

# THE GRAMSCI MONUMENT- NEWSPAPER

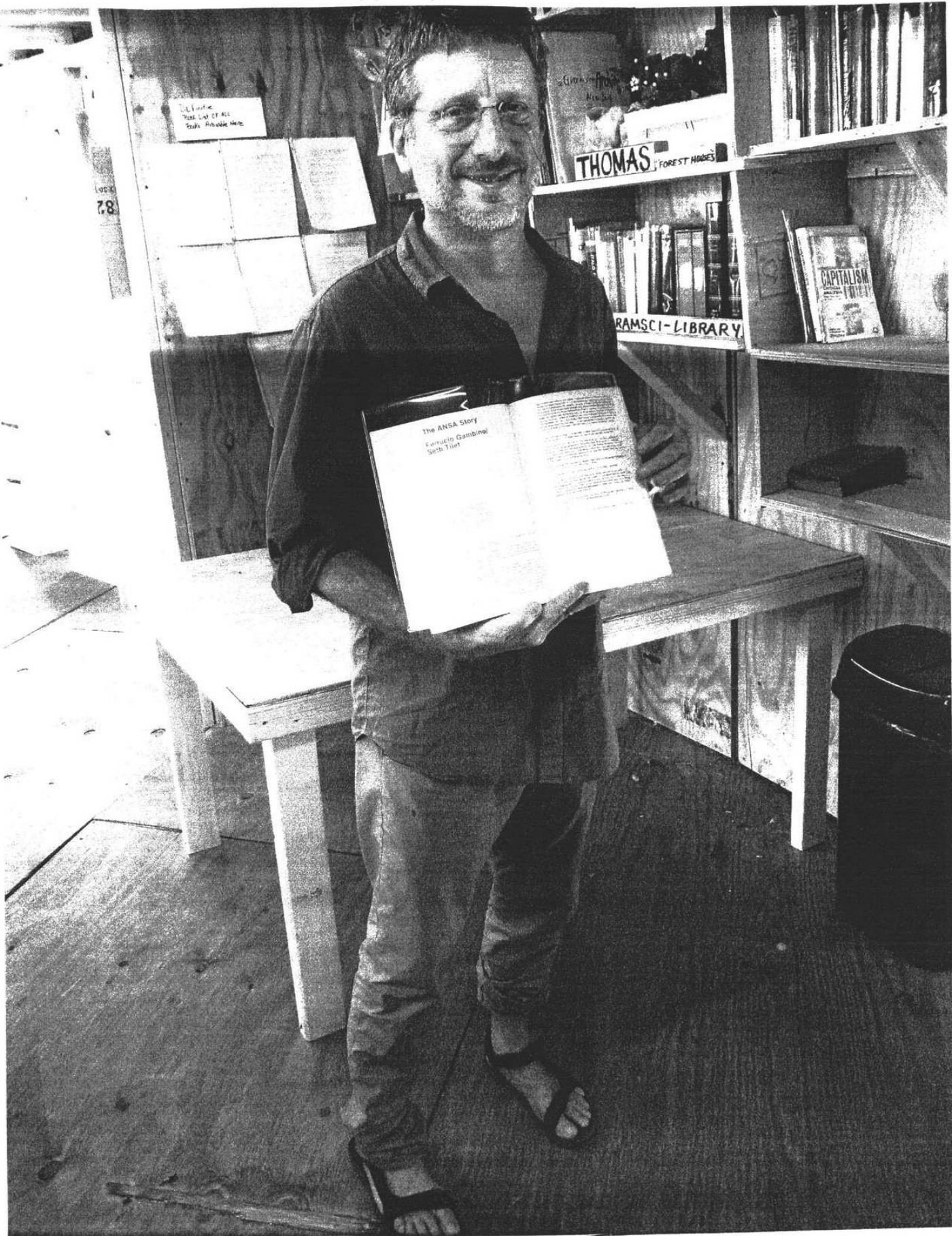
Editors:  
**LAKESHA BRYANT**  
and  
**SAQUAN SCOTT**

