## Marx's critique of culture—a new study

## THEORY / PRACT

by Raya Dunayevskaya author of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

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Professor Louis, Dupré's Marx's Social Critique of
Culture\* is a most original critique of all of Marx's
works by an independent scholar who has previously
made a serious contribution to the study of the young
Marx with his Philosophical Foundations of Marxism. He schieves this, not by extending his study, nor
merely by now focusing on what Marx is best known
for—his "Economics." Rather, he has embarked on a totally new venture, which is at once disclosed in the
Foreword, where he states: "What started as an attempt
to correct and further explore certain theses I proposed
in an earlier publication eventually led to a wholly new
assessment of Marx's significance in the history of
Western consciousness." (p.vii)

The uniqueness of a study of Marx as "the first major
critic of a process of cultural disintegration that began
with the modern age and has continued unabated to our
time," challenges both Marxists and bourgeois interpreters of Marx.

CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY

Dupré grasps most presciently the impact of Marx's
concept of ideology as a false consciousness when he
writes, toward the end, that "the term ideology receded almost as suddenly as it had risen to prominence.
But the concept reemerges..." (p. 217). To stress that it
was not limited to Marxist, Proprefaced that statement with: "No aspect of M....... wirk has more profoundly affected the modern mind than his critique of
ideology" (p. 216).

Novertheless, none befors—and this includes Marx
himself—had ever viewed Marx's works from the vantage point having been embarked upon by Prof. Dupré
as some sort of specialized study, it indeed excludes no
major work, be it philosophic, economic or political,
from his purview. Let me begin with the most specialized field—that of the "law of motion of capitalism" to its
collapse, and not restrict that to Chapter 4, "Economics
as Sociocultural Activity," which is entirely devoted to
"The Dislectic

righting the record on the manner in which critics of Morx have not given sufficient attention to Marx as a serious, indeed "the first major critic of a process of cultural disintegration" in Western consciousness. To further emphasize that, he keeps returning to the point that it simply isn't true, that Marx mennt to completely subordinate culture to economics. Furthermore, he seldom says anything on economics without stressing it as a social phenomenon. Therein precisely lies also the weakness because it leafs to very nearly so subordinating human activity to "social" as to make the two appear synonymous. I therefore will start with the very first chapter, where Dupre is strongest and most convincing, as he tackles the question of fetishism of commodities.

ALENATION OR CLASS STRUGGLES?

His subtile for the section on Capital is "Allenation as Economic Contradiction." Dupre holds (correctly in this writer's view) that alienation and fetishism are not at all synonymous, that fetishism of commodities is directly related to the process of production where the "reincation of all aspects of man's productive activity" occurs. He also denies a direct relationship of fetishisms as Marx develops it in Capital to his concept of the fetish as he presented it in his 1842 Notebooks, when he was summarizing Charles Debrosse's famous 1785 work, Ucher den Dienst der Fetischgoetter. Dupre approvingly quotes Theodore Adorno's letter to Walter Benjamir. "The fetish character of commodities is not a fact of consciousness, but dialectic in the eminent state that produces consciousness."

At the same time, however, Dupré shows an affinity to what the Frankfurt School later did by extending the question of fetishism to the whole cultural field. His ambiguity continues though he is well aware of the fact, as he himself put it, that thereby "we have left the area of Marxis herrmenulies for what is in fact a critique of Marx" (p. 50). Nowhere is this more jarring than on the question of praxis. No wonder that in a "Provisional Conclus

\*Mark's Social Critique of Culture, by Louis Dupre (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953) \$25.

All this is missing from Dupré, as if it had nothing to do with "culture." Marx, on the other hand, as early as the Communist Manifesto, referred to it as "class culture." But to see that, one has to not separate culture any more than philosophy from revolution. So all-present was that concept of revolution to Marx that he called the whole struggle nothing short of a civil war. "The creation of a normal working day is, therefore, the product of a protracted civil war, more or less dissembled, between the capitalist class and the working class (Capital Vol I, Kerr edition, p. 327).

MARY'S LABOR THEORY OF MAINTE.

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MARX'S LABOR THEORY OF VALUE.

