

THE GRAMSCI MONUMENT

Editors:
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and
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NEWSPAPER

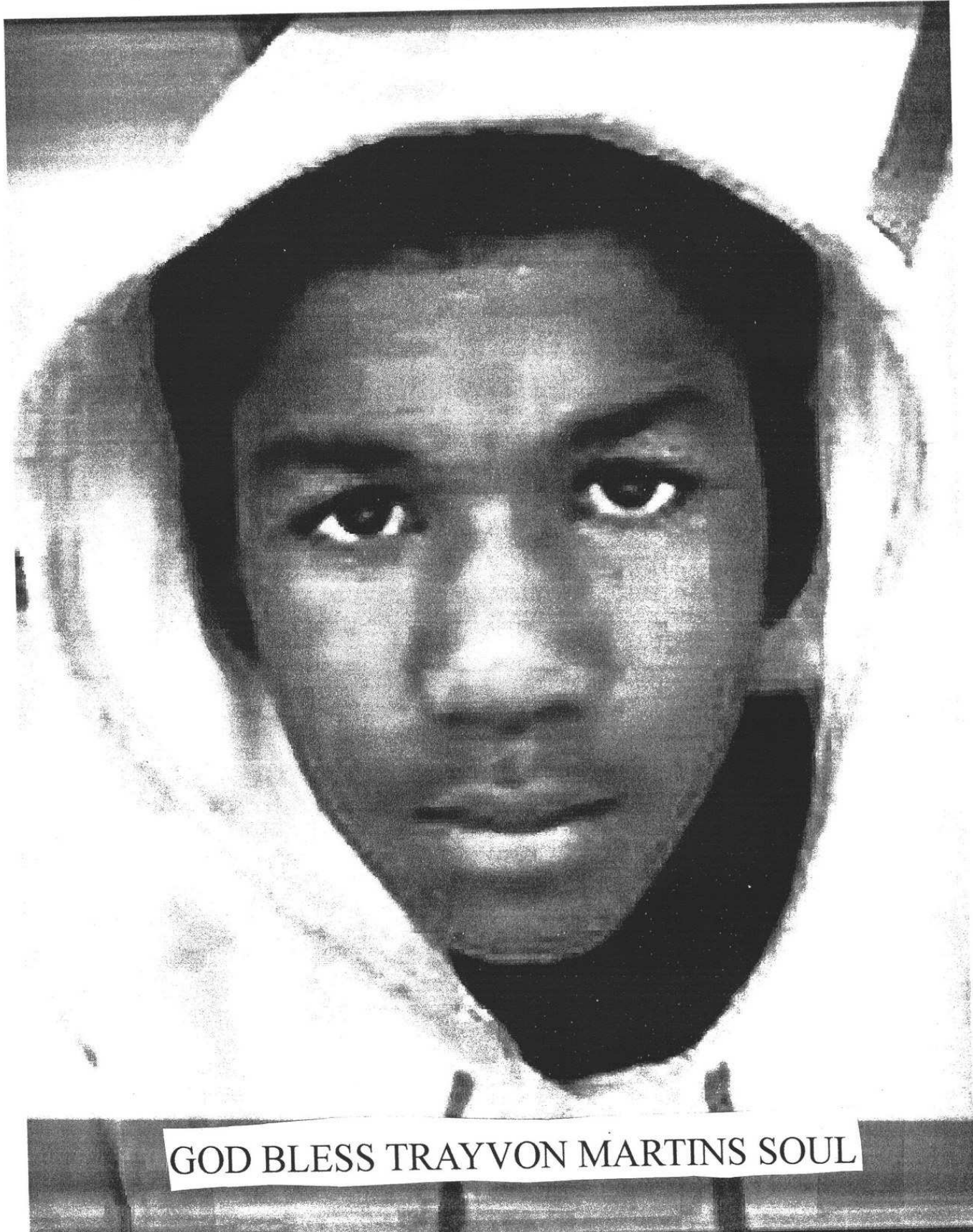
"A periodical,
like a newspaper, a book, or
any other medium of ideas, its
expression that is aimed at a certain
level of the reading or listening public,
cannot satisfy everyone equally, not
everyone will find it useful to the same
degree. The important thing is that it
serve as a stimulus for everyone;
after all, no publication can replace
the thinking mind."
Antonio Gramsci
(Prison Notebook 8)



July 15th, 2013 - Forest Houses, Bronx, NY

The Gramsci Monument-Newspaper is part of the "Gramsci Monument", an artwork by Thomas Hirschhorn, produced by D.A.I. Foundation in cooperation with Erik Farmer and the Residents of Forest Houses

PLEASE DON'T SHOOT CAUSE I HAVE
MY HOODY ON!!!!!!!



