

## Summaries

### **Kolja Lindner: After the Paris Terror Attacks of November 2015. Frontlines, Context and Perspectives**

The assassinations in the French capital provoked an authoritarian nationalism launched by the state. The left, by contrast, is trapped in apathy and relativism. This situation is the result of an ongoing renegotiation of French citizenship. While the neo-republican left engages in a strict redefinition of secularism (*laïcité*), approaches based on the reification of differences invoke identity politics. Both fail to take Islamism and terrorism seriously. The article considers the perspectives for a provincialized secularism, a democratic »imperative of integration« (Elizabeth Anderson) and a post-identity cosmopolitanism.

### **Michael Rahlwes: The Dialectics of Anti-Racism**

This article views – from a Marxist perspective – the current attempts to regulate the refugee movements in the European Union. Referring to Wolfgang Fritz Haug's »Dialectics of Anti-Racism« from 1999 it is argued that a morally motivated anti-racism is not sufficient for emancipatory projects. Rather an analysis of the contradictions and the terrain of the practices seems to be necessary.

### **Wulf D. Hund: »The Emancipation of the Oppressed Races can Only be the Work of the Oppressed Races Themselves«. Marginalia to the critique of racism by Hugo Iltis**

The concept of racism has a problematic history. Its beginning was hallmarked by the fight against the racial politics of the Nazis and shaped by the attempt to separate condemnable racist ideology from respectable racial science. This has led to the critique of a Eurocentric view of the concept of racism which is denounced as having ignored the history of colonialism and its implications. The contributions of Hugo Iltis to the development of this concept show that this critique falls short. His understanding of racism encompassed colonialism and the discrimination of races as well as anti-Semitism.

### **Katja Kipping: Building the Connection. Congress Opening**

The opening speech of the conference *The Strength of Critique. Trajectories of Marxism-Feminism* narrates from a personal perspective the difficulties seeing oneself as not only a feminist, but a Marxist as well, i.e. a feminist Marxist.

### **Ruth May: Remembering – Picking up Threads – Proceeding. In Dispute over Marxism-Feminism**

The article discusses the history leading up to the Congress *The Strength of Critique. Trajectories of Marxism-Feminism* in Berlin in March 2015. The initiative started by planning a small international workshop and developed, unexpectedly, into a new beginning which led to the Congress with more than 500 participants. This process is described with its conditions, its dynamics and in its difficulties; it also forms the background for the various contributions documented in this volume.

### **Frigga Haug: Marxist Reformulation of Feminism, Feminist Reformulation of Marxism**

The text outlines how the thesis *gender relations are relations of production* has developed from questions concerning the oppression of women, and through attempts to find an explanation for the historical defeat of the female sex. It recommends shifting the question of women's oppression and taking relations of production as a whole into focus. This shows the necessity for untangling the knot of domination in order to transform society and it requires world-wide research and appropriate practices, which can only be accomplished in large collectives, a global union of Marxist feminists who are united by the understanding that: Under no circumstances may the questions of life be subordinated to the drive for profit.

### **Shaharazad Mojab: Women and Revolution. Thinking through Marxism and Feminism**

Currently the concept and practice of revolution has been undergoing incessant revision. The uprising of the masses in Arab states has reinforced the affirmative connotations of the concept. From a Marxist perspective, however, exploitation will not end without socialist revolution, and feminist theory finds it difficult to envisage the end of oppression within the capitalist status quo. This paper is a Marxist-feminist critique of contemporary Left theorizations of revolution that underestimate the ability of the capitalist order to reproduce itself and ignore the role of consciousness in a project of radically changing the world and liberating humanity and the planet from the destruction that capitalism has already initiated.

### **Gabriele Winker: Care Revolution as a Feminist-Marxist Perspective on Transformation**

This article outlines how the daily experiences of many people are rooted in a crisis of social reproduction. The politico-economic crisis analysis highlights the necessity for a radical strategy of social transformation. Human needs, and not a focus on profit, must be at the centre of a revolutionised society.

### **Saskia Sassen: When Exploited Women are Key to Powerful Systems. Strategic Gendering?**

The paper discusses how the concept of »capabilities« becomes central to my analysis albeit through a shift from individual to system. It shows how a feminist analytics of major features of economic systems can bring to the fore the collective capacity of women to *make* economies, even as this constitutive function may not bring empowerment to women. Sassen names this collective capacity strategic gendering because it goes beyond the matter of gendered outcomes and involves *making*. The text elaborates on this through a detailed empirical examination of how strategic gendering emerges as a capability feeding the formation of alternative economies that operate on the backs of mostly poor and exploited women.

### **Gayatri Spivak: Complicities – Citizenships**

In view of the movements fighting for citizenship and the rights that come with it in social unrest and global patterns of migration and the particular situation of women, Spivak emphasizes new aspects. Her mother is the significant biography, an activist intellectual in India until the mid-1970s, who had refused to be interpellated as the passive matrix of citizenship there but took US citizenship after relocating to her son's household as the mother and grandmother. Here she did not confine herself to the status of a private member of the family but volunteered for US Vietnam veterans. Spivak revises the concept of complicity as a contested terrain and »global citizenship;« as a gateway to seemingly identical culturalist appropriation in the double bind between liberty and equality. She takes a critical look at the link between capitalist development and under-development of the citizen as subject ready for democracy.

