

Fare per... in cui... 68 come...
fa il rifiuto del loro destino in quanto...
della...
die...
questo...
87

FD, cartella 2, 15

against capitalist labor in all its forms. While some groups, like PO, continued to focus primarily on factory struggles, others like Lotta Continua moved increasingly to support community conflicts (such as those around the self-reduction of housing, food and utility prices) and to attempt to help link those conflicts with factory struggles. Their efforts led to such linkages as factory workers in Turin setting up mobilization committees in support of self-reduction struggles led by housewives against the state controlled electricity corporation.¹⁰⁸ These were the kind of battles which both engendered the theoretical developments and were clarified by them.

An extremely important political moment in the development of both these struggles in the community, and in their theorization, was the coalescence of the autonomous struggles of women into self-conscious, organized political groups. In this development we can see the kind of autonomy which C.L.R. James saw two decades ago in his analysis of black struggles in the U.S.: the autonomy of a sector of the working class from other sectors.¹⁰⁹ This new autonomous movement arose through struggle against what many women saw as the domination of the New Left organizations by men, and their overemphasis on the factory. Those women grasped not only the theoretical concept of the social factory but also the key role of the struggle of non-factory workers--most of whom are women. Mario

X Tronti and other men in P.O. could see that the reproduction schemes

7

Ferruccio

Proble, c'è qualcosa, cosa, in "Opere Capitali?" o su "Contropiani?"

of Volume II of Capital included the reproduction of labor. The women in P.O. (could) see that it was their labor which accomplishes that reproduction, and that it had been the struggle of women against that labor in the community which was at the core of the self-reduction movement and other community struggles in Italy and elsewhere.

It was a part of their struggles to bring this issue to the fore, that women like Maria Rosa Dalla Costa developed both new theoretical emphases and new organizations. Organizationally they broke with P.O. and organized Lotta Feminista in Italy, and subsequently, an international Wages for Housework Campaign. On the theoretical level they vastly expanded Tronti's work on the non-factory part of the working class. They focused on the key role of the wage in hiding not only the unpaid part of the working day in the factory, but also unpaid work outside it. They drew on Marx's work on the reserve army and the wage, yet went beyond it in seeing the reproduction of labor-power as within capitalist planning. They brought out the way the wage divides the class hierarchically into waged (factory) and unwaged (~~reserve army~~: housewives, students, peasants, etc.) sectors, such that the latter groups appear to be outside the working class simply because they are not paid a wage. They pushed forward the analysis of the work of reproducing labor-power and analysed its structure both within the home and in the socialized forms of schools, hospitals, etc. ¹¹⁰

This understanding of the wage as the fundamental tool for the

(1) *uoka. That after became*

hierarchical division of the class, brought a key insight to the old problem of the role of sexism and racism in capital. As Selma James has argued in her path breaking work on this issue, sexism and racism can be understood as particular cases of division which are almost always simultaneously wage division.¹¹¹ This is even true when the racial or sexual divisions are among the unwaged. Here the hierarchy is that of unwaged income. Her extension of this analysis to the case of the peasantry opened the door to a reconceptualization of the international character of capital and to a rigorous redefinition of the role of the peasantry within the international capitalist system as a whole. Here was the answer to Althusser's renovated but sterile historical materialism of modes of production as well as a more solid basis for the rejection of the politics of that theory. If the neo-Marxists like Frank had correctly grasped the global nature of capital, but failed to develop a theory to explain the wide variety of production arrangements--especially among the peasantry, then James' work provided that theory, especially when combined with the concepts of working class autonomy and political recomposition to explain the evolution of the structure of production over time.

The political implications of these new insights were far reaching. As women, the members of Lotta ⁱⁿFeminista and Wages for Housework could see that Left strategies for women calling for their "joining" the working class by moving into the factories were counterproductive.

Not only did going into the factories mean double-work, women were already working for capital at home, but once in the factories, the wage hierarchies of capital, perpetuated by the unions and the party, would either keep women down as a group or divide them up over that same hierarchy and thus destroy their collective power. Just as C.L.R. James had argued for the necessary autonomy of the black movement, so did they refuse to be subsumed in such organizations.¹¹² These women saw that the basic difference between the waged and the unwaged was one of power. The wage--money--gives power, the material resources as a basis for struggle. Hence they put forward the qualitative demand that wages be paid for housework by the collective capitalist: the State. As to the quantitative determination of wages--that would be based on women's power, not on any capitalist productivity measure. It was a demand aimed against the waged/unwaged division. It sought to increase both women's power and in so doing, that of the working class as a whole by raising that of the lowest level.¹¹³

This work formed a decisive advance over the earlier work by Tronti and others. It allowed not only a more adequate grasp of the political recomposition of the Italian working class, but also opened the path to the generalization of earlier work on the capitalist crisis to the global level. The identification of the leading role of the unwaged in the struggles of the 1960's in Italy, and the extension of the concept to the peasantry, provided a theoretical framework

within which the struggles of American and European students and housewives, unemployed, ethnic and racial minorities, and Third World peasants could all be grasped as moments of an international cycle of working class struggle.

By incorporating the work of Dalla Costa, James and others in *Wages for Housework* into the analysis of the capitalist crisis, it was possible to extend that analysis to the United States and to the world as a whole. A growing number of articles in both the U.S. and Europe have underlined the position and importance of the unwaged in the current crisis. For example, *Operaio Multinationale* (1974) contains a number of articles which seek, through the analysis of the immigrant or "multinational" worker, to integrate our understanding of the connection between peasant struggles in the Third World, the student, women and "Third World" struggles in the developed countries, and those of the waged working class.¹¹⁴ These articles help locate the origins of the current international crisis as a crisis of the social factory as a whole and thus see it as immeasurably more profound than generally recognized.

In 1975 the first issue of the journal *Zerowork* argued, through detailed studies of struggles in the United States, that they were of the same sort as those Italian conflicts demonstrated by P.O. to have undermined the post-war Keynesian order and forced capital to adopt crisis as a strategy to regain control--to call a political strike on investments. But the collapse of the Keynesian attempt to mobilize