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Uses of Gramsci in the Contemporary Greek Context

Abstract

This is the abstract of the article in English by Panagiotis Sotiris on the state of Gramsci work in Greece and on the Greek left's relation to Gramscian notions. We give his own English-language presentation of the article here below as an extended Abstract.

Presentation

This presentation offers an overview and discussion of how the work of Antonio Gramsci, and notions and themes stemming from it, have been used in the context of political, strategic, and theoretical debates in Greece since the second half of the 2000s. What emerges is a situation where despite the widespread use of notions and themes coming from Gramsci, there is not extensive reference or dialogue with the more recent Gramsci research and scholarship, and nor has a more 'native' tradition of Gramsci Studies emerged. However, both political-strategic and theoretical debates could benefit from engagement with Gramsci in that direction, especially since the particular Greek conjuncture after 2010 points to the continuing pertinence of Gramscian notions as means to analyse social and political dynamics and exigencies, but also to deal with open theoretical questions in the field of the Social Sciences.

Keywords

Greece; reception of Gramsci; hegemony; SYRIZA; political dynamics; communism

Uses of Gramsci in the Contemporary Greek Context

Panagiotis Sotiris

1. Introduction

The history of Gramsci's international reception was never simply theoretical. It has always been about how Gramsci's thinking was perceived in relation to particular conjunctures in different countries. In a certain way it has always been about different *uses* of Gramsci. Juan Carlos Portantiero in 1977 insisted on the possibility of different readings of Gramsci, evident in the way different versions of Gramsci were emerging, before attempting to present his own reading and also propose a certain 'use' of Gramsci as a way to rethink a revolutionary strategy for the Latin American context that would move beyond the limitation of populism (Portantiero 1981).¹ The relation of the reception of Gramsci in different Latin American contexts to specific political contexts and exigencies has also been researched.² Guido Liguori (2012) has offered the most insightful critical overview of the reception of Gramsci in Italy making evident that Gramsci's reception is a contested terrain, determined by particular political conjunctures. Recently Anthony Crézégut (2020) has retraced the complex politics of the reception of Gramsci in France. All these point to the fact that as with any kind of reading, Gramsci's reading can never be 'innocent'; it is always connected to specific political questions and exigencies.

2. The reception of Gramsci in Greece

The reception of Gramsci in Greece was relatively late, the first translations appearing in the 1960s³ and the main publishing activity

¹ On the importance of Portantiero's text see Burgos 2017.

² On the reception and use of Gramsci in Argentina see Cortés and Burgos 2019. On the reception of Gramsci in Mexico see Modonesi and Fuentes (eds.) 2020.

³ The first text by Gramsci that was translated in Greek appeared in 1965 in issue 130-132 of *Epitheorisi Technis [Review of Art]*, perhaps the most significant theoretical review of the Left at that time. It was a translation of two letters of Gramsci on *Canto X* of Dante's *Inferno* (Gramsci

taking place during the last years of the 1967-1974 dictatorship and the ‘Metapolitefsi’ period that followed, when many of the thematic editions were translated⁴ along with important works on Gramsci.⁵ Nevertheless, Gramsci was a reference within the debates of the Greek Left, despite the fact that the main current of the Greek Left, the Greek Communist Party (KKE) was oriented towards a variety of Soviet Marxism.⁶

However, there was not a particular ‘Gramscian’ tradition in the Greek Left. Gramsci was a reference point for those currents that considered hegemony and broader alliances as strategic, or insisted on the cultural aspect of a left strategy. This accounts for the relative absence of ‘specialized’ Gramsci research and explains why the most significant contribution by a Greek on Gramsci scholarship since the 1980s was made by Dora Kanoussi but in a Latin American context, without any impact in Greece with the exception of the publication of a 1996 article (Kanoussi 1996). The influence of Althusser and Poulantzas within parts of the intellectual Left also led to a critical distance from Gramsci. The polarizing character of the debates around Eurocommunism (‘replayed’ later in regards to SYRIZA) also played a role. It is also interesting that with the exception of Loukas Axelos, whom we will discuss later, the theorist that was closer to being a Gramsci specialist in Greece in the 1970s, Dimitris Dimitrakos, abandoned Marxism and became a prominent liberal thinker.⁷

1965). The second one appeared again in *Epitheorisi Technis* in 1966 and was a translation of a segment of the *Intellectuals* (Gramsci 1966).

