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Annotated Gramscian Bibliography

(1952-1956)

Thesis Abstract
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Preliminary remarks

This work aims helping people to orientate in the wide Gramscian bibliography, at first it was thought as a part of a wide project for an annotated bibliography on Italian studies about Gramsci's life and work, but maybe it can be useful now telling something more about specific Gramscian studies during the period 1952-1956.

Methodologically I started working on current bibliographies: first of all the one carried out by John Cammett¹, which can now count on updates by the International Gramsci Society², and a minor work, yet very well structured, made by Rosangela Zosi and Matteo d'Ambrosio³ for drawing up an inventory of works about Gramsci collected in the library of Istituto Gramsci, Turin. I had a look at Fondo Fubini, located on Fondazione Istituto Gramsci in Rome, a press cutting archive that Elsa Fubini⁴ gathered up during her life, but I could notice that the years at issue are very poor and the 1956 folder couldn't be found.

¹ [John M. CAMMETT] *Bibliografia Gramsciana 1922-1988*, a cura di John M. Cammett, prefazione di Nicola Badaloni, Roma, Editori Riuniti-Fondazione Istituto Gramsci, 1991, XXIII-475 pp. [Accademia. Annali Fondazione Istituto Gramsci] and [J. M. Cammett; M. L. Righi] *Bibliografia Gramsciana. Supplement updated to 1993. Containing 3428 entries, with subject and geographic indexes and appendices containing and languages of publications*, Roma, Fondazione Istituto Gramsci, 1995, 267 pp.; URL for online bibliography: <http://www.gramsci.it/A6Web/bibliografiaGramsciana.htm>.

² Italian bibliographical contributions, collected by Guido Liguori and Alessandro Errico, are available at: <http://www.gramscitalia.it/html/biblio.htm>

³ Cfr. [Rosangela Zosi] *Gramsci nella Biblioteca della Fondazione. Catalogo 1922-1997*, a cura di Rosangela Zosi, Torino, Fondazione Istituto Piemontese Antonio Gramsci, 1997, XV-440 pp. and *Gramsci nella biblioteca della Fondazione. Supplemento al catalogo 1922-1997*, a cura di R. Zosi con la collaborazione di Matteo D'Ambrosio, Torino, Fondazione Istituto piemontese Antonio Gramsci, 2002, IV-122 pp.; first catalogue is now in PDF available, splitted up into two parts, at the following links: <http://www.gramscitorino.it/downloadDB.asp?iddoc=208> and <http://www.gramscitorino.it/downloadDB.asp?iddoc=209>

⁴ Elsa Fubini, expert on Gramsci, edited the first collection of letters from prison: Antonio GRAMSCI, *Lettere dal carcere*, Torino, Einaudi, 1947, 260 pp. [Opere di Antonio Gramsci, 1]; a cura di Sergio Caprioglio e Elsa Fubini, 1965, XLV-949 pp. [Nuova Universale Einaudi, 60].

As model of reference I took Luigi Firpo's *Bibliografia campanelliana*⁵, a still remarkable work, and a recent bibliography on Machiavelli⁶, unlike Cammett's work I didn't only give the list of studies on Gramsci, but my objective was, based on the retrieval of works of different nature and in sundry places, reading and review them. So that for any title examined I gave a concise description trying to give some information about the authors, his or her political leanings and intellectual placing.

I considered just what was published in Italy, so I left out works in other languages or published abroad. The meaning of this choice is to understand which works had been more important for the acquaintance of Gramsci in Italy and what or who, and in which way, generated discussions, approvals, manipulations or critical, philological, hermeneutic researches, a wide enhancement in Italian culture opening new trends in history, philosophy, politology, sociology, antropology, pedagogy, aesthetics, literature, linguistics...

Cammett's bibliography is a very hard to use tool: a sequence of titles in alphabetical order, without any other framework which could help finding what we're looking for for our researches. The goal of this work would then be to give a map to orientate oneself in what is now a forest of titles. Titles are here first shared-out by year then entered alfabetically (by author's name) into twenty different sections which returns the formal feature of every work. Inside this sections titles are headed with a code which contains last two numbers of the year of publication and a progressive numbering among it.

⁵ Luigi FIRPO, *Bibliografia degli scritti di Tommaso Campanella*, in «Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze», 1940. In order to reconstruct Firpo's whole work on Campanella, see: Enzo BALDINI, *Luigi Firpo e Campanella. Cinquant'anni di ricerche e pubblicazioni*, in «Bruniana e Campanelliana», 2, 1996, pp. 325-58.

⁶ [Silvia RUFFO FIORE] *Niccolò Machiavelli. An annotated bibliography of modern criticism and scholarship*. Compiled by Silvia Ruffo Fiore, Greenwood Press, New York – Westpoint (Conn.) – London 1990, XIV-810 pp.

The outline for sections is:

- I. Monograph by single author
- II. Collective works
- III. Essays, chapters and paragraphs in a single author's work
- IV. Essays, chapters and paragraphs in collective works
- V. Conference or seminar proceedings
- VI. Introductions, forewords, introductory remarks, afterwords, notes
- VII. Pamphlets (anonymous or signed, collective or by single author)
- VIII. Collections of documents
- IX. Official records of parliamentary proceedings (*et similia*)
- X. Essays on scientific magazines
- XI. Special issues of magazines
- XII. Reviews
- XIII. Article in newspapers (daily or weekly)
- XIV. Interviews
- XV. Dictionary and encyclopaedic entries (in alphabetical order)
- XVI. Sections or chapters of encyclopaedia (systematic order)
- XVII. Chapters and paragraphs of school handbooks
- XVIII. Artistic works (stories, novels, poetry, theatre...)
- XIX. Chronologies
- XX. Bibliographies

This work consider the period 1952-1956 because of internal reasons in Gramscian historiography and worldwide history. In 1952 the publication of Gramsci's work, published for the first time by Einaudi is ended⁷ and the first important steps on Gramsci acquietance is possible, till that «unforgettable

⁷ *Lettere dal carcere* was published in 1947; collections as *Il materialismo storico e la filosofia di Benedetto Croce* appeared in 1948; *La questione meridionale*, *Gli intellettuali e l'organizzazione della cultura*, *Note sul Machiavelli sulla politica e sullo Stato moderno* and *Il Risorgimento* in 1949; *Americanismo e fordismo* and *Letteratura e vita nazionale* in 1950; *Passato e presente* in 1951; while the anthology *L'albero del riccio* in 1948 and *La questione meridionale* in 1951.

1956»⁸, «a singularly important year in the history of Italian intellectuals after fascism»⁹ when some sudden earthquakes took place: the XX Congress of PCUS and the spreading of Chruščëv's secret report, the rebellion in Hungary, crisis of the Polish regime, which stirred also the Italian communist realities, and even Gramscian studies were touched.

The whole scenario is considered on the following historical introduction: for the analysis I included an essential survey has been *Gramsci conteso*¹⁰, where Liguori presents the widest debates spread out in Italy from 1922 to 1996 and I found useful too, in a deeper political sight, an older work by G. C. Jocteau¹¹.

I would say that Cammett's bibliography has been my main source for the retrieval of Gramscian studies; examining them, I found very few titles not included in his work.

Many of the texts I analyzed were essays appeared on scientific journals, rarely I could find complete collections of them in Piedmont, so that for them and for a very large number of rare books it was necessary for me to search in Rome (only a few at the library of Fondazione Istituto Gramsci and at Biblioteca di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea, most of all my researches took place at Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, where, in Falqui Fund¹² I could find lots of studies about Gramsci and literature). I've retrieved essays on minor magazines at the library of Istituto Gramsci Emilia-Romagna and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence.

⁸ Expression used for the first time in Italian by Pietro Ingrao reminiscent of a Sovietic motion picture released in 1952 by Michail E. Čaureli, *The Unforgettable 1919*, it got into the habit during the following years and is the title of an essay by Ingrao about the XX Congress of PCUS and the VIII Congress of PCI included in Pietro INGRAO, *Masse e potere*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1960.

⁹ For further remarks please see Alberto ASOR ROSA, *La cultura*, in *Storia d'Italia. IV. Dall'Unità a oggi*, Torino, Einaudi, 1975, II, p. 1620.

¹⁰ Guido LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso. Storia di un dibattito 1922-1996*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1996, XIII-305 pp. [Biblioteca tascabile].

¹¹ Gian Carlo JOCTEAU, *Leggere Gramsci. Una guida alle interpretazioni*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1975, 169 pp.

