealism

Claudia Mancina: Praxis and pragmatism: Traces of James in Gramsci

In session four: “Questions of hegemony”:

Giulio Ferroni: The parabola of the status of intellectuals in the 20th century

Giuseppe Cacciatore: Gramsci: problems of ethics

Maria Carmen Pericolo: The question of common sense

In session five: “Between philology and history”:

Remo Bodei: Forms of politics in mass societies

Emma Giammattei: Gramsci’s writing and early 20th C. stylistic-rhetorical models

Alfonso Berardinelli: Gramsci as essayist

Walter Tega: The invention of the historiographical object

Giancarlo Schirru: The *Notebooks* and the debate on language and nationality in international socialism

Mario Ricciardi: Writing and project in the *Notebooks*

In session six: “Cultural themes”:

Massimo Montanari: The Middle Ages in the *Notebooks*

Mario Zanantoni: On national identity through Gramsci’s notes

Luciano Marrocu: The recapture of tradition: the case of George Orwell

In session seven: “Influences and comparisons”:

Massimo Pivetti: The analytical importance of the *Notebooks* and the question of their influence: reflections of a non-specialist

GRAMSCI COMMEMORATIONS IN ROME

APRIL 1997

The 60th anniversary of the death of Antonio Gramsci was also observed in Rome. On Sunday, April 27, two commemorative events were held. The first took place in front of the building at via G. Battista Morgagni 25, near the Porta Pia. It was there that a stone plaque was installed in Gramsci's honor. It reads as follows:

IN QUESTA CASA
NEL 1924-1926
ABITO'
ANTONIO GRAMSCI
DEPUTATO AL PARLAMENTO
DIRIGENTE
DELLA CLASSE OPERAIA
UN CAPO CHE SAPEVA ASCOLTARE

NEL 60° ANNIVERSARIO
DELLA MORTE
S.P.Q.R.
ROMA, 27 APRILE 1997

About 100 persons were present including Fausto Bertinotti, general secretary of the Rifondazione comunista political party, Francesco Rutelli, the mayor of Rome, Lucio Manisco, RC delegate to the European Parliament, and Gianni Borgna, Rome's assessor of culture, who organized the days' events. Some of you will recall that Gramsci's first "letter from prison" was directed to Clara Passarge who had an apartment here where he lived as a "pensionante" at the time of his arrest on November 8, 1926.

The second commemoration took place at 11:30am in the "Cimitero degli inglesi," also known as the "Cimitero acattolico," next to the Piramide di Caio Cesto. Gramsci's ashes were laid to rest here at the end of 1938. The general secretary of the Partito democratico di sinistra, Massimo

D'Alema, who had just returned from Brussels, was present with Giuseppe Vacca, the Director of the Fondazione Istituto Gramsci and its President Renato Zangheri, as well as the other persons mentioned above. Bertinotti and D'Alema also visited the grave in this cemetery of Antonio Labriola (1843-1904), the philosopher and principal founder of Marxism in Italy.

On Sunday afternoon, in the auditorium of the Università dei Valdesi, near Piazza Cavour, another Gramscian conference was held. It was hosted by the A.I.A.S.P. (Associazione Internazionale di Amicizia e Solidarietà con i Popoli) and by the Centro di Informazione e Documentazione 'Majakovski.'" Most of the audience consisted of students who were clearly on the Left. Interesting speeches were given by Michele Capuano, one of their leaders and an author of the booklet *Il partito necessario: Noterelle provocatorie per un dibattito sul Partito della Rifondazione Comunista in Italia* (Albano-RM: Edizioni Solara, 1995), and by Prof. Arcangelo Leone de Castris of the University of Bari, author of many writings on Gramsci including his very recent book *Sulle ceneri di Gramsci: Pasolini, i comunisti e il '68* (Rome: Datanews, 1997).

The entire day of Monday, April 29, was devoted by the Comune di Roma and the "Sistema biblioteche centri culturali" to the celebration of Gramsci. In the morning, at the Nuovo Sacher School, before a very large audience including many young people from several Roman high schools, no less a person than Bernardo Bertolucci presented the film by Gianni Amico and Giorgio Baratta called "Gramsci l'ho visto così." Bertolucci spoke at length on Gianni Amico, who died a few years ago, as one of the major inspirations of his work, and of this film itself as "very simple, very clear. And which has taught us how we can make a film on Gramsci in a Gramscian way." Laura Betti, the splendid actress, also participated in the meeting. She spoke of the affinity of the poet-writer Pier Paolo Pasolini for Antonio Gramsci, of their love of life and of their "disperata vitalità." She concluded by reading a number of Gramsci's letters on the theme of "roses" and life. Tullio De Mauro, the well-known linguist, gave a most appropriate paper on the importance of various themes of education for Gramsci.

From a scholarly point of view, perhaps the high point of these events occurred on Monday afternoon. It took place on the highest reaches of the Campidoglio—the site of the capitol of ancient Rome—and consisted of the presentation of some ten papers, mostly on the theme of "Gramsci and Rome." Two to three hundred attended including a considerable number of young people.

Domenico Losurdo opened the event with his paper on "L'Urss, l'America e il fascismo: Gramsci e la grande politica," which perhaps anticipates his forthcoming book centered on the idea of Gramsci's "critical communism." Renato Zangheri discussed Gramsci's leadership of the Pci d'Italia during and after the Aventine secession. Michele Pistillo, in a clear and successful attempt to overcome current efforts to homogenize Gramsci and Mussolini, demonstrated the chasm separating the Sardinian leader from all forms of "maximalism." Emma Fattorini showed his

originality in analyzing the politics of the Vatican and of Luigi Sturzo's Ppi. Francesco Biscione, from Gramsci's "southern" perspective, outlined the nature of his anti-Giolittianism. Aldo Natoli evoked the quality of the Communist leader's life in Rome in 1924-26, especially with regard to his relation to his wife and sister-in-law. Giuseppe Vacca reexamined the famous correspondence between Gramsci and Togliatti in October 1926 on the "Russian question." He showed that Togliatti's supposed "Stalinism" was a misinterpretation of his realism and he promises a complete reevaluation in the near future.

The celebrations were completed in the evening with a recitation and a musical performance in the Teatro Flaiano, via S. Stefano del Cacco n. 15. The undersigned was unfortunately unable to attend. In the interests of completeness, I present the outline of this part of the program:

Gramsci. Per forza e per amore.

Scelta dalle lettere e dal primo e ultimo discorso alla Camera dei Deputati (16 maggio 1925)

Concerto per voce recitante, flauto, viola e contrabbasso

voce recitante: Ugo de Vita

flauto: Marta Rossi

arpa: Lucia Bova

viola: Luca Sanzò

contrabbasso: Luca Cola

musiche originali di Francesco Telle
regia e allestimento di Ugo de Vita

John M. Cammett

New York City

* * * *

Edizione Nazionale delle opere di Antonio Gramsci / National Edition of Gramsci's Works

With a Ministerial Decree of 20 December 1996, the Italian Minister of Culture, Walter Veltroni, appointed a "scientific committee" to oversee the preparation of the "National Edition" of Gramsci's writings. The formal induction of the committee took place at the Ministry of Culture in Rome on 19 February 1997. The members of the committee are: Norberto Bobbio, Remo Bodei, Joseph Buttigieg, Luciano Canfora, Michele Ciliberto, Franco De Felice, Gianni Francioni, Eugenio Garin, Eric Hobsbawm, Maria Luisa Mangoni, Ezio Raimondi, Mario Scotti, Giuseppe Vacca, and Renato Zangheri.

