

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)



www.gramsci-monument.com

August 25th, 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

NOAH RICHARD



A LONGISLAND SHORT STORY TELLER/WRITER
HERE TODAY AT THE OPEN MIC. BE SURE TO
STOP BY A HEAR A FABLE TOLD BY NOAH!!!
SUNDAY, AUGUST 25TH 2013

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Bronx, NY 10456

Sunday
Clear



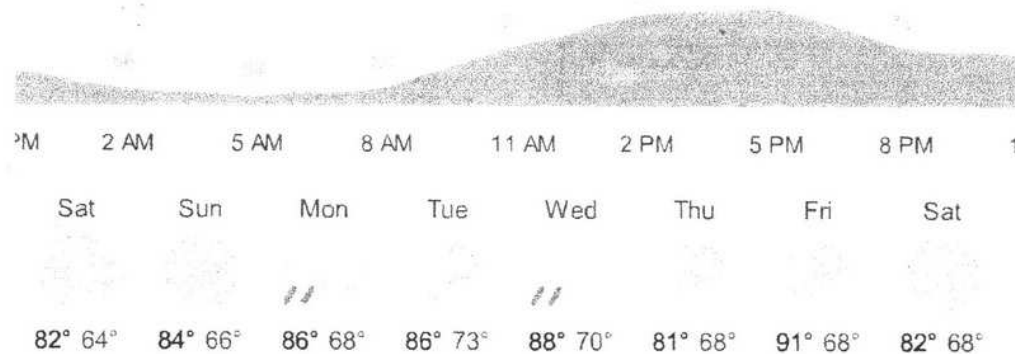
84 °F | °C

Precipitation: 10%

Humidity: 43%

Wind: 6 mph

Temperature Precipitation Wind



Noah Richard born July 6th, 1995 is a young writer from Long Island who has just recently been accepted to Eastern Connecticut State College after certain obstacles he had to overcome. Noah has a great sense of humor and loves to laugh, read, write, and watch T.V. Currently he is working on a book of lyrics about lifelong debt.

How liberal is liberal arts?

This first part of my application to your institution of higher learning will take the form of a primer on my day to day routine.

When I get home from school at 3:00 the first thing I think to myself is: 'I should probably get started on my homework'-NOT. hahaha as if H.W weren't just a placeholder for the type of soulless grunt work which modern capitalism relies on. In reality after school I try to read three hours of fiction and three hours of nonfiction and when I find that instead of doing that I've just slept for 6 hours I don't sweat it because I know that nocturnally I've just posed the question 'what makes hard work so inherently great?'. When I arrive at school the next day without having studied or done any H.W-well, let's take yesterday as an example shall we.

1st period math: when it comes time for H.W collection I just shake my head nope, and with that head shake I crystalize, explode, recrystallize, fondue, head shake Mrs. Dawson's notion of what a principled student is.

2nd period English: my usual daydream of ethical reasons I would never accept a noble prize is cut short by my teacher handing me back a test on which I've earned a "get it together". I can't help but laugh. Could I be the only one that realized that for students to automatically peg grades to their self-worth was the ultimate commodification and also that the kid who sat in front of me's butt crack was showing? Besides the only thing that reminds me of free market nihilism more than the high school grading system is the plight of the semicolon; in American literature.

3rd period gym: my least favorite subject. To get out of it I claim lady troubles, when my gym teacher points out that I am a male I begin to explain how gender identity isn't actually a binary and am summarily dismissed. I use the time on the sidelines to observe and formulate ideas for essays like: the master slave dialectics of kickball and the death of Ivan quidditch? an insight into novelty sports and mortality. When all the fun is over and I have worked up a mighty sweat from concentrating for so long on one non-sleep thing I go to the locker room to change with all the post-athletics guys.

4th period lunch: spent in the library refusing to compete on the cafeteria personality market.

5th and 6th period free: spent in the library getting a head start on afternoon sleep

7th period social studies: my favorite subject! after all it is only from the mistakes of the past that we may learn to make wise choices improve our future. For example under lenin any idle able bodied person was either put to work or to death; I believe this is why communism failed: not enough naps.

Rehabiltionsberg!

Part 1

"Feeling aloof? Disinterested? or above it all? Even when not in contact with a presidential seal? If you answered yes to these questions then you might be on strike against the world and not even know it. striking against the world is serious stuff, it entails not wanting to participate in the "rat race", and looking at the world from an outsiders perspective. obviously this behavior can be extremely detrimental to a person's sense of self-worth, self-esteem and dental insurance but besides that ask yourself, if a person can live in the greatest country in the world and not even try to be happy then isn't that person just a blemish?"

Think you might be striking against the world? We at the nondescript group for social-*redacted*-are here to help, presenting: rehabiltionsburg, Pennsylvania!"

I found that ad a couple of months ago and decided to give rehabiltionsburg a chance. Ever since I admitted to myself two grades ago that I was gay I haven't been "playing the game" so to speak. Instead of telling my friends I stoped talking to them. Instead of doing my homework I read marx. Instead of showing school spirit I showed " a remarkable propensity for sadness despite not having to deal with spinsterhood or suffocating student loans oh god I'm a mess" in the words of my school psychologist. Everyone knew me as that kid who looked sad and angry all the time only I didn't know if being so sad and angry was even noble. so I signed up for the rehabiltionsburg as a default at the end of senior year. all and all I've been pleased with the results.

Rehabiltionsburg is built on a long forgotten about indian reservation, exempt from the genva rules because of its proximity to a lake that counts as an international water,(because Gerard Depardu once peed in it). Sort of a school and a town combined it consists of a schoolhouse a water tower and residential quarters. 100 life striking studets are enrolled at a time.

Every morning we wake up and are forced to have a conversation about world economics over breakfast. If we fail to show enthusiasam for high closing numbers or evidence of a chinese housing bubble a licensed instructor gently tases us to notify us of our error. Investednesss in financial affairs is

Next we go to a having fun at parties class. we practice: witty small talk, arranging ourselves into circles and feeling like going to a party is a treat. Our life of the party instructor is an effervescent gay man named Ramone. He has the dancing chops of the finesest of juliard grads and the bitchy comment making skills of the oldest of aunts. Ramone teaches me there are modes of gaynes not entirely based on making people dislike you for lack of having a unique foot to put forward. we learn that being able to enjoy the company of others is essential to being a real participat in this thing we call life.

And then theres the issue of work ethc. The feeling of rehabilitionsburg is you can't be a contributing member of society unless you have a job. "Hard work: work hard" say our instructors (that's their motto). When i first got here and i and was at the pit of my directionlessnes i said something really

cheeky to them, i said" what' so great about hard work?" The pair i must've had on me...

Anyway there are two classes that have to do with work ethic. One class focuses on the short term It takes the form of a job and that job takes the form of working in a coal mine using only one arm. The secod focusees on the long term. since i want to be a writer i focus on being my own boss, i know I'm there when one part of me doesn't get what the artsy fartsy part of me is doing. ("look kid i don't know how, but your gunna generate some content today!")

All these classes are nice but their not nearly the best part of rehabilitionsburg; that's the trips. Every so often rehabiltionee's get to take a field trip out to new York "the city that never stops" as our t shirts must say for coyright reasons. We mostly hang out in midtown. The point is that after a day of being like 'really? Four weddings on one block!?!?' and 'why don't the venture capitalist's in front of me just fire the person they're talking about?' you can't help but feel like a part of the world of worlds that is new York, no matter how disaffected you were when you started. You can't help but want to be productive enough which is nesararily to say healthy enough of relationship to be a member of that club. In fact visiting new York had been before i enrolled in rehabiltionsburg one o f the catalysts for me to do so.

Part 2

On the day of graduation i am so proud to have "done it". i know i have overcome my childish resentment towards personal growth and it's economic nessecity. On the day my transformation becomes official all I feel towards my former self is confusion along the lines of 'what's to resent? Man's gotta eat'.me and my rehabiltionsburg friends throw a party and stand in circles that would make roamone proud. We are now internally beuatifull people ready to contribute to the economy and by extension society.

