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John Bellamy Foster: **Introduction to the book of István Mészáros: *Beyond Leviathan*** (selected parts)

The introduction faces no smaller problem, than the need to transcend the state. In the state of nature as assumed by Hobbes, “only” the war against all status should be surpassed by modern era natural law. But in the last four centuries statehood has not been able to provide the natural status of peace and security and the states continue the fight among each other. With its violent internal and external repression we are still living by the laws of a Leviathan-state 9

Analysis

István Mészáros: **Preface to *Beyond Leviathan***

The preface to the author’s posthumous work presents us with no narrower perspective than the need to transcend the state. In the natural state assumed by Hobbes, with statehood, “only” the state of everyone’s struggle against everyone should be surpassed based on modern natural law. However, in the last four centuries, with statehood, we have failed to reach natural states of peace and security, and states have been at war with each other ever since. Moreover, considering its external and internal, oppressive violence, we live within the laws of a Leviathan-state 27

Ricardo Antunes: **István Mészáros and the social metabolism of the capital system. *Its normality is destructiveness***

An especially relevant aspect of the oeuvre of István Mészáros is how he highlighted the inherently destructive character of the metabolic process of capital. During the past decades this has been becoming more and more obvious, with the devaluation of labor and the destruction of nature, along with the accompanying spread of racism, xenophobia, and disdain toward science. Mészáros posited that it is impossible to definitely move beyond this system without the elimination of all its pillars: capital, wage labor and the state 41

Péter Szigeti: **Types of states, development of states and the withering away of the state**

The study looks at the relationship between social forms and types of state and then looks at the development of state, which can be confronted with the problem of the withering away of the state. The author reflects on two distinct ideas of self-government: the ideas confined to the bourgeoisie state and the Marxist theoretical perspectives. Using the later perspective the author makes four proposals for semi-

state solutions: 1. deliberative public gatherings based on carrying capacity of the public ownership among cooperatives. 2. rationalized revocation 3. referendum with e-democratic preparations; 4. Self-governing social norms of communities and professions..... 49

John Bellamy Foster: **The Renewal of the Social Ideal**

The study reconstructs the idea of socialism-communism based on the works of Marx, and some late followers, most importantly István Mészáros. According to these views the key point is social-communal ownership, work and work process controlled by wage laborers and the elimination of structural factors producing social inequalities. This rethinking is all the more important as modern capitalism has produced an economic-organizational-ecological and political catastrophe unsolvable within the current framework. Trumpism has clearly shown all the symptoms of the structural crisis within the system. Humanity can be saved only by establishing socialism..... 62

Marcello Musto: **Marx's Late Research on Societies Outside of Europe**

At the end of the 1870s, Marx turned to the research of the economic and politic realities in non-Western-European regions. During his studies, he put an increasing emphasis on highlighting the destructive effects of colonialization and exposing the hypocrisy of the claims about the civilizatory claims of colonization. He grappled with the question of the possibility of development trajectories that are different from those in the Western European capitalist countries. This put into question the characterization of Marx as a Eurocentric thinker and an economic determinist..... 81

Interview

The comune is the territorial cell of the socialism. *Federico Chimonetti's talk with Gsus García, spokesman for Altos de Lídice commune..... 106*

Associations

Gyöző Lugosi: **The spirit of Bandung**

On the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the Bandung Conference, the article outlines the structural role of post-colonial African-Asian states in the Cold War interstate system and presents three main internal development alternatives to these societies, with a specific emphasize on the non-capitalist East-Asian socio-economic systems embedded in Confucian ideology, namely North Korea. Finally, the author also discusses the current meaning of the "Bandung spirit" in the age of neoliberal globalization..... 120

From fact to fact

Gábor Búr: **Sub-Saharan Africa in the system of global capitalism**

Sub-Saharan Africa is the poorest, most underdeveloped area on Earth. Its violent integration into the world economy forced the continent into a vulnerable, subaltern

position from the beginning. Decolonization aroused enormous expectations but instead of these expectations coming true, the region's position within global capitalism continued to erode. The new millennium brought significant changes, due to the new „scramble for Africa”, but it is still doubtful whether the growing demand for its natural resources will enable the continent to resolve its old and new problems and move toward becoming an equal partner within the world economy..... 143

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In another way

László Tütő: **How long does the “major” era last?** *Wondering about double and triple powers*

Some theoretical dilemmas that the article addresses: What is the relationship between political and social revolutions and what does their alternative mean? Can any situation be justified by bureaucratic political centralization? Can a socialist system be established without the development of a self-organizing civil society (as a third power)? Can Kádár's politics be blamed for historical omissions?..... 182

Faces

László Földes (1919–1980) – András Veres; Mihály Sárkány..... 205

László Földes: **Traditional economy and rationality**

The standard concepts of economics are the products of modern societies, and they are intended to describe the economic processes of these societies. In economics, economic activity is understood as a web of rational choices based on the scarcity of the available resources and the available alternatives regarding their usability. By contrast, in the traditional societies there are no purely economic processes, the economic activity takes place in more or less nature-given communities that encompass the totality of life, rather than in pointedly economic organizations. As a result, economic rationality often has a different meaning in traditional and in modern capitalist societies. In the former, religious rituals, taboos, entrenched ethical and legal practices make economic activities virtually indistinguishable from other types of activities..... 215

Áron Márk Éber: **How do we interpret the class position of those who are between capitalists and wage workers?** *Barbara and John Ehrenreich's concept of the professional-management class*

How can the Marxist thesis of class polarization be reconciled with the seemingly contradictory processes of middle-class development? How can a left-wing radical, anti-capitalist political movement be built if the organization lacks blue-collar workers? Barbara and John Ehrenreich's conception of the professional-managerial class seeks a convincing solution to these two contradictions. In addition to interpreting

Ehrenreich's explanations, this brief introduction seeks to answer the question of how this concept can help solve similar problems in today's Hungary..... 234

Barbara Ehrenreich – John Ehrenreich: **The Professional-Management Class**

The authors sought a Marxist explanation for the development of the middle-class in the United States after World War II. The analysis, originally published in 1977, links this issue of class structure to the solution of a political problem. The radical left of the time was mostly populated by those who felt themselves as "middle-class". How can the class position of these skilled political activists be interpreted and how do they relate to the capitalist and working class?..... 249

History

Anna Zsigmond: **No African came to the New World of his/her own free will**

Studying the present, the history of the African roots of the colored population of the United States, the role of education, religion, and abolitionist movements clearly show that they are not effective in giving equal opportunities. The US has to face emergencies, circumstances leading to civil rights movements, increasing role of the Supreme Court. American civilization shattered earlier African cultures, all the values that had previously lived. Conservatism calls for preservation of historical traditions, like prejudice, authority and power. The entire black population of America is relied on slaves as the main labor force are descendant of the survivors of inequality, discrimination. The concern about disadvantaged people meet national debates and sharp criticism. Laws to ensure equal opportunities in schools have been shown to be insufficient to mechanically applied positive discrimination and enforced desegregation..... 265

Stephen Eric Bronner: **White Nationalism and American Society**

White nationalism will not disappear after Trump's defeat. Its support base remains: the losers will not be winners in the foreseeable future. They will insist their dreams of a never-seen golden age and their imagined community that never existed in the same way. White nationalism, as long as it has a class base, as long as agrarian, petty bourgeois, and anachronistic groups are presented in the working class, will have an appeal because it proclaims privileges that people want to regain..... 278

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Cover: Drawing of frontispiece of first edition (1651) of work of Hobbes, *Leviathan*, made by either Abraham Bosse (1602/1604–1676) or Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677).

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