GOD BLESS TRAYVON MARTINS SOUL

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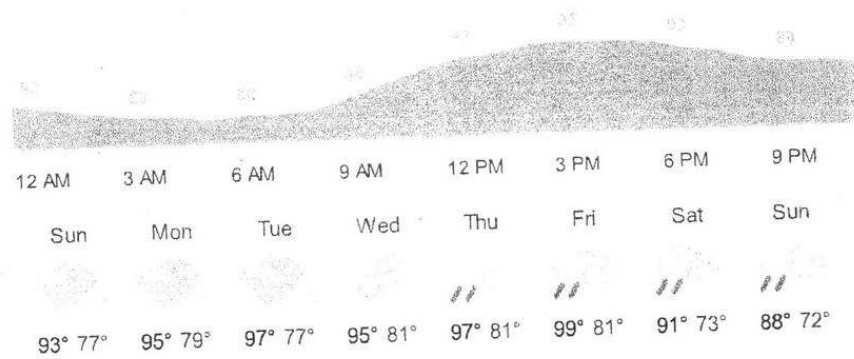
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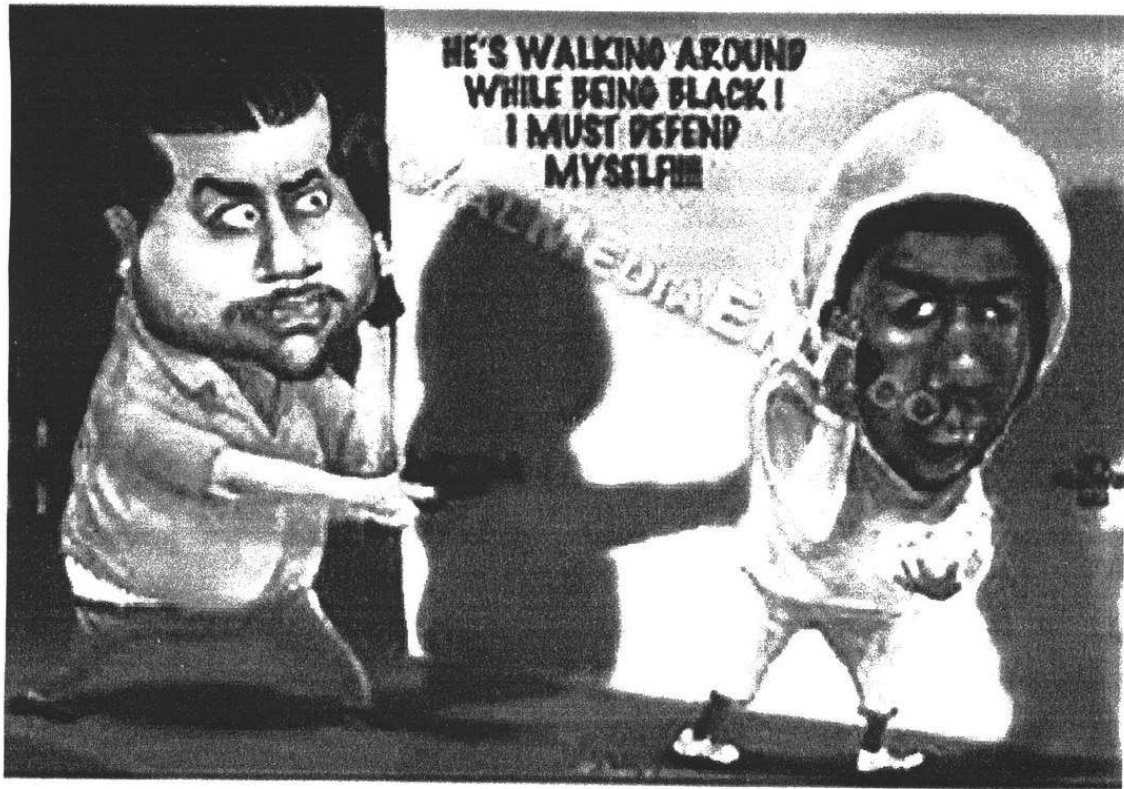
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Humidity: 47%
Wind: 9 mph

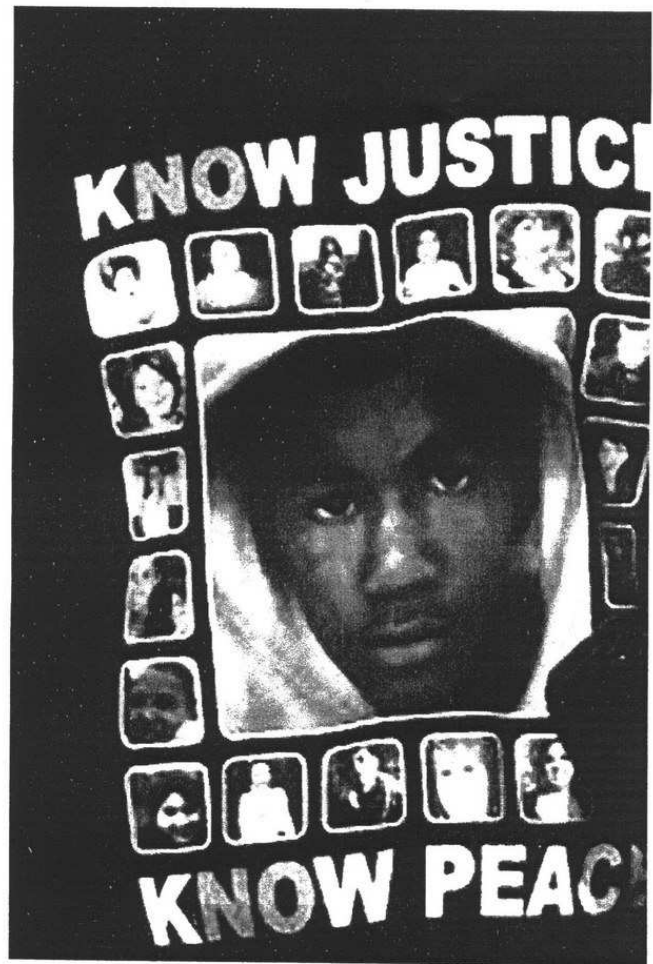
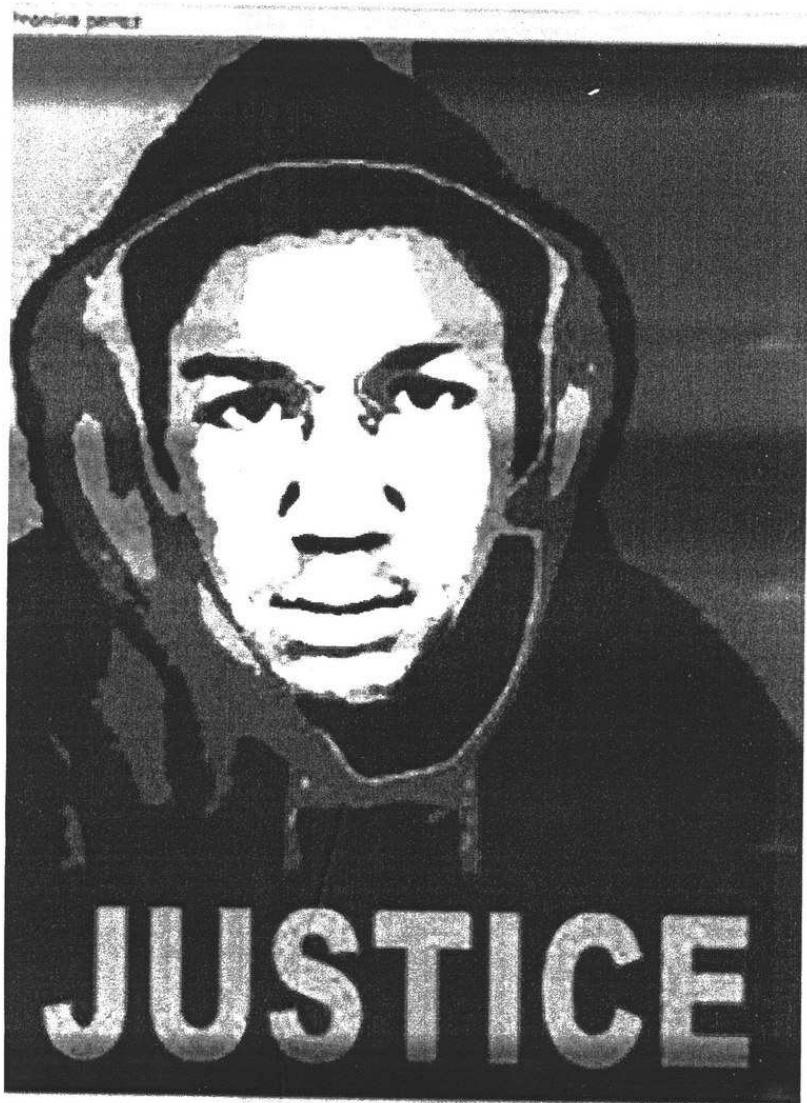
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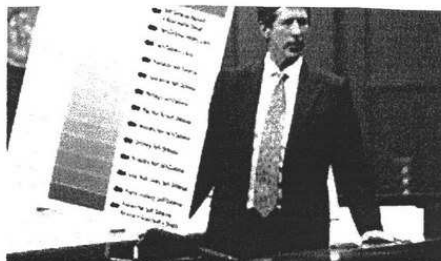
The Weather Channel - Weather Underground - AccuWeather