⁴ The *Intellectuals* appeared in 1972 (Gramsci 1972a), a Selection from the Prison Letters in 1972 (Gramsci 1972b), the *Organization of Culture* (Gramsci 1973a) along with *Historical Materialism and the Philosophy of B. Croce* (Gramsci 1973b) in 1973, *Past and Present* (Gramsci 1974a) and *Notes on Machiavelli, politics and the Modern State* (Gramsci 1974b) in 1974, *Workers’ councils and the working class state* in 1975 (Gramsci 1975), *Political texts* (Gramsci 1976) in 1976, *Literature and national life* (Gramsci 1981a) in 1981, *Socialism and Culture* (Gramsci 1982) in 1982, *Il Risorgimento* (Gramsci 1987)⁴ in 1987 and *Americanism and Fordism* (Gramsci 1988). *L’albero del riccio* appeared in two editions (Gramsci 1981b and Gramsci 1991)

⁵ Mario Manacorda’s *Marx e la pedagogia moderna* (Manacorda 1971 [1966¹]), Luciano Gruppi’s book on hegemony (Gruppi 1977), Giuseppe Fiori’s biography (Fiori 1977), Christine Buci-Glucksmann’s *Gramsci et l’État* (Buci-Glucksmann 1984), Perry Anderson’s *Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci* (Anderson 1985), Franco Lombardi’s book on Gramsci and pedagogy (Lombardi 1986).

⁶ The exception would be Makis Trikoukis, a KKE intellectual who wrote a monograph on Gramsci in the 1980s (Trikoukis 1987).

⁷ Dimitrakos was active in the debates on Gramsci in Greece in the 1970s (Dimitrakos 1976) wrote a *Thèse de doctorat d’État* on Gramsci, which appeared in French in 1981 and recently in Greek (Dimitrakos 2021).

3. Gramsci in the debates of the Greek Left since the 2000s

However, I want to focus on the discussion of Gramsci since the late 2000s. My starting point will be the launching of two books in February 2013, a collection of texts by Gramsci, entitled *On Truth or On Telling Truth in Politics* (Gramsci 2012), compiled by Loukas Axelos and a collection of texts by Axelos (2012).

The first intervention at the book launch was by Alexis Tsipras, at that time expected to become the next prime minister. Tsipras insisted that we should not try to use Gramsci's thinking as a guide, but more like a methodology, a way to find a solution not the solution itself and that hegemony implies that

[T]he forces of social emancipation will form a broad coalition, and the aspect of coherence will be their political, ideological and moral superiority. And this is something extremely pertinent today, when we are looking for a power bloc that could stand up to the Memoranda (Tsipras 2013: 78).

For Tsipras the political party must be conceived as a 'space of liberation for the initiative, the mind and thinking of people, their political culture and thinking' (Tsipras 2013: 79).

The use of Gramscian references to deal with political exigencies was evident in other interventions from that book launch. Laokratis Vassis (2013) stressed the originality of Gramsci on the relationship of politics and ethics, of theory and practice, of the national and the international element and the logic of the power bloc. Rudi Rinaldi (2013), a member of the secretariat of SYRIZA, a leading figure of the Communist Organization of Greece, and the translator of *Notebook 22* (Gramsci 1988), stressed the richness of Gramsci's thinking, the centrality of hegemony, democracy, and intellectuality. Nikos Xydakis (2013), a journalist who became minister in Tsipras's government stressed the need for a new 'General Intellect' that could induce a 'paradigm shift' in Greece. And Giorgos Maniatis (2013) stressed the continuing relevance of Gramsci's ethico-political example.

Loukas Axelos, an editor responsible for the greater part of Gramsci's translations in Greek in his book that was part of the same book launch criticized the tendency to forget that Gramsci was not just a thinker but also 'the founder of PCI, the leader of Ordine Nuovo, of the insurrection and of the Factory Councils, the militant antifascist focused in a steadfast manner to the national and

social liberation of the subaltern classes and a revolutionary intellectual intransigent in his defence of the philosophy of praxis' (Axelos 2012: 37). Axelos's target is a certain 'Eurocommunist' reappropriation of Gramsci but this also reflects Axelos's own positions as a public intellectual associated with the more 'patriotic' currents of the Greek Left. For Axelos, apart from the Greek Revolution of 1821, the closest Greece came to the formation of an historical bloc was the experience of EAM and the 1941-1945 National Resistance. Moreover, he insists that the conditions of hegemony within such a bloc were more of a moral and ideological-intellectual rather than organizational nature, in contrast to an 'organizational' conception of hegemony he attributes to both 'Conservative – Neostalinist – Neotrotskyist' and 'Renovating Eurocommunist' currents (Axelos 2012: 56). Axelos remains loyal to a reading of Gramsci focused on combining the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, something already evident in his 1987 introduction to Gramsci's *Il Risorgimento*.⁸

