

In remembrance of Győző Lugosi. (1952–2021)	5
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Socialism

László Tütő: **Was “actually existing socialism” capitalism?**

The article analyzes the character of “actually existing socialism” and it interrogates the question of whether it can be described with the term of capitalism. There were two factors, which historically determined the system: the economic and cultural backwardness and an anti-capitalist ideological tradition of the movement. One can detect significant similarities between the functioning of “actually existing socialism” and the welfare (consumer) capitalism but in spite of this fact, the terms of capitalism are not suitable (not sufficient) for the explanation and indication of the functioning of “actually existing socialism”. This social form thus cannot be described as a variant of capitalism, it is not justified to call it state capitalism

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György Wiener: **The global historical conditions of socialism**

The failure of the European, early socialisms does not refute but, paradoxically reinforces the scientific validity of the materialist historical concept. How? Most comprehensively because a not-early, rough and not-localized breakthrough involves the presence of the preconditions of the new mode of production as described in the *Grundrisse*. Namely that the capitalist mode of production would survive itself. The paper argues that this can be checked through the decreasing tendency of the rate of profit and the empirical testing of the long wave theory

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Retort

Péter Szigeti: **Comments on Marxist achievements: TGM and György Wiener**

The paper comments on two significant works of the representatives of Hungarian Marxism, who both have an outstanding theoretical background. Albeit we speak of two different genres, both the article of György Wiener and the collection of essays of TGM (which contains the best of the 20-year-old work of the author) also tackles some similar issues. Both interpret the questions of the debate of “actually existing socialism” versus state capitalism, the evaluation of the experiences of these systems and the conditions that are necessary for the overcoming of capitalism. It is worth following, where these debates lead the two authors. Productive conclusions can be drawn

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Tamás Krausz: **The Anti-thesis of TGM**

In this short paper the author formulates some critical observations regarding the newly published collection of essays entitled *Antithesis* of TGM, while he recognizes the excellent, individual style of TGM, his thorough knowledge of the philosophy of history and the relevant literature. The major points of the political and theoretical debate are not new. How can we conceive “actually existing socialism” as a historical social form? Is it state socialism or state capitalism? But we do not speak only about the past but also about the problems of the present and future: anti-capitalist, revolutionary action or moralization without action? Tamás Krausz and TGM give different answers to these controversial historical questions..... 78

History

Richárd Zima: **The politics of memory of state socialism and 1956 in the Orbán regime**

After two decades, 2010 was a significant turning point from the regime change era politics of memory in Hungary. The historical narrative formed by the regime change and used in the following two decades, despite its essential ambivalence regarding the state socialist period, was changed fundamentally by the Orbán-regime. The historical approach of the 1956 uprising as a cornerstone of political legitimacy became insignificant in the first years of the second Orbán government. This study aims to analyze the causes and events of this shift in politics of memory, presenting the acts of memory politics since the regime change as a process 91

Marcello Musto: **The Paris Commune, the possible alternative**

Under the Paris Commune, the construction of a new political regime has started, which transformed the public sphere from the terrain of a small number of elite and professionals into the field of activity of the working people. Public activity was centered on the execution of social reforms, which aimed at the solution of the most urgent problems of the subjected people. The history of the Commune shows that a society based on the unity of the democratic associations is not a mere utopia but at the same time it demonstrates the problems that should be overcome for the creation of this social-economic regime 113

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Faces

Ágnes Gagy: **The monopoly of knowledge and the leftist idealism.** *Foreword to the article of Barbara and John Ehrenreich entitled “The New Left. A Case Study in Professional-Managerial Class Radicalism.”*

This article is a foreword to the Hungarian translation of the study of John and Barbara Ehrenreich entitled *The New Left*. In this paper, the two Ehrenreichs

analyze the political potential of the middle class of the USA, which was formed after World War II, with a focus on the middle-class new left, which constituted a radicalizing force at the end of the 1960s. The professional-managerial class concept of Ehrenreichs and their comments on the limits of the leftism of the middle class have reappeared in the debates about the middle-class Western left, which have unfolded after 2008 138

Barbara Ehrenreich – John Ehrenreich: **The New Left. A Case Study in Professional-Managerial Class Radicalism.**

American authors examine the rise and fall of the New Left in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. Linked to their study published in the previous issue, the different trends and eras of left-wing radical movements are also examined in the following pages in the context of the class basis of these movements, the professional-managerial class. According to their original analysis the main reason for the failure of the New Left was that this political movement was in open conflict with the class interests of its class of origin, the PMC. When they look for a way out at the end of their writing, they want to contribute to the building of a truly broad-based anti-capitalist movement based on the bitter experiences of the New Left, learning from it 152

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Bookmark

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Cover: Voting in the referendum on the preservation of the USSR, March 17th, 1991.

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