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2. HUMANITIES, DEMOCRACY AND THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into three somewhat disjointed parts. I have not tried to create artificial transitions. The first section is an edited transcript of only part of what actually happened at the podium. The second part is something like a prepared paper. The third part is answers to a series of questions generated by the abstract I had sent. I have not deleted all repetitions. I wanted to keep the aura of the classroom.

AT THE PODIUM: SPEAKING THEN AND THERE

Universities are a great weapon for us. The university needs to be used. Yet when a vision is institutionalised, it is the laws of institutionalisation and disciplinarisation that take over rather than the power of the vision itself. The beginning of what seems like success is actually the beginning of problems. That is the theme of this chapter.

Another sub-theme might be the lesson of being folded together with your enemy, being com-plicit, folded together, not complicit in the sense of conspiratorial or involvement in something underhanded. Often we teach in a knowledge-managed way against our best convictions because we want to keep the job; we are folded together with what we want only to oppose. That is the first rule of forging a strong critique, not us and them, but the fact that we are in it together. No excusing but also no accusing the protocols of whatever it is that we are critiquing so that we can locate the point in the system that can turn it around, for use.

Let us go back to the theme: What seems like success is the beginning of problems. ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’ an essay that you mentioned when you introduced me, became for me a problem that led to a beginning (Spivak, 1999). To evaluate the place of French theory in my vision of myself at that time of my life, I turned toward my own class, which is the sort of comfortable middle class although the woman that I was dealing with was certainly less comfortable than we were by then. Broadly speaking, then, I turned toward my own class, I turned to my own caste, and I turned to my family. That was where I turned. But the woman who was my example was a special kind of subaltern that Antonio Gramsci, the Italian activist who defined the concept, could only imagine when he was in prison being looked after by a woman whose sister, his wife, was exiled in her own country as a member of the OGPU, the Soviet security and intelligence agency.

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In the classic Gramscian definition, the subaltern is a social group, not single. And secondly, a subaltern is someone who is denied access to the structures of social mobility. In 1986 I began to try Gramsci's idea of the production of the subaltern intellectual without specifically thinking of Gramsci except as internalised through teaching. His idea had been to make the super-educated traditional intellectual, namely myself, instrumental in learning to learn how to teach cognitively damaged minds. So when you say 'teaching and learning', for me, since I am not an institutional philosopher of education, it is the lessons learnt from these fifty years of institutional teaching at Columbia and at reputable universities in the United States but also in the lowest sector of the electorate in India, my country of citizenship, landless illiterates, so-called untouchables, people who do not know the word that is used by the upwardly class mobile movement, a Sanskrit classical language word – *Dalit* – which is used outside to recognise such groups. Judging from these two ends, my lesson is: learn to learn how to teach this specific group. I should like to think that I am what in theoretical language would be called the dangerous supplement, showing that the toolkits and templates produced by knowledge management are incomplete, that they must be exceeded by learning the specific mind-set of a group, opening up homogenising statistics.

I was looking at your Quality Enhancement Project (CHE, 2014) and it is very good material. The framers really want to help the students; they want to bring students success:

The focus is necessitated by the combination of low participation rate, only 17% of 20–24 year-olds in 2011, low throughput rates, and stark racial bias in student success. (Grayson, 2014, p. 2)

No one can fault this. On the other hand, for speed and convenience the framers went to John Kotter's work, which was developed within a business context and then expanded into other contexts with no real care for specificity. Although in the published literature, we read: "much of it can be adapted to a higher education context," I would demur. The way in which one leads and succeeds in business is good with these kinds of knowledge management toolkit-type systems. That sort of success is not the success in preparing the ground with damaged cognitive systems. To insert the disenfranchised into entrepreneurship without subject-formative training is a sure formula for corruption and violence, in spite of the occasional Horatio Alger story aired on television or social media.

