

## Socialism

### **The need for alternatives**..... 5

#### László Tütő: **What makes it socialist?**

What did socialism once mean as a denial of free-market capitalism? What does it mean today to have a cooperative human attitude, which is no longer the object of capital, but emerges from the integration of the existing order through autonomous self-organization? ..... 9

#### Péter Szigeti: **...and if not, why?**

“When knowledge and science become the main productive force, whose use value is no longer needed and can no longer be expressed in the form of exchange-value prevailing in capitalism, then the transcendence of the locally generated crude communisms with the ‘dominant’ peoples becomes real. The question is, of course, whether only the breakthrough in terms of theory of social forms is relevant here? If it were, what is the point of capitalist critical and anti-capitalist policies?” – this is the problem our author addresses ..... 15

#### Raquel Varela: **What would work be like in a socialist society?**

According to the author, work is the source of humanisation of man, the result of work leads to more freedom and emancipation. He contrasts the profit orientation and alienating effects of the capitalist organisation of work with the socially productive community organisation of work in self-organising communities. It highlights the psychic impact of Fordist work organisation on workers, the low productivity of work and the ecological damage caused by the logic of work organisation, ultimately the logic of capital ..... 30

## History

### **Richard Sanders: How Eastern European Cold-War fascism found a home in Canada?**

In his study, Sanders writes about immigrants of Eastern European descent who settled in Canada during and after World War II. These immigrants, usually with far-right roots, have formed groups organized on an ethno-nationalist basis, which in their operation significantly influence local politics and are strongly attached to the Canadian government. Sanders presents his analysis through the history of each group, illustrated by specific actors and observable trends, while pointing out that these organizations significantly impact the shift of public policy to the right..... 38

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Stephen Eric Bronner: **Afghanistan: comments on another failure**

Afghanistan, known as the graveyard of empires, has been the subject of many attempts to take control throughout history, but for many reasons, these attempts have always failed. The United States began its adventurist enterprise against the country in 2001, causing untold suffering, chaos and destruction. After 20 years, it was forced to withdraw as a loser, handing over/returning control to the religious fundamentalist Taliban, who promised a new Middle Ages ..... 67

Michael Hudson: **Is this the end of the unreformable Democratic Party?**

During the past year, the Democratic party – and the Democratic president – has broken or watered down a host of popular progressive promises while took steps that benefit the super- rich. This suggests that the party prioritizes the representation of the interests of the party donors as opposed to the interests of its voters. The oligarchic nature of US politics is becoming increasingly obvious ..... 74

## Bookmark

László Tütő: **Is Today's Capitalism Market Stalinism?**

According to Mark Fisher, the basic tendency of today's capitalism is to fragment time into unrelated present, society into individuals deprived of their own independent relations, and thinking into a view of phenomena removed from a unified world view. If the main characteristic of Stalinism is an official ideology divorced from reality and the control of individuals, it can be said that neoliberal capitalism takes this to its extreme with the ideology of the autocracy of the market and the discipline of citizens through the central production of desires and their indebtedness. A possible way out is to break away from the all-integrating system: the assertion of the personal, the development of a public sphere organised from below, the social cooperation and collective assertion of will by individuals seeking autonomy ..... 84

Antal Attila: **Neoliberalism and the Kádár Regime**

Neoliberalism, as the global capitalism, did not unfold in Hungary due to regime change of 1989 itself. The ruthlessness of the social shock that accompanied the regime changes and the ease with which Hungary was reintegrated into global capitalism show that neoliberal economic, social and cultural approaches had already defined state socialist regimes before 1989. The neoliberal hegemony that preceded the regime changes contributed to the emergence of a semi-peripheral form of global capitalism that triggered a series of social tragedies, and through it the gradual radicalisation and authoritarian turn of the political system in Central and Eastern Europe ..... 109

## Variations on a theme

Áron Márk Éber: **We were never middle class.** *On the ideology of the middle class and the ruling ideas of the ruling class.*

What is middle class? How should we make sense of this bourgeois-capitalist concept? Is it a real class in the middle of society? Or is it an ideological tool in the hands of the ruling class to divide, exploit, and dominate the working class? Perhaps a “cordon sanitaire” between capitalists and workers created by the ruling few to protect themselves from the “masses” of the “dangerous classes”? According to Hadas Weiss the middle class is a capitalist ideology of investment-driven self-determination... 126

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## Culture

György Tverdota: **The bullock.** *The scope of intellectuals in the labour movement subculture*

The author examines the relationship between Attila József and the illegal communist movement and raises how the “free-floating” intellectuals of the Horthy era, living in existential insecurity, became embedded in the revolutionary anti-establishment movement. This free-floating is always a fertile ground for radicalism, but the contradiction of how reason and mass power can be reconciled is very difficult to resolve, as the example of the tragic poet shows ..... 149

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Péter B. Szigeti: **Late fragments of Béla Tarr’s film “Sátántangó”.**

This study considers the movie *Sátántangó* from various philosophical, aesthetic, and sociological aspects. *Sátántangó* is a genuinely dystopic work, allegorical in conception but at the same time of a documentarian ambition as well. Psychologically speaking, the movie does resort to somewhat disingenuous techniques. The pace, the long cuts, the sheer length are intended to daze the viewer—and this does indeed happen in 420 minutes. The actors’ lack of professionalism and the mannerisms of the narrated text are distracting..... 168

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