¹² The Biblioteca Nazionale centrale in Rome acquired in 1976 Enrico Falqui's (literary reviewer, 1901-1974) library, it has been opened in 1982 with a reserved room called with his name.

On every report or when I found it useful, I gave internal links through their codes.

For this work I'd like to thank Fondazione Istituto Gramsci piemontese with the former library director Rosangela Zosi and Matteo d'Ambrosio.

Thanks to my colleagues dott. Gesualdo Maffia and dott.ssa Filomena Pompa for their support.

Introduction

On Antonio Gramsci, from 1952 to 1956

Antonio Gramsci's antifascism

In the political atmosphere when at Senate Scelba's Act¹³ was approved with a wide majority, Palmiro Togliatti on 23th March 1952 gave a speech at Associazione culturale in Bari on topic: Gramsci as ideologist of antifascism¹⁴, trying to clear up the issue of ideological unity against antifascism among different political groups. His paper is based on the difference, yet build up by De Sanctis¹⁵, of the idea of freedom as a method, still developed by democratic tradition on the substantial features.

Resuming this from De Sanctis, Gramsci took the concept and employed it in a class-oriented way: he showed liberal ideology as an instrument of supremacy and fascism as the armed hand of traditional ruling class, which could avoid «the coming of working class to seize power». Togliatti refers explicitly to lacks of liberal meaning with an example: Benedetto Croce reduced fascism to a «contingent moral and intellectual disease»¹⁶ so that it's easy to understand one of the reasons why that dramatic political situation has been identified so late.

On the previous year, 1951, the publication of the Prison books ended with the volume: *Past and present*, mostly recognized, in its historiographical traits,

¹³ The Scelba Act was an update of the XII transitory disposition of the Italian Constitution that warned against reorganization or activity for neofascist parties and groups.

¹⁴ Palmiro TOGLIATTI, *L'antifascismo di Antonio Gramsci*, in «Rinascita», IX, 1952, pp. 133-143 (→52.23).

¹⁵ Francesco DE SANCTIS, *Mazzini e la scuola democratica*, Torino, Einaudi, 1952.

¹⁶ Both quotations are from Palmiro TOGLIATTI, *L'antifascismo...* cit., p. 137.

as a contribution to the rebuilding of the history of the working class¹⁷, as well as an analysis on the political origins of fascism¹⁸.

At the conference in Bari, Togliatti shows the theories of Gramsci as an «historical interpretation which starts a new science in our history and in our politics»¹⁹ with the object of an historiographical study on a national level, yet a starting point for a modernized Italian society against the always impending threat by capitalistic class of an «old-style reactionary hegemony»²⁰ aiming to destroy democracy.

For Togliatti, much more than in Gramsci's thoughts, the strategy of antifascism is based on the argument that fascism has always been «a possible trend of capitalism, so a democratic antifascist revolution is a compulsory step that cannot be renounced of the struggle towards socialism»²¹.

A statement of Gramsci's relationship to Italian tradition, peculiar features of Marxist historicism and the claim of fascism as an always potential condition: those are the elements that make this speech «maybe the most complete among Togliatti's reflections on the eve of an hard political struggle against the so called "Fraud law"»²².

De Sanctis-Gramsci line

In opposition to the historical and cultural line De Sanctis-Gramsci²³, that in the political aspect is a relationship between democracy and socialism, Croce,

¹⁷ le recensioni a *PP* di Alberto CARACCILO, Rec. a *PP*, in «Movimento Operaio», IV, 1955, pp. 159-60 (→52.34) and Gastone MANACORDA, Antonio Gramsci, *Passato e Presente*, in «Società», VIII, 1952, pp. 145-150 (→52.41).

¹⁸ le altre recensioni a *PP* di Paolo ALATRI, *Passato e presente. L'ultimo libro di Gramsci*, in «Paese Sera», 4 marzo 1952 (→52.30); Paolo ALATRI, *Come aiutarono il fascismo Giolitti, Croce e Gentile*, in «Il Paese», 19 aprile 1952 (→52.31) and by Aldo GAROSCI, in «Il Ponte», VIII, 1952, pp. 1022-1023 (→52.39).

¹⁹ TOGLIATTI, *L'antifascismo...* cit., p. 142.

²⁰ *Ivi*, p. 143.

²¹ Guido LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso. Storia di un dibattito*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1996, p. 60

²² *Ibidem*. In 1953 Alcide de Gasperi's Demo-Christians pushed through an electoral law providing that any group winning 50.1% of the popular vote should receive 64% of the chamber seats, a clear working majority, the law itself proved so unpopular that it is widely known as the «legge truffa» (Fraud law).

²³ The echo of this interpretation owing to the publication of *Letteratura e vita nazionale* is considered in LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso*, cit., p. 62, about Croce's outcry see Carlo SALINARI, *Il ritorno di De Sanctis*, in «Rinascita», IX, 1952, p. 292 (→52.20), where, two months before

formerly editor of De Sanctis' works, denies any similarities between both thinkers²⁴; a debate, at first on a general and literary level²⁵, time passing by, evolves using more and more peculiar references to Dante²⁶, Manzoni²⁷ and Zola²⁸. The assimilation of De Sanctis' lesson through the Prison books leads to rediscover a «literary critical activism that Croce denied, changing it heavily to homogenize it to his critical ideas», but in the meanwhile a «strange ideological mix arises where Verga, De Sanctis, Ždanov, Lukács are combined all together under the nome of Gramsci»²⁹.

History of PCI

In april 1952 PCI celebrates its thirty birthday with a popular book on its history³⁰, when the following year occur a jolt in its historiography. During the year of general election handled with the «Fraud law»³¹, Fulvio Bellini e Giorgio Galli, leftist critics, published another history of PCI³², and Angelo Tasca suggests his personal evidence on the magazine «Il Mondo» about the first ten years of PCI³³.

the author writes: «it seems that the connection between De Sanctis and Gramsci nowadays has a greater meaning and many further growth chances to than the traditional one De Sanctis-Croce».

²⁴ Benedetto CROCE, *De Sanctis-Gramsci?*, in «Lo Spettatore Italiano», V, 1952, pp. 294-296 (→52.09).

²⁵ In reply to Croce: Valentino GERRATANA, *De Sanctis-Croce o De Sanctis-Gramsci? Appunti per una polemica*, in «Società», VIII, 1952, pp. 497-512 (→52.16).

²⁶ Galvano DELLA VOLPE, *Antonio Gramsci e l'estetica crociana*, in «La Fiera Letteraria», VIII, n. 4, 15 febbraio 1953, p. 4 (→53.11).

²⁷ Natalino SAPEGNO, *Manzoni tra De Sanctis e Gramsci*, in «Società», VIII, 1952, pp. 7-19 (→52.21), Angelo ROMANÒ replies with *Gramsci, Manzoni e gli umili*, in «Rassegna di Politica e di Storia», I, 1955, pp. 26-32 (→55.24) and with reworked conclusions ID., *Manzoni visto da Gramsci*, in «L'osservatore Politico Letterario», II, n. 10, 1956, pp. 67-78 (→56.18).

²⁸ Adriano SERONI, *De Sanctis, Zola e la cultura italiana moderna*, in «Rinascita», X, 1953, pp. 492-497 (→53.21).

²⁹ Quotations of LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso* cit., p. 63.

³⁰ *Trenta anni di vita e lotte del P.C.I.*, a cura di Palmiro Togliatti, Roma, Rinascita, 1952 (→52.01).

³¹ See note 22.

³² Fulvio BELLINI, Giorgio GALLI, *Storia del Partito Comunista Italiano*, Milano, Schwarz, 1953 (→53.03).

³³ The history is splitted in seven parts: Angelo TASCA: *I primi dieci anni del Partito Comunista Italiano*, in «Il Mondo», V, 1953, *La storia e la preistoria*, n. 33, 18 agosto, pp. 3-4; *L'«Ordine Nuovo»*, n. 34, 25 agosto, p. 5; *Comunismo e fascismo*, n. 35, 1 settembre, pp. 9-10; *Ordinovisti e bordighisti*, n. 36, 8 settembre, pp. 9-10; *La direzione clandestina*, n. 37, 15 settembre, pp. 9-10; *La nuova politica*, n. 38, 22 settembre, pp. 9-10 (→53.38).