When at home, I work with my teachers and supervisors, I tell them,

I have come to repay ancestral debts. I am a good person. My parents were incredibly good people, plain-living, high-thinking, anti-casteists, against religious sectarianism, they were very solid people, but two generations of good people are nothing in the context of thousands of years of cognitive damage. We brought you up by denying you the right to intellectual labour, brought you up for manual labour, punished you for intellectual labour and,

indeed, bred in you obedience. I want you to know that I am your enemy because history is larger than personal goodwill and I want you to be able to work without me.

Now this particular situation, learn to learn how to teach, they know what I am talking about. Everything is shared. My education teacher, the education director, has had seven years of schooling. My ecological agriculture director has had four years of schooling, nothing but elementary schooling and really bad education like everybody else in class apartheid, so that their capacity for unconditional intellectual labour has been destroyed. Some of the illiterate ones are smarter, and they are smart because they have not been ruined by bad education. In such a context, when you take knowledge management, what I am obliged to say is that it actually impoverishes, existential impoverishment for the sake of convenience, it actually destroys the possibility of education in the broader sense. It is a formula for success where the specificity of groups is generalised as in the Kotter expansions and success is measured in soft statistics.

Rubby Dhunpath gave me ‘Democracy and Humanities,’ as the title. And I am indeed talking about the connection between humanities and democracy which is the task that the framers of the Quality Enhancement Project have set out for themselves, not corporate financial success. It is the humanities, with its other-directed methodological focus which can promote in the student the intuition that democracy is not just me, me, me, autonomy and freedom – it is a deep aporia, a deep contradiction – it is also at the same time equality for people who are completely dissimilar to me, rogues and thieves, anybody, they are the same as I am.

Human rights initiatives are concerned with promoting justified self-interest of victims but that does not produce a just society for all. Democracy has at its heart this intolerable contradiction, which is why democracy has to be worked at. I am talking about humanities teaching in that context, I am not talking about how you teach everything. I am just talking about this slow cooking of the soul as it were, without which you cannot use systems. Your students can then use knowledge management systems critically (a hope) because a basis has been built – which can only be slow – upon which the management takes hold within a different epistemological pattern, not on top but on tap (a hope). There is no other way. Speed is essential, yet in order to be able to use speed right rather than just for hacking, or pornography, or all kinds of piracy and theft, or killer drones, or the transformation of space into a business enterprise, you have to prepare the ground first with humanities teaching which does not have to prove itself in a world that can only value digitality. Digitality is like a dangerous horse. You have to know first how to ride.

Quality and development are compromised and existentially impoverished by a complete confidence in so-called toolkits and templates. I was looking at the picture of national and local coordination in the Quality Enhancement Project literature that I was studying and I am certain that it is not going to rearrange desires so that a democratic society is possible. Yet most of the Kotter statements are psychological

and behaviourist in nature. Many would argue that those premises and conclusions resulting from it are based on a rather crude model of the human mind, not including the specificities of the class-racialised other. When the Kotter project says something as broad as ‘incorporating the changes into the culture,’ it should seem like a joke in the South African context. You can only try – repeat, try – to do this if you have earned the right to enter that other space. That is, training in literary reading. Not just reading novels but teaching reading so that you hang out in the space of the other. It is taught negatively today only within groups that practice genocide. And we do not try to create a world that will not want to kill.

THE PREPARED SPEECH: AS THE OCCASION WAS IMAGINED

Terrorism teaches us how political economy, using the ideology of race, caste, or religion, can destroy teaching and learning. And its opposite, the ‘rule of law’ that arises because barriers between national capital and global capital are removed, and the state is run to manage the global economy rather than specifically to look after its citizens, attempts to enhance teaching and learning by producing toolkits that also limit teaching and learning. In the previous section, I discussed the Quality Enhancement Project, because that has come down on your university. In fact, that sort of initiative exists in selected places everywhere, globally, today.

