

INTERNATIONAL
GRAMSCI
SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

NUMBER 14 / DECEMBER 2004



International Gramsci Society Newsletter

December 2004

Number 14

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Production of the *IGS Newsletter* is made possible by the generous support of the English Department of the University of Notre Dame.

Editorial

In February 2004 the community of Gramsci scholars suffered a most untimely and devastating loss. Antonio Santucci died in Rome at the age of 54. It is impossible to enumerate the many different ways in which Antonio Santucci's life and work left an imprint on the countless individuals from across the world who knew him directly through personal contact or indirectly through his published work. His legacy to the scholarly community has been immense, and will certainly be longlived. Through his philologically scrupulous editions—to say nothing of his many essays and books—he has provided (and will continue to provide) scholars and students reliable access to some of Gramsci's most important writings—especially the pre-prison and prison letters as well as the Ordine Nuovo articles. His other, more popular, editions of Gramsci's writings have been of equal—and perhaps even greater—importance to the dissemination of Gramsci's thought; through them Santucci made the Sardinian's thought accessible to a huge spectrum of non-specialist readers and to students for whom Gramsci would otherwise have remained a “classic” embalmed in rows of intimidating volumes.

Many members of the International Gramsci Society had the privilege of knowing Antonio Santucci personally; for them, the loss is especially painful. They will miss his warmth, his brilliant conversation, and his generous hospitality; they are now also bereft of his wise advice and his expertise on which they habitually relied. Santucci was also the hub of a vast global network of Gramsci scholars; he put people in touch with each other, fostering an extensive web of friendships. Antonio Santucci's untimely departure has robbed his many friends, colleagues and acquaintances of the opportunity to repay the huge debt of gratitude they incurred during his lifetime.

The International Gramsci Society has lost one of its founders and most esteemed members. In remembering Antonio Santucci, the IGS adopts the words of Carlos Nelson Coutinho's dedication of his recent Brazilian edition of the Gramsci's *Escritos Politicos*: “À memória do amigo Antonio A. Santucci (1949-2004), que, com suas preciosas análises e edições de Gramsci, contribuiu decisivamente para a compreensão de sua obra.”

En la muerte de Antonio Santucci

de

Francisco Fernández Buey

Ha muerto en Roma, a los 54 años, Antonio Santucci. Era sin duda el mejor conocedor de la obra de Antonio Gramsci y, después de la desaparición de Valentino Gerratana, la persona que más ha hecho para difundir el pensamiento gramsciano en el mundo. De joven fue el principal colaborador de Valentino Gerratana en su excelente edición crítica de los *Quaderni del carcere* publicada por Einaudi en 1977. Con Gerratana preparó también la edición de los escritos de Gramsci de la época de *L'Ordine Nuovo* (Einaudi, Turín, 1987). Durante años fue el alma del Instituto Gramsci de Roma. Allí, en aquella sede romana en la que compartieron precarios medios jóvenes comunistas voluntariosos y viejos resistentes que aún recordaban los días de la guerra de la España, acogía Antonio Santucci a los investigadores que llegaban de los cinco continentes para consultar los manuscritos gramscianos. Siempre lo hizo con una generosidad inigualable y con una simpatía que no olvidaremos. Eran tiempos en los que Gramsci formaba parte esencial de la cultura política italiana y se había convertido en el escritor italiano más consultado (y tal vez leído) en el mundo.

Antonio Santucci puso mucho de su parte para que esto ocurriera. Y lo que es tan importante como eso: siguió trabajando en el mismo sentido cuando lo que había representado Gramsci para la cultura política italiana se vino abajo, al final de la década de los ochenta, y cuando empezó a ser difícil encontrar en librerías la edición crítica de sus obras, ya en la década de los noventa. En esos años difíciles Santucci hizo varias aportaciones sustanciales a los estudios gramscianos, aportaciones de las que quedarán. A él se debe la edición más completa de las cartas de Gramsci: *Lettere, 1908-1926* (Einaudi, Turín, 1992) y *Lettere dal carcere, 1926-1937* (Sellerio, Palermo, 1996). Él editó la más amplia antología de los escritos de Gramsci: *Le opere* (Editori Riuniti, Roma, 1997).

Las introducciones que Antonio Santucci escribió para éstas y otras ediciones de escritos de Gramsci tienen una particularidad difícilmente parangonable en la ya inmensa literatura gramsciana. En ellas se junta el rigor filológico, el respeto escrupuloso a los textos y un equilibrio notabilísimo en la interpretación de los mismos. En todas las cuestiones discutidas relativas a la vida y la obra de Gramsci, y ha habido muchas (algunas de ellas discutidísimas), la interpretación de Santucci ha sido siempre decisiva. Lo ha sido por su conocimiento de los textos y de los contextos; por su alejamiento de las modas y de las instrumentalizaciones políticas; por su prudencia al tratar los documentos nuevos que iban apareciendo; por la seria discreción con que abordaba las cuestiones privadas, íntimas, de la vida de Gramsci; por su respeto profundo hacia la persona y sus familiares; por su equilibrio en la forma de tratar la tragedia comunista del siglo XX. Por su veracidad, en suma. No he conocido a nadie que se tomara tan en serio como él aquella frase de Gramsci que dice que la verdad es revolucionaria. Sobre la veracidad gramsciana y sobre lo que significa mantener esta veracidad para los revolucionarios sin revolución, sin comunismo (Senza comunismo fue recisamente el título de una de sus últimas obras) escribió Santucci uno de sus mejores ensayos (Editori Riuniti, Roma, 2001).

Siempre conservaré en el recuerdo sus intervenciones en los congresos gramscianos: en Formia, en Cagliari, en Turín, en Madrid. En los pasillos, en los encuentros esporádicos, en los tiempos de descanso, Santucci bromeaba, ironizaba sobre el pasado, el presente y el futuro: sobre lo que fuimos y sobre lo que somos. Pero cuando llegaba su turno en los plenarios todo el mundo sabía que estaba escuchando lo esencial: las especulaciones en curso sobre este o aquel avatar de la vida de Gramsci, las últimas sospechas y las nuevas instrumentalizaciones políticas se disipaban de repente con su palabra y su saber. Un saber que era también saber estar. Con su ironía, a veces con un sarcasmo no exento de melancolía, Antonio Santucci sabía orillar lo que otros estaban considerando, quizás presuntuosamente, descubrimientos u originalidades. Con él Gramsci volvía a ser un clásico: un clásico del pensamiento revolucionario, un clásico de la acción comunista. Incluso al llegar a ese punto recurría a la ironía: cuando en Formia, en 1989, se planteó que había que leer a Gramsci como a un clásico, allí estaba Antonio Santucci para matizar, con un sonrisa, que no convendría convertir el Instituto Gramsci

en una asociación académica para competir con la asociación de estudios sobre Dante, perdiendo con ello lo que más importó al hombre Gramsci: saberse parte de una tradición, la tradición comunista, y actuar en consecuencia.

Por eso cuando la tradición comunista se quebró en Italia Antonio Santucci quedó fuera del Instituto Gramsci. Fue entonces uno de los fundadores de la International Gramsci Society y nos siguió recordando, desde ella, que no debería haber contradicción entre considerar a Gramsci un clásico, aspirando a que este clásico fuera leído y amado por todos (como quería Togliatti), y decir sin miedo, y con verdad, que aquel hombre fue un clásico comunista. Esto lo decía Santucci sin aspavientos, sin alzar la voz, evitando los tonos polémicos, con aquella ironía seria que seguramente había heredado de otro de sus amores intelectuales, tan querido por Marx: Diderot.

En España la obra de Antonio Santucci es poco conocida. Sólo se han traducido un par de ensayos suyos sobre Gramsci, cuando ya Gramsci había dejado de ser "una moda" y una parte de los antiguos gramscianos renegaron de él. Es una lástima, porque su lectura nos habría enriquecido. Pero creo poder hablar en nombre de los que quedan si digo que también aquí le recordaremos siempre.

Adiós y gracias, Antonio, compañero. Sé que compañero y compañía fueron las palabras preferidas, y muchas veces repetidas, de tu español gramsciano. Incluso cuando la enfermedad y el dolor empezaron a hacer mella en tu ironía. Notaremos, y cómo, tu falta en los congresos gramscianos. Pero recordaremos tu presencia y lo que hiciste.

Reprinted from *La Insignia* (España), March 2004.

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Images of Gramsci: Connections and Contentions in Political Theory and International Relations

by

Phoebe Moore and Jerine Thomas

Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton co-ordinated two days of high profile workshops on 24th-25th October, which was attended by some of the most prominent authorities in political and international theory engaged with the thought and action of Antonio Gramsci. The event was hosted by the University of Nottingham's School of Politics with funding from the same institution as well as the Department of Politics and International Relations at Lancaster University, the British International Studies Association (BISA), the International Political Economy Group (IPEG), and the Political Studies Association (PSA). Overall, eighteen speakers delivered new and innovative papers with the discussion animatedly pursued into the coffee breaks, lunch and dinner at the University's Staff Club. Discussion revolved around two central themes: *'Approaches to Gramsci'* and *'World Order in Question'*.

Within *'Approaches to Gramsci'*, the motif of connections and contentions was evident from the very first session, commencing with **Anne Showstack Sassoon's** paper entitled *'Gramsci and the Secret of Father Brown'*, which focused on the details, serendipities, and connections in Gramsci's writings to wider issues of philosophy, politics and practice. Building on this method, a critique of positivism was deciphered from G. K. Chesterson's novel, *The Secret of Father Brown* whose approach to knowledge construction is preferred above and beyond the positivism evident in Arthur Conan Doyle's character Sherlock Holmes. **Joseph Buttigieg's** paper, *'Revisiting Gramsci's Concept of Civil Society'*, was a challenge to mainstream understandings of *'civil society'*, which disconnect the state and economy from civil society. Instead, the construction of *'public opinion'* at the point of contact between political society and civil society reveals the inseparability of economy and state and the role of ideological

struggle. The Project for a New American Century precisely exemplifies the ‘corruption’ of civil society in the present era: how state and civil society are sights of strategic selectivity. **Joseph Femia** in his paper ‘Gramsci, Machiavelli and Political Realism’ furthered the debate by introducing Gramsci as a ‘realist’ thinker in the Machiavellian mould based on reflections about ‘effective reality’ whilst at the same time engaged with the normative realm. These papers sparked lively dialogue and immediately revealed the connections and contentions evident in the debates on Gramsci’s thought and action.

The dynamic of original contributions to existing debate was especially furthered by **Bob Jessop** and his discussion of ‘Gramsci as a Spatial Theorist’; by **James Martin** and his presentation on ‘The Logics of Hegemony: Gramsci and Post-Marxism’; and by **Adam David Morton** with his focus on Gramsci’s contribution to understanding the historical sociology of modern state formation in his paper ‘The Age of Absolutism: Capitalism, the Modern States-System and International Relations’. **Maurice Finocchiaro**’s ‘Gramsci, Wars, and Cultural Struggle’ examined in detail Gramsci’s early writings on war as a point from which to reflect on contemporary circumstances of conflict—from the Bush administration’s ‘War on Terror’ to Berlusconi’s cultural warfare on difference as reflected within Islam. **Randolph Persaud**’s ‘The Spatial Logic of Hegemonisation’ ardently criticised the growing presence of liberal thought and practice within the US academy as reflected in the empty notions of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ power, whilst the first day’s presentations fittingly closed with **Randall Germain**’s reflections on ‘Gramsci and the Historical Mode of Thought in IPE’, containing fresh insights about understanding the role of institutions, subjectivities, and historical knowledge in the contemporary global political economy of finance.

The second day of the conference, focused on the theme of ‘*World Order in Question*’, began with **Andrew Robinson**’s paper, ‘Towards an Intellectual Reformation: The Critique of Common Sense and the Forgotten Revolutionary Project of Gramscian Theory’, by developing a vigorous challenge to the agendas of both political and international theorists alike. **A. Claire Cutler** in her ‘Gramsci, Law and the Culture of Capitalism’ invited the participants to think critically about international law and processes of juridification in constituting the terms of commodification and marketisation of culture. **Mustapha K. Pasha** declared that transnational hegemony occurs through

national processes of internalisation with his ‘Islam, Orientalism and Empire: A Gramscian Re-reading’. Whilst there was a timely focus on emancipatory politics embedded within the ‘movement of movements’ of anti-capitalist resistance in **Mark Rupert**’s ‘Reading Gramsci in an Era of Globalising Capitalism’. **Kees van der Pijl** crucially traced the rise of middle class technical cadres, their role in the development of left and right political activism and their relevance to consolidating transnational capitalism in his paper ‘Gramsci and Left Managerialism’. Whilst **Andreas Bieler** then analysed the role of organic intellectuals in attracting other related social forces into the basis of neoliberal restructuring within processes of EU integration in his paper ‘The European Union and Global Capitalism: Historical Materialism and European Integration’.

The final session involved **Mark Neufeld**’s reflections on understanding the ‘three Ds’: “Dialectic”, “Double Movement” and “Democracy” in his paper ‘Democratic Socialism in the Global(-ising) Context: Toward a Collective Research Programme’, which drew from wider authorities including Rosa Luxemburg and Edward Said. **Ngai-Ling Sum** advanced the notion of cultural political economy as a realm of enquiry rather than the separation of culture *and* political economy in her paper ‘From “Integral State” to “Integral World Order”’: Towards a neo-Gramscian Cultural IPE’. Whilst, lastly, **William Robinson**’s ‘Gramsci and Globalisation: From Nation-State to Transnational Hegemony’ brought the curtains down on the workshop by offering a bold statement on the transnationalisation of production and the state and the shift from hegemonic to imperialist practices within the present condition of world order.

The workshop achieved its objective: initiating new and original debate across political and international theory on the thought and practice of Antonio Gramsci in a way that avoided consensus and laid bare clear contentions for present and future discussion. Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton are now planning to collaborate on an edited book from the papers to be published in the near future.

From *BISA Newsletter*, November 2003.

**A Note on Two Omissions From the Current English
Translation of Gramsci's Notebook No. 12: the Question of the
Intellectuals in the United States**

by

Derek Boothman

Gramsci's position on the United States intellectuals is well known, but there is a brief comment of his, missed out of the Quintin Hoare-Geoffrey Nowell Smith translation of 1971, that, for the benefit especially of United States readers of Gramsci, it is of use to draw attention to here.

The Hoare-Nowell Smith translation of the relevant part of the long sub-section (paragraph) 1 of Notebook 12 reads (p. 20 of *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (SPN), Lawrence and Wishart : London and International Publishers : New York, 1971):

The necessity of an equilibrium is determined, not by the need to fuse together the organic intellectuals with the traditional but by the need to fuse together in a single national crucible with a unitary culture the different forms of culture imported by immigrants of dring national origins.

This may be compared with the original passage (p.1527 of the *Quaderni del Carcere*, Valentino Gerratana's critical edition, currently being translated by Joseph Buttigieg for Columbia University Press), which reads:

La necessità di un equilibrio non è data dal fatto che occorre fondere gli intellettuali organici con quelli tradizionali che non esistono come categoria cristallizzata e misoneista, ma dal fatto che occorre fondere in un unico crogiolo nazionale di cultura unitaria tipi di cultura diverse portati dagli immigrati di varie origini nazionali.

What has been missed out is the clause "che non esistono come categoria cristallizzata e misoneista". A revised translation should, then, read along the lines:

not by the need to fuse together the organic intellectuals with the traditional *ones*, *who do not exist as a crystallized category opposed to innovation*, but by the need

to fuse together in a single national crucible with a unitary culture the different forms.

