




Outline

- The Italian Context
- From spatial linguistics to ...
- ... geographical-historical materialism
- Sociospatialities
 - place and scale
 - The Southern Question
 - Americanism and Fordism
 - territory and state power
 - geoeconomics and geopolitics
- Conclusions



The Italian Context - I

- Advanced Liberalism, Backward Society
- Problems of forming the Italian nation-state
 - “Abbiamo fatto l'Italia. Ora si tratta di fare gli Italiani” (Massimo D'Azeglio)
- Italy was unified on basis of a Piedmont-led top-down **passive revolution**, based on successive compromises between aristocracy and rising industrial bourgeoisie – not ruptural, popular, Jacobin revolution France in 1789-99
- Hence the Machiavellian challenge for Gramsci: to organize a modern prince to build a modern Italian state

The Italian Context - II

- *Italia! De te fabula narratur* (cf. Marx, *Preface to Capital I*)
- For Marx, English industrial development (manufacturing and machinofacture) was model for capitalist expansion elsewhere (including a then mainly agrarian "Germany")
- Gramsci's ideas influenced by **Russia** but firmly rooted in historical development and current affairs of **Italy** as well as Europe, the **USA**, and the wider international system
- Italy was a late and unevenly developing economy as well as fragmented national state: industrial north, city-states, Rome and Vatican questions, *Mezzogiorno*, related to migration from South to North and/or from Italy to USA

Italian State Formation

- Instead of 'expansive hegemony', Italian state had a 'transformist' social base, i.e., it rested on continuing absorption into the ruling class of intellectual and political leaders of subordinate groups and resulting decapitation and disorganization of those groups.
- 'Transformism' involves a 'war of position' conducted by the ruling class against subordinate groups. It is also discussed as 'passive revolution': reorganization of economic, political, and ideological relations, often in response to a crisis, that maintains the passivity of subordinate groups and separation of leaders and led

The Italian Context - III

- **Crisis of the liberal state and the rise of fascism in Italy**
- Defeat of Italian factory council movement in 1920
- Bolshevik Revolution and problems of socialist construction in Soviet Union
- Factional and strategic problems of PCI and Comintern
- Economic crisis of 1929-32 and its political impact
- Role of fascist state and corporativism in facilitating economic restructuring and industrial modernization in Italy under the hegemony of the old ruling classes
- Competitive threat to old Europe posed by dynamic American Fordism and growing world market integration

The Italian Context - IV

- Crisis of liberal state and the rise of fascism: Fascism won because of historical weakness of Italian state.
- Gramsci traced this to (1) failure of Italian bourgeoisie to win 'intellectual, moral, and political leadership' over whole nation through Jacobin-style agrarian reform; (2) associated failure to give the *Risorgimento* a national-popular dimension and so secure a solid class basis for modern state independent of big landowners.
- This explains absence of key conditions needed for an effective liberal parliamentary state producing stable government with durably organized, active consent

The Italian Context - V



- The East-West distinction
- Writing in prison, Gramsci returned to the question of why the Russian Revolution had succeeded and the European revolutionary movement had failed.
- He attributed this to a crucial difference between the terrain of conflict in Tsarist Russia and Western European societies

Historical and spatial linguistics

- University of Turin: neo-linguistic philology developed by Matteo Bartoli in opposition to neo-grammarians
- Gramsci applied this approach in much of his work, even describing his overall method as *philological*.
- Gramsci studied diffusion of language from dominant or hegemonic centres to peripheries, stratification of language use stratification, local linguistic usages , external influences on national languages, translation
- Also effects of social mobility on language, e.g., how country folk ape urban manners, subaltern groups imitate upper classes, peasants speak when they move to cities

Spatial Linguistics

- Matteo Bartoli (Gramsci's professor in Turin) argued that a dominant speech community exerts its prestige over contiguous, subaltern communities: city over countryside, 'standard' language over dialect, leading socio-cultural group over subordinate one.
- *Innovations* flow outwards from prestigious *langue*: so earlier forms are found in peripheral rather than central areas, isolated more than accessible areas, larger more than smaller areas (another source of idea of hegemony)
- Gramsci's vernacular materialist turn: 'people' must be unified through language if a coherent, national-popular 'collective will' is to emerge and motivate revolution

