

# A Theory Of Education, Civilresistance And The Superstructural Influence On Power: Re-Reading Gramsci

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## Introduction

The early 20th century witnessed the effort of the intellectuals across the globe having paid the brunt of a world war that took the lives of millions. The carnage of the First World War made President Woodrow Wilson to propose that power politics be replaced by policies based on justice and democracy. However, the concern was more specifically on how to use military means to defend a social order, guard against potential dangers, or gain advantages over actual or potential adversaries. The coercive means, yet a matter of consideration despite the huge score of human loss. In this way, power is more than just a symbol but is the real source of mutual relations. Civil resistance which has occurred in various forms throughout history, has become particularly prominent being a viable means to check the arbitrary use of coercion by the authority or political administration. An important figure who withstood the aggressive policies of the dominant fascist regime in Italy, is Antonio Gramsci. He is a Marxist philosopher, journalist, linguist, writer and politician. He was a leading and a founding member and leader of the Communist Party of Italy. He was imprisoned by the Fascist regime. The central issues raised in his Prison Notebooks and in other writings such as his Prison Letters include hegemony, common sense, civil society, subaltern studies, cultural analysis, media and film studies, postcolonial studies, international relations, linguistics, cultural anthropology, and historiography. Gramsci was sympathetic towards the oppressed groups within the society who had to succumb to the miseries owing to the unilateral policies of the dominant administration. Sardinian peasants and miners who were always ill-treated by the mainlanders grasped the attention of Gramsci and he took up their cause as an activist. He was an original thinker within the Marxist framework, was known for his ideas concerning the role of civil society between the economic base and the ideological superstructure of societies. He is also renowned for his theorization of the importance of cultural hegemony as a non-coercive means of maintaining dominance in societies. The chapter highlights on the contemporary relevance of non-violent, civil resistance movements of the civil society for transformation, as Gramsci is known for today. Antonio Gramsci is widely known even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century for his impact on social and political thought, critical theory and literary methodology also as a theoretician and an educationist of the middle and working class. Although he wrote in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the interpretations of Gramsci's work do provide a link to socio-political issues of our contemporary time, for though the context differ, the content of the issue continue to remain the same. Thus co-walking with Gramsci in our times is of much importance for suggesting vital measures for settling legal and socio-political, historical controversies and for answering normative questions on civil society and political administration.

## Education and philosophy of praxis

The name of the late Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, appears increasingly in the academic circles of different continents. It mostly occurs in the literature of politics though influence of his ideology is not limited to politics alone but to the entirety of life, individually and socially. Since Gramsci took a theory of education to be integral to political theory, reference to his work has also begun to appear in the literature of education. In this latter context the invocation of Gramsci is a little more than academic name-dropping as his contributions in a particular stature of society is highlighted here especially on educational policy for a counter hegemony. Gramsci's relevance lies precisely in his treatment, within the context of his radical political theory, of exactly those themes which exercise modern radical educationists. The sociology of the curriculum, the apparent discontinuity between the culture of the school and that of daily life, problems of language and literacy in education, the role of the state in the provision of education, the cultivation of elites and the role of intellectuals, the relative functions of authority and spontaneity in education and the ambiguous relationship of these to differing political ideologies, problems of vocational education, the place of theory in the curriculum and its relationship to action in the world outside the educational institutions. More precisely the consideration of these themes in relation to the education of the working class. Most of those who call upon his name but who evidently know little of his work, the depth of his work is such that the more that we claim to know, the less that we reach to its depth. Gramsci's conclusions on these matters point in quite different directions from those of current neo-Marxist educational theory. However, the relevance of Gramsci's writing for today lies not merely in its substantive contribution towards clarification of these problems but, equally, in its illustration of their apparent intractability, once one escapes from rhetorical slogan mongering into an examination of the complex relationships between politics and education. There are scholars who opined about the relevance of the educational theory of Gramsci, in the modern political practice. While socialists treat labour movement as has been in the forefront of the struggle for state education, 'critical educational theorists of all types are agreed that state education is one of the more important institutions by which the bourgeoisie establish and maintain their hegemony and reproduce the conditions of capitalist production' (Frith & Corrigan 1977, pp.254-6). The state apparatus being in the hands of the bourgeoisie, they make use of them for maintain hegemony.

