

THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF ANTONIO GRAMSCI IN THE EARLY 20S.

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Received: 04.06.2020

Revised: 05.07.2020

Accepted: 12.08.2020

Abstract

In this article, the author analyzes the historical ideas of Antonio Gramsci in the period 1919-1922 as a whole stage, from which later grows a mature concept of the history, which will appear in the "Prison Notebooks". During these years, Gramsci's understanding of the historical responsibility of the proletariat's party, its historical significance during the period of fascism, and its mistakes in passivity and historical inaction matured. The author shows how during this period Gramsci developed a persistent anti-fatalist tendency of the concept of "historical freedom and necessity".

Keywords: revolution, October, party, Gramsci, Ordine Nuovo, fascism, historical activity and passivity, freedom and necessity, communism, socialism.

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.31838/jcr.07.13.639>

INTRODUCTION

Antonio Gramsci is the Italian thinker, philosopher, historian and politician who made an invaluable contribution to historical science. All his work was permeated with historical consciousness and, in this regard, every phase of the evolution of his historical worldview is interesting and important for a complete understanding of his intellectual thought. One of the most important stages of creativity was the period from 1919 to 1922. In this article, the author sets a task to reveal the main historical aspects of Gramsci's thought, which were not studied separately before and are identified as a whole sub-stage. The articles of this period highlight Gramsci's new approach to history: the understanding of the category of historical necessity as positive, this approach is aimed at analyzing the theme of the proletarian revolution on the Italy's soil, the role of socialists and Communists in history, the fascism.

To achieve this goal, the author uses general scientific and specific historical methods, namely: systematic approach, historical-comparative, historical-genetic methods.

On may 1, 1919, the first issue of the daily newspaper Ordine Nuovo was published under the direction of Gramsci [2, p. 147]. Already at this time, Gramsci's historical focus is directed at transforming the present to create the organization of the future new order in Italy [5, p.1].

For example, the article "Tribute to history" contains the idea that the key to the revolution in Russia is the creation of a new type of state [1, p. 6].

Taking into account the experience of the Soviets in Russia, Gramsci and P. Tolyatti wanted to adopt it and create committees and councils of workers and peasants at the level of factories [2, p.3]. Soviets are the "historically necessary" creativity of the masses, and the revolution is an example of the dialectic of the historical process [2, p. 22-24].

At this time, for Gramsci, history is "a process of constant becoming, in connection with which it does not lend itself to detailed foresight", but "this does not mean that in the formation of history "everything" is not predictable, that is, that history is the realm of arbitrariness and irresponsible Caprice. History is at the same time, freedom and necessity [4, .83].

Now, the party for Gramsci is an expression of the historical consciousness of the people and directs their spontaneous movement" [1, p. 70]. And the creation of a party is a historical necessity, a need of the Italian proletariat, and an integral part of the concept of the Gramsci revolution [2, p. 157].

The period 1921-1926 is the most active for Gramsci in terms of practical political activity. After the split of the socialists in Livorno, Gramsci declares: "the socialist party cannot escape the court of history" [3, p. 347]. Gramsci sees the party's lack of understanding of its historical significance, which is expressed in historical irresponsibility, passivity before events, and lack of understanding of history [4, p.121]. Gramsci understands that socialists and communists in Italy have different views on history, and this is why Gramsci considers a split between them inevitable [3, p. 343-344].

At the same time since 1921 Gramsci comprehends a new historical phenomenon – the rise of fascism to power in Italy [3, p. 243]. Gramsci explains fascism based on the historical background of the development of the Italian state and the historical characteristics of the Italian bourgeoisie [3, p. 158].

In his speech about the need for a change of course in the party, Gramsci is guided by anti-fatalist ideas in history. Having thus declared his special view on the historical role of the Communist party, on the historical basis of understanding, Gramsci went as it's representative in the USSR in 1922[1, p. 23].

Thus, the period 1919-1922 is the time of maturation and the key for understanding such categories of further historical concept of Gramsci as historical freedom and necessity, anti-fatalism, historical passivity, responsibility and irresponsibility.

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