

Exit No. 21 Editorial

The global, destructive dynamics of the unfolding crisis and the associated political reactions and counter-reactions are accelerating the transformation of democracy: the frequently invoked “firewalls” against authoritarianism and right-wing extremism did not and do not exist. The term “firewall” is just a reference to “not yet.” Organized right-wing extremism, now often anchored in democratic parliaments, anticipates what bourgeois democrats unconsciously tend to do, and what they will be capable of in order to attempt to restore “law and order” in the economic and political state of emergency that the so-called normal state already contains. The veil of bourgeois civility falls as soon as the money stops rolling in, or if there is even fear of an economic decline. It is therefore not surprising that right-wing parties repeatedly achieve electoral success, such as Geert Wilders in the Netherlands or the Partido Libertario with the “anarcho-capitalist” Javier Milei at the helm in Argentina.¹

The debate about the *causes of flight* and how to combat them has fallen silent.² As has the shedding of the obligatory crocodile tears. Instead, an open competition has broken out to see who is best at *fending off refugees*. Right up to the planning of a “remigration,” the elaboration of which has seen participation from neo-Nazis and right-wing conservatives. The reactions to this report were predictably mendacious.³ Wasn’t it Olaf Scholz who demanded in *Der Spiegel* that “we must finally deport people on a grand scale”? As a result, “Fortress Europe” leads to the misery or death of refugees and, of course, does nothing to reduce their numbers. On the contrary! Due to socially induced climate change, the destruction of natural resources, political and economic disintegration and dramatic social emergencies, their numbers are increasing considerably, especially in particularly affected regions such as Sudan. The aim is to treat refugees even more inhumanely, so that they no longer have any “incentive” to seek refuge in Europe and therefore also in Germany. Statements that used to be scandalous because they were only heard from Nazis have now become the norm. The former health minister and social Darwinist Jens Spahn,⁴ for example, wants to use “physical violence” against refugees, or in his words, the “irregular migration movements.” Spahn has been criticized occasionally. But how credible is this criticism? Even when people point out once again that Germany is a constitutional state, this ignores the fact that the current *rejection of refugees* was initiated and is being carried out within the framework of this constitutional state. Another prominent example of *bourgeois brutality* is the former Federal President Joachim Gauck, who stated: “We have to discover leeway that is initially (!) unsympathetic to us because it sounds inhumane (!).” It is “not at all morally reprehensible [...] and politically may even be necessary to pursue a strategy of limitation that initially (!) [...] seems like a restriction of the rights (!) of the people who want to come to us.”⁵ This involuntarily brings to mind the “well-tempered cruelty” against refugees called for by the fascist Björn Höcke.⁶ This is exactly where the democrats will end up as soon as the “first” has passed and the next shift to the right has become the “new normal” of the bourgeois “center.” And this is true no matter how much one describes the result as “constitutional” and imagines that there are “firewalls” that could make a *substantive distinction* between “right” and “civil center” possible. How should such a distinction be possible at all if one adopts the positions of the right-wing extremists piece by piece and does not even think of raising an objection to this contempt for humanity and these real existing atrocities from a humanistic perspective? Gauck also pleads for the immigration of skilled workers, i.e. people who can participate in the process of capital valorization, i.e. those who are (still) capable of

being exploited. What “we” do not want, on the other hand, is immigration into the “social” state. Typical liberal social Darwinism! This also manifests itself in a racist and nationalist interpretation of social inequalities: Refugees are blamed for disastrous conditions in the hospital system and rising costs in the healthcare and welfare state sector. Friedrich Merz complained, in right-wing populist jargon, that “German citizens” allegedly “can’t get an appointment” due to refugees’ (supposed) use of dental care (they “have their teeth redone”). Such racist agitation is probably aimed at nothing other than denying or (further) restricting medical care for refugees in order to allegedly improve medical care for “German citizens.” Since savings and rationalization of the healthcare system are perpetually “on the agenda,” Merz is cultivating a pogrom atmosphere with such racist statements (no matter how he and his ilk try to talk themselves out of it through *self-deprecation*): Such racist agitation will amount to nothing other than practiced social Darwinism and pogroms if the crisis continues to worsen and is “dealt with” – just remember the early 1990s (Rostock-Lichtenhagen, Solingen, Hoyerswerda, etc.)! The path that the normalized brutalized bourgeoisie are following or will follow is not that of social critique, much less critique of political economy, but that of conspiracy ideologies. For example, claiming that “foreigners” or “Jews” are to blame for socially produced crises. In other words, it is the path of racism and anti-Semitism. Shortly before Christmas, a rumor circulated that there was an increase in theft in supermarkets, especially near refugee shelters...

