



Antonio Gramsci:

The actuality of an indispensable thinking

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1. Introduction

In this paper I want to focus on the proposals of Gramsci, especially as regards the problematization of relations between state and civil society, in our America, they are still valid in the context of the search for new fields and forms of emancipatory popular struggles. Latin America certainly has an integral part of what Gramsci called strategically "West" is more interested now that all the developed countries in strengthening and democratization of civil society, which still remain marginalized large sections of the population (indigenous, women groups, extreme poverty, etc.). Attentive to this condition, the region is today, according to some prominent authors, the ideal spot for reading and critical and creative application of Gramsci's categories.

In one of the letters written to his son, Delio, he says: *"I feel a little tired and I can't write much. You write me always and about everything that interests you in school. I think you like history, and I liked when I was your age, because it refers to living men, and all that relates to men, to as many people as possible, to all people of the world bind them as being in society and work and fight and improve themselves, you may not like more than anything else. But that's how it is? I hug you. Antonio"*¹, that Gramsci interest shown by history, is the trigger to raise what, how and how many of the conceptual tools proposed by him along "Prison Notebooks" and other works, enrich the analysis of historical processes and prospects future.

The relevance of his thought is essential, for the fruitfulness of his reflections, as well as the method they proposed us.

Both notebooks and other work displays a series of conceptual tools that promote an understanding of the specific historical forms that domination is exerted by certain groups or (dominant) classes over others, political and cultural mechanisms that underpin those shapes.

For this work, interested in its proposed analysis of the dialectic that arises between coercion and consensus within the historical processes and, at the same time overcome the economic interpretations of history and politics to introduce centrally, the role of culture in the analysis of the domination.

¹A letter to Delio Gramsci [Date indeterminate; Antonio Gramsci: *Lettere dal Carcere*, S. and E. Fubini Caprioglio (eds), Turin, 1965] p. 454 - Anthology - Antonio Gramsci - Selection, translation and notes Manuel Sacristan - Editions Akal, SA, 2013.-

2. The Thinker

Gramsci was born in 1891 in a poor family on the island of Sardinia and was the fourth of seven children. A brilliant student, won a prize that allowed him to study at the University of Turin (1911-1919). This city was going through a process of full industrialization and the Fiat and Lancia car plants recruited workers from the poorer regions. Unions were established and the first social conflicts originated.

Gramsci was very involved in these events, frequenting socialist circles and was associated with Sardinian emigrants, which allowed him to stay tied to their native culture.

His family difficulties in Sardinia he had formed his worldview, which endorsed their experiences in Turin. He joined in 1914 the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), and quickly gained notoriety for his political and journalistic writings in leftist newspapers like L'Avanti (official organ of the Socialist Party).

He founded with Angelo Tasca, Palmiro Togliatti and Umberto Terracini daily Ordine Nuovo (weekly review of socialist culture) in 1919, and collaborated in the magazine La Città Futura. He participated in the movement of factory councils in Turin (1919-1920).- This group, along with PSI dissidents led by Amadeo Bordiga, formed the basis of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) on January 21, 1921. Gramsci became party leader since its inception, though behind Bordiga until it lost the direction in 1924. Gramsci's theses were adopted by PCI in the Congress of Lyon in 1926.

In 1922 Gramsci represented the PCI at a meeting of the Comintern in the Soviet Union, where he met his wife, Giulia Schucht, a young violinist with whom Gramsci would have two children.

His mission in the Soviet Union coincided with the rise of fascism in Italy and Gramsci returned with instructions to unite the Left parties against fascism. Such a front would ideally be PCI in the center, but other forces were fighting role. The Socialists had a certain tradition in Italy, while the PCI seemed too recent and radical. Many believed that a coalition led by the Communists would have removed from political debate and would have run the risk of isolation.

Italy was unified late long after France, England or the United States. Since then capitalism expands, and early twentieth century developed the automotive industry in the north. Northern industrial capitalism coexists with the agricultural economy of the South (the so-called Mezzogiorno). As part of this process Italy participates in the Allied side during The First World War.

In company with the industrialization the Italian Socialist Party (PS) is developed. During the first decades of the twentieth century the Prime Minister "liberal" Giovanni Giolitti (1842- 1929) leads the bourgeois political pact with the moderate socialism. The Vatican, influencing farmers south, promoted in 1919 through the Sicilian priest Sturzo's Popular Party. Subsequently, fascism brings together the sectors of power and class unites against the working class.