WE ARE ALL TRAYVON MARTIN !!



George Zimmerman trial: Closing arguments wrap up in case of Trayvon Martin killing



Defense attorney Mark O'Mara holds up a chart during closing arguments for the defence in Zimmerman's murder trial July 12, 2013 in Sanford, Florida.

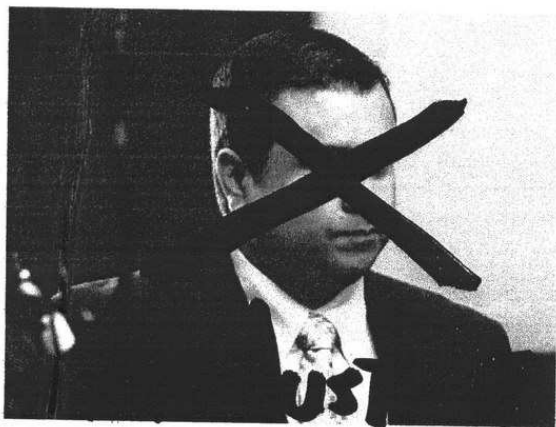
/ (Photo by Joe Burbank-Pool/Getty Images)

(CBS/AP) SANFORD, Fla. -- Closing arguments have ended in the case of George Zimmerman, the former neighborhood watch volunteer charged in the shooting death of Florida teen Trayvon Martin.

[WATCH: Prosecutor's closing on Zimmerman following Martin](#)

[PICTURES: George Zimmerman on trial in death of Fla. teen](#)

The jury is set to hear jury instructions from a judge after a lunch break. Once deliberations begin, they will weigh a second-degree murder charge against the 29-year-old, who shot Martin during a confrontation last year in a gated Sanford, Fla. community. Zimmerman is pleading not guilty, claiming he shot in self defense.



The panel of six women, which has been sequestered as the proceedings stretched into the end of their third week, will also weigh a lesser charge of manslaughter.

The panel will likely rely heavily on testimony - which was often conflicting - from police, neighbors, friends and family members. They will have to decide if they can determine who was yelling for help on a 911 call that recorded the shooting, and whether Zimmerman was a wannabe cop who took the law into his own hands or

someone who was in a fight for his life, with his head being repeatedly slammed into the ground.

Aiming to prove that Florida teen Martin wasn't unarmed, defense attorney Mark O'Mara carefully placed a large cement block in front of jurors as he wrapped up his closing statements Friday morning. "That's cement. That is a sidewalk. That is not an unarmed teenager with nothing but Skittles trying to get home," O'Mara said. "That's what somebody who used the availability of dangerous items, from his fist to the concrete, to cause great bodily injury...against George Zimmerman. And the suggestion by the state that that's not a weapon that can't hurt someone, that can't cause great bodily injury, is disgusting."

O'Mara told jurors that injuries weren't necessary to prove a self-defense claim. Rather, it was Zimmerman's state of mind - and whether he was in fear of his life or great injury - that they will be instructed to consider as they deliberate.

