

THE GRAMSCI MONUMENT- NEWSPAPER



www.gramsci-monument.com

"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 31st, 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

LATASHA DIGGS



TABLE OF CONTENTS

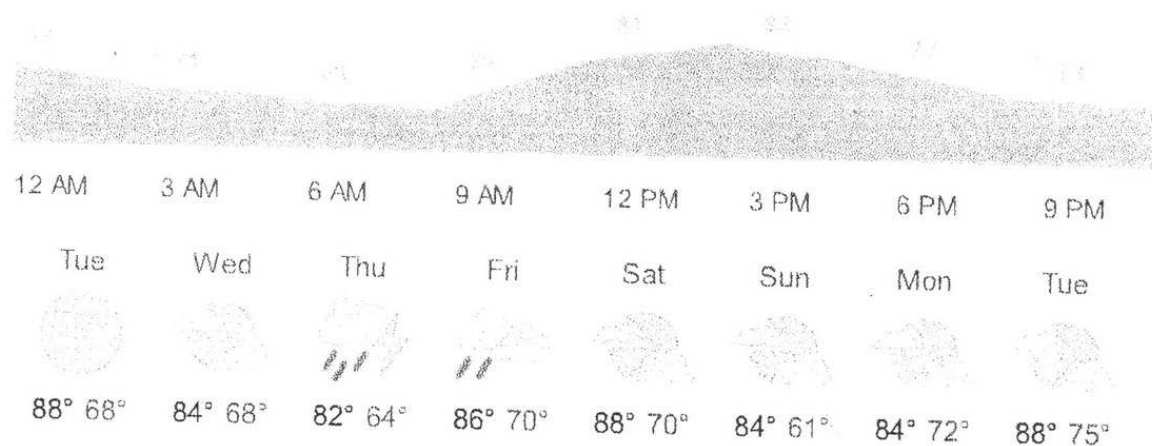
1. Cover Page
2. Table of Contents/Weather.
- 3-8. Latasha Diggs (Bio, Poems)
- 9-11. Did You Know Gramsci?
12. A Daily Lecture By Marcus Steinweg
13. Feed Back
14. Resident of the Day

Bronx, NY 10456
Wednesday
Partly Cloudy

 **84** °F | °C

Precipitation: 10%
Humidity: 54%
Wind: 8 mph

Temperature	Precipitation	Wind
-------------	---------------	------



LaTasha Nevada Diggs is a writer, vocalist, and sound artist. Diggs has published three chapbooks, including *Ichi-Ban* (MOH Press), *Ni-Ban* (MOH Press), and *Manuel is destroying my bathroom* (Belladonna). Her work has been published in journals such as *Rattapallax*, *Black Renaissance Noire*, *Nocturnes*, *Spoken Word Revolution Redux*, *The Black Scholar*, *PMS poemmemorystory*, *jubilat*, *Everything But the Burden*, and *Muck Works*. She has received scholarships, residencies, and fellowships from Cave Canem, Harvestworks Digital Media Arts Center, Naropa Institute, Caldera Arts, New York Foundation for the Arts, the Eben Demarest Trust, Harlem Community Arts Fund, and the Barbara Deming Memorial Grant for Women.

reviewed by Xavier Cavazos

Douglas Kearney's cover design well fits Latasha N. Diggs new book of poems, *TwERK*: just as his design is composed of bright contrasting color, so too are Diggs' poems, with multiple languages and contrasting syntax and line breaks and breath and rhythm.



Diggs is interested in many languages delivered as one universal tongue. She has published three chapbooks and has shared the stage with world heavyweights of song and verse and screen, and is now ready to claim her own title as poetic heavyweight. Diggs mixes Japanese with pop culture; Spanish with “Buffy the Vampire Slayer,” Maori English and Samoan with “Che Fong’s Bungalow;” all with an abstract eye intertwined with a plausible narrative.

Truly an original voice!! And she doesn’t ignore nature and the natural world in favor of urban meditation. In the poem “My first Black Nature Poem,” Diggs celebrates the pain and ecology of the Bronx River:

“the Bronx River is said to be clean:
we care about clean.

a month before, two boys drowned in
the Bronx River.

a week after, a boy jumps into it
unfazed.”

One river. One ocean. One voice.
Unfazed, is what Latasha N Diggs communicates with her poems. Unfazed by the world’s hatred. Unfazed by love, by life, by animals, by relationships, by language,

by fashion, by the world constructed in
TWERK! Don’t be square!!

Diggs you all!

Dig.



From TwERK, Sunspot

flensing the bounce, the clap cheeks make, boys are
adored too easily. or perhaps the treasure trove we

deem invoked by twerk. love offering? booty without
arcane clues? rump could be scrolls the pirates desire
buried in the crease of flesh; or even thoroughbred mouthed
by knees that meet upon instruction and beat. Who

discovers the loot? cheap stilettos draw blood. are
we penors of lace fronts? our muskets black thighs? we

perspire into amphorae enough to erect and reward. in
15 cubits resides our platinum peek-a-boo chests. the
glare: a sunspot adorned just for a night of presence.