"A periodical, like a newspaper, a book, or any other medium of didactic 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 18th, 2013 - Forest Houses, Bronx, NY

The Gramsci Monument-Newspaper is part of the "Gramsci Monument", an artwork by Thomas Hirschhorn, produced by Dia Art Foundation in co-operation with Erik Farmer and the Residents of Forest Houses



SETH TILLET

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Bronx, NY 10456

Thursday

Chance of Storm



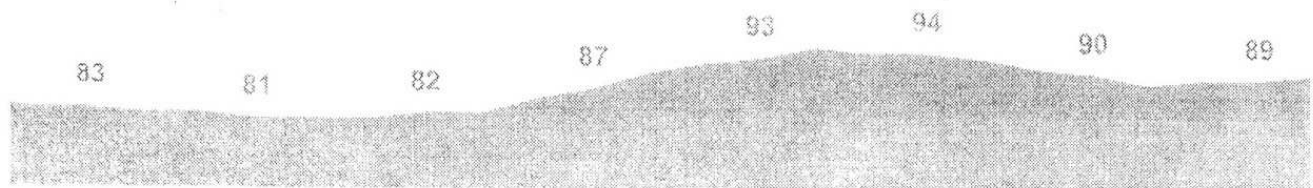
95 °F | °C

Precipitation: 20%

Humidity: 50%

Wind: 9 mph

Temperature	Precipitation	Wind
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1 AM    4 AM    7 AM    10 AM    1 PM    4 PM    7 PM    10 PM

Wed    Thu    Fri    Sat    Sun    Mon    Tue    Wed



95° 79°



95° 81°



97° 81°



93° 75°



86° 72°



84° 70°



84° 70°



88° 70°

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# The ANSA Story

## Ferruccio Gambino/ Seth Tilet

ANSA is the official Italian news agency. The 'terrorist' image of Autonomy has always been a CO-PRODUCTION of the Italian judiciary and the news industry. Ferruccio Gambino is professor of Labor Relations at Padua University and one of the last remaining members of its Political Science Faculty, in which Negri also taught. At the time of this interview (Aug. 1st) he had been notified by the police that he too was under investigation.

*Seth Tilet* How effective is a "Blackout" in the Italian press, how does it function, what is the leverage that's used?

*Ferruccio Gambino* The Italian bourgeoisie has always worked quite informally. In the 1870's or 1880's, even early in this century, the Italian policy makers used to meet at the Monte Catini baths in Tuscany in the summer, and they would decide upon the next policies, especially foreign policies, while they were taking therapeutic waters there.

After 1945, some publisher published the orders that the fascist regime was giving to the so called Agencia Stephane, which was the main national news agency. Every day the Agencia Stephane used to receive orders directly from the executive, sometimes straight from Mussolini. After the second World War and the fall of facism, things have become somehow better. That is, orders may not be so direct, they can be circumvented, and they focus basically, I think, on the economics of printing and publishing. Government has a direct control on the price of cellulose and paper. It has established a so called National Organisation for Cellulose. It sets the price of newspapers, especially daily newspapers. It has a wide range of power over newspaper, TV, and radio advertising, especially through the *State Owned Industry* and its advertising needs. And it can

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manipulate also with its own dailies. *Il Giorno* in Milan, for instance, is directly owned by state-owned ENI—E N I, the oil company. It can manipulate through its own party newspapers, for instance the daily, *Il Popolo*, a Christian Democratic newspaper. It can manipulate through large concentrations, the largest publishing concentration being Rizzoli (Mondadori comes in second). It can intimidate or make journalists shy, at the very least, as Giorgio Bocca, the Italian journalist is saying. He says: "When an American journalist interviews a Secretary of State or the Secretary of Labor, he is bold or she is bold. In Italy, when they interview the power structure, they shy away. It is like apologizing for posing a question. So that's one side of the story. The other side is, of course, the general political situation.

They have flair enough to smell what is happening in this country and when the tide is not high . . . or when water is—how do you say that—at low ebb.