"Vernacular Materialism" (Ives)

- Introduces *power relations* into language use. Linguistic and extra-linguistic elements of social life co-constitute meaning and thereby help to sustain social domination
- G's account of hegemony is rooted, intellectually, in his work on the relation between *spontaneous grammars* learnt as part of natural language use and the *normative grammar* used to regulate speech in more formal ways, which promotes official domination and social exclusion
- A hegemonic cultural formation emerges from *molecular* translation of diverse communicative practices into a coherent and (relatively) unified grammatical structure

Language and Common Sense

- The whole of language is a continuous process of metaphor, and the history of semantics is an aspect of the history of culture; language is at the same time a living thing and a museum of fossils of life and civilisations (Q11, §28: 1438-9)
- All men are philosophers. Their philosophy is contained in: 1. *language itself*, which is a totality of determined notions and concepts and not just words grammatically devoid of content; 2. '*common sense*' and '*good sense*'; 3. popular religion and, therefore, also in the entire system of belief, superstitions, opinions, ways of seeing things and of acting which are collectively bundled together under the name of 'folklore' (Q11, §12: 1375)

Philology

- Philology (linguistics as a discipline and as a method): AG describes it as “the methodological expression of the importance of particular facts understood as definite and specific ‘individualities’” (Q7, §6). Pay attention to small things, particulars, etc.
- Philology was appropriate methodology for philosophy of praxis:
 - “The experience upon which the philosophy of praxis is based cannot be schematized; it is history in its infinite variety and multiplicity, the study of which can give rise to ‘philology’ as a method of scholarship” (Q11, §25).

Geographical Historical Materialism

- Concept introduced by David Harvey but implicit in Marx’s critique of political economy – as much concerned with spatiality as with temporality of capital relation and capital accumulation
- Exploitation and domination occur in a sociospatially differentiated world (the terrestrial, space, place, scale, territory, network, etc.) and over whose surface people and resources are more or less motile and mobile.
- Examines the sociospatiality of capital accumulation and class domination, their sociospatial conditions of existence and their impact on sociospatial relations

Sociospatial Challenges

- Vatican as cosmopolitan mini-state at heart of Italy supported by traditional intellectual elite with supranational orientation
- Debate on Southern Question in Italy (especially from 1870s)
- Spatiality of *Risorgimento* and flawed Italian unification
- Continuing economic and social problems posed by uneven and dependent development and internal colonialism in Italy
- PCI’s challenge in breaking class alliance of northern capital and southern agricultural landowning class and forming alliance between northern workers and southern peasants
- Changing forms of imperialism (incl. obstacles, challenges, opportunities as Americanism and Fordism spread to Europe)
- Political problems posed by isolation of USSR

Sociospatial Interests

- Dependent development in *Mezzogiorno* and general tendency to internal colonialism in Italy
- Relations among economic places and spaces, including geographical variations in town-country relations and how different parties aimed to remodel this relationship
- Interconnection, articulation, and tensions among local, regional, national, international and global economies.
- Spatial division of labour, uneven national integration of rural, urban and regional economies, importance of scale in world market, and conflict between place and space.
- Close attention to class relations that follow from the spacing, placing, and scaling of economic organisation.

Other Spatial Topics

- Economic-corporate urban regimes of medieval communes
- Tangled hierarchy of scales — economic, political, and socio-economic instability (e.g. dominance of Piedmont in Italy)
- Reconstruction of scale in response to crisis of liberalism, dependent development and internal colonialism in Italy
- Diffusion of Americanism/Fordism – in compatible ways – to Europe could alter its economy, polity, and civil society
- Imperialism and its rivalries in hierarchy of advanced, semi-advanced, and peripheral capitalist states (e.g., England and Germany, France and Czechoslovakia, and Italy respectively)
- Prospects that revolution in advanced capitalist states (the 'West') might follow the Russian Revolution (in the 'East').