Sammy Sosa is Black Again
Godzilla vs. The Smog Monster (1971)
I want to talk about Rachel Jeantel

In the 1971 installment to the Godzilla franchise, *The Smog Monster* (Hedorah Kaiju), is born from environmental pollution and negligence, accidentally engineered by man and could only be destroyed by Godzilla, a reptilian mutation brought about from radioactivity, a monster created by the collective imagination of a people attempting to find a means to deal with the nuclear bomb strikes Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Godzilla, is destroyer and savior by default. The Smog Monster on the other hand, is an amalgamation of shit, dirty diapers, dead fish and toxic waste, an extraterrestrial kaiju that feeds on pollution, emits acidic gases and burns even the scales of Godzilla himself.

Towards the end of the movie, a party is thrown on Mt. Fuji to celebrate one last night of mankind before Hedorah destroys everything. A party since we, after all, has created this cancer and an earth steadily becoming a wasteland of genetically modified corn, cloned Chihuahuas, and mutated Wales Catfish in Chernobyl. The Smog Monster is only affirmation that sometime after mankind is destroyed, we all "return this earth to the bacterium in short order."

Reading the comment thread for the full five-hour testimony of Rachel Jeantel during the Zimmerman trial, I come across one that reads:

"Why do blacks have this desire to mangle our beautiful language?"

My internal response to this question is
Y tienes miedo de mí. And you are afraid of me. Spanish

My tongue began speaking in variables upon the annexation of Hawai'i; with the *Jones-Shafroth Act of 1917* (PR/US citizenship) and *Hernandez v. Texas of 1954*; with the first Bengali/Punjab maritime worker to jump ship in Harlem; the US targeted recruitment of medical specialists from the Philippines and Eastern Europe during the 80s and 90s.

And this beautiful language, this so-called proper English the commentator refers, the English Upper-crust colonial Americans used to referred to lower-class British immigrants to the South as loud-mouthed "crackers" -- was mangled a very long ago. But within this comment, I also wonder if Rachel Jeantel -- clashing against the performance white normativity as performed inside and outside of the courtroom -- is white America's Smog Monster.

To the American ear, Rachel Jenatel is not speaking a proper English. Her cultural ancestry is to blame.

To the American ear, no one has read or will read Baldwin's
If Black English isn't a Language, Then Tell Me, What is?

But that does not even matter; to the African American voices embarrassed by her, Ebonics cannot be applied since she is Haitian. To the American Ear, she cannot perform white despite her very own attempt to interpret what "white" may look like.

Another fractured voice comes out to ask:
Di kon ba ta asina rabja? *Why are you so angry? Papiamentu*

A voice disrupted by igpay atinlay *Pig Latin* and Tsa'lägi *Cherokee* within the same year and continues to be collaged by accents, diphthongs, alphabets, syllabaries, and semanto-phonetic systems that flood online translation engines. A voice that continues to be inspired by posters advertising public health services and job training in multiple voices, including Creole. Nothing about her speech, her muted slang, her short sentences, and more importantly the body language that suggest not only the lost of a friend, but a history of pain and held back emotions I'm not finding hard to translate. And where I cannot understand, I am at least attempting to.

And yet, for the sake of persuasive argument in an American courtroom, one must perform in "proper English" or be forever read as defective.

I wonder if she represents the numbers of first and second-generation children of Haitian ancestry that have long polluted Florida's shores to Southern whites. Florida is Southern. A Haitian in Florida is not white and nowhere close to being a Cubana let alone Peruano. For Zimmerman's family, white normativity is fully understood and in their performance, a translator is not necessary. Spanish is never spoken, as the Zimmermans are hyper-articulate. His brother speaks eloquently.

And here again, my head goes:

Soshite anata wa watashi ni okoteru. *And you are terribly angry with me. Japanese*

and then

Kaore koe e hiahia ana ki te mātau mai ki ahau *You do not want to understand me. Maori*

No one gave Rachel the blue print for being a model citizen, let alone a model minority. No one told her that George Washington with the aid of Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins in the early 1800s began developing programs to "civilize" the South Eastern first peoples of North America. She cannot code-switch nor has been taught how to code-switch. Her inability becomes an abnormality, an extraterrestrial by-product of what's wrong with public education, poverty, immigration; a Smog Monster.

Ano pa ko tapos sa galit mo? *What have I done to anger you? Filipino*

Zimmerman on the other hand is hope in the testimonies of white female neighbors grateful for Zimmerman's protective nature. Zimmerman, for white womanhood, could be a welcomed Godzilla.

Whiteness, not as a race or ethnic group, but as an identity is to be performed and obsessed upon not only by those native (not indigenous) to this country but by those who have immigrated here both willingly or coercively. It is the American Dream and the only American way. Rachel is nowhere close.