The official descriptions of the project say that there should be a national focus on improving teaching and learning, particularly at the undergraduate level, which accounts for over 80% of student registrations. This focus is necessitated by the combination of low participation rate, only 17% of 20 to 24-year olds in 2011, low throughput rates and stark racial bias in student success “...[T]he next cycle of activities would be formulated as the Quality Enhancement Project (QEP), with a *focus on student success* across the entire higher education sector...” Although John Kotter’s work was developed within a business context, much of it can be adapted to a higher education context. Kotter identifies eight steps for leading change:

1. Establishing a sense of urgency: Help others see the need for change and they will be convinced of the importance of acting immediately.
2. Creating the guiding coalition: Assemble a group with enough power to lead the change effort, and encourage the group to work as a team.
3. Developing a change vision: Create a vision to help direct the change effort and develop strategies for achieving that vision.
4. Communicating the vision for buy-in: Make sure as many as possible understand and accept the vision and the strategy.
5. Empowering broad-based action: Remove obstacles to change, change systems or structures that seriously undermine the vision and encourage risk-taking and non-traditional ideas, activities and actions.
6. Generating short-term wins: Plan for achievement that can easily be made visible, follow through with those achievements and recognise and reward those who were involved.

7. Never letting up: Use increased credibility to change systems, structures and policies that don't fit the vision. Hire, promote and develop people who can implement the vision. Reinvigorate the process with new projects, themes and change agents.
8. Incorporating changes into the culture: Articulate the connections between the new behaviours and organisational success, and develop the means to ensure leadership development and succession (Grayson, 2014, p. 3).

After this comes the typical diagram (Grayson, 2014, p. 7):

Process for each phase of the QEP [indicating] institutionally-based...and nationally-coordinated activities.

When I spoke at the education ministry in West Bengal about the problem of teaching English, they were ready to make for me just such a toolkit, explainable by just such diagrams. And our love affair with 'heritage' work – following the orders of the World Monuments Fund – uses just such broad generalisations for absurd systemic change.

As I have already pointed out, quality and development are compromised and existentially impoverished by a complete confidence in so-called toolkits and templates. The desire for such speedy solutions must be rearranged with the training of the imagination to understand that the toolkit closes off the contingent and therefore change. One must teach how to make toolkits as halfway houses to be undone by the contingent rather than offer toolkits for a solution to the problem of action. A 'dangerous supplement' must persistently (important word) be put on these kinds of successful systems – successful because reductive and easy – in order to bring in the incalculable because toolkits stop the contingent. Indeed, there is no computer that can catch the contingent (Rousseau as cited in Derrida, 1967, p. 229). One of the problems with toolkits is that they make teaching 'easier'. Far away from radical solidarity tourism, teachers of language, as well as the teachers of literature from whom they are hierarchically separated, no longer confront the challenge of the unexpected. We might want to remember that the teachability of literature is not only in its categorisability, but in the fact that it can open us to a contingency that escapes all knowledge management. I am not a romantic. I certainly do not suggest that we go back to the primitivism of emoting over global communities that I witness at many international conferences where I am invited because I am seen as a 'postcolonial' person. We want to combat orthodox Linguistics and Anthropology, colonial disciplines, in the same way that I am trying to combat from the inside the discipline of literary reading becoming colonial as it allows itself to be quantified, rather than rise to the insistent defense of the humanities as instrument and weapon (Spivak, *Resisting trivialization*, 2014). The seduction of digital humanities makes us forget that the greatest usefulness of the humanities is to upload the computer in the brain.

In John Kotter's list, as in the Social Covenant approved by the World Economic Forum (their point in common being a corporate interest in social change), there

are two kinds of items: one talking the talk (basic human values), the other walking the walk ('good' jobs for non-graduates; strong technical education opportunities; apprentice schemes, a pro-active tax and incentive system and 21st century industrial strategy). One cannot walk the walk by merely agreeing to do so. It is a collective decision, not merely something enforced from the top. One must learn the habit of thinking about other people as equal though not same, described in the previous section as housing the aporia of democracy. Here I point out that this is also exactly the situation between the reading pupil and the one who produced the literary work. This is the kind of democratic training that the humanities can provide.

In addition to university teaching, largely in the United States, I have also given time and skill (not just money and site-visits) for 30 years, training teachers and children at six small elementary schools established by me among the landless illiterate in western West Bengal. Much of what I say is tested there.

