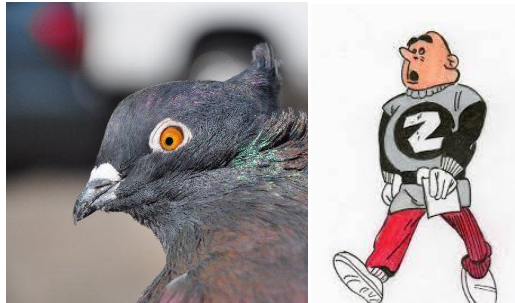


THE HOLY FAMILY OF SCRAPERS OR THE CRITICISM OF THE CRITICISM OF VALUE

(Against Kurz, Jappe, and others)



Scratching Pigeon Google Images - Franquin's Automaton Man (Spirou).

This title is not a simple retelling of Marx and Engels's seminal book, "The Holy Family" or "Critique of Criticism" (1844). It is there to remind us that it was in this book that Marx and Engels, in contrast to the innovative philosophers of their time, forged the constitutive role of the proletariat as the bearer of the only crisis that interests us: the revolutionary crisis.

“The proletariat and wealth are opposites. As such, they constitute a totality. Both are formations of the world of private property. The question is what concrete place each of them occupies in this contradiction. To say that there are two sides to a single whole is not enough. Private property, as private property, as wealth, is obliged to perpetuate its own existence and, therefore, that of its opposite, the proletariat. Private property that has found satisfaction is the positive side of the contradiction. Conversely, the proletariat is forced, as the proletariat, to abolish itself and, therefore, to abolish its opposite on which it depends, which makes it a proletariat: private property. This is the negative side of the contradiction, the anguish at the heart of the contradiction, private property dissolved and dissolving. The possessing class and the proletarian class represent the same human alienation. But the former feels at ease in this alienation; finds in it confirmation, recognizes in this alienation from itself its own power, and possesses in it the appearance of a human existence; the second feels annihilated in this alienation, sees in it its powerlessness and the reality of an inhuman existence. It finds itself, to use Hegel's expression, in degradation, in rebellion against this degradation, a rebellion to which it is necessarily driven by the contradiction between its human nature and its situation in life, which constitutes the frank, categorical, total negation of this nature. Within this contradiction, the private owner is the conservative part, the proletarian the destructive part. From the first proceeds the action that maintains the contradiction, from the second the action that destroys it”. Marx-Engels: La Sainte famille.¹

In this text, we will begin a critique of a series of typical theses of a self-proclaimed "Marxist" and "re/founding" movement of radical critical theory: "Wertkritik." In France, it takes the form of the "Palim-psao" movement, which means "I scratch again" in ancient Greek, and which is developing and becoming a rage, especially in academic circles.² A. Jappe attempts to convince us otherwise in his latest book by affirming the central role of theory and its autonomy as a social practice. In doing so, he introduces a division between theory and

¹On the website: <https://www.marxists.org/francais/marx/works/1844/09/kmfe18440900i.htm>

²On the website: <http://www.palim-psao.fr/>. This movement is a distinctive feature of the use of ancient Greek or Latin to better "select", through an academic and pedantic language, those chosen to know how to read them; the latest example is the publication in Palim-Psao of the book by A. Garcia Calvo: "Apoptegmes sur le marxisme" (Apothegms on Marxism); which means, more simply, memorable **maxims** or sayings... Why simplify things when you can distinguish yourself by the sophistication of your forms?

practice, whereas revolutionary praxis is composed precisely of these two elements. This separation confirms the academic nature of his approach, which is not surprising given that, for him, the class struggle and the proletariat are dead. Scratchers influence a public in search of something, especially given the current counterrevolution characterized by "proletarian apathy" and its decades-long distancing from the communist perspective. The academic and "modernizing" features of this tendency are found above all in the very sophistication of its writings and references, designed to confuse the issue, making its authors appear as the new alternative to the bankruptcy of "traditional Marxism" and the catastrophic internal collapse of capitalism, which they imagine without a revolutionary subject. This is the same method of deliberate complexification already applied by structuralism and by the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan - who liked to delve into "the language of madmen..."³.

