

# Abstracts

## **Socialismo / Socialism**

**di Chiara Giorgi, Alessandro Ferrara, Maurizio Franzini, Francesco Riccobono, Mariuccia Salvati, Gino Satta**

Some of the members of the editorial committee debate on the keyword *Socialism* taking the occasion of the fact that twenty years ago the name of the review founded by Lelio Basso in 1958, “Problemi del Socialismo”, was changed in “Parolechiave”. Whether and why the word socialism is still an important keyword today, after a bicentennial history, receives different answers but nobody in this round table seems to doubt about its cultural and political relevance in an era of growing social inequalities.

## **Quel che resta del socialismo / What Is Left of Socialism?**

**di Giacomo Marramao**

Starting from the evidence that the combination of state and market is no longer dominating nowadays, the author looks back at the genealogy of Socialist utopia both as a political (France) and as an industrial revolution (Great Britain), that is in the writings of Owen, Fourier, Saint-Simon and Lorenz von Stein (*Wissenschaft der Gesellschaft*). After showing the polysemic meaning of *capital* in Marx's work, he passes to consider the new phase opened, at the end of nineteenth century by the presence of socialist mass parties engaged in establishing forms of social democracy. After reminding the long line of division opened by the conflict between democratic socialism and the so called ‘existing socialism’ in the Twentieth Century, the author concludes with considerations on the new phase of the millenium wondering whether the limits of progress, the need for new relations between ethics and economics, national states and global governance might still be named Socialism.

## **Il socialismo liberale come visione politica europea / The Liberal Socialism as a European Political Vision**

**di Nadia Urbinati**

This article explores the historical context and the theoretical principles that made liberal socialism the most advanced expression of Twentieth

Century socialism. It developed after WWI and interpreted the crisis of liberal institutions as a consequence of nationalism, against which it resorted to the universalist values of solidarity shared by socialism combined with the culture of rights shared by liberalism. Liberty and justice were the two principles that characterized liberal socialism and that inspired its main leaders, Carlo Rosselli and Altiero Spinelli, to envision a union among European democratized countries.

## **Il socialismo tra storia e principi / Socialism between History and Principles**

**di Stefano Petrucciani**

The essay consists of two parts. In the first one the author discusses the difficulties implied in defining socialism as a political-theoretical concept, and summarizes the many ways in which socialism has been understood, defined and put into practice in the last two centuries. In the second part, with reference to the works of J. Roemer and J. A. Cohen, the essay aims at identifying the principles that might characterize socialism as a political perspective. In particular, the author points out that in socialism, differently from liberalism, society is understood as a form of cooperation for the satisfaction of human needs and necessities through work: therefore, the norms of the social pact must concern, in the first instance, the sphere of work and material reproduction. In the concluding part of the essay, the relationship between socialism and democracy is briefly considered.

## **Quel che resta attuale di Marx in un socialismo del futuro. La lettura di Bobbio / What Remains Actual of Marx in a Socialism of the Future. Reading Bobbio**

**di Franco Sbarberi**

The article discusses two Marxist assumptions, still extant according to Norberto Bobbio: *a)* the permanent supremacy of economy over politics and ideology; *b)* the commodification of work and any other activity in the capitalist society. The second issue can be tackled for Bobbio only through a progressive extension of the social rights.

## **Conflitto, populismo, egemonia / Conflict, Populism, Hegemony**

**di Ernesto Laclau**

**Presentazione dell'autore e del testo / Presentation of the Author and the Text**

**di Giacomo Marramao**

*Conflict, Populism, Hegemony* was the title of the lecture given by E. Laclau at the international colloque on "The future of democracy in Europe" (Fondazione Basso, Roma, December 2011). Here Giacomo

Marramao – also in the name of the Fondazione Basso and of the editorial board of “Parolechiave” (Laclau had generously accepted to collaborate to this number) – draws a portrait of his friend and colleague. After remembering his main books and essays, well known in the international debate, he analyses the keywords at the centre of his philosophical and political reflection (often together with Chantal Mouffe): social conflict and political articulation, hegemony and discourse theory (*Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* was the title of their most famous book), populism and politics.