Normally our desire is to do things ourselves or for ourselves. In good literary teaching, the student is taught carefully to hang out in the space of the other – understand what s/he confronts in terms of the unknown person who wrote what s/he confronts. This is the secret of the ethical and the democratic. One has to stay with it, not follow easy steps so that one can say 'I have helped you'. The long-term implementation of any plan for building a just society through education calls for the teaching of the humanities at all levels and in all places so that the desire for social justice can inhabit souls long-term, not always susceptible to evaluation by checking statistically how each item on a list is institutionally fulfilled. Huge and detailed country-by-country statistical tables are no doubt useful, but, in terms of sustaining an improved world, we have to look at the fact that nations are not monolithic abstract averages, and that evaluations are remote fact-gathering which often do not reflect everyday reality.

We teachers of the humanities – literature and philosophy – at our best train the imagination into knowing ourselves differently, and knowing the world differently, so that our students and we ourselves *want* to do the good things contained in the Covenant rather than having to be checked following enforcement.

Today the emphasis in education is acquiring digital speed. In order to be able to use the digital for social justice, the soul has to be trained slowly, and that is where literary training as I have described it comes into play. Recently, at the celebration of the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe's life, the positive effect of his literary writings was repeatedly emphasised. With my experience of work in Africa, I was obliged to say that, below a certain class line, Nigerians had no idea who he was and what he wrote. The task therefore was to expand the circle of Nigerians who could not only read, but also learn from the literary.

I am remembering the tremendously bright student Rahul Lohar in Shahabad whom I kept pushing to make his head work to think of what it was that the measurements in feet, used to calculate its area – what indeed it was that these units measured. To engage one's head for intellectual labour when it has not been millennially allowed to one's social group is indeed comparable to accessing the

text of the other in oneself. It is the ‘literary’ practice for the ethical, quite distinct from the internalised obligation to serve and from conscientised violence. It does not resemble the ‘literature’ that the dominant assigns as a proper name. I would not push the student of middle-class parents in this way. Intellectual labour is historically available there, and can be joyful. But this is a son of landless illiterates and his entire life is lived on other terms. And indeed I believe from his extraordinarily impulsive responses, interrupting other teaching, that he was fully alive to this. This is the ‘literary’ for the child because it gives the same practice as does literature for trained elite readers like ourselves and our elite students.

Only one of my six rural schools was taught by two caste Hindu men. The junior teacher, hardly capable of teaching Classes Infant, One, and Two, bought a B.Ed degree by scraping together 100,000 rupees. He will go on ‘training’ for two months and hopes to slide into a job of high school teaching through this bribe, although that job actually costs between Rs. 1,500,000 and Rs. 1,600,000, as he innocently told me. The very evening that I got this news, I was dining with Santosh Karmakar, a leftist high school teacher who is also part of the rural landed gentry, and his daughter, who is also getting a B.Ed degree, at Viswa Bharati University (established by the national hero Rabindranath Tagore) who told me that her training required 1400 hours of exams during the one year course, two months of practice teaching at a high school, to be observed by a registered examiner, and so on. Much harder than the B.A., she told me. Now you see how the teachers of the children of the gentry are prepared, for quality (although corruption has entered even here); and how the subaltern children’s ‘teachers’ are prepared – these are the years of schooling that are counted on the Human Development Index to assess a country’s ‘development’. The subaltern must be kept in a situation of only manual labour – bribed with sports and the famous hundred days of employment programme – so that we can keep the largest sector of the electorate as victims of epistemic and physical violence, in order to produce votes. Democratic judgment in the marginal or the subaltern is a fearful thing (Panda, n.d.)