### **Terri Seddon: Making Spaces of Orientation for Sustainable Futures. Why have a Politics of Education?**

This paper asks what the point of education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is? Analysing this moment in history in relation to global transitions, I consider how the space of education is being remade by centring attention on 'learning in context'. This learning turn in education policy affirms competence, decontextualized learning as performance, but disregards the institutional embedding of educational work in the historic territorial ordering of nation-states and their social relations. The institutional reform trajectory reduces education to individual choices and displaces teachers. These contradictions call for a politics of learning that resurfaces the public value of education in a world going global.

### **Uta von Winterfeld: Remarks on Nature, Crisis and Dominance**

The analysis of multiple crises as crises of the regenerative is combined here with two critical analyses of domination: Domination over nature and domination of nobody (Niemand's-Herrschaft). The critique is unfolded with the help of three categories. First the identificational divide in self and other, in politics and non-politics, in economy and non-economy. Second the dualistic separation of mind and nature, men and women, subject and object. Third the instrumental and abstracting handling of the separated other as a resource. This instrumental mode also influences the self because humans become unimportant for society. What ›counts‹ is their utility and economic value.

### **Nira Yuval-Davis: Class Politics, Identity Politics and Intersectionality Politics. Socialist Feminist Contestations**

This paper examines three paradigms of socialist feminist analysis – the two labelled by Nancy Fraser as the ›redistribution‹ and ›recognition‹ approaches and the one which the author calls ›situated intersectionality‹. The paper outlines a multi-epistemological intersectional analysis which differentiates between social locations, identifications and normative values. In this approach individual and collective social inequalities are produced and reproduced via contested processes in which different social, political, economic and symbolic dynamics constitute each other as particular people and groupings in particular spatial, temporal and positional locations.

### **Hester Eisenstein: Holding up Half the Sky? Hegemonic Feminism in the Service of Neoliberalism**

This article argues that a particular version of feminism is being promoted by exponents of neoliberalism, to the exclusion of more radical feminist critiques. In the book by Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn, *Half the Sky*, and the volume by corporate leader Sheryl Sandberg, *Lean In*, success for women in the First World is portrayed as the result of individual competition, while women in the Third World are to be lifted out of poverty through charitable aid. Marxist Feminists need to unmask this form of neoliberal feminism, and to restore the role of feminist ideology to its rightful place as a partner and friendly critic of Marxist analysis and practice.

### **Tucker Pamella Farley: Neoliberalism, Intersectionality and Lesbian Movement**

The article shows how lesbians and gays serve as smoke screens of a neoliberal regime. International and regional LGBTQs and allies trace opportunities for intersectional organizing with the breakdowns of traditional binary structures due to transgressive international neoliberal regime and resistance to its forms of social control and relate multiple sites of resistance to shifts in the social structure of accumulation and aggressive privatization.

### **Martha E. Gimenez: Whither Marxist Feminism? Back to Class and Away from the Trilogy!**

The article criticizes the current focus on identity within feminist thought because it has supplanted class as the key determinant of people's lives under capitalism. The paper explores the theoretical and political implications of the race, gender and class trilogy and argues that the present conditions created by global capitalism require a different kind of feminism, one that acknowledges the pivotal importance of class and the need to link class struggles and feminist struggles.

### **Birge Krondorfer: The New Taboo. Saying ›we‹. Particularism instead of Political Alliances**

The essay criticizes the current rejection of a collective female subject. The political capacity to act is projected onto the individual subject, which at least implies congruency with the neoliberal I-ideology. The deconstruction of the white and middleclass ›we‹, has been practiced since the 1980s, which is why today's post-feminist condemnation of an exclusive feminism can be seen as a »great narrative« obscuring historical experience. A differentiating, but uniting, anger at domination and power has to be kept alive.

### **Lynne Segal: Learning from our Mistakes**

Times change, but most of us remain stamped by the first moments we consciously enter. The author asks what lessons can be drawn from the spirit of Seventies socialist Feminism. It was a politics premised upon equality and democratized resources, which kept most of us firmly part of the Left, attentive to class and anti-colonial struggles, alongside our more distinctive feminist concern with questions of care, culture, the sharing of skills, imagination and more – noting our interdependence, while cherishing autonomy and personal life. Given our formidable defeats in worsening economic times for the majority, all the old questions return today, but with even greater force.

### **Lise Vogel: Against the Current. Still Moving Toward a Unitary Theory?**

This article discusses the author's book, *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory*, initially published in 1983 and reissued in revised form in 2013. It first considers the historical, theoretical, political, and personal context of the original book. Next, it looks at the critique that the book is too abstract, arguing that theory – in contrast to empirical investigation – is by its nature abstract. Finally, the article examines the popular term »intersectionality« and shows how the theory/empirical distinction can be helpful in Marxist-feminist efforts to both describe and explain the world.