They know the ebb tide and the flow tide, let us put it that way, *politically*. So that accounts for large segments of the Italian press. What cannot be controlled directly through the capitalist press is controlled through the *parties*. Of course, the Communist Party has a daily paper, *L'Unita*, and it has *open orders*, so to speak. It has a very straight posture on the case. The Socialist Party has *L'Avanti*, a daily paper and it is the same thing.

Then there are the supporting papers. *Paese Sera* is a supporting *communist daily*. So that is more or less the picture, I think.

T What is the connection with ANSA, how is ANSA controlled?

G ANSA is directly controlled by the government and the executive in this country. ANSA representatives are chosen by government agencies. ANSA is the *direct descendent* of Agencia Stephane; and I am sure that in a few years, or maybe in many years, I don't know, somebody will publish again the anthology of orders coming down from the government to ANSA every morning, as Agencia Stephane received them in the 30's.

T Did you know that the Director of the Photographic Archives at ANSA is the brother of the Director of Photographic Archives at U.P.I.?

G No.

T Enzo Brizzi and his brother, Renzo Romano Brizzi. I think they're twins.

# A TEXT FROM THOMAS HIRSCHHORN

**THOMAS HIRSCHHORN**

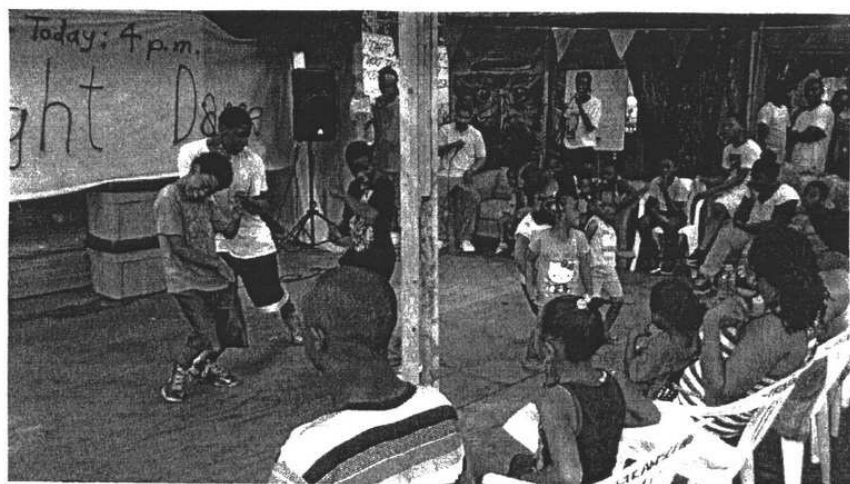
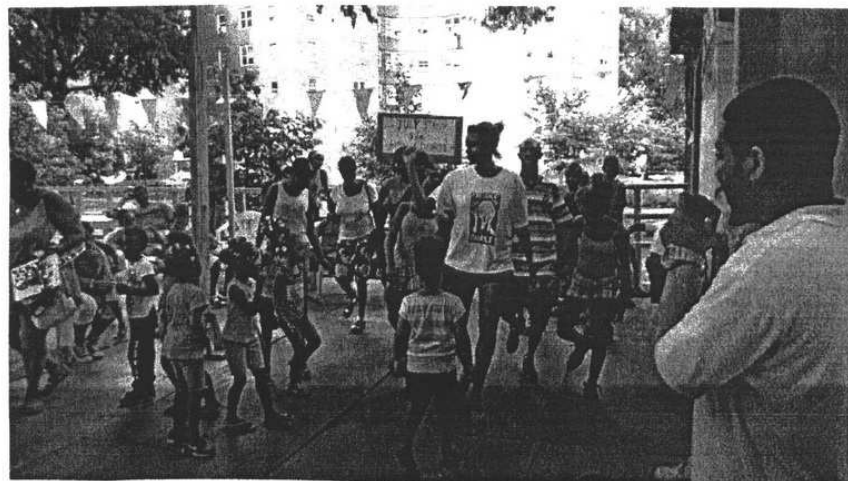
## Why do I write about my work?