GRAMSCI IN SAN FRANCISCO

by

P. Kerim Friedman & Jason S. Greenberg

It is not surprising that Gramsci drew a crowd at the 1996 American Anthropological Association meeting in San Francisco. The size of the audience, however, was far greater than expected, especially considering that the panel explicitly attacked the ways in which Gramsci's theories have been (mis)used in the discipline. This panel, "Gramsci, Hegemony and The Critique of Anthropology," organized by Jason S. Greenberg and P. Kerim Friedman, grew out of an upper-level anthropology seminar on Gramsci taught by historian Peter Gran at Temple University. This seminar examined the ways in which Gramsci's theories have been used within the social sciences. Despite its origins as a "student" panel, the size quickly doubled as established scholars expressed interest in participation. As the panel solidified both Partha Chatterjee, and this newsletter's editor, Joseph Buttigieg, graciously agreed to participate as discussants.

Unfortunately, the panel was plagued by illness. The chair, Tom Patterson of Temple University, was struck ill by a virus feasting on the 6,000 anthropologists gathered together that weekend. John Gledhill, the newly appointed chair of Social Anthropology at Manchester University, suffering from a "lesser virus," was able to both present his paper and serve as chair. Niyi Akinnaso of Temple University was unable to attend the conference due to illness.

The critique of anthropology—via Gramsci—took several forms. All of them, in some way, sought to emphasize the importance of theorizing the state. Some sought to re-introduce theories of the state to discussions of culture, hegemony, and globalization, while others sought to locate anthropological theory itself within the state, by applying Gramsci's concept of the "state intellectual."

Many of the panel's themes were introduced at the beginning by Peter Gran's paper, "The Continuing Relevance Of Gramsci's Concept Of Hegemony," which focuses upon the continuing relevance of the state. Attacking globalization theory, Gran argues that the state, as a unit of analysis, allows us to understand a wide range of phenomena, from social history to international relations. John Gledhill also attacks globalization theory for leaving out the state. Focusing upon Mexico, Gledhill argues that the state has adopted neoliberalism as a device to handle the many

contradictions between regional power blocs and global capitalism. He sees a politics of “difference” as the best hope of challenging the neoliberal state.

Both Jason S. Greenberg (Temple University) and Pamila Gupta (University of Michigan) examine the role of intellectuals within state structure. While Greenberg concentrates upon the appropriation of Max Gluckman's anthropological theory in Israel, and Gupta on the legacy of Charles Boxer's writings on Portuguese colonialism, both concluded their analyses with a positive affirmation of Gramsci's unique contribution to the relationship between intellectuals and the state.

Swapna Banerjee's (Temple University) paper examines the extension of Indian state hegemony into the middle-class household in Bengal, arguing that middle-class and gendered identity is based on difference and opposition with lower social classes. In a similar vein, Dina Mendros (Temple University) examines the construction of gender through a detailed analysis of a cross-dressing “academy” in New York. Both Banerjee and Mendros suggest that recent studies of gendered identity have ignored the dimensions of both state and class, and that Gramsci's vision of hegemony can serve as a powerful corrective.

Susan Levine (Temple University) takes as her starting point Gramsci's discussion of his youth and schooling in his *Letters From Prison*. Looking at active role of students in the Soweto riots, Levine argues that childhood needs to be re-theorized, and that Gramsci's writings, particularly his reflections on his own youth in his letters, are an important and interesting point of departure.

Kate Crehan (The New School) investigates Gramsci's writings on culture, arguing that they are firmly grounded in a Marxist theory of class relations. Culture, she argues, is “actively created” by classes, either for the maintenance of hegemony, or as part of an organized struggle against it. In a similar vein, P. Kerim Friedman (Temple University) focuses upon the ways which Gramsci and Bourdieu have been used in the literature on language policy. Friedman argues that, while Bourdieu takes social reproduction for granted, Gramsci saw social reproduction as a problem which needed to be solved. F. Niyi Akinnaso (Temple University) was also to discuss Gramsci and Bourdieu in a paper on language rights in Nigeria. Unfortunately he was unable to attend because of illness.

The discussants supplied both audience and participants with many points to ponder, providing criticism and closure. Perhaps these are best summarized by Joseph Buttigieg's moving admonition that a current application of Gramsci's ideas and writings is arduous work. Like Gramsci himself, the contemporary writer must constantly call into question the very foundation upon which the ideas are built. After the panel, most of the participants enjoyed an excellent meal, with much discussion, of course, of Gramsci.

On the Publication of *The Prison Notebooks*—Volume II

edited and translated by Joseph A. Buttigieg
(New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)

In the latter part of 1996, Columbia University Press published the second of a projected five-volume, integral English-language translation of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Joseph A. Buttigieg, whose labors have resulted in an invaluable contribution to Gramsci studies. Like his counterparts in Germany, France, Mexico and several other countries, Buttigieg has assumed the task of providing not only an accurate translation of the *Prison Notebooks* but also critical notes and commentary that go far beyond what Valentino Gerratana provided in his four-volume Italian edition published in 1975. In other words, while drawing much information and certain interpretative notes from Gerratana, Buttigieg has added many new notes and has expanded on existing ones with a view to helping the English-language reader to penetrate Gramsci's densely analytical and richly allusive writing. Whenever desirable, he also includes in his notes passages from Gramsci's *Letters from Prison*, and from critical essays that have appeared in recent years, which serve to enrich the already abundant research done by Gerratana.

Readers of Volume I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992) will recall the way in which Buttigieg has organized the material of his great project, which is repeated in Volume II. The 736 pages of Volume II are arranged as follows: a four-page preface; the complete text of Notebooks 3, 4, and 5 (pp. 3 to 402); informative and critical notes for these three Notebooks (pp. 405 to 705); a guide to Gramsci's Notes by title or opening phrase (pp. 707 to 718); and a Name Index (pp. 719 to 736). The sequence of notes by title or opening phrase allows the reader to find the specific topics that are of special interest to her/him. These consist of proper names, the titles of topics to which Gramsci returns throughout the *Notebooks*, such as "Father Besciani's Progeny," "Past and Present," and "Marx and Machiavelli," as well as a large number of miscellaneous topics. The Name Index to Volume II reveals that among the persons to whom Gramsci devotes a great deal of attention in Notebooks 3, 4 and 5 are Benedetto Croce, Dante, Francesco De Sanctis, Fredrick Engels, Giovanni Gentile, Machiavelli, Alessandro Manzoni, Marx, Mussolini, and Georges Sorel. These names reflect Gramsci's strong interest in these Notebooks in literature and philosophy, the nature and role of intellectuals, and popular culture. An especially important aspect of Notebook 4 is the predominance of philosophical issues connected to Gramsci's elaboration of a

philosophy of praxis that builds on the thought of Marx and Antonio Labriola and on German and Italian idealism.

As Buttigieg points out in his Preface, Notebooks 3, 4 and 5 were composed during the years 1930 to 1932, which was “a period of intense activity for Gramsci who, in spite of the great physical and emotional stress he was under, had practically transformed his prison cell at Turi di Bari into an intellectual workshop. . .” (Preface, p. ix). Two of Gramsci’s ongoing projects, which are pursued vigorously in Notebook 4, are his reflections on the philosophy of historical materialism, and his literary-critical analysis of Canto X of Dante’s *Inferno*. Both of these sections are exceedingly difficult to translate without seeming to betray the original. Buttigieg overcomes this obstacle in translations that, I think, will stand the test of time.

There is of course ample room in Gramsci studies for highly personal and even idiosyncratic interpretations of his ideas, provided that they are acknowledged as such. Yet the need for careful reading and philological rigor is of paramount importance in dealing with a text as complex and fragmentary as the *Prison Notebooks*. On this score, it seems to me that Buttigieg’s work is faithful to the spirit with which Gramsci himself committed himself to intellectual endeavors.