### **Martha E. Gimenez: Are Gender Relations Relations of Production? Questions for further Discussion**

The article is a short version of a letter sent to Frigga Haug, in which her thesis that »gender relations are relations of production« is subject to critical examination.

**Erica Burman: From Feminisation of Neoliberalism to the Kinky Split. Or why it's Lose-Lose for Feminist Critique in the Contemporary UK Left**

This paper draws on some recent events in the British left to explore what is at stake in some striking failures to learn key political lessons. While intersectionality theory was generated to address problems in addressing the complex interactions between gender and racialisation, it provided a critique of second-wave feminist identity politics. Yet in the past couple of years intersectionality theory acquired a certain currency in the British far left, but in a perverse way. In a context of crisis of institutional legitimacy in the face of accusations of sexual violence affecting British mainstream and left arenas, paradoxically, intersectionality has become the vehicle through which feminist critiques of that violence were discredited.

**Cynthia Cockburn: Feminist Standpoint Theory**

At the core of feminist reflections on the question of standpoint for the analysis of women's activities are those Marxian phrases that allow the female gender a place among the working people as well as necessitating special historical and methodological research, insofar as women gain »situated knowledges«. The text outlines how feminists have taken up and applied the standpoint concept and how this has led to criticism of the universality of knowledge. It discusses critique of and resistance against violence as a feminist standpoint. The patriarchal system has always been intertwined with economic and ethno-nationalist power – predicated on violence.

**Montserrat Galcerán Huguet: The Production of Men through Women**

The current cuts in social services, education, health, and so on, cause numerous difficulties in people's lives, specially women's. The relation between production and reproduction has to be reconceptualized in order to grasp the specific role women are obtaining within a capitalist system and be able to overcome the individualization in theory and practice.

**Shirin M. Rai, Catherine Hoskyns and Dania Thomas: Depletion. The Cost of Social Reproduction**

In this paper it is argued that without recognizing and measuring the costs of doing social reproductive work we cannot address the growing pressures on those involved in this on an everyday basis. These costs are harmful in different sites in different ways; they are not linear but produced in complex circumstances and therefore pose a challenge in terms of their measurement as well as their reversal.

**Sarah Schulman: Conflict is Not Abuse**

The article traces the development of the current American state framework for addressing relationship violence. It explores the early Feminist movement against violence, which articulated the causes as »Patriarchy, Racism, Poverty«. This movement was more interested in empowering women through structural change than in punishing men. Through changes in the US economic system, grassroots services were defunded and these systems bureaucratized. This created a condition of contradiction when the US government and the American police, who are perpetrators of violence, were charged with the responsibility to end violence. In the end, poor women continue to face extremes of domestic violence, while poor men are more subject to incarceration.

**Gabriele Dietrich: Women's Movements and Workers in the Unorganised Sector in India under Onslaught of Neo-liberal Globalisation**

The paper raises the question whether the highly exploited working class in India's unorganised sector can become an effective force for transformation. Especially women play a major role in this sector because their participation is higher than in the organised sector. Participation in trade unions is difficult to achieve for women because of patriarchal factors like »double burden« and sexual harassment. It is therefore crucial to build women's organisations which enable women to participate in union work and to address issues like domestic violence, sexual harassment in the workplace as well as housing.

**Christa Wichterich: Indian Surrogate Mothers and the Transnational Reconfiguration of Reproduction**

India has become a hub in the transnational commercial reconfiguration of reproduction. The new bio-capitalism expands market principles into areas that have been outside of the market before, currently biological reproduction and production of life. Poor, subaltern and Muslim women in India serve the reproduction of mostly white, middle-class couples from the Global North. The article attempts to acknowledge the surrogate mother's agency by discussing it as waged labour in a highly alienated production process.

**Eva Palomo: Women and Austerity Politics in Spain. The Role of the Feminist Movement**

The intervention tries to convey a vision – from the South of Europe – of how austerity policies are changing women's lives in Spain in a dramatic way and how this crisis is being perceived by the feminist movement both from a political and a theoretical standpoint.

**Lina Theodorou: Women Resisting in Greece**

Based on the premise that feminist groups in Greece have a hard time, the article shows how political arenas have increasingly been considered from a women's perspective since 2000. The author shows several recent examples of women's political organising – of which the most prominent are the protest of cleaning women at Syntagma Square – even though they don't have an agenda that would be explicitly called feminist.

**Raewyn Connell: Meeting on the Verge of Fear. Theory on the Scale of the World**

Rich and sophisticated analyses of gender have been produced around the postcolonial world. But the theory in this work gets little recognition in the current global economy of knowledge. Feminist theory needs an understanding of the coloniality of gender, seeing the gender dynamic in imperialism and the significance of global processes for the meaning of gender itself. The agendas of feminist theory are being re-shaped on issues that include violence, power and the state, identity, methodology, and the land. An alternative structure of knowledge is emerging that can re-shape the global terrain of feminist theory and its connections with practice.