Gauk continued: “For me, it is important that politicians talk to us about what is possible, about what is necessary, and then they can also name a dilemma, that we talk about it in the middle of society and not just on the right fringe. And by doing this, the confidence grows that there are people up there who are planning something that will change the complex situation for the better [...]” What is possible and what is necessary! What is “possible” is determined by the limits of capital, within which freedom and equality are to be realized. What is “necessary” results from the submission to political and economic “constraints” and the endeavor to continue the untenable and anachronistic, i.e. a bourgeois normality and a functioning capitalist reality, by hook or by crook, while ignoring or externalizing via projection all contradictions. Within the framework of this “logic,” it should then become necessary to take measures that not only “sound inhumane,” but *are inhumane*. In the end, it is barbed wire and firing orders that are claimed to be necessary and are already being practiced at the EU’s external borders. What kind of representative of a bourgeois lumpen intelligentsia do you have to be to believe that such a forced right-wing policy, which is being called for here and which is not to be left to the right-wing extremists, will “change the complex situation for the better”?⁷ A change for the better for whom? For the bourgeois philistine who no longer wants to be confronted with the world “out there” or be “bothered” by it and wants to isolate himself in his narrow-minded and ignorant world? So that everything will be as “good” again as it supposedly was “in the past”? But climate change proves that, as much as you shove your head up your ass, the *repressed and denied reality* will catch up with you sooner or later...⁸

If refugees do not drown in the Mediterranean or die in the desert, then the bourgeois “realist” is anxious to get rid of as many as possible as soon as possible, including those who have learned the language (and possibly have a better command of it than some of the home-grown idiots) and work regularly, e.g. as care workers, who are therefore well “integrated” by democratic standards. More and more people are being deported to countries that are being redefined as “safe,” such as Afghanistan. Or Iraq, another “safe country of origin,” to which Yazidis are to be

deported, i.e. to the country where a *genocide* was committed against the Yazidis by IS terrorists!⁹ The forced talk of “safe countries of origin” is nothing other than an “instrument of disenfranchisement” of refugees, as Clara Bünger, the spokesperson for refugee policy of the Left Party, puts it. The situation of queer refugees in particular can be seen as a “mirror of the shift to the right.”¹⁰ A shift to the right is still a euphemism: it is more and more a case of bourgeois normality, the so-called “center,” becoming more and more *right-wing*: the “true face” of the seemingly cultivated and civilized bourgeois society is revealed with the unmistakable brutalization and the disinhibiting “decultivation of the bourgeoisie” (Andreas Speit), both of which have been constituted in this same society and have been denied and downplayed for many years.

Human rights, which people like to invoke again and again (especially when they accuse *others* of human rights violations), only get in the way when it comes to having to do what is supposedly necessary. The best thing would be to abolish the right of asylum *completely*! After all, these are “rules from the 20th century [...] that do not fit the challenges of the 21st century,” as the “Social” Democrat Sigmar Gabriel put it in an interview.¹¹ In Western-imperial new-speak, this is called “taking responsibility.” According to the “social”-democratic Minister of War Boris Pistorius, Germany must now also become “ready for war”! (The fact that German militarism is being sought as the “new normal” is also shown by the fact that the federal government wants to introduce a so-called Veterans’ Day).¹² So when it comes down to it sooner or later, there will certainly be enough henchmen who will gladly and courageously accept the challenge and then – as bloodhounds – implement the so-called necessary, even if it means using the military. After all, the secret of “freedom” is courage, as we can learn from Ulf Poschardt (when he rejoiced over Milei’s election victory) – and this amounts to nothing more than the *courage to brutalize others and enact social Darwinism*. Right-wing demagogues like Javier Milei, for whom there is “no room for gradualism, no room for indecision, no room for half measures” (*Berliner Zeitung*, 11/20/2023), are happy to comply. Milei’s plans (abolition of all social programs, abolition of many ministries, liberalization of the organ trade (!) etc.) would result in nothing other than a brutal austerity policy, ultimately a war against the poor, the homeless, the economically disadvantaged and the “superfluous.”

Since the anti-Semitic massacre in Israel on October 7¹³ in which over 1200 Jews¹⁴ were massacred (i.e. raped,¹⁵ beheaded, burned, shot) and at least 240 kidnapped, and the subsequent numerous anti-Semitic “pro-Palestine demonstrations,” at which the demonstrators sided with the Hamas terrorists, even celebrating this massacre (and handing out sweets in Berlin) and glorifying it as “legitimate resistance,” as a “struggle for liberation,” there is (once again) talk of *imported* anti-Semitism in Germany. The aim now is to deport people all the more consistently in order to deal with this problem. A “deportation offensive” (Alice Weidel) is being called for. Anti-Semitism should therefore be combated with a greater *rejection of refugees*, i.e. with racism! Even *expatriation* is being considered! For example, the Bavarian right-wing populist Markus Söder called for the withdrawal of German passports in the case of dual citizenship (*Augsburger Allgemeine*, 6.11.2023). Right-wing populists like to be outraged by anti-Semitism as long as it is perpetrated by “foreigners” or Muslims (the situation is similar with anti-feminism, misogynistic hate crimes, etc.). Domestic anti-Semites, on the other hand, are protected and can even do well in elections.¹⁶ AfD politicians also show solidarity with Israel. But their “solidarity” with Israel is implausible, if only because of their simultaneous

trivialization of the Iranian regime.¹⁷ Here, solidarity with Israel is apparently being practiced for purely (electoral) tactical reasons. In fact, this is about nothing other than racist incitement against Muslims and the justification of repressive measures against refugees!