Galli and Bellini attempt to give the first organic re-enactment about the history of the party with a critical slant opposite to official interpretation; to give an example: about Bordiga's figure, who had always been harshly critic to the theories of «Ordine Nuovo», is «stressed and argued the Neapolitan engineer's leading role in the split of the party in Livorno till the Congress in Lyons»³⁴, proved also by references to Gramsci's attitude and opinions that are incompatible with former historiography. This revaluation, in line with a critical approach from left against stalinism, involves «both Gramsci's action, considered as the first moment of agreement to the stalinist praxis, and the following political directing taken by Togliatti, yet unconditionally identified to stalinism»³⁵.

For the articles published from august to september 1953, Tasca uses his «personal firsthand knowledge of facts, since he was protagonist»³⁶. Also this re-enactment is affected by the author's political positions, a leading figure in the party until his expulsion in 1929, yet in conflict with Gramsci since 1920³⁷, who, during the cold war, reaches «strict anticomunist positions»³⁸. In Tasca's works emerge disagreements among the young communists in Torino, but, most of all, against the historiographical plan of an homogenic group founding italian communist party, the leading role of Bordiga is spotted: Gramsci and Togliatti joined his majority. Tasca denies thoroughly the interpretation where the history of the party is marked by a sequence of positive moments under the perfect leading pair Gramsci-Togliatti. He puts the counciliar experience back into perspective in the history of the party, a movement which Tasca was theoretically against from the very beginning.

The year of Stalin's death marks a breaking point for the monopoly of PCI on its own history, establishing the first but remote premise to a more scientific historiography.

³⁴ LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso* cit., p. 75.

³⁵ Gian Carlo JOCTEAU, *Leggere Gramsci. Una guida alle interpretazioni*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1975, p. 62.

³⁶ LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso* cit., p. 77.

³⁷ Paolo SPRIANO, «L'Ordine Nuovo» e i Consigli di fabbrica, Torino, Einaudi, 1971², pp. 88-89.

³⁸ LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso* cit., p. 77.

In 1954 appears *L'Ordine Nuovo. 1919-1920*³⁹, a collection of Gramsci's articles till the time almost unknown, except for few presentations on magazines⁴⁰, the publication is object of worries because of potential censorship by the party not to discover Gramsci's politics as «an express critic which destroy the line followed by PCI»⁴¹, or the so-called «forbidden Gramsci»⁴².

On the eve of the publication an interest for Gramsci's theories on factory councils spread out with several historical essays and contemporary evidences appeared in newspapers⁴³. Just in Aldo Garosci's work about totalitarianism and historicism in Gramsci's writings⁴⁴, we can find deeper political reflections, even in a polemical way. It has been necessary to wait until 1956 to read the first systematic and organic works on the council-theory of Gramsci and «Ordine Nuovo».

Togliatti's review⁴⁵ on this collection means to stress a continuity between Gramsci's period on factory councils and the prison notebooks, clashing with

³⁹ Antonio GRAMSCI, *L'Ordine Nuovo. 1919-1920*, Einaudi, Torino 1954.

⁴⁰ Before the collection *L'Ordine Nuovo*, besides some publications of some young Gramsci's articles, in the 2nd "Quaderno" of «Rinascita» *Trenta anni di vita...* cit., appears the article *Il partito comunista*, in «L'Ordine Nuovo», II, n. 15 and n. 17, 4 and 9 settembre 1920; with a comment by Giacinto CARDONA, *Socialismo e cultura. 27 aprile - XV Anniversario della morte di Antonio Gramsci*, in «Mondo Operaio», V, n. 9, 3 maggio 1952, pp. 11-12 (→52.07), *Socialismo e cultura*, is also published in «Il Grido del Popolo», n. 601, 29 gennaio 1916.

⁴¹ Armando PARLATO, «*L'Ordine Nuovo*» e i Consigli di fabbrica, in «Battaglia Comunista», XV, 1954, n. 3, aprile-maggio, pp. 2-3, n. 4, giugno, p. 2, n. 5, luglio, p. 2 (→54.21).

⁴² Giuseppe CARBONE, *Gramsci in francese*, in «L'Unità», XXX, 23 ottobre 1953, p. 3 (→53.33), this announcement about the publication wants to cancel the above-mentioned worries making outspoken references.

⁴³ Besides Angelo TASCA, *I primi dieci anni...* cit. (→53.38): Battista SANTHIA, *Discutendo con Gramsci*, in «L'Unità», XIX, n. 24, 27 gennaio 1952, p. 3 (→52.52); Giovanni CARSANO, *Gramsci nel ricordo di un operaio torinese*, in «L'Unità» [ed. piemontese], XXIX, n. 19, 22 gennaio 1952, p. 3 (→52.49); Giovanni CARSANO, *Come la Brigata Sassari fraternizzò con i lavoratori. Gramsci nel ricordo di un operaio torinese*, in «L'Unità» [ed. piemontese], XXIX, n. 101, 27 aprile 1952, p. 3 (→52.50) and Giovanni CARSANO, *Gramsci e gli operai*, in «L'Unità» [ed. piemontese], XXX, n. 100, 26 aprile 1953, p. 3 (→53.34).

⁴⁴ Aldo GAROSCI, *Totalitarismo e storicismo nel pensiero di Antonio Gramsci*, in *Pensiero politico e storiografia moderna*, Pisa, Nistri-Lischi, 1954, pp. 193-257; specifically on Gramsci's theory of councils: pp. 200-204 (→54.02)

⁴⁵ Palmiro TOGLIATTI, *Storia come pensiero e come azione*, in «Rinascita», XI, 1954, pp. 709-713 (→54.31); this thesis was already claimed in the review by Giuseppe CARBONE, *Un solo Gramsci*, in «Incontri Oggi», III, n. 10, 1954, p. 29 (→54.26).

critical views that watch at the notebooks as a slip out between the «understanding of reality and the concrete struggle»⁴⁶. Next to a methodological lesson where praxis is seen as a moment of knowledge, T. invites to describe the contexts of Gramsci's life and work to discuss «a yet well-established image of the author of the *Prison Notebooks*: as a scholar and as spirit interested just in *für ewig*»⁴⁷.

Sistematic studies

Three years after the complete publication of the prison books, Gastone Manacorda and Carlo Muscetta wrote some reflections about Gramsci and the unity in culture⁴⁸, seizing the opportunity of the tenth anniversary of their journal. This work starts reminding the huge and strict study as an important feature of Gramsci's pages, enlightening the relationship between culture and politics. The authors offer a terse general outline, well-structured, of Gramscian philosophy and the methodological aspects framed in an historical approach to culture.

Domenico Zucàro collects all his previous researches for documents and evidences carried out during a wide trip along Italy in a sistematic work about Gramsci's life and figure⁴⁹, partial results of this work were already published in previous essays and articles.

Gramsci in the italian marxism

One of the first works about italian culture and marxism (from 1945 to 1951) is written by Nicola Matteucci⁵⁰, where he identifies as sources for later evolutions in italian marxism the works of Labriola, Gramsci and Mondolfo. This

⁴⁶ TOGLIATTI, *Storia come pensiero...* cit., p. 709 (→54.31).

⁴⁷ LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso* cit., p. 84.

⁴⁸ Gastone MANACORDA, Carlo MUSCETTA, *Gramsci e l'unità della cultura*, in «Società», X, 1954, pp. 1-22 (→54.17).

⁴⁹ Domenico ZUCÀRO, *Vita del carcere di Antonio Gramsci*, Milano-Roma, Edizioni Avanti!, 1954 (→54.01).

⁵⁰ Nicola MATTEUCCI, *La cultura italiana e il marxismo dal 1945 al 1951*, in «Rivista di Filosofia», XLIV, 1953, pp. 61-85 (→53.14).

last one in spring 1955 writes on «Critica Sociale» a three-part essay⁵¹ about Gramsci and the philosophy of praxis stating his own position in Italian Marxism and denies Matteucci's thesis that wants him and Gramsci united just by a single similarity in their *pars destruens* to confute other philosophies. Mondolfo remarks first a correspondence in their thoughts: a non-metaphysical interpretation of Marx, first made up by Labriola in an original and independent concept of reality. Then he points out that Gramsci's Leninism is the principal and irremediable difference between them.

In this political direction Mondolfo describes a contradiction in Gramsci's thought, which is deeply Marxist, but drifts towards «strained interpretations, near Jacobin and Stalinistic degenerations»⁵².