Frank Rosengarten

* * *

Gore Vidal, Michael Foot, Montaigne and Gramsci

In a brief article, “Through a Vote, Darkly” (The Nation, 26 May 1997), Gore Vidal described some of his experiences in London where he spent some time observing the British electoral campaign as a commentator for the BBC. Following the election and the resounding victory of Tony Blair’s New Labour, he visited a stalwart of the “old” Labour Party:

I go to my splendid ancient friend and former head of the Labor Party, Michael Foot: “Blair is excellent. Really excellent.” I ask, “Whatever happened to socialism?” At this Mrs. Foot looked grim. “Yes,” she asked her husband. “What did?” He smiles. “Socialism? Oh, socialism! Yes! Yes! . . . Well, there’s time . . .” I move on. “The young, even in America,” I said, “are reading Gramsci.” Foot was delighted. “Good. Good. While you and I are reading Montaigne.”

hegemony

burning u.s. flags
third world protesters wearing
Levis and Nikes

Mark Freeman

* * *

A GRAMSCI LIBRARY / BIBLIOTECA GRAMSCIANA

In Ales, Antonio Gramsci's birthplace, a group of librarians and archivists has been working for four years to establish a library that is entirely dedicated to Gramsci's works and to writings on Gramsci. The goal is to house under one roof a comprehensive collection of Italian and foreign editions of Gramsci's writings, as well as all the works listed in the two volumes of the *Gramsci Bibliography* compiled by John Cammett and Maria Luisa Righi.

A number of technical and organizational issues concerning the cataloging and storage of materials have already been resolved. The collection is starting to take shape.

Once the collection is moved to its permanent location—which is expected to be the house at Ales where Gramsci was born—the project will enter its final stage of development. A “service” operation will be put in place to facilitate the use of the library by readers and researchers and to provide the means whereby international scholars can have access to the materials electronically or through other methods of duplication and transmission.

The organizers of the project wish to have the **Biblioteca Gramsciana** operating as soon as possible. Their success in meeting their goals depends almost entirely on the cooperation and generosity of editors and authors who have produced books and articles by and about Gramsci. Everyone—especially members of the International Gramsci Society—who has published work on or by Gramsci is strongly urged to send copies to the project director:

Luigi Manias
Via Amsicora 27
09091 Ales (OR)
ITALY

Antonio's "other" brother

A Note on Mario Gramsci

Mario Gramsci (1893-1945) was the only Fascist member of his family. Antonio had broken off relations with him in 1921 and things apparently remained that way, except for a brief reconciliation in 1927. (See Antonio Gramsci's letter to his mother of 23 May 1927, and also Mario's letter to Antonio of May 17. The letter is in *Nuove lettere di Antonio Gramsci*, edited by Antonio A. Santucci [Rome: Ed. Riuniti, 1986], pp. 82-83.)

According to Giuseppe Fiori (Eng. ed., p. 301, n. 5), Mario "enlisted in the army during the Abyssinian war, and later fought in North Africa. He was captured and spent several years in an Australian prisoner-of-war camp. He died in 1945, at the age of 52, immediately after his return from Australia from a serious illness contracted during imprisonment. He left two children, Gianfranco and Cesarina."

The only monographic piece on Mario Gramsci and his family which I recall is #5468 of the *Bibliografia gramsciana*: Giovanni Ruggieri, "Antonio Gramsci, nostro zio (Un eccezionale incontro con i nipoti del rivoluzionario sardo)", *Gente*, 19 (1975), pp. 8-10.

A most recent publication has given us further information on this question. It is an interview with Cesarina Gramsci, Antonio's niece and Mario's daughter: Cesarina Gramsci, «Mio padre, il Gramsci nero [Interview by Roberto Di Caro]», *L'Espresso*, xliii, 19 (15 May 1997), 84-85. She seems to be a decent person, but has a tendency to avoid problems and minimize differences. For her, Uncle Antonio was not a hunchback and her father was not really a Fascist.

Though the comparison of Antonio's and Mario's lives—as it has been made by some in the name of "national reconciliation"—is obscene and misleading. There is no denying the tragic character of the younger brother's life. It is grotesquely appropriate to the more brutal aspects of our century. He was a volunteer in World War I, a volunteer in the Ethiopian war, and again in World War II (at the age of 47!). And in between these disasters he was an enthusiastic volunteer to the very ideology which did him in! What a life!

John M. Cammett

Eisuke Takemura (1931 - 1997)

Eisuke Takemura, the most important Gramscian scholar in Japan, died on February 5. His numerous writings are highly regarded by both Gramscian and non-Gramscian students as pioneering studies in Japan. His sudden death means a great loss to the future development of our work.

He led a complex life involving many different roles. After he graduated from Tokyo University, he chose to work as an official in the Ministry of Education. There he rose very high in the ranks; but he gave up his splendid position to dedicate himself to the labor movement where he became the secretary of a trade union. At that time—the end of the 1950s—he came across Gramsci's name and began to study his work. From 1961 to 1965 the first extensive translations of Gramsci appeared in Japanese (*Selected Works of Gramsci [Guramushi Senshû]*, Tokyo: Gôdô shuppan, 1961-65. 6 volumes). Though this was an important development which attracted the attention of many intellectuals and students, Takemura thought that its presentation tended to make Gramsci's thought "too directly a political instrument" (a defect all too frequently apparent in the the Gramscian literature in a number of other countries). Going against this current, Takemura consciously tried to evaluate Gramsci's achievement within the political and cultural context of *his* times. He carefully read the first Einaudi edition of Gramsci's *Opere*. The fruit of those years of study appeared in 1975, under the title of *Gramsci's Thought (Guramushi no shisô)*. Tokyo: Aoki-shoten, 1975. Pp.294). This book represented a turning point in the history of Gramscian studies in Japan—and brought Takemura a professorship at the Nihon Fukushi University in Nagoya.

Professor Takemura then participated in the publication in Japanese of the first volume (Notebooks 1 & 2) of the critical edition of the *Quaderni del carcere (Gokuchû nôto 1)*. Tokyo: Otsuki Shoten, 1981. Pp. xii+577). Unfortunately, this project was broken off, but he continued to publish a number of essays on Gramsci. Several of his essays were collected and published in 1989 in the volume *Gramsci in Modern History (Gendai-shi ni okeru Gramushi)*. Tokyo: Aoki-shoten, 1989. pp. 238). A major point of this book was his continued rejection of instrumental interpretations of Gramsci; he stressed the continuing relevance of Gramsci's work, affirming its value as a classic.

Eisuke Takemura, who was a member of the International Gramsci Society since its inception, will always be remembered for his serious intellectual approach to Gramscian studies.

Satoe Kawakami

Gramsci Bibliography: Recent Publications

During the past nine months a number of publications related to Gramsci have been sent to us or brought to our attention by members of the International Gramsci Society. We are providing here a description of these publications. See also the bibliographical update by Guido Liguori in the Italian language section of this issue.

Antonio Gramsci. *Prison Notebooks*. Vol. 2. Ed. & Trans. Joseph A. Buttigieg. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

This is the second of the projected five-volume complete critical edition in English of Gramsci's *Quaderni*. It contains the text of Notebooks 3-5, accompanied by an extensive critical apparatus. Notebooks 3 and 5 contain notes and reflections on a wide range of topics. "Despite the heterogeneousness of the materials contained in these notebooks, however," the editor explains in his preface, "certain strands of Gramsci's multidirectional inquiries stand out in sharper relief than others. Especially prominent are the notes that touch on various aspects of the question of the intellectuals, popular culture (above all, literature and journalism), Italian history, Americanism, and the Catholic Church, both as a religious institution and as a politico-ideological force. Affiliated with these main strands are notes on such disparate topics as the Renaissance, the Reformation, language and linguistics, military and diplomatic history, Japanese culture, and Chinese culture and politics, as well as many of the entries that appear under the recurring heading "Past and Present."

"The other notebook included in this volume—Notebook 4—represents an important phase in the evolution of Gramsci's project. . . . The entire second half of the notebook is devoted to a series entitled 'Notes on Philosophy. Materialism and Idealism.' (A second and third series of notes on the same topic . . . are also grouped under identical general headings in Notebooks 7 and 8 respectively.) Likewise, Gramsci reserved the first twenty pages of this notebook for a distinctive purpose: namely, a set of notes outlining his original contribution to the interpretation of canto 10 of Dante's *Inferno*. The rest of the notebook contains miscellaneous entries, and among these, too, one encounters some especially important segments of text. Particularly noteworthy are the two long consecutive notes entitled 'The intellectuals' and 'The common school.'"