To the ears of the jury, inarticulate is not "white." Thuggish is not "white". Hostile is not "white". Haitian is not African American and most certainly not "white". She is a monstrosity, like all black women, polluting the networks, social media, bastardizing the English language with her black bodies, black cadence, damaged history. In sharing a smidgen of her narrative invades all hope. She invades all hope. There could be no symbiosis with someone who looks like her or talks like she

nande sonna ni kowai no? *Why are you so afraid? Japanese*

Rachel Jeantel, for the jury, for the defense team, for social media, was The Smog Monster when it is the tiresome black/white binary of American culture, how white normativity is relative to the ideal/typical standard or model should-have-been. The act of white normativity affects our willingness to engage in brownness, in blackness. That this act, recently played out during the Zimmerman trial, was a collaboration of sorts, a performance of whiteness. Its generative power is closer to the genetic make up of The Smog Monster, festering and poisoning; that humanity is not safe when we constantly blind ourselves to what we, by nature are capable of destroying, interfering with, running away from.

Readings:

ALVARADO, LETICIA; *Zimmerman, Whiteness and Latinos*
http://abcnews.go.com/ABC_Univision/News/zimmerman-trial-latinos-overvaluation-whiteness/story?id=19701774

McWhorter, John; *Rachel Jeantel Explained, Linguistically*
<http://ideas.time.com/2013/06/28/rachel-jeantel-explained-linguistically/>

Llenas, Bryan; *George Zimmerman's Family Deliberately Downplayed His Latino Roots*
<http://latino.foxnews.com/latino/news/2013/07/12/george-zimmerman-family-deliberately-downplayed-his-latino-roots/>

Rankin, Lauren, *What Juror B37's Comments Reveal About White Womanhood*
<http://www.policymic.com/articles/55035/what-juror-b37-s-comments-reveal-about-white-womanhood>

Writer, vocalist, and sound artist LaTasha N. Nevada Diggs is the author of *TwERK* (Belladonna 2013); three chapbooks, which include *Ichi-Ban* and *Ni-Ban, Manuel is destroying my bathroom*; and the album *Televisión*. Her work has been published in *Rattapallax*, *Palabra*, *Black Renaissance Noir*, *Nocturnes*, *FENCE*, *Mandorla: New Writings from the Americas*, *Ploughshares*, *The Black Scholar*, *P.M.S*, *LA Review*, *jubilat*, *Everything But the Burden*, and *Muck Works* among others. Her interdisciplinary work has been featured at The Kitchen, Exit Art, MoMA, Recess Activities Inc, Brooklyn Museum, MoMA PS1, and The Whitney. As a vocalist, she has worked with the likes of Vernon Reid, Akilah Oliver, Mike Ladd, Butch Morris, Gabri Christa, Shelley Hirsch, Jason and Alicia Moran, Burnt Sugar, Edwin Torres, Elliot Sharp, Mendi + Keith Obadike, Bernard Lang, DJ Logic, Vijay Iyer, Ryuichi Sakamoto, Marc Cary, Towa Tei, and Guillermo E. Brown. She has received several scholarships, residencies, and fellowships; among them include Cave Canem, Harvestworks Digital Media Arts Center, New York Foundation for the Arts, the Eben Demarest Trust, Harlem Community Arts Fund, Lower Manhattan Cultural Council, The Laundromat Project, Virginia Center for the Creative Arts, Barbara Deming Memorial Grant for Women, Jerome Foundation Travel and Study Grant, and Millay Colony. As an independent curator and artistic director, LaTasha has presented and directed literary/musical/theatrical events at Symphony Space, Lincoln Center Out of Doors, WBAI, The Schomburg Research Center for Black Culture, BAM Café, Dixon Place, and El Museo del Barrio. A native of Harlem, LaTasha and writer Greg Tate are the founders and editors of *yoYO/SO4 Magazine*.

- ⇒ pick up bottle
- ⇒ think of a baptismal
- ⇒ think of the dust of tadpoles
- ⇒ think of a flash fire
- ⇒ take a sip of water
- ⇒ think of radiation

- ⇒ continue to sip the water until the bottle is empty

Water Score

#1

www.latashadiggs.com

MOH Press 2011

50¢

LaTasha N. Nevada Diggs

let me feed the shrimp with my woes

*find me again at the base of rivers
leave me to be a stowaway in clouds*

find me again as mist in swamps. let me evaporate to become frost again

*make me sudsy
blow me up then pop.*

Items required for score:

16 ounce bottle of water

Instructions:

- ⇒ pick up bottle of water
- ⇒ place on floor
- ⇒ think of raindrops
- ⇒ pick up bottle
- ⇒ take a sip of water
- ⇒ place bottle on floor
- ⇒ think of melting glaciers
- ⇒ pick up bottle
- ⇒ drink two sips of water

- ⇒ place bottle on floor
- ⇒ think of a newborn desert
- ⇒ pick up bottle
- ⇒ take three sips of water
- ⇒ think of washing a baby
- ⇒ take four sips of water
- ⇒ place bottle on floor
- ⇒ thinking of shrinking wetlands

- ⇒ Open your eyes
- ⇒ Close your eyes
- ⇒ Imagine glitter as mercury
- ⇒ Open your eyes
- ⇒ Close your eyes
- ⇒ Imagine oil in the lungs of newborn dolphins
- ⇒ Imagine juice as piss
- ⇒ Open your eyes