The reinstated passage is here included in italics. Judging from the number of characters omitted it seems probable that a complete line was omitted in typesetting and the slip not noted at the proof-reading stage. The substance of Gramsci's position vis-à-vis the United States intellectuals is not changed by this integration of the text, since we already read on the same page of *SPN* of the "absence to a considerable degree of traditional intellectuals, and consequently a different equilibrium among the intellectuals in general" but the phrase does act as a useful corollary both in this context and, of course, in that of the discussion of Americanism and Fordism.

There is also, however, another omission that is almost certainly not due to typesetting and proof-reading errors. On pp. 17-18 of *SPN*, the Hoare-Nowell Smith translation reads:

I shall now turn to the differences which are immediately apparent in the development of the intellectuals in a number of the most important countries, with the proviso that these observations require to be controlled and examined in more depth.

As far as Italy is concerned the central fact is precisely the international or cosmopolitan function of its intellectuals, which is both cause and effect of the state of disintegration in which the peninsula remained from the fall of the Roman Empire up to 1870.

The corresponding extract is to be found on p.1524 of Gerratana's Critical Edition where, however, at the end of the corresponding first sentence there is a part that Gramsci added in brackets, reproduced here in the original and in (a fairly literal) translation into English:

(d'altronde, tutte queste note devono essere considerate come spunti e motivi per la memoria, che devono essere controllati e approfonditi).

(moreover, all these notes are to be considered as starting points and motifs for the memory [to work on], which have to be checked on and gone into in depth).

Similar, and maybe even stronger caveats are to be found right at the start of Notebook 11 (principally with regard to Bukharin's manual on Historical Materialism) and in paragraph 16 of notebook 4, included in Volume II of Joe Buttigieg's English translation. The reason for the omission is that, at that particular time (1971) when Gramsci was not fully established in English-speaking culture as a major thinker, it was

not wished to suggest that his writings were merely of a provisional character and not to be taken with the seriousness they deserve; and indeed comments to this effect were made much later by the in-house editor to the translator of the 1995 companion volume *Further Selections from the Prison Notebook (FSPN)* during the preparation of the latter.

With these two integrations of the text, the translation on pp.5-23 and 26-43 of *SPN* and the excerpt on pp.145-7 of *FSPN*, readers in English now have the full version of the twelfth Notebook *Appunti e note sparse per un gruppo di saggi sulla storia degli intellettuali* (“Jottings and scattered notes for a group of essays on the history of the intellectuals”).

Gramsci linguista

di

Chiara Meta

Partendo dalla possibilità di rintracciare un filone prettamente linguistico nelle tematiche affrontate da Gramsci, Derek Boothman nel volume *Traducibilità e processi traduttivi, un caso: A. Gramsci linguista* (Perugia, Guerra edizioni, 2004, pp. 197) tenta di indicare le fonti dei concetti gramsciani, nonché gli argomenti specifici utilizzati dal pensatore sardo.

Si tratta del tentativo, come si sottolinea nell'introduzione, di presentare un quadro unitario di argomenti e temi sviluppati, non sistematicamente, già in altri contesti. L'intento? quello di conferire dignità "teorica" al nesso traduzione-traducibilità stabilito da Gramsci, pari a quella rivestita da altri ben più conosciuti concetti, quali egemonia o rivoluzione passiva.

Il principale tema sviluppato in questo testo è che per Gramsci la traduzione "è un atto preminentemente interculturale ed è per questa ragione che essa acquisisce la forma linguistica sotto la quale tutti la riconoscono" (p. 12). In tal senso risulta basilare avviare una ricostruzione analitica che aiuti a comprendere l'approccio di Gramsci alla questione della lingua e l'uso che egli fa del termine "linguaggio". Così il primo capitolo si occupa di evidenziare come gli interessi linguistici di Gramsci abbiano avuto radici profonde, riconducibili al periodo giovanile, quando iscritto alla Facoltà di lettere dell'ateneo torinese, avrebbe molto probabilmente conseguito una laurea in linguistica seguendo le indicazioni del suo insegnante Matteo Bartoli, se l'impegno giornalistico-militante prima e quello politico *tout court* poi non l'avessero dissuaso. Ciò che giustamente viene sottolineato nel testo è il fatto che l'interesse per la lingua rimane sempre una costante nella riflessione teorica gramsciana, a partire dagli articoli di critica teatrale per giungere alle note di linguistica nei *Quaderni*.

Di importanza decisiva risulta sottolineare come Gramsci guardi alla lingua essenzialmente come ad uno strumento politico. Di questo fatto, sottolinea Boothman, si

accorsero, negli anni tra il 1970 e il 1980, studiosi di grande spessore come Tullio de Mauro, Luigi Rosiello, Stefano Gensini e non da ultimo Franco lo Piparo, il cui studio dedicato proprio agli interessi linguistici gramsciani (*Lingua, intellettuali, egemonia in Gramsci*, Laterza) viene lungamente citato ed elogiato in tutto il testo di Boothman.

I capitoli primo e terzo, infatti, partendo proprio dal testo di Lo Piparo, pongono con forza la centralità del rapporto, in Gramsci, tra lingua nazionale e dialetti, ai fini della formazione intellettuale di una nuova classe dirigente rivoluzionaria. Contro la visione idealistico-romantica per cui la lingua, intesa come arte, è il prodotto del libero spirito dell'uomo, per Gramsci il linguaggio ha innanzitutto le proprie radici nella pratica sociale. A detta di Boothman (pp. 37-8) dietro questa visione della linguistica, che potremmo definire “sociologica” ed “evoluzionistica”, è possibile rintracciare diverse fonti; da un lato, come abbiamo detto, forte è in Gramsci l'eco di un approccio storico-sociale alla semantica dei termini, portato avanti in Italia all'inizio del Novecento dal neolinguista Bartoli, sulla scorta delle considerazioni anche di Bréal, nonché di Millet, allievo di Bal e amico di de Saussure. Dall'altra parte è possibile ravvisare in Gramsci tracce di concetti elaborati verso la fine degli anni venti del Novecento dal linguista marxista Volosinov, allievo e collaboratore di Bachtin.

Così nel testo di Boothman vengono puntualmente rintracciati, in riferimento soprattutto ai *Quaderni*, i passi dai quali trasparirebbe questa considerazione del linguaggio come testimonianza della storia umana, come evoluzione continua portata avanti da tutta la comunità umana, tramite processi definiti nel §71 del *Quaderno 6*, sulla scorta di Bartoli, di “irradiazione linguistica” e comprendenti tutte le strutture della società civile nel suo complesso. E ancora, ad esempio nel §40 del *Quaderno 23*, Gramsci, polemizzando duramente con quanti, come lo stesso Manzoni, ritenevano possibile risolvere il problema della unificazione linguistica nazionale, semplicemente “ripristinando”, quasi per “decreto governativo”, l'egemonia linguistica fiorentina, ribadisce il suo approccio storicista alla comprensione dei fenomeni linguistici (pp. 83-4).

Importante è anche cogliere dietro queste letture, sempre secondo Boothman, il quale ancora segue le indicazioni di Lo Piparo, la nozione “ascoliana” di “sostrato” che rimane fondamentale per tutta l'impostazione dei neolinguisti italiani, ivi compresi Bartoli e Gramsci: si tratta in sostanza di formare una unità socio-economica nel paese che

fornisca il “substrato” appunto per una lingua nazionale finalmente unificata, poichè senza l’unificazione politica strutturale non può avvenire l’unificazione culturale sovrastrutturale.

Boothman inoltre sottolinea il proficuo, seppur limitato, confronto avviato, sempre nei *Quaderni*, da Gramsci, ancora una volta in relazione alla questione linguistica, con Vailati e Pareto (pp. 91-2). Essi avevano per Gramsci sollevato un problema serio, ovvero quello del rapporto esistente tra il linguaggio scientifico, in senso lato, e quello comune, comprese le questioni della metafora e della difficoltà di epurare il linguaggio scientifico dal suo contenuto metaforico. In tal modo il confronto con i pragmatisti consente a Boothman di introdurre un tema a suo dire centrale per comprendere l’approccio gramsciano alla lingua, la questione della traducibilità dei linguaggi. Per motivi di spazio rinviando alla lettura delle acute considerazioni al riguardo contenute nei capitoli 2 e 5. Potremmo solamente limitarci a ricordare come Gramsci prende spunto, riguardo la sua nozione di traducibilità, dagli scritti del giovane Marx, ma la amplia, includendovi, sulla scia di Vailati, la questione della traduzione tra paradigmi scientifici diversi (cfr. pp. 55-80). Il risultato dei suoi ragionamenti conducono Gramsci a distinguere tra due tipi di traduzione: un tipo che si può denominare *ristretto* e che si limita a tradurre i linguaggi teorici all’interno di una disciplina, e un altro tipo, più generale, tra culture nazionali diverse. Il più alto grado di complessità traduttiva si riscontra nei casi indicati da Marx allorchè si traduce non solo tra le lingue di culture nazionali diverse, ma tra i caratteristici linguaggi egemonici che caratterizzano tali culture.

Inoltre risulta chiaro a Gramsci come solo nella filosofia della prassi la “traduzione” organica si realizza, in quanto essa dichiara come vincolante, nel definire il “criterio” di traducibilità tra due o più culture, la “somiglianza” tra le strutture delle società coinvolte. Ciò dimostra come la traduzione non è mai un processo meramente “orizzontale”, diretto, ma è un atto in cui dalle proposizioni espresse in una lingua naturale si scende attraverso diversi livelli della superstruttura alla base della seconda società per poi passare alla base della seconda società e risalire attraverso le superstrutture alla superficie rappresentata dalle proposizioni della lingua della seconda società.

Viene introdotto in tal modo, soprattutto nel capitolo 4, tutto il problema della traducibilità dei “discorsi paradigmatici”, espressione che mutuata da Boothman

dall'epistemologo Thomas Kuhn, consente all'autore di sottolineare l'idea che per Gramsci ogni attività traduttiva si qualifica essenzialmente come attività di mediazione culturale, situata sempre in un orizzonte storico dal quale risulta impossibile prescindere come vorrebbero, al contrario, alcune correnti del positivismo, duramente contestate nel *Quaderno 11*, sostenitrici di un "neutralismo epistemico" mutuato dal metodo delle scienze fisiche, applicabile anche all'analisi dei fenomeni sociali.

Gramsci in Japan

The Tokyo Gramsci Society continues to meet regularly and to publish its newsletter, *La Città Futura*. The summary of contents of the issues of *La Città Futura*, reproduced below, are indicative of the recent activities, discussion topics, and interests of the Tokyo Gramsci Society:

#28 (November 2003): Summary of Marcus Green’s Essay “Gramsci Can Not Speak: Presentations and Interpretations of Gramsci’s Concept of the Subaltern” by Yoshifumi Morikawa—Notebook 3, § 14, § 90; translated by Yoshifumi Morikawa—“We Can Not Speak Gramsci Without Recognizing his Subaltern Concept: Thinking About Green’s Essay” by Ken Yamane—“Zapatism and the Politics of Identity” by Dora Kanoussi; translated by Yoshifumi Morikawa—“Social Cooperative Movement in Italy” by Shigeki Maruyama—Book Review by Hiroshi Matsuda of Haruyoshii Yamamoto: *Dialogue: Contemporary American Social Thoughts*

#29 (February 2004): “The Subaltern Concept in Spivak” by Shunsuke Ozaki—“Gramsci’s ‘Southern Question’ and the ‘Subaltern’ in Postcolonial Studies” by Rin Odawara—“Can the Subaltern Obtain Hegemony?” by Takayuki Nakamura—“For the Modern Interpretations of the Gramscian Concept of Hegemony” by Mei Yoshizawa—“Recent Interpretations and Appropriations of the ‘Subaltern’” (Excerpt) by Marcus E. Green

#30 (May 2004): “Americanism and Fordism (Part I)” §1-§7 trans. From *Antonio Gramsci: Notebook 22* by the TGS Prison Notebooks Study Group—“Chantal Mouffe and the Gramscian Concept of the Subalterns” by Katsumi Nakamura—“Some Reflections on the Preface, *The Cheese and the Worms: the Cosmos of the Sixteenth Century Miller*” by Shunsuke Ozaki—“The Cheese and the Worms: ‘Subaltern Cultures’ in the works of Carlo Ginzburg” by Kazuaki Takeshita—“Trotsky and Gramsci on Masaryk” by Nobuo Yukawa.

#31 (August 2004): “Americanism and Fordism (Part II)” §8-§16 trans. From *Antonio Gramsci: Notebook 22* by the TGS Prison Notebooks Study Group—“Gramsci in a Korean Trendy Melodrama” by Shigeki Maruyama.

#32 (November 2004): “ The Time of Factory Councils’ Movement and the Contemporary Ideas in Italy. Corollary of Gramscian Concept of Hegemony (Part 3)” by Katsumi Nakamura—Material and extracts from Antonio Gramsci: “The Program of the *L’ordine Nuovo*”, “The Instruments of Labour”, and “Governing Party and Governing Class”—“The History of Torinese Communists. Written by a Liberal” by Piero Gobetti.

The Japanese *Quarterly Report of Materialism Studies* published the following articles dealing with aspects of Gramsci’s work:

#87 (February 2004): “The Subaltern Can Still Speak: A Report on the Puebla Conference” by Koichi Ohara.

#89 (August 2004): “On the Gramscian Concept of Americanism in Notebook 22 “Americanism and Fordism” by Koichi Ohara and Hiroshi Matsuda.

The Subaltern Can Still Speak

A Report on the Puebla Conference

by

Kiochi Ohara

This is a brief report on the Third International Conference of Gramscian studies which was held 7-10 October 2003 in Puebla, Mexico. Puebla is located about 120 km south of Mexico City. The historical and colonial downtown is characterized by numerous Spanish Catholic churches. Just in the middle of the city is the Autonomous University (BUAP), one of the joint-organizers of the Conference. With the presence of hundreds of undergraduate and graduate students from BUAP, the symposium was inaugurated at the Baroque Hall by Rector of the University, Dr. Enrique Doger Guerrero and by Professor Giuseppe Vacca, President of Institute Gramsci, the co-sponsor of the conference.

About thirty Gramscian scholars and researchers from abroad were invited to present their research in three organized sessions: ways of reading Gramsci in the world, advanced studies in Gramscian concepts, and the study of international questions in Gramscian perspective. Practically the topics every speaker addressed in his/her speech and paper intersected these three formal categories. Obviously my aim here is not to provide a survey of the discussion as a whole, nor to comment on every speech delivered at the conference, but to present my personal viewpoint, even if it might be tendentious, and to draw some possible lessons from the whole of the discussions at the Puebla Conference.

I will, therefore, deal not only with some speeches delivered during the Conference, but also with my personal impressions and exchange of opinions I have had with my colleagues before and after the symposium.

First of all, I would like to say that I was very satisfied with the discussion organized at the Puebla conference, particularly with the subaltern question, which was one of the main topics of focus for many scholars at the conference. In his concluding remarks,

Giuseppe Vacca took up the problem of subaltern social classes as one of the main issues—along with the Gramscian concepts of Americanism, hegemony, passive revolution, and the changing implications of inter-dependence and nation-states, etc.—that should be further elucidated, deepened and developed in the present period of globalization. Vacca also told me that the subaltern question for Italian scholars of Gramsci is rather “new”.

