

# **IDEOLOGIES AND INTELLECTUALS**

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MA course, 4 credits

Fall semester, 2019. Tuesday and Wednesday 15.30 –17.10

Place: Budapest N13 #309, Vienna QS #B214

**Description:** The purpose of the course is to give a comprehensive overview to the modern political ideologies, and their chief exponents, the intellectuals. 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, classical New Class and contemporary approaches to intellectuals will be discussed. Afterwards we examine major ideologies such a way in which we shall discuss the theoretical considerations first, and then the impact of these ideas. The course aims to put these ideologies into the context of social and political practice. Beside some 'classic' ideologies (liberalism, conservatism, socialism, anarchism, fascism, nationalism etc.) which all had significant impact in the history of ideas, we will discuss some 'new' ideologies (feminism, ecologism, new left, new right) and issues in democratic political participation in the era of globalization) will be discussed. The course also follows the main debates on ideology.

## **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 key academic transferable skills, such as critical writing, summary writing, oral communication.
- It helps multidisciplinary approach to social phenomena, value awareness, integration of research into learning and critical thinking.

## **Grade components:**

- Students are required to attend the seminars, follow the readings, and to participate actively in the class discussions (20%).
- Students should write position papers, which should be handed over in a print-out form. (20%)
- Depending on the size of class, each student will be asked to give one or more presentations (20%).
- A 3000-word final essay should be written by the last meeting of the semester. The topic, chosen by the student, has to be approved by the professor in advance. It is to be handed in a print-out form as well as sent electronically (40%).

## TOPICS AND READINGS

### **WEEK 1. September 17, 18. The Concept of Ideology**

#### ***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.

#### ***Further readings***

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

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 Freeden (2003), *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

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

### **WEEK 2. September 24, 25. The Intellectuals: Classical approaches**

#### ***Mandatory readings:***

Robert Michels (1937), "Intellectuals" *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, (Ed. by Edwin R. A. Seligman), New York: Macmillan, 118-125.

Antonio Gramsci (1971), "The Intellectuals" in A. Gramsci: *Selections from Prison Notebooks*. (Ed. by Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith) London: Lawrence and Wishart, 5-23.

Martin Malia (1961), "What Is the Intellectual?" in Richard Pipes (ed.), *The Russian Intelligentsia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1-18.

#### ***Further readings:***

Julien Benda (1955), *The Betrayal of the Intellectuals*. Boston: The Beacon Press

Karl Mannheim (1936), *Ideology and Utopia*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1936. 97-171.

Karl Mannheim (1956), "The Problem of Intelligentsia: An Enquiry into Its Past and Present

Role" in *Essays on the Sociology of Culture*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 91-170.

Raymond Aron (1962), *The Opium of the Intellectuals*. New York: W. W. Norton, 35-65.

Lewis A. Coser (1965), *Men of Ideas: A Sociologist's View*. New York: Free Press

- Edward Shils (1972), „The Intellectuals and the Powers: Some Perspectives for Comparative Analysis” in E. Shils: *The Intellectuals and the Powers and Other Essays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 3-22.
- Michael Confino (1973), „On Intellectuals and Intellectual Traditions in Eighteen- and Nineteenth Century Russia” in S. N. Eisenstadt & S. R. Graubard (eds.), *Intellectuals and Tradition*. New York: Humanities Press, 117-149.
- Isaiah Berlin (1978), „The Birth of the Russian Intelligentsia” in I. Berlin: *Russian Thinkers*. New York: Viking Press, 114-135.
- Michael Walzer (1989), *The Company of Critics*. London: Peter Halban
- Ian MacLean, Alan Montefiore & Peter Winch eds. (1990), *The Political Responsibility of Intellectuals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Paul Johnson (1993), *Intellectuals*. London: Phoenix
- Edward W. Said (1994), *Representations of the Intellectual*. London: Vintage, 3-17.

### **WEEK 3. October 1, 2. New Class theories**

#### ***Mandatory readings***

Mikhail Bakunin (1980), „The International and Karl Marx” in M. Bakunin: *On Anarchy*. (Edited by Sam Dolgoff) Montréal: Black Rose, 286-320.

