

Analysis

William I. Robinson: **Transnational Capitalist Class, Transnational State Apparatuses, and Global Crisis**

State-centrism and the framework of the nation-state and inter-state are more and more incongruent with the developments of the 21st-century capitalist world. A fundamental shift is witnessed and a new phase of the continuous and unpredictable evolution of global capitalism is underway, characterized by the rise of a *de facto* transnational capital, and the integration of all countries into a new, global system of production and finances, the rise of a transnational capitalist class as the global ruling class of the future, as well as the emergence of transnational state apparatuses. Global capitalism is facing a crisis. The more open-minded strata of the transnational elite call for stronger transnational state apparatuses, hoping to reinforce the rule of the transnational capitalist class, create a regulation and governance from above, and stabilize the system in crisis. Global resistance against the transnational capitalist class is underway; however, popular, working class, and leftist endeavors meet numerous challenges..... 7

Leo Panitch: **Rethinking Marxism and Imperialism for the Twenty-first Century**

The national bourgeoisie of various countries accepts US dominance and supervision of the free trade and capital flow of global capitalism. "In order to make globalism work, the United States must not hesitate to behave as an omnipotent superpower," the world's bourgeoisie says. Can today's Marxists count on socialist enterprises catalyzed by inequalities between the advancements of imperialist powers? Is it possible to radically transform socialist politics and workers' organizations while a new, internal class struggle is taking shape within the working class? Leo Panitch, the distinguished scholar discusses these fundamental questions..... 36

László Tütő: **Is the Minister a Wage Worker?**

Democracy, market, socialism, worker – these categories can have radically different meanings. This study differentiates between four meanings of the 'wage worker' category, in order to facilitate a more conscious use of words. At the same time, the paper demonstrates that classic interpretations are still applicable to present-day capitalism..... 45

From fact to fact

Ivan Katchanovski: **The Buried Maidan Massacre and Its Misrepresentation by the West**

This meticulously documented study aims to demonstrate that the mass murder on Maidan Square in February 2014, which paved the way to the violent overthrow of the pro-Russian government, was organized by the Ukrainian extreme right. Networks of the latter infiltrated the highest strata of government administration. It is no coincidence that the narrative, shared by the West and the Ukrainian extreme right, according to which the massacre was perpetrated by forces associated with the ousted president, are still dominant in the mainstream media..... 65

Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton: **NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard**

The National Security Archive at George Washington University recently published a series of documents that shed light on the assurances Western leaders (from Bush to Thatcher to Mitterand to Kohl) offered to Gorbachev in 1990-1991, during the German unification, and how the West was able to mislead Gorbachev concerning the eastern expansion of NATO. Manipulation, sometimes open lies, played a role in this process—in addition to the narrow-mindedness of the Soviet general secretary 77

Associations

Stephen Eric Bronner: **American Populism and the Jews**

Lots of stereotypes are common about Jews in the USA. American antisemitism is an intellectual and political reflection of the present-day US, in which Jews are inherent elements of populist politics. At the same time, politics utilizes Islamophobia and other forms of hate speech in order to facilitate power mechanisms. Antisemitism and a critical approach to Israel's policies are two different things, but the Trump-era brings about antisemitism as much as a ban on criticizing Israeli politics 88

“The Making of Capitalist Patriarchy.” Andrew Sernatinger’s and Tessa Echeverria’s Interview with Silvia Federici..... 104

Silvia Federici: **Marx and Feminism**

This study focuses on feminism and gender in relation to Marx’s theory. Although the categories formulated by Marx facilitate us to think about gender and class, feminism and anti-capitalism as intertwined phenomena, his contribution is indirect as he never formulated a theory of gender. It is imperative that the role of human reproduction, as the largest activity on the planet and a major cause of divisions within the working class, be integrated into the critical analysis of capitalist labor division. In the 1970s, feminists discovered ‘a new Marx,’ and as a result, there was a theoretical revolution that proved transformative both for Marxism and feminism. This meant to turn Marx ‘the right side up’ in order to make his work important for feminism and the liberation of women..... 118

Maud Anne Bracke: **Between the Transnational and the Local: mapping the trajectories and contexts of the Wages for Housework campaign in 1970s Italian feminism**

This article discusses the transnational, national and local origins of the Wages for Housework campaign in 1970s Italy and assesses the significance of the campaign and its legacy in Italian and transnational feminism. The origins of this early-1970s campaign are outlined through the trajectories of two transnational activists, Selma James and Mariarosa Dalla Costa. The study focuses on the local context; the ideological origins of Wages for Housework are rooted in *operaismo* (workerism) and autonomist thought and practice, which were dominant in the radical-leftist and feminist discourse of that time. The article demonstrates the necessity for an appreciation of 1970s feminist movements in the light of transnational transfers and local re-contextualisation 130

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Aníbal Quijano: **Beyond Eurocentrism: on José Carlos Mariátegui**

Aníbal Quijano, the renowned Peruvian scholar and one of the founders of decolonial studies, died one year ago, at the age of 87. In this text, which was originally published in 1991, Quijano demonstrates the powerful influence that Mariátegui, the Peruvian Marxist philosopher and socialist/communist politician, exerted over the theoretical development of Latin American critical thought. This is evident in ideas such as the ‘coloniality of power’ or the ‘geopolitics of knowledge.’ Quijano emphasizes that Mariátegui, as a devoted socialist, excelled in navigating between nationalist cultural essentialism and the competing abstract-universalist movements of Komintern..... 161

Culture

Viktor G. Arslanov: **Zakirov, the Rebellious Christian**

The life of intellectuals in Russia shows how our time is devoid of morals and mind, where entering the elite is (again) possible through fake gestures, while all honest expressions are seen as a sign of bad manners. Thinking and acting responsibly goes against the *comme-il-faut* of the time, and so it can be done only under the penalty of excommunication; the hero of the time is a vulgar and disgraceful (media) clown 170

György Tverdota: **On No Man's Land**

Literary history has only partially explored the connections between literary and cultural modernism and the Hungarian Soviet Republic. It has not been clarified

why progressives turned away from the political revolution in the last days of the Commune, and how intellectuals ended up in a no man's land between the political left and right. Without this aspect it cannot be understood how representatives of the West-oriented and avantgarde modernity and the popular movement criticized and contributed to the approaches to the problems of the country, led at that time by the recovering right wing, and how the way to political progressivism was found again and again. The study focuses on the starting point of the parallel political, social and cultural developments: the separation of these movements and their shared trajectories 190

Bookmark

István Miklós Balázs: **From Reconstructing the Past to Mapping the Future: The European Political Left Seeking Its Own Way.** *The 2019 yearbook of transform! europe* 206

Péter Szigeti: **Tibor Szabó's Book on György Lukács, the Autonomous Philosopher**

Tibor Szabó: *Lukács György, az autonóm filozófus. Kritikák, viták, teóriák.* Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó, 2017 214

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