In the economic sphere urban industrial North kept true commitment to agricultural landowners in the south.

In the ideological face, the Vatican put face to face the anticlerical's and the freemasonry. In his turn the fascism, without being clerical, faces the freemasonry trying to replace it with its own staff in the bureaucratic management State.-

Although the dominant social classes are neither politically or culturally homogeneous, early twentieth century all its members face in unison workers' strikes in the north and the impoverished southern peasant rebellions.

In October 1922, after the "March on Rome", Mussolini was appointed Prime Minister and thus the gradual route to the fascist state is started, it will consume about four years to complete, with the progressive replacement of the parliamentary system by a system of party unique, which bans any organization of the lower classes, which subsumed in the regime of 'corporations'.

In 1924 general elections were held in an atmosphere of tension and violence. 7 million votes more than 4 were for the fascists, while 3 fell on the opposition. Gramsci was elected deputy by Venice in 1924 and launched the newspaper L'Unita (official organ of the PCI) from Rome. However, those obtained through a majority electoral law passed in 1923, according to which the party that gained 25% of votes would rise with a representation of two-thirds of the House. The allegations in Parliament, of the socialist deputy Giacomo Matteotti about arbitrariness and violence committed by the fascists before his abduction and subsequent murder. All said that the head of the crime had been Mussolini. The scandal and protests were raised from all political groups, the press and abroad.

November 8th, 1926, Gramsci was arrested and imprisoned by Mussolini, despite enjoying parliamentary immunity, and after suffering transfers to different prisons, was tried and sentenced (1928) to twenty years in prison, being famous the slogan launched by the prosecutor in charge of the accusation: "We must stop this brain for at least twenty years".

Between 1929 and 1935 he wrote from prison notebooks, consisting of thirty-three notebooks. Her sister in love, Schucht Tatiana, along with Piero Sraffa managed to withdraw them from the police inspections and deliver the banker Raffaele Mattioli, secret financier of the editors of Gramsci, which trusted in Moscow to Palmiro Togliatti and other Italian Communist leaders. His physical condition began to deteriorate and in 1932 the Soviet Union tried to exchange him for other prisoners with the fascist government, but negotiations failed. In 1934 he was granted parole for bad health.

He died in Rome on April 27, 1937, at 46 years old. He is buried in the called Protestant Cemetery of Rome.

In this context and already jailed in 1929 Gramsci started writing the Journal, after obtaining permission from the authorities and got a few materials. The work, as we know, has no systematic character, it's notes, they returned again and again to be further deepened and developed, to cover a total of 33 notebooks.

3. His method

His notebooks point to make historical-philosophical analysis. He was interested in particular historical-revolutionary situations where circumstances make the revolution becomes realistic and possible.

For him the plot of power is more complex than the one that meets the eye, indicating favorable position to figure out what it is and how power works is the way to defeat capitalism. On the premise that power is never fixed in society, but it is constituted by the power relations that exists between social classes.

The first work plan aims from jail research the topic of Italian intellectuals. Identifies historical elements that determine the intellectuals give decisive support to fascist totalitarianism. Addressed the complexity of the problem presented, it extends further into the analysis and dives for the present and the past in the labyrinths of the complexity of Italian social and state formation.

The relationship between coercion and consensus, between intellectual and moral leadership and mastery, between hegemony and domination, inextricably linked to the material basis of production and reproduction of social life, are the nodal terms of Gramsci's thought most relevant to understanding our societies.

In this paper I want to focus the proposals of Gramsci, especially as regards the problematization of relations between state and civil society that, in our America, are still valid in the context of the search for new fields and forms of emancipatory popular struggles. Latin America certainly an integral part of what Gramsci called strategically "West" is more interested now that all the developed countries in strengthening and democratization of civil society, which still remain marginalized large sections of the population (indigenous, women groups, extreme poverty, etc.). Attentive to this condition, the region is today, according to some prominent authors, ideal for reading and critical and creative application of Gramsci's categories field. The binomial "East-West" Notebooks used to refer to countries with dissimilar socio-political systems, despite the vagueness introduced by the geographical connotation, indicating its concern reflect on the characteristics of the historical process in the context of a capitalist state fully constituted.

Boaventura de Souza says that *"was Gramsci who, within Marxism, gave more attention to the need to take the adversary as advanced in their positions and integrate it in slave mode in the broader context of anti-capitalist struggles"*².