When the party's over i take my parents out to a restaurant , on my dime. (i've already secured a job in a rock quarry). During dinner i tell them that i'm gay. However i don't tell them in such a way that is standoffish as strike-against-life me would've. for instance i do not word it in a way that dares my very conservative father , who i've, in my youth had physical troubles with, to fight me. or baits him and my mother not to let me move back in with them. I even remember a certain past version of me tossing around the idea of leaving the house for the streets at 18 and not telling them at all. Thank god I found rehabilitionsburg.

As a result of the traing i recived there i throw myself at their mercy.i am open and vulnerable and they are powerless but to sympathize with me as the law of relationships dictates that they be. Now i have secured room and board in their house, finaceing for college, and better mentall hygine now that my immeadate family knows. 1 week after grauation i enroll in naussua community college. luckily my credits from rehabilitionsburg transfer due to both schools being technichly illegal. i cannot help but feel i am on my way to the top.

Using what i learned in rehabiltionsburg about carrying out your responsibilities so you can make money so you can one day provide for your family (or if your gay so you don't feel left out) i work my way tirelessly through my first semester of naussua after which i apply to harvad where after moths of waiting-i get in! finally i breathe a sigh of relief (and cancel my apoointmet with a speacilist) my responsibility to my parents is now fulfilled, once i have my degree i will have reached my true earning potential which is all they ever wanted for me in the first place.

Part 3

Once i get out of college i move to brooklyn and get an entry level job at the new Yorker. I am happy and have the normal amount of friends. I wear clear rimmed glasses and talk about how much i hate "girls". for whatever reason i can't seem to write anything of substance.my first novel about the deeply felt-ness of things that happen to gay people of the professional class "night butts; the secret lives of interns" only sells the normal amount. But on the plus side i'm pretty normal so hurray!!

My writerly frustration is not all bad, in fact i find it gives me something to write about.

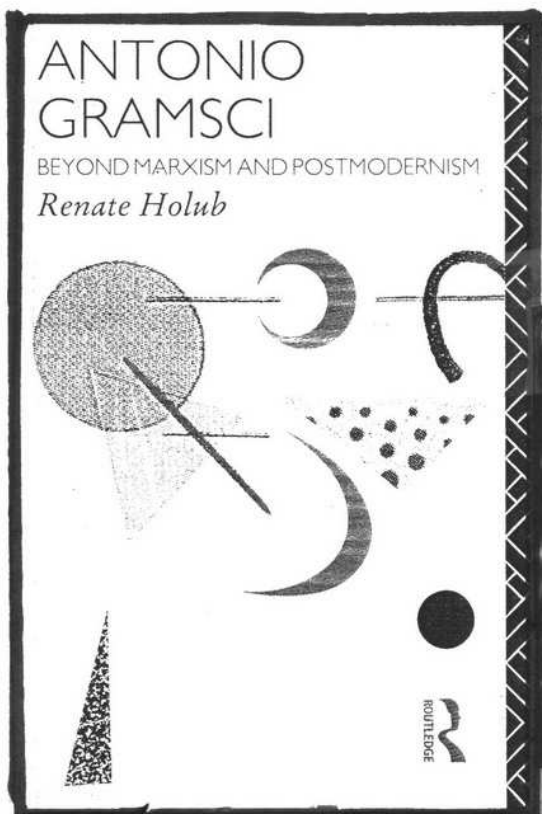
BY NOAH RICHARD

ESSAY BY RENATE HOLUB

FROM ANTONIO GRAMSCI:

BEYOND MARXISM AND

POSTMODERNISM



Beyond the modern and the postmodern

responsibilities and tasks, lived apart, Giulia Schucht attempted to continue to live a normal life under abnormal conditions: away from Italy and thus from Gramsci's prisons, and in the Moscow of the late 1920s and the 1930s, she tries to raise her and Gramsci's sons according to her own progressive educational philosophies inspired by Rousseau and the fragmented, intermittent and tormented wishes conveyed to her by the letters of her imprisoned companion, as well as to survive emotionally and materially in an environment the character of which is still not very well known. What we do know is that she did not do well given the pressures of her situation, and some of the data I have consulted suggest that she suffered repeated and serious nervous breakdowns. As companion or wife of one of the greatest leaders of the twentieth-century working-class movement and one of the greatest theorists, she certainly did not enjoy much of an independent life. It is difficult to judge what she got out of her relationship with such a famous public man, given the fact that he managed to spend apparently only a very limited time with her, and that his imprisonment imposed a separation which, in the event, was never repealed. Some of the letters suggest that he intended to incorporate her intellectual abilities into some of his work, by asking for her co-operation and collaboration in the composition of articles which were to be signed, on his insistence, with both of their names.² Yet given the fact that none of these intentions ever materialized, and could not, under the circumstances, have materialized, the sense one is left with when thinking about Giulia Schucht, and coupled with surviving photographs of her, is one of immense sadness and defeat.³

Tatiana Schucht's relationship with Gramsci is of a different kind. Yet one wonders whether she fared much better than her sister, considering what could have been her due as an intelligent and independent woman of her time. When Gramsci is arrested in 1926, Tatiana Schucht has known him for only a short period, less than a year. With her young nephew (Gramsci's and Giulia's son) and her pregnant sister Giulia far away in the Soviet Union, she assumes, at the arrest of Gramsci, a set of necessary tasks, such as facilitating some of the prisoner's wishes concerning personal items, needs and legal counsel and contacts. In a way she acts as probably most close relatives would have acted under similarly trying circumstances. Yet the initial support Tatiana Schucht provides for Gramsci soon develops into a demanding, all-consuming, full-time activity. In spite of her own fragile disposition and a series of health problems, Gramsci's well-being, and perhaps also his eventual liberation, become the

In lieu of a conclusion: Gramsci, feminism, Foucault

It would be difficult for me to conclude a project of this nature without making some reference to Gramsci's relation to feminist theory, to feminism, to women. I would like to point out right away that as far as the latter issue is concerned, Gramsci's relations to women, as they evolved in the context of his position as one of the major leaders of the Italian working-class movement, and as they were shaped by his unfortunate long imprisonment, deteriorating health and impending death, do not lend themselves to a happy interpretation. Indeed, the picture is, taken from a late twentieth-century point of view, not a rosy one. It carries the distinct mark of a pernicious historical rationality that exerted, and often still exerts, a destructive influence on the lives of women.

My research suggests that two women seem to have sacrificed their desires, their visions, their health and perhaps even their lives to this man, although the specificity of Gramsci's condition during most of his relationship with these two women, his utter helplessness in prison, his isolation and the strictures imposed on his gestural mobility may be seen to qualify his role and responsibility in these matters.¹ The two women are well known to Gramsci scholars: Giulia Schucht and Tatiana Schucht, two sisters and multi-culturally educated women of Russian descent, who crossed Gramsci's path only to be intricately linked with his destiny, which weighed heavily on them. Giulia Schucht was trained as a musician and Tatiana Schucht as a natural scientist. Giulia Schucht's active relationship with Gramsci was very short. In the span of a few years she meets Gramsci and bears him two sons. Gramsci barely knew the older boy and never knew the younger. After Gramsci's arrest, something like three years into their relationship, during most of which time they had anyhow, due to Gramsci's apparently all-consuming political