There is no doubt that Gramsci was primarily concerned with radical socio-political change and his work ought to be especially relevant for radicals committed to counter-hegemonic educational activity. It is also true that the notion of hegemony is central to Gramsci's social theory, and that he recognised the school, amongst other institutions of civil society, as an instrument of political hegemony. Hegemony has brought in a scope to link it with its all important source of power and the means of sustenance: education. Thus, 'Gramsci's concept of ideological hegemony would seem to open up a particularly promising avenue of thought' (Karabel & Halsey 1977, p.369). From this it could also be inferred that Gramsci saw the substitution of working-class for middle-class hegemony resulting from a social revolution based upon a radical reform of education especially their curriculum and pedagogical processes. A radical social change built on transformation of education is a fundamental prerequisite for counter hegemony. One of the themes to be taken up presently will be the question of what constitutes an education for Fascism, in view of Gramsci's conservative educational theory having been articulated, in part, in criticism of the apparently progressive educational reforms undertaken by fascists. The argument developed here will be that, far from the paradox of Gramsci's political radicalism and educational conservatism being one of his creditable inconsistencies. Gramsci's work, in fact, has a lot for a model of socialist education.

Gramsci was interested in the cultural potential of a disciplined approach to work which he called 'Americanism'. However, to claim consistency for Gramsci's socio-educational theory, in that the paradox of a conservative educational theory in service of a radical political ideology. Manacorda reminds us that Gramsci's position at any time prior to his imprisonment has to be read in the context of the rapidly changing circumstances in which he found himself, especially his experience of the Russian Revolution and his belief that its spread throughout Europe was imminent. (Manacorda 1976, pp.39-40). From the time of his imprisonment, he was writing in the face of the disappointment of these hopes, hence his conclusion

that the replacement of the existing hegemony required painstaking and protracted political education. A lived experience in the case of Antonio Gramsci. Thus, drawing from the fascist mode of education with the prevalent hegemony, the evolution of Gramsci's educational thought is of peculiar relevance for any examination of the relationship between education and social change.

It is Gramsci's intensely committed, but abortive, practical political experience, the watershed between the earlier and later periods in both of which he functioned primarily as a theoretician, that sets his work apart from most accounts of what constitutes a radical political education. The second, mature thoughts of the Notebooks and Letters were not simply the result of an enforced incarceration which gave him the 'leisure' to revise and systematise his thought, but also a consequence of having participated in the leadership of a failed revolution and of suffering from a successful fascist counter-revolution. As Clark concludes, 'much of Gramsci's lasting contribution to European social thought emerged from a critical rethinking of his own past' (Clark 1977, p.225). His experience of failure, no doubt, contributed to the tentativeness of his early prison writing. Of this period, Manacorda notes that 'everything is presented as problematic and uncertain' with the recurrence of phrases like 'I have not yet decided what to think' and 'In general, I think...' (Manacorda 1976, p.85). The hard apprenticeship of his scholarly career, his essentially idealistic education, the educative experience of his political militancy and, lastly, his recent experience as a father frustrated by imprisonment and the growing disagreement with his family about educational matters, constitute a tangle of experiences, often discrete and contradictory, from which Gramsci had not yet matured a coherent, motivated and profound conclusion.

What emerged from him is not the result of a smooth journey. The agony of imprisonment and solitude contributed to the Prison writings. As Gramsci himself implied, his head was a battleground for quite contrary educational theories. These contradictions (McInnes 1971, p.15) were initial, 'his creditable inconsistencies'—are the product of an intelligence struggling candidly with apparently intractable problems. There is also a creative and a refusal to be dogmatic. Indeed, in his own life and work there is imminent the dialectic of theory and practice and a constant attempt to fuse them into praxis. In both the Notebooks and the Letters, 'personal experience was always the point of departure for theoretical generalisations' (Manacorda, 1976, pp.155–6). Anderson mentions that Gramsci was probably the last of the Western Marxists whose writings derived from involvement in an attempt to engineer a socialist revolution (Anderson 1976, p.54).