If people flee or emigrate from countries in the Middle East, from countries where anti-Semitism is *the raison d'être* of the state and share such ideologies,¹⁸ one can indeed speak of an import of anti-Semitism. And *this anti-Semitism* must *also be* radically criticized and combated with no ifs ands or buts! Under no circumstances should it be excused or trivialized by implying that it is supposedly “their culture” or allegedly a consequence of racism and colonialism. What is happening here, however, is an *externalization of anti-Semitism*. It ignores the fact that anti-Semitism has never disappeared from Germany, but has always been part of Germany,¹⁹ so anti-Semitism in Germany can in no way be an “imported foreigner problem” (many of these people were born in Germany and/or grew up here and are therefore not “foreigners” at all and Islamism was and is *also* represented and propagated by “bio-Germans”). At least it can be said that Muslim or Islamist anti-Semitism is being taken more notice of by the “public discourse” instead of being played down, excused, more or less ignored or even denied, and that the state is *finally* (why not 10 years ago?!) reacting against such organizations and associations with bans (Hamas and Samidoun were banned on 11/02). It should not be forgotten that the acknowledgement and critique of Islamic and Islamist anti-Semitism (as well as Islamism in general) by its academic trivializers or deniers and their agitational screamers is usually described as “Islamophobia” or as a “distraction” from Western imperialism or similar.²⁰ The fact that such positions are held by alleged anti-racists points to the serious theoretical deficits of contemporary “anti-racism” and “post-colonialism” (at least large parts of it).²¹ Things don't really look any better in “gender theory.”²² Unfortunately, some of these academic sects are still unteachable and prove to be useful idiots of Hamas with their anti-Zionist ideology.²³ Especially at the so-called elite universities in the U.S. (the high tuition fees are particularly elitist), there is a fervent anti-Semitism related to Israel.²⁴ It is a disgrace that those who (want to) stand up for freedom and justice and against discrimination cannot show any interest in the victims of anti-Semitic terror. Particularly abhorrent at these so-called pro-Palestinian demonstrations are groups such as “Queers for Palestine.” Their anti-Semitism seems to be so pronounced that they have become too mentally blinded to realize that they would be mercilessly persecuted and executed under Hamas' reign of terror. Anyone demonstrating for peace in Gaza should first and foremost demand the *unconditional surrender* of Hamas and all other terrorist gangs operating there! Which you will find in vain at the demonstrations that supposedly show solidarity with the Palestinians. Such a demand does not exclude criticism of Israeli right-wing populists and extremists and their policies as well as racist settlers, as is often implied!²⁵

Others also talk about left-wing and right-wing extremist anti-Semitism, but imply that anti-Semitism is more likely to be found on the so-called fringes of society (the German pseudo-scientific “extremism theory” sends its regards²⁶) and is not a problem for society as a whole, and certainly not one of the well-heeled bourgeois “middle class.” On the contrary: Monika Schwarz-Friesel and Jehuda Reinharz evaluated thousands of anti-Semitic emails/letters/postcards/faxes sent to the Central Council of Jews and the Israeli Embassy in Germany in their book *Inside the Anti-Semitic Mind* (Boston 2013) and found that most of them came from people from the “center of society” (65%). Only around 4% could be classified as far-right and 3% as far-left. “It was scientists, lawyers, doctors, bank employees, pastors and

students who communicated statements from which the age-old Judeophobic resentment spoke, unbroken by the experience of Auschwitz, articulated despite education and reflection on language, messages of intolerance and blindness” (ibid., V). And further: “The letters categorized as social or political center are the least likely to be written anonymously. The center is the least inclined or least likely to consider it necessary to keep personal details secret. These writers therefore consider their opinion to be publicly expressible/representable [...]. This finding corresponds with the frequent thematization of one’s own identity and the phenomenon of individual resistance to anti-Semitism; these people do not see themselves or their opinions as anti-Semitic or problematic, they see their point of view as necessary and justified and vouch for it with their name” (ibid., 23). Apparently, these people also think that they need not fear persecution and punishment, which is unfortunately a very accurate assessment, considering how often anti-Semitic incidents are not taken seriously by the police and judiciary, so that many Jews do not report them in the first place or at some point give up in resignation that they can expect anything from the “legal state” (similar experiences are also made by those affected by racism). Even if it is possible to identify the perpetrators, it is often not apparent that the justice system is seriously interested in punishing them appropriately. The arson attack on the synagogue in Wuppertal in 2014, for example, allegedly had no recognizable anti-Semitic background and the perpetrators got off with suspended sentences (!) in all seriousness. The judge himself showed understanding for this type of “criticism of Israel” (cf. Steinke 2020, 83ff.). The completely normal anti-Semitism of completely normal people! The judgment that anti-Semitism among migrants (in these debates, this always refers to Muslims) or among Germans with a “migration background” is an expression of “failed integration” therefore appears to be completely nonsensical. Isn’t it rather the other way around, at least in part? Just think of the coronavirus demonstrations “open to the right” and the rampant conspiracy mania or the anti-Semitic “vigils for peace” in 2014.²⁷

