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★
AUTHORS' ABSTRACTS



GÁSPÁR MIKLÓS TAMÁS

RESNICA O RAZREDU

Namen članka je na osnovi kritike danes prevladujočih tez o koncu razredov in razrednega boja pokazati na aktualnost marksovske teorije razredov. Avtor utemeljuje razlikovanje med dvema pojmovanjema razredov: prvo, ki je prevladovalo med socialističnimi teoretiki in politiki v 19. in 20. stoletju in ki ostaja prevladujoče celo med njihovimi sodobnimi kritiki, se opira na pojem razredne razlike kot na distinkcijo med jasno razpoznavno kulturno in statusno skupino, in sicer po merilu njune distinktivne morale, samozavedanja ali svetovnega nazora. To je bilo izhodišče za politiko ohranitve in potrditve delavskega razreda kot moralno višjega stanu z lastnimi delavskimi institucijami. Drugo pojmovanje, ki je bilo v glavnem zanemarjeno, čeprav je bilo bolj zvesto Marxu, pa razredno razliko razume kot načelo delitve kapitalistične družbe glede na položaj ljudi v njihovem razmerju do odtujitve. To je bilo izhodišče za politični imperativ samoodprave delavskega razreda. Sledeč temu pojmovanju, avtor pokaže, da sodobni govor o koncu razredov današnje »izginotje« razredov kot kulturno distinktivnih stanov zamenjuje za odsotnost razrednega boja in razredne ureditve.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *delavski razred, razredni boj, Marx, odtujitev, kultura, morala, razredna ureditev.*

GÁSPÁR MIKLÓS TAMÁS

TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT CLASS

The aim of the article is to make evident the contemporary relevance of the Marxian theory of class by arguing against the currently prevalent theses of the end of classes and class struggle. The author establishes a distinction between two conceptions of classes. The first conception, which was prevalent amongst the socialist theoreticians and politicians of the 19th and 20th centuries and remains dominant even amongst their contemporary critics, rests upon the notion of the class divide as a distinction between clearly identifiable cultural and status groups, characterised by their distinctive morale, self-consciousness or worldview. From such conceptions followed the politics of the preservation and affirmation of the working class as a morally superior estate, with its own working-class institutions. The other conception, which was largely neglected, yet much more faithful to Marx, regards the class divide as a principle of division of the capitalist society along the lines of people's respective positions in their relation to alienation. From this conception followed the working classes' political imperative of the abolition of itself as a class. In line with the latter conception, the author demonstrates that the current talk on the end of classes mistakes the present-day disappearance of classes as culturally distinctive estates for the absence of class rule and class struggle.

KEYWORDS: *working class, class struggle, Marx, alienation, culture, morale, class rule.*

SAŠO FURLAN

ODTUJITEV KOT RAZPREDMETENJE: O MARXOVI TEORIJI BREZSUBSTANČNE SUBJEKTIVNOSTI

Od šestdesetih let se je med marksističnimi teoretiki vzpostavil skoraj splošno sprejet konsenz, da je Marxova teorija odtujitve v njegovem najvplivnejšem zgodnjem delu *Pariški rokopisi* le pretanjena različica Feuerbachove teorije (religiozne) odtujitve, namreč da je odtujitev zlasti proces popredmetenja človeka, redukcije subjekta na objekt. Podobno se je uveljavilo, da je Marx v zrelem obdobju postavil novo »znanstveno« problematiko kritike politične ekonomije, v kateri ni več »filozofskih« pojmov, kot je odtujitev. Avtor trdi, da sta obe točki konsenza na trhlih tleh. S primerjalno analizo teorije odtujitve pri Feuerbachu v *Bistvu krščanstva* in pri Marxu v *Pariških rokopisih* dokazuje, da gre za povsem drugačni teoriji. Če je pri Feuerbachu odtujitev proces popredmetenja človeka, je pri Marxu proces razpredmetenja, redukcije človeka na čisto in golo subjektivnost. Pojem odtujitve, ki ga Marx razdela v zgodnjem obdobju, v rafinirani različici vztraja tudi v najpomembnejših delih zrelega Marxa, kot sta *Grundrisse* in *Kapital*, kjer nastopa kot oznaka za radikalno ločnico med oživiljeno predmetnostjo kapitala in brezsubstnančno subjektivnostjo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *Marx, Feuerbach, odtujitev, popredmetenje, razredni boj.*

