

ABSTRACTS

Alain de Benoist

■ *The State Taken Hostage*

Keywords: *deregulation, profit, capital, financial crisis, deposits, unemployment, impoverishment, inequality*

The political class proceeded to the gradual deregulation of the monetary markets as a result of the lobby activities by the financial circles, a phenomenon which then has led to major profits through speculations, while it also removed the capital from the producing sector. At the same time, free competition also furthered the participation of such countries on the market, in which the wages are low, while the productivity is high. Since 1999, deregulation, which is in an essential accord both with the logic of the global market and the expectations of the World Trade Organization, has eliminated all major custom restrictions, and liquidated preferential community politics in Europe. As a consequence, the acceleration of the inflow and outflow of speculative capital further increased the volatility of the value of deposits, while it also aggravated the consequences of the crisis. These consequences are all well-known: the increasing frequency of delocalization, the liquidation of industrial units, the lowering of the wages, employment insecurity, increasing unemployment, as well as the leaking out of financial capital. The definitive outcome of this wave of deregulation consists in the further enrichment of the rich, while the incomes of the middle class and the poor did not increase, or even decreased. The inequality between incomes is increasing everywhere, unemployment is rising, and the difference between profits associated with productivity and middle-level wages also increases.

Noémi Zsuzsanna Both

■ *Historical Narratives of the Hungarian Conquest*

Keywords: *academic history, national history, conquest, legitimating discourses, Romanian and Hungarian historiography*
As a consequence of postmodern historiography, the historians had to give up the faith of reconstructing the past *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. Nevertheless, the category of historical facts didn't cease to fascinate both scholars and the wider

public. The historical narrative of reconstructing the Hungarian conquest bears equally great importance in the Romanian and Hungarian historiography, therefore, both sides aim to integrate the event in the national historical narrative in a way to meet certain criteria. As a result, one can read two incompatible history of the Hungarian conquest. This study (Hungarian conquest in contemporary Hungarian and Romanian historiography), considering the contemporary academic scholarship of the mentioned nations, compares the factual information about this event which fundamentally contradict each other in the two narratives (the connotation of the terminology used to designate events, significance of conquest, time of event and affected spaces, the sources used by historians and their method). At the same time, we tried to suggest possible answers regarding the reason of being for these parallel developed discourses on the professional, political and public level.

Levente Salat

■ *The Political Community from the Perspective of the Majority-Minority Relationship*

Keywords: *Romania, Hungarian minority, elites, integration, mistrust, political community*

The successive attempts of the Hungarian minority's elite to seek integration into the Romanian state, first between the two World Wars and then after 1945, under the communist rule, have led subsequently to two equally unfavorable conclusions: first, the way in which the leaders of the community think about the terms of the integration is in conflict with the interests of the Romanian majority, and, second, the perseverance of the Hungarian minority to seek integration on its own terms bred the mistrust of the Romanian authorities. Though the deep-rooted tradition of the institutionalized mistrust proved to be a difficult legacy, since 1989 the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania has improved in many concerns. In spite of the undeniable achievements, the conflicting interests of the two communities could not be reconciled, and the options of the Romanians and Hungarians, as far as the issue of integration is concerned, con-

tinue to differ in essential terms. The dominant patterns of public opinion reflect conflicting identity structures and competing ethno-political strategies, raising the intriguing question whether Hungarians in Romania can be considered at all part of the Romanian political community. Seeking an answer to this question, the first part of the paper explores the way in which the term political community is conceptualized in the recent literature, paying special attention to the means by which the stability and coherence of a political community can be safeguarded in cases when it is internally divided along ethnic or linguistic fault-lines.

G. M. Tamás

■ **Trust | Authenticity | Sincerity**

Keywords: *legitimacy, natural law, elections, marketing, branding, state debt, deficit, real income*

The legitimacy of political power is partially hidden (the source for the legitimacy of the rule of law and the constitutional state consists in the theory of the law, which has its origins in natural law theories, i.e. just like in the case of “real-socialist” regimes, in philosophy), and partially located in electoral rivalry and competition (researches pertaining to consumer preferences, as well as their modification, stimulation and neutralization, just as in the case of marketing and commercials, which also organically include the mobilization of moral and aesthetic, and not utilitarian, identity or self-image, in order to choose the “right” brand). It is symptomatic that the underlying theses are not being questioned, as the elites of the day are in total agreement regarding the radical reduction of state debt and budgetary deficit (in other words, and from the other class perspective: the reduction of real income, in order to solve the paradox caused by the reduction of the productive population, as a result of the concomitant stagnation of productivity and the booming technological development, which decreases profits and, as a result, also the level of new investments). As a consequence, this (substantial) identity

of content can only be expressed by way of subjective differentiation, as it is the case, for instance, with the fictional contrast between the “corrupt, debauched and buffoonish Berlusconi” and Mario Monti, the “dignified and cool professional”.

Samuel Weber

■ **Money, Profit, Salvation**

Keywords: *finances, reserve currency, God, Creation, salvageability, guilt, debt, measure*

The entire system of financial speculation that dominates the politics of nation-states today depends on a measure of value that is relatively stable, and this is the “reserve currency” of the US dollar. I would suggest that this dependency in particular – and the more general need of a single “reserve currency” – in the absence of any other common standard (i.e. gold) – may well be the continuation of the monotheistic tradition in which the Creator-God is the immeasurable measure of all value of the Creation. The “content” of that monotheological “measure” would be the “savability” of the sinful-guilty creation, just as the content of today’s theological-political economy is the salvageability of indebted sovereignties. As Nietzsche first observed and Benjamin elaborated, the relation between “guilt” and “debt” is measured in terms of salvation – which economically equates with a profitable return on investment. Only so can “investment” fulfill the promise of the “incarnation” and mortal bodies become immortal spirits. But this system has never been internally stable, even if it has survived in different forms for over a millennium. For “money” requires a credible “universal equivalent” – or rather a credible standard on which such equivalence can be based. This amounts to appealing to a transcendent “substance” – in the sense of a self-identical entity – that could serve as the non-changing standard upon which variations of value can be reliably calculated. But as the German poet Hölderlin wrote, in a long poem “Is there on earth a measure? There is none.”

SZÁMUNK SZERZŐI

Balázs Imre József (1976) – irodalomtörténész, PhD, egyetemi adjunktus, BBTE, főszerkesztő, Korunk, Kolozsvár

Benoist, Alain de (1943) – esszéíró, filozófus, Párizs

Bogdán László (1948) – író, szerkesztő, Sepsiszentgyörgy

Both Noémi Zsuzsanna (1990) – egyetemi hallgató, BBTE, Kolozsvár

Cseke Péter (1945) – egyetemi tanár, BBTE, szerkesztő, Korunk, Kolozsvár

Cseke Péter Tamás (1971) – szerkesztő, Új Magyar Szó, Bukarest

Demény Péter (1972) – költő, szerkesztő, Látó, Kolozsvár

Diósi László (1967) – az OTP Románia vezérigazgatója, Budapest/Bukarest

Elkán György (1937) – műépítész, Kolozsvár

Gábor Csilla (1963) – irodalomtörténész, egyetemi tanár, BBTE, Kolozsvár

Groys, Boris (1947) – művészettörténész, filozófus, Karlsruhe – New York

Horváth Andor (1944) – esszéíró, főszerkesztő-helyettes, Korunk, Kolozsvár

Kántor Lajos (1937) – irodalomtörténész, az MTA doktora, Kolozsvár

Lengyel László (1950) – pénzügyi szakember, elnök-vezérigazgató, Pénzügykutató Zrt., Budapest

Madaras Szidónia (1989) – egyetemi hallgató, BBTE, Kolozsvár

Murádin János Kristóf (1980) – történész, PhD, egyetemi adjunktus, Sapientia EMTE, Kolozsvár

Paksa Rudolf (1981) – történész, MTA Történettudományi Intézet, doktorandusz, ELTE, Budapest

Paulovics László (1937) – képzőművész, Szentendre

Palkó Gábor (1973) – irodalomtörténész, Budapest

Rigán Lóránd (1980) – filozófiatörténész, PhD, szerkesztő, Korunk, Kolozsvár

Roth, George (1956) – pénzügyi szakértő, Los Gatos, Egyesült Államok

Salat Levente (1957) – politológus, egyetemi docens, BBTE, Kolozsvár

Sümegei György (1947) – művészet-történész, Budapest

Tamás Gáspár Miklós (1948) – filozófus, Budapest

Tóth Kinga (1983) – költő, Budapest

Török Ervin (1977) – egyetemi adjunktus, Szeged

Virginás Andrea (1976) – egyetemi adjunktus, Sapientia EMTE, Kolozsvár

Weber, Samuel (1940) – egyetemi tanár, Northwestern University, Evanston, USA

Zólya Andrea Csilla (1978) – irodalomkritikus, PhD, Szentendre

Támogatók



COMMUNITAS
ALAPÍTVÁNY
Alapította az FMML: 1997



Nemzeti
Kulturális
Alap



BETHLEN GÁBOR
Alap



MINISTERUL CULTURII
ȘI PATRIMONIULUI NAȚIONAL

„A »fiat«, amely mind a pénzt, mind a »piacot« meghatározza, nem kevésbé »szabad«, mint az a »fiat«, amely a világot megteremtette: legyen világosság, és lőn világosság. Legyen pénz – és lőn pénz. De csak akkor, ha az akarat a domináns Szuperhatalomé, amely a »tartalékvalutát« és az érték mértékét biztosítja annál fogva, hogy a Szabad Piac egész mechanizmusával és értékeivel összefonódik. Ez a »stabilitás« lényege, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy az Egyesült Államok jóval nagyobb adósságot halmozzon fel, mint jó néhány európai nemzet, amely »szuverén adóssága« miatt hitelezési nehézségekkel küzd.”

(Samuel Weber)

ISSN 1222 8338



9 771222 283304



1 2 0 0 1

4 LEJ • 500 FT

CREDIT FAIR
BÎLCIUL CREDITELOR