## **Il socialismo nel “paese del socialismo” / Socialism in the “Country of Socialism”**

**di Alexis Berelowitch**

Was there something socialist in the country of ‘real socialism’? The question of the definition of the political and economic regime of the SU has been debated as long as the Soviet Union has lasted: inside the country itself (until political action was allowed) and elsewhere in Europe: the answer might be affirmative (yes, the country was socialist), but in a positive sense (the answer given by the URSS) or in a negative one (from the parties of the right). Today it is clear that such a question has no answer and ought to be substituted with another one: “ Was there anything socialist in the country of real socialism?” Sure, this question can lead us to a tautologie, if we consider the SU socialist, or to another impasse if we are of the opposite opinion: what can we consider as socialist if it has never existed? The article turns around such difficulties, examining from this point of view the social rights, the right to work and firms’ functioning.

## **Le incertezze del socialismo francese / The Uncertainties of French Socialism**

**di Alain Bergounioux**

The position of the French socialist party is paradoxical. It’s true that it is in power, but the difficulties are great: this is the result of an historical heritage, as well as of an under evaluation of economic realities. Now, the socialists are faced with three questions: a problem of leadership, a problem of ideological identity, a problem of political strategy.

## **La fortuna del socialismo nella Germania del Novecento / The Fortune of Socialism in Germany of the Twentieth Century**

**di Peter Kammerer**

How can we narrate today the glory, misery and defeat of Socialism/ Communism in the Twentieth Century? World War I and The October Revolution in Russia brought an end to nineteenth century Internationalism

and also brought about a profound division – in Germany, never reconciled – within the workers movement. The assassination of Rosa Luxemburg sparked a fratricidal dispute between the German Social Democrats and the Communist Party and later these two political forces were victims of further fratricide perpetrated by the National Socialist movement (Nazi party). In the aftermath of the Second World War, the contrasts within the German workers movement foreshadowed the Cold War which led to the creation of two separate German states. Within the Bundesrepublik the Social Democratic movement, overwhelmed by a period of powerful economic growth, lost its anti-capitalistic energy. But the integration of the SPD into the political system helped stabilize a representative democracy and its institutions and this was a new phenomenon in German history. In the DDR, socialism suffered a slow death by arteriosclerosis. Only the arts (mainly novels and theatre) shine a new light on the glory, the misery and defeat of Socialism.

**Segni di socialismo in movimenti recenti (São Paulo, i “senza tetto”) /  
Signs of Socialism in Recent Movements (São Paulo, the “Homeless”)  
di David Gallerano e Niccolò Serri**

The paper aims to provide an account of contemporary housing social movements in the downtown area of São Paulo, with a specific focus on civic struggles during the 2014 World Cup event. Authors believe that the study of grass-root social activism in the city of São Paulo offers a privileged standpoint to analyze the dynamic of interaction between urban mobilization and the state in democratic Brazil. This is particularly relevant when it comes to the last decade, characterized by the rise to power of the Partido dos Trabalhadores, a socialist party that originated in the same socio-political milieu of urban movements but has, however, maintained an ambivalent attitude towards them. The first part of the article tracks the rise and development of housing social movements in São Paulo, from the early 1980s to the 2000s, highlighting the dialectic of integration and opposition between civic actors and the state. The second part focuses on the most recent years, showing how the cultural and political repertoire accumulated by the urban movements played out during the revolts of June 2013 and the World Cup protests of 2014.

**Il socialismo *reloaded* della *millennial* generation / Socialism Reloaded of the Millennial Generation  
di Paola Basso**

This paper focuses on a new trend between the youngest generation in USA, according to a recent poll and to the success of a new ‘socialist’ magazine, called “Jacobin”. What it is interesting is that the word “socialism” not

only does not make any fear to the “under 30” but it is ready to open a new perspective thanks to the vivacity and the heterodox meaning they attribute to it, catching its inner libertarian features.

## **Il “socialismo invisibile” nella società degli individui / The “Invisible Socialism” in the Society of the Individuals**

**di Marco Marzano**

European Socialism is going through one of the most difficult times of its long history. Socialist parties survive taking advantage of their glorious past; socialism is not vital anymore and it looks folly subdued to laissez faire ideology. In this situation, pessimism and nostalgia are real risks. But there is no socialism without progressivism, without some kind of hope in the future. In order to regain trust in the future, socialist thinkers should turn the attention away from politics and pay attention to what is going on in society. If they did it so, they could realize that many fields of social life are going spontaneously through a process of radical democratization.