SAŠO FURLAN

ALIENATION AS DEOBJECTIVIZATION: ON MARX'S THEORY OF SUBSTANCELESS SUBJECTIVITY

Since the sixties, an almost generally accepted consensus has been constituted amongst Marxist theoreticians, namely that Marx's theory of alienation, as elaborated in his most influential early work, *The Paris Manuscripts*, is only a sophisticated version of Feuerbach's theory of (religious) alienation, according to which alienation is primarily a process of the objectivization of man, or a reduction of the subject to the object. A similar thesis is that Marx in his mature period constructed a new "scientific" problematic of the critique of political economy, in which there is no place for "philosophical" notions such as alienation. The author argues that both points of consensus are standing on shaky grounds. By comparing Feuerbach's theory of alienation in *The Essence of Christianity* and Marx's theory of alienation in the *Paris Manuscripts*, he demonstrates that two utterly distinct theories are at stake. According to Feuerbach, alienation is a process of the objectivization of man, which is in contrast to Marx's conception of alienation as a process of deobjectivization or reduction of man to a pure and bare subjectivity. The concept of alienation, developed by Marx in his early period, persists, in a refined form, in the most important works of the mature Marx, such as *Grundrisse* and *Capital*, where it appears as a name for a radical separation between the animated objectivity of capital on one hand and the substanceless subjectivity of labour on the other.

KEYWORDS: *Marx, Feuerbach, alienation, objectivization, class struggle.*

TIBOR RUTAR

ZAKAJ DELAVSKI RAZRED? ZAPOZNELA KRITIKA GORZEVE KRITIKE MARXA

V članku na podlagi kritičnega soočenja z delom Andréa Gorza *Farewell to the Working Class* zagovarjamo osnovno marksovsko tezo, da je socializem dejanska zgodovinska možnost, ne le kantovska »Ideja z regulativno funkcijo«, kar trdi Alain Badiou. Natančneje rečeno, v članku predstavljamo in zagovarjamo več razlogov, zakaj se zdi smiselno sprejeti Marxovo tezo, da materialni pogoji kapitalizma sami postavljajo možnost socializma na zgodovinsko agendo in da je le delavski razred lahko agens socialistične revolucije.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *delavski razred, socializem, André Gorz, Karl Marx, izkoriščanje.*

TIBOR RUTAR

WHY WORKING CLASS? A DELAYED CRITIQUE OF GORZ'S CRITIQUE OF MARX

On the basis of a critical confrontation with André Gorz's *Farewell to the Working Class*, the article aims to justify the fundamental Marxian thesis about socialism, namely that it is not just a Kantian "Idea with a regulative function", as Alain Badiou has claimed, but an actual historical possibility. More precisely, the article is an explication and argumentation of several reasons for why it makes sense to accept Marx's thesis that capitalist material conditions themselves create a possibility for socialism, putting it in the historical agenda, and that only the working class can be a proper agent of the socialist revolution.