Marx’s categorical imperative “*to overthrow all relations in which man is a debased, enslaved, abandoned, despicable essence*”²⁸ (emphasis added) should be the central minimum consensus of the left, if “left” is to have any meaning at all! And by whom are the Palestinians more oppressed than by the anti-Semitic terrorist sect Hamas?²⁹ It is a great degree of impudence and abomination to describe the slaughter of Jews as “hope for Palestine” (*Junge Welt* of 10/09/2023). The same author reports that the anti-Semitic pogrom (which was planned for a long time and systematic) of October 7th (which of course he does not describe as such) on the side of Hamas also involved allegedly “left-wing” organizations, namely the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and the DFLP (Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine). Dieter Reinisch cannot help but be somewhat pleased when he states: “The military activity of the DFLP, which has not carried out any armed actions within the Israeli territories of 1948 in recent decades, is remarkable” (*Junge Welt*, 7.11.2023). So this is remarkable when a supposedly Marxist organization takes part in an anti-Semitic massacre! These completely anachronistic and abominable “anti-imperialist” fossils are no more leftist or Marxist than Lawrenti Beria was a great humanist! Nevertheless, according to Reinisch, “the Marxist left in Gaza, the West Bank and Lebanon has obviously not lost faith in a socialist future” (ibid.). What is this socialist future supposed to consist of? If you look at the “biography” of these anti-leftist terror sects, their “main field of activity” is terrorism against Israel. Here, a *redemptive anti-Semitism* plays a central role when the destruction of Israel is seen as a prerequisite for “socialism,” because “only through the armed victory of the resistance against the occupation

could lay the foundation for the further struggle for a socialist Palestine” (ibid.), says Reinisch quoting a DFLP supporter.³⁰ Through anti-Semitic terror into the socialist future! Yes, “shame and disgrace on him who sows enmity against the Jews, hatred against other nations” (Lenin)!³¹ Shame and disgrace on you pseudo-leftists who can “understand” the slaughter of Jews and say nothing about the *anti-Semitic character* of the *terrorist sect* Hamas and its allies! What would you think of someone who claims in all seriousness that attacks on refugee homes or the murder of people with “immigration records” is “legitimate resistance” by the German people? Anyone in their right mind would – *without a doubt* – call such a person a *racist asshole* and many an anti-fascist would probably feel little pity if this person got punched in the mouth. However, when Jews are slaughtered by terrorists, some “leftists” have completely different standards! *Red Aid*, for example, shows that there is another way.³²

The trivialization and ignorance of anti-Semitism by so-called “leftists” and others is by no means the only subject area that a left that deserves this name is obliged to brand mercilessly without ifs ands or buts! Others include the “preference” for local traditions and the identity & authenticity linked to them:³³ esotericism and the “village idyll” as well as a generalized rejection of technology and development or, conversely, blanket affirmations of the same, as can be found particularly in the misanthropic and social Darwinist ideology of transhumanism, or among the technology evangelists and development Stalinists. Likewise, an uncritical position with regard to the global “shifts in hegemony,” in particular a generalizing attitude (negative/positive) towards China: both a critique of Eurocentrism, of “China bashing,” of a selective and distorted or ignorant view of China,³⁴ of the instrumentalization of human rights for economic and geopolitical interests (i.e. the famous “measuring with double standards” and “criticizing others for what one does oneself” etc.), a critique of paranoia & propaganda (“the yellow peril”) and of anti-Chinese/anti-Asian racism³⁵ are completely justified and absolutely necessary. It is just as problematic when the People’s Republic of China, i.e. authoritarian state capitalism, is seriously seen as a “non-capitalist/socialist” alternative to the neoliberal crisis management regimes of the West.³⁶ Wolfram Elsner, for example – as informative as his books may be on the one hand – does not mention the repressive aspects of “Chinese-style socialism” (Xi Jinping) or they are played down (supposedly everything is more or less Western propaganda). Elsner and other left-wing China journalists (Michael Brie, Uwe Behrens and others) sometimes come across as mouthpieces for the CCP when they *rave* about modern China. Ralf Ruckus, for example, shows that there is another way in his book *Die Linke in China* (Berlin 2023). The fact that China’s *hegemonic aspirations* can very well be classified as imperialist (although the concept of imperialism is debatable)³⁷ is ignored by the left-wing China fan club, even if one has to give the People’s Republic of China credit for not having liquidated an unpopular government or invaded anywhere (so far anyway) – in contrast to Western-style imperialism. China is therefore neither the “Shire” nor is it “Mordor.”³⁸

It has now been 20 years since the first issue of *exit!* The necessity and importance of a radical critique of capitalism remains unmistakable; a critique of capitalism that is not satisfied with having already grasped what is decisive with the concepts of “class” or “inequality” (especially in terms of income). On the contrary! In view of the fact that significant sections of the left are becoming increasingly populist and backward-looking and are at best regressing to a working-class “normal” and at worst showing solidarity with murderers of Jews as part of the anti-Semitic swamp, a fundamental critique of capitalism that is not just “specialized” on certain topics, i.e. a

critique of labor, critique of anti-Semitism & racism, critique of bourgeois democracy & bourgeois freedom, of androcentrism etc., but rather a critique of the value-dissociation form as a whole, a critique of the capitalist fetish constitution and its manifold interrelations and forms, is more necessary than ever. As usual at this point, we ask for donations so that *exit!* can continue to contribute to the critique of all this shit in the future. Taking out a subscription also contributes to support.