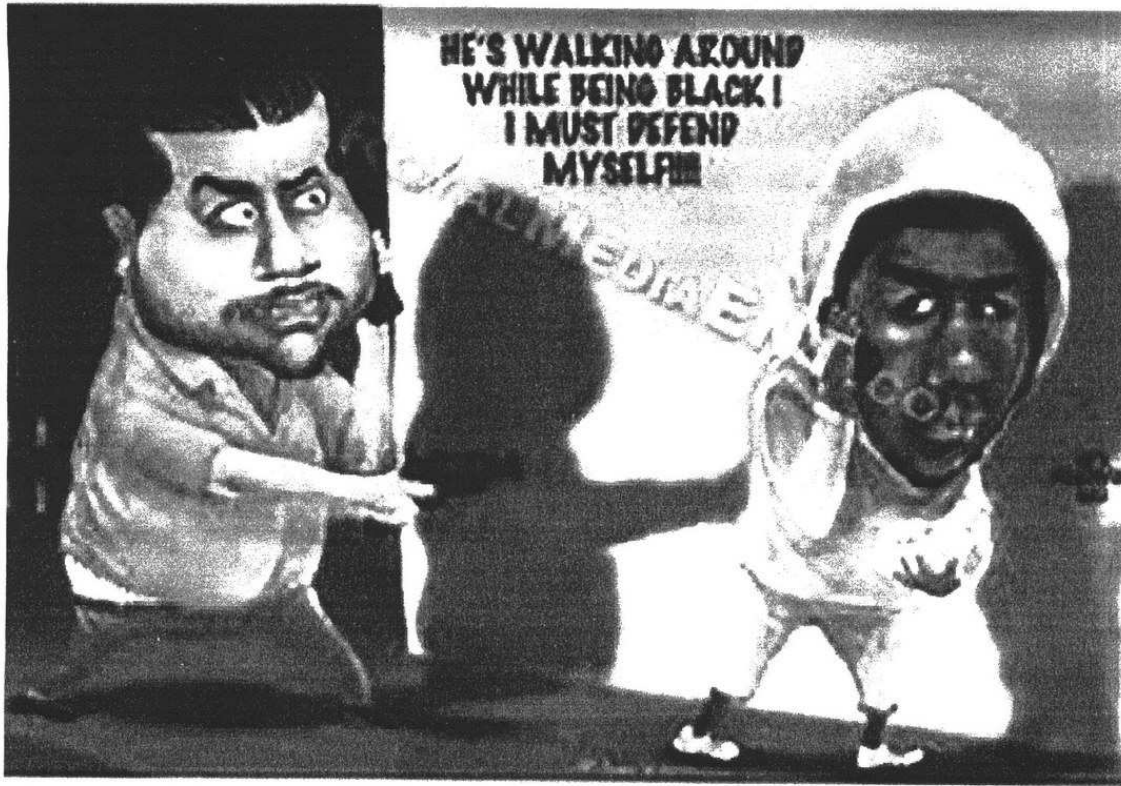
"Injuries are icing on the cake of self-defense - it has nothing to do with the substance of self-defense," O'Mara said. "Not a thing."

In his rebuttal argument, prosecutor John Guy argued that

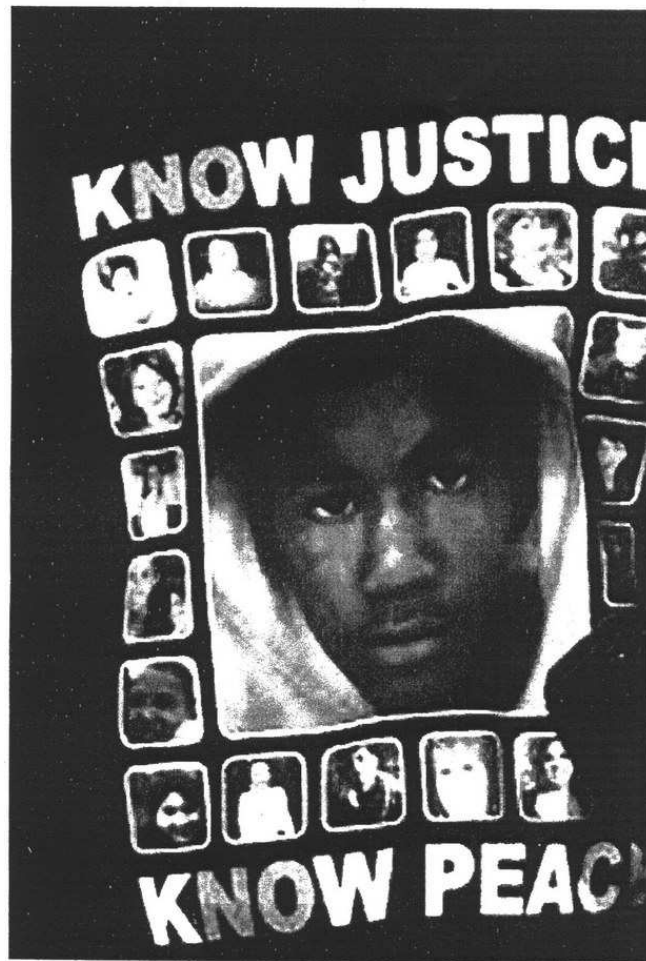
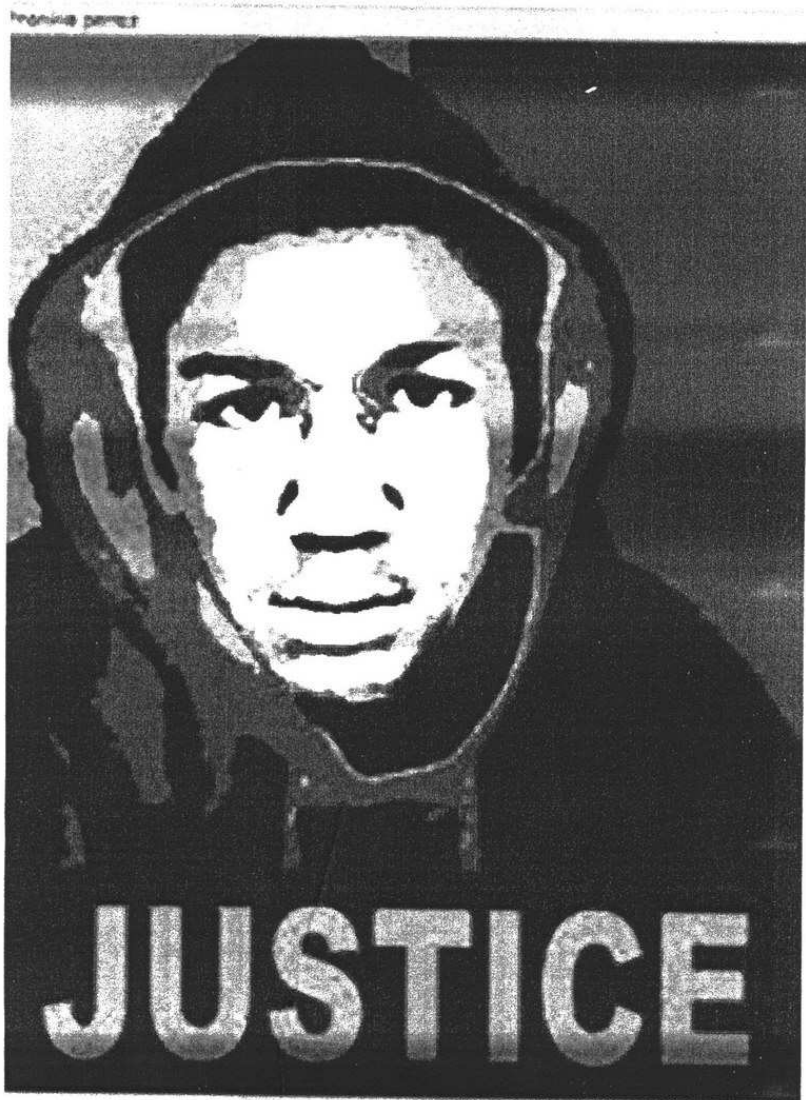
Zimmerman had "hate in his heart" when he said he got out of his truck and followed Martin. "Was that child not in fear when he was running from that defendant? Isn't that every child's worst nightmare, to be followed on the way home in the dark by a stranger? That was Trayvon Martin's last emotion," said Guy.