### **A Brief Life sketch**

Born in Sardinia in 1891, Gramsci was the child of a minor government servant who was imprisoned for six years in 1900, convicted of embezzlement of electoral funds. There is some doubt about his guilt and an assumption that the conviction was motivated by his opposition to the successful candidate. However, the significance of this for the young Antonio was that he stopped going to school at the end of the fifth grade and was forced to work ten hours a day in the local land office carrying about register books which weighed more than he did, an occupation which severely taxed his strength (Lettere, p.299). Of this period, he later complained that he experienced a lot of agony due to pain. Gramsci spent most of his life in ill-health, as a hunchback from the age of six. In 1908, he was able to return to secondary school (gymnasium) in the nearby town of Santu Lussurgiu. He had continued to study hard during his enforced absence and was so successful in gymnasium that he was able to win scholarships. He won a scholarship to study at the university in Turin where his studies were constantly interrupted due to ill health.

Eventually he left the university before graduating and became a journalist, contributing to a number of radical newspapers before founding in 1919 (along with three others) and editing *L'Ordine Nuovo* (The New Order), a weekly newspaper (which in 1921 became a daily). It aimed at the political education of workers in the automobile factories of Turin. In 1921, Gramsci left the Italian Socialist Party and became a founder member of the Italian Communist Party. He was its General Secretary from 1924 and became a Communist

Deputy in the elections of the same year. However, these events coincided with the rise to power of the Fascist Party, and in 1926 Gramsci was imprisoned by his former socialist colleague, Mussolini, who gave instructions that his brain must be stopped from functioning for at least twenty years. Cammett mentioned in 1921 Mussolini had commented that Gramsci had 'an unquestionably powerful brain', (Cammett, 1967, p.138.) Paradoxically, it was during the next decade of this imprisonment that Gramsci wrote the works for which he is best known outside Italy. The Letters and the Notebooks which constitute his systematic contribution to political and social theory were written in the prison. The deteriorating health in the prison caused his release, but into 'hospital arrest' only months before his death. In 1937, the death from a combination of chronic insomnia and indigestion, tuberculosis, hyper-tension and finally, a stroke. In 1923, in Moscow, Gramsci had married Giulia Schutz, an Austrian refugee. From her, he had two sons, the younger of whom he never saw; the elder he saw for only a few months.

An important feature of his letters from prison is their growing desperation as he attempted to maintain contact with his two sons. Reading Gramsci and his biographers is a moving as well as an intellectually stimulating experience. One student of his life and work has concluded that he was a failure then and now—the former a reference to the collapse of the Turin revolt, the latter to the fact that he has become the patron saint of the modern Communist Party in Italy, a party which has engineered the so-called 'historic compromise' with the democratic parliamentary parties in Italy, and is confronted with the possibility of attaining power through the democratic machinery of the ballot box with the inevitable compromises which this implies (cf. Boggs, 1976, p.80). However, Gramsci was himself no stranger to compromise, a fact which contributes a further element to his tragedy as a politician. For, as we have seen, Gramsci is the political radical committed to action, and tragic consequences are implicit in the willingness to compromise which this entails. For example, he was an advocate of an alliance against Fascism of all workers and peasants irrespective of their party allegiance, a stance attracting criticism from the intransigents in the Party. Perhaps the most poignant of his letters from prison records his abortive attempt, towards the end of his life, to organise a seminar aimed at convincing his fellow political prisoners that he had not ceased to be a Communist (cf. Cammett, 1969, p.182; Pozzolini, 1970, pp.xviii–xix). This sensitivity to the need for compromise and alliance with non-Marxists has earned for Gramsci the titles 'Open Marxist', 'Liberal Marxist', 'Western Marxist', 'Cultural Marxist', 'Creative Marxist' and, from both Marxists and non-Marxists alike, the judgment that he was not a Marxist at all (Gwyn Williams, 1975, p.306).

### **The concept of hegemony**

A number of scholars of Gramsci considered the notion of hegemony to be his unique contribution to political theory. Raymond Williams has shown a renewed interest in, and a larger application of the concept particularly to Gramsci's influence, and has concluded that his understanding of hegemony was 'at a depth which is... rare' (Raymond Williams 1973). He also observes that the notion of hegemony is complex. The complex account of hegemony is due to the fact that it is often linked to state and civil society. If we are talking about any real social formation then hegemony needs to be referred to. We have to give an account which allows for its elements of real and constant change. We have to emphasise that hegemony is not singular and that it is a relation of power. There is a power structure which is internal and without relating to which it is impossible to understand the complex nature of hegemony. There is a need to have it continually renewed and defended. There are dangers in attempting to characterise hegemony briefly, but this must be attempted since the notion is essential to an understanding of Gramsci's conception of the function of education.