In lieu of a conclusion

centre of Tatiana Schucht's life and she assiduously dedicates eleven years to this stressful and extraordinarily difficult endeavour. There is a possibility that Gramsci's political allies expressly endorsed her continuous contact with Gramsci, taking advantage of her status as sister-in-law which enabled her, in compliance with the inordinately stringent fascist regulations, to maintain contact by letter with Gramsci and even to visit him in prison. If this is so, Gramsci's political allies would have deployed her and her devotion to him, for many years, as a screen for political communiqués and consultations. In this scenario, she could have been used as a strategic pawn by a desperate and decimated Italian left. Or perhaps she consented to or even welcomed the political nature of such moves. Be that as it may, with Tatiana Schucht enabling Gramsci to maintain contact with his wife and his children in the Soviet Union and also with his political allies either in exile or underground, she soon becomes the most important person in Gramsci's prison life. From arranging the forwarding to Gramsci of desired reading materials and books to furnishing him with information on legal and medical issues, from responding to his personal needs for toiletries, clothes, food, or medicines to recopying his letters to her sister or other interested parties and vice versa, and from conveying in detail the content of her conversations with him during her visits to the prisons to attempting continuously to monitor his mental and physical health, Tatiana Schucht, for eleven years and it seems quite unflaggingly, does it all. Yet she also seems to have been aware of the importance of her mission, self-appointed or not, as the case may be, and beyond assisting the husband of her sister who in turn suffered ill health in a faraway country. When Gramsci's severely failing health, including several physical and mental crises, inexorably announces the ebbing stages of his life, she makes sure of securing Gramsci's prison notebooks for posterity. She assists him when he is transferred, under surveillance, to a clinic that suits Mussolini's nefarious designs, and she is next to him when he dies, minutely detailing the last few days, hours and minutes of Gramsci's life to his friend Sraffa, who will then disseminate this news to the political allies. Less than five years after Gramsci's death she also dies, by no means an old woman, one whose most important life activities, by a fluke of destiny, centred on assisting Gramsci in protecting himself from the effects of Mussolini's special political prisons. It is difficult to assess what she received in return for her selfless services. It looks as if she received little if anything during her lifetime, and gestures of recognition which would

vindicate her unquestionably significant presence in his prison life, are, as far as I can tell, yet to come. Whatever she did, she did quietly, and in private, perhaps so for political reasons, but in any event hidden from the public eye. That posterity most probably owes the survival of Gramsci's prison notebooks to her is a testimony to her non-negotiable function in Gramsci's life. It is surely possible to view Tatiana Schucht's devotion to Gramsci as a general humanitarian gesture, the story of one human being selflessly giving to another under the trying political and historical circumstances of Italian fascism, with its vicious persecution of the left, with its attempted eradication of democratic norms and values, with Mussolini's impassioned desire to silence Gramsci, a charismatic and intelligent leader of the opposition, once and for all. Yet I find it difficult to see in her sacrifice only a general historical account and not a particular one, the particular story of a particular woman.

I write these lines not in the spirit of implicating Gramsci. Certainly, from what I can gather, Gramsci did not reflect much on the unusual care and services Tatiana Schucht provided for him. There is a certain routine, natural tone when he sets down his wishes in letters addressed to her. While he seldom neglects to thank her for her individual services, he also seldom if ever questions the grounds on the basis of which she should or did incessantly care for him for eleven years. Her care and services follow a rationality and expediency of their own, uninterrogated by Gramsci, who, after all, rarely lacks an interrogative will when it comes to other issues. Is this, from his point of view, what women are expected to do? And conversely, I do find him often, in his letters to Giulia Schucht and Tatiana Schucht, using a tone which is harsh, authoritarian and condescending. It is possible that his imposed isolation and paralysis contribute to such a style. Yet I also see him deeply committed to Giulia Schucht and their children, and suffering under her intermittent silence, the reasons for which are unclear. The precise dynamics of their relationship are difficult to make out, and perhaps it is, ultimately, none of our business. If I write a brief account of Gramsci's relations with these two women and the effects of these relations, as far as I can interpret them, on the women's lives, then I do so not in the spirit of condoning Gramsci, or of endorsing Tatiana Schucht's services as natural, but, on the contrary, in order to recall the presence of women so often neglected in the historiographical narratives of a famous life. If I refrain from particularly implicating Gramsci when it comes to his practices with women, then I do not follow a quite popular trend among cultural

workers, of assiduously polishing the tainted mirrors of theoretical heroes.⁴ Rather, the reason is that I do not expect Gramsci to think or act differently from the way he does when it comes to women. If, in spite of a few decades of intensive feminist discourses and practices, many contemporary men often display little feminist consciousness in the practices of their daily lives, despite all theoretical claims to the contrary, and if many of our contemporary women, even some of great repute as feminists, are at times incapable of basic forms of feminist solidarity when it comes to some very real male power relations that continue to marginalize women, so that it seems indeed that a new poverty of feminism has arrived, I find it difficult to insist on feminist practices when it comes to a thinker and man such as Gramsci whose experiences were not confronted, the way ours now are, with a series of continuous radical, complex and extensive feminist discourses.

This mixture of 'rationality' and 'expediency' that marks Gramsci's attitude towards the two important women in his life also filters through his discussion of feminism and sexuality in the context of his notes on 'Americanism and Fordism'. It should be pointed out that Gramsci was not particularly versed in the issues of feminism of his time, at least not more, but also not less, than most of those of his contemporaries whose chosen business was to deal with issues of political and economic equality and social justice. Out of hundreds and hundreds of notes on a multitude of issues, there are merely a few paragraphs in the *Prison Notebooks* that deal with feminist issues. These suggest, however, that Gramsci recognized, at least in theory, the non-negotiable and fundamental importance of women's complete emancipation for any liberatory agenda. The crucial lines, from my point of view, read as follows:

Until women can attain not only a genuine independence in relation to men but also a new way of conceiving themselves and their role in sexual relations, the sexual question will remain full of unhealthy characteristics and caution must be exercised in proposals for new legislation. Every crisis brought about by unilateral coercion in the sexual field unleashes a 'romantic' reaction which could be aggravated by the abolition of organized legal prostitution. All these factors make any form of regulation of sex and any attempt to create a new sexual ethic suited to the new methods of production and work extremely complicated and difficult. However, it is still necessary to attempt to

create a new ethic. . . . The truth is that the new type of man demanded by the rationalization of production and work cannot be developed until the sexual instinct has been suitably regulated and until it has been rationalized.⁵

This passage is part of Gramsci's discussion of 'Americanism and Fordism', where he investigates, *inter alia*, the relationship of the rationalization of new production processes to human instincts, desires and needs. What he observes is that modern industrialists, such as Ford, by paying close attention to the sexual practices of their employees, have designed ways the better to discipline sexuality and other bodily drives in order to heighten the individual productivity of the workers on the assembly-line. In this context Gramsci also briefly mentions the function of prohibition in the 1920s in the USA. In contradistinction to received interpretations of this political and social phenomenon, Gramsci does not view the implementation of prohibition as a measure imparted by the puritanical sense of the North American people, but rather as a rational plan by the economic and political authorities in order to further the productivity of the individual workers by enforcing abstinence and sobriety, by disciplining the desires of the body. What is interesting in Gramsci's treatment of feminism is that he does not approach this question from a merely economic or political point of view, from the standpoint of production as well as legislation, as the women's question was in general dealt with by the traditional left.⁶ Sexuality figures in his account. This allows him not only to assess women's unequal status in our societies in terms of their economic exploitation and political marginalization from the public sphere, but also to point to women's material and symbolic function in the reproduction of the workforce necessary for production processes as a whole. Moreover, it allows him to focus on sexuality as a site of domination and oppression.

That Gramsci should not only examine the oppression of women in the public sphere, as an effect of economic organization and political institutions, but extend it to the private realm is not surprising. One of the most significant concepts of his critical theory, his concept of hegemony, was capable of probing relations of power on a microstructural as well as on a macrostructural level. With this concept he had attempted to extend relations of power beyond the hierarchical relation of state and citizen, where the state, in its coercive function, in the realm of army, police and legislation, as political society, that is, was able to discipline the bodies of its citizens. The extension of power

and domination to other areas of society had led him to examine power relations in what he calls civil society, in the institutions, in religious organization, in educational systems as well as in families, and indeed in the practices of everyday life. If political society potentially disciplined the bodies, civil society disciplined above all the mind. Power was thus not only a relation which was operative between the state and the citizens, but also and beyond the state it was operative in the relation between civic institutions and the practices of everyday life. With the various strata of semi-professionals and professionals mediating between political and civil society and the ordinary people, validating the way of seeing and doing things of the class in power as natural, a consensus to the status quo arises 'spontaneously'. So Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which attempts to grasp the power relations in the interstices of everyday life, also has the potential of lending itself to probing relations of domination in the most intimate practices of everyday life, in sexual practices, that is, where different ways of experiencing, seeing and validating the body meet. In this sense Gramsci can stand as the forerunner of the famous dictum of second-wave feminism: the personal is political. Woman's autonomy, self-determination and dignity are thus in Gramsci's account not only contingent on economic independence from men, which is but one *quid pro quo* of her emancipation. Gramsci also mobilizes the notion of a feminist consciousness that insists on choice when it comes to sexual practices. That consciousness he ties to a new kind of ethics.