- ⇒ Close your eyes
- ⇒ Imagine a lake and a river
- ⇒ Imagine a damn and a bottle
- ⇒ Open your eyes
- ⇒ Place both hands on fish bowl
- ⇒ Lift bowl to mouth



www.latashadiggs.com

MOH Press 2011

50¢

Water Score

#2

LaTasha N. Nevada Diggs

*when the sun came back
when the first quail calls,
foller de drinkin' gou'd*

*for the ole man waitin'
then the time has come
foller de drinkin' gou'd*

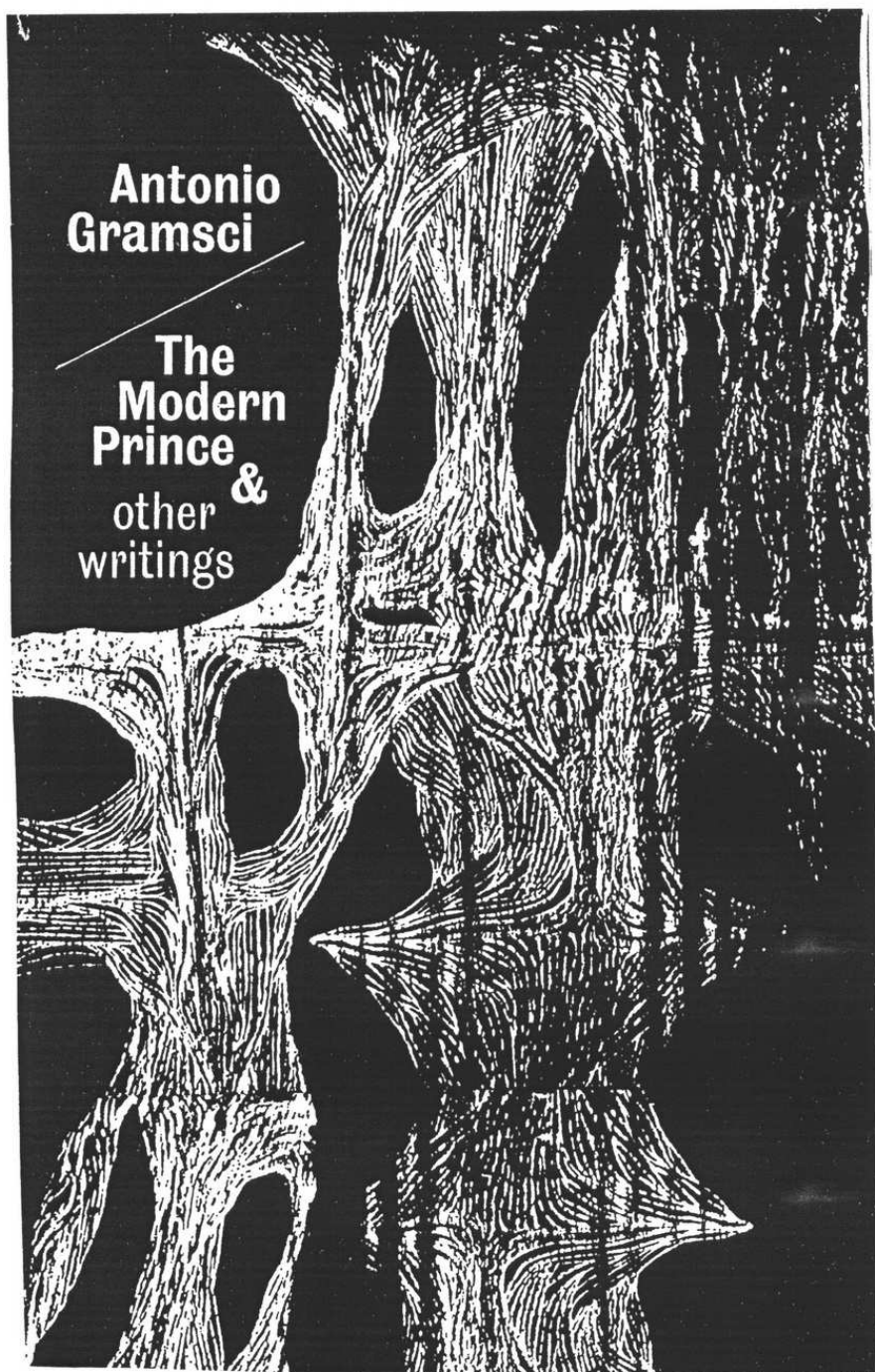
Items required for score:

1. Tropical Island Cool Aid
2. Alka Seltzer
3. a siNgle serving size cup of Hagen Daez chocolate ice cream
4. packet of silver Glitter
5. apple Juice
6. Small fish bowl $\frac{3}{4}$ filled with water
7. Olive oil

Instructions:

- ⇒ Pour cool aid into bowl of water
- ⇒ Place hand on table
- ⇒ Pour apple juice into bowl
- ⇒ Place hand on table
- ⇒ Scoop two spoonfuls of ice cream and place in water
- ⇒ Place hand on Table

- ⇒ Sprinkle glITter on water
- ⇒ Place hand on Table
- ⇒ Pour Olive oil In bowl
- ⇒ PlaCe hand on table
- ⇒ Plop one alKA seltzer in bowl
- ⇒ PlaCe both hands on table
- ⇒ Close your eyes
- ⇒ Imagine chocolAte as shit



Antonio Gramsci

The Modern Prince & other writings

DID YOU KNOW GRAMSCI???