The notion of hegemony is one of the most familiar notions in political history and international affairs. It refers to situations in which one group exercises political, cultural or economic influence over others. Gramsci further extended its reference to apply to relationships between groups, especially social classes. The notion also applies to different nations. Hence, one social class can be thought of as exercising hegemony over other minority groups. In capitalist society, the most common example used in the Marxian



tradition also in its narratives, the bourgeoisie is hegemonic in relation to the industrial working class. In its turn, the point of socialist revolution is that it is counter-hegemonic, aimed at replacing bourgeois by proletarian hegemony. Gramscian scholars have debated how the use of hegemony is simply an alternative formulation of the familiar notion of class dictatorship and, hence, how far it is applicable to a democratic society. In one of the narratives of its English language analyses of the concept, some scholars treat hegemony as corresponding 'to a state power conceived it as the dictatorship of a class' (Williams 1951, p.587). Similarly, Hughes considers it to be 'a totalitarian thought clothed in liberal guise' (Hughes 1958, pp.101-2).

In Prison Notebooks, there are many contexts in which the term 'hegemony' is used. In the earliest of its use, the term refers to the class alliance of the proletariat with other exploited groups in a common struggle against the oppression of the capitalists. Gramsci laid emphasis here on the need to make sacrifices on the part of the proletariat for it to win hegemony over its allies. At another instance the use is more like providing an umbrella, under which the aspirations and interests of some groups can be protected. Here the term is used in the sense of class alliance having a commonness, building a common platform which demands even compromise of higher kinds such as accommodating the aspirations of the smaller groups at the cost of many interests of the leading group itself. Compromises of such kinds only lead to the winning of the confidence of the smaller groups. There is a sense in which hegemony is understood in contrast to dictatorship. Hegemony is a key word in Gramsci which implies opposition to dictatorship in the sense that cultural predominance can be distinguished from political power. (McInnis 1971, p.11, note 4; cf. also Cammett, 1967, p.204; Joll, 1977, p.9). The cultural predominance is an important element in Gramsci's scheme of thought. The factor of coercion does not have any role here in hegemony. Joll argues that neither the exercise of economic nor physical power is central to Gramsci's conception of hegemony (Joll 1977, p.8) and that even political power is unnecessary to the establishment of the moral and cultural influence on which it depends. In Gramsci's formulation, the hegemonic direction is more of a moral and intellectual persuasion rather than control by the political administration. The 'rule by intellectual and moral hegemony is the form of power which gives stability and founds power on wide-ranging consent and acquiescence'. For this to be so, 'every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily a pedagogical relationship' (Quaderni, vol. II, p.1331).

The subaltern classes within a state which form the proletariat and the control on them is much more subtly exercised. In hegemony the control operates persuasively rather than coercively through cultural institutions. They are institutions like churches, labour unions and other workers' associations, schools and the press. In the Marxian terminology, hegemony depends upon the 'false consciousness' of the working class. Raymond Williams puts it, so totally do the complex forces of hegemony saturate the whole process of living 'that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense' (Raymond Williams 1977, p.110).

The rival experience of fascism with much of the working-class drawing towards the then prevalent ideology is one of those important experiences which pushed him to revise the Marxist-Leninist theory of State. He added some new concepts such as "the bourgeois hegemony in civil society". Gramsci defines the State as "the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules" (Carnoy 1986, 65). Gramsci believes that the State has basically an educative and formative function. This educative function of the State later adopted and expanded by other socialist thinkers serves to create new and higher types of civilizations. This, in fact, changed the face of state as it now transforms the social aspect as well. It trains people to adapt the morality and the increasing responsibility of the citizens. With regards to the production aspect also there is a change in the process. The main concern of the State is to incorporate the will of each single individual into the collective will turning their necessary consent and collaboration from "coercion" to "freedom" (Gramsci 1980, 242). This is an integrative aspect where the individual's desires and aspirations become secondary and they find it

dissolved in the collective will of a state. The State here functions in such a way to create conformist citizens who internalize the most restrictive aspects of the civil life, and accept them as their natural duties without having any resentment. There is no dislike shown here by the citizens as the state is higher in stature and all welfare measures comes from the political authority. The major means of the state in creating the creative civilization and disseminating certain attitudes is the Law. The law is made to fulfil the requirements of the citizens and state at large. According to Gramsci, the evolution of the civil society is an important factor in the run upto the World War II. The colonial expansion and the subsequent resentment among the Asian countries lead to the formation of class consciousness against the dominant groups. Mechanisms of State became more complex and massive and the classical weapons of the oppressed classes became also noticeable. With the civil society becoming more powerful the takeover of the restrictive State apparatus became a possibility, in modern democracies. Thus, with the arrival of modern form of education the transformation in the political morality is immanent, so also the formation of laws which suits the modern ideologies with democratic rights and justice.