‘Why is there such an upsurge of interest in knowledge?’ asks Prusak (1997, p. vii), editor of *Knowledge in Organizations*, citing the Pre-Socratics. Such a question ignores the plain fact that the word ‘knowledge’ has changed since the Pre-Socratic era. (There was, of course, no English at that time. And, if we are thinking the world, we must – absolutely – remember the many languages that make meaning for its peoples. As a doctor working in Kenya who refuses to be a top-down health worker remarked: “The people will understand Swahili, but you can’t speak to their heart unless you speak their language: ‘I’m getting what you’re saying, but I’m not taking it in’”. That *is* a basic human value: talking to the heart. If you think it is inconvenient, as it is, indeed, don’t dream of improving the world.) Real knowledge depends on cooking the soul with slow learning, not the instant soup of a one-size-fits-all toolkit. The world is not populated by humanoid drones. You cannot produce a toolkit for ‘a moral metric,’ or, if you do, you will be disappointed.

In Nigeria and Kenya, some of us facilitate a project for databasing all the unsystematised mother tongues of sub-Saharan Africa. I know the situation in South

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Africa is different. But I would like to share with you some of the things we think together.

Intellectual labour begins with the training of children, slowly. This is what creates the pool of secondary and tertiary students, away, one hopes, from the long-established hierarchies. And it has been abundantly demonstrated that, an at least bilingual primary education lays the foundation not only for learning other languages (including mathematics, digitality, English, of course, and the like); but also connects the world of social justice and general social welfare with the earliest stages of a child's development. The 'global' languages are first language to only a part of the world. They have an intrinsic connection to them. Others, and we are talking race, class and gender here, suffer a loss of connection with their infancy language and this is an ethical loss as significant as climate change for the world's future.

These languages are not dying and in need of preservation. They are flexible – because not separated by 19th and 20th century colonial disciplines of linguistics and anthropology. They are alive and inter-comprehensible, and in use for electoral campaigning, at least in sub-Saharan Africa. We make use of this existing resource, quite distinct from the past-oriented preservation of endangered languages. We give health, education and agricultural workers future-oriented access to these crucial instruments of successful delivery; the living mother tongues of Africa. The goal of our longitudinal research is to create a multi-portal global access platform, which allows researchers to document, explore and provide portals for the community and for the workers in the field. Its broader consequences will embrace innovative legal research in access portals and international research in oral history and language study.

Higher education based on such bilingual primary education is richer and more appropriate to the effort to break the old class solidarities. The impossible goal is not to keep reproducing the old class solidarities through access to higher education but to expand the scope of higher education by integrating it with a holistic and classed vision of the entire education spectrum. When development thinkers such as Mkandawire (2015, p. 19) quite correctly ask for higher education aid, they must take this into account otherwise, the African 'private sector' will be described as essentially 'unlikely to finance more than a quarter of the major investment needs'. We are training an expanding private sector. This is why their desires must be re-arranged and I have tried to outline briefly why emphasis must be put on the study of the humanities.

ANSWERS TO THE PRE-SENT QUESTIONS

How can the humanities produce the intuitions of democracy in the broadest possible race, class- and gender-diversified sector of the population?

No society 'develops' if its inhabitants are not introduced to the practice of freedom, which is rather different from the establishment of rights by intervention on the part of elected representatives, agitation by constitutional activists, or public interest litigation through national or international interest. However poor and oppressed the groups you teach, the contradictory habits of no competition yet class

struggle, absolute equality yet gender preference, no encouragement to leadership yet problem-solving in every detail of classroom practice: all of these must be encouraged. They change as we go up in level, of course. Teaching justified self-interest – as in collective bargaining, human rights interventions or Occupy Wall Street – does not necessarily lead to a just society.

What Is It to Teach the Humanities?

Democracy is now equated with an operating civil structure, the functioning of a hierarchised bureaucracy, and ‘clean’ elections. We have plenty of examples around the world, that unrelenting state violence on the model of revenge and retaliation can co-exist with so-called democracy. Revenge is indeed a kind of wild justice that proves that no retribution is adequate to the outlines of the tribute. It has nothing, however, to do with a vision of social justice, which builds itself on its own indefinite continuation. It nests in all children’s, and therefore everyone’s, capacity to *use* the right to intellectual and imaginative labour, not just in ease and speed of learning. This is why it is not enough to compartmentalise ‘higher education,’ which also preserves class. And, in order to be supple enough to become ‘real’ rather than merely powerful, statistical evaluation by way of toolkits should not be replaced or opposed, but supplemented, by the humanities style reading skills, not confined to a charmed circle, circulating in its own circuit, quite apart from R&D and policy, also circulating in its charmed circuit, apart from the readers. Humanities, in my sense, are a form of imaginative activism that must permeate qualitative and quantitative welfare and economic disciplinary training as well as human rights training. Currently, it is the last group that shares something with the humanities, at least in select elite universities in the United States. In these programmes, human rights legalisms trump the slow reading skills of the humanities.