This book launch exemplifies a contradiction running through the Greek Left's relation to Gramsci. The way questions of political power and potentially hegemony were brought to the fore in the Greek conjuncture of the first half of the 2010s, led to a renewed interest in Gramsci and made many militants to think in Gramscian terms. However, this did not lead to a new wave of research, but to the tendency to take as granted a certain reading or knowledge of Gramsci, formed in the 1970s and 1980s and use it as argument.

The Greek conjuncture after 2010, with the eruption of a socioeconomic and political crisis, combined with protests of almost insurrectionary character led to the possibility that a political formation of the non-social democratic Left could reach governmental power in rupture with the embedded neoliberalism of European Integration. This initiated a political and theoretical debate with references to Gramsci.

Stathis Kouvelakis used Gramsci's conception of the 'crisis of hegemony' to describe the May-June 2011 'Movement of the Squares' and the subsequent political crisis that led to the formation

⁸ Originally in Gramsci 1987 and included in Axelos 2012. A similar emphasis on the need to rethink Gramsci's notion of hegemony as a means to rethink the strategy of the Left in a direction that attempts to combine social and national liberation is also evident in a small book by Damianos Vasileiadis, also coming from the more 'patriotic' tendencies of the Greek Left (Vasileiadis 2011). See also Axelos's political interventions in Axelos 2015.

of a ‘grand coalition’ government led by former central banker, Lucas Papademos (Kouvelakis 2011). Kouvelakis’ used the Gramscian notion of Bonapartism to describe this version of authoritarian governance that can occur within the context of a ‘normal’ parliamentary liberal democracy in a conjuncture of organic crisis. Moreover, Kouvelakis used Gramsci’s reference to the possibility of a ‘Caesarism without a Caesar,’ as a way to describe the ‘special purpose’ coalition governments entrusted with the task of implementing extreme austerity.

Kouvelakis returned to Gramscian notions in a text on the Greek border and refugee crisis (Kouvelakis 2018). The way the Greek bourgeoisie accepted the terms imposed by the Troika, terms which destroyed parts of Greece’s production infrastructure had elements of a process of ‘internal colonization’ similar to the ways Gramsci described subaltern integration in the context of the ‘Southern Question’. Also Kouvelakis used the Gramscian conceptualization of *trasformismo* to account for how SYRIZA ended up implementing austerity policies.

Another intervention came by Georges Rousis, a professor at Panteion University, coming from a Communist tradition. In *From Crisis to Revolution. War of Position* (Rousis 2012) he returned to Gramsci and the notion of war of position and how this can be combined with a more ‘Leninist’ approach. Rousis accepts the methodological distinction between ‘East’ and ‘West’, refusing to treat ‘war of position’ as by definition ‘reformist’. He stresses the richness of Gramsci’s analyses of fascism, of ‘organic crisis,’ of the ‘United Front’ and of Machiavelli, and the theoretical value of hegemony, although he tends to read it more in terms of consent, rather than a theorization of the complexity of politics in the bourgeois epoch. However, Rousis insists that Gramsci’s thinking is traversed by antinomies and takes Perry Anderson’s *Antinomies* as a reference point, insisting that Gramsci’s texts can be misread as supportive of a reformist ‘Eurocommunist’ reading, with

1) [...] underestimation of the role of the economic factor [...] the role of violence and the necessity of revolutionary change, (3) a reformist interpretation of United Front (4) a nationalist deviation [...] and (5) the possibility of achieving hegemony before seizing political power.⁹

⁹ Rousis 2012, p. 132.

However, attempting to present a ‘Leninist’ Gramsci or a ‘Leninist’ conception of the dialectic of war of movement and war of position, Rousis suggests shortcomings at those aspects that present the originality of Gramsci: the complexity of the struggle for subaltern hegemony, the complex revolutionary tactics in a period of ‘passive revolution’, the break with any economic conception, the importance of culture, ideology and ‘common sense’.