KEYWORDS: *working class, socialism, André Gorz, Karl Marx, exploitation.*

MICHAEL HEINRICH

VSILJIVCI Z MARXA

Članek povzema zgodovino dojemanja Marxa in problematizira nekatere sporne načine branja in uporabe Marxovih pojmov v sodobnih teorijah. Ob koncu 19. in večini 20. stoletja je bil Marx razumljen zlasti kot »veliki ekonomist«, ki je dokazal obstoj izkoriščanja, neizogibni propad kapitalizma in neizbežnost proletarske revolucije. V sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja je bil tak ortodoksni pogled na Marxa postavljen pod vprašaj. Na eni strani so teoretiki italijanskega operaizma in avtonomističnega marksizma, kot sta Antonio Negri in Karl Heinz Roth, kritizirali »ekonomistična« branja Marxa in v ospredje postavljali vprašanje subjektivnosti delavskega razreda ter razredni boj. Po drugi strani pa so teoretiki novega branja Marxa, kot sta Hans-Georg Backhaus in Helmut Reichelt, ortodoksni pogled kritizirali, zlasti zaradi njegove dogmatičnosti in izostanka teoretske rigoroznosti. Avtor, izhajajoč iz novega branja Marxa, dokazuje, da so zagovorniki avtonomistične in operaistične tradicije kljub rezu z ekonomizmom in tradicijo dogmatizma še vedno obremenjeni z odsotnostjo teoretske natančnosti. Ta se pri Negriju in Rothu kaže zlasti v površni ali napačni rabi temeljnih pojmov Marxove teorije vrednosti in v pretirani idealizaciji sodobnih družbenih in razrednih bojev.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *Marx, Neue-Marx-Lektüre, operaizem, avtonomizem, razredni boj.*

MICHAEL HEINRICH

INVADERS FROM MARX

The article depicts the history of the perception of Marx and problematizes some challenging ways of reading and uses of Marx's concepts in contemporary theories. At the end of the 19th century and during most of the 20th century, Marx was primarily understood as a "great economist", who proved the existence of exploitation, the unavoidable collapse of capitalism, and inevitability of the proletarian revolution. In the seventies of the 20th century, this orthodox view of Marx was called into question. On the one hand, the theoreticians of Italian workerism and autonomist Marxism, such as Antonio Negri and Karl Heinz Roth, criticised the "economistic" readings of Marx, and emphasised the question of the subjectivity of the working class and class struggle. On the other hand the authors of The New Reading of Marx, such as Hans-Georg Backhaus and Helmut Reichelt, criticised the orthodox view due to its dogmatism and lack of theoretical rigour. Assuming the standpoint of the New Reading of Marx the author elaborates how the authors of workerist and autonomist tradition, despite their break with economism and the tradition of dogmatism, remain burdened with the absence of theoretical meticulousness. In Negri and Roth this can be seen above all in their sloppy or mistaken uses of the basic concepts of Marx's theory of value, as well as in their over-idealisation of contemporary class and social struggle.

KEYWORDS: *Marx, Neue-Marx-Lektüre, workerism, autonomism, class struggle.*

WERNER BONEFELD

KAPITAL KOT SUBJEKT IN EKSISTENCA DELA

Glavni predmet obravnave članka je pojem človeške prakse. Avtor kritično ovrednoti pristope marksističnih teoretikov, ki kapital pojmujejo kot vedno že konstituirano dominantno produkcijsko razmerje, ki obstaja v obliki zgodovinskega subjekta, medtem ko človeško prakso, ki to razmerje konstituira, ne obravnavajo. Ti pristopi, ki sprevrnjene forme eksistence meščanske družbe obravnavajo kot danost in vztrajajo pri grobi dihotomiji subjekta in objekta, obtičijo v okvirih »tradicionalne teorije« (Horkheimer) in imajo apologetski značaj. V nasprotju z navedenimi pristopi se avtor, sledeč Horkheimerju in Marxu, postavi na stališče »kritične teorije«, ki poskuša preseči grobi dualizem med subjektom in objektom. Marxovo kritiko politične ekonomije reinterpreterira kot teorijo družbene konstitucije, ki se ukvarja s človeškim izvorom sprevrnjenih eksistenčnih form meščanske družbe. S tem v središče kritike politične ekonomije zopet postavi pojem človeške prakse kot smotrne dejavnosti, ki v kapitalizmu privzame obliko odtujene in avtonomne dejanskosti. Ta reinterpretacija nazadnje omogoča opredelitev cilja človeške emancipacije – družbe, v kateri človek ne obstaja kot sredstvo, temveč kot smoter.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *marksizem, politična ekonomija, capital, človeška praksa, dihotomija subjekta in objekta, sprevrnjena eksistenčna forma, meščanska družba, emancipacija.*