What Is the In-Built Aporia of Democracy?

An aporia is a situation where two right solutions cancel each other out. Yet one solution must always be(come) chosen in every contingency. This is the in-built and definitive aporia within democracy: it is autonomy (freedom from), liberty; and others (freedom to), equality: us and them. Irreducibly, democracy is the aporetic site of liberty and equality and the children in democracies must be trained into it. There is nothing but obstacles in its way. I speak of class apartheid; of which I have given a concrete example above. Look now at an example from the top: when I explained to a graduate student from a Latin American country that the so-called ‘terminal M.A.’ (no financial aid, no access to the PhD stream) at U.S. Research 1 universities was a fundraising mechanism, he told me “with globalisation everything has changed, we don’t mind buying the brand name for future advancement”. This is why I chose as title for my Netaji oration in Calcutta, my hometown: ‘Freedom *After* Independence?’ Freedom to, after Freedom from.

Otherwise, a regenerated Khilafat movement (1919–1924) – ISIS founding a new Caliphate (Khilafat) – legitimises the politics of the Sykes-Picot conversation which wrote the map of the ‘Middle East’ by reversal and the complex history of metropolitan minority identitarianism and heritagism draws thousands of ‘democratic’ Arab Spring Tunisians and Muslim Europeans/Americans, and women into it. (‘Heritagism’ in West Bengal and continental Africa seems so far to be ignorant of its global politics.) No awareness of aporia here. Only liberty as identity. *Our* task is rather to rearrange the desire for the transcendental, *persistently* (important word), from belief to imagination, from rational choice to the class-specific diversified literary rather than offer ‘clash of civilisations’ style comments such as ‘they do not share our values’ (Canadian Foreign Minister on CNN) or ‘they have no human values’ as offered by a Silicon Valley executive and a politically correct female staff member at a Council on Values meeting (James, 2008). The New Social Covenant of the World Economic Forum wants to perform some movement of change in an altogether confused way (giving them the benefit of the doubt). It therefore requires the literary – as training for the ethical – as a method. In a world of the denial of intellectual labour – in a recent Education Supplement of *The New York Times*, a piece advising recent graduates on entering the professional schools begins with the words: ‘We are not talking humanities’ – its fashioners will not accept this (‘Going professional: The ins and outs,’ 2014). Development can be in any direction, it does not bring with it a value system – it is an unconditional thing, but is always constrained by conditions, and in our world by economic considerations. It is what I call ‘sustainable underdevelopment,’ because it is often the level of development that is kept at a minimum so that profit maximisation can be sustained. The word ‘sustainable’ is also open-ended and does not carry any conditions within it. As for democracy, it is the only system of government that is hospitable to all ways of thinking and therefore cannot be driven if the electorate is not educated in a judgment that can be directed toward others. This, again, is the aporia or double bind between liberty, which is supposedly unconditional, and equality, which imposes a condition to be aware that others, even completely unlike you, are supposedly imaginable by you as equal. When I work this through the formula ‘other people’s children’, I am told that that is a liberal bio-political notion. But we should be able to think the child as absolute event without compromising reproductive rights or human beings’ right to choose. The first is unconditional, like justice; the second, an important condition, like Law.

How Do We Confront the Inevitable Corporatisation of the Entire Education System?