- I write because I am **DOING ARTWORK**. Doing my artwork is the basis of my "Artist Writing", and this gives me the competence to write. To write is - to me - a simple and engaging gesture.
- I write because I can write - just as everybody can - and I want to write in an egalitarian way. This means: I simply write with my own words!
- I write - just as anyone can - because writing is an egalitarian way to **EXPRESS, TELL OR COMMUNICATE**, to the other, to my mother, to the art historian or to whoever asks me a question regarding my work and what it's about.
- I write because I want to **FIX** things. In order to be committed to a form, writing things down helps me be truthful to it, because once written down, things are no longer hazardous or arbitrary, but set and fixed.
- I write because I want to **CLARIFY**. I want to clarify things - first for myself. Doing "Artist-Writings" helps me work out more precisely what I want or wanted to do.
- I write because I know what I am doing, why I am doing it and how I am doing it, so it's **EASY TO WRITE IT DOWN**, it's an engagement, it's a commitment, it's a statement, it's a judgement, it's something definite and it's something absolute.
- I write because art is **ASSERTION** of form, this is to me, the essential. Therefore to write is also an assertion, and writing - as the artist - is always a tool to reinforce my assertion of form. Writing is not an explanation, a justification or an argumentation.
- I write because I want to **INSIST WITH WHAT IS ESSENTIAL** to me. To write helps me decide and insist on what really counts for me. To write helps me develop this essential, confront it - when it is sent to someone or published somewhere - and keep it in a dynamic, as something active.
- I write because I need to designate my **OWN TERMS**: in my efforts to establish a new term of art, old terms or terms of others can't be used. With "Artist-Writing" I create - and stay faithful to - my own terms in art.
- Finally I do "Artist-Writings" in order to give my own **TESTIMONY**. In the blizzard of critics, information, meanings and opinions about my work, my artist-testimony is there - also.

# AMBASSADOR'S CORNER NOTE # 13

## BY YASMIL RAYMOND

The dancer Joshua Knight, also known as "Delite" was the guest performer to last week's "Running Event." He danced accompanied by friend and regular visitor to the monument Jamal Foster, a remarkable dancer and wordsmith on his own right. The duet performed in the style known as "Get lite" or "Lite feet" showing the mechanics of movement through a logic of improvisation and timing. They sculpted their sequences to the clap from the audience against the music. The solemnity of their facial gestures were only interrupted by the occasional burst of a smile after achieving a difficult move like jumping over their own leg or doing a shoe trick. Days later, during Marcus E. Green's seminar title "Gramsci on Intellectuals and Culture" the memory of their performance will lure as a backdrop to Green's words. The seminar, organized around 14 quotes culled from Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*, started with the topic of the intellectual and Gramsci's term "spontaneous philosophy" which stands as a straightforward defense of the vernacular. When thinking of the role of the vernacular in recent examples of contemporary dance the name of Yvonne Rainer comes to mind. The energized body of the subaltern has been a recurring motif in her recent choreography granting the leading roles to concentration and endurance, or what I like to think as a methods of recuperation, that return ownership to the body of the dancer. In dance as in other forms of art, the immediacy of the vernacular no doubt remains a latent force field for resistance.



# A DAILY LECTURE BY MARCUS STEINWEG

*18<sup>th</sup> Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC: 18th July 2013*

## **OBSCURANTISM OF FACTS**

*Marcus Steinweg*

Neither philosophy nor art are matters of proof or opinion. Philosophy and art posit things, they assert. Assertion is distinguished from proof and opinion since it has to make do without certainty. A philosophy of assertion is a philosophy in uncertainty. It surpasses and transgresses the modalities of conventional thinking such as reflection, argument, grounding, and criticism. It is a matter of the subject touching a truth in uncertainty and giving this instance of contact a form, a language. Truth refers to the limits of the world of facts. Philosophy exists only in that it touches these limits. It is an assertion that denies the validity of the imperatives of the factual. Touching upon truth, philosophy has to resist the certainty of opinion and the obscurantism of facts in equal measure. It is a touching of the untouchable and it makes this touching into a *life-form*.