The text “Crisis of Hegemony” by *Tomasz Koniecz* attempts – with a focus on the world financial system – to describe the new crisis phase into which the late capitalist world system is entering after the exhaustion of the neoliberal forms of crisis postponement. The first section examines the changes in the U.S. financial sphere, including the far-reaching implications for crisis policy in the Western centers of the world system, while the second section focuses on developments in the People’s Republic of China and the periphery and semi-periphery of the world system.

With the onset of inflationary dynamics in the core of the world system, their central banks felt compelled to end their expansive monetary policy, which was the basis of the long liquidity bubble in which the financial sphere had found itself since the bubble relocation in the wake of the bursting of the transatlantic real estate bubble in 2007-2008. However, the restrictive monetary policy that successfully reduced inflation also destabilized the financial superstructure that had been inflated in the neoliberal era, as was evident in the banking crisis in March 2023. The crisis policy in the centers is thus in a manifest impasse, which was delayed by the deficit cycles of the neoliberal era: Restrictive monetary policy leads to economic stagnation and destabilization of the financial sector, while expansionary monetary policy fuels inflation. As a result, stagflation is likely to establish itself as a permanent state in the coming crisis phase – as a result of monetary policy vacillation.

The People’s Republic of China is understood as part of the capitalist world system, which is exposed to the same crisis processes in its crisis competition as the “West.” Both the internal and external economic and financial crises that Chinese state capitalism was able to delay for years through intervention and dirigisme are addressed: the debt and real estate crisis in China, which has taken on far greater dimensions than the real estate bubble that burst in the U.S. and the EU in 2007, as well as the debt crisis in the periphery and semi-periphery of the world system, which broke out due to the failure of the Chinese hegemonic project of the “New Silk Road.” Beijing’s large-scale project to establish a Chinese hegemonic system through a credit and development program failed due to the global crisis of capital choking on its own productivity.

Building on these explanations, the article argues that the establishment of a new hegemonic system under Chinese leadership, which would replace the declining U.S., is no longer possible due to the lack of mechanisms for protracting the crisis in the manifest crisis phase that is now unfolding. Instead, there is a threat of authoritarian state collapse, geopolitical instability, particularly in the periphery, and the breakthrough of fascist aspirations – understood as an authoritarian, ultimately terrorist form of capitalist crisis rule – in a world system that is transitioning into deglobalization.

The article “Male Propensity to Violence and Amok Against the Backdrop of An Escalating Capitalist Crisis Dynamic” by *Leni Wissen* is based on a lecture she gave at the Koblenz Social

Forum in the spring of 2023. The aim is to look at (global) phenomena of increasing brutalization and violence. The aim is to show how a dynamic arises precisely in social crisis contexts that makes people increasingly dependent on global crisis processes and drives them to defend their own autonomy and freedom all the more fiercely in the face of pressure to adapt. The (male) subject, who believes himself to be free and autonomous but is actually becoming increasingly powerless, feels all the more compelled to prove his own freedom and independence – even using violence if necessary. It is no coincidence that men are more often “perpetrators” and women more often “victims” of violence.

In Germany, despite the increase in racist, sexist and anti-Semitic violence, the growing propensity for violence is more evident in increasingly aggressive rhetoric (e.g. among lateral thinkers and conspiracy ideologues). In contrast, violence in poorer and even more crisis-ridden parts of the world is taking on ever more manifest forms and has been part of people’s everyday lives for some time. There are repeated reports of femicides, particularly from Brazil, Mexico, India and South Africa. But the excesses of violence within gang conflicts in Central America and the brutal actions of Hamas, which reached a temporary climax in the anti-Semitic massacre on October 7, are also evidence of growing manifest violence. However, differences must be noted: Gang crime, for example, is primarily characterized by fights over illegal markets, while in femicides violence by men more or less breaks through without any immediate purpose, or women are murdered out of offended honor. Eliminatory anti-Semitism, as seen in the most recent escalations, is yet another matter. And yet these phenomena are linked to the overall dynamics of the crisis and a male-dominated processing of the crisis, in which violence and the willingness to use violence as a whole is a factor that should not be underestimated.

Alienation and reification were not an issue in the postmodern era. According to Ulrich Beck, individualization, which was sponsored by the welfare state and later financed by credit, was widely discussed and appreciated. This has changed dramatically in the last two decades. Chlada et al. summarize: “One [...] point of reference of the more recent alienation discourse is the individual experiences of suffering that determine the everyday lives of many people, caused by poverty, unemployment, precarious living conditions, insecure life plans, emotional insecurity, increasing work stress and intensification and by the ever-increasing pressure of competition” (Chlada et al.: *Entfremdung Identität Utopie*, 5f.). In the wake of the 2008 financial crash, but especially in the context of the climate crisis, the corona crisis, the war in Ukraine and, most recently, the resurgence of conflict in the Middle East, many (left-wing) people are (again) feeling powerless, unable to act and resigned. Society is experienced as a fixed and ready-made apparatus from which one is “alienated” and which one can hardly influence. In this situation, some on the left turn to conspiracy theories and lateral thinking. After an era of deconstructivism, people are looking for stability. Against this backdrop, *Roswitha Scholz* critically analyzes the recent alienation theories of Rahel Jaeggi and Hartmut Rosa from the perspective of the value-dissociation theory in her text “Alienation Today.”

