

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

András Bozóki

Professor of Political Science, CEU
MA course, 2 credits, Winter, 2010.
Monday 15.30 – 17.10

Course description

The purpose of the course is to give a comprehensive introduction to the modern political ideologies. The revival of some old ideologies as well as the increasing influence of some new ones are characteristic features of the post-Cold War epoch.

The course starts off with the concept of ideology itself, in both historical and post-Cold War context, by paying attention to the linguistic turn in historiography in clarifying different approaches to ideology vs discourse. Then the most important ideologies will be discussed one after the other. I would like to examine the topic such a way in which we shall discuss the theoretical considerations first, and then, taking both Western and Eastern examples, the impact of these ideas on the reality. Although the course focuses on ideologies, it puts them into the context of social and political practice. This is not a political philosophy class: it focuses on the main components of ideologies, their cohesiveness and social and political functions. Beside some 'classic' ideologies (liberalism, conservatism, socialism), we also discuss some others (anarchism, fascism, nationalism etc.) which all had significant impact in the history of ideas. Finally, 'new' ideologies which appeared important from the 1960s onwards (feminism, ecologism, new left, new right) and issues in democratic political participation in the era of globalization). The course also follows the main debates on ideology, i.e. the 'end of ideology' debate of the 1950s and 1960s and the 'end of history' debate in the 1990s.

Learning outcome:

Students will be able to understand and analyze different political arguments in their wider, ideological context and they will be more sophisticated in dealing with the cultural, ideological and social embeddedness of political actions, discourses, and rhetorics. The course will enhance the students' critical thinking in revealing and uncovering one of the major components (i.e. ideology) has been present in the history of politics and political ideas.

The grade consists of three components.

First, students are required to follow the readings before each meeting and, naturally, to attend the seminars. They should write position papers on confronting views and debated issues of the discussed ideology. The seminar is designed in a way that a lecture type introduction is followed by a debate on readings and issues covered by them. The discussion is designed to focus on pros and cons of certain issues and students will be asked to take side and argue in defense of their position. All of these activities (participation, position papers, participation in discussions) will be called "activity in class" which will make up 40 per cent of the final grade.

Second, depending on the number of students, each student will be asked to present one or two readings during the semester which will contribute further 20 per cent to the grade.

Third, the remaining 40 per cent will be made up by a final essay to be completed by the last meeting of the semester in which students should elaborate an argument in max.12 pages (one-and-half-spaced, without the references) on one of the ideologies discussed in class. They are encouraged (though not obliged) to examine the appearance of various political ideologies in Central and Eastern Europe, and their impact on politics of the region. Position papers and final essays should be handed in print-out form.

Week 1. (January 11.) **The Concept of Ideology and the Meanings of Left / Right**

Mandatory readings

Andrew Vincent (1992) "The Nature of Ideology" in Modern Political Ideologies. Oxford: Blackwell, 1-21.

Judith Shklar (1997 [1966]), „Political Theory and Ideology” in Paul Schumaker, Dwight C. Kiel, Thomas W. Heilke eds. Ideological Voices: An Anthology in Modern Political Ideas. New York: McGraw-Hill, 4-14.

Suggested readings

Karl Mannheim (1972), Ideology and Utopia. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

David McLellan (1986), Ideology. Milton Keynes: Open University Press

Terry Eagleton (1991), Ideology. London-New York: Verso, 1-31.

Terence Ball & Richard Dagger eds. (1995), Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader. New York: HarperCollins College Publishers

Paul Schumaker, Dwight C. Kiel & Thomas W. Heilke eds. (1997), Ideological Voices: An Anthology in Modern Political Ideas. New York: McGraw-Hill

Iain MacKenzie (2003), „The Idea of Ideology” in Robert Eccleshall et al.: Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Routledge, 1-16.

Michael Freedon (2003), Ideology: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Andrew Vincent (2010), Modern Political Ideologies. (Third edition), Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell

Week 2. (January 18.) **Liberalism, Libertarianism, Neoliberalism**

Mandatory readings

John Stuart Mill (1997, [1859]), On Liberty (excerpt) in Paul Schumaker, Dwight C. Kiel & Thomas W. Heilke eds., Ideological Voices: An Anthology in Modern Political Ideas. New York: McGraw-Hill, 40-53.

Isaiah Berlin (1984), „Two Concepts of Liberty” in Michael J. Sandel ed., Liberalism and Its Critics. New York: New York University Press, 15-36.

Friedrich A. Hayek (1998), „Made Orders and Spontaneous Orders” in David Boaz ed. The Libertarian Reader. New York: The Free Press, 233-242.

Robert Eccleshall (2003), „Liberalism” in Robert Eccleshall et al., Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Routledge, 17-45.

Suggested readings

- Friedrich A. Hayek (1960), The Constitution of Liberty. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Ludwig von Mises (1985), Liberalism in the Classical Tradition. San Francisco: Cobden Press, 1985. 18-59.
- John Gray (1986), Liberalism. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Anthony Arblaster (1986), The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Barbara Goodwin (33-60), „Liberalism” Using Political Ideas. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1987. 33-60.
- Andrew Belsey (1986), “The New Right, Social Order and Civil Liberties” in Ruth Levitas (ed.): The Ideology of the New Right. Cambridge: Polity Press, 169-197.
- Adam Przeworski (1993), “The Neoliberal Fallacy” in Larry Diamond & Marc F. Plattner (eds.): Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy Revisited. Baltimore - London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 39-53.
- Jeremy Shearmur (1993), „In Defense of Neoliberalism” in Larry Diamond & Mark F. Plattner op.cit. 69-75.
- Jerzy Szacki (1995), Liberalism after Communism. Budapest - London: CEU Press, 17-42.
- John Rawls (1997 [1971]), „A Kantian Concept of Equality” in Paul Schumaker, Dwight C. Kiel, Thomas W. Heilke eds. Ideological Voices: An Anthology in Modern Political Ideas. New York: McGraw-Hill, 227-235.
- Robert Nozick (1997 [1974]), „A Libertarian Conception of Distributive Justice” in Paul Schumaker, Dwight C. Kiel, Thomas W. Heilke eds. (1997), Ideological Voices: An Anthology in Modern Political Ideas. New York: McGraw-Hill, 53-61.
- David Harvey (2005), A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Richard Peet & Elaine Hartwick (2009), Theories of Development. New York-London: Guilford Press. On neoliberalism: 78-102.

Week 3. (January 25.) **Conservatism, Neoconservatism**

Mandatory readings

Michael Oakeshott (1962), “On Being Conservative” in M. Oakeshott: On Being Conservative and Other Essays. London: Methuen, 168-196.

David Clarke (1975), „The Conservative Faith in a Modern Age” in Philip W. Buck (ed.): How Conservatives Think. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 165-173.

Roger Scruton (1991), „Introduction: What Is Conservatism?” in R. Scruton (ed.), Conservative Texts: An Anthology. London: Macmillan, 1-28.

Irving Kristol (1995 [1979]), „What Is Neoconservatism?” in Terence Ball & Richard Dagger eds. Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader. New York: HarperCollins, 175-78.

Suggested readings

Edmund Burke (1969), Reflections on the French Revolution. Baltimore: Penguin

Karl Mannheim (1953), „Conservative Thought” in Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Irving Kristol (1983), Reflections of a Neo-Conservative. New York: Basic Books

Robert Nisbet (1986), Conservatism: Dream and Reality. Milton Keynes: Open University Press
 David G. Green (1987), The New Right. London: Wheatsheaf Books
 Roger Scruton (1991), Conservative Texts: An Anthology. London: Macmillan
 John Gray (1993), "Conservatism, Individualism and the Political Thought of the New Right" in Postliberalism: Studies in Political Thought. London: Routledge, 1993.
 Noel O'Sullivan (1993), „Conservatism" in Roger Eatwell & Anthony Wright (eds.), Contemporary Political Ideologies. London: Pinter, 50-77.
 Mark Gerson ed. (1996), The Essential Neoconservative Reader. Addison Wesley
 Amitai Etzioni ed. (1998), The Essential Communitarian Reader. Lanham MD.: Rowman & Littlefield.
 Robert Eccleshall (2003), „Conservatism" in Robert Eccleshall et al., Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Routledge, 46-72.

Week 4. (February 1.) Socialism, Communism, Social Democracy

Mandatory readings

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1978), „Manifesto of the Communist Party" in Robert C. Tucker (ed.), The Marx-Engels Reader. New York-London: W.W. Norton, 469-500.

Lenin, Vladimir I. (1975), "What Is To Be Done?" in Robert C. Tucker (ed.), The Lenin Anthology. New York: W. W. Norton, 33-59.

Leon Trotsky (1969), "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" in Trotsky: The Permanent Revolution. New York: Merit Publishers

Anthony Wright (1993), "Social Democracy and Democratic Socialism" in Roger Eatwell & A. Wright (eds.), Contemporary Political Ideologies. London: Pinter, 78-99.

Joseph V. Femia (1993), "Marxism and Communism" in Roger Eatwell & Anthony Wright (eds.): Contemporary Political Ideologies. London: Pinter, 100-125.

Suggested readings

Alexander Gray (1963), The Socialist Tradition. London: Longmans

John Plamenatz (1963), Man and Society. Vol.2. London: Longmans

R. N. Berki (1975), "What Is Socialism?" in Berki: Socialism. New York: St. Martin's Press, 9-38.

Robert C. Tucker ed. (1978), The Marx-Engels Reader. New York: W. W. Norton

Adam Przeworski (1980), „Social Democracy as a Historical Phenomenon" New Left Review, No.122. July-August, 27-58.

Bernard Crick (1987), Socialism. Milton Keynes: Open University Press

Anthony Giddens (1994), Beyond Left and Right. Cambridge: Polity Press

Anthony Giddens (1998), The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy. Cambridge: Polity Press

Tony Blair & Gerhard Schröder (2000), "The New Centre/Die Neue Mitte" Dissent

Vincent Geoghegan (2003), „Socialism" in Robert Eccleshall et al., Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Routledge, 73-96.

C. Wright Mills (1963), "The New Left" In: Mills: Power, Politics, and People. New York: Oxford University Press, 247-259.

Nikolai Bukharin (1966), The ABC of Communism. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

Robert C. Tucker ed. (1975), The Lenin Anthology. New York: W. W. Norton

György Lukács (1971), History and Class Consciousness. London: Merlin Press

Leszek Kolakowski (1981) Main Currents of Marxism. Vol.1-3. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Ernesto Che Guevara (1983) Guerilla Warfare. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press

Daniel & Gabriel Cohn-Bendit (1968), „The Nature of the Communist Bureaucracy” In Obsolete Communism: The Left Wing Alternative. New York: McGraw-Hill, 170-195.

Darrow Schechter (1994), Radical Theories. Manchester: Manchester University Press

A. James Gregor (2009), Marxism, Fascism, and Totalitarianism: Chapters in the Intellectuals History of Radicalism. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Week 5. (February 8.) **Anarchism, Syndicalism**

Mandatory readings

Mihail Bakunin (1980), Statism and Anarchy (excerpts) In: Sam Dolgoff (ed.): Bakunin on Anarchism. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 323-350.

Robert Paul Wolff (1970), In Defense of Anarchism. New York-London: Harper & Row, 69-82.

Jeremy Jennings (1993), “Anarchism” in Roger Eatwell & Anthony Wright (eds.): Contemporary Political Ideologies. London: Pinter, 127-146.

Darrow Schechter (1994), „Revolutionary Syndicalism” in D. Schechter: Radical Theories. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 21-45.

Suggested readings

Max Nettlau (1996), A Short History of Anarchism. London: Freedom Press

George Woodcock ed. (1977), The Anarchist Reader. London: Fontana

Jenő Henrik Schmitt (1991), „What Do We Want?” In: János M. Bak, András Bozóki & Miklós Sükösd (eds.), Liberty and Socialism: The Writings of Hungarian Libertarian Socialists. Savage: Rowman & Littlefield, 9-19.

Peter Marshall (1992), Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism. London: Fontana

David Boaz (1997), Libertarianism: A Primer. New York: The Free Press, 1997.

David Boaz ed. (1998), The Libertarian Reader. New York: The Free Press, 1998.

Daniel Guérin ed. (1998), No Gods, No Masters: An Anthology of Anarchism. Edinburgh: AK Press

Colin Ward (2004), Anarchism: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Uri Gordon (2008), Anarchy Alive: Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory. London: Pluto Press

Randall Amster et al. eds. (2009), Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy. Oxon – New York: Routledge

Week 6. (February 15.) **Nationalism**

Mandatory readings

Anthony D. Smith (1971), „Definitions” in A. D. Smith: Theories of Nationalism. London: Duckworth, 153-191.

Ernest Gellner (1992), Nations and Nationalism. Oxford: Blackwell, 88-109.

Andrew Heywood (1992), “Nationalism” in A. Heywood: Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Macmillan, 136-170.

Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences (SANU), in Gale Stokes ed. (1996), From Stalinism to Pluralism: A Documentary History of Eastern Europe Since 1945. New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 275-80.

Suggested readings

Benedict Anderson (1991), Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso

Liah Greenfeld (1992), Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Yael Tamir (1993), Liberal Nationalism. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Elie Kedourie (1993), Nationalism. Oxford: Blackwell

John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith eds. (1994), Nationalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Sukumar Periwal ed. (1995), Notions of Nationalism. Budapest-London: CEU Press

Peter F. Sugar ed. (1995), Eastern European Nationalism in the Twentieth Century. Washington, DC: The American University Press

Rogers Brubaker (1996), Nationalism Reframed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Craig Calhoun (1997), Nationalism. Buckingham: Open University Press

Omar Dahbour & Micheline R. Ishay eds. (1999), The Nationalism Reader. Amherst, N.Y.: Humanity Books

Alan Finlayson (2003), „Nationalism” in Robert Eccleshall et al. Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Routledge, 97-117.

Week 7. (February 22.) **Fascism and Nazism**

Mandatory readings

Benito Mussolini & Giovanni Gentile (2000), “Foundations and Doctrine of Fascism” in Jeffrey T. Schnapp (ed.): A Primer of Italian Fascism. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 46-71.

“Three Definitions of Fascism: Paul Wilkinson, Zeev Sternhell, and Roger Griffin” in Roger Griffin ed. (1998), International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the New Consensus. London: Arnold, 22-39.

Rick Wilford (2003), „Fascism” in Robert Eccleshall et al. Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Routledge, 119-150.

Suggested readings

Giovanni Gentile (1928), „The Philosophic Basis of Fascism” Foreign Affairs, Vol. 6. No. 2. 290-304.

Eugene Weber (1964), Varieties of Fascism. New York: Van Nostrand

Ernst Nolte (1965), Three Faces of Fascism. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson

Walter Laqueur ed. (1978), Fascism: A Reader's Guide. Berkeley: University of California Press

Andrew Vincent (1992), “Fascism” in A. Vincent: Modern Political Ideologies. Oxford: Blackwell, 141-171.

Roger Griffin (1993) The Nature of Fascism. London: Routledge

Thomas S. Szayna (1997), “The Extreme-Right Political Movements in Post-Communist Central Europe” in Peter H. Merkl & Leonard Weinberg (eds.): The Revival of Right-Wing Extremism in the Nineties. London: Frank Cass, 111-148.

Roger Griffin ed. (1998), International Fascism. London: Arnold, 1998.

Sabrina P. Ramet ed., The Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe Since 1989. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

Jeffrey T. Schnapp ed. (2000), A Primer of Italian Fascism. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press

Week 8. (March 1.) Varieties of Populism

Mandatory readings

Juan D. Perón (1948), Expounds His Doctrine. Buenos Aires, 173-205.

Ernesto Laclau (1977), „Towards a Theory of Populism” in E. Laclau: Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism. London: Verso, 143-198.

Margaret Canovan (1981), “Agrarian Populism in Perspective” in M. Canovan: Populism. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 98-105.

Suggested readings

George B. Tindall ed. (1966), A Populist Reader. New York: Harper & Row

Norman Pollack ed. (1967), The Populist Mind. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

Ghíta Ionescu & Ernest Gellner eds. (1969), Populism: Its Meaning and National Characteristics
London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson

Margaret Canovan (1981), Populism. New York-London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1981.

Andreas Boeckh (1993), “Populism in Latin America: Economic Crises and the Rise of New Development Coalitions” Working Paper #1. CEU, Dept. of Political Science, Budapest

András Bozóki (1994), “An Outline of Three Populisms: The United States, Argentina and Hungary” Working Paper #5. CEU, Dept. of Political Science, Budapest.

Joseph Held ed. (1996), Populism in Eastern Europe: Racism, Nationalism and Society. Boulder: East European Monographs

Paul Taggart (2000), Populism. Buckingham: Open University Press

Francisco Panizza ed. (2005), Populism and the Mirror of Democracy. London: Verso

Week 9. (March 8.) **Feminism**

Mandatory readings

Mary Wollstonecraft (1994 [1794]) A Vindication of the Rights of Woman. (excerpts) In: Miriam Schneir (ed.), Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings. New York: Vintage, 5-16.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1997 [1848]), „The Seneca Falls Declaration” in Paul Schumaker, Dwight C. Kiel, Thomas W. Heilke eds. Ideological Voices: An Anthology in Modern Political Ideas. New York: McGraw-Hill, 370-72.

Emma Goldman (1992 [1910]), “The Traffic in Women” and “Marriage and Love” both in Miriam Schneir (ed.), Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings. New York: Vintage, 308-24.

Kate Millett (1991 [1970]), “The Theory of Sexual Politics” in K. Millett: Sexual Politics. London: Virago Press, 23-58.

Suggested readings

Julia Kristeva (1982), „Women's Time” in N. O. Keohane, M. Z. Rosaldo & B. C. Gelpi (eds.), Feminist Theory: A Critique of Ideology. Brighton: Harvester Press, 31-53.

Hester Eisenstein (1984), Contemporary Feminist Thought. London-Sydney: Unwin

Rosemarie Tong (1989), Feminist Thought. London-Sydney: Unwin

Caroline Ramazanoglu (1993), Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression. London: Routledge

Catherine A. MacKinnon (1993), Only Words. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

Nanette Funk & Magda Müller eds. (1993), Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. London: Routledge

Miriam Schneir ed. (1994), Feminism in Our Time. New York: Vintage

Jirina Smejkalová (1997), “On the Road: Smuggling Feminism Across the post-Iron Curtain” in Margit Feischmidt, Enikő Magyari-Vincze & Violetta Zentai (eds.): Women and Men in East European Transition. Cluj-Napoca: Efes, 25-33.

Tanya Renne ed. (1997), Ana's Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe. Oxford: Westview, 76-81.

Barbara A. Crow ed. (2000), Radical Feminism: A Documentary Reader. New York: New York University Press

Rick Wilford (2003), „Feminism” in Robert Eccleshall et al. Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Routledge, 181-215.

Week 10. March 15. - holiday

Week 11. (March 22.) **Environmentalism, Ecologism**

Mandatory readings

J. Baird Callicott (1984) „Non-Anthropocentric Value Theory and Environmental Ethics" American Philosophical Quarterly, Vol. 21. No. 4. October, 299-309.

Charlene Spretnak & Fritjof Capra (1986), „Principles of a New Politics" in C. Spretnak & F. Capra: Green Politics: A Global Promise. Santa Fé: Bear & Co., 29-56.

Petra Kelly (1997 [1992]), „Creating an Ecological Economy" in Paul Schumaker, Dwight C. Kiel, Thomas W. Heilke eds. Ideological Voices: An Anthology in Modern Political Ideas. New York: McGraw-Hill, 356-362.

Andrew Vincent (1992), "Ecologism" in A. Vincent: Modern Political Ideologies. Oxford: Blackwell, 208-237.

Suggested readings

James Lovelock (1979), Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Andrew Dobson ed. (1991), The Green Reader. London: Andre Deutsch

Alan Drenson & Yuichi Inoue eds. (1995), The Deep Ecology Movement: An Introductory Anthology. Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1995.

Ian Welsh & Andrew Tickle (1995), "The 1989 Revolutions and Environmental Politics in Central and Eastern Europe" in Tickle & Welsh (eds.): Environment and Society in Eastern Europe. Essex: Longman, 1-25.

Theodore D. Goldfarb ed. (1997), Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Environmental Issues. New York: McGraw-Hill

Carolyn Merchant ed. (1999), Ecology. Amherst, N.Y.: Humanity Books

Andrew Dobson (2000), Green Political Thought. London: Routledge

Michael Kenny (2003), „Ecologism" in Robert Eccleshall et al. Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Routledge, 151-179.

Meeting 12. (March 29.) Debates on the "End of Ideology", "End of History" and the "Clash of Civilizations"

Mandatory readings

Raymond Aron (1968), „The End of the Ideological Age?" In: Chaim I. Waxman ed., The End of Ideology Debate. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 27-48.

Seymour M. Lipset (1968), „The End of Ideology?" in Chaim I. Waxman ed., The End of Ideology Debate. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 69-86.

Francis Fukuyama (1997 [1989]), „The End of History?" (Originally published in the National Interest, Summer, 3-18.) in Paul Schumaker, Dwight C. Kiel, Thomas W. Heilke eds. Ideological Voices: An Anthology in Modern Political Ideas. New York: McGraw-Hill, 409-417.

Samuel P. Huntington (1993), "Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 72. No. 3. Summer, 22-49.

Suggested readings

- Chaim I. Waxman ed. (1968), The End of Ideology Debate. New York: Funk & Wagnalls
- Daniel Bell (1968), „The End of Ideology in the West” in C. Waxman (ed.), op.cit. 87-105.
- W. J. Stankiewicz (1993), „The Illusion of the End of Ideology” in Stankiewicz: In Search of a Political Philosophy: Ideologies at the Close of the Twentieth Century. London: Routledge
- Samuel P. Huntington et al. (1996), The Clash of Civilizations? The Debate. New York: Foreign Affairs
- Lawrence E. Harrison & Samuel P. Huntington eds. (2000), Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress. New York: Basic Books
- Moya Lloyd (2003), „The End of Ideology?” in Robert Eccleshall et al. Political Ideologies: An Introduction. London: Routledge, 217-241.