Dupre' prefers, when he conies to that. "Economics", chapter, to make the wand beginning—critique of Marx's law of labor value, and to stress the fact that "contside the strictly Marxist ambit no living economist accepts. Marx's value theory" (p. 175). The expression "living economists" is supposed to hide the fact that Dupre is both relying on bourgeois economists, and, at the same time, excluding Third World economists, and, at the same time, excluding Third World economists, and, at the same time, excluding Third World economists, and, at the same time, excluding Third World economists, it is true that he quotes two great economists who are sympathetic to Marx—Joan Robinson, and Joseph Schumpeter, but both are pragmatists, hostile to Hegelian dialectics which Dupre' certainly is not. Somewhere (I believe in the very eesay Dupre quotes) Joan Robinson expresses her great indignation at Marx for constantly allowing Hegel to "stick his nose" into the field of economics: "The concept of value seems to me to be a remarkable example of how a metaphysical notion can inspire original thought, though in itself it is quite devoid of operational meaning."

Schumpeter, who is just as Hostile to Hegelian dialectics in the economic field, nevertheless; was most profound in understanding why it was impossible to argue with Marx on strictly economic grounds, asking how you can argue with at "economist" like Marx when he is forever "transforming historic narrative into historic renson."

The very first sentence of the "Economics" chapter states: "While the tendency in the modern age has been to emancipate teal from any other functions of the cultural process, Marx's theory sims at reintegrating economist. While the tendency in the modern age has been to emancipate teal from any other functions of the cultural process, Marx's theory sims at reintegrating economist. While the tendency in the modern a

MARX AND ENGELS AREN'T ONE
On the second page of that "Economics" chapter he suddenly declares: "Lever since he (Marx) had read Engels' Outline of Political Economy' (1844), he had known that an economic system, once established, cannot be simply dislodged by a better one" (p. 166). It is true that the young Marx as a philozopher was overly impressed with Engels' early essay on political economy. It is not true that he first got from Engels the concept of the solidity of the capitalus system

Marx's Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts—which he described only orally to Engels that same year—had already singled out a great deal more than the need to break with expitalist society. Marx's Promethean view of new human relations had projected not only the need to overthrow expitalism but to establish such totally new human relations that communism was also rejected as "the goal of human society." On the contrary Marx insisted: "Only by the transcendence of this mediation, which is nevertheless is necessary presupposition, does there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself."

Prof. Dupre has such a profound grasp of those 1844 Manuscripts and so much stresses the fact that Marx totally opposes a purely economic view, that it is hard to know how Dupra could have fallen into the trap. I believe it results from not grappling with the last decade of Marx's life Despite Dupra's appreciation of Marz, not Engels, as the founder of a whole new continent of thought and revolution, he still treats Marx and Engels very nearly as one. Thus he writes as though Engels was right to claim that his Origin of the Femily was a bequest of Marx "It is, of course, impossible to verify this claim. Yet Marx's recently published ethnological notebooks appear to support it. Hence there is every reason, to take Engels, word as, at least, in substance conordant with Marx's latest development" (p.99). Nothing could be further from the furth, as can be seen from the came for it we are fined as the female sex." ever sharply from Marx's critical

Dupre couldn't have fallen into this trap if what he calls. Marx's "application" of the dialectic to economic categories were actually Marx's transformation of that dialectic of thought to the dialectic that emerges out of the actual praise of the masses, of the historic eventa that shaped and resimped history, and developed into the dialectic of revolution itself—not only as an opposition, as a first negation, but its a continuity, as what Marx called "revolution in termanence."

WHAT IS ECONOMICS "TO CULTURE? AND WHAT IS TO TO REVOLUTION?

Dupre himself—despite his ideep comprehension in general" that Marx had the extegory of praxis as the divisive line between all different varieties of socialism and his own philosophy and practice of revolution—nevertheless makes this fantistic conclusion. "Since the production of surplus value by means of surplus labor practically vanishes, revolutionary action losses its purpose. Marx did not pursue this line of thought. If he had it might have changed his critica political program" (p. 192).

It is true he, himself, rejects that as Marx's view, but he nevertheless continues to manifest this ambiguity when he writes. "Our present criticism hears only on the fact that Marx singled out accounts relations of production. If me writes event in a being more fundamental, and that his work displays a tendency to regard these relations as being prinarily determined by the means of production. Yet the ambiguity remains. "(p. 215).

The "ambiguity" is Dupre's, not Merx's.

From Dupre's Introduction: "The Reintegration of Culture," to his Conclusion: "Culture Reintegrated through Praxis," he develops the unique view of Marx as a social critic of culture without in any way trying to hide Marx's dividual of beingeoic culture as he shows that Marx "the great critic exposed the spurious claims of a culture which had erected itself into an independent, quast-religious, reality, a dehumanized, densturalized tetus (p. 2).

And though he sees that praxis is a dividing line also within the Ma