Guy said Zimmerman did not "need" or "have" to shoot Martin.

"Your verdict is not going to bring Trayvon Martin back to life," Guy said. "It's not going to change anything."



WE ARE ALL TRAYVON MARTIN !!



AMBASSADOR'S CORNER # 10

BY YASMIL RAYMOND

The role of ambassador has been identified as "the person who answers questions concerning art" and hence questions of creativity and culture. But what exactly are the conditions that help generate this kind of questions in the first place? After having completed the first week I can say that the inquiries have been sudden and unpredictable. Early this week a young boy (age 6-8) asked if we had a book on Leonardo Da Vinci in the Gramsci library. Coincidentally I remembered seeing a copy of Da Vinci's Notebooks when we unpacked the library. Upon opening the book two handwritten notes offered a touching reminder that these books bare traces of John Cammett's life. The first quote was from the Renaissance artist himself: "Shun those studies in which the work that results died with the worker." The second quote was penned on the title page and the author was Harvard historian George Sarton: "His outstanding mind is to have shown by his own example that the pursuit of beauty and the pursuit of truth are not incompatible. He is the patron of all those men, few in number, who love art and science with equal fervor...One might add...that without love there can be no real knowledge." My young companion asked to see the pictures and we paged through the book looking for the illustrations which were distributed throughout the fifty chapters. The anatomical drawings of limbs and organs were of particular interest to him but nothing beat the reaction when we found the portrait of the artist. He understood immediately that this was a self-portrait, looked up and said "he used a mirror."



A DAILY LECTURE BY MARCUS STEINWEG

15th Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC: 15th July 2013

THEORY OF ART

Marcus Steinweg

1. WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY?

Philosophy means the 'love of wisdom'. To philosophize is to love. To philosophize is to desire, to want something, to desire, to love or to want *sophia*, 'wisdom', the truth of reality. Philosophy loves truth; it demands truth; it desires the reality of the real. It is the desiring of reality. Philosophy is realism in this sense.

2. WHAT IS ART?

Art exists only as an assertion. Every assertion is headless, blind and exaggerated. To assert headlessness itself demands of art a kind of breathless precision. The subject of art is a subject of this self-assertion. It asserts itself as a subject of breathlessness which leads it to the limit of its being as subject.

3. WHAT IS AN ARTWORK?

The art work neither articulates its intimacy with nature and the origins, nor does it declare its solidarity with the *Zeitgeist*. Art exists only as a conflict with its time. Every genuine art work comes from the future, never from the past.

4. WHAT IS REALITY?

Reality is the hypercodified dimension of established certainties.

5. WHAT ARE CERTAINTIES?

Certainties are invented to prevent truths. The subject of certainty is the subject of the reality of facts. Truth is what interrupts the possibility of certainty, that is, of calming oneself in the universe of facts. The subjects of this interruption are "friends of loneliness", "incommensurable subjects" of incommensurability, "subjects without subject and without intersubjectivity" (J. Derrida).

6. WHAT IS THE REAL?

The *real* is the name of that which does not or no longer belongs to the space of facts. The real names the limit and the constitutive exterior to the dimension of facts. The real is more real than reality. It is that which inscribes a fundamental inconsist-

ency into 'realistic' calculation, into the idealism of facts. To touch the real is to touch this inconsistency, the weak link in the system of facts.

7. WHAT IS TRUTH?

The dimension of truth is the dimension of what is unfamiliar or monstrous. That truth exists means that knowledge and its certainties are limited. Truth is the name of this limitation. Truth is the concept for the absolute limit, the absolute. It marks the (enabling) impossibility and the inconsistency of the universe of facts.

8. WHAT IS INFINITUDE?

Infinity is not the (theological) eternal. It is the limitlessness of the actual. The actual, however, is not the factual. The factual is only the delimited actual, its limitation. The actual itself is limitless. Here, the hyperborean subject of the desert moves, reels, decides without finding a home. Heidegger calls the hyperborean space of the desert eeriness. The zone of eeriness as the sphere of not being at home is the *abyss*.