Some Spatial Metaphors

- | | |
|--|---|
| • East/West Morphology of the State | • North/South Popular Cosmology |
| • Passive Revolution | • Molecular Transformation |
| • United Front | • Popular Front |
| • Base | • Superstructure |
| • Historical Bloc | • Hegemonic Bloc |
| • War of Manoeuvre | • War of Position |
| • Weak civil society that cannot serve as "fortress" | • Civil society as in-depth defensive trench system |

Grounded Spatial Ontologies		
Dimension of socio-spatial relations	Principle of socio-spatial structuration	Associated configurations of socio-spatial relations
TERRITORY (Gramsci)	Bordering, bounding, parcellization, enclosure	Construction of inside/ outside divides, Constitutive role of outside
PLACE (Gramsci)	Proximity, spatial embedding, areal differentiation	Construction of spatial divisions of labour; horizontal differentiation in terms of core-periphery
SCALE (Gramsci)	Hierarchization, Vertical differentiation	Construction of scalar divisions of labor in terms of 'dominant', 'nodal' and 'marginal' scales
NETWORKS (less present)	Interconnectivity, interdependence, 'rhizomatic' differentiation	Networks of nodal ties Differentiate nodal points in topological networks

Sociospatiality - Place

- Gramsci stresses importance of place in his comments on
 - how common sense, popular culture, and everyday practices are shaped by life in different types of cities and the countryside, the design of locales (schools, churches, architecture) or built forms (street layout, street names)
- He discussed struggles for control over places (factories, public buildings, streets, neighbourhoods, etc.)
- Contrasted secure meeting places of industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie with vulnerability of working-class premises and the problems of protecting the streets ('the natural place where the proletariat can assemble without cost') .
- He noted hegemony in the USA is grounded in the factory.

Sociospatiality – Scale I

- Examined relations of hegemony and domination at
 - *local level* (e.g., Parisian urban bloc's domination of other French cities; how modern auto city of Turin was healthy and productive but Lombardy's heavy industrial cities were corrupted by clientelism),
 - *regional level* (e.g., Piedmontese domination of Italy's weak unification or Giolittian strategy of passive revolution based on alliance between dominant northern urban bloc and southern rural bloc),
 - *national level* (e.g., influence of French bourgeoisie as leading, dominant class throughout the European Continent),
 - *transatlantic level* (e.g., Americanism and Fordism), and
 - *hemispheric level* (e.g., probable transfer of economic and political domination from America to Asia).
- Also note his insistence on interpreting organic connection of internal and international forces in Italian nation-formation as a problem of 'co-ordination and subordination'

Sociospatiality – Scale II

- Gramsci recognised the distinction between political power on a European as opposed to world scale:
 - These two are not the same thing. In a duel between Berlin and Paris or between Paris and Rome, the winner is not master of the world. Europe has lost its importance and world politics depends more on London, Washington, Moscow, Tokyo than it does on the Continent (Q2\$24).
- Also asked whether domestic politics determine foreign policy, or vice versa:
 - it will be necessary to distinguish: between great powers, with relative international autonomy, and other powers; also, between different forms of government (a government like that of Napoleon III had two policies, apparently—reactionary internally, and liberal abroad) (Q8\$141).

Southern Question(s)

- Complex, multi-layered economic and political subordination of secondary centres of accumulation to the north and their implications for class alliances;
- Resulting complexities of class formation and regional disparities structures that block a Jacobin road to national unification; and
- Resulting problems for leading role of proletariat, which is a minority of population and concentrated in North.
- Hegemonic role would depend on its capacity to form class alliances, mobilizing in particular the real consent and active support of the broad peasant

Southern Question - II

- Five forces crucial forces in Italy after the end of Great War:
 1. the northern urban force;
 2. the southern rural force;
 3. the northern/central rural force;
 4. the rural force of Sicily; and
 5. the rural force of Sardinia.
- On this basis, he analysed inter-regional relations on analogy of a train whose engine would be northern urban force.
- Recommended that PCI promote a hegemonic alliance of proletariat with peasantry and petty-bourgeois intellectuals and lead them in a war of position before the final military-political resolution of the conflict. This would dissolve the defensive alliance between northern industrialists and southern landowners, which also benefited from rural and urban petty-bourgeois support.

