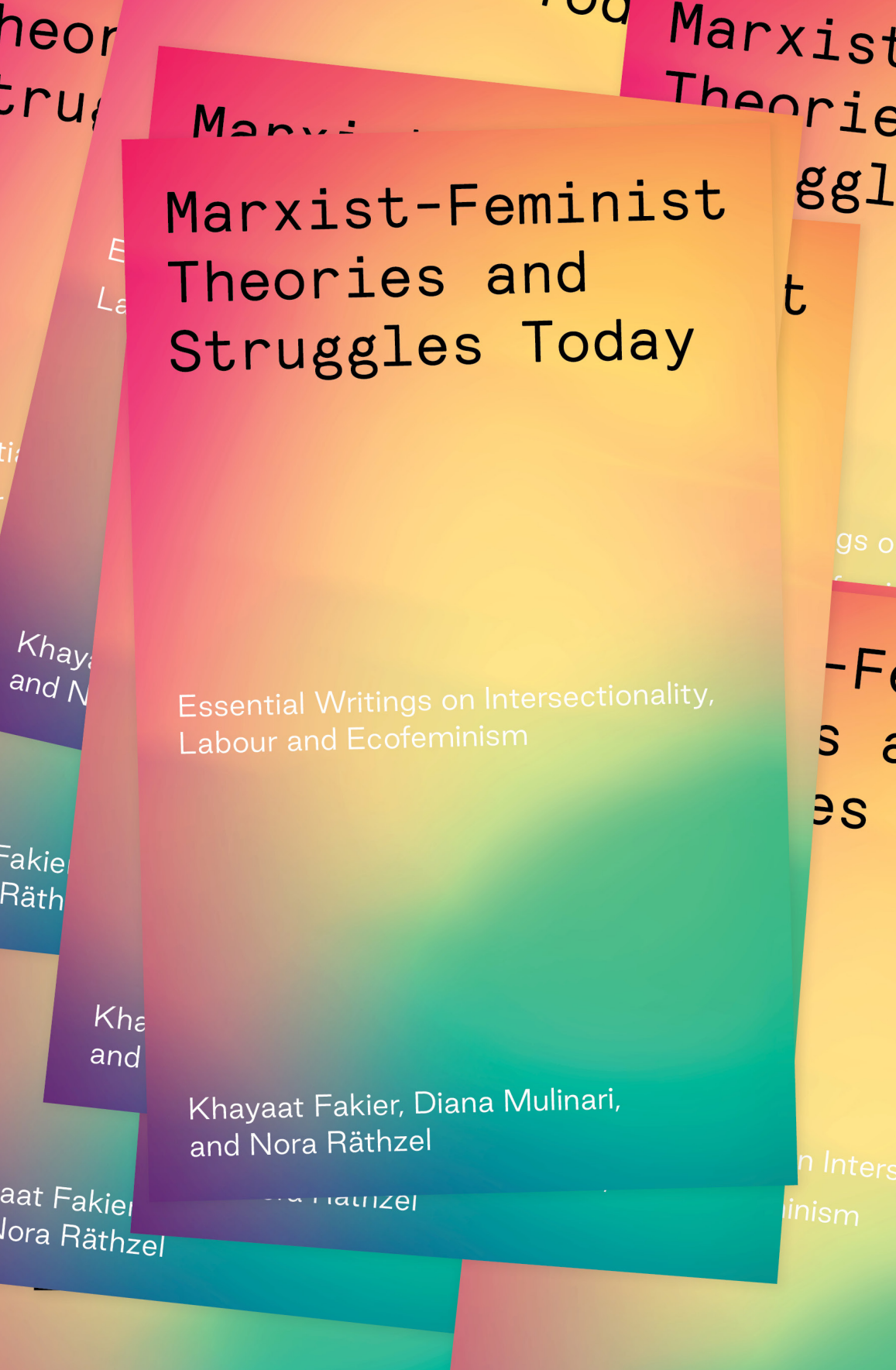
Marxist-Feminist Theories and Struggles Today
Essential Writings on Intersectionality, Labour and Ecofeminism
Khayaat Fakier, Diana Mulinari, and Nora Räthzel

# MARXIST-FEMINIST THEORIES AND STRUGGLES TODAY

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## ESSENTIAL WRITINGS ON INTERSECTIONALITY, LABOUR AND ECOFEMINISM

*Edited by Khayaat Fakier, Diana Mulinari, and Nora Räthzel*

ZED

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For Cynthia Cockburn (24 July 1934–13 September 2019)
Our friend and colleague and a pioneer of Marxist Feminism

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# NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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**Cynthia Cockburn** was a feminist researcher and writer living in London, where she was active in Women in Black against War and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She was a visiting professor in the Department of Sociology, City University London, and honorary professor in the Centre for the Study of Women and Gender, University of Warwick. Her last books, products of action-research on gender in processes of war and peace, are *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis* (2007) and *Antimilitarism: Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements* (2012).

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In 2014, she co-edited a volume titled *Socio-Economic Insecurity in Emerging Economies: Building New Spaces*.

**Jules Gleeson** is a gender historian, comedian, communist, and Londoner based in Vienna. Her published work addresses transfeminist ethics, gender abolitionism, effeminacy, intersex theory, embodiment struggles, and Byzantine monastic masculinities. She is co-editing a new essay collection, *Transgender Marxism*. She co-founded the Leftovers communist discussion group, and New Critical Approaches to the Byzantine World research network.

**Ana Isabel González Montes**, born in Argentina in 1954, is a social anthropologist specialised in human rights, gender and Indigenous Peoples rights. She was an associate professor at the Chair of Culture of Peace and Human Rights in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires (2010–2018). She is a member of the Academic Committee of the Institute of Latin American and Caribbean Studies of the University of Buenos Aires. She was a UN official in the Peace Mission for Guatemala (MINUGUA), and worked as a UN official as coordinator of the field investigation and in the writing of the report *Guatemala Memoria del Silencio*, of the Commission for Historical Clarification of the Violations to Human Rights, which documented the genocide in that country (1997/1999). She was an official of the Human Rights Secretary of Argentina and of the National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism of Argentina (2003/2015). As an expert, she worked on the preparation of the National Plan against Discrimination (UN High Commissioner for Human Rights / Decree 1086/05). She was General Coordinator of the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs of Argentina (2000–2001). She has published numerous articles, in several languages, in the areas of human rights, women's rights and Indigenous Peoples, Guatemala and Central America. She has an extensive career and political commitment to the feminist movement, the human rights movement, and the popular movements of her country and the continent.