Dimitris Belantis’s *The Left and Power. The ‘Democratic Road’ to Socialism* (Belantis 2014) is a critique of a reformist conception of the ‘democratic road’ to socialism. Although critical of readings of hegemony that have been used to justify reformist positions, he does not engage in a more thorough manner with Gramsci’s texts, and seems dependent upon readings such as Perry Anderson’s in regards to Gramsci’s supposed ‘antinomies’. For Belantis the Eurocommunist misuse of Gramsci is based on a distinction between civil society and political society, which places hegemony outside the State, whereas Belantis insists that hegemony is part of the functioning of the State. For Belantis (2014: 68) it is a ‘theoretical error’ to assume that the working class is in a position to achieve hegemony before gaining power. War of position is an aspect of a broader revolutionary strategy, but runs the danger of being similar to Kautsky’s war of attrition.

In 2011 the *Lyon Theses* were published by ‘Marxist Bookshop’, the publishing house of SEK, the Greek section of the International Socialist Tendency (Gramsci 2011). In his introduction and appendix and in a text that appeared in 2012¹⁰ Thanassis Kampagiannis offers a reading of Gramsci of the *Lyon Theses* and the turn towards a United Front strategy that is respectful of the text and draws a line of demarcation with ‘reformist’ readings, following Chris Harman’s reading of Gramsci and inclusion in the tradition of ‘Revolutionary Marxism.’¹¹

Giorgos Kalampokas (2013) used the notion of hegemony as a way to rethink the necessary transformation of the Left from a force of resistance to one of a potential new hegemony in a text that combined Gramscian references with Althusser’s conceptualization of the encounter.

¹⁰ Kampagiannis 2012.

¹¹ Exemplified in his 1983 Gramsci versus Reformism booklet (Harman 1983), translated in Greek as part of Barnbery and Harman 2007.

In a volume that appeared in 2018,¹² but with texts written in 2015, one can find references to Gramsci in regards to the dynamics of the Greek conjuncture. Alexandros Chrysis (2018) returned to Gramsci's conception of the 'modern Prince' in opposition to 'post-Marxist' thinkers. For Chrysis, thinkers like Negri, Badiou and Žižek cannot think of a way to move from the dynamic of the movements towards a sustainable revolutionary process, something also manifest in their oscillations in regards to SYRIZA.

In the same volume I argue that one way to think the challenge posed by the Greek Crisis and the movements is by a reference to the historical bloc, which I treat as a notion that is both theoretical and strategic, suggesting that a strategy for a new historical bloc entails a strategy for political power (combining governmental power with a contemporary form of 'dual power'), a programme as alternative narrative, and a conception of the political party as laboratory of mass critical intellectuality. I also tried to examine this in a 2020 monograph on Gramsci that considers hegemony as a way to rethink the challenge of a new transformative practice of politics (Sotiris 2020).

In 2017 the Journal *Tetradia Marxismou (Notebooks of Marxism)*, associated with the Greek Anticapitalist Left, dedicated part of a special issue to Gramsci. As Alexandros Chrysis stated in the introduction, the problem was that because the tradition of the KKE (the Greek Communist Party) was fairly hostile to Gramsci, the tradition of the Greek Communist Party of the Interior and the 'renovating Left' was prone to a 'right-wing Eurocommunist reading [...] of hegemony', and because an 'anti-Gramscian Althusserian philosophy' was influential to parts of the radical student Left, the challenge is to revisit Gramsci's thinking (Chrysis 2017).

The texts in the special issue include translations, of texts by André Tosel, Peter Thomas, and John Hoffman and four contributions by Greek theorists. I return to the question of organization as a challenge in the history of Marxism, from Marx to Badiou, before suggesting that in Gramsci we can find a conception of the organization as laboratory.¹³ Christos Natsis offers a comparative reading of Gramsci's *Lyon Theses* and Lukács' *Blum Theses*, insisting that although they both suggest a United Front tactic, for Gramsci

¹² Sotiris (ed.) 2018.