Gramsci on *Lo Stato Integrale*

- Focused on modalities of state power rather than its specific institutional mediations
- Looked beyond the juridico-political state apparatus to state power as social relation
- *Lo stato integrale* = “political society + civil society” or ‘hegemony armoured by force’
- Relative weight of coercion, fraud-corruption, passive revolution, and active consent



Gramsci on State Power

- State = ‘the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its domination but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules’ (Q15, § 10)
- *Force* = use of coercive apparatus to bring popular masses into conformity with demands of a given of production
- *Hegemony* = way in which ruling class mobilizes and secures ‘active consent’ of dominated groups via **political, intellectual, and moral** leadership to form a ‘collective will’
- This gives a central role to language and discourse as medium of state power (important even for use of force)

Civil Society

- Civil society is ensemble of organisms commonly called ‘private’: it is the sphere of ‘hegemony’ that the dominant group exercises throughout society
- Political society corresponds to ‘direct domination’ exercised through the State and ‘juridical’ government.
- These tasks are organisational and connective: intellectuals are dominant group’s ‘deputies’ exercising subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government.
- Intellectuals have expanded greatly. Modern democratic-bureaucratic system generates many functions that are not justified by social necessities of production but are required by the political necessities of the dominant class.

East and West - I



Gramsci aged 15 years

In the East, the State was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between State and civil society, and when the state tottered, a sturdy structure of civil society was immediately revealed. The State was just a forward trench; behind it stood a succession of sturdy fortresses and emplacements (Gramsci, 2007: 169)

	EAST	WEST
Civil Society	Primordial, gelatinous	Developed, sturdy
State	Preponderant	Balanced
Strategy	War of Manoeuvre	War of Position
Tempo	Speed	Protraction

P. Anderson (1977) The Antinomies of Gramsci, *New Left Review*, p. 10

War of Manoeuvre

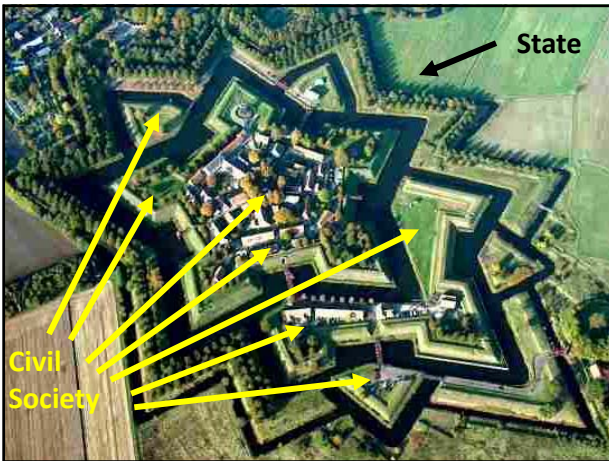
- Tsarist state could be smashed largely through a 'war of manoeuvre' organized by Bolshevik Party and based on alliance between the proletariat and peasantry
- This did not obviate the necessity for a later 'war of position' to sustain that alliance after the dictatorship of the proletariat was established and the economic foundations for a socialist society were constructed) a successful revolution in advanced capitalist systems presupposes a protracted 'war of position' (1978, pp. 414-416, 43 1-432),



War of Position



- Western state: state in its inclusive sense = political society + civil society
- Seizing state is not enough: a strong civil society provides the fortifications and trenches, defensive works that protect the state
- Conquest of civil society also required important: war of position needed prior to seizure of power



