

**I TRE PRESIDENTI (MA CE N'E' UN QUARTO). LA COSTITUZIONE REPUBBLICANA
SECONDO SCHIFANI, FINI E BERLUSCONI.**

Sante Cruciani

After the Popolo della Libertà's win at the 13th and 14th of April 2008 elections, most of the Newcasts on both public and private television welcomed the inaugural speeches made by the President of the Senate Schifani, the President of the Chamber Fini and the Prime Minister Berlusconi as the confirmation of the Italian right wing tradition of government.

Looking closer, apart from the formal tributes towards President Napolitano, the three inaugural speeches introduce a substantial breach as regards republican democracy, the balance of popular sovereignty, parliamentary representation and government action, the recognition of the plurality of creeds and religious confessions, of cultural and political pluralism, and the synthesis of the rights of freedom and equality resolutely pursued by the Constituent Assembly.

The entire system of the equilibrium of powers between the State bodies and a central part of the bill of rights of the Republican Constitution is brought into discussion: with the predominance of the principle of freedom over the principle of equality, the democratic game is bereft of the fundamental dialectics between freedom and equality perceived by Norberto Bobbio as the inseparable nucleus of modern constitutionalism.

Thus, it has to be the historian's task to try and re-establish a virtuous circle between politics, culture and the ability to intervene in the most delicate topics concerning the quality of Italian democracy today.

Key words: Republican Constitution, Freedom/Equality, Renato Schifani, Gianfranco Fini; Silvio Berlusconi; Norberto Bobbio, Gustavo Zagrebelski, Politics/Culture; Italian Democracy.

Parole chiave: Costituzione repubblicana, Libertà/Uguaglianza; Renato Schifani, Gianfranco Fini; Silvio Berlusconi; Norberto Bobbio, Gustavo Zagrebelski, Politica/Cultura; Democrazia italiana.

**LA CONVERSIONE DI GRAMSCI E LA CREAZIONE DI UN NUOVO SENSO COMUNE (DI
DESTRA)**

Guido Liguori

The author analyses the articles printed in the Italian newspapers between the 26th of November and the 2nd of December 2008 following monsignor Luigi de Magistris disclosure that Antonio Gramsci would convert to Catholicism before his death. Here, again, as had often occurred before, commentators, politicians and journalists overturn and manipulate Gramsci's thought, and what it represents on the symbolical level, for more or less direct political uses. In the specific case, there is no documentary evidence which supports this information. It only aims at creating a new common sense, in the worst sense of the world, to bury Gramsci, one of the few last certainties of the Italian Left.

Key words: Gramsci; Conversion; Media; Religion; Manipulation; Common Sense.

Parole chiave: Antonio Gramsci; Conversione; Media; Religione; Strumentalizzazione; Senso comune.

TEATRI DELLA MEMORIA. RIVISITANDO IL REVISIONISMO IN SPAGNA

Javier Rodrigo

A few years it initiated, the so-called 'revisionist offensive' in Spain seems to have produced questionable results. On the one hand, its arguments have failed to enter professional historiography; on the other hand, however, its unquestionable see and media popularity have turned it into a social phenomenon. In addition, historians have not reached an agreement about how to reply to it. Finally, on both sides, the definition, the origins and the limits of the phenomenon do not seem to have been the object of discussion. This is what we intend to analyze in this article.

Key words: Revisionism; Negationism; Spanish Civil War, Collective Memory; Spanish Transition to Democracy; 'Memory Recovery'.

Parole chiave: Revisionismo; Negazionismo; Guerra civile spagnola; Memoria collettiva; Transizione alla democrazia; "Recupero della memoria".

IL 1948 NELLA STORIA DI ISRAELE. APPUNTI SU UN DIBATTITO TRA STORIOGRAFIA E POLITICA

Marco Allegra

The article addresses the issue of the relation between historiography and the political debate. It examines the historiographic works concerning the events which lead to the emergence of the State of Israel between 1947 and 1949 as one of the key-periods in the history of the contemporary Middle East. In particular, the analysis focuses on the debate originating in the mid 1980s on the revision of traditional Israeli historiography undertaken by the so-called 'New Historians', of whom Benny Morris is a leading representative. By drawing on the notion of the public use of history, the author reverses the perspective, showing how the academic debate itself is characterized by strongly polemical aspects. The historiographic research on 1948, to which the work of New Historians provide the latest significant contribution in term of analysis of new sources, constitutes a firmer knowledge than the tones of the debate would suggest.

Key words: Public Use of History; Israel, New Israeli Historians; First Arab-Israeli War; Palestine; Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.