¹³ Sotiris 2017; see also Sotiris 2019.

this is part of the consolidation of the Party whereas for Lukács it is a specific intervention in a specific conjuncture (Natsis 2017). Dimitris Grigoropoulos returns to war of position and its possible articulation with revolutionary strategy, rejecting the tendency to treat Gramsci as a precursor of Eurocommunism, yet still thinking that the logic of a long ‘war of position’ can lead to a reformist deviation, a reading influenced by Perry Anderson (Grigoropoulos 2017).¹⁴ Giorgos Rousis returns to the positions of his already discussed book (Rousis 2017).¹⁵

The use of Gramsci in contemporary strategic political debates in Greece is significant. However, the extent to which it is informed by a close reading of Gramsci’s texts, the *Prison Notebooks* and more recent research on Gramsci is relatively limited. There is a tendency to take as granted the critique that Gramsci’s own contradictions enabled the use of his work as a reference for the Eurocommunist current, exemplified in the popularity of Perry Anderson’s reading.¹⁶

4. Gramsci in social theory debates

The crucial moment that marked a return of interest to Gramsci in social theory was the 2007 Panteion University Gramsci Conference, which would cause controversy because the editors of a volume with interventions from the conference (Voulgaris and Kotsonopoulos (eds.) 2018) chose not to include some of the more ‘political’ interventions (Voulgaris and Kotsonopoulos 2018: 12).

Giannis Voulgaris’s intervention opens the volume. Voulgaris, a theorist with considerable knowledge of Gramsci and the scholarship on Gramsci offers an overview of the different readings of Gramsci and how they were conditioned by political exigencies and different conjunctures, both in Italy and internationally, suggesting that the Gerratana edition was a turning point that enabled a focus on Gramsci as a theorist of the difference between East and West not only in terms of political strategy but also of political theory, bringing the questions of hegemony and the State to the fore (Voulgaris 2010: 23). Voulgaris thinks that in the contemporary context a return to Gramsci is a way to rethink globalization.

¹⁴ Grigoropoulos 2017.

¹⁵ Rousis 2017.

¹⁶ See for example the appendix to the new edition of the ‘Antinomies’ where there is not extensive discussion of the sharp criticism that Anderson has received by Gianni Francioni or Peter Thomas (Siamandouras 2019).

[T]he starting point for the formation of a hegemonic project is the reframing of the national-local dimension to the globalizing / internationalist perspective (Voulgaris 2010: 31).

For Voulgaris, who can be considered a post-Marxist, at stake is not anti-capitalism but a Gramsci-inspired democratic governance of globalization (Voulgaris 2010: 35). In 2019 Voulgaris published a critique of the thesis of Greece's chronic underdevelopment insisting that Greece has been a country within the contours of modernity. Yet although one could expect engagement with Gramscian concepts, such as passive revolution, the references to Gramsci are relatively scarce. Recently reviewing G. Vaccas *Alternative Modernities* (Vacca 2021) he returned to the importance of Gramsci's thinking (Voulgaris 2021).

Myrsini Zorba, the translator of Gramsci's *Political Texts* (Gramsci 1976), returns to the uses of Gramsci in the field of Cultural Studies (Zorba 2010). Marilena Simiti returns to the notion of civil society in relation to the study of new social movements (Simiti 2010). Ludovikos Kotsonopoulos in his intervention, deals with Gramscian themes in Neomarxist theories of the State. The Gramscian theory of the State represents a rupture with a classical Marxist conception of the base/superstructure separation, exemplified in the development of the notion of the 'relation of forces'. For Kotsonopoulos hegemony is in a certain way 'structuralized' in the work of Nicos Poulantzas, whereas in Christine Buci-Glucksmann the emphasis is on 'an alternative form of passive revolution' (Kotsonopoulos 2010: 111), then turning to Stuart Hall and Bob Jessop and the theorization of Thatcherism and authoritarian populism and Laclau and Mouffe and their conceptualization of hegemony, before concluding with the need for a renewed dialogue with Gramscian notions.

Efi Gazi deals with the *Subaltern Studies* tradition, concluding that the 'the analysis of "subaltern history" and the attempt towards its "de-colonization" represents the more important contribution of this field of study to contemporary historical theory' (Gazi 2010: 144). Giorgos Giannakopoulos returned to the Gramscian thematics in Edward Said's work (Giannakopoulos 2010). Maria Tzevelekou offers a very close and insightful reading of Gramsci's writings on language and linguistics (Tzevelekou 2010). And Giannis

Papatheodorou returns to readings of Machiavelli by Gramsci and Althusser (Papatheodorou 2010).

The volume was important. However, missing was a dialogue with contemporary research on Gramsci and the ‘new wave’ of Gramsci philology. One can see here the same tendency we witnessed in the more political interventions, namely taking a certain version of Gramsci as granted.