Enlarged State 1930s-1970s

- Four key features:
 - Fordist wage relation based on tripartite collective bargaining;
 - Political relation based on concertation rather than individual citizenship;
 - Superstructural institutions of Keynesian welfare statism;
 - Resort to rational indicative planning rather than a liberal market or command economy.
- Crisis emerging in 1970s due to exhaustion of Fordist dynamic, contradictions of KWS, and bourgeois class offensive

Hegemony - I

- Just as force is institutionalized in a series of coercive apparatuses (army, police, law, prisons, etc.), practice of hegemony is crystallized and mediated in a complex system of 'hegemonic apparatuses' throughout social formation.
- These are found above all in 'private' organizations in civil society, such as the Church, trade unions, schools, mass media, political parties, the family system, philanthropy
- Function of intellectuals - which is conducted in and through ideology rather than being simply manipulative - is to elaborate ideologies, educate the 'people', organize and unify social forces, and secure dominant group's hegemony

Hegemony - II

- Three aspects of hegemony:
 - ideology of ruling class in art, sciences, law, economics, etc.;
 - worldview diffused among all social strata in different social spheres, e.g., philosophy, religion, common sense, folklore
 - ideological direction (political, intellectual, and moral leadership) of society articulated on three essential levels
 - ideology properly speaking;
 - organizations (e.g., church, schools, press) and structures (e.g., mass media, libraries) that create and diffuse ideology;
 - ideological material (17-18).
- Only organic ideologies, tied to core class, are essential: begin as 'economic-corporate', expand to become hegemonic, and extend to all spheres of civil and political society.

Hegemony - III

- Creation, organization, and diffusion of hegemony involves intellectuals specializing in all aspects of ideology of group: economics, sciences, art, etc.
- Intellectual labour is more differentiated among the leading social categories than among popular masses.
- Philosophy must be coherent as it is the cornerstone and reference point for all ideological systems
- A close link exists between philosophy and history: former reflects history of epoch, forms a bloc with it.
- Philosophy can be contrasted with ideology, which is more specific and economic-corporate in nature.

Historical Bloc - I

- Gramsci uses 'historical bloc' to solve the perennial Marxian problem of the reciprocal relation between the material 'base' and its politico-ideological 'superstructure'.
- Gramsci asks how 'the complex, contradictory and discordant ensemble of the superstructures is the reflection of the ensemble of the social relations of production'.
- Answer: the historical bloc reflects 'the necessary reciprocity between structure and superstructure' (1971: 366).
- It emerges via the structural coupling and co-evolution of interdependent structural and superstructural ensembles
- A key role also falls to the state in its narrow political sense and its enlarged sense of 'political society + civil society'.

Historical Bloc - II

- Intellectuals have crucial roles in shaping the *mercato determinato* and articulating-reproducing historical bloc.
- Economic laws are secured only insofar as one or more strata of intellectuals give the dominant class a certain homogeneity and awareness of its own function in social and political as well as economic fields (SPN: 410-14).
- Intellectuals are functionaries of the superstructure on behalf of the fundamental class at economic level
- So bourgeoisie must entrust organization of ideological, legal, and political superstructure to specialised groups, e.g., to petty bourgeoisie or to allied classes.

Historical Bloc - III

- For hegemony to be consolidated, civil society and political society must be equally developed and tied organically: then the dominant class can alternate their use harmoniously to perpetuate its domination.
- But note the trend towards 'statization' of civil society (e.g., decadence of traditional parties tied to parliament, state monopoly of new organs of public opinion, effort to take over old organs such as unions, steady absorption of culture and education from church).
- And note that, conversely, civil society can create new organs of coercion on behalf of ruling class (e.g., Fascisti).