So far Gramsci seems to be an acceptable candidate for a feminist ticket. Change in legislation or in the political structure is but one strategy for changing the woman's condition. Hasty changes in legislation, which would criminalize prostitution, would, so the realist Gramsci argued, eliminate not prostitution, but the few rights prostitutes had gained for themselves: access to health care, which is extraordinarily important in light of the health hazards connected to their work, and protection from prosecution for the type of work they perform. Moreover, Gramsci insists on the centrality of sexuality, a woman's rights over her body, when it comes to the emancipation not only of women, but of society as a whole. However, when Gramsci ties the woman's inalienable rights of control over her sexuality and her body to processes of rationalization of production, when he believes that new and liberated forms of sexuality for women, and ways of validating these new forms of sexuality, a new ethics, are contingent on the demands of the sphere of production attentive to restraining

the passions of the body, then he somehow loses his advantage in the feminist match. His insistence on the validation of sexuality as the crucial factor in the oppression of women as well as for resistance to oppression, which would place him alongside contemporary radical feminists such as Catherine MacKinnon, Mary Daly, Susan Griffin, or Andrea Dworkin, loses its persuasive power as soon as he relates sexuality to processes of rationalization in production and the need to discipline sexuality for economic and political purposes. No doubt, in terms of Gramsci's social and political assessment of these processes of production, with which he brackets, as discussed earlier, problems of alienation and reification, his account of the fact of sexual discipline makes sense. What makes less sense is his account of the need for it, his legitimation of sexual discipline and his lack of interest in distinguishing between different kinds of sexualities and their effects on the social and cultural level. The modernist intensification of the rationalization of production does not elicit new possibilities for sexual expression and freedom for women, but requires modern women to adjust to the requirements of disciplined structures of time and place and legitimate these requirements in appropriate ethics. Yet in effect, in Gramsci's narrative, women might merely exchange the constraints of agricultural-patriarchal structures on their sexuality with the constraints of industrial-corporative structures. So the promising concessions Gramsci makes to the liberation of feminine sexuality are severely curtailed by his deterministic view of progress, his belief in the liberatory potential of industrialization and above all his uncritical deployment, indeed, his 'forgetting', of one of his own powerful analytical tools in the demystification of power: the ubiquitous operations of hegemony, of certain ways of seeing and validating relations in multiple sites of political and social relations, in the public, but above all in the private sphere, in political, but above all in civil society, in the social, in the cultural, in the micro-spaces of everyday life. If the economic and political revolution had not occurred in the west, as he writes in a passage that made him famous, because 'the state was only an outer ditch, behind which there stood a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks', because there existed 'a sturdy structure of civil society' which unstintingly supported the trembling state, then, we might ask, why should there be reason to believe that the sexual revolution can occur?⁷ Do not perhaps, behind the modernization of processes of industrialization and the adjustments of political society, whether on capitalist or socialist terms, latent but powerful systems of fortresses and earthworks continue to

exist, sturdy structures of civil society that can, precisely because they dominate the private realm, extend their power over many generations, muffle the liberatory sexual struggles while simultaneously perpetuating age-old practices of prejudice and discrimination? The history of feminism in the twentieth century would attest to the unusual theoretical validity of Gramsci's analysis and concept of civil society.⁸ But Gramsci is mute on this point. His revolutionary insight into the workings of power relations in everyday life did not extend to the question of feminine sexuality.

Gramsci's brief notes on this topic constitute something of a micro-history of sexuality that anticipates, in the early 1930s, the histories of sexuality written much later in the twentieth century, such as the series of works by Michel Foucault.⁹ For Gramsci, human sexuality has undergone fundamental changes reflecting the transformation from agricultural societies to industrial societies. Whereas in the context of agricultural communities, in the country, unbridled sexual desires often violently explode in rape and incest, in the context of industrialized communities and the cities the potential violence inscribed in sexual drives has been suppressed, contained and civilized. Gramsci considers that an applaudable, rational, progressive development.¹⁰ While he distinguishes, with Foucault, between discourses on sexuality that reflect on the status of sexuality in pre-industrial and in industrial societies, he sanctions, in contradistinction to Foucault, the needs of modern industrialization rigorously to curtail sexual desires. Gramsci invites modern men and women to consent to the requirements of industrialization, indeed to create a new ethics which would morally legitimate the operations of sexual regulation. In Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, attempting to expose the manifold systems of power relations, the discourses on sexuality become operations of power, engulfing almost all facets of our modern and postmodern life. He, contrary to Gramsci, evokes an ethics of resistance to sexual domination, one that would resist the multiplicity of domination in multiple sites of social relation. The Foucauldian term for this kind of resistance is heterotopia. What Gramsci and Foucault share, or perhaps this is something Foucault adopted from Gramsci, is the notion that power and domination function in so far as those dominated consent to that domination. Without consent there is no domination. What Gramsci and Foucault also share is their understanding of the production of that consent. It is produced from within the systems and subsystems of social relations, in the interactions, in the microstructures that inform the practices of everyday life.

Where Gramsci and Foucault differ, however, is in what they have to say concerning the directedness of the production of that consent. For both authors, all people are ultimately producers of support for the status quo, in that they coerce others into assenting to systems of values and beliefs. Recall Gramsci's notion of legislation, his question as to who constitutes a legislator, whereby every person, including the most powerless on the social scale, is a legislator in his or her function as a parent, and thereby imposes rules and his or her underlying values on to their children.¹¹ While all individuals are sites of power, not all individuals quantitatively and qualitatively embody the same form of power. Some possess more and some possess less, and the directedness of power in power relations attempts to maintain the balance of power. So that directedness of power originates somewhere, and proceeds with a certain purpose. It is not purposeless. Indeed, if the exercises of power were undirected operations, merely dominative and hegemonic, there would have been no reason for Gramsci to develop his theory of intellectuals, and his notion of counter-hegemony.¹²

It would seem that Gramsci's insistence on the ubiquity of power is of secondary importance when compared to his analysis of the hierarchical structure of power relations. While power is ubiquitous, as Foucault would have it, equally ubiquitous are unequal relations of power. So the question for Gramsci is not so much, as it is for Foucault, to show that and how power exists, though Gramsci shows that as well. Equally important is why power exists. This aspect of Gramsci's thought would make him, so it seems, a prime candidate for a feminist agenda, possibly challenging the eminent place Foucault enjoys in feminist discourse. No doubt, many feminist theorists have found much inspiration in the conceptual sophistication and methods of analysis of Foucault's work. In particular, his analysis of the operations of power, such as his critical studies of the institutions of medicine, prisons and science, which have identified the body as a site of power through which docility and submission are accomplished, has been a useful way for feminist theory to understand the female body as a site of disciplinary power exerted by the male establishment of the medical fields and the scientific fields. Moreover, Foucault's emphasis on the functional partiality of discourses and language in the production of domination and in the marginalization and silencing of counter-discourses has also been an important source of insight for feminist theory. Language, the symbolic sphere, the tools of our intercommunicative practices are indeed implicated in

the production and reproduction of hegemonic domination. Furthermore, Foucault has called into question the legitimacy of ways of telling history, metanarratives which tell a linear story instead of a discontinuous one, and metanarratives which insist on telling the story from a western point of view, on telling the true story of how and why it all happened. Feminist theory could deploy aspects of this critique as well. The western point of view, the true discourse, was mostly a white and male discourse, often obfuscating, despite all its claims to objectivity and rationality, the experiences and ways of seeing of social groups that do not take part in the privileges of the dominant white power elite. Indeed, objectivity and rationality itself were dismantled by Foucault as constructions designed to secure hegemony. These are but a few Foucauldian positions which feminists could easily incorporate into their theoretical work. However, since Foucault's account of power gives 'no headquarters which set the direction', to use Nancy Hartsock's formulation, many feminist theorists have turned away from Foucault.¹³ On the other hand, since Gramsci maps some of the locations of the headquarters of power, his theoretical model might be useful for staking out the operations of power in a way that goes beyond a mere declaration of the ubiquity of power. With Gramsci, so it seems, feminist theory can make out who is powerful and who is not. It would give women the opportunity, which has been seized on many occasions, yet this time against the background of Gramscian theory, to see all men as the perpetrators, those on the other side, who direct the operations of power in the interstices of political and civil society, in the service of producing a spontaneous consent to unequal gender relations, a consent to the sexuality of the status quo.