Why has the subaltern issue become one of the main topics? It seems that there are at least three reasons for that. The first reason is that the Conference was organized in Mexico, where the Zapatista indigenous movement in Chiapas has been calling for increased attention. Regrettably there was no speech delivered by any Mexican scholar in this regard during the conference. It was very impressive for me, however, that Dora Kanoussi, responsible for the Puebla symposium, dedicated full time to organizing and managing the conference, attentively following with her cute every session’s discussion, without any intervention of her own. Some time before my departure for Puebla I read her brief essay entitled “Zapatism and the Politics of Identity,” which she wrote as an introduction to the anthology “Zapatism and Politics” published in Mexico some years ago.¹ I found this essay very useful to better understanding her own interest in the subaltern question in Mexico. So I have decided to publish a Japanese translation of her introduction in the Tokyo Gramsci Society’s quarterly Bulletin “La Città Futura”.

The second reason for increased attention to the subaltern question is perhaps due to the fact that for the first time two scholars from Ecuador participated in the Puebla symposium. One of them, Professor Francisco Hidalgo Flor, delivered a paper on “The Indigenous Movements and the Struggle for Hegemony: The Case of Ecuador.” In his paper, he quoted phrases from the *Prison Notebooks* related to subaltern groups. His speech was helpful for me to understand the present situation in Ecuador.

The third reason is that some scholars from abroad, Peter Gran (Temple University) included, took up, naturally from their own standpoint, the subaltern question. As is known, Marcus E. Green (York University) dealt with this issue directly in his paper and speech, of which some excerpts will later be carried in this report. Long before the Puebla

¹ Dora Kanoussi, and Jesús Antonio Machuca Ramírez, *El Zapatismo y la Política*, (Mexico, D.F.: Plaza y Valdes, 1998).

conference, Green and I exchanged information and opinions on the subaltern question several times. Thus, I had the opportunity to know and read his excellent essay “Gramsci Cannot Speak,” which Green sent to me himself.² The summarized version of Green’s essay has also been published in “La Città Futura” (No.28) along with Kanoussi’s essay (mentioned above).

Naturally enough I sent a copy of Green’s essay to Professor Hiroshi Matsuda of Ritsumeikan University of Kyoto and the other coordinating member of IGS Japan, because he was just about to draft his essays on the subaltern problem, paying particular attention to Notebook 25. He attached much importance to Green’s essay and asked me to forward Green his first comments on the essay. Allow me to integrally quote from Matsuda’s comments, because I believe they will certainly be useful for those interested in the Gramscian concept of the subaltern.

I believe that your insights could further be deepened probably by more carefully reading and examining each paragraph of Notebook 25 (corresponding A, B, and C Texts included). For the time being, I would like to tell you my opinions as summarized below:

1. One can not understand correctly the importance of Notebook 25 if he regarded the study plan drafted at the top of Notebook 8 as the definitive and ultimate study plan of the author of the Prison Notebooks. Please see my article “Intorno al metodo di A. Gramsci, L’incantesimo della prefazione Gerratana” carried in the magazine “Belfagor”, n.330 (30 Nov. 2000).
2. The Subaltern is not one of the “specific topics” of the study-plan of Notebook 8, but the “cross argument” that runs through all of the topics.
3. As pointed out, the word “subaltern” should not be regarded as a “codeword” for proletariat (because of prison censorship or auto-censorship), but as a kind of controversial term used since the dispute on the “Southern question”. In my opinion Gramsci used the terms of proletariat and class as historical matters of fact, but he did not use consciously the term of class as a methodological concept (for example, in a reductionist and substantialist or essentialist sense), but he instead used the term “groups”.
4. In particular, a critical reading (lettura critica) of the eight C Texts of Notebook 25 and its relevant A Texts and B texts seems very important. My opinion is that the “Subaltern” concept had at first been dealt as forming a link connected to the “Southern question”, but during the time of Prison Notebooks, the concept of Subaltern was enriched and further elaborated not only as the historical concept getting over the framework of the “Southern question”, but also as such concepts as autonomy, “subject” of counter-passive revolution, and methodological one.

² Marcus E. Green, “Gramsci Cannot Speak: Representations and Interpretations of Gramsci’s Concept of the Subaltern,” *Rethinking Marxism*, vol. 14, no. 3 (Fall 2002), pp. 1-24.

5. I think that Notebook 25 should be situated in relation to Notebook 12, Notebook 19 and Notebook 22, namely it is important for us to seize the organic relations between intellectuals and subaltern groups as well as the ties interwoven among Notebooks 12, 19, 22, 25, because the concept of subaltern is intimately connected with the question of how to produce a subject capable of overcoming the hegemonic concept of Americanism.

In my speech delivered at the Puebla conference, I also emphasized the importance of seizing the organic relations between intellectuals and subaltern groups as well as the question of creating a subject capable of “overcoming the hegemonic concept of Americanism”. I here quote the concluding part of my paper, which I originally read in Italian:

For Gramsci, “ideologies are anything but arbitrary; they are real historical facts which must be combated and their nature as instruments of domination exposed, not for reasons of morality and so on, but precisely for reasons of political struggle so as to make the governed intellectually independent of the governors, in order to destroy one hegemony and create another as a necessary moment of the overturning of praxis.” (EC, Q10, §41-XIIC, p.1319).

We can observe in these passages his fundamental formulation of another hegemony, that is, a counter-hegemony of the governed opposed to the “ideology of passive revolution” of the governors.

The philosophy of praxis “is not the instrument of government of the dominant groups in order to gain the consent of and exercise hegemony over the subaltern classes; it is the expression of these subaltern classes who want to educate themselves in the art of government and who have an interest in knowing all truths, even the unpleasant ones, and in avoiding the (impossible) deceptions of the upper class and—even more—their own” (ibid, p.1320).

And today, although their expression is different from one region to another, from one country to another, tens of millions of subaltern groups in the world “want to educate themselves in the art of government and who have an interest in knowing all truths, even the unpleasant ones, and in avoiding the (impossible) deceptions of the upper class and—even more—their own,” and they persistently continue the fight against the hegemonic forces who are sophisticatedly armed with the “ideology of passive revolution.” The reality of the struggle in various countries, which Mexico—the organizing country of the present Conference—demonstrates eloquently all the facts we mentioned above. And it is a “subaltern social group” that will assume “the task to find an original way of life,” well-suited to the cultures and the traditions from every country and every region. For instance, in some of the experiences demonstrated in Central America, we can confirm the possibility of the achievement, the deepening and the development of organic and historical relationships between intellectuals and subaltern groups, comprising the indigenous naturally.

As we have emphasized in the last part of the paper relative to Notebook 25 (on the problem of the subaltern), all that Gramsci intended to draw from the study of the same problem is still valid and effective in order to tackle and cope with the subaltern problem in the actual context of the 21st century. A draft of the tasks must be assumed for the formation of autonomous subjects that can come into action against the development of a “passive revolution” on a world-wide scale: the creation of an organic collaboration between intellectual ranks and subaltern groups in the process of overcoming

“subalternity” and the reorganization of the relationship between “the state and civil society.”

The philosophy of praxis, Gramsci explains elsewhere, “is still going through its populist phase: creating a group of independent intellectuals is not an easy thing; it requires a long process, with actions and reactions, coming together and drifting apart and the growth of very numerous and complex new formations. It is the conception of a subaltern social group, deprived of historical initiative, in continuous but disorganic expansion, unable to go beyond a certain qualitative level, which still remains below the level of the possession of the State and of the real exercise of hegemony over the whole of society which alone permits a certain organic equilibrium in the development of the intellectual group.” (EC, §9C, Q16, pp.1860-1861.) And for that the search of the subaltern problem constitutes an essential part of the hegemonic struggle, that is the contemporary “movement of position,” started in the international community. Gramscian thought on the subject will be able today to provide a significant contribution to the development of collaboration and international solidarity between subaltern groups. For Gramsci, the subaltern being implies the fact that the subject can speak, that is, the subject can be the protagonist in the fight for an alternative hegemony.

Current Gramscian thought does not have to be considered underrated, outdated, and limited only to the twentieth century. As long as subaltern social groups continue the fight for “integral autonomy” (EC, p.2288) and for “consciousness of their own historical personality” (EC, p.333), Gramscian thought and values will never become less important, but indeed, they will become more distinguished.

In his paper entitled “Gramsci’s Method and Analysis of Subaltern Social Groups”, Marcus E. Green has started his arguments by pointing out :

For Gramsci, one studies history in all its various facets with the purpose of informing historical-political analysis and formulating political strategy. Considered from this perspective, Gramsci’s method in relation to his analysis of subaltern social groups is radical in two senses: (1) he attempts to identify the root causes of subalternity, and (2) he attempts to theorize a strategy for radical social and political transformation. This dual radical purpose contains elements of empirical and normative theorizing and contributes to the foundation of a radical political science.

Concerning the interior correlation between the philosophy of praxis and subaltern analysis, he also argues:

Following from his general methodological approach, Gramsci’s interest in the subaltern is threefold: he is interested in creating a methodology of subaltern historical analysis, an integral understanding of subaltern history, and from these two projects he is interested in formulating a political strategy that is capable of liberating subaltern groups from their subordinated existence. In this sense, Gramsci is consistent with the doctrines of philosophy of praxis, for it is historical analysis that informs theory and theory which informs practice. For Gramsci, there is not merely a unity of theory and practice but a unity of historical analysis, theory, and practice.

Green continues:

In his approach to the study of subaltern social groups, Gramsci attempts to understand the subaltern as a historically determined category that exists within particular historical, economic, political, social, and cultural contexts. He attempts to understand the process, development, and lineage of the subaltern; how their social conditions were developed, how some groups survived at the margins of society, and how others succeeded in their ascent from a subordinate social position to a dominant one. In short, he wants to understand how the conditions and relations of the past influence the present and future development of the subaltern's lived experience.

To conclude his paper Green points out:

Ultimately, Gramsci's study and conception of the subaltern is transformative. Gramsci is undoubtedly interested in a historical, political, social, and cultural transformation that will produce human liberation, and he sees this transformation occurring from below, meaning that subaltern groups, who are subordinated and do not hold any socio-political power, will attempt to overcome their subordination through a broad struggle that will affect every aspect of society and in turn their social being. Because political power rests within the state but is reinforced within social and cultural practices, Gramsci views the struggle for subaltern transformation occurring in a hegemonic fashion, in which a new conception of society is not only presented in politics but throughout the superstructural realms of ideology, culture, philosophy, literature, etc. Thus, in Gramsci's analysis, he attempts to capture the totality of subaltern existence. He is interested in the integral relationship between their economic, political, and social positions; the stages of their development in history; their significance in cultural forms; how they are represented in literature, etc. Gramsci's study of the subaltern reveals not only the difficulties involved in subaltern analysis but also the many factors that contribute to group marginalization and the elements which prevent groups from overcoming their marginalization. Gramsci's concept of the subaltern does not only create a new terrain of struggle but also a methodological criterion for formulating such a struggle founded upon the integral analysis of the economic, historical, cultural, and ideological roots of everyday life.

The research of the Gramscian concept of the subaltern, marginalized in the traditional studies of Gramscian thought, has only begun. It is in this sense that the Puebla symposium has had epoch-making importance for the further development of Gramscian studies.

It goes without saying, however, that the Gramscian concept of the subaltern requires further elucidation and deepening. At the same time, we – as Gramscian scholars – are faced with a responsibility that should be taken into more serious consideration, that is the consideration of the different ways of receiving and utilizing the Gramscian concept of the subaltern in various countries, including Japan.

In this regard I would like to point out that, on the one hand, the notebooks from the Formia period, including Notebook 25 (the so called the Subaltern Notebook), have so

far been slighted or neglected particularly in Italy, where the subaltern question had been formulated and elaborated by Antonio Gramsci himself, while critical readings of the Gramscian concept of the subaltern following the original texts has been belated and obstructed among Gramscian scholars and study groups working in different countries. Consequently the various “hybrid” concepts of the subaltern, in spite of being more or less inspired by Gramsci, have a-critically infiltrated into the different countries, Japan included. Hence we get some fragments and even translated parts of the Gramscian texts “used” and “appropriated” in different arbitrary manners, just as Joseph A. Buttigieg correctly pointed out seven years ago in his essay “About the Subaltern Category in Gramsci.”³

So we are in a situation in which many parrot that the word “subaltern” comes from Gramscian terminology, but the Gramscian concept of subalternity itself and Gramsci’s corresponding texts are rarely known or read. In other words, some kind of “distortion” has been produced. Particularly in Japan, India, and the United States of America one cannot overlook the discourse of Gayatri Spivak – the author of the essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?” – on the subject of the subaltern.⁴ We may say that some type of hegemonic struggle for the Gramscian concept of the subaltern is now being waged.

To conclude, it is an imminent task for Gramscian scholars to correct these types of “distortion” in the reception and utilization of Gramsci’s concept of the subaltern and to further enlighten all actualities of Gramscian thought. That is why I consider it opportune to call for an organized international discussion on the question of the subaltern, because in fact the subaltern speaks and acts all over the world.

³ Joseph A. Buttigieg, “Sulla categoria gramsciana di ‘subalterni’,” *Critica marxista*, no. 1 (January-February 1998), pp. 55-62.

⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 271-313.

Gramsci en Argentina

by

Antonino Infranca & Aldo Andrés Casas

Durante 2003 se realizaron numerosas actividades gramscianas en Argentina, como otro indicador que la situación política del país se torna cada vez más turbulenta y tanto intelectuales como “gente común”, se vuelven hacia Gramsci para buscar en su pensamiento categorías que puedan permitir la interpretación de una realidad social en profunda transformación. Mientras la sociedad política se aleja cada vez más de la sociedad civil, en el seno de esta comenzó un lento proceso de maduración que tiene una de sus expresiones en debates, reuniones y conferencias cada vez más concurridas en las que crece, sobre todo entre los jóvenes, la voluntad de reunirse, debatir y discutir. Y cada vez con mayor frecuencia en estos debates se escucha el nombre del intelectual italiano.

Uno de los motores de estas múltiples manifestaciones es la Asociación Argentina Antonio Gramsci, nacida en el 2000 por iniciativa de un grupo de marxistas que, proveniente de las más diversas vertientes de dicha corriente, se reunieron en torno al proyecto de difundir el pensamiento y la obra de Gramsci, precisamente en el país donde por primera vez se lo tradujera a otro idioma en los años veinte y posteriormente, a inicios de los cincuenta, se publicaran las primeras traducciones de las *Cartas* y los *Cuadernos*.

Limitándonos al segundo semestre del año 2003, recapitularemos rápidamente para los lectores extranjeros las principales actividades gramscianas realizadas en Argentina.

Entre los días 10 a 12 de agosto Domenico Losurdo fue acogido por la Asociación Argentina Antonio Gramsci para dictar un seminario titulado “Gramsci, del liberalismo al comunismo crítico”, retomando las tesis sostenidas por Losurdo en el libro homónimo. El seminario se realizó en las céntricas instalaciones del Centro Cultural de la Cooperación que fue promotor de la iniciativa junto con las revistas *Periferias* y *HERRAMIENTA revista de debate y crítica marxista*. La concurrencia fue muy alta, superando el centenar los participantes en cada una de las tres sesiones del Seminario, y se originó un debate particularmente intenso.

La Asociación Argentina Antonio Gramsci también estuvo entre los auspiciantes del “Coloquio Internacional Teoría Crítica y Marxismo Occidental Lukács-Bloch-Gramsci-Adorno” realizado del 20 al 22 de octubre y durante cuyo transcurso se realizó una sesión dedicada a Gramsci en la que participaron el historiador Daniel Campione, el filósofo Hugo Calello, la psicoanalista Susana Neuhaus y el sociólogo Hernán Ouviaña.