As we have pointed out elsewhere, some of its approaches are nonetheless interesting, although they are largely found in revolutionary Marxist literature, itself denied by these authors since the height of their "discoveries" and "new-fangled revisionism." Among them is the fact that the transition to communism lies not only in the collective appropriation of the means of production, but also entails the necessary destruction of the foundations of capitalism: labor, money, value, etc.⁴ This is the case with his selective rereading of Marx and the return of the dichotomization between a young Marx and a finally complete Marx of Capital. This Althusserian relic is adapted by the semantic novelty of a young, Hegelian Marx, called "exoteric" (superficial) and an "esoteric" Marx ("obscure and little-known")—1858 being the turning point between the two periods—having, at last, integrated the substance of value.

So, the young Marx was not a "Marxist"! This kind of separation is one of the specialties of Stalinism (and neo-Stalinism): separation of Marx from the utopians, separation from the Hegelian and then Feuerbachian periods, separation from the "precursors" in economics, separation from his political analyses, from his organizational activity... These schismatic interpretations are reinforced by the denial of the continuity of Marx's struggle against alienation and the central development of this question thanks to the exposition of the fetishistic character of the commodity, already in the first chapter of Book I of Capital.⁵ Althusser defended an economic reading of Marx, separate from his philosophical critique, thus confining Marx's method to economism, particularly advising against reading the early chapters of Capital. The scrapers, on the other hand, present themselves as intellectually sophisticated and capable of discovering new richness in Marx's thought, based on a better understanding of the early chapters, the fetishistic character of the commodity, and the central role of the critique of value. In doing so, they fall into the trap of a new separation that conceives only of the economic Marx analyzing the dysfunctions of capitalism. This certainly

³A very good critique of this artificiality has been written by François George; L'effet 'yau de Poêle - De Lacan et Des Lacaniens, Paris, Hachette: François George; L'effet 'yau De Poêle - De Lacan et Des Lacaniens, Paris, Hachette, 1979. On the critique of structuralism: H. Lefebvre: L'idéologie structuraliste, Anthropos, Paris, 1975. **"Discontinuities are accentuated until epistemological or theoretical cuts are obtained"** p. 131.

⁴Others in this movement intend to fight not only against value but also against the "patriarch," an issue we will leave open for now.

⁵On these issues, see our texts: From Critique of Work to Its Abolition and Critique of Alienation: The Cornerstone of Marx's Humanism in Critical Materials No. 1: October 2020; <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes>

leads them to "internal" catastrophism, devoid of a revolutionary perspective. Marx's approach was very different; it was at once philosophical, economic, and political... While Maximilian Rubel, through selected pages, presented a comprehensive view of the specific "Marxian" coherence, with relevant and pedagogical indices, the situation is very different with Kurz. Through the most important texts of K. Marx for the 21st century, Kurz chooses to eliminate, through his subjective comments and the discrimination of certain themes, the issues that disturb his interpretation. ⁶For Kurz, there is virtually no room for political or organizational work, nor for historical or "geostrategic" analysis... thus completely erasing the original role of militant and fighter for the workers' cause that Marx played from the beginning of his career. To cite only : "*Les Luttres de classes en France*" ; "*Les 18 Brumaires de Louis Bonaparte*"; "*Lord Palmerston*"; "*Révolutions sur le procès des communistes à Cologne*"; "*La guerre civile en France*", les adresses de l'AIT...).

Clean slate for "Marxism" and labor history

Working-class history and the history of revolutionary movements are intertwined in many periods, but they are also characterized by discontinuity, both geographical and generational. This is one of the distinctive features of the phases of counterrevolution, particularly those we have experienced since the 1970s and 1980s. It also explains why, in sectarian retreat, some construct formal or familial "continuities," while others imagine that the history of radical critical theory has only just begun with them. The "striped" family is more akin to the second school. In interviews, they explain that they individually come from the margins of the decomposition of leftism (student movements, the New Left, pacifism, environmentalism, etc.) and that they have defined themselves precisely since the end of the last century, with the birth of the German magazine "Krisis" (today: "Jaggernaut" in reference to the goddess Vishnu!), which became better known after the publication of its "Manifesto against Labour" in 1999. From this publication, a truly international movement was born and structured.