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**Frigga Haug**, PhD, is professor emerita in Sociology and Social Psychology, University for Economics and Politics, Hamburg. She was a visiting scholar in Denmark, Austria, Australia, Canada, USA. A founder of memory-work research, her early leadership in the field is reflected in *Female Sexualization: A Collective Work of Memory*. She is a member of numerous editorial boards, including a series on feminist crime and fiction, *Das Argument*, a journal for philosophy and social theory, and the *Historical Critical Dictionary of Marxism*, for both of which she is currently co-editor; she is also editor of the *Critical Dictionary of Feminism*, vols 1–3. Her research has ranged from automation and work culture to social science methodology and learning, to other areas of women's studies. Her most recent books are: *Rosa Luxemburg und die Kunst der Politik* (2007) (Rosa Luxemburg and the Art of Politics), *Die Vier-in-einem Perspektive. Politik von Frauen für eine neue Linke* (2008/2011) (The Four-in-One-Perspective: Women's Politics for a New Left), *Der im Gehen erkundete Weg. Marxismus-Feminismus* (2015) (The Path Explored by Walking: Marxism-Feminism), and *Selbstveränderung und Veränderung der Umstände* (2018) (Changing the Self, Changing the Circumstances).

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**Ligaya Lindio McGovern**, PhD, is professor of sociology and the major co-founder of the Office for Sustainability at Indiana University Kokomo. A recipient of a Fulbright Research Award in 2017, she conducted research on the impacts of extractive corporate mining on Indigenous men and women in the Philippines and its implications for an integrated framing of human rights and sustainability. With research and teaching interests on women/gender and globalisation, Third World development, social movements and social change, and sustainability she is author of *Filipino Peasant Women: Exploitation and Resistance* and *Globalization, Labor Export and Resistance: A Study of Filipino Migrant Domestic Workers in Global Cities*. A former director of Women's Studies, she co-edited *Globalization and Third World Women: Exploitation, Coping and Resistance* and *Gender and Globalization: Patterns of Women's Resistance*.

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**Kathryn Russell**, PhD, is professor of philosophy emerita from the State University of New York College at Cortland, and an activist with the Tompkins County Workers' Center, the Coalition for Sustainable Economic Development and SURJ (Showing Up for Racial Justice). Anti-fracking action-research led to her article 'Will Fracking Bring the Soldiers Home?' *Peace Review* (2013). Other scholarship includes 'Feminist Dialectics and Marxist Theory', *Radical Philosophy Review* (2007), and 'A Value-Theoretic Approach to Childbirth and Reproductive Engineering', *Science and Society* (Fall 1994) reprinted in *Materialist Feminism: A Reader in Class, Difference and Women's Lives* (1997) (edited by Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham).

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# INTRODUCTION

*Khayaat Fakier, Diana Mulinari, and Nora Räthzel*[1]

The main intellectual experience haunting feminist scholars and activists working within the tradition of Marxist/socialist feminism today is the prevalence of crisis: the human crisis represented through an unprecedented increase of forced migration and widening gaps of inequality across and within countries North and South. The crisis of nature, visible in an ever-increasing number of natural catastrophes, which hit predominantly poor and vulnerable populations the hardest. The economic crisis analysed under the notion of 'financialisation', that is the pursuit of profit through financial transactions as opposed to investments in production processes. While vulnerabilities abound, the possibilities to care for those who are most vulnerable are decreasing, rather than broadening, a process analysed by feminist scholars as the crisis of care. Whether these crises have different causes and feed off each other, or whether they are seen as different facets of one and the same crisis is yet an open question to be explored. What we can observe though, is that they lead to the strengthening of religious fundamentalist, nationalist, racist, and misogynist movements across the globe, transcending the North–South divide.

To understand these crises and how to act against them, some Marxist-Feminists across the world decided to pick up the threads of their debates starting more than 40 years ago. Initiated by Frigga Haug with the Feminist Section of the Institute of Critical Theory in Berlin and supported by Canadian and US Marxist-Feminists with Sharzad Mojab, who were editing a book on Marxism and feminism[2] with Zed Books at the same time, Marxists-Feminists around the world came together to the first conference in Berlin, in March 2015.[3]

To everyone's surprise over 500 (mostly women) turned up wanting to hear and debate with what Marxist-Feminists had to say. The debates were engaged but also heated. Quite a number of participants thought that the Marxism-Feminism presented here was oblivious to the theoretical and political debates that had taken place since the heydays of Marxist feminism, namely during the resurgence of feminist movements across the world in the 1970s. They missed discussions of racism and postcolonialism, the inclusion of feminists from countries of the global South, they thought the critique of intersectionality did not do justice to the usefulness of the concept. However, there was a unifying conviction that these conferences should continue, and that the debate needed to be broadened in terms of issues covered, theoretical and political

approaches, as well as geographically. In this spirit, the second conference was organised in Vienna by the team of *transform! Europe* and two colleagues living in Sweden and Spain, respectively. They made the effort to invite scholars and activists from every continent (a problem with limited resources) sending out an open call for papers to as many countries as possible.

The title of the second conference reflected the aim of pluralising the Marxist-Feminist debate: *Building Bridges – Shifting and Strengthening Visions – Exploring Alternatives*. Most of the results of this endeavour can be read in this anthology.

Again, over 500 participants visited the conference in Vienna, this time from 29 countries and covering a wide range of issues and theoretical approaches while defining themselves as Marxist or socialist feminists (https://marxfemconference.net/2016/11/22/writing-feminism-into-marxism/).

The third conference, in Lund, in October 2018, adopted a radically different format. While the conference in Vienna had broadened its range of contributors and perspectives, it was criticised for not leaving enough space for discussion. Thus, for Lund it was decided that the conference should feature only a few key-note speakers and a few panels and would otherwise consist predominantly of workshops, using methods that guaranteed the best possibility of participation. This decision led also to a further broadening of issues discussed within the frame of Marxist feminism (https://marxfemblog.files.wordpress.com/2018/07/program-marxfem-conference-2018.pdf).

Like the debates on Marxism-Feminism in general the conferences will continue. The fourth will be organised by a group of Catalan and Basque Marxist-Feminists and will take place in Bilbo/Bilbao[4] from 15th to 17th October 2020. It is their plan to include more Marxist-Feminist activists from outside academia, something that was suggested at the third conference.

## The need for Marxist-Feminist analyses and practices

Feminist scholarship has increasingly returned to a Marxist/socialist tradition with a focus on capitalism as central to an understanding of gender inequality regimes globally. Marxism, and in its tradition of Marxist feminism, uses dialectics as a method to pursue the concrete study of societal relations and develops its categories from these analyses.

While at the first conference the question of how to define Marxist feminism was prevalent, the two following conferences seemed to take that answer for granted and contributors as well as participants were more interested in using Marxist-Feminist tools to analyse what they saw as the burning questions of our time: how to develop women's capacities to transform patriarchal capitalist societies (Haug), coalitions between workers' environmentalist and feminist movements (Russel, Holmstrom, Trópia), the rise of the right, of racist movements and state practices (Gržinić, Yuval-Davis), rethinking the position of women in the care sector (Haubner, Čakardić), women workers

in industries, subsistence economies, and care (D. Mulinari, Räthzel and Tollefsen, Fakier and Solari, P. Mulinari, Selberg), gender performativity (Gleeson), women and religion (Dietrich), Marxist feminism and the new materialist feminism (Cotter), feminist movements in authoritarian states (González, McGovern) – to name only the contributions we were able to include in this anthology.