Antonio Gramsci. *Le opere. La prima antologia di tutti gli scritti*. Ed. Antonio Santucci. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1997.

This is the first anthology in Italian that contains selections from all of Gramsci's writings (except the prison letters). In many respects it resembles David Forgacs's *A Gramsci Reader*, and is meant to achieve a similar goal—namely, to provide general readers and students with an accessible version of Gramsci's most important writings. The brief notes that accompany the chronologically ordered selection are a useful aid to the non-specialist reader.

The volume is divided into five sections. The first section contains 15 articles, starting with "Neutralità attiva ed operante" (*Il Grido del Popolo*, 31 October 1914). Among the most important articles in this section: "Socialismo e cultura" (*Il Grido del Popolo*, 29 January 1916), "La rivoluzione contro il *Capitale*" (*Avanti!*, 24 December 1917), "Il nostro Marx" (*Il Grido del Popolo*, 4 May 1918), and "Utopia" (*Avanti!*, 25 July 1918). The second section comprises twelve selections written in 1919 and 1920. It opens with an article—"La taglia della storia"—published in *L'Ordine Nuovo* on 21 June 1919, and contains, among other things, articles related to the factory council movement, as well as "Il programma dell' *Ordine Nuovo*" (published in two parts in *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 14 and 28 August 1920). The thirteen selections that make up the third section, covering the years 1921-1926, include several very important and widely discussed pre-carceral texts, among them: "Il Congresso di Livorno" (*L'Ordine Nuovo*, 13 January 1921), "Socialisti e fascisti" (*L'Ordine Nuovo*, 11 June 1921), "I due fascismi" (*L'Ordine Nuovo*, 25 August 1921), the letter to Trotsky (8 September 1922) on Italian Futurism (published by Trotsky in his book *Literatura i revoljucija*; Moscow, 1923), "Capo" (*L'Ordine Nuovo*, 1 March 1924), the controversial letter of 14 October 1926 to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (and here the material provided by Santucci's in his annotations is particularly valuable), and the equally controversial subsequent letter of 26 October 1926 to Palmiro Togliatti. The fourth section of this anthology comprises a single text, namely Gramsci's seminal essay on the "Southern Question" ("Alcuni temi della questione meridionale").

The fifth and longest section (its 240 pages constitute a little over half the contents of the entire volume) is appropriately devoted to selections from the *Prison Notebooks*. Here too, the material is presented chronologically. The items selected from the earlier notebooks deal, obviously, with miscellaneous topics—but, of course, the editor chose for inclusion those segments that are most closely related to dominant overall themes and concerns that run like *leitmotifs* throughout the pages of the *Quaderni*. The selections from the later notebooks derive their thematic coherence from Gramsci's own disposition of the materials in his "special notebooks."

Antonio Gramsci. *Piove, governo ladro! Satire e polemiche sul costume degli italiani*. Ed. Antonio Santucci. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1996.

This slim volume (117 pages) consists of a selection of fifty odd short articles that Gramsci originally published under the general rubric "Sotto la Mole" in the Turin edition of *Avanti!* between 1916 and 1918. Here, Gramsci's journalistic skills, his satiric wit, and his lucid style stand out with striking poignancy. Gramsci, in one of his prison letters, wrote that his journalistic articles were "written for the day" and had no lasting interest or value. Reading this selection gives one sufficient reason to believe that he was excessively modest. It is hard to believe that these articles were written eighty years ago—see, for example, the reflections on organ transplants in "Merce" (6 June 1918), or the critique of the notion of "progress" in "Il tabacco" (28 May 1918), or the ridiculing of the antics of pompous academics in "Coei che non si deve amare" (27 October 1918), or his attack on politicians who ignore the promises and the programs on the basis of which they were elected in "Il regime dei pascià" (28 July 1918).

Antonio Gramsci. *Contro la legge sulle associazioni segrete*. Ed. Antonio Santucci. Roma: Manifestolibri, 1997.

Gramsci was elected deputy in the Italian national elections of 6 April 1924. He made his only speech in parliament on 22 May 1925. Speaking against a proposed law purportedly aimed at controlling Freemasonry but which, in fact, was meant to suppress the activities of oppositional organizations, Gramsci declared, among other things: "It is not Freemasonry that concerns you. Freemasonry will become a wing of fascism. This law will be used against workers and citizens."

This slim volume reproduces the text of Gramsci's parliamentary speech in its entirety.

Valentino Gerratana. *Gramsci. Problemi di metodo*. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1997.

This book by the leading authority on Gramsci is a major contribution to two major spheres of Gramscian studies: the philological analysis of the text of the prison notebooks (see the chapters on the "restoration" of the *Quaderni*), and the interpretation of Gramsci's political philosophy (see, especially, the chapters on "revolution," "hegemony," and the question of the "subject"). It also contains a critical-biographical essay in which the prison letters are considered as Gramsci's self-portrait.

Each of the chapters of this book reproduces, sometimes in modified form, an essay previously published elsewhere. Some of them will be familiar to Gramsci scholars; others are not well-known because they first appeared in publications that are not readily accessible. The sixteen-page-long introductory essay—in which Gerratana asks and reflects on the question: In what sense is Gramsci a classic?—is especially noteworthy. (One hopes that this essay, in particular, will get translated soon into other languages.)

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I. Il restauro dei «Quaderni»: la preparazione

II. Il restauro dei «Quaderni»: risultati e conferme

III. Dopo il restauro: particolari retrospettivi

IV. L'autoritratto delle «Lettere»

V. Sul concetto di «rivoluzione»

VI. Le forme dell'egemonia

VII. Contro la dissoluzione del soggetto

Appendice. Impaginazione e analisi dei «Quaderni»

Valentino Gerratana discussed some of the views he set forth in this volume in an interview with Guido Liguori, published under the heading "Il cantiere dei *Quaderni*" in *L'Unità*, 20 January 1997.

Wolfgang Fritz Haug. *Philosophieren mit Brecht und Gramsci*. Berlin & Hamburg: Argument, 1996.

In his most recent book, Wolfgang Fritz Haug, the co-editor of the complete critical edition in German of the *Prison Notebooks*, addresses a number of fundamental philosophical topics—ranging from the epistemology of the philosophy of praxis, to the philosophy of language, to the question of ethics in politics—with special reference to the thought of Brecht, Gramsci, and (in the fourth chapter) Wittgenstein. The following reproduction of the detailed table of contents serves as "map" or outline of the themes and issues treated in this volume.

Vorwort

Quellenlage und Zitierweise

I. ALLES PHILOSOPHIEREN GEHT VOM VOLKE AUS: 1. Was verstehen wir unter Philosophieren?—2. Der gemeinsame Ausgangspunkt bei Brecht und Gramsci—3. Das Erkennen-dichselbst als Kohärenzpraxis—4. Kohärenz + Hegemonie als philosophische Tatsache

II. DIE IDEE EINER PHILOSOPHIE DER PRAXIS: 1. Die Frage—2. Exkurs über *Energia*, *Poiesis* und Praxis bei Aristoteles—3. Die Feuerbach-Thesen als Manifest einer neuen Philosophie der Praxis

III. EPISTEMOLOGIE DER PRAXIS ALS KRITIK DES OBJEKTIVISMUS: 1. Gramsci über die »Realität der Außenwelt«—2. Brecht: Erkenntnis führt zu Veränderung, Veränderung zu Erkenntnis—3. Statistische Kausalität und nichtaristotelische Dramatik—4. Relationale Wahrheit—5. Experimentelles Denken