WERNER BONEFELD

CAPITAL AS SUBJECT AND THE EXISTENCE OF LABOUR

The central topic of investigation of the present article is the notion of human practise. The author criticises the approaches of various Marxist theoreticians who conceptualise capital as an always-already constituted dominant relation of production, existing in the form of a historical subject, whereby they exclude human practise which constitutes this relation of production. These approaches, which treat the perverted forms of the existence of the bourgeois society as given and insist on the rigid dichotomy of subject and object, remain embedded in the "traditional theory" (Horkheimer). In contrast to the aforementioned approaches, and in line with Horkheimer and Marx, the author adopts a standpoint of "critical theory", which attempts to go beyond the crude dualism of subject and object. He reinterprets Marx's critique of political economy as a theory of social constitution, which deals with the human origin of the perverted forms of the existence of the bourgeois society. Consequentially, he reintroduces to the critique of political economy a notion of human practise, as a purposeful labouring activity, which in capitalism assumes a form of an alienated and autonomous existence. Finally, this reinterpretation leads the author to the explication of the goal of human emancipation – a society where humans are not treated as a resource but as a purpose.

KEYWORDS: *Marxism, political economy, capital, human practice, dichotomy between subject and object, perverted forms of existence, bourgeois society, emancipation.*

VIVEK CHIBBER

KAPITALIZEM, RAZRED IN UNIVERZALIZEM: POBEG IZ SLEPE ULICE POSTKOLONIALNE TEORIJE

Postkolonialna teorija se ne predstavlja le kot kritika radikalne razsvetljenske tradicije, ampak tudi kot njena zamenjava. V tem eseju bom kritično proučil podlago trditve, da je postkolonialna teorija okvir, ki vodi radikalno politiko. Pokazal bom, da prav elementi njenega okvira, ki jih postkolonialni teoretiki predstavljajo kot avtentične napredke, postkolonialno teorijo, ironično, delajo za neprimerno politično teorijo. Pokazal bom predvsem, da moramo kritične pripombe glede univerzalizirajočih kategorij zavreči, da so tako zmotne kot tudi protislovne. Moj argument seveda ni, da lahko ubranimo vse univerzalizirajoče trditve. To je lahko res ali pa ni in nekatere trditve so lahko precej problematične. Moj argument je zgolj, da so nekatere univerzalne kategorije ubranljive. Še več, predlagal bom, da so nekateri ključni pojmi, ki jih postkolonialni teoretiki prevprašujejo ali zavračajo, tako legitimni kot celo ključni za katero koli progresivno politiko. To so pojmi, ki so bili v samem jedru radikalne politike od rojstva moderne levice naprej – in so pojmi, ki so se po dolgem zatonu vrnili v svetovnem organiziranju proti varčevalnim ukrepom zadnjih nekaj let.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *kapitalizem, razredi, univerzalne kategorije, razsvetljenje, postkolonializem, marksizem.*

VIVEK CHIBBER

CAPITALISM, CLASS AND UNIVERSALISM: ESCAPING THE CUL-DE-SAC OF POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

Postcolonial theory presents itself as not just a criticism of the radical enlightenment tradition, but as its replacement. In this essay I will critically examine the basis of postcolonial theory's claim to be a guiding framework for radical politics. I will show that, ironically, it is the very elements of its framework that postcolonial theorists present as genuine advances that count it out as a serious political theory. I am going to argue, in particular, that the strictures against universalizing categories ought to be rejected. I will show that they are both incorrect and contradictory. My argument is not, of course, that all universalizing claims are defensible. They may or not be, and some of them will be quite problematic. My argument, rather, is that there are some universal categories that are defensible. More importantly, I will suggest that certain of the key concepts that postcolonial theorists question or reject are not only legitimate, but are essential for any progressive politics. These are concepts that have been at the very heart of radical politics since the birth of the modern left – and are the ones that have, after a long hiatus, reemerged in the global organizing against austerity in the past few years.