There is certainly a lot of feminist theory which has, mostly without Gramsci, precisely worked in that direction. By most accounts it is radical feminism that has insisted on that way of seeing things, whereby men, to put it simply, represent power and women the lack of power. I see no need to say more about this problematic, which is known to anyone who has some familiarity with the history of second-wave feminism in the western world. Let it suffice to state here that critical or legitimated accounts of radical feminism continue to enrich in various versions and to various degrees our feminist theoretical body. In a recent book entitled *The Oppositional Imagination*, Joan Cocks has, as many other feminist theorists have done on many occasions, refused to join the rank and file of radical feminism, and objected to dividing the world into black and white when it comes to

power relations and access to power. Yet she was armed not only with Foucault when arguing for a more complex notion and analysis of the operations of power when dealing with issues of sexuality and gender. Gramsci was mobilized as well in this call for moderation, next to Edward Said and Raymond Williams. She argues forcefully that radical feminism offers only a blunt and crude understanding of power, a representation of dominative power which is far from being emancipatory.¹⁴ This description of power neglects the very real existence of power relations among women, while simultaneously oversimplifying the fact that individual persons can occupy different positions along different axes of power at the same time. It is for this reason that power can be dominative and oppositional at the same time.¹⁵ Cocks' reminder that power can be dominative and oppositional at the same time is not a new insight. The feminist movement, radical and non-radical feminists alike, have, so it seems to me, in the very act of dismantling patriarchal domination indicated its oppositional force. What I find more intriguing and useful is Cocks' calling into question the often presumed innate virtuousness of women and their lack of a will to (male?) power as implied by a good deal of radical feminism. This is a welcome theoretical gesture at a time when, in spite of the many irreversible gains we have made in public and private spaces, the general poverty of feminism in the 1980s has brought home none the less with inexorable force the fact that feminist solidarity often crumbles unexpectedly when access to power in whatever constellation dangles in front of some women's eyes. This in itself would require more complex and sophisticated analyses of relations of power.

What I would like to propose, then, next to Joan Cocks, is something like this. That equipped not only with some of Foucault's as well as Gramsci's conceptual frameworks and methods, but also with the analyses of more recent feminist research, we are in the position to continue to examine relations of power on a local and a global level, along with our function and position with regard to these relations. Most of the work of Foucault will be a reminder that we are all implicated in power, that, in many ways, power is gender blind. And indeed, as well-to-do members of western economic and political communities, as most of us theorists and writers are, we are in some ways implicated in the power these communities hold over the non-western and underdeveloped or developing parts of the world. From Gramsci's complex analyses we can adopt the notion that we are indeed part of many different 'structures of feeling', a partiality which

carries a positive and negative potential. Our feminist analyses of power relations, of the way these power relations that often marginalize our specific experiences, forms of knowledge, ways of seeing or epistemologies, ways of judging or ethics, are represented in the discursive and symbolic realm, can contribute to understanding broader and global relations as well.

To be sure, the analysis of power understood in these broad terms cannot be carried out by individuals alone. These are collective projects, and in some respects they are already well under way. What I would plead for is a greater measure of co-operation and collaboration, rather than isolation and academic bickering, collaboration which the rapid dissemination of information technology more powerfully enables as each day passes. I would welcome the exploration of collective discourses, electronic or otherwise, that call into question and problematize the universalizability and relevance of our theories and concerns, such as the multiplicity or the disappearance of the subject, when for many minorities, including many women, access to self-determination, freedom of choice, dignity and some control over their bodies and their minds still belongs to the unattainable realm of a utopian fantasy. If my study of Gramsci inspires some readers to examine the possibilities of working in that direction, then this book will have achieved its aim.

7 IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION

1 Perhaps the best introduction not to these women's relationship to Gramsci, but to Gramsci's relationship with Tatiana Schucht and Giulia Schucht are his letters, most of them collected in *Lettere dal carcere*, ed. Sergio Caprioglio and Elsa Fubini (Einaudi, Turin, 1965, fifth edn 1975). An English edition of this particular collection is still to come. What is available in English is a collection, *Letters from Prison*, ed., tr. and introduction Lynne Lawner (Noonday Press, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, 1989), first edn by Harper & Row, 1973. Some Italian feminists have attempted, in the 1970s, to reconstruct Gramsci's relationship to the sisters Schucht, including an older sister, Olga. See Adele Cambria, *Amore Come Rivoluzione* (Sugar Edizioni, Milan, 1976). Working exclusively with the letters, both published and unpublished, in particular with the unpublished letters written by the women, which Gramsci's editors have not thought of including in the editions of his letters, Cambria suggests a complex relationship among the three sisters, which in turn would explain why rather than remaining beside Gramsci in Italy, Giulia Schucht returned to Moscow shortly before his arrest. The complexities of the relations among the three Schucht sisters were presented in a play, *Nonostante Gramsci*, which Cambria reproduced in *Amore Come Rivoluzione*, pp. 207-73. For a comment on this play see Teresa de Lauretis, 'Gramsci Notwithstanding, or, The Left Hand of History', in her *Technologies of Gender* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Ind., 1987), pp. 84-95. Antonio A. Santucci (ed.), *Nuove lettere di Antonio Gramsci, con altre lettere di Piero Sraffa*, preface Nicola Badaloni (Editori Riuniti, Rome, 1986), emphasizes the genuine feelings Gramsci seems to have had for Giulia Schucht while simultaneously commenting on the efforts of Gramsci's friends to get him out of prison. Most published Gramsci biographies do not pay any particular attention to the women in his life. For initial familiarization with the major dates and encounters in Gramsci's life see Giuseppe Fiori, *Life of a Revolutionary*, tr. Tom Nairn (New York, E.P. Dutton & Co., 1971), original Italian edn 1967.

2 See Cambria, op. cit., p. 71: in almost all his letters, first from Vienna and then from Italy, Gramsci emphasizes that he would like Giulia with him, not only for emotional reasons, but also for political ones. So from Vienna: 'You have got to know that when you come, you will of course be working, and you will help me with my work.' And again from Vienna, this time in reference to a translation: 'You are going to help me out, aren't you? We will both put our names on it.'

3 For a collection of photographs of Gramsci and his family, and illustrating his political life, see Cesare Colombo (ed.), *Gramsci e il suo tempo*, introduction Mario Spinella, text Francesca Occhipinti (Longanesi & Co., Milan, 1977).