Their main ambition, born from a selective rereading of Marx's works, was to discover, against all odds, the history of "Marxisms," an original and original understanding that only they would have discovered and possessed. Only ⁷the Situationists and G. Debord have, in their eyes, made a certain critical contribution. However, this affiliation is conditional and completely divorced from all the other revolutionary currents and theorists who "influenced" these same Situationists; from Henri Lefebvre to Socialisme ou Barbarie, not to mention Lukács, Korsch, Jakubowski, Kosik, Pasukanis, the Frankfurt School... Even worse is the total scotomization of the various "communist lefts," which have, against the grain, maintained Marx's critical tradition on many issues, following the drift and bankruptcy of the Third International. What can we say about his central "discovery" of abstract labor as the substance of value without going back not only to Marx and Engels, but also to Bukharin, Riazanov, Rubin, Rosdolsky, Luxemburg, Mattick, Grossmann... all militants of the various workers'

⁶In this sense, it is very significant to compare these two collections and the visions that emerge from them: "Lire Marx" by R. Kurz, published by Les Balustres, Paris, 2013 and celles Sociologie Critique et Révolution et socialisme by M. Rubel dans la petite bibliothèque Payot, Paris, 2008.

⁷In this sense, it is very significant to compare these two collections and the visions that emerge from them: "Lire Marx" by R. Kurz, published by Les Balustres.

and communist organizations that the "scrapers" swept away in their pretentious denial of so-called "traditional and working-class Marxism"⁸

It is true that they occasionally cite authors such as Lukacs, Roubine, Lefebvre, Rosdolsky... But this is a formal and inescapable statement, completely disconnected from the militant reality and the context of which these authors are a product. As for the chapter on Adorno/Lukacs, it is difficult to be much more abstruse. As in the case of Lacan, it is the language of madmen. With Jean-Marie Vincent we find the same recuperative tendency, detached from his political approach and his critical work on a certain Trotskyism: *"In France, Jean-Marie Vincent, one of the first university students to take an interest in the Frankfurt School, developed ideas sometimes parallel to the critique of value, especially in his book Critique de travail (1987). But he, like several authors who have appeared in recent years and who sometimes openly claim to be value-critical, does not want to renounce the "class struggle" and the search for a subjectivity that will finally defeat capitalism, while the possibility of an objective crisis continues to be evoked, at best, in a rather vague way."* A. Jappe: p. 83

This ignorance is not the result of carelessness, but of an Orwellian method to prevent people from thinking, studying, or criticizing. It is the attitude of a new sect that monopolistically protects its store of "radical thought." Add to this the vulgar assimilation of the history of "Marxism" to that of social-democratic reformism and "Marxism-Leninism," that is, to Stalinism, paradoxically corroborating their counterrevolutionary views of history. It also allows them to crudely place statist, authoritarian, protectionist, bureaucratic, and interventionist policies in the lineage of Marx, when they are explicitly in the bourgeois lineage of the mercantilists, Keynes, and the left of capital. This is clear in Marx's speech on the question of free trade in 1848, delivered in Brussels.⁹ It is, therefore, an ideological sleight of hand, already denounced at the time by authors such as L. Janover and M. Rubel and above all in the essential work *"Marx et Keynes"* by P. Mattick¹⁰.

Class struggle, productive class and revolutionary subject

The proletariat and the working class are defined by the collective place they occupy in the social relations of production. The concept of class, like that of class struggle, is in no way the prerogative or specificity of "Marxism," which we prefer to call, following Lukács, "orthodox" or revolutionary. Marx himself said he had discovered nothing in this area:

"Now, as far as I'm concerned, I wasn't the one who discovered the existence of classes in modern society, nor the struggle between them. Bourgeois historians had expounded the historical development of this class struggle long before me, and bourgeois economists had described its economic anatomy. What I have added is:

I show that the existence of classes is only linked to certain historical phases of the development of production;

⁸To be fair, Kurz addresses some of these theories in his book : « La substance du capital », L'échappée, Paris 2019, more sans et voir le continuum d'avec la critique du marxisme révolutionnaire.

⁹CF : K. Marx: Discours sur la question du libre-échange, Éditions du sextant, Paris, 2014

¹⁰CFL Janover & M. Rubel : Lexique Marx(I) État/Anarchisme, Smolny, Toulouse, 2020. Et surtout : P. Mattick : Marx et Keynes, Gallimard, Paris, 1972. Notons également notre texte : État et capital: un rapport consubstantial, February 2021 in our Revue N° 2, April 2021. <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes>

2-that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat;
 3-that this dictatorship in itself represents nothing more than a transition towards the **abolition of all classes and towards a classless society**. Letter from Karl Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer, 5 March 1852. Correspondence. Volume III, p. 79. Éditions sociales, Paris, 1972.

This reminder-too classic to be true-should show us that the center of the Marxist project is not class struggle-the means-but its **abolition** -the goal-and with it the abolition of value, the state, labor, democracy, the nation, the family... the very realities of **capitalist exploitation** and all previous oppressions. The proletariat is, therefore, the sole collective bearer of the revolutionary solution.