THE FORMATION OF INTELLECTUALS

ARE intellectuals an autonomous and independent social class or does every social class have its own specialised category of intellectuals? The problem is complex because of the various forms taken by the real historical process of the formation of different categories of intellectuals.

The most important of these forms are two-fold:

(1) Every social class, coming into existence on the original basis of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates with itself, organically, one or more groups of intellectuals who give it homogeneity and consciousness of its function not only in the economic field but in the social and political field as well: the capitalist *entrepreneur* creates with himself the industrial technician, the political economist, the organiser of a new culture, of a new law, etc. It should be noted that the capitalist represents a higher elaboration of society, already characterised by a certain leading and technical (i.e. intellectual) capacity: in addition to having a certain technical capacity in the sphere circumscribed by his activity and initiative he must also have it in other spheres, at least in those nearest to economic production (he must be an organiser of masses of men; he must be an organiser of the "confidence" of the investors in his business, of the purchasers of his goods, etc.).

If not all capitalists, at least an *élite* of them must have the capacity for organising society in general, in all its complex organism of duties up to the State organism, because of the need to create the most favourable conditions for the expansion of their own class—or they must at least have the capacity to choose "officers" (specialised employees) to entrust with this activity of organising the general relations outside their enterprises.

It can be seen that the "organic" intellectuals which each new class creates with itself and elaborates in its own progressive development are for the most part "specialisations" of partial aspects of the primitive activity of the new social type which the new class has brought to

THE FORMATION OF INTELLECTUALS 119

Feudal lords as well possessed a particular technical ability: military ability; and it is precisely from the moment when the aristocracy loses its monopoly of technical-military ability that the crisis of feudalism begins. But the formation of intellectuals in the feudal world and in the earlier classical world is a question to be examined apart: these formations and elaborations follow paths and methods which need to be studied concretely. Thus it is to be noted that the mass of the peasants, although they carry out an essential function in the world of production, do not elaborate their own "organic" intellectuals, and do not "assimilate" any class of traditional intellectuals, although other social groups take many of their intellectuals from the peasant masses, and a great many of the traditional intellectuals are of peasant origin.

(2) But every "essential" social class emerging into history from the preceding economic structure, and as an expression of one of the developments of this structure, has found, at least in all history up till now, intellectual categories which were pre-existing and which, moreover, appeared as representatives of an historical continuity uninterrupted even by the most complicated and radical changes in social and political forms.

The most typical of these intellectual categories is that of the ecclesiastics, monopolisers for a long time (for a complete historical phase which is partly characterised by this monopoly) of certain important services: namely, the religious ideology, the philosophy, and the science of the era, together with the school, education, morality, justice, charity, assistance, etc. The category of the ecclesiastics can be considered as the intellectual category organically tied to the landed aristocracy: legally it was on a level with the aristocracy, with whom it shared the exercise of feudal landownership and the enjoyment of the State privileges bound up with property.¹ But the monopoly

¹ For one category of these intellectuals, perhaps the most important after the "ecclesiastical"—for the prestige and the social function exercised in primitive societies—the category of *doctors* in a broad sense, that is, if all those who "battle" or appear to battle against death and sickness—it will be necessary to compare Arturo Castiglioni's *History of Medicine*. Remember that there has been and in certain areas continues to be a connection between religion and medicine: hospitals in the hands of monks for certain organisational functions, in addition to the fact that when the doctor appears the priest appears (exorcisms, various forms of attendance, etc.).—Many great religious figures were also or were conceived of as great "healers"; the idea of the miracle up to the resurrection of the dead. For long after the belief faded for a long time that they would be resurrected.

of the superstructure on the part of the ecclesiastics¹ was not exercised without struggles and limitations, and so we see the birth, in various forms (to be studied and researched into concretely) of other categories favoured and enlarged by the strengthening of the centralised power of the monarchy to the point of absolutism. Thus the aristocracy of the robe came to be formed, with its own privileges, a class of administrators, etc.; scientists, theoreticians, non-ecclesiastical philosophers, etc.

Just as these various categories of traditional intellectuals have a sense of their own uninterrupted historical continuity, of their "qualifications" and of *esprit de corps*, so they see themselves as autonomous and independent of the ruling social group. This view of themselves is not without consequences in the ideological and political field, consequences of vast importance: the whole of idealist philosophy can easily be connected with this assumed position of the social complex of intellectuals, and may be defined as the expression of this social utopia through which intellectuals believe themselves to be "independent", autonomous, clothed in their own characters, etc.

But if the Pope and the upper hierarchy of the Church believe that they are more tied to Christ and the Apostles than they are to Senators Agnelli and Benni, the same is not true of Gentile and Croce, for example; Croce especially feels himself strongly tied to Aristotle and Plato, but he does not conceal that he is tied to Senators Agnelli and Benni, and it is precisely in this fact that the most significant characteristic of Croce's philosophy is to be sought.