Plagued by crisis, “*democracy needs religion.*” This therapeutic proposal is based on Hartmut Rosa’s resonance theory, which he sees as a “sociology of world relations” and a further development of critical theory. He interprets social crises as resonance crises. They are fueled by the fact that modern societies stabilize themselves structurally through the compulsion to grow. This brings with it “muted” rather than “sonorous” relations with the world, i.e. alienating and

reifying rather than resonating, in a call and response relationship. The conversion from mute to resonant world relations should enable social transformation processes. This applies above all to democracy, as it embodies the primacy of politics over the other spheres of society. And “democracy needs religion” because it is a resource for the experience of resonance and thus for social processes of transformation. Rosa thus agrees with the call for religion that is becoming louder around the crisis.

Herbert Böttcher’s text makes it clear that Rosa’s concept of resonance – not least in its reference to Heidegger – is ontologically grounded and draws on timeless experiences of resonance as well as anthropological constants. This amounts to an “affirmative revolution” (Rosa). It cannot and will not negate the capitalist form of society, because it fears that this would produce hopelessness. For his “positive thinking,” Rosa needs an affirmative religion and its resonance resources, which in turn are gained through the abstraction of contexts of domination. Socially critical theological approaches are thus ignored because they are obviously too “negative” and therefore incapable of connection. However, they prove to be connectable for a socio-critical and religiously critical view of Rosa’s attempt to “develop a critical theory into an affirmative one.”

The reissue of *Robert Kurz*’s text “Tabula Rasa: How far should, must or may the critique of enlightenment go?” (first published in 2003, in: *Krisis* No. 27) is motivated by the question of the relationship between the so-called “artifacts of history,” i.e. productive forces, technologies, but also art and philosophy, etc., and the capitalist fetish constitution. Kurz argues, above all with regard to the “productive forces,” that these can neither be universally positivized nor negated in the abstract. Neither the workers’ movement Marxist fetishism of productive forces nor its opposite: form and content do not coincide here. The situation is different with the bourgeois subject form as a form of action and consciousness of the bourgeois subject and its philosophical apologias – those of Immanuel Kant, for example. According to Kurz, nothing can be preserved or justified here. In this text, Kurz criticizes the position and attitude of theoretically avoiding the critique of bourgeois enlightenment or defusing it and thus withdrawing it (even if this is due to misunderstandings or previously unresolved aporias) before it has really been addressed.

The background was the critique of bourgeois enlightenment initiated by the *Krisis* at the time and the resulting debate. The “cause” was above all 9/11 and the anti-German apologetics of “western values” and “world order wars” (these were the “special military operations” “Operation Enduring Freedom” in 2001 and the “U.S. military operation” in 2003).³⁹

Criticism of Eurocentrism, “western values” and “bourgeois democracy” (whose inherent logic can be observed at the external borders of Europe and the U.S.) remains necessary, not least against the backdrop of current geopolitical and protectionist conflicts in which the so-called “free West,” which always considers itself “anti-totalitarian” sees itself in absolute opposition to authoritarian regimes of all kinds, such as Russia and China (although the “free West” itself is becoming increasingly authoritarian and right-wing).⁴⁰ Here it remains necessary to insist on the commonalities of all capitalist regimes (no matter what else they call themselves) – without ignoring differences in the critique – i.e. to refer to the forms and (non-)logic of capitalist modes of production and their underlying subject form, as well as to the critique of all delusional

constructions of an external “realm of evil” (no matter from which side), which “destabilizes” or even “infiltrates” “our” otherwise supposedly “harmonious” society.

In the text “Tabula Rasa of Modern Technology?” Thomas Meyer critiques the book *Die Energieschranke des Kapitals – Technikkritik als Kapitalismuskritik* by Sandrine Aumercier. This is preceded by some aspects of the fetishistic valorizing movement M-C-M’, which form the “background field” of the following considerations, so to speak. Meyer’s central point of criticism is Aumercier’s equation of the form and content of modern technology since industrialization. Her conclusion is, so to speak, a tabula rasa of modern technology. The labor movement’s Marxist fetishism of productive power is merely inverted here instead of being overcome. Furthermore, Meyer criticizes Aumercier for confining humanity to local modes of production as a result of rejecting modern technology per se. Since such a restriction is not feasible for large parts of humanity, such a position ultimately has murderous and social Darwinist consequences, according to Meyer.

The article “Ignorance is Indivisible” by *Thomas Ebermann* (first published in: *Konkret* No. 4/2022) is reprinted with a short foreword by Roswitha Scholz. This article summarizes some important aspects of the debate about the coronavirus era.

In her article “A Meta-Theory of Conspiracy Theories?” Roswitha Scholz comments on an article by Sandrine Aumercier that on the editorial of *exit!* No. 20. The main point of criticism is the insufficient acknowledgement of the content of the conflict during the Corona period within *exit!* and the points of criticism formulated against Andreas Urban & F. Alexander von Uhrast and Anselm Jappe.

This issue of *exit!* concludes with a review essay by *Thomas Meyer* “Crisis, Riots and What Next?” on the book *Riot, Strike, Riot: The New Era of Uprisings* by Joshua Clover.