*"The proletariat executes the sentence that private property pronounces against itself by engendering the proletariat, just as it executes the sentence that wage labor pronounces against itself by engendering the wealth of others and its own misery. If the proletariat emerges victorious, this does not at all mean that it has become the absolute faction of society, for it only wins **by abolishing itself and its opposite**. From then on, the proletariat disappears just as much as private property: its opposite, which implies it. If socialist authors attribute this historical role to the proletariat, it is not at all, as Critique would have us believe, because they regard proletarians as gods. It is rather the opposite. In the fully developed proletariat, the abstraction of all humanity, even of the semblance of humanity, is practically complete; in the living conditions of the proletariat, all the living conditions of present-day society are condensed in their most inhuman aspect. In the proletariat, man has effectively lost himself, but at the same time he has acquired the theoretical consciousness of this loss; moreover, the misery that he can no longer avoid or delay, the misery that is inescapably imposed upon him—a practical expression of necessity. That is why the proletariat can and must liberate itself. But it cannot liberate itself without abolishing its own conditions of life. It cannot abolish its own conditions of life without abolishing all the inhuman conditions of life in present-day society, which are summed up in its own situation. It is not in vain that it passes through the harsh but fortifying school of labor. It is not a question of knowing what objective a particular proletarian, or even the proletariat as a whole, has in mind now. It is a question of knowing what the proletariat is and what it will be obliged to do historically, in accordance with this being. Its objective and its historical action are traced for it tangibly and irrevocably in its own situation, as in the whole organization of present-day bourgeois society". Marx-Engels: La Sainte famille.¹¹*

There is, indeed, a socially and historically determined subject capable of carrying out, with theoretical and practical weapons, the **mission** of destruction of the CPM. This is a determination of the possible due to the very contradictions of capital, and in no way an ineluctable, "already-happened" fact. Classes and class struggle are the very expressions of the contradictions of the modes of production and class societies, but they are disqualified by our innovators with a simple stroke of an assertive pen. "The words 'class,' 'class interests,' and 'class struggle' seem to contain the categorical alpha and omega of Marxist theory. *e.* »¹² But what defines the working class, the proletariat? Productive labor creates more value than it costs; it generates surplus value by virtue of its unique use value. Like all other commodities, labor therefore has double value: it is concrete labor-producer of use value-and abstract labor-generator of value. This double nature of capitalist labor is also contradictory, because in terms of abstract labor-pure expenditure of undifferentiated labor power-it reproduces capital in an expanded form, while as concrete labor, its social contingency is that it must produce use value. This contradictory double nature of labor similarly defines capitalism as a labor process and a valorization process. The capitalist pole of the working

¹¹On the website: <https://www.marxists.org/francais/marx/works/1844/09/kmfe18440900i.htm>

¹²R. Kurz & E. Lohoff : Le fétiche de la lutte des classes, p.11 Éditions Crise et Critique, Albi, 2021.

class is that of the "class in itself," statically defined by its place in production and which reproduces capital. Its negative pole is that of the "class for itself", which harbors the revolutionary possibility of destroying capital and its valorization because it is the main driving force as a class of productive labor¹³.

The working class must therefore be defined collectively as the producer of the essential part of social wealth, that is, as the **productive labor class**, the direct generator of surplus value and, therefore, the producer of capital. The other **unproductive classes** in the capitalist universe are those who consume thanks to their income. The concept of "wage earners" deliberately conflates productive and other workers, which can lead to a strategic confusion widely used by employers and unions.

«This concept is fundamental because it determines the entirety of working-class strategy and, by virtue of its centrality, underpins the power of the impact of working-class action, precisely because it can block the process of value production. It is this possibility that determines the proletariat's historical task of dissolving the bourgeois order, whether it is conscious of it.»¹⁴ «Palimpsesto», It does not take into account these distinctions, even though they are inevitable and originate from the "esoteric" Marx, because, for them, if there is no longer a working class, there is no revolutionary subject either, because under the black sun of capital there is no longer a subject, and therefore there are no "thinkers"; only "automatons" wander around, totally subject to the logic of valorization.