In this anthology, Cynthia Cockburn, who sadly died during the production of this volume, examines the history of Standpoint Theory from Marx to its usages in Feminist theorizations. She argues for its continuous usefulness in understanding new social movements. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak makes us of aware that we are simultaneously within and outside the funding machine. As the difference between public and private breaks down, while trying to change the world we are always also complicit in its destruction. Frigga Haug examines the contradictions of Marxist-Feminist theory and practice, namely, that in order to create a new world and liberate themselves, women need to destroy the old ways of thinking and feeling, to which they are nonetheless emotionally and rationally attached. Kathryn Russel takes the reader through the challenges and dilemmas of forging solidarities between different social movements against climate change. Nancy Holstrom analyses the history and present state of Marxist/socialist feminist theories and movements in the United States arguing that theoretical diversity does not preclude practical solidarity. Patrícia Vieira Trópia provides a historical overview of the relationship between feminist activism and trade union organisation and renewal in Brazil, showing how the rise of women as members and decision makers connects in contradictory ways with the rise of CUT and the Lula and Rousseff presidencies. Marina Gržinić analyses political developments in Europe as forms of turbo-fascism and necropolitics, connecting Marxist analysis with Foucault's and Agamben's concepts of biopolitics, arguing that today politics have changed from making live and letting die to letting live and making die. Nira Yuval-Davis makes a strong case for socialist feminists to resist the identification of critique of the Israeli state and its politics against Palestinians with antisemitism. Tine Haubner argues that it is necessary to re-introduce the concept of exploitation into the social sciences, specifically into economic theories, since it is through this concept that we can understand how women in the care sector are exploited, even where profit-making is not at the centre. Ankica Čakardić revisits Marx's analysis of capital reproduction and feminist theories of social reproduction to argue that a unitary theory of the latter is decisive in order to analyse the social reality in a non-reductionist way. Nora Räthzel, Diana Mulinari, and Aina Tollefsen analyse the position of women in Volvo production plants in Mexico, South Africa, and Sweden, suggesting that the widening gap between working conditions in the North and the South can only be bridged by North–South and South–South alliances which retrieve women from their precarious

location in globalised labour markets. Natasha Solari and Khayaat Fakier take their point of departure in the everyday life of women whose families and communities depend on their fishing skills and abilities. They explore the impact of neoliberal capitalism in vulnerable eco-systems and the strategies developed by women to protect the sea, their work, and their families. Paula Mulinari analyses a strike of railway workers in Sweden and shows that care and productive work cannot be assigned to different areas, but that caring for others at work and outside work is inextricably linked to forms in which paid employment is organised. While refuting the idea that unpaid care work is a space not subsumed under the logic of capitalism, she argues that resistance to this logic through caring for others can develop in all spheres of work, in paid employment as well as in the spheres of unpaid work within families and among friends. Rebecca Selberg explores the debates about care through the last decades and embarks on an analytical journey, exploring the power of creating a dialogue between the work of Nancy Fraser on the crisis of care and Michael Burawoy's understanding of the new phase of capitalism. Jules Gleeson provides a queer and postcolonial-inspired reading of the Byzantine Eunuchs, analysing not only their possible subject position within the gender and sexual order but their social location as contradictory subjects within a tributary mode of the pre-capitalist state. Gabriele Dietrich draws on Marx's writing on religion to focus on the radical positions of B.R. Ambedkar and Pandita Ramabai, who promoted religious conversion to avoid the oppressive Hindu caste system and its oppression of women. She argues that these positions needs to be protected in a violently, religious nationalist India, where feminists are securing secular spaces in their own faith communities and building links across widening religious rifts. Jennifer Cotter provides a solid challenge of the feminist new materialist and post-human school, emphasising their resistance to understanding the social through an analysis of capitalism as a totalising mode of organising the relations of production globally. Ana Isabel González Montes tells the story of the historical development of feminism in Argentina, characterising the history and present situation of Argentina in order to find the means to confront the challenges identified by feminist struggles today. Ligaya Lindio McGovern asks us to create a global Marxist-Feminist movement against capitalism. She demonstrates the prospects of such a perspective drawing on a Marxist-Feminist movement in the Philippines and a transnational women's movement, the International Women's Alliance, including individuals and organisations from all continents, which was founded in Montreal through the initiative of Filipino women.

As different as the usages and interpretations of Marxism-Feminism might be, in addition to Marx there are some towering historical figures to whose legacies we all keep coming back: Rosa Luxemburg, Flora Tristan, Clara Zetkin, Alexandra Kollontai, Raya Dunayevskaya.

The authors of this anthology pick up the insights of Marxist/socialist feminists in the conceptualisation of how labour, gender, class, and race relations are organised within capitalist relations of production. They further develop the pivotal contributions of Marxist-Feminists, Marxists and other feminists to understand capitalism as a societal formation, from intimate everyday relations to globalised power relations. The articles in the anthology also explore and challenge the tension between Marxist/socialist feminism and other critical theoretical traditions, intersectionality, queer theory, theories of care and social reproduction, as well as feminist ecology and analyses of gender relations at work. These tensions have often been exaggerated while their points of commonality have been underplayed. We suggest that it is fundamental to reframe the dialogue among and between these traditions for the future of feminist theory and feminist movements globally.

The variety of these contributions and their diverse approaches will beg the question of what Marxist feminism is supposed to be and do. Does it inscribe feminism into Marxism and/or vice versa? Does it add feminist theory to Marxist theory or does it integrate both theoretical approaches, thereby changing both of them? What kind of approaches can be further included to broaden the Marxist-Feminist perspective or can these approaches be successfully transformed by a Marxist-Feminist lens? As the editors of this anthology we do not see our task in defining Marxism-Feminism and creating borders around it to demarcate who is inside and who is outside.

Instead, this anthology attempts to show a spectrum of diverse understandings and usages of Marxist-Feminist frameworks. The authors in this anthology do not necessarily agree with each other's analyses, nor do we as editors agree with all the contributions in this book. However, we believe that in order for Marxist feminism to continue being a useful tool for the analyses, and, thus, for the struggles against today's relations of capitalist gendered and racialised exploitation and oppression we need a conversation between a variety of analyses and perspectives. What these diverse approaches have nevertheless in common is an understanding that for humanity to survive, we need to fundamentally transform the system of capitalism and its devastating globalised exploitation of humans and nature. This book, we hope, is only the beginning of a world-wide conversation among Marxist-Feminists and other feminists and Marxists about how to achieve this common goal.

## Notes

1 These days the order of names has become so important for the development of our careers. We decided to use the 'traditional' format and list editors alphabetically. We have done so in acknowledgement and appreciation of each one of us investing the time available to us towards makings this a good book.