My aim is to defend the political relevance of art and philosophy against conventional political art and political philosophy. I intend to show that political art and political philosophy establish their own de-politicization. They are not concerned with a politics of freedom, of the impossible and what is most necessary. The politics I am referring to differ from what is usually called politics. This type of politics does not assert or defend interests. It would be about a resistance against the order of socio-political and ideo-cultural reality. It would articulate itself by absolutely refusing the universe of facts and the opinions circulating in this universe. It would be a politics of truth insofar as it considers proof as what comes into conflict with established certainties. It causes the voice of official truth to stutter and be brought to silence.

# GRAMSCI THEATER

## WRITTEN BY MARCUS

### STEINWEG

#### SCENE 10: THE WORLD—A HOLEY CLOTH

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

*Enter: Gramsci, Nietzsche, Brecht, Müller, Duras, First Marxist.*

GRAMSCI

The financial crisis as a crisis of confidence is a crisis of reality.  
It leads to the critical point of our reality.

NIETZSCHE

Of our reality or our realities.

Of our divided world without a back world.  
There is only a here and now without a beyond.  
It is not grounded in any kind of superior authority.

NANCY

Your immanence has holes.  
The world is a cloth full of holes.

DELEUZE

And chaos whistles through the holes like wind.

GRAMSCI

How can anybody have confidence in this world?

BRECHT

To invoke confidence is to exhaust it.

GRAMSCI

Will you all concentrate? Once again: What is reality?

MÜLLER

Reality is a broken promise of consistency.

DURAS

Reality is a narcissistic wound..

FIRST MARXIST

It can only disappoint.

MÜLLER

The way out of disappointment is not to escape it but to work at it.

NIETZSCHE

It always costs more than you can pay.

FIRST MARXIST

I hate paying.

MÜLLER

Pull yourself together.  
Not even your grave is for free.

NIETZSCHE

Only those who pay more than they can pay actually pay.  
Debts balance accounts.

GRAMSCI

Death ruins you.  
It costs you everything you've got.  
Death doesn't give you an advance.

"REFRAIN" SPOKEN BY SEVERAL OR ALL OF THE ACTORS

God survived on the capital markets.  
God is not dead.

#### MATERIAL 10: CREATIO EX NIHILO

God survives on capital markets provided that a permanent *creatio ex nihilo*—value created out of nothing—is part of their dynamic. Nothing is a synonym for the inconsistency of a system whose consistency is based on the interactive dynamics of promises and confidence. It seems there is a structural homology between the philosophical metaphysics of concept and the financial metaphysics

of economy. It was Alfred Sohn-Rethel who proposed the seminal form of a transcendental subject or human reason within an economy of equivalent exchange, which prompted Adorno to say that philosophy contests the principle of equivalence. What Adorno does not see is that the same applies to the economy and has done so for a long time: it has also abandoned the principle of equivalence in order to generate nonequivalence. That is its speculative nature: the autonomization of real values and even of economic reason. Within the context of God's inexistence, the hyperbolism of the financial dynamic is equivalent to reason gone mad in speculative metaphysics. While Adorno warns against the economic infiltration of philosophy, he overlooks (or cannot yet see) what is really happening: the



# DID YOU KNOW GRAMSCI???

## Early life

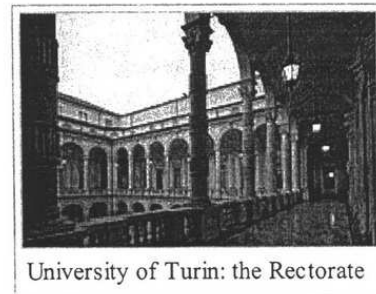
Gramsci was born in Ales, on the island of Sardinia, the fourth of seven sons of Francesco Gramsci (1860–1937), a low-level official from Gaeta, and his wife, Giuseppina Marcias (1861–1932). Gramsci's father was of Arbëreshë descent,<sup>[1]</sup> while his mother belonged to a local landowning family. The senior Gramsci's financial difficulties and troubles with the police forced the family to move about through several villages in Sardinia until they finally settled in Ghilarza.<sup>[2]</sup>