Garin's «Chronicles»

In his review to Garin's «Chronicles»⁵³, Giuseppe Petronio⁵⁴ shows how, three years after Croce's death, Gramsci's issues set in *Il Materialismo storico e la filosofia di Benedetto Croce*⁵⁵, are still relevant. According to Petronio, Garin moves in the cultural scene that is trying to break up Croce's philosophy to «introduce the philosophy of praxis in Italy and in its cultural tradition: it's precisely the *Anti-Croce*»⁵⁶, whose accomplishment seemed «to Gramsci, for his coeval culture, "being as important and meaningful as Anti-Dühring for the generation before World War I"»⁵⁷.

⁵¹ Rodolfo MONDOLFO, *Intorno a Gramsci e alla filosofia della prassi*, in «Critica Sociale», XLVII, 1955, pp. 93-95; 105-108; 123-127 (→55.23); this essay is immediately published in a single volume: ID., *Intorno a Gramsci e alla filosofia della prassi*, Prefazione di Enrico Bassi, Milano, Edizioni della «Critica Sociale», 1955, pp. 20-61 (→55.09).

⁵² LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso* cit., p. 65.

⁵³ Eugenio GARIN, *Cronache di filosofia italiana (1900-1943)*, Bari, Laterza, 1955 (→55.03).

⁵⁴ Giuseppe PETRONIO, *Gramsci e i tempi dell'anti-Croce*, in «Avanti!» [ed. romana], 14 settembre 1955 (→55.36).

⁵⁵ Antonio GRAMSCI, *Il materialismo storico e la filosofia di Benedetto Croce*, Einaudi, Torino 1948.

⁵⁶ PETRONIO, *Gramsci e i tempi...* cit. (→55.36).

⁵⁷ Riccardo VENTURINI, *Le "Opere di Antonio Gramsci"*, in «Rassegna di Filosofia», IV, 1955, pp. 48-75 (→55.26); Gramsci's quote is taken from *Il materialismo storico...* cit., p. 200.

Standing out of this interpretation line focused on a reading of the prison notebooks in the borders of Italian traditional culture, is Roberto Guiducci's essay on Gramsci and science⁵⁸, where the author, educated as engineer, tries to explain Gramsci's ontological assumptions moving from his criticism to Bukharin's *Historical Materialism. A system of Sociology*⁵⁹, written in dispute with subjectivism, mistakenly defines the absolute and objective reality of the exterior world. For an enlightenment on the philosophy of praxis about this topic, Gramsci set his arguments not in a theoretical level, but describes the receipt of opposite positions, idealistic and historical materialistic, by different classes. Guiducci's reflections are original because of multiple branches taken by his analysis of peculiar concepts such as «common sense» related to ideology and folklore⁶⁰, or intralinguistic translatability of scientific paradigms⁶¹.

Gramsci with internationalist traits

After the publication of the «Ordine Nuovo» collection, Livio Maitan, trotskyst leader and theoretician, who revises his previous critical positions against Gramsci appeared on his journal «Bandiera Rossa»⁶², in a brief essay about Gramsci's topical relevance and communist politics⁶³. Maitan follows chronologically Gramsci's thought evolutions focusing in the council theory and in Gramscian concept of the working class as a worldwide class, whose «fight must be set on international perspective» and in this direction the author wants

⁵⁸ Roberto GUIDUCCI, *Gramsci e la scienza: l'oggettività come conquista storica sociale*, in «Questioni», I, n. 4-5, 1955, pp. 29-45 (→55.18).

⁵⁹ Nikolai BUCCHARIN, *Theorie des historischen Materialismus. Gemeinverständliches Lehrbuch der Marxistischen Soziologie*, autorisierte Übersetzung aus dem Russischen von Frida Rubiner, Hamburg, Verlag der Kommunistischen Internationale, 1922; original edition appears on previous december ID. *Теория исторического материализма. Популярный учебник марксистской социологии*, Москва, Госиздат, 1921.

⁶⁰ Guido LIGUORI, *Ideologia*, in *Le parole di Gramsci. Per un lessico dei Quaderni del carcere*, a cura di Fabio Frosini e Guido Liguori, Roma, Carocci, 2004, p. 141-142.

⁶¹ Derek BOOTHMAN, *Traduzione e traducibilità*, in LIGUORI, *Le parole...* cit., p. 252.

⁶² Three articles by Livio MAITAN, *Gramsci e Trotzky. La speculazione di un intellettuale staliniano, Gramsci ignorava le reali posizioni di Trotzky and Ancora su Trotzky e Gramsci*, in «Bandiera Rossa», II, n. 5, 6, 7, 1951.

⁶³ Livio MAITAN, *Attualità di Gramsci e politica comunista*, Schwarz, Milano 1955 (→55.04).

to stress the «flat contrast between Gramsci's positions and contemporary leaders of the Communist Party»⁶⁴.

A debate on marxist culture

From March to July 1956, the journal «Il Contemporaneo» holds a «chaotic and multiform discussion» «centered most of all on two themes: the relationship between politics and culture, intellectuals and party, and mistakes and delays of communist cultural politics during last decade»⁶⁵. Marri⁶⁶, Spriano⁶⁷ and Alicata⁶⁸ stand up for this study direction that arised from Gramsci's thoughts, considered by Calvino and Geymonat as a closure into italian national culture advantaging idealistic hegemony⁶⁹.

An outline of Gramscian thought

Carlo Leopoldo Ottino's monograph about basic concepts of Gramsci's political theory⁷⁰, which is a development of his graduation thesis, though faced now as a work restricted by ideological schemes due to the stalinst period⁷¹, is to be considered, as the author himself remarks: «the first organic attempt to give a critical and complete outline of Gramscian thought with its direct political consequences»⁷². From the time of Gramsci's theoretical education and his concrete work, to State and hegemony through the essential mean: the party, Ottino gives essential enlightenments, and remarkable at that time, although we

⁶⁴ *Ivi*, p. 24.

⁶⁵ LIGUORI, *Gramsci conteso*, cit., p. 92

⁶⁶ Romolo MARRI, *L'intelletto organico*, in «Il Contemporaneo», III, n. 17, 28 aprile 1956, p. 7 (→56.28).

⁶⁷ Paolo SPRIANO, *La società civile*, in «Il Contemporaneo», III, n. 22, 2 giugno 1956, p. 6 (→56.32).

⁶⁸ Mario ALICATA, *Troppo poco Gramsciani*, In «Il Contemporaneo», III, n. 26, 30 giugno 1956, pp. 6-7 (→56.26).

⁶⁹ Articles by Italo CALVINO, *Nord e Roma-sud* and Ludovico GEYMONAT, *Troppo idealismo*, respectively published in the issues 13 and 14 on 1956 in «Il Contemporaneo»; these and the previous works on the debate are collected in *Gli intellettuali di sinistra e la crisi del 1956*, a cura di Giuseppe Vacca, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1978.

⁷⁰ Carlo Leopoldo OTTINO, *Concetti fondamentali nella teoria politica di Antonio Gramsci*, Feltrinelli, Milano 1956 (→56.02).

⁷¹ JOCTEAU, *Leggere Gramsci...*, cit., p. 65.

⁷² OTTINO, *Premessa*, in *Concetti fondamentali...* cit., p. 9 (→56.02).

can now acknowledge that his work doesn't seem to be grazed by the critical earthquake that disrupt cultural works and intellectual debate of the period and in particular the fateful year 1956.

With young Gramsci

Battista Santhià, a young militant during «red biennium», in edifying pages of his work about the experience with Gramsci at «Ordine Nuovo»⁷³, collects memories of the working class fights in Turin, where main character is the human and political profile of Gramsci, his understanding for relevant questions in the factory production and the political organization of factory councils.

Santhià offers a general survey of the events during the Ordine Nuovo period, topic for many of Gramsci's articles, which the author follows and quotes widely.

⁷³ Battista SANTHIÀ, *Con Gramsci all'Ordine Nuovo*, Editori Riuniti, Roma 1956 (→56.03).

A path among topics

For Gramsci's biography

Regarding Gramsci's biography, historiography from 1952 to 1956 is split up in two fields: the one about young Gramsci and the one about the period in prison. Another formal partition is between writings based on personal evidences and the ones resting on unpublished sources or documents from archives.