What then happens to exploitation and alienation? Without a subject, there are no contradictions. Schematically, in the subject/object dialectic, the subject relates to quality and the object to quantity, which can also be translated as that which depends on the human and/or the inhuman. Only the Marxist "philosophy of praxis," first theorized by A. Labriola (1843–1904), "the practice that recognizes itself as critical and revolutionary," resolves and transcends the two subject/object poles of this contradiction. For us, as for the defenders of "orthodox" Marxism, Marx's central and revolutionary category is indeed that of **praxis**¹⁵. However, for Jappe, in contradiction to Marx's humanism: "(...) for Marx, the true subject in capitalism, and therefore the true generic being, is not man but value." ¹⁶p. 244. There is no longer a subject; all human beings are objects subjected to the logic of capital; nothing more than "automatons" with no possibility of elevating themselves to any revolutionary praxis. We certainly recognize the ravages of the world of objects, of the spectacular commodity society, of generalized commodification, and of the individual who "walks alone." In a situation where the number of contradictions generated by capital is growing ever more rapidly, we believe that the possibility of a revolutionary outbreak due to the identification of a subject with the

¹³For an in-depth discussion of these issues, see : Camatte: Capital et Gemeinwesen, p.114, Spartacus, Paris, 1978, C. Darmaneat: Le profit déchiffré, travail productif et improductif p.99, la ville brûle, Paris, 2016; as well as: On productive and unproductive labor: Robin Goodfellow, 2008 (PDF) on the website: <http://www.robingoodfellow.info/>

¹⁴On the website: Proletariat vs. People, August 2020 in: **Critical Materials** No. 1: October 2020 https://81b6bb22-93ff-445e-9132-db9118c0c19f.filesusr.com/ugd/ca292a_111468dc81aa41bfa44791d74aa24a18.pdf

¹⁵On this important question, see: A. Feenberg: Philosophy of Praxis, LUX, Montreal, 2016.

¹⁶On this subject, see our text : [La critique de l'alienation clé de voûte de l'humanisme de Marx](https://81b6bb22-93ff-445e-9132-db9118c0c19f.filesusr.com/ugd/ca292adfc0f4583b9a4fb9a3134c77a99d23ba.pdf) in : **Matériaux critiques** N° : October 2020, <https://81b6bb22-93ff-445e-9132-db9118c0c19f.filesusr.com/ugd/ca292adfc0f4583b9a4fb9a3134c77a99d23ba.pdf>

emancipatory struggle against exploitation and with the ongoing critique of the entire system is a probable event.

Catastrophes or communism are increasingly the order of the day, because the proletarians create the circumstances as much as some of these men determine them in order to radically change them.

The "automatic" collapse of capital, "individual conscience" and cheap reformism

Freed from class contradictions, the process of capital's self-valorization (value that valorizes itself) could thus continue ad infinitum; this is what Kurz calls the "self-perpetuation of capitalism," which also corresponds to the capitalist myth of the end of history. But "Palimpsao" and his friends also announce a final, imminent, and "irrational" catastrophic crisis, with the consequence of destroying the MPC from within, without human action and frustrating the march toward a society emancipated from exploitation, without class, without a state, without work, and without money. All that remains is a question of individual "liberation" through the grace of a new "deus ex machina": "Kurzian" thought and its new "scraping" apostles. Only the fanatics of this new elitist consciousness remain, who, like members of utopian sects, must proselytize.

Thus, we must expect an evanescent "response," but certainly not a "working class" one. When Kurz attacks the Marxist conception of catastrophic collapse and crises, he sees in it a "false concept" at best, a "truncated theory" (R. Luxemburg) centered on the sphere of circulation. This criticism may seem harsh and pertinent, but it is actually **self-critical** when we remember that, for Kurz, the process of creating new value does not emanate from a collectively productive class, and that the practical actor of this catastrophe, the working class, non-contradictory and reduced to variable capital, exists in his eyes only as a mere automaton of capital. As for other modernizers (such as the "communists"), the proletariat is the worst of the counterrevolutionary classes, since it is the unilateral producer of capital itself. The active agent and personification of the PCM would no longer be the bourgeoisie, but the working class. This nonsense has its echo in Kurz's conception of crises.

"In other words: the closer the crisis approaches, as an absolute intrinsic barrier to capital, the more the critique of capitalism becomes a categorical question and ceases to be, precisely for this reason, a simple class question. It becomes a question that inevitably arises from any social perspective we take." Kurz: Lire Marx, p. 257. Who is responsible for this "category question," and how and why?

The most painful thing about this collection is that it almost never mentions the essential works in the genesis of Capital, the "Grundrisse," that is, the Manuscripts of 1857-1858 and those of 1863-1867, the key dates, according to them, of Marx's maturity, and the missing links between the early "Hegelian" texts and the "scientific" Marx. So, one must read Marx, the Grundrisse ¹⁷ and the unpublished sixth chapter of Capital ¹⁸. This would make it easier to

¹⁷K. Marx : Manuscrits de 1857-1858 (Grundrisse ») tomes I et II, social editions, Paris, 1980.