2 Mojab et al. published their book as *Marxism and Feminism* (Mojab, 2015). The organisation of the conference and the publication of the book were not related to each other. By coincidence, both initiatives

started more or less at the same time and then supported each other. However, this book and the two publications resulting from the first and second Marxist-Feminist conferences are not related to each other.

3 The book resulting from the conference in Berlin was titled *Wege des Marxismus-Feminismus* and edited by Frigga Haug and Ruth May (Haug and May, 2015). Funding was provided by the *Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung*, the *Institute of Critical Theory* (INKRIT), the organisation *transform! Europe*, and the German Party, *Die Linke*.

4 For further information please consult the website of all the conferences: https://marxfemconference.net.

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PART I

# CONCEPTUALISING

# 1 | STANDPOINT THEORY*

*Cynthia Cockburn*

Standpoint theory is an epistemology, an account of the evolution of knowledge and strategies of action by particular collectivities in specific social relations in given periods. As a concept, standpoint derives from Karl Marx's exegesis of class relations in capitalism. The historical development of capitalism as a mode of production involved the disintegration of feudal hierarchies and their gradual replacement by a new class system. In the last few pages of volume three of *Capital*, Marx writes:

> We have seen that the continual tendency and law of development of the capitalist mode of production is more and more to divorce the means of production from labour, and more and more to concentrate the scattered means of production into large groups, thereby transforming labour into wage-labour and the means of production into capital. (Marx 1959: 885)[1]

Thus, though landowners remained in existence in the new era as a third class, it was the proletariat and the bourgeoisie – dynamic, mutually dependent, locked in antagonism – which were definitive of capitalism.

In his historical materialist analysis of capitalism, Marx stressed that the realities of life in the new mode of production shaped the consciousness of the individuals experiencing it. In *The German Ideology* he and Engels wrote: 'Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life' (Marx and Engels 1970: 47). Their distinctive understanding was that 'definite individuals who are productively active in a definite way enter into … definite social and political relations' (ibid.: 46). They continue in this vein,

> The social structure and the State are continually evolving out of the life-process of definite individuals, but of individuals, not as they may appear in their own or other people's imagination, but as they really are; i.e. as they operate, produce materially, and hence as they work under definite material limits, presuppositions and conditions independent of their will. (Ibid.: 46)

So too do awareness, understanding and theory evolve. Individuals 'developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking' (ibid.: 46).[2]

This theme in Marx's work was later developed by Georg Lukács. In *History and Class Consciousness*, Lukács addresses Marx's account of, as he

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puts it, 'the special position of the proletariat in society and in history, and the standpoint from which it can function as the identical subject-object of the social and historical process of evolution' (Lukács 1968: 149).[3] He continues with a quotation from Marx and Engels' *The Holy Family*,[4] in which they represent the class relation as follows.

> The property-owning class and the class of the proletariat represent the same human self-alienation. But the former feels at home in this self-alienation and feels itself confirmed by it; it recognises alienation as its own instrument and in it possesses the semblance of a human existence. The latter feels itself destroyed by this alienation and sees in it its own impotence and the reality of an inhuman existence. (Cited in ibid.: 149)

As a consequence, Lukács himself continues, while class interests 'keep the bourgeoisie imprisoned within this immediacy', they force the proletariat to go beyond it, to become 'conscious of the social character of Labour'. It is 'only in the proletariat that the process by which a man's achievement is split off from his total personality and becomes a commodity leads to a revolutionary consciousness'. For the working class, therefore, recognizing the dialectical nature of its existence is, Lukács says, 'a matter of life and death' (ibid.: 164, 171). It necessarily pitches the class into struggle with its rulers. In this, the Marxian understanding of class standpoint can be heard to echo Hegel's account of the development of self-consciousness in which he employs the allegory of the 'master' and the 'servant', necessarily precipitated into existential conflict in which the stake is annihilation of self or other (Hegel 1977).[5]

One effect of class domination, therefore, is the emergence of a distinctive proletarian 'standpoint', or, as we might say today, a proletarian 'take' on life. What is more, because the view from below is capable of revealing 'the immanent contradictions' in the capitalist mode of production, the practical class consciousness of the proletariat has the revolutionary potential to disrupt the given structure, the unique 'ability to transform things' (Lukács 1968: 197, 205). Antonio Gramsci, also writing in the early twentieth-century tradition of 'Western Marxism', shared this understanding of class consciousness. Observing the capability of western European capitalist classes to sustain their rule over a potentially insurgent working class by hegemony – that is to say by culturally generated consent rather than coercion – he saw the potential for proletarian revolutionary thought to grow, find adherents among other elements in civil society, and eventually achieve counter-hegemonic capability, challenging the sway of ruling-class ideology (Gramsci 1971).[6]

## The gendering of standpoint theory

Women do not feature in Marx's account of the creation of surplus value, the heart of his economic theory. Lukács and Gramsci for their part also seem

to have conceived of the proletariat as male. They use masculine nouns and pronouns in referring to it, and rarely allude to female workers or female family members of male workers. In fact, the unthinking assertion of masculinity is sometimes so emphatic as to be laughable. Thus Lukács celebrating the proletarian achievement: 'From this standpoint alone does history really become a history of mankind. For it contains nothing that does not lead back ultimately to men and to the relations between men' (Lukács 1968: 186). Nonetheless, in the 1970s some feminist socialist thinkers began to see the usefulness of Marxist standpoint theory for understanding forms of thought emerging from women's exploitation and oppression in a patriarchal sex-gender order.

Dorothy Smith and Nancy Hartsock both began work on this theme in the 1970s, and published more substantial analyses in the following decade. In her major work *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*, Smith reprised the theme of earlier essays (Smith 1974, 1981), describing the 'brutal history of women's silencing' by authoritative male discourse. This marginalization of women's experience and thought she represented as part of 'the relations of ruling', a concept that, as she defined it, 'grasps power, organization, direction, and regulation as more pervasively structured than can be expressed in traditional concepts provided by the discourses of power'. It reflects, she says, 'the dynamic advance of the distinctive forms of organizing and ruling contemporary capitalist society, and the patriarchal forms of our contemporary experience' (Smith 1987: 3). Where was the sociology in which women would 'talk back' to power from the perspective of their everyday experience? Smith set out to make good the lack by creating 'a way of seeing, from where we actually live, into the powers, processes, and relations that organize and determine the everyday context of that seeing' (ibid.: 9). Referring explicitly to Marx's use of Hegel's parable of master and servant, Smith saw parallels between 'the claims Marx makes for a knowledge based in the class whose labour produces the conditions of existence, indeed the very existence, of a ruling class, and the claims that can be made for a knowledge of society from the standpoint of women' (ibid.: 79).