What are the "maximum" limits for the connotation of the word "intellectual"? Can a unitary criterion be found for characterising equally all the many varied intellectual activities and for distinguishing these at the same time and in an essential way from the activities of other social groupings? The most widespread methodological error seems to be that of looking for this distinguishing criterion within the sphere of intellectual activities, rather than examining the whole general complex of social relations within which these activities (and hence the groups which personify them) are to be found. Indeed, the worker or

¹ From this arises the general use of "intellectual" or "specialist", of the word "clerk" in many languages of neo-Latin origin or which were influenced strongly, through the Church, by neo-Latin languages, with its correlative of "lay" in the sense of profane, non-specialist.

world. The popularised traditional type of intellectual is represented by the literary man, the philosopher, the artist. Because of this, journalists, who regard themselves as literary men, philosophers and artists, regard themselves also as the "true" intellectuals. In the modern world technical education, strictly tied to even the most primitive and unqualified industrial work, must form the basis for the new type of intellectual.

It is on this basis that *Ordine Nuovo* worked, week by week, to develop certain forms of new intellectualism and to determine its new concepts, and this was not a minor reason for its success, because such a presentation corresponded to latent aspirations and conformed to actual forms of life. The mode of existence of the new intellectual can no longer consist of eloquence, the external and momentary arousing of sentiments and passions, but must consist of being actively involved in practical life, as a builder, an organiser, "permanently persuasive" because he is not purely an orator—and nevertheless superior to the abstract mathematical spirit; from technique-labour he reaches technique-science and the humanist historical conception, without which he remains a "specialist" and does not become a "leader" (specialist plus politician).

Historically specialised categories are formed in this way for carrying out the intellectual function; they are formed in connection with all social classes but especially in connection with the most important social groups, and undergo more extensive and complex elaborations in connection with the ruling social class. One of the most important characteristics of every class which develops towards power is its struggle to assimilate and conquer "ideologically" the traditional intellectuals. Assimilations and conquests are the more rapid and effective the more the given social class puts forward simultaneously its own organic intellectuals.

The enormous development in scholastic activity and organisation (in the broad sense) in the societies which arose out of the mediæval world indicate what importance intellectual categories and functions assume in the modern world: how the effort has been made to deepen and widen the "intellectuality" of every individual, as well as to increase and refine specialisation. This results from the work of scholastic institutions of various levels right up to the organisations to

the proletariat, for example, are not specifically characterised by their manual or skilled work, but by this work performed in certain conditions and in certain social relations. And it has already been observed that the capitalist, through his very function, must to a certain extent possess a certain number of qualifications of an intellectual kind, although his social position is not determined by these but precisely by those general relations which determine the position of the capitalist in industry.

All men are intellectuals, one could therefore say; but all men do not have the function of intellectuals in society.¹

When we distinguish intellectuals and non-intellectuals we are in fact referring only to the immediate social function of the category of professional intellectuals, that is to say, we are taking account of the direction in which the greater part of the specific professional activity, whether in intellectual elaboration or in muscular-nervous effort, throws its weight. This means that, if we can speak of intellectuals, we cannot speak of non-intellectuals, because non-intellectuals do not exist. But the relationship itself between an effort of intellectual-cerebral elaboration and muscular-nervous effort is not always the same; therefore we have different levels of specific intellectual activity. There is no human activity from which all intellectual intervention can be excluded—*homo faber* cannot be separated from *homo sapiens*. Finally, every man, outside his own job, develops some intellectual activity; he is, in other words, a "philosopher", an artist, a man of taste, he shares a conception of the world, he has a conscious line of moral conduct, and so contributes towards maintaining or changing a conception of the world, that is, towards encouraging new modes of thought.

The problem of creating a new class of intellectuals consists, therefore, in the critical elaboration of the intellectual activity which exists at a certain stage of development in everyone, changing its relation with the muscular-nervous effort towards a new equilibrium and assuring that the muscular-nervous effort itself, in so far as it is a general practical activity which is perpetually changing the physical and social world, shall become the foundation of a new and integral conception of the

¹ Thus, since anyone at any time can fry a couple of eggs or mend a hole in a jacket, we do not say that everyone is a cook or a tailor.

promote so-called "high culture", in every sphere of learning and technique.

The schools are the instrument for producing intellectuals at various levels. The complexity of the intellectual function in different States can be measured by the number of specialised schools and their degree of division into hierarchies: the more extensive is the scholastic "area" and the more numerous the "vertical levels" of the schools, the more complex will be the cultural world, the civilisation of any State. We can find a simile in the sphere of industrial technique: the industrialisation of a country is measured by its equipment for constructing machines and the manufacture of ever more accurate instruments to construct machines and tools for constructing machines, etc. The country which is best equipped for making instruments for experimental laboratories and for making instruments to test those instruments, can be called the most advanced in the technico-industrial field, the most civilised, etc. It is the same in the training of intellectuals and in the schools devoted to this; schools and institutions of high culture are alike in this. Even in this field, quantity cannot be divorced from quality. The most refined technico-cultural specialisation requires the greatest possible extension of primary education and the greatest care to encourage secondary education for the largest number. Naturally, this need for creating the broadest possible basis for the selection and training of people with the highest technical qualifications—of giving, that is, a democratic structure to high culture and advanced technique—has its inconveniences: the possibility is created of large unemployment crises among the middle intellectual strata, as in fact happens in all modern societies.