Evidences on Gramsci's youth period relate most of all about the factory councils experiences: from Santhià's article, *Discutendo con Gramsci* (Discussing with Gramsci)⁷⁴, where his personal discussions with Gramsci about political strategies are thought back, to the memories of Giovanni Carsano who illustrates the sardinian's speeches at the worker's meetings⁷⁵, then even a poetry by Velso Mucci, where the communist leader-to-be is painted as a «shepherd of men»⁷⁶ while walking trough the Arcades in the center of Turin to the workshops in the suburbs.

After plentiful evidences left by Angelo Tasca, on the pages of «Il Mondo»⁷⁷, on the occasion of the release of the collection «Ordine Nuovo», Umberto Terracini too decides to share his memories on the columns of «Calendario del Popolo»⁷⁸ and the following year he describes a toast during the night the

⁷⁴ Battista SANTHIÀ, *Discutendo con Gramsci*, in «L'Unità» [ed. piemontese], XIX, n. 24, 27 gennaio 1952, p. 3 (→52.52).

⁷⁵ Giovanni CARSAANO, *Gramsci e gli operai*, in «L'Unità» [ed. piemontese], XXX, n. 100, 26 aprile 1953, p. 3 (→54.34).

⁷⁶ Velso MUCCI, *Ricordo di Gramsci*, in ID., *L'umana compagnia*, Roma, Il Costume, 1953, pp. 75-78 (→53.41).

⁷⁷ TASCÀ, *I primi dieci anni...* cit. (→53.38).

⁷⁸ Umberto TERRACINI, *Gramsci e «L'Ordine Nuovo» nel tempestoso biennio '19-'20. Matura lo scontro decisivo nel caos dell'immediato dopoguerra and Gramsci e i consigli di fabbrica*, in «Il Calendario del Popolo», XI, 1955, p. 1906 and 1931 (→55.25).

italiana communist party was founded⁷⁹. In a page of communist journal «Vie Nuove» Felice Chilanti collects some memories of communist militants from Livorno who were there in 1921 and their contacts with Gramsci⁸⁰.

About the previous period in Gramsci's life an evidence is even given by Gaetano Salvemini⁸¹, who referring to a passage of the *Southern question*⁸², tells exactly what happened when Gramsci and the socialists in Turin proposed him to stand for political elections in 1914.

Even in other people's biographies we can find some fragments of deep memories about the founder of «Ordine Nuovo», for example in an obituary that Alicata writes for Ruggero Grieco: «one of the most brilliant followers of Gramsci's work»⁸³; also in the rebuilding of Gaetano Sozzi's absconding in Turin⁸⁴, the Sardinian has a crucial role pushing him to leave for USSR.

Along the lines of this evidences devoted to the «Ordine Nuovo» period, a much more organic work is the above-mentioned Santhià, where personal memories help to think back to those years when the working class in Turin roused with an intense organization headed by Gramsci.

Among the works based on direct primary sources about the pre-prison period Domenico Zucàro helps us understanding Gramsci's relationship with Sardinia editing his correspondance with Lussu⁸⁵ or he writes about his stay in Rome⁸⁶.

⁷⁹ Umberto TERRACINI, *Brindisi notturno per la nascita del partito*, in «Vie Nuove», XI, 1956, pp. 12-13 (→56.33).

⁸⁰ Felice CHILANTI, *Livorno. Parlano i testimoni della nascita del Pci*, in «Vie Nuove» [Roma], XI (1956) pp. 10-12, 14 (→56.27).

⁸¹ Gaetano SALVEMINI, *Prefazione*, in *Scritti sulla questione meridionale (1896-1955)*, Torino, Einaudi, 1955, pp. XXIII-XXVI (→55.11).

⁸² GRAMSCI, *La questione meridionale*, a cura della Commissione culturale della Federazione torinese del Pci, Tipografia popolare, Torino 1949.

⁸³ Mario ALICATA, *Un allievo di Gramsci*, in «Il Contemporaneo», II, n. 32, 6 agosto 1955, p. 1 (→55.38).

⁸⁴ Felice CHILANTI, *A Torino a L'Ordine Nuovo and Con Antonio Gramsci*, in *Gastone Sozzi*, Roma, Edizioni di Cultura Sociale, 1955, pp. 99-111 (→55.06).

⁸⁵ Domenico ZUCÀRO, *Antonio Gramsci e la Sardegna. Carteggio inedito Gramsci-Lussu*, in «Mondo Operaio», V, n. 1, 6 gennaio 1952, pp. 18-20 (→52.25).

⁸⁶ Domenico ZUCÀRO, *Gramsci a Roma*, in «L'Unità» [ed. romana], XXIX, n. 20, 23 gennaio 1952; a transcription of original documents is available in ID., *Due lettere inedite di Antonio Gramsci*, in «Mondo Operaio», V, n. 11, 7 giugno 1952, pp. 17-18 (→52.56).

This same period is most of all considered by wide histories of PCI and its foundation, where Gramsci's shadows fades just after the Congress in Lyons, to appear again suddenly because of his death in 1937: examples are by Robotti and Germanetto⁸⁷, or Galli and Bellini's work⁸⁸, or Gruppi and Modica's pamphlet⁸⁹, but even an informal biography about Togliatti written by Marcella and Maurizio Ferrara⁹⁰. Gramsci's thought and role, even with strained interpretations or failures emerges greatly in "Il Quaderno" of «Rinascita»⁹¹.

Really few are memories about Gramsci as prisoner: Aurelio Fontana remembers some anecdotes on Gramsci's detention in Turi⁹², Arturo Pescarzoli tells about the time he spent with Gramsci in the penitentiary «del Carmine» in Naples⁹³, while Giovanni Carsano describes the trial at Tribunale Speciale, then tells about cultural activities organized by Gramsci and bureaucratic vicissitudes for the transfer to Turi⁹⁴.

Domenico Zucàro excels in the historical studies dedicated to Gramsci's biography after the arrest. Every prisoner's shift is methodically followed by the author and where possibile reproduces records and documents. From arrest to internment⁹⁵, from San Vittore⁹⁶ to «Qui si sana» clinic⁹⁷, till his death⁹⁸, every

⁸⁷ Paolo ROBOTTI, Giovanni GERMANETTO, *Un grave lutto del P.C.I.: la morte di Antonio Gramsci*, in *Trent'anni di lotte dei comunisti italiani. 1921-1951*, Roma, Edizioni di cultura sociale, 1952, pp. 163-166 (→52.03).

⁸⁸ Fulvio BELLINI, Giorgio GALLI, *Storia del Partito Comunista Italiano*, Milano, Schwarz, 1953 (→53.03).

⁸⁹ Luciano GRUPPI, Enzo MODICA, *Il Partito Comunista Italiano (1921-1955)*, Roma, Edizioni di Cultura Sociale, 1955 (→55.12).

⁹⁰ Marcella FERRARA, Maurizio FERRARA, *Conversando con Togliatti*, Roma, Edizioni di Cultura Sociale, 1953 (→53.02).

⁹¹ [TOGLIATTI] *Trenta anni di vita e lotte...* cit. (→52.01).

⁹² Aurelio FONTANA, *Cinque aneddoti della vita carceraria di Antonio Gramsci*, in «Rinascita», IX, 1952, pp. 170-171 (→52.13).

⁹³ Antonio PESCARZOLI, *Due giorni di carcere in compagnia di Antonio Gramsci. Vecchi ricordi di un detenuto politico*, in «Il Messaggero», 23 settembre 1953 (→53.37).

⁹⁴ Giovanni CARSAANO, *In carcere con Gramsci*, in «Rinascita» [Roma], X (1953), pp. 166-168 (→53.08).

⁹⁵ Domenico ZUCÀRO, *L'Arresto di Antonio Gramsci e l'assegnazione al confino*, in «Movimento Operaio», V, 1953, pp. 56-67 (→53.24).

⁹⁶ Domenico ZUCÀRO, *Antonio Gramsci a S. Vittore per l'istruttoria del "processone" (Con alcuni documenti inediti)*, in «Il Movimento di Liberazione in Italia», IV, 1952, pp. 3-16 (→52.26).

⁹⁷ Domenico ZUCÀRO, *Dalla cella di Turi alla clinica «Qui si sana»*, in «Mondo Operaio», V, 1952, pp. 16-19 (→52.27).

⁹⁸ Domenico ZUCÀRO, *La morte di Gramsci*, in «Mondo Operaio», VI, n. 9, 2 maggio 1953, pp. 14-15 (→53.25).

event is reconstructed in single essays published in journals, magazines and newspapers; all these partial works merged in 1954 in a monograph by Zucàro dedicated to the life of Gramsci in prison⁹⁹.

