

Associations

Tamás Krausz: **Victory – Auschwitz – memory.** *Thoughts for the 75th anniversary*

The history of the holocaust and the relevant politics of memory is as much a mirror of the global geopolitical struggles as the real holocaust can only be understood in a global context. The Eastern European ethno-nationalistic regimes construct their ideologies of legitimation with the support of the “collective West”. The author outlines the object and some points of debate of these academic and political struggles arguing that the relation to the Great Patriotic War stands at the center of the debates. The 75. anniversary of the Victory offers an occasion for the left to academically and theoretically clarify its standpoint in this respect..... 7

Bálint Mezei: **The price of liberation.** *The military-economic achievement of the Soviet Union in World War II and her losses*

The article offers an overview of the losses of the Soviet Union in World War II and the territorial reorganization of her economy. With the beginning of the Nazi undeclared war in 1941 the heavy and military industries in the European parts of the country, created decisively in the 1930s had to be resettled to the Ural and even further, to Central Asia within only few weeks. The evacuation of the means of production was an enormous logistic-organizational achievement; the majority of the evacuated factories could produce according to the needs of the front, within a few months. Apart from the losses of the industry, the Soviet Union lost the majority of her crop land, and 78 million Soviet citizens lived in the occupied lands. In the years of the Great Patriotic War the total human losses of the Soviet Union reached 27 million lives, and because of the priority of the military industry other branches of economy, most notably the production of consumer goods had to be reduced drastically..... 24

History

Herbert A. Bloch: **The characteristics of the prisoners of the concentration camps**

In his article of 1947 the author attempts to introduce, what psychic damages the prisoners and forced laborers of the Nazi camps suffered under the inhuman and strictly controlled conditions and how the prisoners' relation developed to their mates and themselves, their former personality. The extreme conditions of the concentration camps unfortunately enabled the author to examine from a previously unknown angle, what happens to human beings in the lack of the normal social frames and when existence is reduced to the level of the basic instincts. The author states that the barbarism

of the Nazi camps desocialized, dehumanized the individual, which brought with itself the most primitive forms of human interactions 41

Kiril Feferman: „The Jews’ War”: Attitudes of Soviet Jewish soldiers and officers towards the USSR in 1940–41.

The Nazi propaganda machine was very talented in representing the war against the Soviet Union as the war against the Jews, and this interpretation fit in well with the “other” war at the Eastern front, which decisively differed from the Western war with regard of its purposes and means, that showed the picture of a total war characterized by plunder and genocide. The article shows how the many soldiers of Jewish origin enlisted to the Red Army related to the military service and the Soviet regime in general, before the German attack and in the subsequent times.

Out of the soldiers of the multi-ethnic Red Army, which was in a defensive position after the attack on 22 June 1941 it was undoubtedly the Jewish men, who were exposed to the greatest danger, and this fact allied them with the Soviet system, independently of their former attitudes. In spite of this, we cannot state that they formed a homogenous group because many of them came from the Western territories obtained in 1939 or they or their families became the victims of the Stalinist terror, so they had different opinions of the Soviet power, the role of the army and the party, the relationship between the state and the religion, and their future perspectives in the time of peace 53

Tamás Krausz: Holocaust: the screws of the machine. Арон Шнеер: *Профессия – смерть. Учебный лагерь СС «Травники». Преступления и возмездие.* (Aron Shneer: *Foglalkozása – halál. Az SS „Trawniki” kiképzőtábor. Bűn és megtorlás.*). Москва, Издательство Пятый Рим”, 2019 76

Vlagyimir Lazarisz: „Forgive us for not knowing”

What happened to the holocaust-survivors after World War II, who wanted to go to Israel from the reception camps? How did the Zionist mainstream, first and foremost Ben Gurion see the role of survivors in the struggle for the establishment of the independent Jewish state? How many of the survivors arrive in Israel, and what reception did they get? How did the sabre inhabitants think of them and how did the public opinion of the new state relate to the survivors and victims between 1945 and 1962? What measures afflicted the settlers? The article lists shocking facts in order to introduce the process of the acquisition of truth and the bitter beginnings of the relationship between the European Jewry, who survived the concentration camps and the Yisuv Jewry 85