Similarly Nancy Hartsock, in an article on which she began work in 1978, brought a historical materialist approach to the understanding of 'the phallocratic institutions and ideology that constitute the capitalist form of patriarchy' (Hartsock 1985: 231).[7] She spelled out significant differences between men's and women's life activity. Where men have the singular role of producing goods, women as a sex produce both goods and human beings. Unlike those of men, women's lives are institutionally defined by the production of use-values in the home. She observed, therefore, that 'if life itself consists of sensuous activity, the vantage point available to women on the basis of their contribution to subsistence represents an intensification and deepening of the materialist world view available to the producers of commodities in capitalism, an intensification of class consciousness' (ibid.: 235).

Women's life activity, then, might be considered the source of a specific feminist standpoint. In proposing this, Hartsock spelled out some of the essential features of a 'standpoint' in Marxist theory. Material life, whether experienced by a given class or a given sex, both structures and sets limits on the understanding of social relations. In systems characterized by the domination by one group of another, the vision of each will be an inversion of that of the other. The view from above is likely to be both partial and perverse. Later, Hartsock would explain, 'By perverse I meant specifically both strange and harmful.'[8] On this reading, she concluded that women's lives surely 'make available a particular and privileged vantage point on male supremacy, a vantage point that can ground a powerful critique of the phallocratic institutions and ideology that constitute the capitalist form of patriarchy' (ibid.: 231). Most importantly, in Marxist theory, as Hartsock stresses, the standpoint of the oppressed group is an engaged vision, an achievement. It becomes available only through struggle. Finally, women's resistance to patriarchy, exposing the inhumanity of human relations, 'embodies a distress that requires a solution … a social synthesis that does not depend on any of the forms taken by abstract masculinity' (ibid.: 246). Like the proletarian standpoint, it 'points beyond the present, and carries a historically liberatory role' (ibid.: 232).

## Situated and plural knowledge

Recognizing 'standpoint' is to acknowledge that a plausible account of the world can be given from more than one positionality. In this spirit, a number of feminist theorists in the 1980s questioned the basis of knowledge claims (Rose 1983; Jaggar 1983; Harding 1986). Donna Haraway, addressing the multiplicity and diversity of feminist subjects and life experiences, developed the plural concept of 'situated knowledges' (Haraway 1988). She insisted on the embodied nature of all trustworthy seeing and knowing, dismissing 'unlocatable' knowledge claims as irresponsible. In particular, she stressed, one cannot expect to generate an understanding useful to subjugated groups from the universalizing standpoint of the master, 'the Man, the One God, whose Eye produces, appropriates, and orders all difference' (ibid.: 193). Diverse views from below, clearly rooted in life experiences, were a better bet for more reliable accounts of the world. 'The subjugated have a decent chance to be on to the god-trick and all its dazzling – and, therefore, blinding – illuminations. "Subjugated" standpoints are preferred because they seem to promise more adequate, sustained, objective, transforming accounts of the world' (ibid.: 191). 'Reliable', however, seemed to claim 'objectivity'. On what basis could partial and competing knowledges be considered objective? Haraway, and a little later Sandra Harding, reclaimed objectivity for situated knowledges. Harding had already contributed, in 1986, a major addition to feminist standpoint theory in her *The Science Question in Feminism*, in which

she had savaged the androcentrism of the sciences and called for a feminist 'successor science' project (Harding 1986). Now she argued in defence of 'situated knowledges' that giving up 'the goal of telling one true story about reality' need not mean that 'one must also give up trying to tell less false stories' (Harding 1991: 187). Science had never been value-free, as scientists liked to claim. A stronger version of objectivity could be achieved by combining the standpoint from below with enquiry that was reflexive, by actors who named and clearly situated themselves, coming clean about power, interests and values, as informative about the subject and source of knowledge as about the objects of which they spoke.

### Labour as Marxist-feminist problematic

Even within its own frame of reference, Marxist thought had clearly overlooked an important phenomenon. A distinctive feature of the division of labour is the sexual division of labour. This had been precisely Hartsock's project – to render an 'account of the sexual division of labour and its consequences for epistemology' (Hartsock 1985: 232). Capitalists reckon on, and profit from, both women's gendered disadvantage in the workplace and their unpaid labour in the home. This oversight has often enough been pointed out by women active in labour movements. It is possible, however, to represent the oversight as a shortcoming of socialist analysis, without positing a system of male supremacy in which men as men also benefit from women's labour. Lindsey German, for instance, dismissive of feminism as 'a limited political programme' (German 2007: 166), offers a thorough description of the position of women in capitalist labour relations while firmly rejecting the analysis of those feminist writers – she cites Heidi Hartmann (1981) in particular – who frame women's labour processes within patriarchal as well as capitalist relations. This, she writes, is 'an extremely partial reading' of women's history and a retreat from class analysis (German 2007: 154).

Other feminists challenging the gender blindness of Marxist thought have often tended, like Hartsock, to restrict their corrective analysis to labour processes and relations. Thus Heidi Hartmann, who, as Lindsey German noted, makes a cogent case for understanding patriarchy as a system of power relations distinct from, though deeply implicated in, the capitalist system of class relations, memorably defined patriarchy as 'a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women'. Yet she continued immediately, 'The material base of patriarchy is men's control over *women's labour power*' (Hartmann 1981: 18, emphasis added). Elaborating on a point she had made two years earlier, that 'job segregation by sex is *the primary mechanism* in capitalist societies that maintains the superiority of men over women' (Hartmann 1979: 208, emphasis added), she writes:

> Job segregation by sex, by ensuring that women have the lower paid jobs, both assures women's economic dependence on men and reinforces notions of appropriate spheres for women and men. For most men, then, the development of family wages secured the material base of male domination in two ways. First, men have the better jobs in the labour market and earn higher wages than women … Secondly … women do housework, childcare, and perform other services at home which benefit men directly. Women's home responsibilities in turn reinforce their inferior labour market position. (Hartmann 1981: 22)

That many versions of feminist standpoint limit themselves to issues surrounding women's labour is in some sense a natural response to the fact that Marxist standpoint theory sees proletarian consciousness as resulting uniquely from the worker's experience of being forced to sell his labour power – something 'inseparable from his physical existence', as Lukács puts it – as a mere commodity (Lukács 1968: 166). Kathi Weeks' substantial recovery of feminist standpoint theory two decades after its founding moment is another case in which the analysis dwells on 'women's labouring practices' (Weeks 1998: 15). However, interestingly, she explicitly states that she does not propose 'labour as the fundamental source of women's oppression and the only site of feminist agitation'. Rather, the framing of this and earlier work (Weeks 1996) suggests a tactical choice, in the conflictual 1990s, to ground her argument in labour as a device for transcending the antagonism between modernism and postmodernism. Thus she writes:

> [I]f we take labouring practices, rather than signifying practices, as our point of entry into these configurations of gendered subjectivity, we can better account for the coercion under which gender is embodied; few would mistake labour for a practice that can be freely taken up or easily refused. Thus by privileging labour we are better able to keep sight of the constitutive links between systematic socioeconomic relations on the one hand and collective modes of practice and forms of subjectivity on the other. (Ibid.: 96)

### Standpoint derived from other phases of life activity

Interestingly, Nancy Hartsock, at the start of the essay analysed above, seems to acknowledge a limitation implicit in her choice of focus. She writes: 'I argue that on the basis of … the sexual division of labour, one could begin, though not complete, the construction of a feminist standpoint …' (Hartsock 1985: 231). And indeed, some feminist thinkers did subsequently depart from the trope of 'work', the reiteration of the feminist standpoint's grounding in the exploitation of women's labour power and the struggle that evokes. They turned to other phases of women's lived experience to look for the emergence of feminist consciousness.