### **Passive revolution and Civil resistance**

Civil resistance, which has occurred in various forms throughout history, has become particularly prominent in the past century. Three great overlapping causes—decolonization, democratization, and racial equality—have been advanced by campaigns of civil resistance characterized by extensive use of nonviolent action. So have many other causes: workers' rights, protection of the environment, gender equality, religious and indigenous rights, defence of national cultures and political systems against foreign encroachments, and opposition to wars and weaponry. Civil resistance was one of the factors that was responsible for ending of communist party rule in many countries. The world today has been shaped largely by this mode of political ideology. However, understanding exactly how civil resistance has shaped the world today is itself a big challenge. The perspective though not open has its larger role. There are two presuppositions involved in this perspective of resistance. First, that civil resistance cannot be considered in isolation from all the other factors of power, domestic and foreign, civil and military, which help to determine outcomes. The second is that civil resistance, while it has had many successes, can sometimes contribute to adverse, or at least ambiguous outcomes.

Against the background of the carnage of the First World War, President Woodrow Wilson spoke in 1918 of 'the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power'. He offered a vision of a world in which policies based on the pursuit of power would be replaced by policies based on justice and democracy. Attractive as his vision was, it was not borne out by subsequent events. Concerns about power and power balances—and more specifically about how to use military means to defend a social order, guard against potential dangers, or gain advantages over actual or potential adversaries—have proved to be an enduring feature of politics both domestic and international. While forms of armed conflict and military power constantly change, and much has been achieved in reducing their role in human affairs, attempts to eliminate their roles entirely have perennially run into trouble.

Civil resistance is a type of voluntary action that relies on the use of non-violent methods. It is largely similar to certain other terms and also connotes features that are identical. Those include nonviolent action, non-violent resistance and people power. It involves a wide range of events or happenings and sustained activities that challenge a political authority. The adjective 'civil' in this context denotes that which pertains to a citizen or society. Here a movement's goals are 'civil' in the sense of being widely shared in a society and it denotes that the action concerned is non-military or non-violent in character. Civil resistance, the method that had been evolved by Gandhi in India, he led the people of India in many movements which largely challenged the authority of the British in political governance. Even after the colonial apparatus failed and the freedom struggle in Asian countries succeeded, such resistance movements continued to challenge the power structure of the modern democracies. It has been used not only against tyrannical rule, but also against democratically elected governments, over such issues as maintenance of key elements of the constitutional order and preservation of regional autonomy within a country. The term 'civil

resistance' has frequently been used in connection with some types of non-violent campaign. Gandhi used it on many occasions, one of a series in which he set out his ideas for resisting British rule in India (Gandhi 1921). Civil resistance is more of a generic term which includes the phenomenon of 'non-violent action'. Many have seen 'non-violent action' as the over-arching concept, which famously encompasses a vast array of types of activity. There are other terms that are synonymous. They are 'passive resistance', 'civil disobedience', and 'satyagraha'. Each of these terms has its own identifiable features which are similar in nature.

The involvement of civil resistance with power also involves negotiations with the powerful, it being a method. As the civilians resist, the struggles often result in a stalemate, in which the resisters can deny their adversaries, legitimacy and cooperation. The movements which are often popular still need governmental or other assistance. Anna Hazare movements in India against corruption and their popularity reminded people of India about the nonviolent movements led by Gandhi in the pre-independence period. Many leaders of civil resistance movements—most notably Gandhi, Martin Luther King have engaged in negotiations with governments. The round table, as used at the opening of the critically important negotiations during their prominence. Gandhi and Martin Luther King admitted some modest legitimate role for force in overcoming the situations of violence in society. Gandhi's views on the use of force were complex as he at times permitted the use of military force in checking violence.