9. WHAT IS A SUBJECT?

The subject is that which mediates between the orders of objective finitude and absolute infinity without giving this mediation the stamp of a dialectical-speculative reconciliation. It is a process without end, an inconclusive procedure. It holds the subject in its ontological fever which is the truth of its finitude — of its finitude insofar as it is the opening to the infinite, to the limit of its life, to death which is the brother of infinity.

10. WHAT IS THE SUBJECT OF ART?

The subject of art is an infinitesimal subject. It articulates its infinite distance from infinity. It *is* nothing but this distance. The art work which it brings forth can therefore be called an *infinitesimal* because it expresses the distance which separates it from the incommensurable. In the art work, the untouchable is touched and it is clear that this touching makes of the art work an incommensurable magnitude which blocks its complete comprehension.

11. WHAT IS THE ANTIGONEAN SUBJECT?

The Antigonean Subject is the subject of headless precipitation towards incommensurability as such.

12. WHAT IS THE SUBJECT OF RESPONSIBILITY?

The subject of responsibility authorizes itself to be free and responsible. Responsibility is an achievement. It is not something dictated by God. It does not follow the pleas of conscience. It transcends God and conscience, morality and theology, so that the subject becomes responsible only to itself.

13. WHAT IS THE FACTUAL SUBJECT?

The factual subject is a subject that holds on to itself in its identity. It is a *dead subject* where death is posited as the "mode of existence of the last human being" (S. Žižek). That the last human being is the human being who locks out truths, meaning and life, the human being of small factors ("petit faits"), the fatalistic human being. "Wanting to keep standing before what is factual, the *factum brutum*" is what Nietzsche calls in *On the Genealogy of Morals*, "the fatalism of the 'petit faits', the petit fatalisme". The factual human being reduces himself to the facts. He makes his dead truth from the facts.. He is the subject of the faith in facts, of the fatalism of facts and the obscurantism of facts. The facts are his unshakeable law.

14. WHAT IS THE SUBJECT OF PHILOSOPHY?

The subject of philosophy has surpassed and transgressed itself into the night of non-evidence. It overflies the space of facts and their transcendental historical determinants. Sleeping, dreaming, flying, it accelerates toward the nameless.

15. WHAT IS FREEDOM?

Freedom is a conquest; it does not fall from the sky.

16. WHAT IS THE "WRONG CHOICE"?

The wrong choice chooses unfreedom. It decides against decision, against the condition of possibility of decision, by refusing freedom and the will to freedom. It selects options, arranges offers. It subordinates itself. It is the expression of fear, convenience, passivity or indifference.

17. WHAT TOUCHING THE UNTOUCHABLE MEANS?

Touching the untouchable, the incommensurability of the real or the exterior demands of the subject of touching a certain degree of strength and courage of will. The subject of touching is the subject of freedom to self-surrender and self-transgression. Instead of enclosing itself in its image of itself, it must gather the courage to activate another self. It is the subject of a necessarily auto-aggressive self-elevation through which it transfers all responsibility to itself.

18. WHAT IS CHAOS?

Chaos is the non-ground or abyss. It is the dimension which from the outset precedes the logos, reason, language and communication.

19. WHAT IS SELF-ELEVATION?

The self-elevation of the subject is resistance against the dictatorship of facts.

20. WHAT IS THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PHILOSOPHY AND ART?

What art and philosophy share is courage in the complete confrontation in the here-and-now to accelerate out of the texture of facts which is the universe of our shared evidence — our opinions, hopes, consistencies — to go through the experience of the inconsistency of this consistent universe that we call *reality*. In art and philosophy it is not a matter of basing oneself on hard facts; it is a matter of seeking out the inconsistency of these facts themselves in the experience of what I call *truth*, the truth

GRAMSCI THEATER

WRITTEN BY MARCUS STEINWEG

SCENE 8: CHAOS PRODUCTION

(The location of the scenes is to be announced by an actor holding up a sign, in this case "GYM.")

Enter: Gramsci, Müller, Adorno, Kluge, Second Marxist, Nietzsche, Deleuze, First Marxist, Duras.

GRAMSCI

Changing from one order to another is madness.

MÜLLER

A madness that makes life worth living.

GRAMSCI

How are you going to organize this madness?

MÜLLER

By creating disorder.
Art produces disruption.
Art is resistance.
Art comes from discontent with the world.

ADORNO

Art is chaos production!

KLUGE

Chaos begets enlightenment.

MÜLLER

There is only one way, a potentially fatal one.
You can't change from one order to another without passing through disorder. There is no seamless transition.
Just as there is no pure disorder, no chaos as such.
But there is the experience of a certain blindness and turbulence.

KLUGE

In danger and dire distress the middle-of-the-road leads to death.

MÜLLER

Art should always be a disruption of politics, of consolidation.
Sometimes a joke, a provocation will do.
Sometimes deliberate loss of control.
In art, you have to take your hand off the railing.
The gaze expands and the gaze sharpens when control lessens.

SECOND MARXIST

I do not want to be a living death, doing everything right and, by never doing anything wrong, doing nothing at all.

MÜLLER

The mistake is the logic of avoiding mistakes.
Mistakes are sources of possible experience.

GRAMSCI

How do you organize mistakes?

MÜLLER

By making lots of them.
That's another word for life: mistake-accumulation.

DELEUZE

The logic of avoiding mistakes is the enemy of art.

MÜLLER

I know that from writing.
Often, I don't know what I'm doing.
You can't write without taking risks.
Experience can only be gained blindly.

NIETZSCHE

That is the courage to tolerate contingency.

MÜLLER

The courage to tolerate disorder.

DELEUZE

The helter-skelter dynamics of thought.

MÜLLER

Knowing what you're doing nips art in the bud.