This in line with what Filippi says that *"we must understand that the historic building is determined by rights struggles, contradictions and at the same time, marked by achievements that are not irreversible and that raise the enormous problem of achieving citizen participation in the awareness of Latin American identities, which are indigenous, which are neo-Africans, are neo-Europeans, which are the result of cultural, linguistic and religious miscegenation. And that is the key, and the only possible key to the social construction of a cultural and political future of*

² Boaventura de Sousa Santos - Refoundation the State in Latin America - Perspectives from a South epistemology - Note 35, page 59.-

tolerance, where ethnic diversity and legal equality could live together and strengthened in the coming centuries"³.

State, Civil Society, Political Society, Historic Block, Intellectuals, Hegemony, are here some of the categories of analysis proposed by Gramsci.

Gramsci, unlike traditional conceptions, does not understand the state as a structure centered on coercion (army, courts, police) oriented repression with an economic perspective, the state as a tool for the ruling class that manages the interests capitalist class⁴.

In its conceptualization the State suffers a profound transformation. As stated over and over again in the Journal, this - while expanded state, which covers cash in concept, real and not merely formal power - is no longer just political society, but "political society" + "civil society", that is, coated hegemony of coercion⁵.

This is a state that spreads and expands a vision of the world about the company, which holds the intellectual and moral supremacy over the whole of society. Construction of consensus and intellectual and moral supremacy.

The state should not be understood in the narrow sense of government. Gramsci divides it between the political society, which is the arena of political institutions and constitutional legal control, and civil society, which is commonly seen as a private or state level, and that includes the economy. However, he said that the division is merely conceptual and that the two of them can be mixed in practice.

He says that under modern capitalism, the bourgeoisie can keep its economic control by allowing the political sphere meet certain demands of the unions and mass political parties in civil society. Thus, the bourgeoisie carried out a passive revolution, going beyond its economic interests and allow some forms of hegemony are altered. Gramsci gave as examples of this movement as reformism and fascism, as well as scientific management and methods of assembly line of Frederick Taylor and Henry Ford.

Suggests that hegemony implies that the values and worldview of the ruling class becomes a kind of "common sense" shared by the dominated groups, whereby they end up accepting - though not necessarily accepting - the exercise of power by of dominant groups. That common sense is disseminated and acquired through a complex process in which education, religion and culture play a crucial role.

³Filippi, Alberto - The historical and multiethnic building rights: from indigenous peoples to the crossbreeding of Iberian and African in First Latin American Meeting on Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples - Reflections debates about justice, territory and natural resources - Buenos Aires, Republic Argentina 5 to November 6, 2009, page,15.-

⁴ Conf. Daniel Campion's Exposition in ESJ-Justice Service School, CABA 26/06/2014.-

⁵ Anthology - Antonio Gramsci - Selection, translation and notes Manuel Sacristan - Texts of the Journal of 1929, 1930 and 1931, p. 261 - Editions Akal, SA, 2013.-

4. Historical analysis and pedagogy

And in this sense it's interesting to do an analysis on "The Future City" typical "models" of political theory: the English state and the German state, which says that "current orders have been raised by the willingness to make your entire legal principle. The revolutionaries of 1789 not provided for the capitalist order ... was a universal principle which was stated in the story through the bourgeois revolution? Yes indeed ... Universal no means all. In history there are no absolutes ... Universal for the bourgeoisie, it is not enough for the proletariat ... The idea that has served as an internal driving force, for England can be summed up in the word: liberalism, for Germany the word: rational authority ... if you think about it more than two hundred years in England the political struggle being waged in the public square and the right to self-affirmation of all energies is a conquered right, not a natural right, it is presumed that in and for itself. And just remember that the English government took radical to the House of Lords all voting rights to Irish independence come true, and that Lloyd George proposed by himself before the war to vote on a draft land law, which assuming as it postulated that who owns the means of production and does not perform adequately, it loses its absolute right, so much of the private ownership of land came to be given to who was able to grow ... even the proletariat did not see askance at State and government, and was persuaded to hook or by crook, to remain under guardianship, and lead the class struggle with discretion and without moral exasperation that characterizes the labor movement ... The German conception of the state is opposite to the English, but it produces the same effects ... Is state ruled by reason ... the parliament does not have the same power as elsewhere. It's a simple consultative body ... the most does not have a recognized right to the truth. The Ministry (the Emperor) place plays the arbiter role, who judges and choose, and nothing replaces the imperial will. But classes are convinced, not rhetoric, not naive, but formed over decades of experience and proper administration, to observe distributive justice, their right to life is protected, and that their activity must be to try to win a majority, for the Socialists, and to preserve the majority and continually demonstrate their historical necessity, for conservatives"⁶.