KEYWORDS: *capitalism, class, universal categories, Enlightenment, postcolonialism, Marxism.*

ALEKSANDAR STOJANOVIĆ

JUGOSLOVANSKI SOCIALIZEM – PRIMERJAVA RAZREDNIH PRISTOPOV

V zgodovini teoretskih analiz jugoslovanske socialistične družbe lahko zasledimo nekaj različnih pristopov. Med naborom kritičnih bomo izpostavili tiste, ki pri razumevanju celotne družbe največji pomen pripisujejo analizi razrednih odnosov. Ti v nasprotju z apologijo brezrazredne družbe in enakosti poudarjajo, da je jugoslovanski socialistični družbeni sistem temeljil na svojevrstni neenakosti in dominaciji, kar bi lahko bilo izhodišče nadaljnjih razlag še drugih vidikov družbene celote. Razrednokritičnim pristopom je skupno stališče, da se globalna delitev dela v teh formacijah izvaja predvsem glede na nadzor (skupnih) pogojev dominantnega produkcijskega načina, s ciljem ohranjati relativno trajne oblike, kar se kaže kot razredna delitev družbe. Osrednja težava in vir nesoglasij te zastavitve je, kako opredelimo delitev dela. Iz tega izhajajo tudi vprašanja, kateri razredi oziroma odnosi neenakosti in dominacije nastajajo v družbi. Cilj članka je osvetliti različne rešitve te težave. Najdemo jih v treh razrednih pristopih k jugoslovanski družbi: v delih Darka Suvin, Mladena Lazića in Michaela Lebowitza, kar bo zahtevalo njihov obširni prikaz.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *jugoslovanski socializem, brezrazredna družba, enakost, dominacija, Darko Suvin, Mladen Lazić, Michael Lebowitz.*

ALEKSANDAR STOJANOVIĆ

THE YUGOSLAV SOCIALISM – A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CLASS APPROACHES

In the history of the theoretical analyses of Yugoslav socialist society, several different approaches can be traced. Among the available critical approaches we shall stress those attributing the major significance to the analyses of class relations in understanding society as a whole. In contrast with apology of the classless society and equality, they emphasise that the Yugoslav socialist system was based upon some peculiar inequality and domination, which could represent a starting point for further explanation of other points of view of the society in full. Class-critical approaches share a standpoint that the global division of labour is taking place above all regarding the control of (common) conditions of the dominant mode of production, in order to keep relatively permanent forms, which ultimately results in class conflict. The main problem and the source of discordant of this formation is how the division of labour is defined, i.e., a question of which classes or relations of inequality and domination come into existence within the society. The aim of the paper is to bring some light on different solutions to this problem. They can be found in three class approaches to the Yugoslav society: in the works of Darko Suvin, Mladen Lazić and Michael Lebowitz, demanding their broader survey.

KEYWORDS: *Yugoslav socialism, classless society, equality, domination, Darko Suvin, Mladen Lazić, Michael Lebowitz.*

ANDREA JOVANOVIĆ

ANTIFAŠISTIČNA FRONTA ŽENSK V ČASU SOCIALISTIČNE DRUŽBENE TRANSFORMACIJE

Avtorica se v članku ukvarja z zgodovino in aktualnostjo Antifašistične fronte žensk (AFŽ) v Jugoslaviji. Aktualnost AFŽ utemeljuje z dejstvom, da gre za eno redkih ženskih političnih organizacij, ki so bile ustanovljene med drugo svetovno vojno, vendar so delovale tudi po vojni in po socialistični revoluciji, do katere je prišlo med vojno. AFŽ je tako po eni strani sodelovala pri izgradnji socialistične družbe, po drugi pa se je posvečala projektu emancipacije žensk. Na osnovi analize zgodovinske izkušnje AFŽ med vojno in po njej avtorica utemeljuje, da socialistični projekt sam po sebi ne zadošča za odpravo patriarhalnih odnosov in osvoboditev žensk. Poleg tega zgodovina AFŽ kaže, da razmerje med ženskimi organizacijami in socialističnimi ne more biti določeno kot razmerje med splošnim in posebnim. To med drugim implicira, da bi bilo v okviru sodobne socialistične politike napačno dojemati feministični boj kot enega od drugorazrednih partikularnih bojev, ki naj se vključi v osrednji razredni boj.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *AFŽ, Jugoslavija, socialistična revolucija, patriarhat, emancipacija žensk.*

ANDREA JOVANOVIĆ

THE ANTIFASCIST FRONT OF WOMEN IN THE PERIOD OF THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY

The paper elaborates the history and the contemporary relevance of the Antifascist Front of Women (AFW) in Yugoslavia. The contemporary relevance of AFW is demonstrated by the fact that it was one of the rear women's organisations which were invented during the Second World War, but were also operative after the war, and after the revolution which took place during the war. Therefore, AFW on the one hand participated in the construction of the socialist society, while on the other it was dedicated to the women's emancipation project. By means of the analysis of the historical experience of AFW during and after the war the author claims that the socialist project in itself is insufficient in eliminating the relations of patriarchy and providing for the emancipation of women. Moreover, the history of AFW makes it clear that the relation between women's organisations and socialist organisations cannot be determined as a relation between the particular and the general. This implies, amongst other things, that in the frame of the present-day socialist politics the feminist struggle should not be regarded as one of the secondary particular struggles which is to be included in the principal class struggle.

KEYWORDS: *Antifascist Front of Women, Yugoslavia, socialist revolution, patriarchy, women's emancipation.*

DORA LEVAČIĆ

NE/PRODUKTIVNI ODNOS MED MARKSIZMOM IN FEMINIZMOM

V 20. stoletju je zahodna levica avtonomno organiziranje in politizacijo žensk razglašala za »razdralni dejavnik«, grožnjo razredni enotnosti. Odpor do posledic feminizma za razredno vprašanje se je izražal v prelaganju »ženskega vprašanja« na čas po revoluciji, v prepričanju, da bo konec kapitalizma samodejno prinesel rešitev, do takrat pa moramo potrpeti in delovati v okviru razrednega boja. V večini držav, ki so doživele socialistično revolucijo, se je družbeni položaj žensk izboljšal, čeprav so bili odnosi med spoloma v socializmu daleč od egalitarnih. Prav zato se je veliko feministk že med drugim valom feminizma odločilo za izolirani boj za spolno enakost, kar je še danes značilno za prakso večine feminističnih organizacij. V članku bomo razčlenili teoretska prizadevanja za razumevanje ekonomske vloge družine in družbenega položaja žensk v marksizmu in feminizmu ter pojasnili razloge za razhajanja med njima. Naša predpostavka je, da marksizem, četudi ni razvil teorije družbenega položaja žensk, omogoča nepogrešljivo teoretsko podlago za tak podvig. Predstavili bomo dejavnost nekaterih avtorjev in avtoric, ki zagovarjajo to stališče.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *marksizem, feminizem, spolna enakost, družina, socialistična revolucija.*

DORA LEVAČIĆ

THE UN/PRODUCTIVE RELATION BETWEEN MARXISM AND FEMINISM

In the 20th century, the autonomous organising and politization of women was interpreted by the western Left as a "destructive factor" or a threat to class equality. The resistance against the consequences for the class question, which resulted from feminism, was evident by delaying of the so called "women's question" to the post-revolutionary period, believing that the end of capitalism would automatically bring a solution. Until then women should be patient and act under the umbrella of class struggle. In the majority of states which had experienced a socialist revolution, the social status of women has been improved, although the relation between sexes in socialism has been far from egalitarian. This is the reason, for which many feminists during the second wave of feminism decided to embark on an isolated struggle for gender equality, which is still a characteristic praxis of many feminist organisations. The paper will describe some theoretical efforts for understanding the economic role of the family and social status of women within Marxism and feminism. It will try to explain the reasons for their mutual antagonism and to justify a presumption that Marxism, although it did not develop a theory of the social position of women, still may offer an indispensable theoretical background for such an endeavour. The works of some female and male authors defending this standpoint will be presented.

KEYWORDS: *Marxism, feminism, gender equality, family, socialist revolution.*

MAYA GONZALES

SPOLNO ZAZNAMOVANA CIRKULACIJA: BRANJE SKRITEGA REPRODUKCIJE

Članek je ovrednotenje enega od najpomembnejših prispevkov k teoriji marksističnega feminizma – *The Arcane of Reproduction* italijanske feministke Leopoldine Fortunati, ki so ga marksisti pogosto kritizirali zaradi domnevno površne rabe Marxovih pojmov in zaradi preuranjenega enačenja gospodinjskega dela s produktivnim, vrednotvornim delom. Avtorica pokaže, da takšne kritike zgrešijo osrednjo točko omenjenega besedila, ki z analizo vzajemne povezanosti meznega in reproduktivnega ali gospodinjskega dela denaturalizira in s tem politizira sfero reproduktivnega dela in spolnega izkoriščanja v kapitalistični družbi. Teza avtorice je, da je teoretsko strategijo Leopoldine Fortunati, ki vidik reproduktivnega dela postavlja v središče analize kapitalistične družbe, treba razumeti zlasti kot politično gesto, ki cilja na mobilizacijo tako žensk kakor moških v reproduktivnem sektorju.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *marksizem, feminizem, Leopoldina Fortunati, gospodinjstvo, reprodukcija, spolno izkoriščanje.*

MAYA GONZALES

THE GENDERED CIRCUIT: READING THE ARCANES OF REPRODUCTION

The present article is an evaluation of one of the most important contributions to Marxist feminist theory – *The Arcane of Reproduction* by the Italian feminist theoretician Leopoldina Fortunati. She was often criticized by Marxists due to her allegedly sloppy use of Marx's concepts and premature identification of reproductive household labour with productive, value producing labour. The author argues that such critiques fail to address the crux of Fortunati's article, which, by means of an analysis of the interconnection between wage labour and reproductive household labour, denaturalises and thereby politicizes the sphere of reproductive labour and gendered exploitation in capitalist society. The author argues that Fortunati's theoretical strategy of placing the viewpoint of reproductive labour to the centre of the analysis of capitalist society should first and foremost be understood as a political move to mobilize both women and men in the reproductive sector.

KEYWORDS: *Marxism, feminism, Leopoldina Fortunati, household, reproduction, gender exploitation.*

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KAPITALIZEM IN ZATIRANJE ŽENSK: VRNITEV K MARXU

Marxova metodologija je nujna za prepoznavanje: a) kapitalističnih pogojev in procesov na makroravni, ki so temelj neenakosti med moškimi in ženskami v kapitalističnih družbah; in b) meje političnih in pravnih sprememb za odpravo neenakosti med spoloma. Zatiranje žensk je vidni, opazni učinek (npr. na trgu dela, v družbenoekonomski razslojenosti, delitvi dela v gospodinjstvu, strukturah birokratskega aparata itn.) osnovnih odnosov med moškimi in ženskami, ki jih določa povezanost med kapitalističnim produkcijskim načinom in organizacijo fizične in družbene reprodukcije med tistimi, ki morajo prodajati svojo delovno silo, da bi preživeli. Da bi feminizem ostal relevanten za večino žensk, mora torej priznati, da je večina žensk delavk, da njihovo usodo in usodo njihovih družin oblikujeta spolno zatiranje in razredno izkoriščanje.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *zatiranje žensk, spolna neenakost, spolno zatiranje, razredno izkoriščanje.*

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CAPITALISM AND THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN: MARX REVISITE

Marx's methodology is indispensable for identifying a) the capitalist structural conditions and macro-level processes that are the foundations of the inequality between men and women in capitalist societies; and b) the limits of political and legal changes to end gender inequality. The oppression of women is the visible, observable effect (e.g., in the labour market, in socioeconomic stratification, the domestic division of labour, bureaucratic authority structures, etc.) of underlying relations between men and women determined by the articulation between the capitalist mode of production, and the organization of physical and social reproduction among those who must sell their labour power to survive. Feminism, to remain relevant to the majority of women, must, therefore, acknowledge that most women are working women whose fate, and that of their families, are shaped both by gender oppression and class exploitation.

KEYWORDS: *oppression of women, gender inequality, gender oppression, class exploitation.*