¹⁸K. Marx : Le Chapitre VI, manuscrits of 1863-67, éditions sociale GEME, Paris, 2010. Retranslation of the version presented by R. Dangeville chez 10/18, in 1970.

understand Kurz's "mantra": "The real obstacle to capitalist production is capital itself," as explained and contextualized by Marx, particularly in the Grundrisse, Volume I, pages 354, 355, and 356. Above all, the fundamental contradiction between **valorization and devalorization is never mentioned**¹⁹, allowing capital to regenerate itself after each crisis, such as the biggest one in 2008, thanks to the destruction of insufficiently competitive capital and above all to the massive recourse to credit, state debt, and capitalization, which constitute **fictitious capital**. What our "re/founders" fail to understand is that capital can only **increase in value by devaluing itself**.

The crisis is not the consequence of an "**internal barrier**," but the capitalist solution, because it allows the excess capital to be disposed of, peacefully or not. Devaluation destroys capital and overproduction. It allows the economy to be relaunched with a different organic composition of capital, thus compensating for the fall in the rate of profit, which is no longer a tendency but a reality. Devaluation, on the contrary, takes place within the immediate production process.

"But this only really happens during circulation, which is in fact the period of devaluation par excellence (...) to ensure the valorization of existing capital, it is necessary to devalue the previous capital; then an increase in value is possible." Camatte: Capital et Gemeinvesen, p. 51.

This dynamic between valorization and devalorization contradicts claims about permanent crisis (what does the concept of crisis become if it is permanent?) and about the intrinsic collapse that is necessarily imminent. But where the complete inanity of this new "school's" "reinterpretations" is revealed is when they are forced to clearly reveal their solutions and perspectives in the wake of the catastrophic internal crisis of the MPC. From the heights of theoretical abstraction, we plunge into the worst banalities of "petty" and "unthinking" reformism. According to their theory, the increasing automation of production would lead to the disappearance of the proletariat from the sphere of production on a global scale. In reality, the proletariat is being displaced from the sphere of production to other areas of capitalist development. It also represents essential technology for intensifying the exploitation of the proletarians. In a recent study, Juan Sebastián Carbonell analyzes the conditions of exploitation of today's proletarians. It rightly demonstrates that the exploitation of the proletariat remains the primary source of capitalism's functioning, both in traditional industry and in new technologies.

*«Despite the triumphant rhetoric about robotics, never before have so many people worked in industry worldwide. The Tesla factory in Fremont, a paragon of work automation, has had to reverse its dream of total robotization. Faced with the numerous problems caused by the flexibility of the factory facilities, Tesla boss Elon Musk declared that "excessive automation at Tesla was a mistake" and that "human beings had been underestimated": in 2018, around 10,000 people worked in the factory, not counting contractors. Finally, contrary to the enthusiastic discourse about the radical novelty of the digital economy, wage employment continues to coexist with the creation of an army of new proletarians by digital platforms, an observation that calls into question the dominant discourse on the dematerialization of the economy. »*²⁰

¹⁹Pour plus de développement de cette question centrale : CF. Synthetic notes on valorisation/dévalorisation May 2020 in **Matériaux Critiques** N°1 h <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes>

²⁰J. S. Carbonell : Le futur du travail, Éditions Amsterdam, Paris, 2022.

Their theory of the growth of automation and the disappearance of the proletariat is part of the process of proletarian invincibility and the daily class struggle present in the capitalist system. We could point out to them that if they no longer see the proletariat, it's because it's masked by the fetish of capital's social relations! Moreover, this theory leads them to assert that the popular masses are excluded from the world of work. Thus, they propose a new "revolutionary" object: the "excluded," proletarians who cannot sell their labor power but can nevertheless benefit from state subsidies. These are those excluded from the world of work who oppose the system in "insurrectionist" revolts or in alternative practices. These theories are like the ideas of the "invisible committee." Unfortunately, these practices remain on the margins and do not disrupt the functioning of capitalism at all. Back to basics, these movements don't involve masses, but rather small groups of individuals, and at no point do they attack the capitalist system at its core. They survive outside the system, in their paradise of waste. In fact, it's "Proudhonism" without popular banks, but with an ecological "conscience." After they sinisterly remembered "socialism in one country," they offer us "socialism in a favéla."

