

## Roundtable

### **Change of regimes, 1989–2019** ..... 5

On the occasion of the 30. anniversary of the Eastern European change of regimes, the editors invited international and Hungarian scholars to answer the following questions:

*How do you evaluate the new capitalist regimes, which were formed after the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe? How do you see the historical role of the change of regimes? What consequences has the capitalist restoration had on the social, economic and cultural conditions of Hungary and the wider region?*

Kate Hudson: *Answer to the questions*

Péter Szigeti: *Change of regimes* 30

Támás Gerőcs – András Pinkasz: *The historical perspectives of the self-defence of society*

Támás Krausz: *Some comments on the ideology of the change of regimes*

Attila Antal: *1989–2019: The birth of new autocracies*

Eszter Bartha: *The working-class experience of the change of regimes – from the perspective of 30 years*

Rastko Močnik: *The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia*

Alekszandr Buzgalin: *There will be a new need for the early experiences of the socialist world-economy*

Endre Barát: *The food dependency of the countryside as the cul-de-sac of the change of regimes*

## History

Chris Hann: **From cul-de-sac to cul-de-sac.** *The change of regimes in Kiskunhalas – under Polányi's eyes*

The article examines the impacts of the change of regimes through the example of Kiskunhalas. While today it is a common practice to evaluate the whole Kádár era as a cul-de-sac, the new economic mechanism brought not only employment but also a stable and balanced development to the town. After the collapse of state socialism the industry and agriculture of Kiskunhalas underwent a rapid decline. The theses of Károly Polányi were verified, especially the “disembedding” of economy from society. Therefore, it was not a civil society but a new market society, which was formed after the change of regimes. At the end of the article the author puts the question: is the fate of Hungary inevitably a cul-de-sac until it stands at the periphery of global capitalism? ..... 55

László Tütő: **Social philosophical alternatives in the Hungarian system change – II. Is the social self-governance reconcilable with the political parties? On one lesson of the tripartite roundtable**

The minute-books of the so-called National Roundtable-talks of 1989 in Hungary testify to three major endeavors. The political parties want to negotiate with each other, over the head of the civil society. The representatives of the parties should participate in the political power. No agreement should be concluded on the economic questions. The process of the talks shows the picture of a business enterprise (political business). In view of the minute-books one could approximately foresee the next three decades in Hungary ..... 66

## Documents

Át lehet-e „csúszni” Nyugat-Európába? Beszélgetés Pach Zsigmond Pál akadémikussal. (Is it possible to „slip through” to Western Europe? Interview with Zsigmond Pál Pach, member of the Hungarian Academy) *Népszabadság*, 1990. március 11. .... 100

Krausz Tamás: **Rendszerváltás és baloldal.** (System change and the left) *A Világ*, 1991. június 12. .... 106

## Associations

Tamás Krausz: **The “Homo Sovieticus”**

The genre of the study is: essay. It briefly introduces the historical path of the “Homo Sovieticus”, from its conceptual and mental genesis. The “Homo Sovieticus” is a complex and highly controversial historical phenomenon: its heroic has been accompanied by tragedies and extraordinary sacrifices. Its universal cultivating history ended eventually in the illusions of the petite bourgeois consumer ideals. The cultural “mission” of the “Homo Sovieticus”, however, remains an integral part of the universal human progress ..... 110

## Analysis

Éric Sabourin: **Reciprocity and the rural social organizations**

The article analyzes the elaboration of the concept of reciprocity – which was introduced into the social sciences by Károly Polányi – in three fields from the 1990s: the economic sociological studies centered on the functioning of an economy based on solidarity, the management and administration of common goods and the anthropological renewal of the theory of reciprocity. A common merit of the three approaches is that they offer – through the principle of reciprocity – an alternative to the “natural” interpretation of the logic of the competition of private interests, which follows from the generalization of the relations of the exchange of commodities and thereby they help us to overcome the *pensée unique*, which is dominant in political economy and which recognizes only one economic logic, that of *laissez faire* as “rational” and legitimate ..... 122

Gáspár Miklós Tamás: **Ethnicism after nationalism: the roots of the new European right**

While the modern, global capitalism cannot step out of the web of nationalism, it escapes to its new historical stage, to “ethnicism”, which is not identical with fascism albeit it had a fascist past. The article examines its historical trajectory and contemporary developmental characteristics. The old right represented order, discipline, obedience, honor and a respectful conduct. Ethnicism is chaos. It might be suitable for a tyrannical rule – at present the far right uses it for this purpose in Europe – but it is as much destructive as it is apolitical. In the lack of an alternative to the decadent capitalism, which advocates emancipation, it can be the overture to the collapse and the global counter-revolution ..... 145

**Varieties on a theme**

**The Venezuela dossier** ..... 166

*Participatory democracy in Venezuela.* Romain Migus interviews Blanca Eekhout, the minister of the Municipal Ministry of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. 2019. június 26.

*Political struggles and constitutional crisis in Venezuela.* Edited by Győző Lugosi.

Jared Abbott and Michael McCarthy: *The municipal councils of Venezuela and the future of participatory democracy in Latin-America.* Initiatives from below in the defense of the dictatorship.

The social organizations of self-governance played a significant role in the political survival of the Maduro-government. The so called communal councils remained active even at the face of a drastic economic decline, contrary to the expectations of many. At the same time it is a fact that the ruling party uses the councils as means of its own survival, and creates a hierarchical, clientele-like relationship between the councils and the ruling party, thereby damaging the quality of the communal participation in the councils and narrowing the circle of the participants.

**Bookmark**

Antal Kalous: **Anti-Semitism (and other biases) in the Hungarian historiography.** Ungváry Krisztián: *A Horthy-rendszer és antiszemitizmusának mérlege. Diszkrimináció és társadalompolitika Magyarországon, 1919–1944.* Budapest, Jelenkor Kiadó, 2016. .... 216

László György – Eszter Bartha: **The missing common denominator.** Földes György (szerk.): *± 30. Esszék a közelmúltról és a közeljövőről.* Budapest, Napvilág Kiadó, 2019. .... 233

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