Los días 30 de octubre y 1 de noviembre tuvo lugar en la ciudad de San Miguel de Tucumán el Seminario “La actualidad del pensamiento de Gramsci”, organizado por la Asociación Antonio Gramsci, la revista *HERRAMIENTA* y el Instituto Interdisciplinario de Estudios Latinoamericanos de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Recordemos que en esta prestigiosa Universidad enseñó durante los años treinta y cuarenta el eminente filósofo italiano Rodolfo Mondolfo. La apertura de los trabajos estuvo a cargo del profesor de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNT Alan Rush y presentaron ponencias durante el seminario el filósofo italiano Antonino Infranca, Hugo Calello, Susana Neuhaus y Aldo Andrés Casas (miembros todos de la Asociación), así como el profesor de Literatura de la UNT Ricardo Kaliman. La concurrencia en esta ciudad del interior de más de un centenar de participantes con un alto porcentaje de jóvenes que participaron con interés y capacidad en los debates es expresiva del gran interés despertado por el Seminario.

A lo largo del segundo semestre del 2003 se realizaron dos Seminarios Libres sobre Gramsci, con un centenar de inscriptos cada uno. Daniel Campione condujo el que se realizó en las dependencias de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales donde cursan los estudiantes de sociología y el otro en las instalaciones en que se dictan las carreras de Comunicaciones y Ciencias Políticas, fue orientado por Mabel Twaites-Rey y Daniel Ouviaña. También en la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales se desarrolló el Seminario Permanente de Investigación organizado por Hugo Calello y Susana Neuhaus con la participación de una treintena de estudiantes en torno al tema “Gramsci y la reconstrucción de la sociedad civil en América Latina”. Se indagó sobre temas de indudable actualidad como las fábricas recuperadas por trabajadores y los movimientos de ocupación territorial, con las nuevas formas de organización social y subjetividad allí desarrolladas.

Cabe señalar también que la Escuela de Formación del Partido Comunista Argentino fue inaugurada el 16 de mayo con una mesa redonda sobre la actualidad del pensamiento gramsciano en Argentina, en la que participaron representando a la Asociación su Presidente, el historiador y periodista Emilio Corbiere, así como Daniel Campione, Andrés Méndez y Antonino Infranca. Y en la reunión que cerró el ciclo del año de esta escuela con un debate sobre el concepto de hegemonía, participaron Hugo Calello y Antonino Infranca.

Finalmente, diremos que en estos meses se publicaron y presentaron dos libros referidos a Gramsci. Néstor Kohan y el dibujante Rep con su *Gramsci para principiantes* facilitan la aproximación al gran público y la juventud del pensamiento gramsciano. *Gramsci. Del “americanismo” al talaban* ofrece el resultado de varios años de investigación de Hugo Calello en torno al pensamiento de Gramsci en su relación con candentes problemas de realidad internacional y latinoamericana.

Para el próximo año, junto con dar un nuevo impulso al desarrollo de la Asociación Argentina Antonio Gramsci mediante la incorporación de nuevos miembros, dotándola de una página web y manteniendo la organización de reuniones, seminarios, cursos y mesas redondas, está previsto contribuir al desarrollo de actividades similares en el vecino Uruguay.

Noviembre de 2003

Per un lessico dei “Quaderni del carcere”

È in libreria il volume che raccoglie le relazioni rielaborate del seminario sul lessico dei *Quaderni* della Igs Italia. Riproduciamo di seguito la scheda e l'indice del volume:

Fabio Frosini, Guido Liguori (a cura di) **Le parole di Gramsci. Per un lessico dei “Quaderni del carcere”** Carocci, Roma 2004 (“Per Gramsci”, 3), pp. 271, euro 20, 20.

A partire dalla pubblicazione delle *Lettere dal carcere*, nel 1947, l'opera di Antonio Gramsci ha svolto una funzione difficilmente confinabile nei termini della cultura anche ampiamente intesa: rispondendo del resto alle intenzioni dell'autore, i custodi della sua eredità, e in primo luogo Togliatti, hanno sistematicamente accentuato il nesso strutturale tra i *Quaderni del carcere* e la concreta identità politica del Partito comunista. Questo legame è alla radice non solo di effetti benefici sulla storia dei comunisti italiani, ma anche, sull'altro versante, di una quasi permanente tendenza a consolidare le interpretazioni di Gramsci in schemi e concetti più o meno legati ad esigenze politiche del tempo.

In un momento in cui un simile nesso tra politica e teoria è tramontato, diventa possibile misurare la forza e la debolezza del pensiero di Gramsci, commisurandolo alla storia intellettuale del Novecento, in una ricerca senza argini determinati in anticipo. In questa direzione si muovono alcune tendenze interpretative del decennio trascorso, ma molto resta da fare. In particolare, manca ancora un approccio al testo dei *Quaderni* che sappia collocarsi metodologicamente alla sua altezza, rispettandone le peculiarità e il carattere aperto, come è stato sufficientemente mostrato dall'edizione critica curata da Valentino Gerratana nell'ormai lontano 1975.

Prendendo le mosse da queste considerazioni, la Igs Italia ha avviato nel 2001 un seminario su lessico dei *Quaderni del carcere*, seminario tuttora in corso e che trova un primo risultato rilevante in questa pubblicazione. L'obiettivo necessaria di un “lessico” dei *Quaderni* deriva tanto dall'assenza di qualsiasi serio tentativo in questa direzione, quanto dalla convinzione che solo cominciando con lo stabilire i punti di riferimento fondamentali e i tracciati presenti in un testo così intricato e complesso, diventerà

possibile porre su nuove basi lo studio dei *Quaderni* e avviare una nuova valorizzazione dell'opera di Gramsci.

Un lessico dei *Quaderni*, data la peculiarità dell'opera, non può che essere ad un tempo una rete concettuale e un'architettura temporale, tenere conto insieme della sistematicità e della provvisorietà della ricerca, rintracciando i punti fermi ma non evitando di mettere in luce i vicoli ciechi e le aporie. I tredici saggi raccolti nel volume, dedicati ad altrettante categorie-chiave dei *Quaderni*, avviano e portano avanti per un buon tratto questo lavoro, che Valentino Gerratana suggestivamente paragonò a un'opera di “restauro”.

Gramsci, la politica in lemmi

di

Luigi Cavallaro

Un volume dedicato al lessico dei «Quaderni del carcere» curato da Fabio Frosini e Guido Liguori. Tredici parole-chiave come guida e orientamento nell'opera di Antonio Gramsci

Quaderni del carcere di Gramsci hanno sempre rappresentato un problema non da poco per quanti hanno inteso accostarvisi con rigore filologico, senza limitarsi cioè a cercarvi un prontuario di citazioni buono per ogni occasione. Com'è noto, a parte i cosiddetti «quaderni speciali», caratterizzati da una certa unità di contenuto, il procedere della scrittura gramsciana è frammentario, segnato da repentini cambi d'argomento fra una nota e l'altra; inoltre, sappiamo che lo stesso succedersi delle note (e dei quaderni, dal primo al ventinovesimo) non segue uno stretto criterio cronologico: Gramsci lavorava spesso a più quaderni contemporaneamente, talora riprendendo quelli riempiti in epoca precedente per aggiungere nuove note nelle pagine lasciate in bianco, onde - come ha osservato Gianni Francioni - la reale successione cronologica delle note «attraversa orizzontalmente i quaderni: vi sono momenti della redazione in cui non si ha successione di un quaderno ad un altro, ma di una nota ad un'altra nell'alternarsi di differenti quaderni». Se ne coglie un riflesso nel modo in cui certi vocaboli vengono a costituire le parole-chiave della riflessione gramsciana. Recentemente, è stato Dario Ragazzini (*Leonardo nella società di massa. Teoria della personalità in Gramsci*, Moretti Honegger, pp. 190) a richiamare l'attenzione sul fatto che Gramsci, attraverso un particolarissimo impiego delle virgolette, trascorre da un uso iniziale più circoscritto di un certo vocabolo ad un uso più esteso e integrato, al punto che esso viene a costituire come una sigla, un promemoria per altri rimandi e connessioni. Accade cioè che egli introduca un vocabolo entro virgolette, per indicare che il significato che ne dà non corrisponde a quello corrente o a quello che gli attribuisce un interlocutore con cui si sta misurando criticamente; poi, via via che il suo uso in questo significato convenzionale si

infittisce, il vocabolo perde le virgolette, a significare che ormai è assunto appieno come elemento di un proprio codice, salvo poi recuperarle quando magari viene piegato ad una nuova sollecitazione semantica, ad esempio per riferirlo ad un ambito diverso da quello proprio.

E' allora essenziale, nell'approccio ai *Quaderni*, attenersi a quel criterio che lo stesso Gramsci aveva formulato nel § 2 del quaderno 16, seppure riferito a Marx: «Se si vuol studiare la nascita di una concezione del mondo che dal suo fondatore non è mai stata esposta sistematicamente [...] occorre fare preliminarmente un lavoro filologico minuzioso e condotto col massimo scrupolo di esattezza, di onestà scientifica, di lealtà intellettuale, di assenza di ogni preconcetto ed apriorismo o partito preso. Occorre, prima di tutto, ricostruire il processo di sviluppo intellettuale del pensatore dato per identificare gli elementi divenuti stabili e `permanenti', cioè che sono assunti come pensiero proprio, diverso e superiore al 'materiale' precedentemente studiato e che ha servito da stimolo. [...] La ricerca del *leit-motiv*, del ritmo del pensiero in isviluppo, deve essere più importante delle singole affermazioni casuali e degli aforismi staccati».

È con questo obiettivo che, nell'ottobre 2000, la «International Gramsci Society Italia» ha promosso un seminario sul lessico dei *Quaderni del carcere*, i cui primi risultati vengono ora pubblicati in questo bel volume curato da Fabio Frosini e Guido Liguori (*Le parole di Gramsci. Per un lessico dei «Quaderni del carcere»*, Carocci, pp. 271). Il libro, infatti, si compone di tredici saggi, ciascuno dei quali mette a fuoco una parola-chiave della riflessione gramsciana, e scaturisce da altrettante riunioni tenutesi presso il Dipartimento di Filosofia dell'Università di Roma Tre fra la fine del 2000 e la metà del 2003, nel corso delle quali numerosi studiosi gramsciani si sono confrontati in un dibattito che - come ricordano con una punta d'orgoglio i curatori - ha finito col coinvolgere un numero sempre crescente di giovani (studenti e dottorandi), attirati da un metodo di studio severo ma aperto e disponibile allo scambio di esperienze diverse: un modo davvero originale per incontrare «un autore indubbiamente difficile, ma anche appassionante e coinvolgente come pochi».

Per quanto si tratti di un *work in progress* - non sono certo solo tredici le parole-chiave per accedere all'imponente stratificazione dei *Quaderni* - l'opera va segnalata sia per la sua originalità, sia per l'indubbio spessore del lavoro filologico che vi è racchiuso, che ne

fa un validissimo strumento di lavoro per chi, neofita o studioso smaliziato, voglia orientarsi nella giungla gramsciana; se proprio gli si volesse trovare un difetto, si potrebbe osservare che la mancata inclusione nella raccolta della relazione introduttiva svolta da Fabio Frosini in occasione del primo incontro seminariale, intitolato alla «Struttura e datazione dei *Quaderni*», non permette a chi voglia usare questo testo come un *vademecum* per accostarsi al lascito carcerario di Gramsci di disporre delle più recenti acquisizioni concernenti il complesso problema di *come e quando* scrisse il prigioniero (il lettore interessato può ritrovarla in F. Frosini, *Gramsci e la filosofia. Saggio sui «Quaderni del carcere»*, Carocci, pp. 198). Particolarmente riuscite, a mio avviso, sono le voci «Brescianesimo» di Marina Paladini Musitelli, «Giacobinismo» di Rita Medici, «Egemonia» di Giuseppe Cospito, «Rivoluzione passiva» di Pasquale Voza e, soprattutto, «Ideologia» di Guido Liguori e «Struttura-superstruttura» dello stesso Cospito: qui veramente il lettore può apprezzare fino in fondo lo sforzo compiuto dagli autori nell'analizzare il testo e cogliere le continuità e le rotture che Gramsci mantiene e introduce nella propria interpretazione del vocabolo e al contempo nella ricostruzione della sua polisemia e della famiglia di lemmi con cui è imparentato. Non sempre, peraltro, i testi sono strutturati in questa forma: altre volte il momento interpretativo prevale sul «ritmo del pensiero in isviluppo». È il caso, ad esempio, dei lemmi «Riforma e Rinascimento», «Nazionale-popolare» e «Stato-società civile», rispettivamente dovuti a Fabio Frosini, Lea Durante e Guido Liguori. Lo stesso Liguori ne spiega la ragione: si tratta di lemmi che possono essere intesi solo «in un nesso di unità/distinzione, per cui affrontare l'uno dei termini senza l'altro vuol dire in partenza negarsi la possibilità di leggere correttamente i *Quaderni*».

E se è vero che una simile affermazione presuppone una scelta che rimanda ad un'ipotesi interpretativa, è altrettanto vero che si tratta di una lettura che porta le stimate della discussione seminariale: i frequenti rinvii da un lemma all'altro e le note a piè di pagina, che danno conto delle diversità di opinioni emerse nel corso delle riunioni, testimoniano di una discussione autentica fra gli autori - non siamo certo di fronte a uno di quei testi raccoglietici tipici di certi seminari universitari, in cui ognuno si parla addosso e ignora rigorosamente quel che dice l'altro. Dei singoli saggi di cui si compone il volume, non si può qui ovviamente dire.

C'è solo da sperare che il seminario prosegua: se è vero che ogni epoca storica rilegge i classici - e Gramsci a suo modo lo è - secondo la particolare congiuntura che le è propria e con un occhio attento a cogliere possibili risposte ai problemi che ha innanzi a sé, concorrere a fare piazza pulita di talune datate interpretazioni dei *Quaderni del carcere*, che - come scrivono Frosini e Liguori - «rischiano di soffocare lo spirito e la capacità di essere presente nel mondo attuale», è obiettivo degno d'esser portato a termine.

da *il manifesto*, 27 aprile 2004

Aggiornamento *Bibliografia gramsciana*

Italia: Primo semestre 2003

a cura di

Guido Liguori

Il presente contributo bibliografico, relativo al primo semestre del 2003, vuole concorrere al periodico aggiornamento della Bibliografia gramsciana di John Cammett, Francesco Giasi e Maria Luisa Righi. Il curatore del presente lavoro chiede la collaborazione di tutti i lettori e gli studiosi per segnalare volumi, saggi e articoli dell'anno in corso, e per integrare le voci eventualmente non monitorate, soprattutto per il 2002. Le segnalazioni dovranno pervenire al seguente e-mail: guido.liguori@libero.it.

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Di Giovanni, Gianni. *Chi ha incastrato Antonio Gramsci: Gli archivi segreti del Vtaicano gettano una luce inquietante sulla condotta di Togliatti*, in "L'Avanti!", 25 febbraio 2003.

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Gallese, Luca, *E Gramsci disse: stupido l'antiamericanismo*, in "Avvenire", 30 marzo 2003.

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La Porta, Lelio, *Gramsci e il tema della storia (Il fascismo come “arcaica modernità”. L’ultimo libro di Alberto Burgio)*, in “La Rinascita della sinistra”, 27 giugno 2003, n. , p. 26.