A highly innovative account came from Mary O'Brien, who, after many years as a practising midwife, turned academic and levelled her gaze on women's experience of conception, pregnancy and birthing. In *The Politics of Reproduction*, published in 1981, she suggested that an important impulse in patriarchy is control of offspring. Men's seed is alienated from them in copulation and conception. Women know their child as part of their own body, but if the man is to be sure of paternity, if he is to 'know' and appropriate the child, he must control the woman. In societal terms this requires cooperation between men. The biological process of reproduction, O'Brien argues, is a 'material substructure of history' necessarily giving rise to distinct forms of consciousness in men and women and accounting for systemic male supremacy as a historical phenomenon. Starting from this insight, she suggests, 'feminism must develop theory, method and strategy, and we must pursue this development from a fresh perspective, namely "the standpoint of women," women working from within women's reality' (O'Brien 1981: 188).

O'Brien is not the only feminist thinker to have noted that, while the subjection of the worker to the capitalist may hinge on labour and the working day, the subjection of women to men involves their whole being – physical, sexual, emotional, reproductive, aesthetic, relational – day and night. Others have looked to different aspects of oppression as potential sources of oppositional consciousness, feminist standpoints and movements. Towards the end of *The Science Question in Feminism*, published in 1986, Sandra Harding had already begun to question the singularity of 'the' feminist standpoint. It was the beginning of a period of postmodernist and post-structuralist emphasis on 'difference', on 'fractured identities' and 'hyphenized feminisms'. Socialist-feminism, radical-feminism, lesbian-feminism, black-Marxistfeminism, black-lesbian-socialist-feminism, radical-women-of-colour – these hyphenizations, Harding couldn't help feeling, bespoke 'an exhilaration felt in the differences in women's perceptions of who we are and of the appropriate politics for navigating through our daily social relations'. Standpoint epistemology, she feared, if it stressed a singular feminist standpoint, might be taken to devalue that exhilaration (Harding 1986: 163).

Two decades later she would edit a reader that responded to this doubt, drawing together multiple accounts of feminist standpoints (Harding 2004b). The volume reproduced an important essay by Patricia Hill Collins which argued that the thinking of black feminists, the 'outsiders within' US society, must be seen as constituting a special standpoint on self, family and society (Collins 1986).[9] And Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva contributed a chapter arguing that women of different racial, ethnic, cultural and class backgrounds, notably in the 'global South', have evolved a distinctive shared analysis in confronting the threat posed by capitalist exploitation to the natural environment and ultimately to human and other life on earth.

They represented this consciousness in terms of a rejection both of the Enlightenment notion that Man's freedom and happiness depends on 'his' eventual emancipation from Nature by the forces of reason and rationality, and of the Marxist concept of humankind's historic march from the 'realm of necessity' (i.e. the realm of nature) to the 'realm of freedom'. The feminist standpoint here takes the form of what the authors call the 'subsistence perspective' (Mies and Shiva 2004).[10]

Besides, by now it was no longer only diverse positionalities, in recognition of intersectionality, which were being proposed as sources of standpoints – it was also different phases of women's life activity. Another chapter in Harding's collection showed Sara Ruddick, for instance, arguing for maternal thinking, featuring 'preservative love', as generative of a feminist standpoint (Ruddick 1989).[11] In this vein, convinced by many years of empirical research in organizations of the women's peace movement, I entered this debate, proposing that the profoundly gendered phenomena of violence and war are significant features of women's 'life activity' and that resistance to them tends to generate a distinctive analysis. The social shaping of masculinity in patriarchy towards a readiness to prevail by use of force results in a marked predominance of men in violent criminality and in the ranks and commanding structures of armed forces. Women are a significant proportion of the victims of war and also experience gendered effects of militarization in everyday life in peacetime societies. I termed their critical analyses and mobilizations against violence and war a feminist anti-militarist standpoint (Cockburn 2007, 2010).

A further and somewhat startling Marxist-feminist innovation was that of Anna Jónasdóttir, who, in 1994, observed that we had been in error in so often reducing the 'material' in women's life experience to the economic. 'Work', she said, 'neither is nor ever can be life's only and total "prime want"' (Jónasdóttir 1994: 97). We were forgetting emotion. Empathy, attachment. In short, love. The activities around which the sexual struggle revolves, she maintained, are neither work nor the products of work, 'but human love – caring, ecstasy' (ibid.: 24). In making this case, Jónasdóttir represented herself as rendering reality 'from a standpoint best described as a certain kind of radical feminist stance' (ibid.: 17).

Women and men, Jónasdóttir believes, needing, seeking and practising love, 'enter into specific productive relations with each other in which they "quite literally produce new human beings."' Up to this point she was going no further than the 'conception and birthing' insight of Mary O'Brien, mentioned above. She went on to add, however, that women and men 'also produce (and reproduce) themselves and each other as active, emotional, and reasoning people' (ibid.: 63). It was in this process, she believed, that men became empowered. Adapting the Marxist theory of alienated labour, she suggested that:

> men can continually appropriate significantly more of women's life force and capacity than they give back to women. Men can build themselves up as powerful social beings and continue to dominate women through their constant accumulation of the existential forces taken and received from women. If capital is accumulated alienated labour, male authority is accumulated alienated love. (Ibid.: 26)

## Truth or power?

An informative exchange of ideas on standpoint took place in the feminist journal *Signs* in 1997. In an article entitled 'Truth and method: feminist standpoint theory revisited', Susan Hekman tackled several problems for standpoint theory raised by postmodernism. She remarked that 'among younger feminist theorists, feminist standpoint theory is frequently regarded as a quaint relic of feminism's less sophisticated past'. Its inspiration, Marxism, had been discredited in both theory and practice. Standpoint theory seemed to 'be at odds with the issue that has dominated feminist debate in the past decade: difference' (Hekman 2004: 225).[12]

Hekman's aim, however, was not to dismiss but to reinstate feminist standpoint theory, by stressing a plurality of standpoints. She proposed Thomas Kuhn's 'paradigm shift' as a conceptual device capable of giving feminist standpoint postmodernist credibility. The new rejection of the possibility of absolute truth, the substitution of a notion of multiple and relative truths, should be read as a paradigm shift in the sense Kuhn intended. For Hekman, the theory as proposed by Hartsock and Harding stalled on an illogicality she found troubling in Marxist thought more generally: social constructionist and absolutist conceptions of truth are in contradiction. She argued that the lifeworld, like every other human activity, is discursively constituted. A 'standpoint', therefore, cannot claim to express the 'truth' about 'reality' – it must be understood as one representation among others, political and value-laden, 'a place from which feminists can articulate a counterhegemonic discourse and argue for a less repressive society' (ibid.: 239).