Intellectuals - I

- Intellectuals “are the dominant group’s ‘deputies’. They work to secure:
 1. The ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is ‘historically’ caused by the prestige... which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.
 2. The apparatus of state coercive power which ‘legally’ enforces discipline on those groups who do not ‘consent’ either actively or passively” (SPN)

Intellectuals - II

- There is a hierarchy of intellectuals: from grand intellectuals, who create a new philosophy and elaborate it for different social spheres down to subaltern agents without leading role
- Intellectuals have different functions: Gramsci distinguishes creators, organizers, and educators
- Intellectuals’ role in organizing superstructure begins with the economic-corporate level (technicians, economists, etc.). This then moves to ‘direct’ society, animating and administering ideological structures at the heart of civil society.
- Intellectuals also active in political society: army, police, bureaucracy, etc.

Intellectuals - III

- Intellectuals as such do not constitute a separate class but are tied to different classes.
- The most important and complex categories of ‘grand’ intellectuals have same social origins as dominant class.
- Subaltern groups import their intellectuals, who have tenuous links to them and are more easily absorbed into ‘mainstream’ through forms of passive revolution
- In civil society, ideological attacks should focus on grand intellectuals, ignoring minor figures
- In political society, minor figures are also important – so concentrate forces on eliminating weakest opponents.

Intellectuals - IV

- Intellectuals' role is not just a passive reflection of socio-economic base: intellectuals need autonomy to perform their economic, political, and ethico-political functions
- The dominant class also needs them to be autonomous as source of self-criticism that enables rule through hegemony rather than force.
- This autonomy is grounded in social origins of intellectuals (especially for auxiliary rather than grand intellectuals).
- So no immediate, instantaneous correspondence between general socio-economic evolution of historical bloc and intellectual initiatives.
- This is seen in political sphere, with its errors, its survival of traditional political elites, etc. Autonomy of intellectuals could even result in organic crisis.

Traditional and Organic Intellectuals

- There is a world of difference between ideologies that are 'arbitrary, rationalistic and willed' and those that are organic, i.e., able to provide basis of an 'historical bloc'
- Two kinds of intellectuals:
 - **Traditional intellectuals** (appear independent of any class base but keep system in place by reproducing its ideas)
 - **Organic intellectuals** (whatever their social origins, they are tied to the class whose unity they organize)
- Challenge for working class is to develop its own organic intellectuals and to win traditional intellectuals to its side

Power Bloc and/or Historical Bloc

- Power bloc: a durable (not temporary) alliance among dominant classes or fractions that is based on long-term economic, state, and hegemonic projects
- Hegemony of power bloc over popular masses also depends on the capacity of its projects to serve the economic-corporate interests of subaltern classes and to articulate them to 'national-popular' interest
- Historical bloc is not a strategic concept but refers to correspondence and interpenetration of economic 'base' and the political-ideological 'superstructure'

Historical Bloc - I

- Gramsci uses 'historical bloc' to solve the perennial Marxian problem of the reciprocal relation between the material 'base' and its politico-ideological 'superstructure'.
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Historical Bloc - II

- Intellectuals have a key role in shaping laws of tendency and articulating and reproducing the historical bloc.
- Economic laws are secured only insofar as one or more strata of intellectuals give the dominant class a certain homogeneity and awareness of its own function in social and political as well as economic fields (1971: 410-14).
- Intellectuals are functionaries of the superstructure on behalf of the fundamental class at economic level
- E.g., bourgeoisie must entrust organization of ideological, legal, and political superstructure to specialised groups, e.g., to petty bourgeoisie or to allied classes.

Il mercato determinato

- Gramsci takes this idea (mistakenly) from Ricardo to highlight historical specificity of economic forms, institutions, and dynamics of a specific form of economic organization. It was
 - 'equivalent to [a] determined relation of social forces in a determined structure of the productive apparatus, this relation being guaranteed (i.e. rendered durable) by a determined political, moral and juridical superstructure' (1971: 410).
- Describes 'the determinate social form, of the whole as opposed to the part, of the whole which determines – to a determinate extent – that automatism and ensemble of uniformities and regularities that economic science attempts to describe with the greatest exactness, precision and completeness' (1995: 171).