IV. »ERKENNTNISTHEORIE MUSS VOR ALLEM SPRACHKRITIK SEIN« BRECHT GRAMSCI UND WITTGENSTEIN: 1. Piero Sraffa als Diskussionspartner von Gramsci und Wittgenstein—2. Brecht und Wittgenstein: erste Annäherung—3. Gramsci und Wittgenstein: Erste Annäherung und Diskrepanz—4. »Die Bedeutung eines Wortes ist sein Gebrauch in der Sprache—5. Die Idee einer philosophischen Grammatik—6. Kritik

am Systembegriff: Familienähnlichkeit und Spinnstruktur—7. Sprachspiele, Lebensformen, Praxis/Praxen—8. Sprach- und Ideologiekritik—9. Theoriefreie Theorie?—10. Antipoden in praktischer Hinsicht

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VI. DIE ETHIK VON DER POLITIK, DIE POLITIK VON DER VERGESELLSCHAFTUNG HER VERSTANDEN: 1. Immoralismus und Moral bei Brecht—2. Politische Ethisierung als Katharsis der Interessen bei Gramsci—3. Katharsis als Kritik bei Brecht—4. Tugendhats moralische Unterstellung aus Freiheit—4.1 Die Form der »eigentlichen Moral«—4.2 Die moralische Entscheidung—4.3 Kooperationspartnerschaft—5. Das Luftreich der Hegemonie und die politisch-ethische Katharsis—6. Gramscis und Brechts Funktionsprüfung des kategorischen Imperativs von Kant—7. Das Auftauchen der Arbeit als Problem der politischen Moral bei Tugendhat—8. Zurück zur Ausgangsfrage

Epilog aus dem Off

Verzeichnis der zitierten Literatur

Guido Liguori. *Gramsci conteso. Storia di un dibattito 1922-1996*. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1996.

In this volume, Guido Liguori (the editor of *Critical Marxista* and secretary of IGS-Italia) provides an exhaustive and thoroughly annotated critical analysis of the interpretations, appropriations, instrumentalizations of Gramsci's life and work in Italy from the time of his emergence as a political leader to the present day. This book is a *sine qua non* for everyone seriously engaged in the study of Gramsci and for anyone genuinely interested in the cultural and political history of Italy in the twentieth century.

Table of contents:

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I. GRAMSCI NEGLI SCRITTI DEI SUOI CONTEMPORANEI (1922-1938): Storia di un comunista sardo scrittai dai liberali; Fuori dalla «strada maestra»; La condanna; Il carcere; La morte; «Antonio Gramsci capo della classe operaia italiana»; «Una perdita irreparabile»; Tra Carducci e Pascoli

II. IDENTITÀ E TRADIZIONE DI PARTITO (1939-1947): Gramsci e Togliatti; Il «partito nuovo» e gli intellettuali; La «politica di Gramsci»; Politica e cultura; Tra Croce e Marx

III. IL «DIAMAT» E I «QUADERNI» (1948-1955): La guerra fredda e i *Quaderni del carcere*; L'«antifascism» di Gramsci; Le letture dei *Quaderni*; Marxismi dogmatici e non; Dissonanze; La storia del Pci; Un compagno nella legenda; Primi bilanci e nuove prospettive

IV. GRAMSCI E LA VIA ITALIANA AL SOCIALISMO (1956-1959): 1956; «Troppo poco gramsciani»; Attualità di Gramsci; Gramsci e il leninismo; Il convegno di Roma; Il «ritorno a Marx»; La città futura; La polemica sul Risorgimento

V. DALLA «NUOVA STORIA» DEL PCI ALLA CRISI DELLO STORICISMO (1960-1969): L'ultimo Togliatti; La «nuova storia» del Pci; Tre biografie; La «giovane critica»; La crisi dello storicismo; Gramsci e la società civile; La «storicizzazione» di Gramsci; Nel movimento comunista internazionale; Lo storicismo e il Pci

VI. L'ETÀ D'ORO (1970-1975): Gramsci rimesso sui piedi; Operaismo e americanismo; Gramsci sovietista; Il concetto d'egemonia; Il primato della politica; Il marxismo di Gramsci; Gramsci e lo Stato; Gramsci e la «nuova sinistra»; L'«edizione Gerratana»

VII. APOGEO E CRISI DELLA CULTURA GRAMSCIANA (1976-1977): La discussione sul pluralismo; Egemonia e democrazia; Il seminario di Frattocchie; Il convegno di Firenze; La crisi

VIII. DIECI ANNI «A LUCI SPENTE» (1978-1986): Nella crisi del marxismo; Gramsci «organicista»; Previsione e prassi; Gli intellettuali e il potere; Interpretazioni dell'egemonia; Nella «fabbrica» dei *Quaderni*; Gramsci, la religione, i cattolici

IX. TRA POLITICA E FILOLOGIA (1987-1996): Gramsci e il Pci nel 1987; Gramsci nel mondo; Il cinquantenario di un «classico»; Gramsciani e post-gramsciani; Tra politica e storia; Gramsci post-comunista; Gramsci, Togliatti, Stalin; Gramsci, Tania, Sraffa; Verso nuove edizioni delle opere di Gramsci; Alla vigilia del 1997: quale Gramsci per il futuro?

Michele Pistillo. *Gramsci-Togliatti. Polemiche e dissensi nel 1926*. Manduria-Bari-Roma: Piero Lacaita Editore, 1996.

With this book, which is the product of admirably thorough archival research and painstakingly rigorous textual analysis, Michele Pistillo (former Senator and member of the European parliament, and author of several valuable books, including a biography of Ruggiero Grieco) has provided the most persuasive and level-headed account of the circumstances surrounding Gramsci's dissenting letter to the Central Committee of the Soviet Union's Communist Party in 1926, and his subsequent disagreement with Palmiro Togliatti. In addition to a detailed study of Gramsci's relations with Togliatti in 1926, the book's lengthy appendix reproduces all the documents pertinent to this thorny issue that has given rise to seemingly interminable polemics and (often crude) partisan controversies.

For a review of this book, see Guido Liguori, "Storia del Pci. Gramsci Togliatti e il 1926. Un anno fatale," in *Il Manifesto*, 6 March 1997.

Antonio Santucci. *Gramsci*. Roma: Tascabili Economici Newton, 1997.

This slim volume is an excellent introduction to Gramsci for the general reader; and it merits reading even by the "initiated" as a lucid and succinct overarching account of Gramsci life and thought.

Table of contents:

I. GRAMSCI DI FINE SECOLO: 1. Dopo l'Ottantanove; 2. Oggi e domani; 3. Perché due Gramsci; 4. Politica e verità; 5. Verità ed egemonia; 6. La riforma della politica; 7. Vittorie transitorie e sconfitte apparenti

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IV. MOSCA E VIENNA: 1. L'amore al tempo del Comintern; 2. Dall'Austria la lotta a Bordiga; 3. La solitudine dell'uomo e un giornale nuovo

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VI. TURI: 1. *Le Lettere* e i *Quaderni del carcere*; 2. Egemonia, società civile, Stato; 3. La fine

VII. EUROPA, AMERICA, ASIA: 1. La rinascita; 2. Oltre i confini; 3. Di nuovo in Italia

Cronologia della vita di Antonio Gramsci

Bibliografia essenziale

The French periodical, *La Revue Commune* (No. 3, 1996) has published a "dossier" on "**Gramsci et la culture populaire**" (pp. 9-59), edited by Silvia Disegni.

The "dossier" is introduced by a substantial article by Silvia Disegni, entitled "Présence de Gramsci", which discusses, among other things, the letters from prison, the notebooks, Gramsci and Marxism, hegemony, the question of the intellectuals, and popular culture. The other items in dossier are: "Culture populaire", an interview with Dario Fo; "Gramsci et la linguistique", an interview with Tullio De Mauro; and "Lecture de Gramsci aujourd'hui", an interview with Jacqueline Risset. At the end of the dossier, a three-page piece under the heading "*La Revue Commune* et Gramsci" discusses the reasons for (and the reasons for not) publishing this homage to Gramsci. Here is a brief excerpt:

Nous n'avons pas non plus publié ce dossier pour rendre hommage au penseur, au dirigeant communiste, au militant antifasciste. Car Gramsci n'a pas besoin d'hommage . . . et nous non plus. Mieux vaut simplement le lire . . .