DURAS

Art is the open door toward abandonment.

MÜLLER

If art has a function, then it is to make reality impossible.

FIRST MARXIST

GRAMSCI

You can't anticipate experience.

DELEUZE

Experience is what you do.

DURAS

Experience exists only as excess.

NIETZSCHE

Art combines precision with excess.
That is what I call the Dionysian—this combination.

DELEUZE

Which is tantamount to being responsible for your irresponsibility.

NIETZSCHE

Yes.

MÜLLER

Yes.

MATERIAL 8: ART

The work of art belongs to the empirical, social sphere by marking a distance from it. Part of it is obviously a critical detachment from the world of options, evidence, and balances. Art takes a critical view of the socio-symbolic reality of fact without disputing its facticity. The work of art participates in this reality by being at an infinitesimal remove from it. It has to oppose it in order to be art but it cannot deny its involvement with socio-empirical realities in order to indulge in ivory-towered idealism.

MARCUS E. GREEN LECTURE ON GRAMSCI

Marcus E. Green | Gramsci Monument Seminar | 13 July 2013

Gramsci on Intellectuals and Culture

Major Theme:

- Political Transformation
 - In Gramsci political thought, intellectuals and culture are the foundations for political transformation.
- Overcome the division of rulers and ruled, oppressors and oppressed.
 - Throughout his work – as a political activist, journalist, party leader, and in his prison notebooks, he sought to build a politics and culture that overcame the divisions between the rulers and the ruled, the leaders and the led, and the oppressors and the oppressed.
- Subaltern groups need to empower themselves.
 - In his view, subaltern groups – the term he used to describe subordinate and marginalized social groups, such as the working class and peasants – need to become critically aware of their circumstances and empower themselves in the struggle to overcome their subordination.
- Subaltern consciousness.
 - In his view, subaltern groups do not always understand their intellectual capabilities and their historical conditions. To overcome this requires the development of a critical intellectual culture, in which human beings understand themselves as the creators of their own existence.
- Question dominant social relations. Don't accept the existing social order.
- Understand their conditions in order to transform them.
 - Thus, the process of empowerment, in his view, requires the development of a critical consciousness and culture in which the subaltern understand the origins of their conditions and then attempt to change them.
- Individual and Collective Process

All Humans are Intellectuals and Philosophers

1. All men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals (Thus, because it can happen that everyone at some time fries a couple of eggs or sews up a tear in a jacket, we do not necessarily say that everyone is a cook or a tailor). (Notebook 12, §1).
- That is, all men and women are intellectuals in the sense that they have intellects and participate in a particular conception of the world and by either contributing to that conception of the world or by attempting to modify it.

2. Indeed, intellectual activity must also be distinguished in terms of its intrinsic characteristics, according to levels which in moments of extreme opposition represent a real qualitative difference—at the highest level would be the creators of the various sciences, philosophy, art, etc., at the lowest the most humble "administrators" and divulgators of pre-existing, traditional, accumulated intellectual wealth. (Notebook 12, §3).
3. It is essential to destroy the widespread prejudice that philosophy is a strange and difficult thing just because it is the specific intellectual activity of a particular category of specialists or of professional and systematic philosophers. It must first be shown that all men are "philosophers", by defining the limits and characteristics of the "spontaneous philosophy" which is proper to everybody. This philosophy is contained in: 1. language itself, which is a totality of determined notions and concepts and not just of words grammatically devoid of content;¹ 2. "common sense" and "good sense"; 3. popular religion and, therefore, also in the entire system of beliefs, superstitions, opinions, ways of seeing things and of acting, which surface collectively under the name of "folklore". (Notebook 11, §12, ¶1).

Philosophy as Practical Activity (Hegemony)

4. But at this point we reach the fundamental problem facing any conception of the world, any philosophy which has become a cultural movement, a "religion", a "faith", any that has produced a form of practical activity or will in which the philosophy is contained as an implicit theoretical "premise". One might say "ideology" here, but on condition that the word is used in its highest sense of a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in all manifestations of individual and collective life. (Notebook 11, §12, ¶12).
 - Mass adhesion or non-adhesion to an ideology is the real critical test of the rationality and historicity of modes of thinking. (Notebook 11, §12, ¶37Th).

Critical Consciousness

5. Having first shown that everyone is a philosopher, though in his own way and unconsciously, since even in the slightest manifestation of any intellectual activity whatever, in "language", there is contained a specific conception of the world, one then moves on to the second level, which is that of awareness and criticism. That is to say, one proceeds to the question—is it better to "think", without having a critical awareness, in a disjointed and episodic way? In other words, is it better to take part in a conception of the world mechanically imposed by the external environment, i.e. by one of the many social groups in which everyone is automatically involved from the moment of his entry into the conscious world (and this can be one's village or province; it can have its origins in the parish and the "intellectual activity" of the local priest or ageing patriarch

¹ Rachel Jeantel's testimony in the Trevon Martin case

whose wisdom is law, or in the little old woman who has inherited the lore of the witches or the minor intellectual soured by his own stupidity and inability to act)? Or, on the other hand, is it better to work out consciously and critically one's own conception of the world and thus, in connection with the labours of one's own brain, choose one's sphere of activity, take an active part in the creation of the history of the world, be one's own guide, refusing to accept passively and supinely from outside the moulding of one's personality? (Notebook 11, §12, ¶2).