Finally, I would like to mention a few publications: Robert Kurz has published in French: *L’Honneur perdu du travail - Le socialisme des producteurs comme impossibilité logique*⁴¹ and also: *La Montée aux cieux de l’argent - Limites structurelles à la valorization du capital, capitalisme de casino et crise financière globale*⁴² and by Justin Monday: *La double nature du racisme - La “race” comme mythe de la société capitaliste en crise*.⁴³ In Spanish, an anthology of Moishe Postone’s work: *La teoría crítica de Moishe Postone*, published by Prometeo Libros (Buenos Aires/Argentina), which also contains an essay by Roswitha Scholz: *El valor y los “otros” - Correcciones desde la crítica de ladisociación del valor a la Teoría de Moishe Postone*. Furthermore, a partial translation of *The Gender of Capitalism* by Roswitha Scholz in Greek: *To phulo tou Kapitalismou* (to be found on athens.indymedia.org).

Johanna Berger has left the editorial team.

Thomas Meyer for the exit! editorial team in January 2024.

¹ The term *proprietarism* makes much more sense. Cf. Kemper, Andreas: *Proprietarism: A new form of fascism?*, in: *Graswurzelrevolution* No. 11/2023.

² Cf. e.g. Kurz, Robert: *Weltordnungskrieg - Das Ende der Souveränität und die Wandlungen des Imperialismus im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*, Springe 2021, 156ff. and Buckel, Sonja; Kopp, Judith: *Fluchtursachen - Das Recht nicht gehen zu müssen und die Politik Europas*, Berlin 2022.

³ <https://correctiv.org/aktuelles/neue-rechte/2024/01/10/geheimplan-remigration-vertreibung-afd-rechtsextreme-november-treffen/>

⁴ Never forget that Spahn wanted to distribute unusable masks to homeless people and Hartz IV recipients in 2021!

⁵ <https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/gauck-bundespraesident-migration-fluechtlinge-100.html>.

⁶ Cf. Kemper, Andreas: Björn Höcke's fascist flow - The AfD politician's national Machiavellianism, in: *Graswurzelrevolution* No. 9/2018.

⁷ It is worth remembering that Gauck is one of those who managed to compare or even equate the Nazi dictatorship with the GDR. Anyone who does this is basically claiming that the Holocaust and the Second World War could not have been that bad. Such a position is nothing other than a revisionism that trivializes the Nazis. Cf. Heni, Clemens; Weidauer, Thomas (eds.): *Ein Super-GAUck - Politische Kultur im neuen Deutschland*, Berlin 2012.

⁸ The film "Don't Look Up" from 2022 deals with this ignorant attitude and the eventual being caught up in and crushed by reality. For an analysis and critique of this film, see Wolfgang M. Schmitt's film analysis, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZIZUTYqyLc>.

⁹ Winter, Jens: Back to the genocides, jungle.world from October 26, 2023

¹⁰ See Bünger, Clara: The situation of queer refugees is a reflection of the shift to the right, queer.de from 24.11.2023.

¹¹ <https://www.rnd.de/politik/sigmar-gabriel-im-interview-er-will-eine-asyl-wende-wie-in-daenemark-WSOBVQIXH5G5TBVPF62KGTVH6E.html>.

¹² The fact that "social" democrats are also eagerly contributing to the shift to the right is neither a coincidence nor a surprise and certainly not an isolated case. This is shown by Peter Kratz in his little-noticed or long-forgotten book *Rechte Genossen - Neokonservatismus in der SPD*, Berlin 1995.

¹³ Cf. Böttcher, Herbert: "Mit dem Terror der Hamas entlädt sich der Antisemitismus weltweit," on exit-online.org.

¹⁴ Arab Israelis and Thais were also among the victims.

¹⁵ Cf. also: Glazer, Hilo: Rape and mutilation of women was the order of Hamas terrorists, freitag.de.

¹⁶ The Aiwanger case and the depressing handling of anti-Semitism, belltower.news from 4.9.2023.

¹⁷ Dietl, Stefan: : Faschistische Iran-Connection: Im Bundestag betätigt sich die AfD als Lobbyorganisation für das Mullah-Regime, in: *Konkret* Nr. 11/2023.

¹⁸ Cf. for example: Wistrich, Robert: Muslim Anti-Semitism - A clear and present danger, 2002, <https://ajcarchives.org/ajcarchive/FileViewer.aspx?id=13663>, Matussek, Carmen: *The belief in a "Jewish world conspiracy": Die Rezeption der "Protokolle der Weisen von Zion" in der arabischen Welt*, Münster 2012, Küntzel, Matthias: *Djihad und Judenhass*, Freiburg 2003 and Jikeli, Günther: Muslimischer Antisemitismus in Europa - Aktuelle Ergebnisse der empirischen Forschung, in: Grimm, Marc; Kahmann, Bodo (eds.): *Antisemitismus im 21. Jahrhundert - Virulenz einer alten Feindschaft in Zeiten von Islamismus und Terror*, Berlin/Boston 2020, 113-133.

¹⁹ Cf. on this: Steinke, Ronen: *Terror gegen Juden - Wie antisemitische Gewalt erstarkt und der Staat versagt: Eine Anklage*, Berlin 2020.