In 1898 Francesco was convicted of embezzlement and imprisoned, reducing his family to destitution. The young Antonio had to abandon schooling and work at various casual jobs until his father's release in 1904.<sup>[3]</sup> As a boy, Gramsci suffered from health problems, particularly a malformation of the spine that stunted his growth (his adult height was less than 5 feet)<sup>[4]</sup> and left him seriously hunchbacked. For decades, it was reported that his condition had been due to a childhood accident - specifically, having been dropped by a nanny - but more recently it has been suggested that it was due to Pott's Disease,<sup>[5]</sup> a form of tuberculosis that can cause deformity of the spine. Gramsci was also plagued by various internal disorders throughout his life.

Gramsci completed secondary school in Cagliari, where he lodged with his elder brother Gennaro, a former soldier whose time on the mainland had made him a militant socialist. However, Gramsci's sympathies then did not lie with socialism, but rather with the grievances of impoverished Sardinian peasants and miners.<sup>[6]</sup> They perceived their neglect as a result of privileges enjoyed by the rapidly industrialising North, and they tended to turn to Sardinian nationalism as a response.

## Turin

In 1911, Gramsci won a scholarship to study at the University of Turin, sitting the exam at the same time as future cohort Palmiro Togliatti.<sup>[7]</sup> At Turin, he read literature and took a keen interest in linguistics, which he studied under Matteo Bartoli. Gramsci was in Turin as it was going through industrialization, with the Fiat and Lancia factories' recruiting workers from poorer regions. Trade unions became established, and the first industrial social conflicts started to emerge.<sup>[8]</sup> Gramsci frequented socialist circles as well as associating with Sardinian emigrants. His worldview shaped by both his earlier experiences in Sardinia and his environment on the mainland, Gramsci joined the Italian Socialist Party in late 1913.



University of Turin: the Rectorate

Despite showing talent for his studies, Gramsci had financial problems and poor health. Together with his growing political commitment, these led to his abandoning his education in early 1915. By this time, he had acquired an extensive knowledge of history and philosophy. At university, he had come into contact with the thought of Antonio Labriola, Rodolfo Mondolfo, Giovanni Gentile and, most importantly, Benedetto Croce, possibly the most widely respected Italian intellectual of his day. Such thinkers espoused a brand of Hegelian Marxism to which Labriola had given the name "philosophy of praxis".<sup>[9]</sup> Though Gramsci would later use this phrase to escape the prison censors, his relationship with this current of thought was ambiguous throughout his life.

From 1914 onward, Gramsci's writings for socialist newspapers such as *Il Grido del Popolo* earned him a reputation as a notable journalist. In 1916 he became co-editor of the Piedmont edition of *Avanti!*, the Socialist Party official organ. An articulate and prolific writer of political theory, Gramsci proved a formidable commentator, writing on all aspects of Turin's social and political life.<sup>[10]</sup>

Gramsci was, at this time, also involved in the education and organisation of Turin workers: he spoke in public for the first time in 1916 and gave talks on topics such as Romain Rolland, the French Revolution, the Paris Commune and the emancipation of women. In the wake of the arrest of Socialist Party leaders that followed the revolutionary riots of August 1917, Gramsci became one of Turin's leading socialists when he was both elected to the party's Provisional Committee and made editor of *Il Grido del Popolo*.<sup>[11]</sup>

In April 1919 with Togliatti, Angelo Tasca and Umberto Terracini Gramsci set up the weekly newspaper *L'Ordine Nuovo* (The New Order). In October of the same year, despite being divided into various hostile factions, the Socialist Party moved by a large majority to join the Third International. The *L'Ordine Nuovo* group was seen by Vladimir Lenin as closest in orientation to the Bolsheviks, and it received his backing against the anti-parliamentary programme of the extreme left Amadeo Bordiga.