Mais:

1. Nous avons publié ce dossier parce que Gramsci est l'un des rares penseurs de ce siècle á avoir mis au centre de sa réflexion la question des rapports entre le peuple, la culture et la politique. Or penser ce rapport aujourd'hui, c'es'y la raison meme de la création de la revue *Commune*.

2. Nous avons publié ce dossier parce que Gramsci ne nous donne aucune réponse achevée mais nous laisse des concepts qui nous paraissent tout à fait utilisables pour aujourd'hui. Notamment les notions d'hegemonie, de bloc historique, d'intellectuels organiques, de réforme culturelle et morale . . .

The Italian paper *Liberazione* of **25 April 1997** published a special eight-page insert devoted entirely to articles on Gramsci.

Contents:

Arcangelo Leone De Castris: "Per togliere le brache al mondo"
Cesare Bermani: "Con spirito di scissione. Una Busola per l'antagonismo"
Rina Gagliardi: "'Previsione' e credibilità. Spunti di dibattito"
Giorgio Baratta: "Inter-nazionale-popolare"
Antonio Santucci: "Affermare la verità è una necessità politica"
Ugo Dotti: "Intellettuali e passione politica"
Pasquale Voza: "Non c'è Stato senza egemonia"
Alberto Burgio: "Statisti di classe e facitori di piani. Se l'utopia diviene evasività"
Domenico Jervolino: "Le parole della prassi"
Michele Martelli: "L'anti-Croce e l'anti-Gentile"
Andrea Catone: "Capitalismo e psicoanalisi. Americanismo e fordismo"
Jacques Texier: "La civetta di Minerva. La guerra di posizione"
Lea Durante: "Per una nuova cultura. Note letterarie"
Luigi Pestalozza: "Conflitto globale. Necessità di una riscoperta"
Derek Boothman: "Una fioritura di nuove edizioni"
Guido Liguori: "Gli interpreti, i seguaci, i critici feroci. Per un'anagrafe gramsciana"

Il Manifesto of **27 April 1997** devoted a special section to Gramsci; it contained the following items:

Leonardo Paggi: "Antonio Gramsci l'inattuale"
Guido Liguori: "Antologie Gramsciane"
Aldo Natoli: "Tania tra Lui e il mondo"

The weekly journal *Cominform 71* (**13-20 May 1997**) published a special section on Gramsci which contains the following items:

Gianfranco Nappi: "A partire da Gramsci"
Guido Liguori: "Perché ci serve la sua lezione" (an interview with Lucio Magri)
Giuseppe Chiarante: "Oltre la 'rivoluzione passiva'"
Joseph Buttigieg: "Chi ha paura di Gramsci?"
G. L.: "Gramsci ha visto più lontano. Il tempo gli ha dato ragione" (interview with Valentino Gerratana)
G.L.: "Tutto è mutato dai suoi tempi. Ma Gramsci ci parla ancora" (interview with Domenico Losurdo)
Luciano Canfora: "Azzardi esegitici"

Antonio Santucci: "Un classico di oggi"

G.L.: "Che cosa si trova in libreria . . ."

G. L. "Che cosa si trova in biblioteca . . ."

Carlos Nelson Coutinho: "Oggi sta nel PT di Lula"

Anne Finger, "Comrade Luxemburg and Comrade Gramsci Pass Each Other at a Congress of the Second International in Switzerland on the 10th of March, 1912" in *Ploughshares*, Spring 1996, pp. 74-82

A delightful short story that opens with : "It never happened. It could not have happened."—and then proceeds to imagine a brief encounter between Gramsci and Rosa Luxemburg.

Benedetto Fontana, "The Concept of Nature in Gramsci" in *The Philosophical Forum*, XXVII, 3 (Spring 1996), pp. 220-43

Guido Liguori, "Dewey, Gramsci, e il «pragmatismo neo-gramsciano» di Cornel West" in *John Dewey oggi*, edited by Mario Alcaro and Romeo Bufalo (Catnzaro: Abramo Editore, 1996), pp. 163-75.

Massimo Lollini, "Literature and Testimony in Gramsci's *Letters from Prison: The Question of Subjectivity*" in *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, XXIII, 2 (June 1996), pp. 519-29.

***New Literary History*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 1997)—a special issue devoted to "Cultural Studies: China and the West".**

Several essays in this special issue of *New Literary History* deal with Gramsci's ideas and concepts—some of them in considerable detail—in their analyses of various aspects of Chinese culture and politics. See, especially, the following essays:

Wang Fengzhen: "Third-World Writers in the Era of Postmodernism"

Liu Kang: "Hegemony and Cultural Revolution"

Jonathan Arac: "Postmodernism and Postmodernity in China: An Agenda for Inquiry"

Domenico Jervolino, in his book *Le parole della prassi* (Napoli: Città del Sole, 1996)—a series of essays on hermeneutics, inspired primarily by Paul Ricoeur—offers some interesting reflections on the philosophy of liberation in relation to the thought of Marx and Gramsci (see, in particular, the introductory essay).

We have learned of the recent publication of three new anthologies of Gramsci's writings. They are: *Pensare la democrazia. Antologia dai "Quaderni del carcere"*, ed. Marcello Montanari (Torino: Einaudi, 1997); *Filosofia e politica. Antologia dei "Quaderni del carcere"*, ed. Franco Consiglio and Fabio Frosini (La Nuova Italia, 1997); and *La religione come senso comune*, ed. Tommaso La Rocca (Nuove Pratiche Editrice, 1997). Since we have not received copies of these books, we are unable to provide a description of their contents.

Student Reactions to Gramsci: 1982-1997

by

George Bernstein

(Department of Educational Foundations—Montclair State University)

During the last fifteen years I have had the opportunity to pay attention to Gramsci with my graduate students in a variety of "small" ways. In these classes I have sometimes devoted perhaps an hour or two to some of his ideas. Sporadically, I have been able to give them a few pages to read and to use those pages as a basis for discussion. Sometimes a few members of the class have been able to arrive at the university before the hour the class began, and we have met to consider his ideas. At other times, I have used some of his thinking to provide a framework for beginning to understand the realities of social class and their impact on American education. The two graduate classes I have taught over the years—"Social Forces and Education" and "Crucial Issues in American Education"—both focus on the social, political, economic, and cultural context of education in the United States, but using Gramsci has been an eye-opener for some of my students as well as for me in other ways.

By the end of the first class period (ca. 1982) that I had referred to him it was already clear that I could use him not only to provide the useful ideas he offers about the world and education but also to gain insight into the mentality and social position of my own students. I hoped that through Gramsci some students would begin to see some of the social conditions which shaped them to view him in a particular way. What follows are the reactions of some students put into certain cohort categories which could be of some interest to Gramscians.