A. Jappe, an outsider of sorts (he's called himself such since his youth), amid the reformist drift, proposes the ZAD Notre-Dame des Landes, "at the heart of the beast," as one of the expressions of these new solutions for a more "humane" society. We move from the erudite critique of concrete and verticalist / concentrationist architecture to the liberating apologia for the "punk dog" and the filth-filled favéla as "a flowering of practical acts (to) prevent the deterioration of the world." Jappe, *Black Sun of Capital*, p. 419. Coincidentally, we were able to conduct a survey in this new "socialist" paradise in a single shantytown: here are some excerpts:

«In the ZAD Notre-Dames des Landes, the problem lies not in the struggle itself, but in the spectacle of the struggle. The actions against the construction of the airport met with a definitive response from the population of Nantes (15,000 people in some demonstrations). The occupation and the struggle on site led to the withdrawal of the airport and negotiations with the government to legalize certain occupations. From the data collected on the spot, we can see that the most advanced experiments in the ZAD have resulted in the construction of housing and a bookstore, the organization of general assemblies, the cultivation of vegetables, and the production of bread. The RSA, from which many ZAD members benefit, was shared. As for electricity, they demanded to be able to use it illegally. »

"This struggle was against the construction of an airport in an area destined to be filled with vacant lots that would be easy to occupy. At most, a hundred "militants" were present on the site. Among them were people living in precarious conditions and using drugs, who contributed little to the resistance. The struggle and the development of the various projects on the site were led by more politicized militants, proponents of a political project of "breaking" with the capitalist system."

«The claim to be present everywhere and to influence all struggles was very present among the Zadist leaders, along with the desire to be the harbingers of the destruction of capitalism. This claim was based on the strong resonance of the Zadist ecological struggle with the people of Nantes. However, sharing ecological concerns does not mean that the Nantes proletarians are committed to a movement to destroy capitalism. The Zadist had no concrete ties with the proletarians of the region and at no point did they organize or influence the slightest struggle. On no occasion did they interfere with the proper functioning of capitalism. Exchange about the ZAD: Zadist leader: «We influence all struggles.» F.: «What struggles? Have you established links with any activists? » Zadist leader: «No,

not necessarily, but our anti-capitalist thinking is increasingly present in certain struggles. » F.: «And do you have any concrete answers about this Zadist influence? ...»

This world of decay would bring together all the remnants of pseudo "social movements," from the "yellow vests"-who aspire to consume ever more-to the "degreenists"-who only want to consume waste, which, according to Jappe, would allow "global capitalism to collapse very quickly!" After the scathing critiques of "the old workers' Marxism," we return to the theoretical and practical scarcity of the moods of impoverished environmentalists desperate for survival. It is no coincidence that Jappe attempted to form a "united front" with S. Latouche (a former academic "Marxist," specialist in impoverishment, and theorist of degrowth) "to get out of the economy."

This solution and this alliance vanished; they only corresponded to the misery of widespread decline and the regrouping of capital's far right; according to "Palim-psao," the same people who denounced it: *«A lack of vigilance towards the revival of degrowth by the "New Right." Latouche seems determined to "cast a wide net" and back a kind of "degrowth front" that anyone could join, regardless of their political positions on other issues-even A. De Benoist, to whom he clearly left the door open in a July 2013 interview with the Reporterre website. When he's in Italy, he doesn't hesitate to appear alongside a certain Diego Fusaro, a disciple of the scum Costanzo Preve, who feeds at all the troughs of Italian fascists when he's not giving an interview in France to De Benoist's Éléments magazine in July-September 2015 (no. 156).»*²¹

These accidents of failed alliances are nothing more than the opportunistic product of a total lack of perspective and a rejection of the revolutionary subject-the working class-and its clearest expression: communism. Claiming to be a Marxist doesn't mean going to the "supermarket" of its texts to select excerpts compatible with the new garb of this poor man's reformism but rather understanding and acting according to the totality of its critical and transformative method, confronted with the history of the proletariat's revolutionary praxis worldwide. The paucity of the "scrapers'" political perspectives is matched only by their theoretical sophistication, which merely seeks to fill the abysmal void of their content. Like the adepts of structuralism before them, they can only exist in a period of profound counterrevolution, when conspiratorial delirium and a new-fangled fascism won the battle for political hegemony. The strength of the "criticism-value-dissociation" movement lies in the plethora and dynamism of its publications, including its publishing house, Crise et Critique. The proliferation of themes and topics captures a large portion of editorial space, especially among critics who are less well-known in academic and literary circles.