Amongst the various tactical debates that took place within the party, Gramsci's group was mainly distinguished by its advocacy of workers' councils, which had come into existence in Turin spontaneously during the large strikes of 1919 and 1920. For Gramsci these councils were the proper means of enabling workers to take control of the task of organising production. Although he believed his position at this time to be in keeping with Lenin's policy of "All power to the Soviets", his stance was attacked by Bordiga for betraying a syndicalist tendency influenced by the thought of Georges Sorel and Daniel DeLeon. By the time of the defeat of the Turin workers in spring 1920, Gramsci was almost alone in his defence of the councils.

### In the Communist Party of Italy

The failure of the workers' councils to develop into a national movement led Gramsci to believe that a Communist Party in the Leninist sense was needed. The group around *L'Ordine Nuovo* declaimed incessantly against the Italian Socialist Party's centrist leadership and ultimately allied with Bordiga's far larger "abstentionist" faction. On 21 January 1921, in the town of Livorno (Leghorn), the Communist Party of Italy (*Partito Comunista d'Italia – PCI*) was founded. Gramsci supported against Bordiga the *Arditi del Popolo*, a militant anti-fascist group which struggled against the Blackshirts.

Gramsci would be a leader of the party from its inception but was subordinate to Bordiga, whose emphasis on discipline, centralism and purity of principles dominated the party's programme until the latter lost the leadership in 1924.

In 1922 Gramsci travelled to Russia as a representative of the new party. Here, he met Julia Schucht, a young violinist whom Gramsci married in 1923 and by whom he had two sons, Delio (born 1924) and Giuliano (born 1926).<sup>[12]</sup> Gramsci never saw his second son.<sup>[13]</sup>

The Russian mission coincided with the advent of Fascism in Italy, and Gramsci returned with instructions to foster, against the wishes of the PCI leadership, a united front of leftist parties against fascism. Such a front would ideally have had the PCI at its centre, through which Moscow would have controlled all the leftist forces, but others disputed this potential supremacy: socialists did have a certain tradition in Italy too, while the communist party seemed relatively young and too radical. Many believed that an eventual coalition led by communists would have functioned too remotely from political debate, and thus would have run the risk of isolation.

In late 1922 and early 1923, Benito Mussolini's government embarked on a campaign of repression against the opposition parties, arresting most of the PCI leadership, including Bordiga. At the end of 1923, Gramsci travelled from Moscow to Vienna, where he tried to revive a party torn by factional strife.



Antonio Gramsci commemorative plaque, Mokhovaya Street 16, Moscow. The inscription reads "In this building in 1922–1923 worked the eminent figure of international communism and the labor movement and founder of the Italian Communist Party ANTONIO GRAMSCI."

In 1924 Gramsci, now recognised as head of the PCI, gained election as a deputy for the Veneto. He started organizing the launch of the official newspaper of the party, called *L'Unità* (Unity), living in Rome while his family stayed in Moscow. At its Lyons Congress in January 1926, Gramsci's theses calling for a united front to restore democracy to Italy were adopted by the party.

In 1926 Joseph Stalin's manoeuvres inside the Bolshevik party moved Gramsci to write a letter to the Comintern, in which he deplored the opposition led by Leon Trotsky, but also underlined some presumed faults of the leader. Togliatti, in Moscow as a representative of the party, received the letter, opened it, read it, and decided not to deliver it. This caused a difficult conflict between Gramsci and Togliatti which they never completely resolved.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

# A PROTEST POEM FOR TRAYVON MARTIN

## Writing Race & Belonging: A Protest Poem for Trayvon Martin

Participating Poets: Please read the writing instructions [here](#).