By the persistent construction of a critical mass. Antonio Gramsci’s ‘New Intellectual’ is a permanent persuader. We must continue to speak out; that humanities training will never generate income for the university directly. It is rather an epistemological and ethical health care for the society at large. These are the fully prepared global citizens

and leaders that one imagines as all philosophers assume a rational being. Material conditioning of the intending subject cannot otherwise be grasped. The relationship between the imagination and intention hosts the right to abstraction, so long denied to the subaltern and so fast disappearing under rational choice, behaviourist economics and knowledge management among the elite. Resources should be spent to make the humanities a more attractive choice for interested students so that the number of such persons in society increases significantly. If international socialism *died* of an ethics-shaped hole – in other words, no development of a new approach to the ethical – global capitalism, although it is not as embarrassed to talk the ethical talk, will continue to *live* with the same terminal disease – an ethics-shaped hole, while millennial history is legitimised by reversal.

Let us get back for a moment to the World Economic Forum, wanting to turn capitalism toward social justice. I have pointed out already that their good goal, in itself revealing more and more ideological roadblocks, has inadequate imaginative resources. But they do acknowledge complicity – we alone have done this. Unfortunately, the strongest tradition of amelioration for them is what any serious examination must call sustainable underdevelopment, which is what quality promotion by knowledge management helps sustain further. Sustainable underdevelopment. Education by statistic and risible do-good projects by the digitised under-thirties.

What Is the Role of the Curriculum?

Not much. Because of the stratification of society, a regularised curriculum is only good for mainstreaming. But a customised curriculum is also a waste of time. It is the *method* of teaching/reaching that is important – an uncoercive re-arrangement of desires – reaching the cognitively damaged epistemic instrument.

Of new textbooks?

How not to use the computer. The West Bengal State Education Commission has produced an excellent set of primary school textbooks. Subaltern teachers find them very hard to teach because they do not resemble the old awful ones. I went to the director of the textbook programme to help him with news from below. He said we are trying to win back the English-medium school children, the children, in other words, of the rich and of the upper middle class. No time for the subaltern.

What are the limits of economic empowerment? The inability to think of income as instrument, and not only for self-enhancement. ‘Development’ is the economic transition into the circuit of capital with insufficient attention to subject-formation. Ethics as such cannot be practiced *after* business, or the business of medicine-as-triage, has been sustained. Ethics are unconditional.

How are we to approach indigenous knowledge systems? By entering their protocol and earning the right to rearrange from within, learning from mistakes.

How do we gauge ‘authenticity’ in knowledge? By noticing the manner of the production of detail.

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What is the relationship between quality in education and the democratic imperative? Content and form.

What Is the Relationship between Class, Race, and Liberal Education in Our Countries?

Liberal education is a place of struggle. Within the colonial system liberal education was imitative, class-divisive. With no unmediated control over the national system it produced a useless class. We undo poison with poison here. Poison can become medicine. This is not a 'critique of Eurocentrism'. In the rural schools I try to make the groups friendly with the wretched map of the world on the back cover of the geography book. I point at the north western corner of the huge Eurasian continent on the terrible map and tell them that that is Europe and that though so small, they won. I discuss with them how they won (since capital-production is not a crime) and even use such mid-Victorian examples as James Watt watching the lid dance on the pot of boiling water. I remind myself not to be an 'improver' like the colonialists and discuss with the co-workers (male and female teachers and supervisors) from the community the fact that I am not drawing profits from the work for and with them. Although they are not well acquainted with the world map and know nothing about colonialism, and have not seen any factories of any significant size, they do understand what profit or *munafa* is. I try to give them the sense of the cultural capital I acquired because I teach them and try moralistically to avoid its extreme results by not having a webpage.

What Is the Relationship between a Will to Social Justice and Enforcement?

The first has to be produced long-term, customised, and full of uncertainty. The second is a short-term necessity ultimately productive of a culture of fear and fully compromised when the enforcers on the ground are victims of class apartheid.

What Is It to Interpret a History of Violence and Use It without Accusation or Excuse within the Broadest Interpretation of the Academy?