Notes

- 4 What I am referring to are the discussions on Heidegger's involvement with Nazism, as well as on Paul de Man's so-called wartime journalism, that we have witnessed over the last few years.
- 5 Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and tr. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (International Publishers, New York, 1971), p. 296, hereafter referred to as *SPN*. For additional entries on the question of feminism see Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, ed. Valentino Gerratana, 4 vols (Giulio Einaudi Editore, Turin, 1975), pp. 531, 902-3 and 2149-50.
- 6 Examples of this kind would be Engels, *The Origin of the Family*, introduction Michele Barrett (Penguin, Harmondsworth, Mx, 1985), August Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, ed. Monika Seifert (Fackelträger-Verlag Schmidt-Küster GmbH, Hanover, 1974), original edn 1896, as well as many other documents from within and outside first-wave feminism.
- 7 Gramsci, *SPN*, p. 238.
- 8 I think that this concept is also extraordinarily powerful in analysing recent developments in eastern Europe. The explosion of racist sentiments in many eastern European countries, a sentiment which had been successfully repressed by state regulations as long as political society stayed intact, can be explained by the notion of civil society, of powerful systems of fortresses and earthworks, sturdy structures in the recesses of which racism has never been eradicated.
- 9 There are many points of contact between the work of Gramsci and that of Michel Foucault. So far as I know, an extended study which would examine more closely the relatedness of their texts has still to be written. With respect to some aspects of the relation between Gramsci and Foucault see R. Radhakrishnan, 'Toward an Effective Intellectual: Foucault or Gramsci', in Bruce Robbins (ed.), *Intellectuals: Aesthetics, Politics, Academics* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1990), pp. 59-99.
- 10 Gramsci, *SPN*, pp. 294-8.
- 11 *ibid.*, p. 265.
- 12 See Norberto Bobbio, 'Gramsci and the Conception of Civil Society', one of the most important essays on this topic, published as 'Gramsci e la concezione della società civile' in Pietro Rossi (ed.), *Gramsci e la cultura contemporanea*, 2 vols (Editori Riuniti, Rome, 1969, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 75-101.
- 13 Nancy Hartsock, 'Foucault on Power: a Theory for Women?', in Linda J. Nicholson (ed.), *Feminism/Postmodernism* (Routledge, New York and London, 1990), pp. 157-76.
- 14 Joan Cocks, *The Oppositional Imagination: Feminism, Critique and Political Theory* (Routledge, London and New York, 1989), p. 19.
- 15 *ibid.*, p. 6.

A DAILY LECTURE WRITTEN BY MARCUS STEINWEG

56th Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC: 25th August 2013
EXCESS AS DECONSTRUCTION
Marcus Steinweg

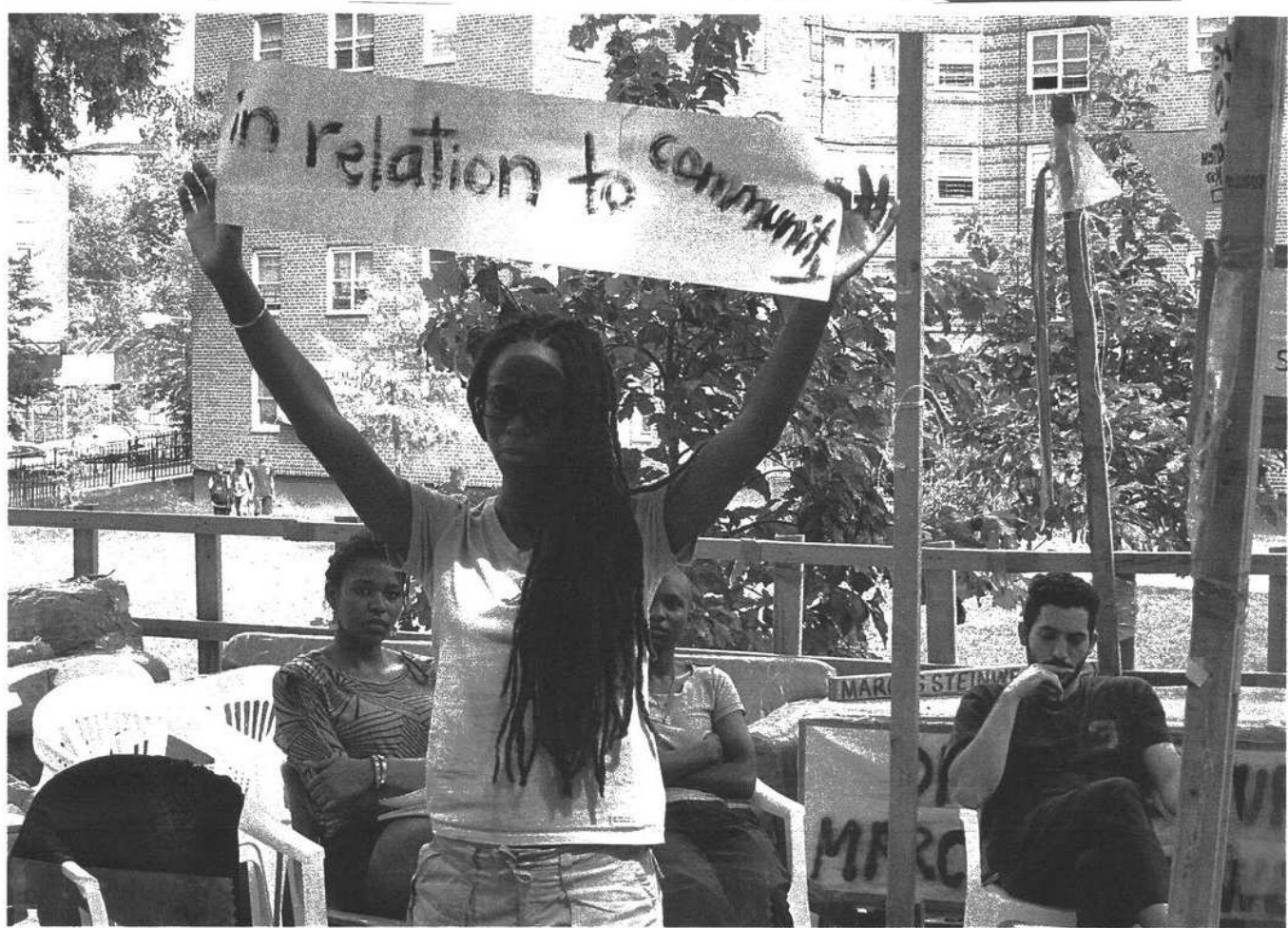
1. In the opening to where it has long since already been admitted, the dimension of constituted certainties and valencies, art is pushed to the limit not only of the space of facts but also of its concept and its form of appearance hitherto.
2. It is an excess marking its unbounding from its border, its openness to formlessness, whose bearer it remains.
3. Art is an assertion of form generating itself in an opening to formlessness.¹
4. No matter whether this formlessness be society as an overly complex, intracontradictory space of facts (the zone of sociohistorico-symbolic evidence), or whether it be the point of inconsistency within this domain, the incommensurability commensurable with formlessness.
5. Art is not an escape from it; it formulates its claim to autonomy in the midst of the world of determinants in order, in an opening to heteronomy, to escape this world's phantasmagoric mistaking of itself.
6. Just as there is freedom only under conditions of factual unfreedom, sovereign independence only under conditions of its absence, autonomy becomes a demand and necessity only in the field of factual heteronomy.
7. Theodor W. Adorno never ceases to plead for the possibility of aesthetic autonomy in its opening to its impossibility.
8. Thus he becomes the advocate of a possible impossibility.
9. Art's "inescapable affirmative essence"² must turn against its distorted image, against the idealist temptation to locate art somewhere beyond the world of facts.
10. Affirmation is not naïveté or approval.
11. Affirmation is invention and construction.
12. The artwork's affirmative intensity implies a double gesture comprising the acknowledgment of its historicity as well as the courage not to enclose itself smugly within the critical, reflexive reassurance of its resultant status, which demands its opening up to the inconsistency of the web of determinants.
13. Facts are nothing but facts: art knows that knowledge is not everything, that the artist's responsibility begins with building up an affirmative resistance against all kinds of vulgar materialism and positivism, at the same time suspending all kinds of idealism, promising it a reality beyond this single, unique reality, in order finally to dehistoricize it completely.
14. Realism and idealism are pseudoalternatives for the history of philosophy, for philosophical aesthetics, for art.