²⁰ Cf. for example: Ertugrul, Ali Tonguç: Nicht allein - Wie der Kampfbegriff der "Islamophobie" gesellschaftliche Probleme verschleiert und die vom Islam Bedrohten im Stich lässt, in: Vukadinovic, Vojin Sasa (ed.): *Freiheit ist keine Metapher - Antisemitismus, Migration, Rassismus, Religionskritik*, Berlin 2018, 273-292.

²¹ Cf. B.: Elbe, Ingo: "... it's not systemic" - Antisemitism in academic anti-racism, in: Amelung, Till Randolph (ed.): *Irrwege - Analysen aktueller queerer Politik*, Berlin 2020, 224-260.

²² Vukadinovic, Vojin Sasa: Das rassistische Bedürfnis - Gender-Theorie, xenophile Projektion, narzisstische Kränkung, in: Amelung, Till Randolph (ed.): *Irrwege - Analysen aktueller queerer Politik*, Berlin 2020, 309-349.

²³ Martini, Tania: On "Philosophy for Palestine: Mainstream der Avantgarde," taz.de from 10.11.2023.

²⁴ Jikeli, Günther: Antisemitismus an US-Eliteunis: Nicht ein Wort über die Hamas, taz.de from 5.12.2023.

²⁵ Cf. B.: Bilanceri, Serena: Violence in the West Bank - Fear in the olive groves, taz.de from 17.11.2023.

²⁶ Cf. on this: Berendsen, Eva, et al. (eds.): *Extrem unbrauchbar - Über Gleichsetzungen von links und rechts*, Berlin 2019.

²⁷ Cf. Hammel, Laura Luise: "... and they have been pulling the strings on this planet for over a hundred years" - Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories in contemporary protest movements: The example of vigils for peace, in: Grimm, Marc; Kahmann, Bodo (eds.): *Antisemitismus im 21. Jahrhundert - Virulenz einer alten Feindschaft in Zeiten von Islamismus und Terror*, Berlin/Boston 2020, 367-387. Cf. also: Moment mal!: Vom "Querdenken" zur Querfront - Coronaproteste als Podium für Antisemitismus, 23.11.2020,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M42feyqOFxA>.

²⁸ From Marx's *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*. Available at:

https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_Critique_of_Hegels_Philosophy_of_Right.pdf

²⁹ Cf. B.: Wolters, Lea: Islamismus lebt vom Leid der Palästinenser*innen“ Islamwissenschaftlerin Amina Aziz im Interview, belltower.news from 27.11.2023.

³⁰ Since the Gaza Strip is not occupied by Israel at all, it must be concluded that "occupation" means the Israeli state itself. After all, the anti-Semitic "Pro-Palestine demonstrations" say: "From the river to the sea," i.e. from the Jordan to the Mediterranean. See:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/From_the_river_to_the_sea.

³¹ In: Fetscher, Iring (ed.): *Marxisten gegen Antisemitismus*, Hamburg 1974, 170.

³² Nowak, Peter: Verbote von Hamas und Samidoun: Keine Solidarität mit Antisemiten, Telepolis.de from 12.10.2023.

³³ The following list does not claim to be exhaustive or hierarchical

³⁴ Fortunately, some highly interesting anthologies have now been published. For example: *Chinesisches Denken der Gegenwart - Schlüsseltexte zu Politik und Gesellschaft*, translated and annotated by Daniel Leese and Shi Ming, Munich 2023.

³⁵ Cf. Leutner, Mechthild; Lu, Pan; Suda, Kimiko (eds.): *Antichinesischer und antiasiatischer Rassismus*, Berlin 2022 and Nguyen, Hami: *Das Ende der Unsichtbarkeit: Warum wir über anti-*

asiatischer Rassismus sprechen müssen, Berlin 2023. On the rampant anti-Asian/anti-Chinese racism during the coronavirus era, see also <https://www.ichbinkeinvirus.org/>

³⁶ Cf. in contrast: Dillmann, Renate: *China: Ein Lehrstück über alten und neuen Imperialismus, einen sozialistischen Gegenentwurf und seine Fehler, die Geburt einer Kapitalistischen Gesellschaft und den Aufstieg einer neuen Großmacht*, 11. erw. und akt. Auflage, Berlin 2022.

³⁷ Cf. e.g. Stengl, Anton: *Chinas neuer Imperialismus: Ein ehemals sozialistisches Land rettet das kapitalistische Weltsystem*, Vienna 2021.

³⁸ Solty, Ingar, Im Reich der Mittelschicht: Warum wir die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung Chinas in Zeiten der Klimakatastrophe erkennen müssen, in: *Konkret* Nr. 12/2023.

³⁹ Cf: Kurz, Robert: *Die antideutsche Ideologie: Vom Antifaschismus zum Krisenimperialismus: Kritik des neuesten linksdeutschen Sektenwesens in seinen theoretischen Propheten*, Münster 2003.

⁴⁰ Kurz, Robert: *Wer ist totalitär?: Die Abgründe eines ideologischen Allzweck-Begriffs*, 2001, on exit-online.org.

⁴¹ Die verlorene Ehre der Arbeit, first published: 1991, in: *Krisis* Nr. 10.

⁴² Die Himmelfahrt des Geldes, first published: 1995, in: *Krisis* No. 16/17.

⁴³ Die doppelte Natur des Rassismus, first published: 2013, in: *exit!* No. 11