So by developing the concept of Hegemony the power of the ruling class over the proletariat and all subjugated classes in the capitalist mode of production, is not given only by the simple control of the repressive apparatus of the State, as if they outside, it seems difficult reversed, it would be enough to oppose an armed force equal or greater to work for the 'proletariat'.

This allows glimpses others are the foundations of that power, and here it is necessary to bring other categories of analysis of Gramsci, what is the Civil Society, which identifies it as the private sector, where voluntary relationships develop, construction consensus, which corresponds the function Hegemony, such power is essentially the cultural "hegemony" that the ruling classes manage to exercise over subjugated classes, through control of the educational system, religious institutions and the media: "Therefore a man, for example, is prompted in several sense. In all overwhelmingly. It is prompted by the feeling of hunger, it is prompted by other feelings produced because of its special structure, and feelings and ideas made instilled in him by the external action, and the education received, etc., etc."⁷.

Gramsci understood the dilemma of hegemony as political and pedagogical relationship - giving priority to the education system here -, religious institutions and the media (of course, are not the same corresponding to the time Gramsci's writings are located, but his analysis is still valid), "educate" the subject so that they find their subject in a

⁶ CAMPIONE Daniel Compilation and introductory study - Antonio Gramsci - The Future City and other writings - Dialektik Editor - Buenos Aires, May 2008 - p. 20 / 22.-

⁷ Gramsci, Antonio - Notebook 4 (XIII) 1930-1932 <Notes of philosophy 1 / Miscellaneous, / The tenth canto of Hell> 6. Pág.141.-

completely natural and convenient manner. How often we have witnessed and experienced as in the name of the "nation" or "homeland", he invests the people a sense of identity, positioning it against an external enemy (configured as "common") and following an imaginary "national destiny" .

Important to stress that can display three elements that seems to stand out in the Gramsci concept of hegemony formulation. On the one hand, the mark of a dynamic profile of the phase leading to the hegemony; that is, hegemony is not a tight moment in the historical process, but comes from a constant certifying tangled formulas of domination and resistance. Moreover, it is essential to understand the active role that the subordinate groups must carry out within the historical process. And finally, the Gramsci's notion of hegemony allows us to review and re-think in articulation and re-articulation joint between economics, legal and political forms of power and the forms of exchange and the cultural and ideological complexity.

He insists his notebooks that between the teacher and the student must have a dynamic relationship.

Rejecting the top-down teaching of Enlightenment, he believed that the student is active and that the teacher must also be educated and re-educated within that relationship.

Therefore Gramsci says: "*The bourgeoisie can be ignorant. For the proletariat it's a duty not to be ignorant ... the problem of education of the proletariat is an issue of freedom...*"⁸.

And here I think it appropriate to resume the initiative to deconstruct European social thought to understand our societies, its modes of conflict, their languages, of subalternization, as an emancipatory project that will involve levels of correlation of forces, confrontational dynamics, ruptures, disputes and not merely semantics but economics, socials, cultural, educatives even political-militaries. The history of liberation movements shows that the subaltern can speak.

⁸ "The privilege of ignorance" - Ilgrido del Popolo, No. 690, October 13, 1917, in Gramsci and education: pedagogy of praxis and cultural policies in Latin America - Noveduc books, Buenos Aires, June 2012, page 175.-

5. The processes in Latin America and building rights

Considering that the process of construction of hegemony implies the attempt to generalize the particular values of a social sector for the whole population, it is interesting to dwell on the intentions expressed in the construction of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, regarding the condition required of a language able to communicate to all sectors and communities, without incurring the loss of identities: *"In the area of State, public officials must learn an indigenous language also agree to the area. The same in care, publications, state public speeches. And following in the cultural sphere, decolonization of memory, the official claim of other heroes, dates of indigenous peoples. The diverse, mestizo and indigenous history, have to be formalized in school texts. What is more complicated is decolonization from the point of view of civilization; and that has to do with the organizational and cognitive array of people. In the field of education, it is claiming other knowledge, other discursive constructions, not necessarily written, about knowledge; how we will achieve that, it is part of an internal debate in the government; how we will preserve as public heritage what is written in the textiles (Aymara tissue), such as knowing the state. It's a complicated debate"*⁹.