B. Bruce-Briggs (1981), „An Introduction to the Idea of the New Class” in B. Bruce-Briggs (ed.), *The New Class?* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1-18.

Daniel Bell (1980), „The New Class: A Muddled Concept” in D. Bell: *The Winding Passage. Essays and Sociological Journeys, 1960-1980*. New York: Basic Books, 144-164.

#### ***Further readings***

Milovan Djilas (1966), *The New Class*. London: Unwin Books, 47-72.

Mikhail Bakunin (1966), „Marx, the Bismarck of Socialism” in L. Krimermann & L. Perry (eds.), *Patterns of Anarchy*. New York: Anchor, 882-893.

Marshall S. Shatz (1967), „Jan Wacław Machajski, the 'Conspiracy' of the Intellectuals” *Survey*, Vol. 62. 45-57.

Burnham C. Beckwith (1972), *Government by Experts: The Next Stage in Political Evolution*. New York: Exposition Press, 36-73.

George Konrád & Ivan Szelényi (1979), *Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*. NY: HBJ

Alvin Gouldner (1979), *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of New Class*. New York: The Seabury Press

Iván Szelényi (1986-7), „The Prospects and Limits of the East European New Class Project: An Auto-Critical Reflection on *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*” *Politics and Society*, Vol. 15. No. 2. 103-144.

Bill Martin & Iván Szelényi (1988), „Three Waves of New Class Theories” *Theory and Society*, September, 645-667.

Lawrence Peter King & Iván Szelényi (2004), *Theories of the New Class: Intellectuals and Power*. Minneapolis – London: University of Minnesota Press

## **WEEK 4. October 8, 9. The Intellectuals: Contemporary approaches**

### **Position paper I. (October 8.)**

Alvin Gouldner (1979), *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of New Class*. New York: Seabury

#### **Mandatory readings:**

Zygmunt Bauman (1992), „Legislators and Interpreters: Culture as the Ideology of Intellectuals” in Z. Bauman: *Intimations of Postmodernity*. London: Routledge, 1-25.

Jerome Karabel (1996), „Towards a Theory of Intellectuals and Politics” *Theory and Society*, Vol. 25. No. 2. April, 205-233.

Gil Eyal & Larissa Buchholz (2010), „From the Sociology of Intellectuals to the Sociology of Interventions” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36. 117-137.

#### **Further readings:**

Irving Kristol (1983), „The Adversary Culture of Intellectuals” in I. Kristol: *Reflections of a Neoconservative*. New York: Basic Books, 27-42.

George Konrád (1984), *Antipolitics*. London: Methuen, 208-243.

Zygmunt Bauman (1987), „Intellectuals in East Central Europe: Continuity and Change” *East European Politics and Societies*. Vol. 1. No. 2. Spring, 162-186.

Paul Hollander (1987), „American Intellectuals: Producers and Consumers of Social Criticism” in A. G. Gagnon ed. *Intellectuals in Liberal Democracies* New York: Praeger, 67-86.

Alain G. Gagnon ed. (1987), *Intellectuals in Liberal Democracies*. New York: Praeger

János Mátyás Kovács (1990), „Reform Economics: A Classification Gap” *Daedalus*, Vol. 119. No. 1. Winter, 215-248.

Ron Eyerman (1990), „Intellectuals and Progress: The Origins, Decline, and Revival of a Critical Group” in Jeffrey C. Alexander & Piotr Sztompka eds. *Rethinking Progress: Movement, Forces and Ideas at the End of the 20th Century*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 91-105.

Ron Eyerman & Andrew Jamison (1991), „Social Movements and Their Intellectuals” in Eyerman & Jamison: *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 94-119.

Zygmunt Bauman (1992), „Love in Adversity: On the State and the Intellectuals, and the State of the Intellectuals” *Thesis Eleven*, No. 31. 81-104.

Lena Dominelli & Ankie Hoogvelt (1996), „The Taylorization of Intellectual Labour” in Philip K. Lawrence & Mathias Döbler (eds.), *Knowledge and Power: The Changing Role of European Intellectuals*. Aldershot - Hong Kong - Sydney: Avebury, 60-87.

Flam, Helena (1999), „Dissenting Intellectuals and Plain Dissenters: The Cases of Poland and East Germany” in András Bozóki (ed.), *Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press, 19-41.

András Bozóki ed. (1999), *Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press

András Bozóki ed. (2002), *The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian Democracy* Budapest: CEU Press

Barbara Falk (2003), *Dilemmas of Dissidence in Eastern Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press

Thomas Medvetz (2012), *Think Tanks in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Pavel Barsa (2019), „Why Liberal Elites Can be Dangerous to Democracy” *IWM Post*, No. 123. 7-8.

## **WEEK 5. October 15, 16. 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 [1973]), „Made Orders and Spontaneous Orders” in David Boaz ed. *The Libertarian Reader*. New York: The Free Press, 233-242.

### ***Further readings***

Friedrich A. Hayek (1944), *The Road to Serfdom*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

John Gray (1986), *Liberalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Anthony Arblaster (1986), *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Adam Przeworski (1993), „The Neoliberal Fallacy” in Larry Diamond & Marc F. Plattner (eds.): *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy Revisited*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 39-53.

Jeremy Shearmur (1993), „In Defense of Neoliberalism” in 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 Boaz ed. (1998), *The Libertarian Reader*. New York: The Free Press, 1998.

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

David Harvey (2005), *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Manfred B. Steger & Ravi K. Roy (2010), *Neoliberalism. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford UP

Robert Skidelsky (2010), *Keynes, The Return of the Master*. London: Penguin

Mark Lilla (2018), *The Once and Future Liberal: After Identity Politics*. London: Hurst & Co.

## **WEEK 6. October 22. Conservatism, Neoconservatism**

### ***Mandatory readings***

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

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

### **Further 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
- David Clarke (1975), „The Conservative Faith in a Modern Age” in Philip W. Buck ed. *How Conservatives Think*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 165-173.
- Irving Kristol (1983), *Reflections of a Neo-Conservative*. New York: Basic Books
- Robert Nisbet (1986), *Conservatism: Dream and Reality*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press
- 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 7. October 29, 30. 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, 473-500.

Lenin, Vladimir I. (1975), “What Is To Be Done?” in Robert C. Tucker (ed.) *The Lenin Anthology*. New York: W. W. Norton, 39-59.

Leon Trotsky (1969), “What Is the Permanent Revolution?” in Trotsky: *The Permanent Revolution*. New York: Merit Publishers, 276-281.

### **Further readings**

- 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 Wright (1993), “Social Democracy and Democratic Socialism” in Roger Eatwell & A. Wright (eds.), *Contemporary Political Ideologies*. London: Pinter, 78-99.
- Anthony Giddens (1998), *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity
- 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
- 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
- Joseph V. Femia (1993), “Marxism and Communism” in Roger Eatwell & Anthony Wright eds. *Contemporary Political Ideologies*. London: Pinter, 100-125.

Darrow Schechter (1994), *Radical Theories*. Manchester: Manchester University Press  
 Vincent Geoghegan (2003), „Socialism” in Robert Eccleshall et al., *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 73-96.  
 A. James Gregor (2009), *Marxism, Fascism, and Totalitarianism: Chapters in the Intellectuals History of Radicalism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

## **WEEK 8. November 5, 6. Anarchism, Anarcho-syndicalism**

### **Position paper II. (November 5.)**

Václav Havel (1985), *The Power of the Powerless* (ed. by. John Keane) London: Hutchinson, 23-96.

### **Mandatory readings**

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

Peter Kropotkin (2014 [1882]) „Revolutionary Government” in P. Kropotkin: *Direct Struggle Against Capital: A Peter Kropotkin Anthology*. Ed. by Iain McKay, Edinburgh: AK Press, 505-516.

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

Ziga Vodovnik (2013), *A Living Spirit of Revolt*. Oakland: PM Press, Ch. 3. „Ontology of Anarchism” 63-76. Ch. 4. „A Brief Genealogy of Anarchist Thought” 77-102.

### **Further readings**

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

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

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

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.

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

Ruth Kinna (2005), *Anarchism*. London: Oneworld

Uri Gordon (2008), *Anarchy Alive*. London: Pluto Press

James C. Scott (2012), *Two Cheers for Anarchism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Errico Malatesta (2014 [1899]), „Anarchist Programme in E. Malatesta: *The Method of Freedom: An Errico Malatesta Reader*. Ed. by Davide Turcato. Oakland: AK Press, 279-293.

Peter Kropotkin (2014), *Direct Struggle Against Capital: A Peter Kropotkin Anthology*. Edited by Iain McKay, Edinburgh: AK Press

Mitchell Abidor (2015), *Voices of the Paris Commune*. Oakland: PM Press

Kristin Ross (2015), *Communal Luxury: The Political Imagination of the Paris Commune*. London: Verso

Jim McLaughlin (2016), *Kropotkin and the Anarchist Intellectual Tradition*. London: Pluto Press

## **WEEK 9. November 12, 13.**

## **Nationalism, Populism**

### ***Mandatory readings***

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

Jan-Werner Müller (2017), *What Is Populism?* Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 7-40.

Rogers Brubaker (2017), „Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: The European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1-36.

### ***Further readings***

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

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

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), *Populism*. New York-London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich

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

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

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

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: Humanity

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

Ernesto Laclau (2005), *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso

Steven Grosby (2005), *Nationalism. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Cas Mudde (2007), *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP

John B. Judis (2016), *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics*. New York: Columbia Global Reports

Nadia Marzouki, Duncan McDonnell & Olivier Roy eds. (2016), *Saving the People: How Populists Hijack Religion?* London: Hurst & Company

Cas Mudde & Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2017), *Populism. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chantal Mouffe (2019), „Populism and Its Progressive Potential” *IWM Post*, No. 123. 17.



## **WEEK 10. November 19, 20. 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.

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

Michael Mann (2004), *Fascists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-30.

### **Further readings**

Giovanni Gentile (1928), „The Philosophic Basis of Fascism” *Foreign Affairs*, 6:2, 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

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

Sabrina P. Ramet ed. (1999), *The Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe Since 1989*.

University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press

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

Rick Wilford (2003), „Fascism” in Robert Eccleshall et al. *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*.

London: Routledge, 119-150.

Cas Mudde ed. (2005), *Racist Extremism in Central and Eastern Europe*. London: Routledge

Kevin Passmore (2014), *Fascism. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

## **WEEK 11. November 26, 27. Feminism and Ecologism**

### **Mandatory readings**

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, 370-372.

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, 308-324.

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

Charlene Spretnak & Fritjof Capra (1986), *Green Politics: A Global Promise*. Santa Fé: Bear & Co., 29-56.

### **Further 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.
- Rosemarie Tong (1989), *Feminist Thought*. London-Sydney: Unwin
- 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.
- Catherine A. MacKinnon (1993), *Only Words*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Miriam Schneir ed. (1994), *Feminism in Our Time*. New York: Vintage
- Barbara A. Crow ed. (2000), *Radical Feminism: A Documentary Reader*. New York: New York UP
- Rick Wilford (2003), „Feminism” in Robert Eccleshall et al. *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 181-215.
- Margaret Walters (2005), *Feminism. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford UP
- James Lovelock (1979), *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*. Oxford: Oxford UP
- J. Baird Callicott (1984) „Non-Anthropocentric Value Theory and Environmental Ethics” *American Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 21. No. 4. October, 299-309.
- Andrew Dobson ed. (1991), *The Green Reader*. London: Andre Deutsch
- Alan Drengson & 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.
- 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.

## **WEEK 12. December 3, 4. Debates on the “End of Ideology”, “End of History”, and the „Clash of Civilizations”**

### **Mandatory readings**

Raymond Aron (1968 [1957]), „The End of the Ideological Age?” In: Chaim I. Waxman ed., *The End of Ideology Debate*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 27-48.

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

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

### **Further readings**

Chaim I. Waxman ed. (1968), *The End of Ideology Debate*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls

Seymour M. Lipset (1968 [1960]), „The End of Ideology?” in Chaim I. Waxman ed., *The End of Ideology Debate*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 69-86.

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.

Michael Ignatieff & Stefan Roch eds.(2018), *Rethinking Open Society: New Adversaries and New Opportunities*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press

**Handing the final essays.**