One of the latest publications presented as essential is the translation of a book by R. Kurz, which announces a new critical theory of the State, which "worker Marxism" had conceptualized poorly and left in Stalinist-social-democratic utilitarianism. It was therefore necessary to wait until 2010-2011 to finally have a comprehensive and articulated vision of Marx's conception of the State. Aside from the fact that on this issue, as on many others, Marxism has debated, clarified, and nuanced (or even changed) its understanding of both anarchists and reformists, a work like Lenin's "The State and Revolution" (which summarizes

²¹On the website: <http://www.palim-psao.fr/2015/12/rupture-inaugurale-par-anselm-jappe-clement-homs.html>

the essence of Marx and Engels) is one of the best counterexamples to an understanding that, although always circumstantial and therefore historically limited, is by no means incoherent or statist. Kurz even achieves the tour de force in his new "critical theory" of never defining the capitalist state in terms of its consubstantial relationship to the production of value and labor, precisely to demonstrate its historical and therefore transitory character. No reference is made to the fact that the nation-state is the characteristic embodiment of societies divided into antagonistic social classes.

In the PCM, this takes on an even greater significance, as it lies at the very origin of capitalist accumulation, its colonial development, and its recurrent bailout during its cyclical crises. However, this is the very basis of the primarily anti-statist position of unfalsified Marxism. The capitalist state is never fully defined as the supreme guarantor of the specific social relation of capital: wage labor, nor of the not inconsiderable fact that it has been and is one of the main capitalist "patrons" and investors, from its beginnings (mercantilism) to today's neo-Keynesianism. For Kurz, the state is reduced to an instrument of alternating economic policies, acting as an "automaton" to the cyclical needs of crises. For him, the state is reduced to a Kafkaesque valorization machine. This "new theory" does not even come close to addressing certain anarchist issues (the relationship between money and the State in 1936), and it does not at all foresee the revolutionary process that should lead to the destruction of the State from top to bottom.

The key point of Kurz's "new" conception lies in the denial of the inseparable relationship between the birth, development, and death of the state in class societies, especially in capitalist societies. It is the existence of these classes that necessitates a structural apparatus for their management, domestication, and reproduction in the collective interest of the ruling class. If, like Kurz, we deny and underestimate the existence of classes and their struggles, the state has no other meaning than as an appendage to the valorization machine. This conception of the state perfectly illustrates the weakness of the "critique-value-dissociation" analysis. The process of valorization of capital becomes the sole driving force of history, the only impulse of meaning and direction. People are no longer subjects; they no longer make their own history. Revolution and struggle are no longer historically determined necessities, and "autonomous proletarians" are no longer "subjects"; they are mere objects of a grand dystopia headed directly toward final catastrophe. The State, as the collective, anonymous, and interchangeable personification of capitalist social relations, is reduced, as in social democratic reformism and anarchism, to a mere bureaucratic tool, a useful consequence of a process of which it is, however, the center, the main driving force, and the last bastion.

Finally, to respond to what "Palim psao" wrote to us on Facebook: *"To affirm the 'indissociable character of Marx's work' from the age of 18 to 65 is as erroneous as to affirm a fundamental epistemological rupture between the young Marx and the mature Marx? It's the same blind mirror. And young or old, Marx also has many limitations and aporias in his reasoning, despite his extraordinary advances."* Now, for language purists, the term "indissociable" is an adjective that qualifies "that which cannot be separated."²² And that's exactly what we mean. Far

²²On the website : <https://dictionnaire.lerobert.com/definition/indissociable>

beyond the laudatory remarks about "extraordinary advances," we must highlight and emphasize the permanent, inseparable, and coherent approach of Marx and Engels. They were not "geniuses" born from the magic lamp of knowledge or "science," but rather one of the most rigorous living expressions of the historical interests of the working class.

«But let's return to the genius and the leader. If capitalism eventually dispenses with personality, communism begins there. The frightful decline in revolutionary force over the last thirty years is closely related to the continued exaltation of individuals, to the cursed fabrication of unknown geniuses that-as if challenged by a new Carlyle-we were foolish enough to establish. The best thing is that certain types of frightful imbeciles have been elevated to the rank of prime merchandise, and that the least imbecile have received a hundred times the epithets of abject and scoundrels.» On the Edge of Time: Carlyle Fantômes, Il Programma Comunista № 9. 1953.²³

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