It should be noted that in reality the elaboration of intellectual groups does not take place on an abstract democratic basis, but according to very concrete traditional historical processes. Classes have been formed which traditionally "produce" intellectuals, and these are the same as those who are commonly noted for "thrift", i.e. the rural petty and middle bourgeoisie, and the same strata of the petty and middle bourgeoisie in the cities. The different distribution of different types of school (classical and professional) in the "economic" field and the different aspirations of the various categories of these classes determine or give shape to the production of different branches of

intellectual specialisation. Thus in Italy the rural bourgeoisie produces especially state officials and free professionals, whereas the city bourgeoisie produces technicians for industry; and therefore Northern Italy produces especially technicians and Southern Italy especially officials and professional people.

The relationship between intellectuals and the world of production is not immediate, as is the case for fundamental social groups; it is "mediated", in different levels, by the whole social fabric, and by the complex of the superstructure of which the intellectuals are in fact the "officials". One could measure the "organic position" of the different intellectual strata, their more or less close connection with a fundamental social class, fixing a gradation of functions and of the superstructure from bottom to top (from the structural base upwards). For the moment we can fix two great "floors" of the superstructure: that which can be called "civil society", i.e. all the organisations which are commonly called "private", and that of "political society or the State", which corresponds to the function of "hegemony" which the ruling class exercises over the whole of society and to that of "direct rule" or of command which is expressed in the State and in "juridical" government. Intellectuals are the "officers" of the ruling class for the exercise of the subordinate functions of social hegemony and political government, i.e. (1) of the "spontaneous" consent given by the great masses of the population to the direction imprinted on social life by the fundamental ruling class, a consent which comes into existence "historically" from the "prestige" (and hence from the trust) accruing to the ruling class from its position and its function in the world of production; (2) of the apparatus of State coercion, which "legally" ensures the discipline of those groups which do not "consent" either actively or passively, but is constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis in command and direction when spontaneous consent diminishes.

This statement of the problem has the effect of greatly broadening the concept of intellectual, but only in this way is it possible to reach a concrete approximation to reality. This way of presenting the question strikes a blow against preconceptions of caste: it is true that the very function of organising social hegemony and State rule gives rise to a certain division of labour and so to a certain gradation of qualifications,

in some of which no leading or organising attribute any longer appears: in the apparatus of social and State leadership there exists a whole series of jobs of a manual and instrumental character (of rule and not of concept, of agent and not of official or functionary, etc.); but evidently this distinction needs to be made, as it will also be necessary to make others. In fact intellectual activity must be divided into levels from an intrinsic point of view as well, levels which in moments of extreme opposition offer a true qualitative difference: in the highest grade will have to be placed the creators of the various sciences, of philosophy, art, etc.; in the lowest, the most humble "administrators" and propagators of already existing traditional and accumulated intellectual riches.¹

In the modern world the category of the intellectuals, understood in this way, has been inordinately enlarged. They have been produced in imposing numbers by the democratic-bureaucratic social system, beyond what is justified by the social needs of production, even if justified by the political needs of the fundamental ruling class. Hence Loria's conception of the unproductive "worker" (but unproductive with reference to whom and to what mode of production?), which may be partly justified if one takes account of the fact that these masses exploit their position to assign themselves huge cuts out of the national income. The mass formation has standardised individuals in terms of both individual and psychological peculiarities, resulting in the same phenomena which exists in all other standardised masses: competition, which provides the need for professional defensive organisations, unemployment, scholastic overproduction, emigration, etc.

¹ Military organisation, in this case also, provides a model for these complex gradations: subordinate officers, superior officers, General Staff; and there is no need to forget the N.C.O.'s whose real importance is greater than is usually thought. It is interesting to note that all these parts feel solidarity together, and moreover that the lower strata show a more apparent *esprit de corps* and derive from it an "arrogance" which provides the subject of many jokes.

A DAILY LECTURE BY

MARCUS STEINWEG

31st Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC: 31st JULY 2013

WHAT DOES IT MEAN NOT TO PAY?