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Aggiornamento *Bibliografia gramsciana*

Italia: Secondo semestre 2003

a cura di

Alessandro Errico e Guido Liguori

Il presente contributo bibliografico, relativo al primo semestre del 2003, vuole concorrere al periodico aggiornamento della Bibliografia gramsciana di John Cammett, Francesco Giasi e Maria Luisa Righi. I curatori del presente lavoro chiedono la collaborazione di tutti i lettori e gli studiosi per segnalare volumi, saggi e articoli dell'anno in corso, e per integrare le voci eventualmente non monitorate, soprattutto per il 2003. Le segnalazioni dovranno pervenire al seguente e-mail: guido.liguori@libero.it.

1. Libri e fascicoli di rivista monografici interamente dedicati a Gramsci

Baratta, Giorgio, *Le rose e i quaderni. Il pensiero dialogico di Antonio Gramsci* (seconda edizione riveduta e ampliata), Roma, Carocci, 2003, pp. 239

Giacomini, Ruggero. *Gramsci detenuto, il Pci e la Russia sovietica*, Vivarium – Napoli, La città del sole, 2003, pp. 30.

Gramsci e Roselli: due figure a confronto (atti del convegno “Gramsci e Rosselli: il socialismo, il fascismo, la storia d’Italia, Roma 25 ottobre 2000”), numero monografico della rivista “QCR: Quaderni del circolo Rosselli”, 2002, n.4, pp. 169. Contiene tra l’altro:

Valdo Spini, *Due anniversari*, pp. 11-16

Walter Veltroni, *Gramsci e Rosselli: il socialismo, il fascismo, la storia d’Italia*, pp. 17-22

Nadia Urbinati, *Gramsci, Rosselli e la dignità della politica*, pp. 23-30

Silvio Pons, *Gramsci e l’Urss*, pp. 29-46

Marcello Montanari, *Analisi del fascismo e storia d’Italia nella riflessione di Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 47-60

Fabio Vander, “*Socialismo liberale*” e “*Rivoluzione in Occidente*”. *Alle origini del pensiero di Rosselli e Gramsci*, pp. 95-112.

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Lucia, Piero, *Intellettuali italiani del secondo dopoguerra: Impegno, crisi, speranza*, Napoli, Guida, 2003, pp. 117-27 («La funzione di Gramsci: Le "Lettere" ed i "Quaderni del carcere"»).

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Frosini, Fabio, *Sulla "traducibilità nei Quaderni di Gramsci*, in «Critica marxista», 2003, n. 6, pp. 29-38.

Kebir, Sabine, *Gramsci, Stato e democrazia oggi*, in «Critica marxista», 2003, n. 6, pp. 24-28.

Mastroianni, Giovanni, *Gramsci, il für ewig e la questione dei "Quaderni"*, in «Giornale di storia contemporanea», 2003, n. 1, pp. 206-231.

Paladini Musitelli, Marina, *I Nipotini di padre Bresciani e la categoria del brescianesimo*, in «Problemi», 2001 [ma settembre 2003!], n. 121, pp. 138-158.

4. Articoli e recensioni

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Agosti, Aldo, *Il mistero Togliatti nel Grande Terrore*, in «Corriere della sera», 22 luglio 2003.

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- Bucci, Tonino, *Lo storico, moderno scienziato della politica*, in "Liberazione", 9 luglio 2003.
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- Buffa, Dimitri, *"Vidi Gramsci suicidarsi gettandosi da una finestra"*, in "Libero", 20 luglio 2003.
- Bugie in nome della rivoluzione*, in "Il Secolo d'Italia", 27 luglio 2003.
- Burgio, Alberto, *Contro Togliatti solo sospetti (La risposta allo "scoop" che rispolvera il complotto contro Gramsci)*, in "Liberazione", 20 luglio 2003.
- Canfora, Luciano, *Attenti ai dossier del compagno Stalin. E occhio alle date*, in "Corriere della sera", 19 luglio 2003.
- Caprara, Massimo, *Gramsci tradito da Togliatti e dal suo storico*, in "il Giornale", 18 luglio 2003.
- Chiarle, Aldo, *Fu solo fedele esecutore degli ordini di Stalin (Togliatti tradì Gramsci?)*, in "L'opinione", 31 agosto 2003.
- Cicchitto, Fabrizio, *Togliatti e il delitto politico*, in "Avanti!", 23 luglio 2003.
- Cospito, Giuseppe, *Gramsci e la filosofia* [recensione all'omonimo libro di Fabio Frosini], in "Critica marxista", 2003, n. 3-4.
- Cossiga, Francesco (intervista di Franco Mauri), *Togliatti tradì? No, fece la cosa giusta*, in "Libero", 19 luglio 2003.
- Cundari, Francesco, *Il complotto dell'Istituto Gramsci contro la storia del Pci*. In "il Riformista", 22 luglio 2002.
- D'Amico, Margherita, *Lepre: "Il prigioniero perse fiducia dopo il fallimento della seconda trattativa"*, in "Corriere della sera", 18 luglio 2003.
- D'Orsi, Angelo, *Riapriamo quei Quaderni*, in "il manifesto", 1 luglio 2003.
- D'Orsi, Angelo, *Un altro Gramsci è possibile*, in "la Stampa", 12 ottobre 2003.
- Francioni, Gianni, *Gramsci, Antigone e il prigioniero*, in "il manifesto", 20 settembre 2003.
- Garibaldi, Luciano, *E l'Istituto Gramsci scoprì l'acqua calda*, in "Il Secolo d'Italia", 18 luglio 2003.

- Gianni, Alfonso, *Le pensioni di Gramsci e quelle degli italiani*, in “Liberazione”, 22 luglio 2003.
- Giasi, Francesco, *Storia dell’Unità 1924-1939*, in “Critica marxista”, 2003, n. 3-4.
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- Gramsci in prigione tradito da Togliatti*, in “Quotidiano nazionale”, 18 luglio 2003.
- Gravagnuolo, Bruno, *Morto Umberto Cardia. Denunciò il “complotto” contro Gramsci in carcere*, in “l’Unità”, 26 giugno 2003.
- Gravagnuolo, Bruno, *Gramsci, bugie, segreti e verità*, in “l’Unità”, 18 luglio 2003.
- Guarini, Ruggero. *Piccolo contributo - in forma di intervista immaginaria con Antonio Gramsci - alla nota controversia...*, in “Il Tempo”, 22 luglio 2003.
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- Laurenzi, Laura, *Il mare caraibico è made in Italy. Ustica, l’isola dei tesori sommersi*, in “la Repubblica”, 26 luglio 2003.
- Lehner, Giancarlo, *La chiave del mistero è l’arresto*, in “il Giornale”, 18 luglio 2003.
- Leiss, Alberto, *Ma alla fine Ercoli ne uscì più forte (il caso Togliatti-Gramsci)*, in “l’Unità”, 26 luglio 2003.
- Leone de Castris, Arcangelo, *Incomprensione sui “Quaderni del carcere”*, in “Liberazione”, 22 luglio 2003.
- Lepre, Aurelio, *E Gramsci finì prigioniero di un intrigo*, in “Il Mattino”, 18 luglio 2003.
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- Liguori, Guido (intervista di Michelangelo Cimino), *“Fascismo e comunismo non sono la stessa cosa”*, in “il Quotidiano della Calabria”, 13 dicembre 2003.
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Macaluso: *“Attenti a trarre conclusioni”*, in *“il Giornale”*, 18 luglio 2003.

Morra, Gianfranco, *Così fanno tutti i comunisti*, in *“Libero”*, 18 luglio 2003.

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Ricci, Aldo G., *Il fantasma di Gramsci ...*, in *“Il Tempo”*, 24 luglio 2003.

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Riva, Valerio, *Gramsci, il "Corsera" e la lezione di storia*, in *Il Giornale*, 13 settembre 2003.

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Se Togliatti era il cattivo, allora il buono era Stalin?, in *“il Riformista”*, 18 luglio 2003.

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Uboldi, Raffaello, *Su Gramsci Togliatti e Stalin erano d'accordo*, in *“Il Tempo”*, 20 luglio 2003.

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Un centro per Gramsci, in *“Liberazione”*, 26 ottobre 2003.

Vacca, Giuseppe, *E Stalin sospettò anche di Togliatti*, intervista di Sebastiano Messina, in *“Corriere della sera”*, 18 luglio 2003.

Valenzi, Maurizio, *Ma il Migliore era favorevole a un'evasione*, in *“Il Mattino”*, 22 luglio 2003.

Valle, Andrea, *Togliatti traditore, anche Gramsci tra le vittime*, in *“Libero”*, 18 luglio 2003.

Gramsci Bibliography: Recent Publications

Below is a list of publications related to Gramsci that have been sent to us or brought to our attention by members of the International Gramsci Society.

2004 - Publications of Gramsci's Writings

Gramsci, Antonio. *Escritos Políticos*. Translated by and edited by Carlos Nelson Coutinho. 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2004). [Port.]

Portuguese translation of Gramsci's political writings in two volumes—I: 1910-1920; II: 1921-1926. This edition has an introductory essay by Carlos Nelson Coutinho as well as a substantial critical apparatus.

2004 - Publications related to Gramsci

Atkinson, E. "Thinking Outside the Box: An Exercise in Heresy." *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2004): 111-29.

This article argues that the theme of the 2003 American Educational Research Association conference, "Accountability for Educational Quality: Shared Responsibility," reflects a disturbing move in educational research away from inquiry and interrogation and toward the purpose of serving policy. This is related to wider political and rhetorical moves by which we both construct and are constructed by what Ball described as "global policy scapes" within which "thinking otherwise" becomes almost an impossibility. Our involvement, as educational researchers, in this process represents a form of collusion in our own oppression, the "organization of consent" embedded in Gramsci's concept of hegemony, and there is an urgent need for a radical rethinking of our roles, rights, and responsibilities as researchers. A plea is made for a determined move toward "thinking outside the box" at a time when, and precisely because, to do so is conceived of as a form of heresy.

Bieler, Andreas, and Adam David Morton. "A Critical Theory Route to Hegemony, World Order and Historical Change: Neo-Gramscian Perspectives in International Relations." *Capital & Class*, no. 82 (2004): 85-113.

Situated within a historical materialist problematic of social transformation that deploys many of the insights of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, a crucial break emerged, in the 1980s, in the work of Robert Cox from mainstream International Relations (IR) approaches to hegemony. This article provides a comprehensive 'state-of-the-discipline' overview of this critical theory route to hegemony, world order and historical change. It does so by outlining the historical context within which various diverse but related neo-Gramscian perspectives emerged. Attention subsequently turns to highlight how conditions of capitalist economic crisis and structural change in the 1970s have been

conceptualised, which inform contemporary debates about globalisation. Significantly, the discussion is also responsive to the various controversies and criticisms that surround the neo-Gramscian perspectives whilst, in conclusion, directions along which future research might proceed are elaborated. Hence providing a thorough survey of this historical materialist critical theory of hegemony and thus forms of social power through which conditions of capitalism are reproduced, mediated and contested.

Ives, Peter. *Language and Hegemony in Gramsci*, [Reading Gramsci Series.] (London: Pluto Press; Halifax: Fernwood Books, 2004). [Distributed in the USA by University of Michigan Press.]

Language and Hegemony in Gramsci introduces Gramsci's social and political thought through his writings on language. It shows how his focus on language illuminates his central ideas such as hegemony, organic and traditional intellectuals, passive revolution, civil society and subalternity. Peter Ives explores Gramsci's concern with language from his university studies in linguistics to his last prison notebook. Hegemony has been seen as Gramsci's most important contribution, but without knowledge of its linguistic roots, it is often misunderstood.

Ives, Peter. *Gramsci's Politics of Language: Engaging the Bakhtin Circle and the Frankfurt School*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

Antonio Gramsci and his concept of hegemony have permeated social and political theory, cultural studies, education studies, literary criticism, international relations, and post-colonial theory. The centrality of language and linguistics to Gramsci's thought, however, has been wholly neglected. In *Gramsci's Politics of Language*, Peter Ives argues that a university education in linguistics and a preoccupation with Italian language politics were integral to the theorist's thought. Ives explores how the combination of Marxism and linguistics produced a unique and intellectually powerful approach to social and political analysis.

To explicate Gramsci's writings on language, Ives compares them with other Marxist approaches to language, including those of the Bakhtin Circle, Walter Benjamin, and the Frankfurt School, including Jürgen Habermas. From these comparisons, Ives elucidates the implications of Gramsci's writings, which, he argues, retained the explanatory power of the semiotic and dialogic insights of Bakhtin and the critical perspective of the Frankfurt School, while at the same time foreshadowing the key problems with both approaches that post-structuralist critiques would later reveal. *Gramsci's Politics of Language* fills a crucial gap in scholarship, linking Gramsci's writings to current debates in social theory and providing a framework for a thoroughly historical-materialist approach to language.

Patnaik, Arun Kumar. "Gramsci Today." *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai, India), (March 13, 2004): 1120-23. [Eng.]

How relevant are Gramsci's ideas in relation to the economic, political and ideological developments obtained in India today? A seminar report.

Rowe, David. "Antonio Gramsci: Sport, Hegemony and the National-Popular." In *Sport and Modern Social Theorists*, edited by Richard Giulianotti, pp. 97-110. (New York: Palgrave, 2004).

Sanbonmatsu, John. *The Postmodern Prince: Critical Theory, Left Strategy, and the Making of a New Political Subject*. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2004).

The Postmodern Prince provides a historically-grounded critique of postmodernism, and a history of how the socialist Left has helped to create its ideas. In the course of this two-sided critique, it develops an account of a Marxism that sets itself the task of building a collective political subject—a successor to Machiavelli's Prince and Gramsci's Modern Prince—capable of challenging capitalism in its moment of global crisis.

Sanbonmatsu demonstrates the limitations of the work of Michel Foucault, and more recently, Hardt and Negri's much-acclaimed *Empire*. In the process he validates for Marxism the classical idea of politics as hegemonic in scope, revolutionary in aspiration, and dependent on the capacity of leadership to rise to unforeseen challenges. He draws on an extraordinary range of historical, political and philosophical analyses to set out the preconditions for a renewal of strategic and theoretical vision for the Left.

2003 - Publication of Gramsci's Writings

Gramsci, Antonio. *Cartas De La Cárcel*. Translated by Cristina Ortega. Edited and introduced by Dora Kanoussi. (Mexico: Ediciones Era - Istituto Gramsci - BUAP, 2003). [Span.]

A complete edition in Spanish translation of Gramsci's letters from prison.

Gramsci, Antonio. *La Cuestión Meridional*. (Argentina: Quadrata, 2003). [Introduction by Giuseppe Fiori.] [Span.]

2003 - Publications related to Gramsci

Bagley, G. "The Television Text: Spectatorship, Ideology, and the Organization of Consent." *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, vol. 18, no. 4 (2001): 436-51. [Eng.]

The problem with popular polarizations in television reception research is that either quantitative or qualitative methodologies considered separately fails to render a complete understanding. Television viewing is both individual and collective. Thus this paper proposes an analytical framework synthesized from alternate approaches not conventionally petitioned in reception research, among them Gramsci's consent theory, which identifies a logical and justifiable space for both considerations, a means of accounting for the ebbs and flows of both individual and collective forces continuously at work in culture and in television reception.

Beilharz, P. "The Decline of Western Marxism: Trotsky, Gramsci, Althusser." *Thesis Eleven*, vol. 75, no. 1 (2003): 126-35. [Eng.]

Berlanga, Ángel. "Las Ideas De Antonio Gramsci, Hoy." *La Insignia* (April 27, 2003). [Review of Nestor Kohan, *Gramsci para Principiantes*. (Argentina: Longseller, 2003).] [Span.]