*George Zimmerman, the neighborhood watch volunteer who fatally shot Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teenager, igniting a national debate on racial profiling and civil rights, was found not guilty late Saturday night of second-degree murder. He was also acquitted of manslaughter, a lesser charge. After three weeks of testimony, the six-woman jury rejected the prosecution's contention that Mr. Zimmerman had deliberately pursued Mr. Martin because he assumed the hoodie-clad teenager was a criminal and instigated the fight that led to his death. ~ The New York Times, July 13, 2013*

*It is painful to say this: Trayvon Martin is not a miscarriage of American justice, but American justice itself. This is not our system malfunctioning. It is our system working as intended. To expect our juries, our schools, our police to single-handedly correct for this, is to look at the final play in the final minute of the final quarter and wonder why we couldn't come back from twenty-four down.  
~ Trayvon Martin and the Irony of American Justice, The Atlantic, July 15, 2013*

*I, too, sing America.*

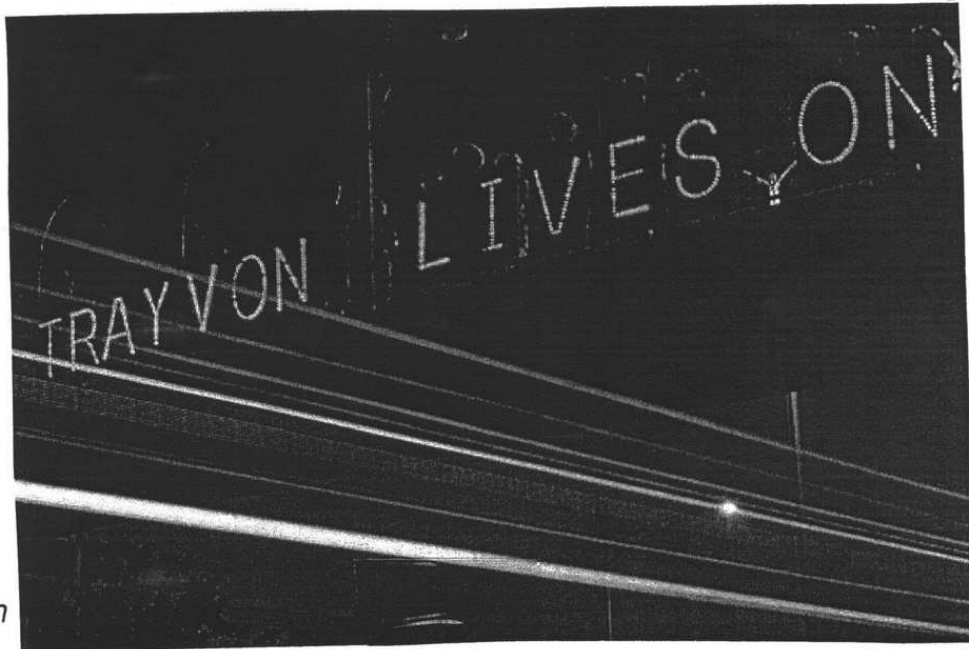
*I am the darker brother.  
They send me to eat in the kitchen  
When company comes,  
But I laugh,  
And eat well,  
And grow strong.*

*Tomorrow,  
I'll be at the table  
When company comes.  
Nobody'll dare  
Say to me,  
"Eat in the kitchen,"  
Then.*

*Besides,  
They'll see how beautiful I am  
And be ashamed—*

*I, too, am America.*

*~ Langston Hughes*



# LETTER TO TRAYVON MARTIN

Dear Trayvon —

Our laws are broken  
and must be fixed.

I'm sorry that you suffered  
the result of these  
broken laws & I hope that  
we can do your memory  
justice by making things  
safer for generations  
to come.

<<GRAMSCI RADIO>>

QUESTION  
OF THE DAY17:

Which of our institutions failed to bring  
justice for the killing of  
Travon Martin?

An innocent young man was killed for no logical reason and no one was held culpable for his death. The killer's act was pardoned and excused by his irrational fear.

What went wrong?  
Who screwed-up?  
What broke-down?

COME TO THE RADIO STATION AND ADD YOUR VOICE TO THE MIX  
GRAMSCI RADIO IS THE SOUND TRACK OF THE <<GRAMSCI MONUMENT>>

## RESIDENT OF THE DAY



MARCELLA PARADISE