6. *In acquiring one's conception of the world one always belongs to a particular grouping which is that of all the social elements which share the same mode of thinking and acting. We are all conformists of some conformism or other, always man-in-the-mass or collective man. The question is this: of what historical type is the conformism, the mass humanity to which one belongs? When one's conception of the world is not critical and coherent but disjointed and episodic, one belongs simultaneously to a multiplicity of mass human groups. The personality is strangely composite: it contains Stone Age elements and principles of a more advanced science, prejudices from all past phases of history at the local level and intuitions of a future philosophy which will be that of a human race united the world over. To criticise one's own conception of the world means therefore to make it a coherent unity and to raise it to the level reached by the most advanced thought in the world. It therefore also means criticism of all previous philosophy, in so far as this has left stratified deposits in popular philosophy. The starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is "knowing thyself"² as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory. The necessary first step is to make such an inventory. (Notebook 11, §12, ¶3).*
7. Consciousness of a self which is opposed to others, which is differentiated and, once having set itself a goal, can judge facts and events other than in themselves or for themselves but also in so far as they tend to drive history forward or backward. To know oneself means to be oneself, to be master of oneself, to distinguish oneself, to free oneself from a state of chaos, to exist as an element of order—but of one's own order and one's own discipline in striving for an ideal. And we cannot be successful in this unless we also know others, their history, the successive efforts they have made to be what they are, to create the civilization they have created and which we seek to replace with our own. In other words, we must form some idea of nature and its laws in order to come to know the laws governing the mind. And we must learn all this without losing sight of the ultimate aim: to know oneself better through others and to know others better through oneself. ("Socialism and Culture," 1916).

² "Know thyself" was the inscription written above the gate of the Oracle at Delphi, and became a principle of Socratic philosophy.

2. Indeed, intellectual activity must also be distinguished in terms of its intrinsic characteristics, according to levels which in moments of extreme opposition represent a real qualitative difference—at the highest level would be the creators of the various sciences, philosophy, art, etc., at the lowest the most humble "administrators" and divulgators of pre-existing, traditional, accumulated intellectual wealth. (Notebook 12, §3).
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¹ Rachel Jeantel's testimony in the Trevon Martin case

Culture and Organization

8. 'Most humbly' has a concept of culture that is inaccurate too. He believes that culture equals knowing a little of everything, that it equals the Popular University. I give culture this meaning: exercise of thought, acquisition of general ideas, habit of connecting causes and effects. For me, everybody is already cultured because everybody thinks, everybody connects causes and effects. But they are empirically, primordially cultured, not organically. They therefore waver, disband, soften, or become violent, intolerant, quarrelsome, according to the occasion and the circumstances. ("Philanthropy, Good Will and Organization," 1917).
9. I have a Socratic idea of culture; I believe that it means thinking well, whatever one thinks, and therefore acting well, whatever one does. And since I know that culture too is a basic concept of socialism, because it integrates and makes concrete the vague concept of freedom of thought, I would like it to be enlivened by the other concept, that of organization. Let us organize culture in the same way that we seek to organize any practical activity. ("Philanthropy, Good Will and Organization," 1917).

Creating a New Culture as "Philosophical Event"

10. Creating a new culture does not only mean one's own individual "original" discoveries. It also, and most particularly, means the diffusion in a critical form of truths already discovered, their "socialisation" as it were, and even making them the basis of vital action, an element of co-ordination and intellectual and moral order. For a mass of people to be led to think coherently and in the same coherent fashion about the real present world, is a "philosophical" event far more important and "original" than the discovery by some philosophical "genius" of a truth which remains the property of small groups of intellectuals. (Notebook 11, §12, ¶6).

(Organic) Intellectuals as Leaders

11. Critical self-consciousness means, historically and politically, the creation of an *élite*³ of intellectuals. A human mass does not "distinguish" itself, does not become independent in its own right without, in the widest sense, organising itself; and there is no organisation without intellectuals, that is without organisers and leaders, in other words, without the theoretical aspect of the theory-practice nexus being distinguished concretely by the existence of a group of people "specialised" in conceptual and philosophical elaboration of ideas. (Notebook 11, §12, ¶20).

Describe the dialectical unity of intellectuals and masses. See pages 5, 8, 9, 13 of Q11§12:

³ "élite." As is made clear later in the text, Gramsci uses this word (in French in the original) in a sense very different from that of the reactionary post-Pareto theorists of "political élites". The *élite* in Gramsci is the revolutionary vanguard of a social class in constant contact with its political and intellectual base. (But see also note 79 in III 2.)

- The point of organic intellectuals as they relate to the subaltern classes is in working in coordination with the masses, to work out and make coherent the principles and the problems raised by the masses in their practical activity, thus creating the foundations for a new culture and society.
12. The popular element "feels" but does not always know or understand; the intellectual element "knows" but does not always understand and in particular does not always feel. The two extremes are therefore pedantry and philistinism on the one hand and blind passion and sectarianism on the other... The intellectual's error consists in believing that one can know without understanding and even more without feeling and being impassioned (not only for knowledge in itself but also for the object of knowledge): in other words that the intellectual can be an intellectual (and not a pure pedant) if distinct and separate from the people-nation, that is, without feeling the elementary passions of the people, understanding them and therefore explaining and justifying them in the particular historical situation and connecting them dialectically to the laws of history and to a superior conception of the world, scientifically and coherently elaborated – i.e. knowledge. One cannot make politics-history without this passion, without this sentimental connection between intellectuals and people-nation. (Notebook 11, §67)

Democratic Philosopher as the Organic Intellectual

13. One could say therefore that the historical personality of an individual philosopher is also given by the active relationship which exists between him and the cultural environment he is proposing to modify. The environment reacts back on the philosopher and imposes on him a continual process of self-criticism. It is his "teacher". This is why one of the most important demands that the modern intelligentsias have made in the political field has been that of the so-called "freedom of thought and of the expression of thought" ("freedom of the press", "freedom of association"). For the relationship between master and disciple in the general sense referred to above is only realised where this political condition exists, and only then do we get the "historical" realisation of a new type of philosopher, whom we could call a "democratic philosopher" in the sense that he is a philosopher convinced that his personality is not limited to himself as a physical individual but is an active social relationship of modification of the cultural environment. (Notebook 10II, §44).

Philosophy of Praxis and Empowerment

14. The philosophy of praxis... does not aim at the peaceful resolution of existing contradictions in history and society but is rather the very theory of these contradictions. It 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. (Q10II§41xii)