More on Integral Economy

- Critical economics should study this in terms of 'the ensemble of concrete economic activities of a determined social form, assumed according to the laws governing their uniformity, i.e. 'abstracted' but without this abstraction ceasing to be historically determined' (1995: 127).
- Pure economics uses 'determinate market' for pedantic purposes and regards it as an **arbitrary abstraction** oriented to the dispositions of a transhistorical biological man ...
- Critical economics regards determinate market as the product of a **real process of abstraction** that is historically grounded in operation of a capitalist economy (1995: 127).

Americanism and Fordism - I

- Americanism – American system of manufacturing (i.e., machinofacture)
 - Mass production of standardized goods using dedicated machinery, semi-skilled labour, and moving assembly line
- Fordism – economic and social mode of regulation of this economic system
 - **norms of consumption** as well as production, **new mode of disciplining labour and working class households**, new forms of organizing relationship between economy and state





Americanism and Fordism - II

- Gramsci reviews two key aspects of Americanism + Fordism
- The 'decisive nucleus of economic activity' in technological, economic, political, and sociocultural innovations that serve to counteract tendency of the rate of profit to fall.
- Their distinctive ethico-political dimensions. For, far from being merely a shift in industrial paradigm, these aspects transform them into the basis for a new historical epoch
- This is favourable to American hegemony on a world scale, which will be as much ethico-political as grounded in technological advances and superior productivity.

Americanism and Fordism - III

1. Fordism replaces present plutocratic stratum with a new accumulation mechanism and distributes finance capital based directly on needs of industrial production.
2. The question of sex.
3. Can Americanism constitute an historical "epoch"
4. 'Rationalisation' of Europe's demographic composition
5. Must this necessary evolution of productive apparatus begin in industrial and productive world or can it be guided from the outside by a cautious but massive construction of a formal juridical arm?

Americanism and Fordism - IV

6. The question of the so-called "high wages" paid by Fordised and rationalised industry.
7. Fordism as the ultimate stage in the process of progressive attempts by industry to overcome the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.
8. Psychoanalysis ... as the expression of the increased moral coercion exercised by the apparatus of State and society on single individuals, and of the pathological crisis determined by this coercion.
9. Rotary Clubs and Free Masonry (1971: 279-80; Q22 §1: 2139-40).

Americanism = Taylor + Ford

- The American system of manufacturing (machinofacture)
 - 1) the machines continually being introduced are more perfect and refined;
 - 2) the metals used are more resistant and last longer;
 - 3) the formation of a new type of worker, in whom a monopoly is created through high wages;
 - 4) the reduction of waste in manufacturing materials;
 - 5) the ever wider utilisation of ever more numerous by-products, i.e. the saving of previously unavoidable waste, which the great size of the enterprises makes possible;
 - 6) the utilisation of waste heat energy, e.g. the heat from blast furnaces which previously was dispersed into the atmosphere is now being sent by pipe to heat living environments etc. (Through Taylorised rationalisation of motion, the selection of a new type of worker allows a relative and absolute production greater than was previously possible with the same workforce.) (1995: 433-4; Q10II §41vii: 1312)
- This is only part of a wider picture – we must also need consider the social mode of regulation and broader implications for social relations

Americanism and Fordism - V

- Hegemony in the emerging Fordist system in the US ‘is born in the factory and requires for its exercise only a minute quantity of professional political and ideological intermediaries’ (1971: 285; Q22 §2: 2146).
- Outside the factory, at least in Ford’s factory towns, Fordism was also based on rigorous discipline of sexual instincts, the strengthening of the family and household unit, and training workers to spend their high wages rationally (1971: 300-03; Q22 §11: 2164-69).
- Gramsci writes that scientific publications on Taylorism and Fordism are interesting from a psychological viewpoint as are the measures taken by industrialists.