In regards to the interventions not included in the volume, Thanassis Kampagiannis offered a comparative reading of Trotsky’s *Problems of Everyday Life* and Gramsci’s *Prison Notebooks* (Kampagiannis 2007), suggesting that they both deal with aspects of hegemony, that are not limited to politics but also entail culture, family relations and forms of everyday life, in a process that is both ‘molecular’ and ‘organic’. Mihalis Lyberatos insisted that the only way to understand both the dynamics and also the contradictions of the National Liberation Front, EAM, is by using a Gramscian theoretical framework to study the particular articulation of a form of working class hegemony (Lyberatos 2008).

To these interventions we should add another group of theorists who are working on Gramscian themes in the broader sense: the research group on populism coordinated by Yannis Stavrakakis at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki.¹⁷ Stavrakakis worked with Ernesto Laclau, beginning with an important contribution on a possible Lacanian theory of the political (Stavrakakis 1999; Stavrakakis 2007), before moving towards questions of populism as an analytical category following in a Laclausian line (Stavrakakis 2005), including an attempt to incorporate a Gramscian / Laclausian approach to hegemony within the study of populism (Stavrakakis 2017). This has led to important contributions, especially on the question of how to theorize contemporary developments and the emergence of what they define as populist left wing parties, such as SYRIZA or PODEMOS (Katsiambekis and Kioupkolis [eds.] 2019).

In regards to other theorists we can point to Christophoros Vernardakis’s use of Gramscian notion in his studies of political parties (Vernardakis and Mavris 1991; Vernardakis 2011; Vernardakis 2012) and Giannes Balampanides stressing of the

¹⁷ On the work of the Populismus/ Populist discourse and democracy research group, see their respective website: www.populismus.gr.

importance of Gramscian references in his history of Eurocommunism (Balampanides 2019).

The most recent addition to Gramsci translations in Greece has been a volume entitled *Journalism and Press* (Gramsci 2020), which is a translation of many of Gramsci's early journalistic texts, from 1913 up to 1922. It appeared at Stohastis, Loukas Axelos's publishing house, and was translated by Dimitris Deliolanis, who also wrote the introduction, which offers the historical and political context of these writings, referring to the recent literature on Gramsci.

5. Conclusion

The interest in Gramsci both in political and theoretical debates remains significant in Greece. This has to do with both the theoretical tradition formed in the 1970s and 1980s and the exigencies of the conjuncture, especially when the question of political power ceased to be a theoretical and became an actual political challenge. At the same time, developments within the social sciences also kept alive an interest in Gramsci.

However, there has been a lack of more theoretical work on Gramsci's texts and in particular the *Notebooks*, and not much dialogue with more recent scholarship on Gramsci. Consequently there is not a particular Greek 'Gramsci tradition' in the form that we can find in other countries. However, there are many elements of a renewed interest in Gramsci. The Editorial Collective 'Ektos Grammis' has announced a project to start translating the *Notebooks*, beginning with Notebook 13, Peter Thomas's *The Gramscian Moment* is about to be published, in 2019 there was a new edition of Perry Anderson's *Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci* (Anderson 2019).¹⁸

The renewed scholarship on Gramsci in the past twenty years, the critical reflection on Gramscian notions, such as hegemony or the historical bloc, the open questions concerning the nature of political organizations, the new acute forms of political crisis, the return of debates on populism, the contemporary crisis of democracy, the new forms of Far Right politics and the open question of a radical politics for transformation and emancipation, attest to the continuing relevance of Gramsci. A turn to Gramsci is necessary in fields such as historiography, anthropology and political theory, in order to reconnect the widespread use of

¹⁸ And I could add here Sotiris 2020.

Gramscian notions with the advances in Gramscian scholarship. And in regards to any potential materialist or Marxist practice of philosophy, a return to Gramsci's 'philosophy of praxis' would be a welcome addition to the constant interest in Althusser in Greece, the return of interest in Lukács or the attempts for a dialogue between Marxist and non-Marxist philosophical currents.

Moreover, only in Gramscian terms we can assess what has happened in Greece in the past 20 years. The erosion of a certain form of bourgeois hegemony (following the 'passive revolution' of 'modernization' and 'Europeanization'), the full eruption of hegemonic crisis, the new forms of Bonapartism and Caesarism, the potential for a new historical bloc and the inability to make steps towards it, the lack of 'organic' relations between the formations of the Left and the subaltern classes, the fact that political formations remained electoral machines instead of laboratories of new mass critical political intellectualities, all point to the need to reread Gramsci in the Greek context.

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