One of the first things that struck me about some students was their taking it for granted that his interpretation obviously made sense. Among others there were various forms of rejection. Still others appeared to be absolutely devoid of understanding. The first group was almost invariably composed of black women, with ages running from late thirties to middle fifties. They were almost all experienced teachers, having worked in public schools for anywhere from ten to twenty-eight years. The overwhelming majority worked professionally in schools where most students were African-American and poor. Often such teachers themselves had come from families which were economically exploited. While they acknowledged that economic and social reality, they invariably perceived their lives and those of people close to them as emotionally and culturally

rich. So, in many respects, they were living with perspectives about themselves which were not those of most whites, who either looked at them, or at all Afro-Americans, as deprived and alien. They often had not only a great and deeply rooted love for their family members, but also an ability to see life virtues in them. This was something that many whites were unable to do, including some who shared the same classroom during our semester together. The women were able to see weaknesses and failings and, at the same time, to recognize life strengths. They saw themselves as being strong, and were often able to describe the specific situations in which that strength manifested itself. I believe they also saw some of Gramsci's ideas as demanding the development of strength and that that may have been part of his appeal. It may have been a confirmation of their own view of themselves. If I offered some quotations, they often prompted strong reactions by some of the women. For example, they sometimes read that teaching the standard spoken and written forms of a language "requires an unyielding struggle against habits of dilettantism, of improvisation . . . The work has to be done particularly in written form, just as it is in written form that criticisms have to be made. . ." The older Afro-American women saw the need for young students in their schools to learn "correct English" and were, for the most part, committed to such work. Yet, they also had a strong sense of the need to recognize what they themselves and their students saw as the special heritage of American blacks. Now, some statements by the older black women were made during the regular class hours. This meant that they were being heard and reacted to by some younger black women who identified with their situation, older white women who often lived with a radically different perspective, by younger white women, and by both younger and older white men. Given the social and psychological dynamics of the situation, the frankness of some of the black women "had to be" dealt with by some whites. Still, the Gramsci remarks about the need for disciplined work were not the most threatening to some whites. Suggestions about the nature of hegemony disturbed them quite often, whereas the same presentation was congenial to the older black women. The notion that there is a system for maintaining order and control and that coercion need not be in the most obvious overt forms, they found to be an echo of their own personal group reality. They did not have to be taught that there were multiple means for maintaining control, for stifling dissent, or for ruling groups to have those under their control absorbing the ideas of the dominant group. That schools were instruments of hegemony within a power system was perfectly clear to them. The agents of that domination might be principals, other teachers (acting "as individuals" or within groups), or organizations such as PTAs and unions. The idea of rule by consent would be challenged by women who understood that the nature of consent had to be analyzed.

If the older black women were quickest to respond positively to Gramsci, the older white women betrayed their suspiciousness and their resentment. Some of them had to take the offensive. It was their background which can help us to understand why this was so. Montclair

State University does not have students who are very well off. That is certainly true on the undergraduate level. On the graduate level it is different to some degree. If, for example, a teacher has been working for twenty-five years, she may be earning a fairly decent salary and if she is in a household where her husband also has a solid income, they may do fairly well financially. As far as my own white "older women" (38-55) are concerned, they are probably rather well off, although their educational autobiographies—which I have been reading for a number of years—make it rather clear that their own parents lived modest lives. This ascent into the more comfortable middle class is a confirmation to them that the hard work of individuals is crucial to whether or not someone "moves ahead" in American society. So they come to Gramsci with a certain kind of life experience, and Gramsci comes to them with their life "in place." Since so much of the American ideology is rooted in a certain type of capitalist individualism, they tend to be defensive and aggressive when a point of view is expressed which highlights something quite different from the individualist ethos. Even when they have some difficulty with the terminology of Gramsci—"hegemony," for example—they smell a rat, that is, a threat to their way of looking at life, at American society, and to their own individual experiences. The middle-aged black women quite naturally are drawn toward a Gramscian mentality even if they, in their fashion, do not easily identify with the terminology. In both cases, they perceive that it is a serious critique of modern capitalist society and react to that perspective. The white women have been conditioned to believe that everything that might be subsumed under the rubric of "accomplishment" is due to acts of will, specifically acts of individual will. The black women tend to view themselves more readily as participants in the life of a group or groups that weave in and out of one another. They are quick to recognize what family members have done for them and in most cases are consciously grateful for that love and support. This does not mean that their white counterparts in age cohort do not acknowledge loving support that has been given them. There are, however, two striking differences in this matter. The black women are more ready, it seems to me, to consciously acknowledge their indebtedness. Secondly, the awareness of that overt level seems to make it much easier for them to recognize some of Gramsci's important ideas about the force of society. Being black in American society they are inescapably compelled to experience the prejudice and discrimination directed against them. The dominant, hegemonic system provides a relatively consistent way of viewing the world and those who accept it are not aware of its power. The older black women are aware because they have been made sensitive throughout their lives by the negativity, the rejection, the condescension and the hatred. So when some white women speak out of their more favored experience, they often are irritated by the "other" pointing to a different kind of life.

The relationship between the two groups, however, is not perfectly symmetrical. Many of the white women come from families that had to struggle, so they do not want to "be made to feel"

guilty by some of the black women's comments about the situation of Afro-Americans. Again, if I think back on the many educational autobiographies that I have read, it is clear that the vast majority of the families described in those writings had all kinds of problems and tragedies in their lives—job loss, alcoholism, divorce, the death of loved ones, the alienation of one member from others. That is often the human story. The white women resent what they believe to be an attack on them when it seems to suggest that they have not suffered and that their paths have been easy. But this common human experience is far from explaining either the specific forms and content of their consciousness or the structure of their society which has moved them in particular directions. The black women are, through their own experience and perspectives, threats to the ideology with which many of the white women have lived. To add to that threat a powerful social analyst such as Antonio Gramsci is to doubly jeopardize the vision with which they have lived.

As a teacher I have had to make judgements about which of Gramsci's ideas might be introduced and which, within the particular political and cultural context of my university, it would make little sense to attempt to deal with in a short period of time. I remind the reader that presenting any of Gramsci to my students is not the same as being able to organize an entire course with him as the focus. That is something I have never been in a position to do. So, I have a teacher's problem—what to choose when there is little time. Does it make more sense to say nothing about him when there is, perhaps, something between one and three hours during an entire semester when he can be introduced? What if one is able to devote a half hour to him? Should that be done? During most semesters since 1982, I have chosen to introduce him, but that decision brings all sorts of dangers with it. Inevitably there will be distortion, but should a teacher risk that if he or she thinks that students should become aware of the existence of a major thinker? I have personally made that choice, but it has led to a problematic situation as well as considerable personal gratification. It is, of course, delightful when one sees and hears students who "are on the same wave length." That is enormously gratifying. But what of the majority to whom he will either remain forgotten or who sense that Gramsci threatens their way of looking at the world? As a teacher I have lived within those real limits.

IGS Italia Convegno Internazionale Ottobre '97 Un Invito

21 maggio 1997

Cara amica, caro amico,

Le scrivo in qualità di vicepresidente della International Gramsci Society e della IGS-Italia, che stanno organizzando un incontro internazionale di studio per il 16-18 ottobre 1997, in concorso con l'Istituto di studi filosofici di Napoli, presieduto da Gerardo Marotta, intitolato «Gramsci da un secolo all'altro».

Il convegno (che sarà anche l'occasione per tenere il primo congresso mondiale della IGS) durerà tre giorni. Esso avrà inizio in Napoli, giovedì 16 ottobre pomeriggio, presso il palazzo Serra di Cassano, e proseguirà nelle giornate di venerdì e sabato nella vicina isola di Ischia. Sabato pomeriggio avrà luogo il primo congresso mondiale della International Gramsci Society.

L'argomento generale del convegno sarà quello relativo alle diverse letture e *usi* di Gramsci oggi possibili nelle varie situazioni geoculturali e politiche per portare avanti il discorso di liberazione delle classi subalterne. Tra i temi che vorremmo vedere trattati vi sono i seguenti: governati/governanti (democrazia, libertà), Nord/Sud del mondo, etica/politica, americanismo/postfordismo, economia pubblica/privata, forme nuove dell'egemonia.

Purtroppo, allo stato attuale dei fatti, essendo la nostra iniziativa in massima parte autofinanziata, qualora Lei decidesse di partecipare al nostro incontro, non siamo in grado di assicurare il rimborso delle spese di viaggio e di alloggio. Speriamo che Lei possa ottenere ciò dalla Sua università o istituzione di appartenenza. A tal fine siamo ovviamente a Sua disposizione per aiutarla a ottemperare alle condizioni necessarie. Se da qui a ottobre riusciremo a ottenere ulteriori fondi, li utilizzeremo per aiutare i soci della IGS a sostenere lo sforzo economico necessario per partecipare a questo primo appuntamento mondiale.