Marcus Steinweg

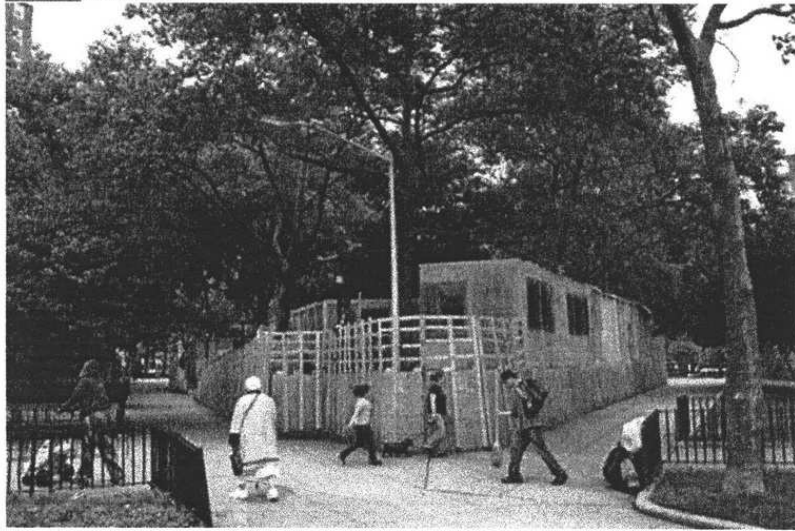
1. NOT TO PAY MEANS ONLY TO PAY WHAT YOU HAVE TO PAY.
2. BUT YOU DO NOT PAY IF YOU ONLY PAY WHAT YOU HAVE TO PAY.
3. IF YOU ONLY PAY WHAT YOU HAVE TO PAY YOU PAY IN FACT NOTHING.
4. TO PAY MEANS – PER DEFINITION – TO PAY MORE.
5. TO PAY MORE MEANS BOTH: TO PAY MORE THEN IN FACT I HAVE TO PAY AND TO PAY MORE THEN I AM ABLE TO PAY.
6. TO PAY MORE MEANS TO STEP OUT OF THE SYSTEM AUF EQUIVALENCE AND THE SYSTEM OF FACTUAL POSSIBILITIES.
7. IT MEANS TO DISTABILIZE YOURSELF.
8. TO DISTABILIZE YOURSELF MEANS TO BREAK WITH ESTABLISHED REALITY.
9. IT IMLPIES AN ACT OF VIOLENCE.
10. SELF-DISTABILIZATION IS THE TRANSCENDENTAL CONDITION OF PHILOSOPHY & ART.
11. BY PAYING MORE THEN I HAVE AND THEN I AM ABLE TO PAY I AM READY FOR THE IMPOSSIBLE.
12. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE IMPOSSIBLE IS THE EXPERIENCE OF THE NEW.
13. IT IMPLIES THE AFFIRMATION OF A NAMELESS FUTURE.
14. IT INTEGRATES CONTINGENCY IN ITS ACCOUNT.
15. THE INTEGRATION OF CONTINGENCY IS THE INTEGRATION OF THE INCOMMENSURABLE REAL INTO REALITY.
16. IT DEMANDS COURAGE TO PAY BECAUSE THE AFFIRMATION OF CONTINGENCY IS THE AFFIRMATION OF INCOMMENSURABILITY.
17. NOT TO PAY SIMPLY INDICATES THE LACK OF THIS SPECIFIC COURAGE.
18. NOT TO PAY IS THE REACTIONARY OR NARCISSISTIC GESTURE PAR EXCELLENCE.
19. NOT TO PAY MEANS TO EXCLUDE FUTURE FROM YOUR LIFE.
20. NOT TO PAY IS THE STANDART-GESTURE OF A SUBJECT DENYING ITS SUBJECT-STATUS BY REDUCING ITSELF TO THE DOMAIN OF CONSTITUTED FACTS.

FEED BACK

WHAT'S GOING ON?

Bringing Art and Change to Bronx June 30 2013

The New York Times recently published a piece on the artist Thomas Hirschhorn's current project at Forest Houses in The Bronx: "The Gramsci Monument", dedicated to the influential Italian political philosopher, Antonio Gramsci. Hirschhorn's stubborn convictions to remain autonomous and political as an artist, and his rejection of the consumerism and elitism that has sullied so much of contemporary art, are features of critical design at its best. His attempts to transcend boundaries—between philosophy, public art, and inhabitable space, in this case—while challenging conventional determinants for where cultural projects are located, are all commendable. Just something else to check out if you happen to be in New York this summer. Here's the [project website](#) with lots more information and links.



contemporaryart.com

Thomas Hirschhorn: "Gramsci Monument"

From 01-July-2013 to 15-September-2013



Thomas Hirschhorn, Preparatory drawings, Gramsci Monument 2013 © Thomas Hirschhorn

"Gramsci Monument" is the fourth and final work in Thomas Hirschhorn's series of "monuments" dedicated to major writers and thinkers of the twentieth century, which initiated in 1999 with Spinoza Monument (Amsterdam, The Netherlands) and was followed by Deleuze Monument (Avignon, France) in 2000 and Bataille Monument (Kassel, Germany) in 2002. Gramsci Monument will be located on the grounds of a housing development and take the form of a temporary pavilion with a theater stage, a library of Antonio Gramsci's books, a public lounge, an internet corner, a workshop area with carpentry tools, and a food kiosk.

Daily and weekly programs will include: lectures by scholars on Antonio Gramsci, poetry readings and workshops, open microphone event, art workshops led by Thomas Hirschhorn, field trips organized by the ambassador, and a play, titled Gramsci Body.

Gramsci Monument will be open daily from 9 am to 6 pm.

For more information visit, the Gramsci Monument website in Spring 2013.

See more at: <http://www.contemporaryart.com/dia-bronx/thomas-hirschhorn>

RESIDENT OF THE DAY



THE BEAUTIFUL MS. SITA \$\$\$\$\$\$