* * *

Many of the works published in these years (1952-1956) are about Gramsci's philosophy inside of marxist tradition or a comparison with Croce or crocianism, with the cultural background absorbed in Turin or the relationship between culture and politics. We can also find a large number of studies dedicated to multiple branches of Gramscian thought: from historiography to literature, from folklore to the southern question, studies on structure of factories, of parties, to the concept of «passive revolution» and even observations on pedagogy or cinema.

Regarding the ordinovist period studies analyze the growing political sistem and the ideological assumptions of russian Revolution some with comparison with marxist orthodoxy.

Another strong topic is the discussion about knowledge, influence and use of Gramsci's work in contemporary italian and foreigner culture.

Antonio Gramsci's philosophy in marxist tradition

In a study about Antonio Labriola's socialist doctrine, Luciano Cafagna employs the notes in *Il materialismo storico e la filosofia di Benedetto Croce* to explain and reject Trockij's cursory critics to Labriola¹⁰⁰, but even more explicit, Liliano Faenza¹⁰¹ realizes how Gramsci's work reminds to Labriola's assumptions on indipendence of the philosophy of praxis, the Sardinian is represented then as the heir who overcomes the breaking between theorie and praxis through the experience of «Ordine Nuovo» and claiming the concept of

⁹⁹ Domenico ZUCÀRO, *Vita del carcere ... cit.*, (→54.01).

¹⁰⁰ Luciano CAFAGNA, *Antonio Labriola e la «coscienza socialista» in Italia*, in «Movimento Operaio», VI, 1954, p. 667 (→54.07)

¹⁰¹ Liliano FAENZA, *Labriola e Gramsci*, in «Mondo Operaio», VII, 1954, pp. 15-17 (→54.11).

hegemony. A comparison established by Faenza between Gramsci's critics against Bukharin and the one of Labriola against positivism take us to an essay by Mondolfo¹⁰² where he agrees, with Labriola's original and independent concept of reality, to Gramsci's explanation about Bukharin's orthodox marxism. In the same year another essay by Riccardo Venturini¹⁰³ identifies in Labriola's statement of philosophical independence of historical materialism an harbinger of Gramscian work and of strong critics against determinism.

This last two essays analyze deeply the critical study of Bukharin's *Historical Materialism*: Venturini, particularly, finds there a start for Gramscian topics: analysis on objectivity, on «Common Sense», or, epistemology. Still in 1955 Roberto Guiducci faces these same issues in his above-mentioned work¹⁰⁴ (maybe stimulated after Mondolfo's essay), whose humanistic limitations bring also the quality to approach topics in a less speculative and polemical way that comes with the ability to focus on Gramsci's comments on formal logic and mathematics.

Critics on scientific ideologism were previously showed by Manacorda and Muscetta in their aforesaid essay on Gramsci and the unity of culture, where the issue of knowledge is revised in its purpose of «*dominance of reality*»¹⁰⁵.

Politics and culture

The relationship between politics and culture, an essential topic in Gramscian thought, is analyzed by Nicola Matteucci¹⁰⁶ stressing political and moral support to the party; also Mondolfo's critics¹⁰⁷ about bolshevik influence on Gramscian thought are focused on this problem, where a loss of independence in the relationship between freedom and authority is read as an overturning of the philosophy of praxis; or critics by Garosci to the «renewal of

¹⁰² MONDOLFO, *Intorno a Gramsci...* cit. (→55.23).

¹⁰³ RICCARDO VENTURINI, *Le "Opere di Antonio Gramsci"*, in «Rassegna di filosofia», IV, 1955, pp. 48-75 (→55.26).

¹⁰⁴ GUIDUCCI, *Gramsci e la scienza...* cit. (→55.18)

¹⁰⁵ MANACORDA, MUSCETTA, *Gramsci e l'unità...* cit., p. 4 (→54.17).

¹⁰⁶ NICOLA MATTEUCCI, *Cultura e politica*, in «Il Mulino», I, 1952, pp. 161-169 (→52.17).

¹⁰⁷ MONDOLFO, *Intorno a Gramsci...* cit. (→55.23).

totalitarianism»¹⁰⁸ in Gramsci, which «essentially rests on a purged idea about a “jump” out of social contradictions thanks to an iron organization, that tries to bind itself with intellectual strenght and tries to submit them»¹⁰⁹.

Probably the coeval historical situation affects Mondolfo and Garosci's critics, already in 1953 on the journal «Scuola e Città» Lamberto Borghi identifies, as comparison to Gentile and Croce's conceptions, some limitations of Gramsci's idea of freedom in the unavoidable authoritarian and bureaucratic degeneration of communist ideology¹¹⁰.

Definitely much more optimistic is Guiducci, who, at the end of 1954, writes an essay about the issue of culture for the Left¹¹¹: the leninist idea of “partisanship” of culture is well accepted, with the example of Gramsci, for a cultural renewal truly revolutionary and, as he develops the following year in a pamphlet on thaw and leftist culture¹¹²: hazard and political attempt were, for the Sardinian, also the philosophical and cultural research, or as said in *Socialismo e verità*¹¹³, scientific research is considered as an integral part of an active and aware political participation.

Franco Rizzo¹¹⁴, on the contrary, denies any theoretical importance in the relationship between culture and politics in Gramsci's thought: he claims the nature of document of the Prison notebooks for studies about cultural events of fascism, but, unlike all previous essays, as we can notice with his footnotes, this one is based just on secondary sources and the author shows a methodical knowledge only about the *Letters*¹¹⁵.

¹⁰⁸ GAROSCI, *Totalitarismo e storicismo...* cit., p. 241 (→54.02).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁰ Lamberto BORGI, *Gramsci e i marxisti*, in *L'attuale dibattito sulla libertà in Italia e la sua portata educativa*, in «Scuola e Città», III, 1953, pp. 352-357 (→53.07).

¹¹¹ Roberto GUIDUCCI, *La questione della cultura di sinistra*, in «Questioni», I, n. 5-6, 1954, pp. 45-58 (→54.14).

¹¹² ID., *Pamphlet sul disgelo e sulla cultura di sinistra*, in «Nuovi Argomenti», III, nn.17-18, 1955-1956, pp. 83-108 (→55.19).

¹¹³ ID., *Socialismo e verità. Pamphlets di politica e cultura*, Torino, Einaudi, 1956, pp. 138-279 (→56.05).

¹¹⁴ Franco RIZZO, *Cultura e politica in Antonio Gramsci*, in «L'osservatore politico letterario», II, n. 4 and n. 6, 1956, pp. 35-46, 55-66 (→56.16).

¹¹⁵ GRAMSCI, *Lettere dal carcere*, Einaudi, Torino 1947; nuova ediz., a cura di Sergio Caprioglio, Elsa Fubini, 1965.

Romano Pasi's evidence¹¹⁶, a reader of «Incontri», for a report on the meaning of Benedetto Croce's work, clearly points out the state of assimilation of the Neapolitan philosopher as an antagonist to young generations, but his deep tie with Gramscian teaching is recognized; further yet is the interpretation of Armando Parlato¹¹⁷, who states that Gramsci's thought, even if refers to Marxism, develops in Croce's idealistic line because of its subjectivist features verging to deny the existence of anything out of human's consciousness and action, and puts superstructure and structure at the same level determining historical process.

A year before Nino Valeri's Lessons on Modern History¹¹⁸, which shows the dialectical relationship between the Prison Notebooks and Croce's philosophy, and before the above-mentioned Garin's work¹¹⁹ with Petronio's review¹²⁰, which finds there a contribution building the «Anti-Croce» wished by Gramsci, Liliano Faenza¹²¹ reminds that the path against Italian neoidealism was opened by the Prison Notebooks.

Furio Diaz writes a philosophical essay on Gramsci's reading of Croce's historicism, he sees how the Sardinian push «historicity to its extreme consequences», «even if in some way, that means a substantial upsetting of the planning out of historicism»¹²².

¹¹⁶ Romano PASI, *Croce dopo Gramsci*, in «Incontri Oggi», II, 1953, pp. 6-7 (→53.18).

¹¹⁷ Armando PARLATO, *Qualche nota all'articolo di Lukács su "L'Estetica"*, in «Battaglia Comunista», XIV, 1953, p. 2 and ID., *Nota su Gramsci*, in «Prometeo», VII, 1954, pp. 20-27 (→53.17).