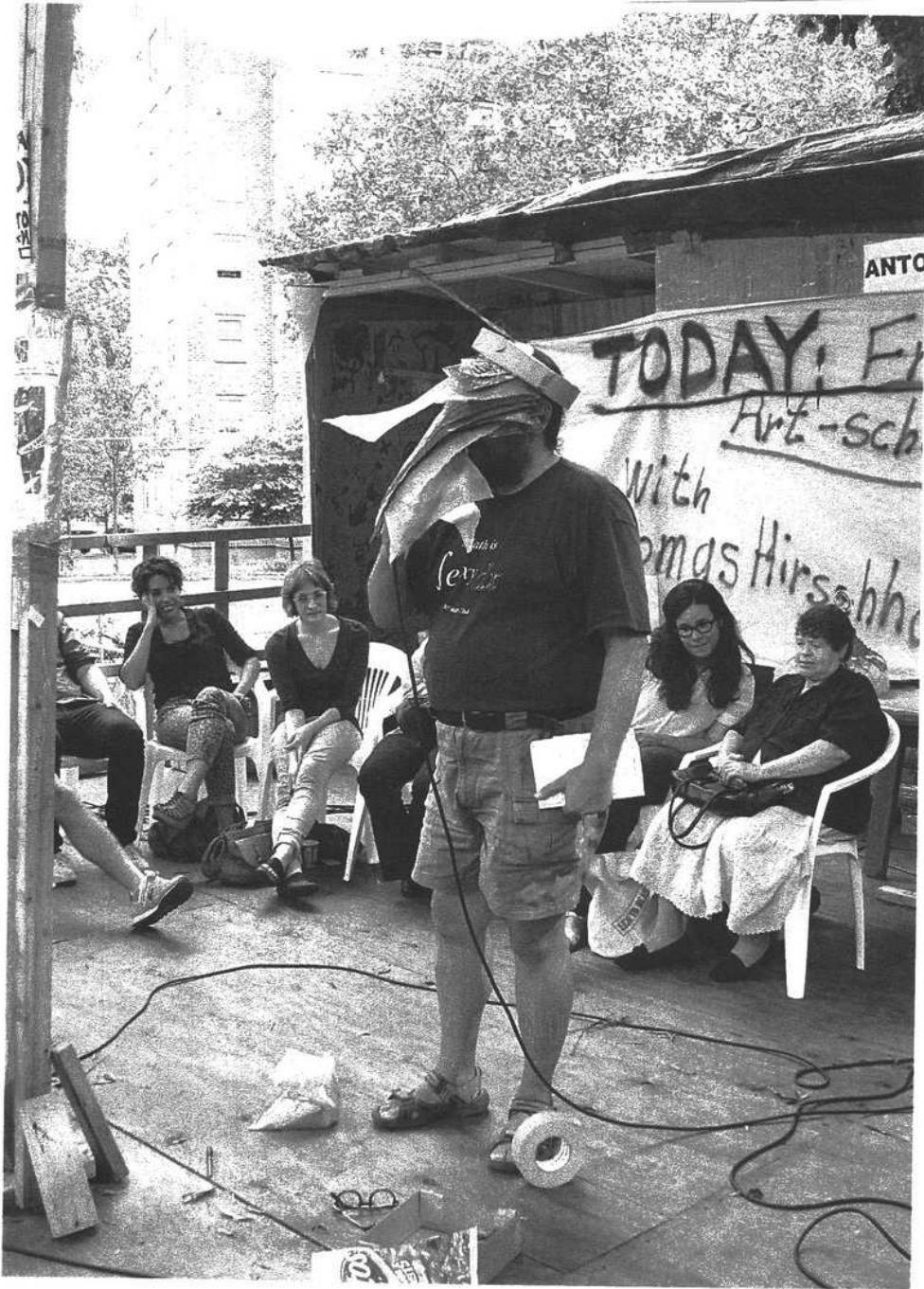
1 Cf. Marcus Steinweg, *Behauptungsphilosophie* (Berlin: Merve, 2006).

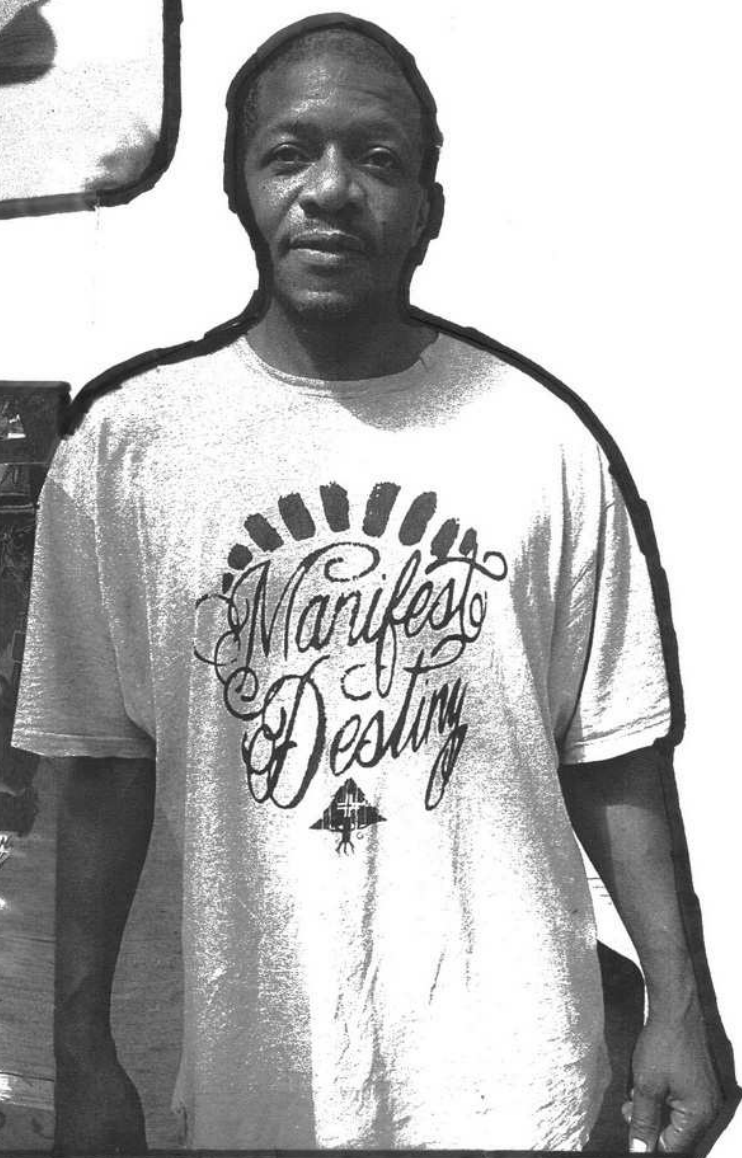
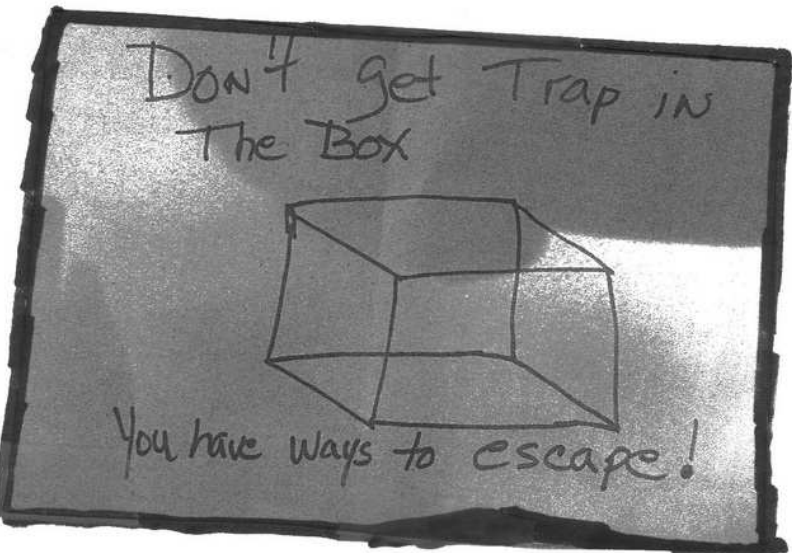
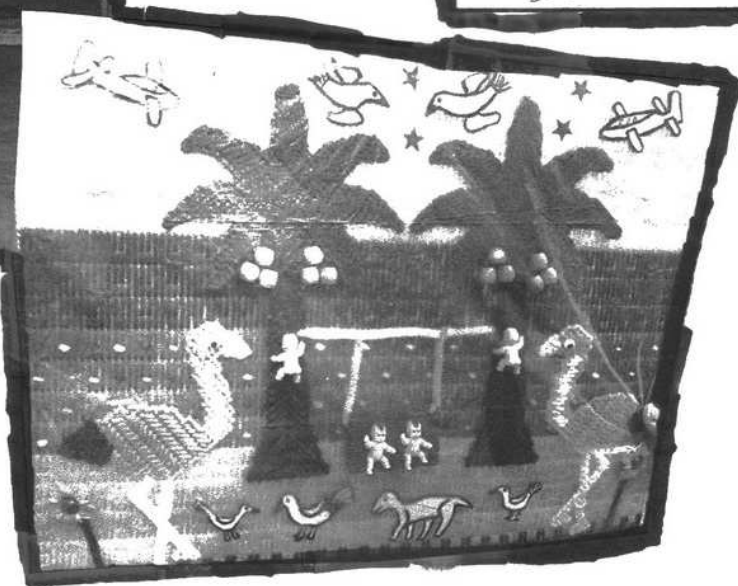
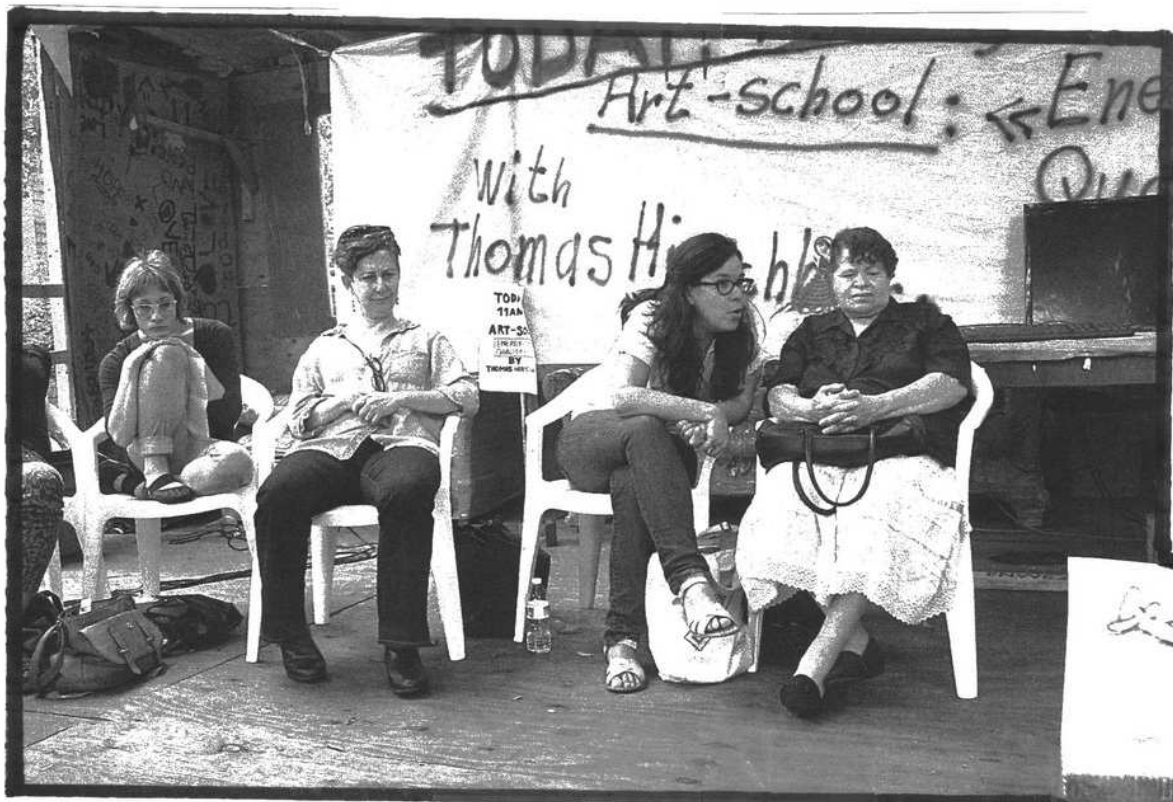
2 Adorno, "Art, Society, Aesthetics," in *Aesthetic Theory*, ed. Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Robert Hullot Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 2.