Passive revolution is a term coined by Antonio Gramsci during the interwar period in Italy. Gramsci coined the term to refer to a means of change that is not abrupt and sudden but a slow and gradual metamorphosis that may take years or generations to accomplish. Gramsci uses "passive revolution" in a variety of contexts with slightly different meanings, though in a larger context their meaning remains the same. The primary usage being the contrary example of transformation of bourgeois society in 19th-century. The transformation is seen by Gramsci as an authentic revolution guided by social forces. The Italian case was 'elite-driven' as from fascist infrastructure to a socialist structure would require a gradual build up and much time. However, Gramsci also associates Italian fascism with the notion of passive revolution. Passive revolution, however, has not only become significant for studies of Gramsci or the history of Marxism. It is also now one of the most influential of concepts derived from the various Marxist traditions in wider historical and contemporary scholarship. Passive revolution is a transformation of the political and institutional structures without any strong but it has been used as a frame of analysis for viewing other transitions to capitalist modernity.

Many senses of passive revolution can be seen in narratives of Gramsci's habitual method of narrating his theoretical reflections. They have focused on reconstructing the historical narrative of the long nineteenth century that seems to be presented in a fragmentary manner here and there in his writings. They also contain sometimes contradictory forms in a number of different notes. Being a historical narrative, passive revolution has been understood as involving a progressive dilation of perspective. Gramsci extends his analysis from Italy during the Risorgimento, to Europe in the epoch of high imperialism, to his contemporary global conditions defined by Fascism and "Americanism" (Vincenzo Cuoco (1801)). The reading offered here instead focuses on the discrete moments of passive revolution's deployment as a heuristic formula within the Prison Notebooks. Beyond the temporal contextual plain the concept finds its application in a universal level, "stretching" of an originally national paradigm, these usages are defined by the consistent, "punctual" presentation of a fundamentally internationalist orientation. The first note in which passive revolution seems to appear was written in February-March 1930. (See Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, ed. Valentino Gerratana (Turin, 1975), 2479 and Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*. Edizione anastatica dei manoscritti, ed. Gianni Francioni (Rome-Cagliari, 2009), Vol.1, 4). The chronological first note in which Gramsci refers to passive revolution, from November 1930, already deploys it in a global sense. (See Athos Lisa, *Memorie: in carcere con Gramsci* (Milan, 1973), and for a critical contextualization, Buci-Glucksmann, *Gramsci and the State*, 237–90). The contemporary discussion of passive revolution in terms of transformation, theories of state and civil society and modernization, and the analysis of current political dynamics has significantly extended the relevance beyond its original uses in the Prison

Notebooks. The larger role that passive revolution plays within Gramsci's original project, and the dialectic with permanent revolution that defines his use of it, offers to recover not only a fuller range of the meanings generative of and associated with it, in its historical context. In a deeper historical context the values that it portrays has a larger application. It also enables us to recognize passive revolution as primarily a contribution to the central strategic debates of the Marxist tradition of Gramsci's time, and thus to consider the role that uses of passive revolution might play in a similar context in contemporary conditions. The meaning and significance of passive revolution for us today is certainly not exhausted by acknowledging the conditions and modality of its original formulation; but such an assessment is the necessary precondition for a meaningful form of its contemporary "actualization," that is, its transformative inheritance.

## Conclusions

Gramsci's influence became more pronounced in the later part of the twentieth century with the spread of cultural studies. Another factor that was noticeable was the rapid increase in the interest on fascination with the power, and the greater attention among the scholars on culture, society, and politics. The subsequent decline of interest in Marxian ideologies had no effect on currency on Gramsci's. Gramsci had completely displaced and won the hearts and attention in different continents and also transformed some of the inheritances of Marxism into cultural studies. Gramsci's ideas have come to occupy a very special position in the academic circles in the best post-Marxist theories and strategies by the political left. The concern with the concept of civil society during the past two decades have revived the interest among the scholars on the subject. In the same line many of the issues and topics that currently preoccupy a large section of the intellectuals such as subaltern studies, postcolonialism and modernity and postmodernity, the relation between theory and praxis, the genealogy of Fascism, the socio-political dimensions of popular culture, hegemony and the manufacturing of consent, etc. – have motivated many a reading and rereading of Gramsci's texts.

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