Bieler, Andreas, and Adam David Morton. "Globalisation, the State and Class Struggle: A 'Critical Economy' Engagement with Open Marxism." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5, no. 4 (2003): 467-99.

This article explores common commitments between competing historical materialist perspectives within International Political Economy (IPE). It does so by engaging with the approach of Open Marxism that has emerged as the basis of a radical rethinking of theories of the state, the dialectic of subject-object and theory-practice, as well as commitments to emancipating the social world. Despite these contributions, though, there has been a sonorous silence within debates in critical International Relations (IR) theory in relation to the arguments of Open Marxism. In contrast, we engage with and develop an immanent critique of Open Marxism through a 'Critical Economy' conception of the state proffered by Antonio Gramsci. Previously overlooked, this alternative approach not only promotes an understanding of the state as a social relation of production but also affords insight into a broader range of class-relevant social forces linked to contemporary processes of capitalist development. A key priority is thus granted to theorising the capitalist state, as well as issues of resistance and collective agency, that surpasses the somewhat 'theological' vision of state-capital-labour evident in Open Marxism. Moreover, it is argued in conclusion that the approach we outline provides an avenue to critique additional competing 'critical' approaches in IR/IPE, thereby raising new questions about the potential of critical theory within international studies.

Boothman, Derek. "The British Press on Gramsci's Trial." *Counter-Hegemony*, no. 8 (2003): 52-66. [Eng.]

This article analyzes the political and class influences in the British press' coverage of Gramsci's trial.

Buey, Francisco Fernández. "De La Invención Del Príncipe Moderno a La Controversia Sobre El Príncipe Posmoderno." *La Insignia* (June 4, 2003). [Span.]

Burawoy, Michael. "For a Sociological Marxism: The Complementary Convergence of Antonio Gramsci and Karl Polanyi." *Politics & Society* 31, no. 2 (2003): 193-261. [Eng.]

The postcommunist age calls for a Sociological Marxism that gives pride of place to society alongside but distinct from state and economy. This Sociological Marxism can be traced to the writings of Gramsci and Polanyi. Hailing from different social worlds and following different Marxist traditions, both converged on a similar critique and

transcendence of Classical Marxism. For Gramsci advanced capitalism is marked by the expansion of civil society, which, with the state, acts to stabilize class relations and provide a terrain for challenging capitalism. For Polanyi expansion of the market threatens society, which reacts by (re)constituting itself as active society, thereby harboring the embryo of a democratic socialism. This article appropriates “society” as a Marxist concept and deploys it to interpret the rise and fall of communist orders, the shift from politics of class to politics of recognition, the transition from colonialism to postcolonialism, and the development of an emergent transnationalism.

Chaichian, Mohammad A. “Structural Impediments of the Civil Society Project in Iran: National and Global Dimensions.” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, vol. 44, no. 1 (2003): 19-51. [Eng.]

The origins of the "civil society" concept can be traced to the nineteenth century European political thought. But in the last two decades the concept has been revived in an eclectic and non-critical fashion by Western governments and affiliated donor agencies with vested neo-colonial and economic interests in Eastern Europe, former Soviet republics, and developing countries. This article argues that as an alternative to radical ideologies and revolutionary processes of social change, the civil society concept has been transformed into a neutral and allegedly non-ideological pragmatic "project" for establishing democracy and promoting market-based economies in developing nations. The article entails two components. First, it traces historical origins of the civil society concept from Locke, Hegel and Marx to Gramsci and Habermas, as well as resurrection of the concept by western governments, particularly in the United States and Britain. Second, it examines the feasibility of establishing civil society in developing countries by using the Islamic Republic of Iran as a case study, particularly since the victory of Mohammad Khatami and pro-reform factions in the 1997 presidential elections. Using Antonio Gramsci's interpretation of civil society and providing a conceptual model, the article concludes that the civil society project in Iran and other developing countries is a recipe for failure due to both internal and external structural impediments.

Coutinho, Carlos Nelson, and Andréa de Paula Teixeira, eds. *Ler Gramsci, Entender a Realidade*. (Civilização Brasileira, 2003). [Port.]

The essays published in this volume were presented at the International Gramsci Society Conference held at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, between 19 and 21 September 2001. The conference was entitled *Ler Gramsci, entender a realidade* (To read Gramsci, to understand the reality.) This volume is published in coordination with the International Gramsci Society.

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- Jeremy Lester: Alinhando a inteligência com a vontade
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- Rita Medici: O conceito gramsciano de "nação hegemônica"
- Isabel Monal: Gramsci, a sociedade civil e os grupos subalternos
- Marco Aurélio Nogueira: As três idéias de sociedade civil, o Estado e a politização
- Koichi Ohara e Hiroshi Matsuda: A recepção de Gramsci no Japão
- Antonio A. Santucci: Individualismo, comunicação e luta de classes. Gramsci e a sociologia política contemporânea
- Giovanni Semeraro: Tornar-se "dirigentes". O projeto de Gramsci no mundo globalizado
- Ivete Simionatto, A cultura do capitalismo globalizado. Novos consensos e novas subalternidades

Deppe, Frank. *Politisches Denken Zwischen Den Weltkriegen / Im 20. Jahrhundert*. Vol. 2: Politisches Denken zwischen den Weltkriegen. (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 2003). [Ger]

This volume contains - after a long introduction on the "30 years' war. 1914 - 1945" - chapters on Carl Schmitt, Antonio Gramsci (pp. 207 - 276), Rudolf Hilferding and Otto Bauer, the early Frankfurt School (Max Horkheimer and others), John Maynard Keynes, Walter Lippmann ("the voice of Armica") and Gandhi and Mao Tse-tung.

Elliott, C. "Representations of the Intellectual - Insights from Gramsci on Management Education." *Management Learning*, vol. 34, no. 4 (2003): 411-27. [Eng.]

This article explores the contemporary relationship between management educators and practitioners, as expressed in the Critical Management Studies (CMS) literature, in the light of Gramsci's writings on the formation and roles of intellectuals within society. His conception of intellectuals as being of two types-organic and traditional-is used as a heuristic to explore the claims made by critical management studies for an emancipatory agenda. Using Gramsci's writings as a point of departure I stake out a position that starts to reconsider how management educators have come to acquire their perceived position of governance over what passes as management knowledge. I suggest that to do this we need to consider management education's socio-cultural position. I adopt Gramsci's notion of the 'system of relations' as a way to focus on the relationships between management education, management educators, and management practitioners. The article suggests that CMS needs to pay attention to the pedagogical processes of management education as much as to its content. I conclude that research that observes what are currently perceived as 'critical' and 'non-critical' management education classrooms must take place. Until this occurs, CMSs claims for an emancipatory agenda must remain muted.

Giadresco, Gianni. "The Prisoner Gramsci." *Counter-Hegemony*, no. 8 (2003): 67-8. [Eng.]

This is a review of the Italian text Michele Pistillo, *Gramsci in Carcere: Le Difficili Verità D'un Lento Assassinio*. (Manduria: Piero Lacaita Editore, 2001). [Gramsci in Prison: The Difficult Truths of a Slow Assassination].

Groot, Gerry. *Managing Transitions: The Chinese Communist Party, United Front Work, Corporatism and Hegemony*. (New York: Routledge, 2003). [Eng]

Managing Transitions examines the history and roles of China's minor parties and groups (MPGs) in the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) united front between the 1930s and 1990s using Antonio Gramsci's principles for the winning and maintaining of hegemony. Gramsci advocated a 'war of position', the building of political alliances to isolate existing state powers and win consent for revolutionary rule and transform society.

Economic reform is now creating new socio-economic groups and the CCP is adjusting the united front and the MPGs to co-opt their representatives and deliberately forestall the evolution of an autonomous civil society and middle class which could challenge CCP rule. This has resulted in a new and expanding role for the united front, the MPGs and organisations representing the new interest groups. Gramsci's theories also help explain why the original MPGs are now more-or-less irrelevant and being replaced by new bodies as the connections between these organisations and their ostensible target groups are ever more tenuous and far from those required to effectively connect with China's new organic intellectuals.

Henriques, Luiz Sérgio. "Gramsci, Segundo Buey." *La Insignia* (May 13, 2003). [Review of Francisco Fernández Buey, *Leyendo a Gramsci*, Barcelona: El Viejo Topo, 2001.] [Port.]

Kanoussi, Dora. "Un Comentario Sobre La Relevancia De Gramsci." *Memoria: Revista Mensual de Política Y Cultura*, no. 171 (2003). [Span.]

Comentario a Jeremy Lester, *Unity in Diversity: The contemporary relevance of Gramsci in the counter-Hegemonic Struggle*. [Ponencia en el Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades, UNAM, 28-30 de enero de 2003.

Kohan, Nestor. *Gramsci Para Principiantes*. (Argentina: [Longseller](#), 2003). [Span.] [Illustrations by Miguel Rep.]

Levy, David L., and Daniel Egan. "A Neo-Gramscian Approach to Corporate Political Strategy: Conflict and Accommodation in the Climate Change Negotiations." *The Journal of Management Studies* 40, no. 4 (2003): 803-29.

A neo-Gramscian theoretical framework for corporate political strategy is developed drawing from Gramsci's analysis of the relations among capital, social forces, and the state, and from more contemporary theories. This approach addresses the structure-

agency relationship and endogenous dynamics in a way that could enrich institutional theory. The framework suggests a strategic concept of power, which provides space for contestation by subordinate groups in complex dynamic social systems. This framework is applied to analyze the international negotiations to control emissions of greenhouse gases, focusing on the responses of firms in the US and European oil and automobile industries. The neo-Gramscian framework explains some specific features of corporate responses to challenges to their hegemonic position and points to the importance of political struggles within civil society. The analysis suggests that the conventional demarcation between market and non-market strategies is untenable, given the embeddedness of markets in contested social and political structures and the political character of strategies directed toward defending and enhancing markets, technologies, corporate autonomy and legitimacy.

Mather, R. "Hegemony and Marxist Psychology." *Theory & Psychology*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2003): 469-87. [Eng.]

Recently there have been several attempts to arrive at a more precise understanding of the relationship between Marxism and psychology. These have been notable in that they have been informed by Althusserian treatments of Marxism rather than orthodox Freudian or Lacanian themes. Such treatments, it is argued, entail the complete eradication of any notion of subjectivity. The following analyses the Gramscian concept of hegemony and whether it can furnish an alternative to this rejection and provide at least an initial point of departure in formulating a 'Marxist psychology'. It suggests that hegemony is a dialectical concept in the classical Hegelian tradition, a concept expressible only in and through the Hegelian notion of a 'speculative proposition'. It is argued that this would necessitate a wholesale rejection of the classical Marxist tradition that assigns primacy to the material base. No grounds for causal primacy can be adduced from a truly dialectical relationship. It is suggested that the 'logic' of hegemony is fundamentally at odds with hegemony as an item of real socio-cultural analysis. Gramsci's own retention of the primacy thesis, the dominance of the economic moment in the constitution of hegemony, requires that hegemony be the result of that moment as a causal factor. A refusal of the Althusserian alternative requires a concept of agentic psychical. subjectivity, albeit one open to massive influence by the logic of commodity production.

Morgan, W. John. *Communists in Education and Culture 1848-1948*. (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave, 2003).

This book is aimed at both a specialist and non-specialist readership. It provides a detailed yet readable account of the attitudes of leading communists, including Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Gorky, Gramsci, Lukacs, Mao Zedong and John Maclean, towards education and culture during the first 100 years of the communist movement.

Morton, Adam. "Historicizing Gramsci: Situating Ideas in and Beyond Their Context." *Review of International Political Economy* 10, no. 1 (2003): 118-46.

Across debates within political and international theory similar demands have been made concerning the need to 'historicize' the theoretical and practical legacy of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. Yet little attention has been hitherto granted to the substantive ontological and epistemological basis of such demands. By outlining a series of

interpretative controversies and examining in detail the question of historicizing Gramsci, this article addresses some of the principal demands to historicize Gramsci before discerning any contemporary relevance. By tackling such demands within their own terms and according to their own stipulations an immanent critique is developed. This tactic of an immanent critique offers an approach to the history of ideas useful to the present, it locates ideas both in and beyond their context, and it also pushes one to consider what might be historically limited in a theoretical and practical translation of past ideas in relation to alternative conditions.

Morton, Adam. "Social Forces in the Struggle over Hegemony: Neo-Gramscian Perspectives in International Political Economy." *Rethinking Marxism* 15, no. 2 (2003): 153-79.

Editor's introduction: Adam Morton engages in a wide-ranging and engaging survey of what he calls the neo-Gramscian theory of hegemony, which emerges in the seminal work of Robert Cox as a break from and alternative to mainstream neorealist understandings of international relations. Morton explains how Cox borrows key concepts from Antonio Gramsci's distinctive approach to Marxian theory—especially the notions of hegemony, historical bloc, the state, and civil society—in order to fashion a "critical theory of hegemony," one that "directs attention to questioning the prevailing order of the world." Among the distinctive features of Cox's framework are a focus on an expanded conception of hegemony (which represents a form of class rule, and thus includes but is not reduced to state dominance), the coalescing of historical blocs of social forces at a national level (as a condition for world hegemony), and a nonbourgeois view of the state (which is closely related to the work of Gramsci in that it encompasses institutions of political society and civil society). Morton then explains how this framework can be and has been creatively used (by Cox and other neo-Gramscians) to analyze various global configurations, including the post-World War II Pax Americana, the erosion of that order in the 1970s, and the emergence of a new global order (based on the internationalization of production and the state). Finally, he takes up some of the valuable criticisms of the neo-Gramscian approach from within the Left and puts forth an agenda for further research. What is particularly important, Morton argues, is for neo-Gramscian scholars to engage directly with the writings of Gramsci (instead of relying on secondhand accounts or non-Gramscian understandings of key concepts) and, especially, to consider systematically the forms of resistance (on the part of organized labor, landless peasants, and many others) to contemporary global hegemony.

Öncü, Ahmet. "Dictatorship Plus Hegemony: A Gramscian Analysis of the Turkish State." *Science & Society* 67, no. 3 (2003): 303-28.

Analysis of the Turkish state in the 20th century both draws upon and supports Gramsci's definition of the state as "dictatorship + hegemony." Both the form of the capitalist state and its activities rest upon the hegemony of the dominant class. The importance of society and class conflicts in understanding the capitalist state suggests a critical position vis-a-vis the state autonomy tradition. The history of the Turkish state provides support for the argument that the dominant class must have established hegemony in the state in the first place, since without this there is no guarantee of successful use of the coercive power of the state on behalf of the sectional interests of the dominant class.

Raber, D. "Librarians as Organic Intellectuals: A Gramscian Approach to Blind Spots and Tunnel Vision." *Library Quarterly* 73, no. 1 (2003): 33-53. [Eng.]

In the January 1999 issue of *Library Quarterly*, Wayne Wiegand suggests that library and information science (LIS) has failed to critically examine its role in relations of power and knowledge that systematically marginalize the needs of less powerful members of society. What we know, and what we allow ourselves to know, about libraries and their users is conditioned by history and politics. The work of Antonio Gramsci can help us to understand this situation. Librarians and scholars of LIS occupy a space that is contested terrain in a war of position between the hegemony of the capitalist historic bloc and the subjects who would challenge that bloc to be true to its self-declared principles of democratic participation. Gramsci's insights regarding the nature of capitalist social formations, and the role of intellectuals organic to these formations, reveal the ambivalent social position of LIS as a source of both support and resistance to capitalist hegemony.