Hartsock, Collins, Harding and Smith fiercely countered Hekman's 'Truth and method' article, arguing in the same issue of *Signs*[13] that she was mistaken in prioritizing the matter of 'truth': what is at stake in 'standpoint' is not truth but power. It is specifically about challenging, from the position of the marginal, silenced and subjected, the conceptual practices of power, the 'view from above'. Furthermore, the subjects posited by standpoint theory are not a ragbag collection of individuals. Rather, they are groups sharing an experience of subjection to and by power – capitalist power, patriarchal power, white power. Trodden down, and looking upwards to the systemic level, they find themselves an oppositional consciousness[14] that enables them to become a resistant, challenging collective subject (Hartsock 2004; Collins 2004; Harding 2004a; Smith 2004).

Hekman's article was symptomatic of a body of feminist work on standpoint that was to follow in the first decade of the new millennium, much of it detached from its roots in Marxist thought. Indeed, already in 2005, Michael Ryan's entry on 'Standpoint theory' in *An Encyclopedia of Social Theory* formulates it in its entirety as a product of feminist and 'multicultural' thought, without any reference to Marx or Marxism (Ryan 2005: 789). Prioritizing the issue of truth claims, many of these later authors found their primary inspiration less in Hartsock and Smith than in Donna Haraway's 'situated knowledges' mentioned above (Haraway 1988). Marcel Stoetzler and Nira Yuval-Davis, for example, proposed a strengthening of standpoint theory by the introduction of a concept of the 'situated imagination', in parallel with that of situated knowledge, arguing that it is only through a process of imagining that 'the transitions from positionings to practices, practices to standpoints, knowledge, meaning, values and goals, actually take place' (Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis 2002: 320).

A 2009 issue of *Hypatia* devoted to standpoint theory contained several articles in which the perspective of the social scientist, together with his or her problem in deciding how to evaluate competing truth claims, was largely substituted for the perspective of the feminist subject and her struggle to survive and thrive in capitalist patriarchy. Thus Janet Kourany tests standpoint theory against alternative methodological approaches in feminist studies, cautiously endorsing it as a usable academic resource despite the many questions she believes it leaves unresolved (Kourany 2009). Kristina Rolin problematizes the notion that the perspective of the disadvantaged is liable to be less partial and distorted than that of the powerful (the concept of 'epistemic advantage'). She proposes a lesser claim: standpoint theory may be understood as a resource for feminist epistemology and philosophy of science on the more modest ground that it simply 'urges feminist scholars to pay attention to relations of power as a distinctive kind of obstacle to the production of scientific knowledge' (Rolin 2009: 222). Joseph Rouse, in the same volume of *Hypatia*, traces the history of feminist standpoint theorization with the aim of moving 'beyond the constitutive tropes of standpoint theory' (Rouse 2009: 207). In doing so, he represents standpoints as competing knowledge claims generated by people 'as part of practical and perceptual interaction with one another in shared surroundings', without reference to power relations, subjugation or struggle. In historicizing standpoint theory, he notes that it dates back to the work of Smith, Hartsock and Collins, adding '*arguably … even to Marx and Hegel*' (ibid.: 202, emphasis added). By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, it seems, Marx had become, to the generation of social scientists educated in 1990s postmodernism, an obscure figure, no longer one but two centuries back in time.

The flaccidity of these recent accounts signals an amnesia, a forgetting that a standpoint is, in Kathi Weeks' words, 'a project, not an inheritance'.

It is 'an ongoing achievement rather than a spontaneous attribute or consciousness …' It is 'both a product and an instrument of feminist struggle' (Weeks 1998: 8). In other words, it is in, and of, movements of resistance and revolution. And in the meantime new political insurgencies have been occurring in the second decade of the twenty-first century, sparked by life experiences very different from those of the industrial working class as known to Lukács in the early twentieth century, and of the women of second-wave feminism, among whom Dorothy Smith and Nancy Hartsock lived and worked half a century later. The World Social Forum events have mobilized activists from a wide range of global movements. Billion Women Rise has precipitated women into street protests against male violence from New Delhi to Kinshasa and London. Occupy has brought young people of many countries into city encampments and has squatted outside banks to protest against financial crime and austerity policies. They call themselves the 'ninety-nine percent'. We have to probe deeper into the collective subjectivities emerging. Who are they? Who are we? We need to pay careful attention to the specificity of the power relations against which we are rising in rebellion, as one conjuncture gives way to the next. How do these systems intersect with and amplify each other? It is not in the analyses of academics, but in the voices, leaflets, placards and tweets of new historic subjects, sparked to consciousness by new scandals of subjugation and exploitation, that contemporary standpoints are being expressed. And it is in these movements that a deeper understanding of the value of standpoint theory for future transformative change is likely to be forged.

## Notes

1 First prepared for publication by Frederick Engels in 1894 after Marx's death. As is well known, Chapter 50, entitled 'Classes', is a fragment, no more than a couple of pages in length, and was destined to remain unfinished.

2 Written in 1845/46, the full work remained unpublished during the lifetimes of its authors.

3 *History and Class Consciousness* was originally published in 1923. In this passage, Lukács is referring to Marx's *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, published in 1843.

4 A critique of the Young Hegelians, first published in 1845.

5 Hegel's book was originally published in 1807.

6 *The Prison Notebooks*, written by Antonio Gramsci in prison in Italy between 1929 and 1935, were first published in the late 1940s.

7 Nancy C. M. Hartsock's article 'The feminist standpoint: developing the ground for a specifically feminist historical materialism' was first published in 1983, in Hintikka and Harding (eds), *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Methodology, Metaphysics and Philosophy of Science.* It was reprinted as Chapter 10 in her *Money, Sex and Power: Towards a Feminist Historical Materialism* in 1985.

8 Hartsock in an interview with Thonette Myking (see Myking 2007).

9 Originally published as an article of the same title in *Social Problems* (1986), Collins' argument was spelled out at greater length in Collins (1991).

10 An excerpt from the introduction to their book *Ecofeminism* published in 1993.

11 This chapter was an excerpt from her book *Maternal Thinking*, published in 1989.

12 Hekman's article, which originally appeared in *Signs* in 1997, was later republished, along with those of its discussants, in a collection edited by Sandra Harding (2004b).

13 The references given here are to their articles as republished in a volume edited by Harding (2004b).

14 The phrase 'oppositional consciousness' was coined by Chela Sandoval, who, in a seminal article in the Harding (2004b) collection, elaborated 'a topography of consciousness that identifies nothing more and nothing less than the modes the subordinated of the United States (of any gender, race, or class) claim as politicized and oppositional stances in resistance to domination' (Sandoval 2004: 200). Her stress on subjection, power and the multiplicity of resistant standpoints was an important contribution to transcending the antagonisms into which postmodernism had cast standpoint theory.