Filippi says: *"All the history and causes of the process of "Americanization" (and a part of "gestation of creole hegemony" and mestizo-white) comprised the indigenous peoples, African Americans and the various ethnic and cultural miscegenation that were determining -in a long-term process whose continuity will extend to the next centuries- current Latin American identities. In the present and the future of the integration processes on the continent from Mexico to Patagonia, will always value the multicultural, ethnic and legal composition that has been shaped so far and emerging with increasing force on the occasion of this bicentennial"*¹⁰.

So, if you think that Bolivia is a country with a strong indigenous and peasant component, but that component is strongly organized and has a political tradition, we can say even that there is a vast development of civil society in recent years, crossed by that mark. If you also think that Evo Morales is the president of Bolivia, who runs a heterogeneous movement that won elections and is part of a partisan institutions, and indeed it comes from non-indigenous trade union movement in Bolivia, representative of displaced people, that rather than relying on the indigenous argument based on the claim of the objectives of maximum of the nationalist revolution of '52, however when it comes to power, adopts indigenous flags, because much of the Bolivian population is assumed indigenous.

In line with that "gestation hegemony" the new Ecuadorian Constitution is observed: *"The definition of the multinational character of the state is the most emphatic recognition of the status of indigenous peoples unlike under the unitary state. The formulation given to the article on the language, the result of a review of last minute changes little stands. It states that "Castilian is the official language of Ecuador; Castilian, Kichwa and Shuar are official languages of intercultural relations. The other ancestral languages are for official use for indigenous peoples in the areas where they live and in the terms established by law "(Art. 2) Among the main innovations can cite the guarantee to create, develop, implement and practice their right own or customary, which has its counterpart in the recognition of indigenous justice and is seen as the exercise of judicial functions of the authorities of the communities, peoples and nations, based on their ancestral traditions and their own right, within its territory. It is important to remark warranty and participation of women in decision indigenous*

⁹ Documentation and Information Center Bolivia - CEDIB - Interview with Alvaro Garcia Linera <http://www.cedib.org/bp/B26/analisis7.pdf>.-

¹⁰ Filippi, Alberto - American Notebooks - Bicentennial: multinational integration and nationalist critique of ethnocentrism, page 70.-

justice, to prevent its rights are infringed or violated in the context of Community decisions, often governed by male authorities. Other collective rights that were not on the previous Constitution relating to participation by their representatives in government agencies prescribed by law; prior consultation adopting a legislative measure which may affect their collective rights; the limitation of military activities in their territories, in accordance with the law; the prohibition of mining activities in the territories of isolated peoples, and ensuring respect his determination to remain in isolation. It may also be noted as a new pertains right to ethnic and cultural diversity, recognition of Ecuadorian nationality to "persons belonging to communities, peoples and nationalities recognized by Ecuador, with a presence in the border areas" (Art. 7 No. . 3)"¹¹.

And in this sense Gramsci says that a changing unstable equilibrium occurs in the hegemonic societies, where both parties are influenced and they modified reciprocally.

For Gramsci the ruling class strengthens its material power with very different cultural and institutional forms of domination, so if you want to build an alternative to the dominant hegemony must lead to a war of position - *as a complex and contradictory process that requires dispute consensus, wills, common sense, the mindset of the whole population, of the broadest masses*¹² - which aims to subvert the established values and guide to all the many towards a new social model. Hence the creation of a new intellectual associated with the "subaltern" classes through the development from the specific subject of new proposals and cultural demands.

In Gramsci's educational system is - like other cultural organizations that act in the civil society - a factor of hegemony of one social class, as a logical consequence of the supremacy of a social class is not only domination but -like hegemony- intellectual and moral direction. This way to achieve that hegemony, is essential, the role of intellectuals.

Gramsci believed that the link between the organization of work and organization of culture was the new "professional culture", *"in any physical work, even the most degrading and mechanical, there is a minimum of intellectual activity ... So, we could say that all men are intellectuals, but not all have the function of intellectuals in society ... There is no human activity which can be excluded all forms of intellectual participation: You can't separate the Homo Faber to Homo sapiens... "The mode of being of the new intellectual cannot longer consisting of eloquence... but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organizer and "permanent persuader" and not just a simple orator...; from the technique-as-work we went to work-as-science and humanistic conception of history, without which one remains "specialist" and not passed to the category of "managerial" (specialist and political)"¹³.*