Sen, Amartya. "Sraffa, Wittgenstein, and Gramsci." *Journal of Economic Literature*, vol. 41, no. 4 (2003): 1240-55. [Eng.]

Two distinct but interrelated issues are investigated here. The first concerns Sraffa's critical role in contemporary philosophy through his pivotal influence on Wittgenstein. The intellectual origins of this profound influence can be traced to the philosophical interests of the activist political circle in Italy (clustered around the journal *L'Ordine Nuovo*) to which both Sraffa and Antonio Gramsci belonged. The second inquiry concerns the influence of Sraffa's philosophical views on his economics. Sraffa's economic contributions can be much better understood by paying attention to the way Sraffa changed the nature of the questions asked, rather than seeking different answers to already established questions.

San Juan, E. "Antonio Gramsci on Surrealism and the Avantgarde." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 37, no. 2 (2003): 31-45. [Eng.]

Simms, Rupe. "'I Am a Non-Denominational Christian and a Marxist Socialist:' a Gramscian Analysis of the Convention People's Party and Kwame Nkrumah's Use of Religion." *Sociology of Religion*, vol. 64, no. 4 (2003): 463-78. [Eng.]

Kwame Nkrumah, the father of modern Ghana, led his people to freedom from British domination between 1948, upon the completion of his studies and political activism in the U.S. and Britain, and 1957, when the European imperialists granted independence to their former colony. As president of the new nation, Nkrumah initiated a process of nation-building in which his use of Christianity was central. This study employs Gramscian theory in examining the ideological aspects of this history, emphasizing the use of religion as both a hegemonic and counter-hegemonic political instrument. It argues that in some respects Nkrumah used Christianity in a way that confirms Gramsci; however, in others he employed the Judeo-Christian faith in a manner that informs the ideas of the Italian Marxist.

Tavakolian, B. "Gramsci, Culture and Anthropology (Book Review)." *CHOICE: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries*, vol. 40, no. 11-12 (2003): 1949.

Thompson, Spurgeon. "Gramsci and James Connolly: Anticolonial Intersections." *interventions* 5, no. 3 (2003): 371–82. [Eng.]

This article investigates overlaps and confluences between the work of Antonio Gramsci and James Connolly, demonstrating how both theorized hegemony, the intellectuals and subaltern historiography. It closes by marking a confluence at the level of form: the fragmentary character of their work and the demands this makes upon interpretation. Specifically, this article proposes the Gramscian concept of 'elaboration' to meet these interpretive demands and to help recover the work of Gramsci and Connolly in the interests of critical anticolonial theory.

2002 Publications

Amodeo, I. "Cultural Differences as Media Differences - Antonio Gramsci and the Italian Taste for the Operatic." *Arcadia* 37, no. 2 (2002): 260-68. [Ger.]

Antonio Gramsci's reflections in *Quaderni del carcere* on the interrelation of media and culture is significant for both media and cultural theory. According to Gramsci, culture needs a national or popular medium to participate in the construction of a cultural identity. In the European context of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Gramsci ascribes this function to literature, and in particular to the novel, whose major representatives, for example, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Dostoyevsky, and Tolstoy, have contributed to the creation of a "cultura nazionale-popolare". But what to make of Italy, where the production of novels lagged? According to Gramsci, a remarkable "gusto melodrammatico" (taste for the operatic) has been evident in many aspects of Italian cultural and daily life. This suggests that in Italy, opera has taken on the role of the novel.

Bieler, Andreas. "The Struggle over EU Enlargement: A Historical Materialist Analysis of European Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 4 (2002): 575-97. [Eng.]

This article argues with the help of a neo-Gramscian perspective that neo-liberal restructuring is the social purpose underlying Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU in 1995 as well as future enlargements towards Central and Eastern Europe. The way in which enlargement has come about has differed, however. On the one hand, class struggle occurred mainly at the Austrian and Swedish national level. While a historical bloc in favour of EU membership was established in Austria by internationally oriented capital and labour, Swedish transnational capital and labour only formed a strong pro-EU alliance, because transnational capital favoured the EU for its neo-liberal restructuring, while transnational labour hoped to regain control over capital at a higher level. On the other hand, neo-liberal restructuring in Central and Eastern Europe has to be secured externally via EU membership, based on an alliance between Central and Eastern European state elites and transnational capital, represented by the Commission and the European Round Table of Industrialists.

Gorlier, C. "Post-Marxism in an African Context: The Usability of Antonio Gramsci." *Research in African Literatures* 33, no. 3 (2002): 97-103. [English.]

Holmes, C.A. "Academics and Practitioners: Nurses as Intellectuals." *Nursing Inquiry* 9, no. 2 (2002): 73-83. [Eng.]

In the author's experience, nurse educators working in universities generally accept that they are 'academics', but dismiss suggestions that they are 'intellectuals' because they see it as a pretentious description referring to a small number of academics and aesthetes who inhabit a conceptual world beyond the imaginative capacity of most other people. This paper suggests that the concept of the 'intellectual', if not the word itself, be admitted into nursing discourse through the adoption of a non-élitist Gramscian understanding, similar to the more recently formulated conception of the reflective practitioner. According to the Italian Marxist scholar Antonio Gramsci, intellectuals are those people who develop ways in which to construct the conditions of their own existence, a possibility he believed was open to all. It is suggested that, from a Gramscian perspective, all nurses are intellectuals to varying degrees, and nurse educators should not only be nurturing their own intellectualism but also the potential for intellectualism as it exists within each individual. The ways in which this project are related to Habermasian critical theory are also briefly outlined.

Kipfer, Stefan. "Urbanization, Everyday Life and the Survival of Capitalism: Lefebvre, Gramsci and the Problematic of Hegemony." *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 13, no. 2 (2002): 117-49. [Eng.]

Discusses the specifically urban aspects of antiglobalization protest movements through a reinterpretation of Henri Lefebvre's urban Marxism that links it to the work of Antonio Gramsci. Such a rereading, unlike poststructuralist & political-economy treatments of urban Marxism, focuses on hegemony & everyday life. The aim is to offer a metapolitical & metatheoretical orientation rather than a comprehensive "Gramscian-Lefebvrian" urban Marxist model. The significance of everydayness & difference in the proposed orientation allows for a potential new metatheoretical point of departure toward reconceptualizing urban Marxism in response to poststructuralist questions about difference. Nonetheless, this reconceptualization entails dialogue with theorists sympathetic to Lefebvre's dialectical humanism but also concerned with his theoretical inattention to matters of racism, patriarchy, & imperialism.

Kipfer, Stefan, and Keil, Roger. "Toronto Inc? Planning the Competitive City in the New Toronto." *Antipode* 34, no. 2 (2002): 227-64. [Eng.]

This paper analyses recent developments in urban planning in the City of Toronto. A municipality of 2.4 million inhabitants that makes up the inner half of the Greater Toronto Area, the City of Toronto was consolidated from seven municipalities in 1998. Planning practice, discourse, and "vision" in the new City of Toronto are shaped by the city's bid for the 2008 Olympics, related proposals for waterfront redevelopment, and preparations for a now official plan. In the context of comparative debates on trends in local governance, we see current planning strategies in Toronto as one of several strategic sites in which Toronto is consolidated into a "competitive city." Historically, the

formation of the competitive city in Toronto must be seen as a result of the impasse of postwar metropolitan planning in the early 1970s, the sociospatial limitations of downtown urban reform politics in the 1970s and 1980s, and the neoliberal restructuring and rescaling of the local state in the 1990s. Theoretically, we draw on the global city research paradigm, regime and regulation theory, and neo-Gramscian urban political theory to suggest that planning the competitive city signals shifts in the sociopolitical alliances, ideological forms, and dominant strategies that regulate global-city formation. These constellations and strategies threaten to reconstitute bourgeois hegemony in Toronto with a series of claims to urbanity.

Kurzman, C., and Owens, L. "The Sociology of Intellectuals." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002): 63-90. [Eng.]

The sociology of intellectuals has adopted three fundamentally distinct approaches to its subject. The Dreyfusards, Julien Benda, "new class" theorists, and Pierre Bourdieu treated intellectuals as potentially a class-in-themselves, that is, as having interests that distinguish them from other groups in society. Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, and theorists of "authenticity" treated intellectuals as primarily class-bound, that is, representatives of their group of origin. Karl Mannheim, Edward Shils, and Randall Collins treated intellectuals as relatively class-less, that is, able to transcend their group of origin to pursue their own ideals. These approaches divided the field at its founding in the 1920s, during its mid-century peak, and in its late-century revival.

Morton, Adam D. "La Resurreccion Del Maiz': Globalisation, Resistance and the Zapatistas." *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 31, no. 1 (2002): 27-54. [Eng.]

This article develops an analysis of the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional, active in the southern state of Chiapas, Mexico. Taking recent reflections on neoliberal globalisation and resistance as its point of departure, questions are raised about how the EZLN movement is a response to specific historical circumstances in Chiapas; how the EZLN is a response to the restructuring of the capitalist system on a global scale; and how it is probing the social and political foundations of a future order by challenging the legitimacy and authority of the Mexican state. The article proceeds along two main lines of inquiry in order to emphasise the past, present and future dimensions of the EZLN movement. Firstly, the roots of the rebellion are situated within changing relations of production that affected Chiapas in the 1970s, which led to a growth of radical peasant organisations. The more immediate context of the rebellion is also discussed in relation to the restructuring of capital in Mexico represented by the rise of neoliberalism and increased coercion throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Secondly, the innovative methods of struggle developed by the EZLN are analysed within the categories of counter-hegemonic resistance developed by Antonio Gramsci. Overall, these various aspects of the EZLN are discussed to show how the movement has mounted a critique of social power relations within Mexico as well as the conditions of world order by contesting and resisting neoliberal globalisation.

2001 Publications

Bellamy, Richard. "Review Article Two Views of Italy's Failed Revolution." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 6, no. 2 (2001): 265-69. [Special Issue: Italian intellectuals and politics from Vico to Eco] [Eng.]

Review of Carl Levy, *Gramsci and the Anarchists* (New York: Berg 1999) and Piero Gobetti, *On Liberal Revolution*, ed. and introduction by Nadia Urbinati, foreword by Norberto Bobbio, trans. William McCuaig (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

Bellamy, Richard. "A Crocean Critique of Gramsci on Historicism, Hegemony and Intellectuals." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 6, no. 2 (2001): 209-29. [Special Issue: Italian intellectuals and politics from Vico to Eco] [Eng.]

Although Gramsci's debt to Croce is well known, most commentators simply accept his criticisms of Croce & his claim to have overcome certain lacunae in the Neapolitan's thought. This article argues that many of these criticisms misfire, & mounts a Crocean critique of Gramsci. Through a comparison of their respective views of historicism, hegemony, & intellectuals, it is argued that the radical democratic & libertarian theory many post-Marxists claim to find in the Sardinian is more appropriately associated with Croce.

Brennan, Timothy. "Antonio Gramsci and Post-Colonial Theory: 'Southernism'." *Diaspora: a journal of transnational studies* 10, no. 2 (2001): 143-87. [Eng.]

Chambers, T. "Theory and the Organic Bioethicist." *Theoretical Medicine and Bioethics* 22, no. 2 (2001): 123-34. [Eng.]

This article argues for the importance of theoretical reflections that originate from patients' experiences. Traditionally academic philosophers have linked their ability to theorize about the moral basis of medical practice to their role as outside observer. The author contends that recently a new type of reflection has come from within particular patient populations. Drawing upon a distinction created by Antonio Gramsci, it is argued that one can distinguish the theory generated by traditional bioethicists, who are academically trained, from that of "organic" bioethicists, who identify themselves with a particular patient community. The characteristics of this new type of bioethicist that are explored in this article include a close association of memoir and philosophy, an interrelationship of theory and praxis, and an intimate connection between the individual and a particular patient community.

Ledwith, Margaret. "Community Work as Critical Pedagogy: Re-Envisioning Freire and Gramsci." *Community Development Journal* 36, no. 3 (2001): 171-82. [Eng.]

Complex times, defined by rapid sociopolitical change, call for a coherently articulated critical pedagogy, "that particular type of pedagogy which is concerned with issues concerning social difference, social justice, & social transformation" (Mayo, 1990, p. 58). A pedagogy of transformative change, or liberation education, is rooted in praxis, & located in educational sites of resistance, for example, community work, youth work, social work, community education, adult education, & schooling. The political nature of education situates educators either as agents of the state or as agents of transformative change, either perpetuating the status quo or creating the context to question. In this instance, I argue for community work as critical pedagogy, located as it is in the very essence of people's lives, at the interface of liberation & domination. I explore some of the key concepts of Gramsci & Freire in the current context of globalization & within the notion of difference.

Levy, Carl. "The People and the Professors: Socialism and the Educated Middle Classes in Italy, 1870-1915." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 6, no. 2 (2001): 195-208. [Special Issue: Italian intellectuals and politics from Vico to Eco] [Eng.]

This article examines the role of the educated middle classes in the Italian socialist and syndicalist movements from 1870 to 1915. After discussing the problems of defining the educated middle classes and the intellectuals, this article looks at the role of the creative free-floating intellectuals within the socialist movement of the 1890s. The importance of positivist and 'evangelical' socialism is highlighted and illustrated through the influence of Cesare Lombroso and Edmondo De Amicis. The article then focuses on the role of Filippo Turati and the Italian Socialist Party's Socialist Parliamentary Group, which was largely composed of individuals from the educated middle classes. In this part of the article, the author evaluates the influence of the educated middle classes in the Italian Socialist Party before 1915. This article concludes with a discussion on the nature of Italian intelligentsia socialism and its influence on Gramsci.

Sanbonmatsu, John. *The Prince and the Archaeologist: Gramsci, Foucault, and the Crisis of Left Intellectual Thought*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Sociology, University of California at Santa Cruz. Santa Cruz, CA, 2001. Pp. 542. [Eng.]

Abstract: "My thesis, written at a time of civilizational crisis and ecological extermination, is an inquiry into the waning of the use value of "critical" or oppositional forms of social and political thought. The question I pose and attempt to answer is why, in the wake of the collapse of the socialist project for universal emancipation, no new general theoretical paradigm of social change has yet emerged to take its place. Drawing upon the work of Thomas Kuhn, I show how Marxism functioned for many years as a paradigm, in the sense of a structure of perception which provided the critical opposition with a crucial experimental framework for matching the outcomes of practical action with theoretical prediction. While the old is dying, however, I argue that "the new cannot be born." Marxism's ostensible replacement, postmodernism, cannot serve paradigmatically, lacking (1) an account of perceptual experience and (2) a normative, experimental method. Improvising a unique methodology drawn from the sociology of knowledge, phenomenology, and intellectual history, I show how the experiential or affective dimensions of New Left praxis in the 1960s period became sedimented in the

postmodernist and identity politics discourses of later years. However, I conclude that this residual "expressivist" cultural element is useless from the vantage point of developing a political strategy which would be adequate to present (and future) conditions. Examining the social philosophy of Michel Foucault (the "Archaeologist" of my title) whose thought has become exemplary for leading sectors in contemporary theory, I conclude that postmodernism in fact hinders the critical opposition, and even leads in authoritarian directions. I proceed, finally, to offer my own preliminary sketch of a new, normative political theory, a synthesis based in part on the insights of Antonio Gramsci (the "Prince" of my title). I argue that Gramsci's thought not only offers us a useful basis for comprehending the phenomenological and perceptual dimensions of praxis; it can also potentially serve as the basis of a political strategy for uniting the otherwise scattered, disparate elements of the global opposition."