¹¹⁸ Nino VALERI, *La crisi del socialismo nel dopoguerra. Gramsci*, in *Lezioni di Storia Moderna. Appunti intorno alla crisi del primo dopoguerra*, Milano, «La Goliardica» Edizioni Universitarie, 1955, pp. 85-91 (→55.08).

¹¹⁹ GARIN, *Cronache di filosofia...* cit. (→55.03).

¹²⁰ PETRONIO, *Gramsci e i tempi...* cit. (→55.36).

¹²¹ FAENZA, *Labriola e Gramsci* cit. (→54.11).

¹²² Furio DIAZ, *Sviluppi dello storicismo crociano*, in ID., *Storicismi e storicità*, Firenze, Parenti, 1956, pp. 24-61 (→56.04).

The Torinese School and Piero Gobetti

The relationship and most of all the contribution of Gramsci to the cultural unrest lived in Turin at the beginning of the century, is recalled by a charismatic character of Torinese culture: Gioele Solari¹²³, filtered by the figure of Piero Gobetti, a young intellectual who seized the importance of the working class in his town and went actively through the influence of the theoretical forefronts for the councils movement: the group of «Ordine Nuovo» led by Gramsci.

A Solari's pupil, antifascist militant since the beginning, Aldo Garoci¹²⁴, in his analysis of Gramscian theories don't leave out the cultural experience at the University of Turin and the council struggle among the roots of the future activities of the communist leader-to-be.

Lucio Lombardo Radice¹²⁵ finds in the thorough critics to pre-fascist democracy some of the essential premises to antifascism shared by Gramsci and Gobetti. Another Torinese, Claudio Gorlier¹²⁶, criticizes with groundless harshness what he thinks is Gramsci's narrow ideology, which hindered him to understand the ideal, political and military strength of Piedmontese bourgeoisie, who later struggled for Italian Resistenza.

Relating the figures of Gramsci and Gobetti, out of the Torinese scene, is Nino Valeri in his historical overview from Giolitti to Mussolini¹²⁷, where Gobetti's activity is considered influenced by the «Ordine Nuovo» strategy focused on the alliance among the working class in the cities and peasants in the South of Italy; still supporting the importance of «Ordine Nuovo» experience for Gobetti is Giuseppe Pasquariello¹²⁸.

¹²³ Gioele SOLARI, *Aldo Mautino nella tradizione culturale torinese da Gobetti alla Resistenza*, a cura di Norberto Bobbio, in Aldo MAUTINO, *La formazione della filosofia politica di Benedetto Croce*, Laterza, Bari 1953, pp. 3-132 (→53.05).

¹²⁴ GAROSCI, *Totalitarismo e storicismo...* cit. (→54.02).

¹²⁵ Lucio LOMBARDO-RADICE, *Gramsci: le forze sociali portatrici di avvenire*, in *Antifascismo – restaurazione e antifascismo – rivoluzione*, in «Incontri Oggi», II, 1954, p. 5 (→54.16).

¹²⁶ Claudio GORLIER, *Elogio del Piemonte*, in «Paragone», VI, 1955, pp. 58-65 (→55.17).

¹²⁷ Nino VALERI, *Gobetti e Gramsci*, in ID., *Da Giolitti a Mussolini*, Firenze, Parenti, 1956, pp. 217-21 (→56.07).

¹²⁸ Giuseppe PASQUARIELLO, *Gobetti e l'«Ordine Nuovo»*, in «Incontri Oggi», V, 1956, pp. 35-39 (→56.15).

«Ordine Nuovo» and Factory Councils

On XV anniversary of Antonio Gramsci's death, Giacinto Cardona¹²⁹ writes a preliminary remark to the republishing of famous article *Socialismo e cultura*¹³⁰, where emerges a view of cultural activity that cannot be left to spontaneity, it is also stressed the proximity to Lenin's thought in a moment when Gramsci was almost unknown. On the contrary, Armando Parlato¹³¹ doesn't want Gramsci's work in the Leninist-Marxist tradition, with Gennaro Fabbrocino they states an essential extraneousness of the communist leader to the true interpretations of the process that leads to proletarian revolution, reaching in this way productional deviations.

Among reviews on the collection: Giuseppe Carbone¹³² identifies in the whole Gramsci's work a "unique" Gramsci, therefore yet in the «Ordine Nuovo» period we can perceive main themes of the Prison Notebooks; likewise, Carlo Salinari¹³³ considers that the issue of civilization of working class, implicit in following works, is already strongly present in early articles. Liliano Faenza¹³⁴ stresses Marxist assumptions and centrality of the Leninist experience.

From December 1954 to the following February, on the anarchic monthly journal of Livorno «L'Impulso», Pier Carlo Masini writes an essay in three parts published later in 1956 as a pamphlet about Gramsci and «Ordine Nuovo»

¹²⁹ Giacinto CARDONA, *Socialismo e cultura. 27 aprile - XV Anniversario della morte di Antonio Gramsci*, in «Mondo Operaio», V, n. 9, 3 maggio 1952, pp. 11-12 (→52.07).

¹³⁰ ALFA GAMMA [Antonio GRAMSCI], *Socialismo e cultura*, in «Il Grido del Popolo», n. 601, 29 gennaio 1916.

¹³¹ Articles by Armando PARLATO, «L'Ordine Nuovo» e i Consigli di fabbrica, in «Battaglia Comunista», XV, 1954, n. 3, aprile-maggio, pp. 2-3; n. 4, giugno, p. 2; n. 5, luglio, p. 2 (→54.21) and ID., *Valori conoscitivi dell'esperienza proletaria*, in «Battaglia Comunista», XV, 1954, n. 9, novembre, p. 2 and n. 10, dicembre, p. 2 (→54.22); see also Gennaro FABBROCINO, *Questioni storiche dell'Internazionale comunista*, in «Il Programma Comunista», III, 1954, n. 6, 12 marzo-2 aprile, p. 2 and ID., *La sinistra comunista e l'ordinovismo*, in «Il Programma Comunista», III, 1954, n. 7, 2-16 aprile, p. 2 (→54.10).

¹³² Giuseppe CARBONE, *Un solo Gramsci* cit. (→54.26).

¹³³ Carlo SALINARI, *Gramsci e l'Ordine nuovo*, in «Il Contemporaneo», I, n. 34, 1954, pp.1-2 (→54.28).

¹³⁴ Liliano FAENZA, rec. a Antonio Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo. 1919-1920* (1954), in «Mondo Operaio», VIII, n. 2, 22 gennaio 1955, pp. 23-25 (→55.30).

according to a libertarian¹³⁵, where, in spite of some critic articles about anarchists, Masini recognizes a community of views between Gramsci and the anarchists about the «libertarian kernel» of the council experience.

Ottino, likewise, thinks that the council system is to be considered as an expression of «true workers' democracy»¹³⁶; while Alicata¹³⁷, in the wake of Carbone's review, underlines the relationship between this collection with the Prison Notebooks in a moment when political struggle, at a crossroads between fascism and revolution, and in Gramsci's works emerge the transposition in the action of method and objective research of the truth; on the contrary, Matteucci¹³⁸ rejects the thesis of continuity in the whole Gramscian work, suggesting essential reasons of the antithesis between this two moments of his political reflection. Giuliano Pischel¹³⁹ points out another subdivision, but inside the same articles collection: a theoretical as propaganda and the other one historical devoted to the features of the councils experience. A latter review of Gramsci's political journalism is due to Roberto Guiducci¹⁴⁰ on the very first issue of his journal «Ragionamenti», where issues of a new framework as Factory Councils are analyzed as a spur for ideological reworking.

In 1955 the work of Livio Maitan¹⁴¹ is published: theoretical core is exactly the «Ordine Nuovo» experience, maybe after critics such as the ones of Parlato and Fabbrocino, the trotskyst leader stand up for Gramsci's choice, guided by political circumstances, to create these institutions that established a dualism of powers, as regards the orthodox choice of a new revolutionary direction for Italian working class.

¹³⁵ Pier Carlo MASINI, *Antonio Gramsci e l'Ordine Nuovo visti da un libertario. In appendice: il discorso in morte di A. Gramsci pronunciato da C. Berneri alla Radio CNT – FAI di Barcellona il 3 maggio 1937*, Livorno, L'Impulso edizioni, 1956 (→56.10); first published as ID., *Gli scritti di Gramsci degli anni 1919-1920*, in «L'Impulso», VI, n. 12, 15 dicembre 1954, p. 3; VII, n. 1, 15 gennaio 1955, p. 3; VII, n. 2, 15 febbraio 1955, p. 3 (→55.22).