So Gramsci suggests *"school is the instrument for the development of intellectuals of various degrees"* but also that *"the pedagogical relationship cannot be limited to the specific 'school' relations through which new generations come into contact with the above of which draw experiences and above historical values. These relationships exist throughout the social complex in between individuals, between intellectuals and non-intellectuals, rulers and ruled, selected center and their followers, leaders and led, between avant-garde and bodies the army. Every relationship of hegemony contains a pedagogical relationship"*, then implying, of particular relevance, as contributing to unravel the role of education and the ways in which it may be some kind of common educational sense in education, such as ours that was destroyed by the cultural colonization of European encyclopedic by hand economic liberalism in complicity

¹¹ "Analysis New Constitution" in La Tendencia, Latin American Institute of Social Research, Quito, Ecuador 2008, page 95.-

¹² Conf. Daniel Campion's Exposition in ESJ-Justice Service School, CABA 26/06/2014.-

¹³ Anthology - Antonio Gramsci - Selection, translation and notes Manuel Sacristan -. Texts Notebooks subsequent to 1931, page 350.-

with political conservatism, especially on the subject of historical and humanistic subjects, and place education as a production instance of knowledge within a democratic model¹⁴, this is, an education understood as a political phenomenon and understand the dialectical relationship between human social structure and action, where men are producers of history with the ability to transcend.

In this line Campione says, "*Gramsci always work the distinction between the "cult" and "popular", to raise the need to fight in the field of language and culture of the people, to the critique the "commonsense" rescuing the center of "good sense" that on that one exists ... the contents of common sense encompass a worldview, though not made consciously and critical: Common sense is the worldview disseminated in a historic period in popular dough ... There is always a conformism, a sense of "normalcy" of what has always been, and common sense expressed this conformism ... redirect common sense in a non conformist and transformative sense, developing the "core of good sense" that one houses*"¹⁵.

Therefore Filippi says: "*Furthermore, I believe that an important task linked to this first meeting is to disseminate in schools, universities, high schools our reflections to this huge, neglected, and even exorcised problem is "where legally come" and where we are going, because the permanent and binding relationships between "law-power and freedom" are essential to understanding the processes of emancipation and liberation and challenges that await us in this century: more than we could emancipate in past centuries*"¹⁶.

In this course of interpretation of 'cores sense' on which comes reasoning, mind giving that "*when, for example, the constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia enshrine the principle of good living (Sumak Kawsay or Suma Qamaña) as a paradigm normative social or economic order, or when the Constitution of Ecuador enshrines the rights of nature understood as the Andean worldview of the Pachamama, define the national project should be guided by very different paths*"¹⁷ for the busiest so far, and incorporate and rescue those 'core sense', in sharp contrast to the idea that the story makes sense and unique and known address, that "*time is linear and time in front of the central countries of the world system are, and together to them, knowledge, institutions and forms of sociability that dominate them*"¹⁸ putting into effect human rights (political, social, cultural, economic) and the rights of nature. Developing a "new emancipatory sense" (in the words of Boaventura) forming the embryo of critical thinking, allowing the development of a critical view of the way the institutions are instituting spaces generate subjectivities and promoting a kind of unity different, making critically elaborate a conception of the world is disseminated in a social group and thus becomes a basis for action, social organization and intellectual and moral order, based on total new hegemonía.

So Gramsci postulates the union between intellectuals and people-nation in which "*the feeling-passion becomes understanding and therefore to know (not mechanically but a live mode)*" and "*only then is the relationship of representation and the exchange of individual elements, between rulers and ruled ... this is occurs, the life of a whole that is all that is the social force is made, the historic block is created*".

¹⁴ Conf Rigal, Luis - "The implicit and explicit pedagogical components of critical theories in education" - Workshop on Pedagogical look for the XXI century: Theories, issues and practices in question - Faculty of Philosophy and Letters - University of Buenos Aires.-

¹⁵ Campione, Daniel - "Some terms used by Gramsci". <http://es.scribd.com/doc/8636728/Campione-Daniel-Terminos-utilizados-por-Gramsci>.-

¹⁶ Filippi, Alberto - American Notebooks - Bicentennial: multinational integration and nationalist critique of ethnocentrism, p. 70.-

¹⁷ Boaventura de Sousa Santos - Refounding the State in Latin America, Perspectives from a South epistemology - IISD, Lima, 2010 p. 65.-

¹⁸ Boaventura de Sousa Santos - Descolonizar knowledge, reinventing power - Trilce - Montevideo, Uruguay 2010, p. 22.-

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