Parole chiave: Uso pubblico della storia; Israele; Nuovi storici israeliani, Prima Guerra arabo-israeliana; Palestina; Conflitto israelo-palestinese.

SOTTO UN CIELO DI PIOMBO. LE LOTTE PER LA CASA IN UNA BORGATA DI ROMA, SAN BASILIO, SETTEMBRE 1974

Massimo Sestili

Social struggle for housing in Rome has produced a movement which has endured over 50 years of Italian history. Squatting is the unavoidable answer for a large number of people to the lack of houses due to the building speculation, to the problem of the renewal of the suburbs built during the fascist regime, to the heavy wave of immigration and to the absence of city planning. Due to problems of overcrowding and lack of transparency in establishing allotment lists, the occupation of the San Basilio suburbs in 1974 ended tragically in the death of a young demonstrator and dozens injured among the police and the occupants. The author of the articles argues that the occupation of

San Basilio culminated in an armed conflict for three reasons: 1. The endeavor could have become a model of conduct for the whole country; 2. Engaged in realizing the Historic Compromise policy, the Italian Communist Party could not tolerate such radical forms of struggle in its left wing; 3. Some of the militants of the extra-parliamentary Left took these conflicts as an opportunity to intensify their battle against the State, starting an armed conflict in organizations such as the Red Brigades and Prima Linea. The article is structured on the oral evidence of the people involved.

Key words: The Suburb of San Basilio; Suburbs of Rome; Occupations of Houses; Fabrizio Ceruso; September 1974, Lotta Continua.

Parole chiave: Borgata San Basilio; Borgate di Roma; Occupazione delle case; Fabrizio Ceruso; Settembre 1974; Lotta Continua.

QUALE VERITA' PER LA STORIA? CONOSCENZA, PRASSI LINGUISTICA E CONTESTI SOCIALI

Davide Grasso

The association of truth with history gives rise to three different theoretical questions: how to characterize historical truth, what is the criterion to discover it, and what is historical truth as such, the author takes this third issue into account by making a series of conceptual distinctions, and formulating an ontological thesis about the object of historical sciences. Contrary to physical reality, social reality is constructed by human beings in history. Writing and speech acts provide the instruments to create norms and contexts, and to make social entities and institutions interact. These are real entities which correspond to terms that denote them, thus, realizing that correspondence between propositions and world called truth. Therefore, propositions describing historical facts can be true or false, and in many cases such truth or falsity may be verified, even though the hypothesis concerning the causal relations between historical facts lack the same degree of justification of the experimental method. The scientific character of historiography is founded on a constant documentary reference, and on a textual organization which brings to light the different levels of objectivity and subjectivity of judgement (statement of facts, historiographic hypotheses, critical judgements). Moreover, by constantly referring to documented facts, historical research stably grounds its interpretations on reality.

Key words: Truth; Knowledge; Ontology; Social Reality; Writing; Historiography.

Parole chiave: Verità; Conoscenza; Ontologia; Realtà sociale; Scrittura; Storiografia.

LA STORIA E LA SUA RAPPRESENTAZIONE. CONGETTURE INTORNO A "LA TELA DI RAGNO DI JOSEPH ROTH

Guido Panico

Published in installments in the Austrian socialist party's newspaper in 1923, *Das spinnennetz* (*The Spider's Web*) is a novel by Joseph Roth. A writer of Jewish origin, Roth moved from Vienna to Berlin in 1920, where he started his career as a journalist. The novel is about a young veteran of the German Imperial army who joins a paramilitary extreme right nationalist group. Driven by a profound anti-Semite hatred, more radical than his hatred for Bolshevism, he makes a career within the organization by means of a systematic use of violence and treachery. This literary work may be also read as an uncommon historical evidence. The relationship between literature and history is the object of an age-long and, probably, insoluble debate. There is no doubt that a great many literary pages convey ideas about the contexts and customs to the historian. Whether these pages may be regarded as providing relevant evidence, or even that they themselves are 'history' in the proper

sense, and not just a bit of rethoric, is to be argued case by case. *The spider's Web* is preceded by numerous journalistic pages which tackle the fundamental themes of the novel. It describes a widespread sentiment – of anti-Semite nationalism and violent deep-rooted sens of hierarchies – which preludes to the post-World War I period. As early as the end of 1919, Roth wrote that the Bolshevik revolution was declining in the former middle-European Empires. What was increasing, instead, was the barbarity lurking in the recesses of a part of European society.

Key words: Anti-Semitism; Bolshevism; National Socialism; Literature; History; Representation.
Parole chiave: Antisemitismo; Bolscevismo; Nazionalsocialismo; Letteratura; Storia; Rappresentazione.