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## 2 | OUTSIDE IN THE FUNDING MACHINE

*Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*

I am most grateful to be part of a comradeship with Frigga Haug that allows me to connect with this European Marxist-Feminist congress that strives to globality. I am a Europeanist and my task is to work with 'Europe'. After today's event, I have the honour of inaugurating the academic year at the ancient University of Coimbra, especially invited as a humanities teacher to speak to social scientists. Yesterday I received the news as I was chatting with the women who accompanied me to dinner that Portugal was one of the few states in the world going *upward* to liberate state policy! There are not too many states like that today in our world. This makes me particularly fortunate and particularly responsible.

You will see, I hope, that I have understood my brief here somewhat in the way that Portugal wished a paid humanities teacher among social scientists. Here I am among activists who are either non-academic or social scientists or yet performing artists, visual or otherwise.

As I mentioned in Berlin in May, my entire adult training into Marxism was under the wing of Samar Sen, developing a left-of-the-left critique of the parliamentary left. As the centre moved in India more and more to the right and alliance politics turned the parties of the left inevitably toward sometimes dubious moves to the right, even if only to retain their foothold, I have not been able to shake off the urgency of that training. That you will notice too.

And I know from the warmth of your reception that you will consider that critique legitimate and consider it with your customary gravitas.

From my old-fashioned task at Coimbra, I will go on to keynote the Open City Biennial in Barcelona. This is the new era of fully corporatised festivals whose subjects, deluded that globalised capital does only good, and the subject of victims of digital idealism think that the very powerful and wonderful digital resources that we have can actually be used well even if we ourselves are not epistemologically prepared, even if we have not been trained slowly as bodies are trained slowly in order to lift weight. It is a semi-deluded, semi-corporatised subject. And the object is the bemused underclass, even as Europe crumbles.

Add to this mixture of various Europes (minus Balkans and Sardinia most of the time) the event that I recently attended, an event at my own university entitled 'Europe Agora' – badly attended – where the general understanding was that the European left would rise or fall on the issue of migrants, and that the genuinely Marxist position on this issue would be resolved only if it were not in terms of culture (I confess I find that word quite frightening), nor in

terms of racism, but in terms of redistribution. So that whether migrants are good or bad for us would not be decided in terms of our own class position, with the underclass bitterly resentful of competition, and the non-racist bourgeoisie benignly acknowledging the fact that they help the economy.

Although the gender division here, especially if the LGBTQ were considered, was not thought through, *mutatis mutandis*, it is undoubtedly something we should think about. And once we do, we are in the industrial and corporate machine. Because today, with increased privatisation and corporatisation, a redistributive program from the state must accommodate the workings of global capital much more than before. And, as many of us have been arguing recently, the distinctions between the public sphere and the private sphere are increasingly less clear outside the funding machine when we are obliged to be in the funding machine.

In the pre-globalised capital days, when the distinction between privatisation and nationalisation was clear, we were happy when we could say 'I got a government grant'. Clean, public. When I was in Sweden in 2015, the Director of the International Development Association of Sweden, SIDA, whose first degree was in theatre – with some training in the humanities – and who was just about to visit Burma to help digitise the government – had not *heard* of the Rohingyas.

Now in 2015, there was an immense lot of information available on the 'genocide' (although the name has only recently been accepted by the UN and the US Congress) of the non-Buddhist minorities by the Buddhist-majority government and military, with the full implicit sanction of the now-discredited Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi. So, how do we assess the subjectship of digital idealism? And how to valorise the public sector? We must therefore remember that public and private help is not now something that we can very easily distinguish as in the old days. There is no public good.

I am *in* Europe even as I navigate my way through the United States daily. What makes my situation in the global more poignant is that, in between, since I use these invitations as instrumental to the visits to my schools, I have four days in a space about as remote from any kind of Europe that would think to involve me.

Let me quickly mention here the disappearance of the old one-on-one mud schools in China. I have been learning Chinese now for 12 years, and I used to go to these schools, hanging out. The teachers now lament the loss of the motivation toward socialism that they could teach. People of our kind and the authorities in China do not really know this group and how differently they feel. China is generalised all the time negatively in the United States, negatively in India because we are competitors, and also negatively in terms of what they're doing in Africa, and in terms of the Uygur Muslims of western China. But no one actually comes in to see the subaltern who represents China. This is a very serious question for me as well.

These folks are not really outside in the funding machine, they are working as hard as they can in the direction of social justice; but they are dependent nonetheless, those teachers, on the necessarily unacknowledged theft of surplus value.

In the late 1980s, after two miasmatic marriages lasting 21 years, I was able once again to pick up on the activist side of my Marxist-Feminist work. Just before this, through a classed metropolitan identity crisis, and a rediscovery of colonialism from a left US position, I had written such somewhat one-sided finger-pointing works as *Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism* and *Can the Subaltern Speak?* That period came to an end with a book called *In Other Worlds*.

And now, with institutional work and activist work coming together, I realised that in the current conjuncture left and right were bound together. They were complicit, folded together. Since then, I was no longer able to practise anything without acknowledging complicity. From the period of that change came a collection called *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, which gives me my title today, 'Outside in the Funding Machine'.

Today I am asking ourselves to learn the consequence of being *in* the funding machine: socially responsible, sustainabilising, etc., globalised capital, gaining fiscal advantages by top-down philanthropy practising corporatism – although we ourselves are *outside*. We do not practise it, but we are also inside. But most immediately we are subsumed – as one would say in strictly Marxist language.

Most immediately it is the conference circuit that has produced my words to you today. In June I was at a conference in Patna in Bihar, a state which adjoins my home state of West Bengal in India. The conference was called 'Karl Marx – Life, Ideas, Influence: A Crucial [*sic: she meant* Critical] Examination on the Bicentenary'. Now, I thought, since I never have time to read the elaborate programs etc., that I was going as a Bengali Marxist to the next state and for talking and strategising together. Lo and behold, I see that it was organised by something called the Asian Development Research Institute.

Much of the work of the Asian Development Research Institute is funded by Microsoft, which was then digitising the banks and the military in Myanmar, which was in turn genocidally engaged in ousting Rohingyas even as the world was busy investing in their new stock exchange.

I want to share something on what I said in Patna, because as a citizen there with more civil rights than anywhere else in the world, the nation-state-backed thoughts that come out, even as I'm perceived as global there, will apply to my effort to situate Europe, minus the Balkans and Sardinia.

I said to them: 'Think about regulating capital'. I argued there with urgency for long-term training in general capitalist realities and teaching even when groups and parties are engaged in immediate work.

I mention this because that is a remark which is quite often ignored. I quote here also a passage written for Occupy Wall Street, upon their request. Given Marx's unacknowledged humanism, I'm in other words urging that we should