Tickle, Les. "The Organic Intellectual Educator." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 31, no. 2 (2001): 159-78.

Contrasting images of teachers' lives and work, from compliance with bureaucratic controls, disaffection and lack of critical reflection, on the one hand, to innovation, commitment and reflexive critique, on the other, set the context for this article. Gramsci's classification of teachers as 'professional intellectuals' who transmit stable, even stagnant, knowledge, as distinct from other 'organic intellectuals' who evolve knowledge and engage critically with personal and social issues, is set within that context. Both distinctions were taken as an incitement to political action in the work which is then reported, where principles derived from Maslow's concept of the Taoistic teacher were instituted in an in-service course explicitly framed to encourage self-originating and self-determining approaches to intellectual growth. Extracts from projects by six teachers are used as evidence of the range, methods, depth and quality of personal engagements in educational experiences.

Wood, M. D. "Religious Studies as Critical Organic Intellectual Practice (Contributions toward the Struggle for Social Justice, Ecological Integrity, and Human Rights)." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 69, no. 1 (2001): 129-62. [Eng.]

Abstract: "In this essay I argue that those who write and teach about religion within higher education can make vital contributions to struggles for social justice, ecological integrity, and human rights. In order to make such contributions scholars must, however, break with both corporate multiculturalism, which reduces struggles over how we should live to matters of style, and methods of interpretation that remove the study of religion from the social context within which religious people actually exist, struggle to survive, and attempt to create better ways of life. I propose that scholars instead develop what I call, borrowing from Cornel West and Antonio Gramsci, critical organic intellectual practice. In this essay I elaborate several of the principles that ought to guide the work of developing this mode of practice."

2000 - Publication of Gramsci's Writings

Gramsci, Antonio. *Cuadernos De La Cárcel*. Translated by Palos, Ana María. 6 vols. (Mexico: Ediciones Era - Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1981-2000). [Span]

Spanish translation of the critical edition of *Quaderni del carcere*.

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1. t. 1981 (Q 1 , 2)
2. t. 1981 (Q 3,4,5)
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4. t. 1986 (Q 9,10,11,12)
5. t. 1999 (Q 13 - 19)
6. t. 2000 (Q 20-29 e Indices en español elaborados por Dora Kanoussi, pp.299-613)

2000 - Publications related to Gramsci

Boothman, Derek. "A Note on the Evolution - and Translation - of Some Key Gramscian Terms." *Socialism and Democracy*, no. 28 (Volume 14, No. 2) (2000): 115-30.

In this article, Derek Boothman discusses the meaning of "philosophy of praxis," "historical bloc," and "totality" in the *Quaderni del carcere*. Boothman addresses some of the points raised by Wolfgang Fritz Haug in *Socialism and Democracy*, volume 14, number 1.

Buchanan, Paul G. "Note Sulla 'Escuela Italiana': Using Gramsci in the Current International Moment." *Contemporary Politics* 6, no. 2 (2000).

This article explores neo-Gramscian conceptualizations of international relations, focusing on the notion of consent as central to a proper application of Gramsci's thought to the current world scene. It also mentions other areas in which neo-Gramscian thought is useful, and suggests that neo-Gramscian approaches to international relations may be appropriate for the current moment.

Kalyvas, Andreas. "Hegemonic Sovereignty: Carl Schmitt, Antonio Gramsci and the Constituent Prince." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 5, no. 3 (2000).

This article argues that Schmitt's concept of sovereignty and Gramsci's notion of hegemony represent two distinct variations on a single theme, namely the idea of the political as the original instituting moment of society. Both Schmitt and Gramsci focused on the sources, conditions, content, and scope of the originating power of a collective will. While the former located it in the constituent power of the sovereign people, the latter placed it in the popular-national will of the modern hegemon. Both thinkers explored the complex and perplexing relationship between radical founding acts and modern democratic politics in a secular age, that is of democratic legitimacy, where with the entrance of the masses into the political sphere, the references to ultimate foundations of authority and to an extra-social source of political power had begun to appear more dubious than ever. The last section of the article develops a notion of hegemonic sovereignty defined as an expansive and positing democratic constituent prince, aiming,

through founding, total decisions, at the overall, radical, explicit, and lucid institution of society. The article briefly shows how the concept of hegemonic sovereignty can solve some problems pertaining to Schmitt's notion of sovereignty and to Gramsci's theory of hegemony. In so doing, the article seeks to establish the mutually reinforcing qualities of the two concepts.

Sittivaekin, Wit. *Gramsci and the Conditions of Successful Revolution*. U Southampton, UK2000. Pp. 421-C. [Eng.]

1998 Publications

Germain, Randall D., and Michael Kenny. "Engaging Gramsci: International Relations Theory and the New Gramscians." *Review of International Studies* 24 (1998): 3-21.

The work of the Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci has had a significant impact upon the study of International Relations (IR) over the past fifteen years. Despite the emergence of a distinct 'Italian School' in IR, however, there have been few assessments of the utility of Gramsci's concepts in this area. Our purpose here is to engage with the work of the new Gramscians. We begin by specifying the theoretical attractions of using Gramsci in IR, and then subject the key foundational claims of the new Gramscians to critical analysis. Our principal conclusions are that the Italian school's appropriation of Gramsci is far more conceptually problematic than they acknowledge, and that their use of his framework is difficult to sustain with respect to the scholarship devoted to his ideas. If Gramsci is to be used effectively within IR, closer attention must be paid both to the historical meaning of his work and to the problems raised by it. In short, Gramsci and his ideas must be more thoroughly historicized if his work is to be used to comprehend the multiple dynamics of world order today.

Murphy, Craig N. "Understanding IR: Understanding Gramsci." *Review of International Studies* 24 (1998): 417-25.

Randall D. Germain and Michael Kenny's valuable 'Engaging Gramsci: International Theory and the New Gramscians' alerts Anglophone IR scholars to broader debates about Gramsci's theories that are rarely highlighted by scholars in the (somewhat misnamed) 'Italian School'. Just as Germain and Kenny have offered one way to contextualize Gramsci's contributions within the intellectual and social world that was the immediate object of his analysis, it is equally important to put the work of Anglophone 'Gramscian' scholars in its own immediate context in order to clarify why the 'Gramsci' that so many of us have found helpful was the historicist and 'idealist' who, as Germain and Kenny's article suggests, is only one of the many Gramscis that can be identified through historically grounded close readings of the Sardinian's words and deeds.

Rupert, Mark. "(Re-)Engaging Gramsci: A Response to Germain and Kenny." *Review of International Studies* 24 (1998): 427-34.

"In a recent issue of the Review, Randall Germain and Michael Kenny issued a serious challenge to neo-Gramscian scholarship in international studies, fn1 claiming that 'the Italian school's appropriation of Gramsci is far more conceptually problematic than they

[neo-Gramscians] acknowledge, and that their use of his framework is difficult to sustain with respect to the scholarship devoted to his ideas'. fn2 In their critical probing of the neo-Gramscian IR literature, Germain and Kenny focus most closely upon two issues: Gramsci's ambiguous and contested legacy and the difficulty of establishing any 'definitive interpretation' of his work; and the appropriateness of attempting to understand transnational social relations in terms of a broadly Gramscian concept of 'civil society'. I will discuss each in turn."

1996-1990 Publications

Patnaik, Arun Kumar. "The Ideology and Politics of Hindutva." In *Region, Religion, Caste, Gender and Culture in Contemporary India*. Vol. 3, edited by T. V. Sathyamurthy. (Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

This paper uses Gramsci's concept of religion and tries to understand Hindutva politics in India.

Patnaik, Arun Kumar. "Reification of Intellect." *Economic and Political Weekly* (India) (January 27, 1990).

A reflection on debates on Gramsci's passive revolution and its application in Indian history.

Italia: è nato il Centro interuniversitario per gli studi gramsciani

by

Lea Durante

Da alcuni mesi è attivo il *Centro interuniversitario di ricerca per gli studi gramsciani*, una istituzione che, accanto alle Università di Bari, di Trieste e di Urbino, vede tra i suoi fondatori e animatori la Igs Italia.

Il 6 ottobre 2003 si è tenuta a Bari la riunione fondativa che ha eletto gli organismi del Centro e ha discusso le linee di ricerca principali intorno alle quali concentrare l'attenzione e gli sforzi dei circa cinquanta tra studiosi e studiose che hanno aderito al progetto. Direttore del Centro è Pasquale Voza, dell'Università di Bari, mentre rappresentanti delle diverse unità operative sono Marina Paladini Musitelli per Trieste, Giorgio Baratta per Urbino, Raffaele Cavalluzzi per Bari e Guido Liguori per la IGS Italia.

L'idea di tentare un rilancio degli studi gramsciani in ambito accademico in Italia è nata proprio dall'incontro, nel seminario della Igs Italia sul lessico gramsciano, di personalità universitarie sensibili al problema della progressiva diminuzione di attenzione verso Gramsci come oggetto di interesse e di studio, almeno nell'ultimo ventennio. Come è noto, infatti, diversamente da altri paesi del mondo in cui si è assistito in anni recenti a una valorizzazione delle ricerche e degli studi su Gramsci a livello accademico, in Italia si è verificato il fenomeno inverso, probabilmente anche a causa di quella che si potrebbe chiamare una «saturazione politica» degli studi gramsciani dei decenni precedenti.

La sfida, perciò, è quella di avviare una nuova stagione degli studi gramsciani, capace di confrontarsi con una storia ricca e complessa come quella delle ricezioni precedenti, ma che, muovendo da questo indispensabile punto di partenza, sappia anche distaccarsene con proposte di metodo innovative e con l'affermazione di esigenze più

vicine alla odierna sensibilità scientifica. Insomma, studiare Gramsci con un occhio al mondo di oggi ma senza piegarlo in modo immediato al mondo di oggi.

L'attenzione filologica si rivela in questo proposito una risorsa importantissima, per permettere una vera e propria lettura ex novo dell'autore sardo, per tentare l'elaborazione di un metodo di ricerca e di approccio che avvicini anche i giovani, che consenta l'incontro di Gramsci con un'altra generazione di lettori.

L'attività scientifica si sta già muovendo lungo gli assi definiti tra i ricercatori e le ricercatrici aderenti, attraverso iniziative pubbliche e ricerche. Lo Statuto approvato sancisce e sintetizza in questo modo gli scopi del Centro:

1) promuovere, sviluppare, diffondere a livello universitario nazionale e internazionale studi storici e sociali aventi per argomento Antonio Gramsci, le radici teorico-filosofiche del pensiero marxista, la storia del movimento operaio, il pensiero teorico-politico, il risorgimento, il fascismo, la cultura e la letteratura popolare, e tutte le tematiche in vario modo connesse con l'opera gramsciana;

2) favorire l'emergere di una cultura critica del presente ispirata al pensiero di Antonio Gramsci, e che, partendo appunto dalle categorie conoscitive gramsciane, ne rielabori il senso al fine di intendere i fenomeni della contemporaneità in campo antropologico, filosofico, sociale, politico, storico e culturale;

3) incentivare i contatti e i progetti di ricerca comuni tra studiosi gramsciani di tutto il mondo, per mettere a confronto e far interagire le molte, diverse proposte di studio e aree di influenza di un campo di ricerca largamente praticato su scala internazionale;

4) promuovere lo studio del pensiero di Gramsci tra studenti universitari, dottorandi di ricerca, borsisti e giovani studiosi a vario titolo collegati all'università, attraverso seminari, progetti di ricerca, ecc., opportunamente finanziati;

5) organizzare manifestazioni, convegni, conferenze, incontri, mostre e iniziative di vario genere tese alla divulgazione degli argomenti di interesse del Centro.

Il Centro potrà costituirsi editore o coeditore di collane di testi, di studi, di testi singoli, di materiali di ricerca, di pubblicazioni periodiche e prodotti multimediali.

Tra i progetti di breve termine del Centro segnalò il convegno *«Il ritmo del pensiero in isviluppo» e «pensare dubitando»: la prosa di Gramsci e Labriola*, in programma a Bari per il prossimo settembre.

Sono molti gli sforzi che il Centro sta facendo per ottenere i finanziamenti necessari al perseguimento dei suoi obiettivi. Del non molto denaro che in Italia viene investito per la ricerca, solo una piccola parte è riservata al campo umanistico. Nonostante queste difficoltà si cercherà comunque di promuovere rapporti accademici internazionali per i quali, naturalmente, gli studiosi e le studiose che fanno riferimento alla Igs sono interlocutori primari. Il Centro è fin d'ora aperto alle iscrizioni anche di persone non formalmente inserite nelle Università che hanno stilato la convenzione, sebbene tali iscrizioni abbiano uno status formale diverso.

Per informazioni e iscrizioni è possibile scrivere all'indirizzo l.durante@lettere.uniba.it

Sessions on Gramsci at the *Rethinking Marxism* Conference 2003

Thursday, November 6, 1:00-3:00 p.m. — Concurrent Sessions A

A6 [903] Hegemony and Civil Society (co-sponsored by the International Gramsci Society)

- Joseph Buttigieg (University of Notre Dame), Chair
- Carl Boggs (National University), From Fordism to Post-Fordism
- Jacinda Swanson (Western Michigan University), Economic Common Sense and Capitalist Hegemony
- Benedetto Fontana (Baruch College, CUNY), Liberty and Domination: Civil Society in Gramsci

Friday, November 7, 9:30 a.m. -11:30 a.m. — Concurrent Sessions C

C1[174-76] An RM/AESA Symposium on Joseph Buttigieg's Gramsci: Prison Notebooks, Volumes 1 and 2

- William Spanos (Binghamton University), Chair
- David Ruccio (University of Notre Dame)
- Joseph Childers (University of California, Riverside)
- Peter Ives (University of Winnipeg)
- Joseph Buttigieg (University of Notre Dame), Respondent

Friday, November 7, 1:00-2:30 p.m. — Concurrent Sessions D

D9 [162-75] Gramscian Readings of the World Scene (co-sponsored by the International Gramsci Society)

- Marcus Green (York University), Chair
- Peter Gran (Temple University), Marxism, Gramsci, and the Problem of Eurocentrism
- Carl Boggs (National University), Empire and Hegemony
- John Sanbonmatsu (Worcester Polytechnic Institute), Toward a "Postmodern Prince": Gramsci as the Basis for Unification of the Left into a Single World-Historical Movement

Saturday, November 8, 9:30-11:30 a.m. — Concurrent Sessions E

E3 [805-09] Analyses of Key Aspects of the Prison Notebooks (co-sponsored by the International Gramsci Society)

- Joseph Buttigieg (University of Notre Dame), Chair

- Dora Kanoussi (University of Puebla), Gramsci’s Reading of Machiavelli in the Prison Notebooks
- Rocco Lacorte (University of Chicago), Gramsci on “Linguaggio” and the Problem of the Translatability of Concepts
- Peter Ives (University of Winnipeg), Gramsci’s Writings on Language in Light of Poststructuralism and Cultural Theory
- Marcus Green (York University), Myths of Censorship and Distorted Readings of the Prison Notebooks

Saturday, November 8, 3:30-5:30 p.m. — Concurrent Sessions F

F5 [164] Gramsci and Education: A Roundtable Discussion (cosponsored by the International Gramsci Society)

- Benedetto Fontana (Baruch College, CUNY), Chair
- Carmel Borg (University of Malta)
- Joseph Buttigieg (University of Notre Dame)
- Peter Mayo (University of Malta)

In one of the non-IGS panels, Manuel Almeida Rodriguez (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) presented a paper entitled “From the National Question to the National-popular in Puerto Rico.”