È in ogni caso importante che chi voglia partecipare al convegno lo comunichi al più presto alla IGS-Italia, nei modi indicati sotto, per organizzare e razionalizzare i servizi necessari (ivi comprese le prenotazioni alberghiere).

Sperando in una Sua cortese risposta, La ringrazio e La saluto cordialmente,

Giorgio Baratta

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Aggiornamento *Bibliografia gramsciana* Italia, 1996

a cura di

Guido Liguori

Chiunque abbia studiato e studi Gramsci ha potuto constatare quanto utile e prezioso sia lo strumento elaborato da John Cammett, la Bibliografia gramsciana 1922-1988 (aggiornata successivamente, con la collaborazione di Maria Luisa Righi, fino al 1993).

Partendo da questa premessa, la IGS Italia si propone di contribuire a proseguire il lavoro intrapreso da Cammett. Naturalmente una bibliografia degli scritti su Gramsci, per la sua vastità e articolazione, non può che essere un lavoro collettivo, aperto ai contributi di molti. Chiediamo a tutti i lettori di segnalarci aggiunte e integrazioni, facendole pervenire presso la sede della IGS Italia, via della Consulta 50, 00186 Roma. Segnalazioni di questo genere saranno gradite anche in futuro. La IGS Italia ha inoltre in programma di creare un "osservatorio gramsciano" per seguire l'attività degli studi su Gramsci, catalogando e raccogliendo il materiale disponibile.

A. Primo semestre 1996: Integrazioni alla bibliografia apparsa sull'ultimo numero della *IGS Newsletter*

1. Libri e fascicoli di rivista monografici

2. Saggi

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André Tosel, *Il lessico "filosofia della prassi" di Gramsci*, in "Marxismo oggi", 1996, n. 1, pp. 49-67

3. Articoli, note e recensioni

Rocco Paolo Primavera, *Gramsci, Guevara e il problema dell'egemonia*, in "Marxismo oggi", 1996, n. 1, pp. 123-129.

Pulina, Paolo, *Gramsci naviga in rete (Dai campus Usa un convegno via Internet)*, in "La Nuova Sardegna", 3 gennaio 1996.

Pulina, Paolo, *L'opera di Gramsci su Internet (Studiosi di tutto il mondo riuniti a Napoli per discutere del grande pensatore sardo)*, in "Il messaggero sardo", marzo 1996.

B. Secondo semestre 1996

1. Libri e fascicoli di rivista monografici

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D'Alema, Massimo, *Gramsci e Togliatti nella storia d'Italia*, in id., *La sinistra nell'Italia che cambia*, a cura di Roberto Gualtieri, Milano, Feltrinelli, pp. 39-45.

De Mauro, Tullio, *La questione della lingua*, in Aa.Vv., *La cultura italiana del Novecento*, a cura di Corrado Stajano, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996, pp. 425-428.

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Martelli, Michele, *Gramsci filosofo della politica* (Milano, Unicopli, pp. 203)

Mecacci, Luciano, *Psicologia e psicoanalisi*, in Aa.Vv., *La cultura italiana del Novecento*, a cura di Corrado Stajano, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996, p. 537..

Pasquino, Gianfranco, *Politica e ideologia*, in Aa.Vv., *La cultura italiana del Novecento*, a cura di Corrado Stajano, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996, pp. 492-498.

Spinella, Mario, *Lineamenti di antropologia marxiana*, presentazione di Aldo Tortorella, introduzione di Stefano Petrucciani, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1996, pp. 84-92.

Viano, Carlo Augusto, *Filosofia*, in Aa.Vv., *La cultura italiana del Novecento*, a cura di Corrado Stajano, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996, pp. 247-249, 266-268 e passim.

2. Saggi

Atanasio, Livio, *La disputa fra Giuseppe Prato ed Antonio Gramsci sul problema degli alti salari operai (1916-1919)*, in "Annali della fondazione Luigi Einaudi", vol. XXIX - 1995, La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1996, pp. 483-516.

Tortorella, Aldo, *Il cammino della libertà*, in "Critica marxista", 1996, n. 5-6, pp. 26-32.

Urbinati, Nadia, *Le passioni e la politica. Il Meridione di Antonio Gramsci*, in "Studi storici", 1996, n. 2, pp. 465-487.

3. Articoli, note e recensioni

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Bergami, Giancarlo, *Antonio Gramsci-Lettere dal carcere*, in "Belfagor", n. 6, pp. 768-769.

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Chiaberge, Riccardo, *Scuola. Gramsci? A destra di Gentile*, in "Corriere della sera", 12 settembre 1996 [sul libro di Eric D. Hirsch, *The Schools We Need*, Doubkeday].

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Fertilio, Dario, *Togliatti censore: "Correggete Gramsci"*, in "Corriere della sera", 2 dicembre 1996.

Fiori, Simonetta, *Niente Gramsci, siamo il Pds (Un saggio di Liguori)*, in "la Repubblica", 30 settembre 1996.

Gallo, Elisabetta, *Gramsci e il corporativismo della borghesia italiana*, in "Alternative", 1996, n. 4, pp. 102-107.

Liguori, Guido, *Una contesa che dura da settant'anni (Ecco come si spiega la gran messe di interpretazioni, di polemiche e di "svolte" sul suo pensiero)*, in "l'Unità", 8 novembre 1996.

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E.S. [Enzo Santarelli], *1996: un primo bilancio*, in "Cominform", 3 dicembre 1996, n. 49.

Santucci, Antonio A., *Ma Gramsci val bene un Foucault*, in "l'Unità", 1° ottobre 1996 [sul libro di Guido Liguori, *Gramsci conteso*].

Versienti, Fabrizio, *Gramsci alla radio (Il nuovo album dei baresi Aldarawish)*, in "il manifesto", 16 luglio 1996.

Zangheri, Renato, *"Le sue categorie aiutano ancora a capire la realtà"* [intervista a cura di Guido Liguori], in "l'Unità", 8 novembre 1996.

Aggiornamento *Bibliografia gramsciana* Italia: Primo quadrimestre 1997

a cura di

Guido Liguori

Ci siamo proposti, in questo “osservatorio” delle novità editoriali su Gramsci apparse in Italia, una cadenza quadrimestrale. La mole delle segnalazioni riguardanti il 1997, sessantesimo anniversario della morte, suggerisce un’eccezione alla regola. Ecco quindi un elenco riguardante il primo quadrimestre dell’anno in corso.

Per queste stesse ragioni, il presente lavoro è stato più difficile e sicuramente si presenta più incompleto. Ciò rende necessario rinnovare la richiesta a tutti gli iscritti all’Igs e a tutti i nostri amici affinché ci aiutino a colmare le lacune, segnalando alla Igs Italia tutti gli scritti mancanti (trasmettendo possibilmente copia degli stessi). L’indirizzo a cui scrivere è il seguente: Guido Liguori, Igs Italia, via della Mercede 50, 00186 Roma.

1. Libri e fascicoli di rivista monografici

Antonio Gramsci 1937-1997, inserto di “Liberazione”, 25 aprile 1997 (articoli di Giorgio Baratta, Cesare Bermanni, Alberto Burgio, Derek Boothman, Andrea Catone, Arcangelo Leone de Castris, Ugo Dotti, Lea Durante, Rina Gagliardi, Domenico Jervolino, Guido Liguori, Michele Martelli, Luigi Pestalozza, Antonio A. Santucci, Jacques Texier, Pasquale Voza).

Conti, Lisa, *Antonio Gramsci*, in Ghidetti, Enrico, Luti, Giorgio, *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana del Novecento*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1997, pp. 390-395.

La Rocca, Tommaso, *Introduzione a A. Gramsci, La religione come senso comune*, a cura di T. La Rocca, Milano, Est Nuove Pratiche Editrici, 1997, pp. 11-45.

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