¹³⁶ Carlo Leopoldo OTTINO, rec. a Antonio Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo. 1919-1920* (1954), in «Movimento Operaio», VII, 1955, pp. 151-157 (→54.34).

¹³⁷ Mario ALICATA, *Gramsci e l'Ordine nuovo*, in «Società», XI, 1955, pp. 197-204 (→55.28).

¹³⁸ Nicola MATTEUCCI, *Partito e Consigli di fabbrica nel pensiero di Gramsci*, in «Il Mulino», IV, 1955, pp. 350-359 (→55.33).

¹³⁹ Giuliano PISCHEL, rec. a Antonio Gramsci, *L'Ordine nuovo. 1919-1920* (1954), in «Il Ponte», XI, 1955, pp. 916-920 (→55.37).

¹⁴⁰ Roberto GUIDUCCI, *L'Ordine nuovo*, in «Ragionamenti», I, 1955, pp. 1-5 (→55.33).

¹⁴¹ MAITAN, *Attualità di Gramsci...* cit. (→55.04)

In conference about a the dialogue between Communists and Catholics, an authoritative leader as Giancarlo Pajetta¹⁴² chooses an article of Gramsci¹⁴³ to show not just communist traditional overture for a dialogue between working class and peasants, Socialists and Catholics, but the Communists' need to create a system of political balance with ecclesiastical institutions.

In a presentation¹⁴⁴ of three articles¹⁴⁵, one of them about Catholics, Anna Pagliuca notices the ability, a feature already of young Gramsci, to discover steady significance in the history of Italy going up from even the slightest events.

To come to an end with this period, the above-mentioned work of Ottino dedicates to the councils period just a unique paragraph in the chapter dedicated to young Gramsci's education, but his description of relationship between union, party and council, even succinct, is many-sided.

After two years since the publishing of «Ordine Nuovo» collection it is not yet satisfying, for depth and organic unity, what has been said till 1956 about the Councils theory and in general about Gramsci's biography in the period of the «red biennium».

¹⁴² Gian Carlo PAJETTA, *Come Gramsci poneva il problema dei rapporti con i cattolici*, in *Perché il colloquio tra i comunisti e i cattolici? Conferenza tenuta a Treviso il 18 dicembre 1955*, Roma, Seti, pp. 5-7 (→55.07).

¹⁴³ Antonio GRAMSCI, *Cronache dell'«Ordine Nuovo»* [XXIX], in «L'Ordine Nuovo», I, n. 41, 20 marzo 1920.

¹⁴⁴ Anna PAGLIUCA, *Tre scritti di Gramsci sull'«Avanti!»*, in «Mondo Operaio», IX, 1956, p. 229 (→56.14).

¹⁴⁵ Antonio GRAMSCI, *I cattolici italiani*, in «Avanti!», [ed. milanese], XXII, n. 354, 24 dicembre 1918 (Pagliuca refers to this publication, but the article appeared previously on 22nd December in the Piedmontese edition); ID., *I liberali italiani*, in «Avanti!», [ed. piemontese e milanese], XXII, n. 253, 12 settembre 1918 e ID., *Utopia*, in «Avanti!», XXII, n. 204, 25 luglio 1918, p. 2,

Studies on the Prison Notebooks

Gramscian historiography about Risorgimento

In 1952 Federico Chabod writes a wide essay about Croce as historian; we can find here a unique, but crucial, reference to the Gramscian thesis about the lack of agrarian issue during Risorgimento: this thought should be a result of the political experience of biennium 1919-1920, «when socialism couldn't attract rural mass»¹⁴⁶. Four years after Domenico Novacco¹⁴⁷, working on Adolfo Omodeo, starts exactly from Gramsci's Notebooks, even if they're are very critical, to introduce the reader to the Palermitan historian's work and its essential validity, accepted even from Marxist historians that draw on Gramsci's interpretations. Also Leo Valiani, in his work about the history of socialist movements in Italy¹⁴⁸, is interested in Gramsci's notes on Risorgimento: a movement marked by the lack of Jacobin traits, where the origins of italian socialism can be found in the real democratic movement.

A wide interest about Gramsci's historiographical interpretations on Risorgimento starts with Rosario Romeo's work¹⁴⁹, where springing from liberal studies, he describes Gramscian view as «risorgimental revisionism», invalidated by its own «practical-political nature, so basically antihistorical»¹⁵⁰. This work goes on with an analysis about the studies on the movements of peasants and workers, with positive or unfavourable judgments according to whether the acceptance or denial of Gramsci's thesis.

¹⁴⁶ Federico CHABOD, *Croce storico*, in «Rivista Storica Italiana», LXIV, 1952, p. 521 (→52.08).

¹⁴⁷ Domenico NOVACCO, *Adolfo Omodeo, il marxismo e la storia del Risorgimento*, in «Belfagor», XI, 1956, pp. 183-90 (→56.13).

¹⁴⁸ Leo VALIANI, *La storia del movimento socialista in Italia dalle origini al 1921. Studi e ricerche nel decennio 1945-1955*, in «Rivista Storica Italiana», LXVIII, 1956, pp. 447-510 (→56.21).

¹⁴⁹ Rosario ROMEO, *La storiografia politica marxista*, in «Nord e Sud», II, 1956, n. 21 e 22, pp. 5-37 e 16-44 (→56.19).

¹⁵⁰ *Ivi*, p. 33.

Aldo Romano, answering Romeo's critics against himself, publishes on the same review «Nord e Sud» a letter to the editor Francesco Compagna (author of an essay about Southern Question, mentioned below), where Romeo gives clarifications, missed by Romeo, on his own historiographical studies.

On the pages of «Cronache Meridionali», on a marxist side, Rosario Villari¹⁵¹ shows analytically to Romeo his mistakes by reading Gramsci and stresses its importance, while Claudio Pavone points out how Romeo's attempt to use a marxist interpretation against one's antagonists has failed and at the same time considers as suppositions the conclusions wrote on *Il Risorgimento in Sicilia*¹⁵². Luciano Cafagna takes stock of the debate sparked off on the polemical category defined «risorgimental revisionism»¹⁵³, but, first of all, he goes over Gramscian theoretical work again: from the overcoming of risorgimental theories by Oriani, to the concurrence with Gobetti's thoughts, laying stress on the interest of the Sardinian thinker for the creation of a democratic movement laid on national basis, that could involve country masses against feudal remnants. Cafagna notices yet how Gramscian thesis look as an incentive for Romeo himself writing about the relationship between peasant's social issue and capitalist development.

Completing this general outline, we can observe that in the *Nota bibliografica* gave over Risorgimento on *Storia dell'Italia moderna* by Giorgio Candeloro¹⁵⁴, among the interpretations of Croce and Gobetti, stands out Gramsci's marxist analysis.

Costanzo Casucci¹⁵⁵ as well, in an essay on the First World War, recognize worth to Gramsci's historiographical interpretation who, unlike historiographical opposite wings, didn't evade the political issue brought by Caporetto defeat and its legacy.

¹⁵¹ Rosario VILLARI, *Questione agraria e sviluppo del capitalismo nel Risorgimento*, in «Cronache Meridionali», III, 1956, pp. 536-542 (→56.23).

¹⁵² Rosario ROMEO, *Il Risorgimento in Sicilia*, Bari, Laterza, 1950, p. 422.

¹⁵³ Luciano CAFAGNA, *Intorno al «revisionismo risorgimentale»*, in «Società», XII, 1956, pp. 1015-35 (→56.12).

¹⁵⁴ Giorgio CANDELORO, *Nota bibliografica*, in *Storia dell'Italia moderna*, Feltrinelli, Milano 1956, vol. I, *Le origini del Risorgimento*, pp. 388-394 (→56.08).

¹⁵⁵ Costanzo CASUCCI, *Caporetto*, in «Lo Spettatore Italiano», VIII, 1955, pp. 498-504 (→55.15).

English version of the abstract is not yet complete. Some important parts about on studies about literary analysis in the Prison Notebooks, as well as theories of language, folklore, common sense and the Southern Question have to be translated yet.

I'd like readers to consider this one just a first attempt not yet complete or even re-arranged.

Further improvements of this work and the entire italian version of the Annotated Gramscian Bibliography (1952-1956) are available at the following url: <http://arums.oziosi.org/gramsci> ; contact: elisabetta.roggero@gmail.com

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