Americanism and Fordism - VI

- Scientific publications on Taylorism and Fordism are interesting from a psychological viewpoint as are the measures taken by industrialists.
- Ford employs inspectors who supervise and regulate his workers’ private life: they supervise the food, the beds, the cubic capacity of the rooms, the rest hours, and even more intimate matters.
- Those who don’t conform are dismissed and lose a minimum salary of 6 USD a day. Ford pays this minimum, but wants people who know how to work and who are always fit for work, in other words, who know how to coordinate their work with their way of life.
- We Europeans are too Bohemian; we think we can do a certain job and live as we like, in Bohemian fashion (Gramsci 1979: 181-2 [cf. letter dated 20.10.1930 in 1994: 356]; also 1971: 303-5, 310-11).
- So a key question for Gramsci is whether this can be reproduced in Europe – Americanism can but can Fordism?

Limits of Americanism

- These innovations also have material and/or social limitations. Thus Gramsci notes the limits to automation, reliance on new materials, and the loss of individual Fordist firms' superprofits when their competitors adopt the same techniques
- There is also working class resistance to deskilling and speed-up even in exchange for higher wages
- Eventually the world market will be saturated for both consumer and capital goods (1995: 255-6, 434; 1971: 310-12).
- When these limits are reached, the economic contradiction becomes a political contradiction to be resolved politically: corporatism in Italy, the US New Deal will prove inadequate, a socialist revolution will be needed (1995: 430).

Americanism and Fordism - VII

- Intellectuals have a key role in creating a durable economic regime and historical bloc. They provide some unity to the dominant class and an awareness of its role in the social and political as well as economic fields (SPN1: 410-14).
- There is also the question of power over subordinate classes. Here Gramsci notes that hegemony in US Fordism 'is born in the factory and requires for its exercise only a minute quantity of professional political and ideological intermediaries'.
- Even so, beyond the factory gates, at least in Ford's factory towns, we find rigorous discipline of sexual instincts, advice on 'rational consumption', strengthening the family (SPN1: 300-303).

Americanism and Fordism - VIII

- Thus the ethico-political not only helps to co-constitute economic structures but also provides them with their rationale and legitimacy.
- Analysing the historical bloc in this way can show how 'material forces are the content and ideologies are the form, though this distinction between form and content has purely didactic value' (1971: 377).
- Gramsci emphasizes the importance of values, norms, vision, discourses, linguistic forms, popular beliefs, etc., in shaping the realization of specific productive forces and relations of production.

The World Market

- World market as presupposition and posit (result) of capital accumulation (Marx). Gramsci shares this view and its implications for potential expansion and eventual exhaustion of capitalism
- He looks at it from viewpoint of Italy as “a proletarian nation” (Mussolini), i.e., Italy as advanced liberal state, backward society
- World market is horizon of economic and political action and framework within which economic crises unfold
- Americanism is a phenomenon that is at the same time American (the new order of capitalism sighted in the US), European (need of imitation, or on the contrary, wave of panic), and global (American hegemony, imperialism) (2004: 20, my translation; cf. Gramsci 1971: 317).

Gramsci on International Relations - I

- While Marx mainly developed abstract-simple analyses of the capitalist mode of production (plus some historical studies), AG explored concrete conjunctures in emerging and advanced capitalist social formations in a world shaped by imperialism and 1917 Revolution (he also commented on capital relation)
- Gramsci linked study of base and superstructure to concrete political analyses (e.g., historical bloc) and how intellectuals mediated these relations – from local through national, European, Transatlantic, and East vs West, to global scales
- In opposing economism theoretically and politically, Gramsci showed role of political and civil society in constituting and reproducing economic relations on a wide range of scales

Gramsci on International Relations - II

- Gramsci did not fetishize nation-state. His work motivated by failure of Italian nation and state building, a process ‘impeded by a balance of internal and international forces’ (Q21§1).
- Writing in and after WW1 with its inter-imperialist rivalries and open hostility of capitalist bloc and USSR, he explored
 - international as well as national and regional context of defeat of the working class movement and the rise of fascism;
 - spread of Americanism and Fordism as basis for modernization in Italy and Europe more generally
- Gramsci was interested in International Relations as discipline and studied geo-politics and demo-politics (today’s bio-politics) to better understand political implications of international balance of forces.