## **L'eredità ambigua di un “modello” di *Welfare* / The Ambiguous Legacy of a “Model” of Welfare**

**di Piero Colla**

The much-trailed “crisis of the Swedish model” has thus far failed to materialize. The Swedish Social Democratic Party managed to survive the neoliberal wave of the early 1990s by offering itself as a proponent of effective reform and good governance for the new century. In Sweden, as elsewhere, the left in government has championed a rigorous program of fiscal consolidation and rehabilitation of private initiative that is alien to its tradition, but only in Sweden has this been underpinned by a constant – and indeed nostalgic – identification between party and national project. The reason is perhaps to be found in the ethos on which social democratic values draw: a vision of the world in which extreme individualism and State intervention can exist side by side.

## **Socialismo/comunismo: questione terminologica e implicazioni politiche / Socialism/Communism: Political Implications of a Terminological Question**

**di Chiara Giorgi**

This article confronts a terminological question that stems from the attempt to trace a genealogy of socialist thought, highlighting the problematic, aporetic and unresolved elements especially those conflicts fought in the name of socialism. Setting out from an analysis of the relationship between socialism and communism in some of Marx's writings, the author then turns to consider how other twentieth century Marxists (in particular

Lelio Basso) confronted the definition of the one or the other term, sometimes distinguishing them and at other times not. Over and above the terminological question, the very specification of the meaning of the term 'socialism' reveals some theoretical and political implications that are important in the light of a more recent history of socialism.

**1917: come fu sconfitta l'alternativa socialista / 1917: The Defeat of the Socialist Alternative**

**di Maria Ferretti**

Relying on the rich documentation on Russian socialism available after the opening of the archives immediately following the end of the USSR, the text reconstructs the crucial political role played by the Mensheviks under the leadership of Irakly Cereteli between February and October 1917. Convinced that Russia was experiencing finally its bourgeois revolution, Cereteli, pursuing a compromise at all costs with the Liberals, ended up by compromising the realization of a unity government of the left. As a consequence radicalism grew among the Bolsheviks, and the way was paved for the birth of the Bolshevik dictatorship.

**“Problemi del socialismo”: le origini della rivista di Lelio Basso / “Problemi del Socialismo”: the Origins of the Journal of Lelio Basso**

**di Giancarlo Monina**

This essay focuses on the political and ideal genesis of “Problems of Socialism”, the political and cultural journal founded by the socialist leader Lelio Basso in 1958. In the course of the foundation can be traced the main lines on which Basso renewed the theory and practice of socialist project in the mid-fifties. Democracy and internationalism, were the basic concepts of his socialist thought reworked in the light of the profound global changes of the era.

**Il lungo Novecento europeo e il socialismo “moralistico” di Tony Judt / The “Long” European Twentieth Century and the “Moralistic” Socialism of Tony Judt**

**di Marco Bresciani**

This essay focuses on the complex approach to socialism that characterized the intellectual journey of the British historian Tony Judt (1948-2010). After coming to terms with the totalitarian legacies of the twentieth century since the mid-1980s, he started facing the new social question since the 1990s. His original version of the social-democratic thought was shaped by his personal and intellectual connections with the East Central European dissidents' liberalism, by his critical approach to the *engagement* of the French intellectuals and by his historical researches on post-1945 Europe.

The peculiarities of his “moralistic” socialism will appear in full light against the background of Judt’s confrontation with the Marxist historical and political conceptions of another great historian such as Eric Hobsbawm (1917-2012).

# **Riflettendo su democrazia e socialismo / Reflecting on Democracy and Socialism**

**di Cesare Pinelli**

It is commonly held that Socialist European parties have failed to meet the challenges posed from global markets and from the new communication technologies. Such opinion is however sustained from two seemingly opposite perspective, namely that these parties have followed the neo-liberism’s paradigms and that at the beginning of the XXI century socialism as such is a relic of the past. The author seeks to demonstrate that these evaluations are closer to each other than it might appear, on the ground that they presuppose that Socialist European parties represent a single political subject, in spite of their national identity, and still rely on the old dichotomy between market and State, notwithstanding the rise of global capitalism. According to the author, a renewal of socialism requires both a deep reflection on its relationship with democracy and an understanding of the popular needs that is now removed from the current representations of the political class, with the effect of increasing the populist parties’ appeal.