The French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, himself a strong anti-colonialist among the colonisers, read the book Fanon wrote in the last 10 weeks of his life, knowing that he was marked for death by acute leukaemia, even as he was being hounded by the colonising government of France, as an endorsement of violence itself – not reading between the lines, where Fanon insists that the tragedy is that the very poor are reduced to violence, because there is no other response possible to an absolute absence of response and an absolute exercise of legitimised violence from the colonisers. Their lives count as nothing against the death of the colonisers: unacknowledged Hiroshimas over against sentimentalised 9/11s. Here the lesson of Gandhi regarding the power of passive resistance and the contrastive lesson of Israel in the exercise of state legitimised violence drawing forth violence in extremism is

useful today. Fanon's own warning is contained in *A Dying Colonialism*. Against the grain of his optimism of the will, he writes: "it is no longer the age of little vanguards" (Fanon, 1965, p. 1).

Why Is National Liberation Not a Revolution?

Working within the problems created by a postcolonial nation which brings back the pre-colonial problems that the great historian Fernand Braudel called *longue durée* or long term: "structures which lie invisible below the surface of social activities," many of us think that the real disaster in colonialism lies in destroying the minds of the colonised and forcing them to accept mere violence – allowing no practice of freedom, so that these minds cannot build when apparent decolonisation has been achieved. From the example of mature leaders such as Du Bois and Mandela, we know or can at least have the feeling that Fanon would have gone in that direction.

In the postcolonial world, hero worship and ancestor worship stand in the way of the production of the will to social justice. Those of us interested in building postcolonial democracies think that these heroes should be slowly and carefully transformed into teaching texts. In the case of Nelson Mandela, for example, the strongest teaching element is the unconditional ethical – the risky imaginative activism that dares to say yes to the enemy. If one enters the protocol of the heroic life with critical intimacy, reading its text as the symbolic – telling us about the subject's relationship to the imaginary – the greatest collective imaginary of colonial oppression being precisely the dream of liberation – it is possible, again with the greatest care, not to exclude the transformation of the *longue durée* into historical symptomaticity of even the most extraordinarily heroic among us, to make the hero a human warning for those of us who are merely human without the heroism. This is a transformation of the *imitatio Christi* idea of role-model, today emphasised in faith-based leadership initiatives. We cannot forget that this is the substance of the greatest genre the world has, not confined to Hellenic culture alone: tragedy, the tragic hero of history. The leaders of liberation are obliged to produce an 'orientalist' version of the new nation, today spawning an unscrupulous use of the idea of homeland, heritage and history to justify and legitimise xenophobia, tyranny and the doctrine of ethnic purity for which women are often asked to bear the responsibility.

What I am insisting on, then, is that consciousness is material. Epistemology – the way we know – is historically affected. The vanguard cannot instil class consciousness among the masses as if the masses are a monolithic blob. Quality promotion knowledge management style legitimises this by reversal. To pay attention to this is not an academic luxury. On the contrary, to think of the education of the largest sector of the electorate as if their millennially ravaged epistemologies resembled that of the middle class activist or the elite philanthropist is mistaken and/or a sure road to celebrity. This is a material lesson – routinely dismissed by mechanical leftists as too 'nuanced' or 'individualistic', and by the knowledge managers as impractical, inefficient.

G. C. SPIVAK

What is the role of Epistemological Change Clustered Within Education in Notions of Identity and the Broader Public?

I don't know.

How Do We Combat the Anthropocene?

By assuming that the literary-ethical suspension in the space of the other is to *de*-humanise, because the 'natural' tendency of human activities is to accelerate the rate of species extinction, unless we want to mooch over being-human in the face of the Anthropocene. We can no longer work with the race-class-determined binary opposition of free will and fatalism that runs our world today, with the so-called abstract workings of capital running a deconstruction, which is called 'development' by way of alibi.

Over against this, I focused on 'planetaryity' because it reduced the importance of the human (Apter, Lezra, & Wood, 2014). Now even planetaryity has been compromised as space becomes a business enterprise.

I say then to students and teachers of the humanities present in this room: understand that your professional teaching and learning skills offer a supplement – an incalculability that may seem dangerous to those who want to disavow the unexpected that is the harbinger of change. Efficient tests to measure success are useful but they can only reproduce the status quo, dazzlingly dressed as 'imagination'.

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