POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

András Bozóki

Professor, Dept. of Political Science, CEU, Vienna bozokia@ceu.edu

MA course, 4 credits, Fall semester, 2020. #D318, Monday at 1.30pm and Wednesday at 3.30pm

Description: The purpose of the course is to give a comprehensive overview to the modern political ideologies. 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, 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 aim 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. We will follow the main debates on ideology too.

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.

Grade components:

Students are required to follow the readings before each meeting, to attend the seminars, participating actively in the class discussions, and, if asked, introducing the readings of the week (20%).

Students should write two 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 two presentations (20%).

Students need to write a 3000-word final essay by the last meeting of the semester. The topic, chosen by the student, has to be approved by the professor a month before. It has to be handed in a print-out form by the last class, as well as to be sent electronically (40%)

TOPICS AND READINGS

WEEK 1. September 28, 30. 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 UP Andrew Vincent (2010), *Modern Political Ideologies*. (Third edition), Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell

WEEK 2. October 5, 7. 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?" 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.

Further 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. *The End of Ideology Debate*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 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.

WEEK 3. October 12, 14. 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.

POSITION PAPER 1.

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.

Further readings

- National Assembly of France (1997 [1789], "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens" in Paul D. Schumaker, Dwight C. Kiel, Thomas W. Heilke eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 38-39.
- 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: 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 et al. 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 UP
- Robert Skidelsky (2010), Keynes, The Return of the Master. London: Penguin
- Manfred B. Steger & Ravi K. Roy (2010), *Neoliberalism. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford UP
- Michael Freeden (2015), *Liberalism. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford UP Mark Lilla (2018), *The Once and Future Liberal: After Identity Politics*. London: Hurst & Co.

WEEK 4. October 19, 21. 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.

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

Russell Kirk (1997 [1954]), "The Problem of Social Justice" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 79-85.

Irving Kristol (1983), Reflections of a Neo-Conservative. New York: Basic Books Robert Nisbet (1986), Conservatism: Dream and Reality. Milton Keynes: Open UP Roger Scruton (1991), Conservative Texts: An Anthology. London: Macmillan John Gray (1993), "Conservatism, Individualism and the Political Thought of the New Right" in Postliberalism. 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 Charles Krauthammer (1997 [1995]), "A Social Conservative Credo" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 308-312.

Amitai Etzioni ed. (1998), *The Essential Communitarian Reader*. Lanham MD.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Robert Eccleshall (2003), "Conservatism" in R. Eccleshall et al., *Political Ideologies: An Introduction.* London: Routledge, 46-72.

Murray Friedman (2005), *The Neoconservative Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

WEEK 5. October 28. **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.

Further readings

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

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 UP 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 UP Craig Calhoun (1997), *Nationalism*. Buckingham: Open University Press Omar Dahbour & Micheline R. Ishay eds. (1999), *The Nationalism Reader*. Amherst, N.Y.: Humanity Books

Steven Grosby (2005), Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford UP

WEEK 6. November 2, 4. Socialism, Communism, and 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.

Eduard Bernstein (1997 [1899]), "Evolutionary Socialism" in Paul Schumaker et al eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 244-249.

Lenin, Vladimir I. (1975 [1902]), "What Is To Be Done?" in Robert C. Tucker ed. *The Lenin Anthology*. New York: W. W. Norton, 33-59.

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

Further readings

- Friedrich Engels (1997 [1880]), "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 138-143.
- Vladimir I. Lenin (1997 [1917]), "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 154-158.
- Robert C. Tucker ed. (1978), *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York: W. W. Norton Leon Trotsky (1969), "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" in Trotsky: *The Permanent Revolution*. New York: Merit Publishers
- Alexander Gray (1963), The Socialist Tradition. London: Longmans
- 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 (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 UP
- 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 UP
- Vincent Geoghegan (2003), "Socialism" in Robert Eccleshall et al., *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 73-96.
- Leslie Holmes (2009), Communism: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford UP

WEEK 7. November 9, 11. Anarchism and Anarcho-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.

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

Further readings

- Jeremy Jennings (1993), "Anarchism" in Roger Eatwell & Anthony Wright eds. Contemporary Political Ideologies. London: Pinter, 127-146.
- 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
- Mikhail Bakunin (1997 [1872]), "Letter to *La Liberté*" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 105-109.
- Peter Kropotkin (1997 [1902], "Mutual Aid" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 95-105.
- Emma Goldman (1997 [1911], "Anarchism: What It Really Stands For" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 86-95.
- 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 UP
- Ruth Kinna (2005), