

·15. REPRODUCTION·

work itself. Capitalism needs workers, it also needs consumers and soldiers. Thus, the actual size of the population is still a matter of great political importance. This is why—as Jenny Brown has shown in her *Birth Strike* (2018)—restrictions are placed on abortion. So important is for the capitalist class to

Marx/Engels trace women's oppression to being outside capitalist production. They saw reproduction and housework as being superseded by capitalism. They didn't see unpaid labor. They thought capitalism would unify the working class and that bringing women into the factories would result in equality. Federici notes capacity to work has to be produced every day—reproduction of workforce, fuel, food, clothing, sex. Identification of work with wage labor needs to be combatted.

·41. CHILDREN·

Violence accepted because producing workers. Likewise violence against wives, seen as servants for the workers

If we refuse the violence done to us, with more reasons we must refuse the violence done to our children. We need to valorize our children, looking at them as companions rather than inferior beings. Children have not yet interiorized the defeats and conventions that shape our relations with others as we become adults and can spot immediately what is false, artificial. Only through years of conditioning do we learn to hide and simulate. Thus, there is much we can learn from them.

A market of human beings. Third party is object of transaction, who does not have power. Who defends the interest of the child?

As with domestic work, in the case of surrogacy as well, we see the emergence of a new sexual division of labor whereby procreation—reduced to a purely mechanical process and stripped of all affective components—is outsourced to women in formerly colonized regions of the world that, since the late 1970s, have been subjected to brutal austerity programs, leading to mass impoverishment and dispossession from the most basic means of reproduction. In this case too, evoking a point often made by Maria Mies (2014), “underdevelopment” in one part of the world is the necessary condition for “development” in another. Women who in the early

·47. IDENTITY·

This is the argument that I have developed in the second part of the book, where I propose that denying the possibility of any social, political identification is a guide to defeat. It is a

There are two points, then, I would like to stress. First, performance helps us to denaturalize “femininity.” It extends our appreciation of the socially constructed character of gender identities and values, but it does not allow us to acknowledge that for social/gender change to occur we need to transform not only our individual and collective vision of gender but also the institutions by which gender relations have been perpetuated, starting with the sexual division of labor and the social hierarchies constructed on the devaluation of reproductive work. Second, performance flattens the content of social action, suggesting that the only alternatives open to us are consent or dissent, thereby underestimating the rebellion brewing in many acts of consent—the many forms of sabotage built under our apparent yessing the system, which, under particular historical conditions, can turn into powerful movements.

These considerations have an immediate bearing on two other issues that also play a large role in today's radical politics. The first is the question of “identity” and “identity politics.” This is an issue that has belabored feminists for years, raising a chorus of critiques that could have been directed more appropriately against other targets. As with “performance,” under the concept of “identity” structural elements of the capitalist system in which we live are hidden and so is the incessant process of struggle by which they are eroded.

Clearly “black,” as in Black Power, “black liberation,” “black is beautiful,” is an identity, but what it stands for is a

·113. TOUCH AND SPACE·

cooperation. But this trend toward the dematerialization of all forms of our life culminates in the imagined inhabitants of future space colonies whose success depends on their ability to become angels, who do not require the sensuous stimulations that are our daily nourishment on earth but can live solely by feeding on their self-sufficient, self-centered willpower.

under enormous stress, achieve a superb control of psychological reactions (anger, hate, indecisiveness) and bodily functions (consider that it takes one hour just to shit in space!).

the neoliberal conception of life, where market dominance turns against not only group solidarity but solidarity within ourselves. Consistently, the body disintegrates into an assemblage of selfish genes, each striving to achieve its selfish goals, indifferent to the interest of the rest.

rivers, the sea, the stars. This is the image of a body that reunites what capitalism has divided, a body no longer constituted as a Leibnizian monad, without windows and without doors, but moving instead in harmony with cosmos, in a world where diversity is a wealth for all and a ground of commoning rather than a source of divisions and antagonisms.

·68. SURROGACY·

Subjects are the history of struggles. To be able to place yourself in a history of struggle has a power. Identity can make subjects without history, erasing history, faceless anti-capitalist people not productive

history of exploitation and struggle. “Black” is certainly not the identity of the passport, the registry office, an identity that freeze us and pins against a wall. It is not the identity of which John Locke ([1689] 1959, 1:458–59) spoke in his work as constitutive of the person, which, he noted, postulates the sameness of the self and is the foundation for the possibility of punishment. It is an identity that is collective and embraced through a process of struggle. This is to say that social identities are not only jails in which a hegemonic system imprisons us, and they are not garments which we cannot tear, turn upside down, discard. Viewing social identities as unilaterally constructed, ignoring the capacity that we have to change our social identity, to turn labels intended to vilify us into badges of pride is to assume the inevitability of defeat, it is to see power only on the side of the master.

·123. PRAISE DANCING BODY·

State has put hands on body of women since the beginning of capitalism—who can reproduce and who was forced to reproduce (slave women)

The principle of joyful militancy is that either our politics are liberating, either they change our life in a way that is positive, that make us grow, give us joy, or there's something wrong with them.

In the struggle, we have to put down the seeds for a different society. Suffering in struggle is ok but to see it as a burden is a problem. Why struggle if the struggle becomes another burden?

·125. JOYFUL MILITANCY·

people are seeking alternatives to a life regulated by work and the market both because, in a precarized labor regime, work can no longer be a source of identity formation, and because they wish to be more creative. Along the same lines, workers' struggles today exhibit patterns different from the traditional strike, reflecting a search for new models of humanity and new relations between human beings and nature. We see it in the interest for the discourse and practice of the “commons,” which is already spawning many new initiatives, like time banks, barter exchanges, urban gardens, and community-based accountability structures. We see it also in the preference for androgynous models of gender identity, the rise of the transsexual and intersex movements, and the queer rejection of gender, with all its implications expressing a questioning of the sexual division of labor. I must also mention the globally