Eszter Bartha – Slávka Otčenášová: Holocaust in the magnet of memory and politics. *Totalitarian and revisionist directions in the Hungarian and Slovak holocaust literatures.*

The article introduces the struggles of the memory of politics after the changes of regimes, which are related to the study of the holocaust and its global interpretation in Slovakia and Hungary. While the persecution of Jews “attracted” active followers in both countries, both the Slovak and the Hungarian far right “commonly” attempt to represent their countries as the victims of Nazi Germany, and to shift all responsibility onto the Germans. In Hungary, the monument erected at Szabadság tér, which

arose great controversies, expresses this political intention. Falsifying history is not a novel phenomenon; it is, however, important for historians to be conscious of the falsifications..... 94

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Analysis

Aida Zsófia Mousa: **The Palestinian Arabs in the thinking of the main current of Zionism, 1917–1947.** *David Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann about the Palestinian Jewish-Arabic coexistence*

The famous slogan, which states that Palestine, “the land without people” should be given to the Jews, “the people without land” is a well-known Zionist topos. Although this statement proved to be ungrounded well prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, it continued to be popular for long in the vulgar Zionist thinking. The article shows that although this opinion affected the relation of some supporters of Zionism to the Jewish settlement of Palestine, the Yisuv elite paid a special attention to the Jewish-Arabic coexistence. Between 1917 and 1942 there were different opinions amongst them about the actual and future position and role of the Palestinian Arabs, and the position in the “Arab question” also distinguished major political directions. In her analysis, the author focuses on the mainstream manifestations embodied in David Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann in order to show how the attitude to the Palestinian Arabs was formed in the Palestinian Jewish public opinion..... 125

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Walden Bello: **The understanding of the global rise of the far right**

The far right successfully appropriated the anti-globalization, critical rhetoric of the progressives – while the political left allied itself with the neoliberal ideology – and it coupled this rhetoric with a wildly racist, chauvinist and anti-migrant program.

Against this, we should propose a politics, which points beyond the restoration of the discredited elite democracy and even beyond capitalism..... 188

Marcel van der Linden: **Workers and the radical right**

It is a decade-long political historical phenomenon that the working class in many countries support the radical right-wing movement and their parties instead of the left. Many reasons and circumstances play a role in this development. Why cannot the working class be organized as a global class after the workers became disorganized in the political arena of the nation-states of global capitalism? – this is the problem..... 195

Jonathan Liew: **How the new wave of far-right populists are using football to further their power**

Football is the perfect arena for the macho, chauvinistic phantasies characteristic of the new generation of unscrupulous populists and neo-fascists 202

From fact to fact

György Wiener: **The rise of new right- and far-right wing political parties in Europe**

The article distinguishes five, historically interrelated reasons of the rise of the new right- and far-right wing political parties in Western and Southern Europe: the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie against the welfare state, the disappointment of the blue-collar workers with the social democratic parties because of their neoliberal economic policies, the collapse of state socialism in East-Central Europe, the international financial crisis and credit crunch of 2008-2009 and the Islam terrorism and migrant waves of the mid-2010s. It also shows that part of these parties were organized as liberal formations, another group of them, however, was closely linked at its birth to the traditional far-right wing ideologies, which they later partially modernized. The article also discusses that in East-Central Europe these political forces appeared in the process of the changes of regimes, and their fundamental goal was from the beginning the restoration of historical continuity. Eventually, it shortly refers to the fact that these parties fundamentally protect the interests of national capital against the transnational capitalist class 206

Bookmark

Eszter Bartha: **Reference book for new leftists.** Antal Attila: *Orbán bárkája: Az autoriter állam és a kapitalizmus szövetsége.* Progress Könyvek, Budapest, Noran Libro, 2019 235

Eszter Bartha: **Reclaimed memory.** *1919 Tanácsköztársaság 2019* (eds.: Tamás Krausz and Judit Morva), Budapest, Le Monde diplomatique – Hungarian edition, 2019 239

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A szerkesztőség elérhetőségei:

Telefón: +36 (30) 567 6815, e-mail: eszmelet1989@gmail.com

Honlap: <http://eszmelet.hu/home/>

Nyomdai előkészítés: Co-Graf, Budapest

Nyomás: Vareg Hungary Kf., Budapest, felelős vezető: Egyed Márton ügyvezető

Kiadja az Eszmélet Alapítvány

Felelős kiadó: Krausz Tamás (elnök)

Terjesztési és előfizetési ügyek:

Szalai László

Tel.: +36 (30) 532 0000; e-mail: eszmeletelofizetes@gmail.com

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A náci Németország fölötti győzelem közelgő 75. évfordulóján nem önmagában a Győzelem „emlékezetpolitikai” jelentőségének szentelünk blokkot, hanem összekapcsoljuk azt Auschwitz felszabadításának 75. évfordulójával (1945. január 27.), mint-hogy a két jelenségkör „emlékezete” együttesen hordozza a napjainkban „csúcsra járatott” történelemhamisítás szinte minden fontos tendenciáját. A holokauszt történeti ténye összefügg Izrael állam létrehozásával is, ezért a zsidók és arabok palesztinai együttélése kevésbé ismert oldalainak is figyelmet szentelünk – főként releváns történeti dokumentumok tükrében. Harmadik blokkunkban a modern szélsőjobboldallal foglalkozunk mind egyetemes, mind magyarországi vonatkozásban. Noha ez a szélsőjobboldal más, mint régi, fasiszta előzménye, ám a két jelenség nincs kínai fallal elválasztva. Az új szélsőjobboldal előretolt őrsze a Fidesz, aminek okairól és jellemzőiről olvasóink a szerkesztőség álláspontját is megismerhetik.

„A zsidók milliói számára a náci Németország feletti győzelem túl későn jött. A győzelem napját nem érhették meg [...] Oroszország zsidóinak több évszázados történetében a legnehezebbek és a letragikusabbak a német megszállás évei, a Katasztrófa évei voltak. A Szovjetunió zsidósága a Győzelem napján az összes európai néppel és az egész haladó emberiséggel együtt ünnepelte a győzelmet. És elsiratta a fasiszmus és az antiszemitizmus – a szovjet zsidókat is beleértve – 6 millió áldozatát.”

Jichak Arad
Eszmélet 55. sz. 117.

„[...] miközben felismerjük az ok-okozati kapcsolatot a tőke és a szélsőjobboldal között, tisztáznunk kell az utóbbi »antikapitalizmusát« is. [...] A szélsőjobboldal antikapitalizmusa fontos és kártékony hatással volt egy esetleges poszt-neoliberális alternatíva kialakítására, majd sikerült ez utóbbit »túszul is ejtenie« az Európa nagy részén tapasztalható populista politikai lázadás formájában.”

Rick Saull
Eszmélet 105. sz. 55.

E számunk szerzői

Bello, Walden – szociológus, University of the Philippines Diliman (Quezon City, Fülöp-szigetek), politikus, az Akbayan Citizens' Action Party parlamenti képviselője

Bloch, Herbert A. (1905–1965) – szociológus (USA)

Buber, Martin (1878–1965) – vallásfilozófus, író, műfordító

Fefermann, Kiril – történész, holokauszt-kutató, Ariel University (Izrael)

Goldmann, Nahum (1895–1992) – vezető cionista politikus, ideológus

Lazarisz, Vlagyimir – író, újságíró, fordító (Izrael)

Liew, Jonathan – újságíró, sportkommentátor, The Independent (Egyesült Királyság)

van der Linden, Marcel – társadalomtörténész, International Institute of Social History, University of Amsterdam (Hollandia)

Magnes, Judah Leon (1877–1948) – rabbi, pacifista politikai aktivista

Mousa Aida Zsófia – történész PhD-hallgató, ELTE BTK (Budapest)

Otčenášová, Slávka – történész, *Pavol Jozef Šafárik Egyetem, Kassa* (Szlovákia)

Smilansky, Moshe (Moses) (1874–1953) – író, pacifista politikai aktivista

Wiener György – marxista politológus, választási szakértő, az *Eszmélet* tanácsadója

Zsabotyinszkij, Vlagyimir Zeev (1880–1940) – újságíró, író, vezető cionista politikus és ideológus