PICTURES OF ART SCHOOL 8
OF FRIDAY AUGUST 23, 2013
ENERGY = YES! QUALITY = NO!

The Work of:	MARIA	CHRISTINA	LAURA	PAULA	BEN	JAKOB	DANIEL	MIGUEL	ISSACHAR	TYLER	ABONI	NATHALIE	STEPHEN	STEVE	ROBERT	ADEOLA	MARCELLA	TWANA
MARIA	X	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES			YES	NO	YES	NO
CHRISTINA	YES	X	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES		1		YES			YES	YES	NO	NO
LAURA	YES	YES	X	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		NO	YES	YES			YES	YES	YES	YES
PAULA	NO	YES	YES	X	NO	NO	YES	YES		YES	YES	YES			YES	YES	NO	YES
BEN	YES	YES	YES	YES	X	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES			YES	YES	YES	YES
JAKOB	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	X	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO			YES	NO	NO	NO
DANIEL	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	X	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES			YES	NO	NO	NO
MIGUEL	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	X	YES	NO	YES				YES	NO	NO	NO
ISSACHAR	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	X	YES	YES	NO			YES	NO	NO	NO
TYLER	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	X	YES	YES			YES	YES	YES	YES
ABONI	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	X	YES			YES	YES	YES	YES
NATHALIE	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	X			YES	YES	NO	
STEPHEN													X					
STEVE														X				
ROBERT	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO			X	NO	NO	NO
ADEOLA	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	X	YES
MARCELLA	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES			YES	YES	X	YES
TWANA	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES			YES	YES	YES	X







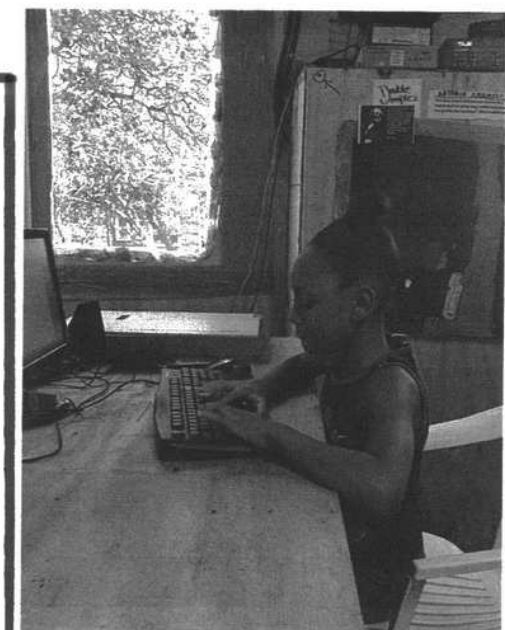
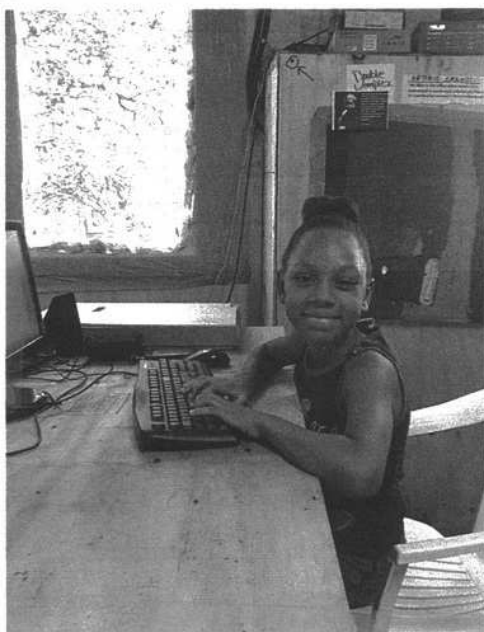
LETTER BY SEMONI TAYLOR

dear, daddy, I miss you so so much that I can not wait to see you on Saturday oh and I wonder what are we going to see? But me and sariyah that we all should go to bbq after the movies. I don't want sariyah's friend mahayla to come because I just want us only us to go to the movie's so if sariyah's friend comes then I am not going and I do not care if you leave me behind I hope you all have a super great time at the movies but I still love you though.oh yeah dad I really want an ipad for my birthday plleeaassee please! I am turning ten years old double digits! Oh yeah I almost forgot taylor gang taylor gang!

Sincerely,

Your daughter

Semoni Taylor



RESIDENT OF THE DAY



TALIA BROWN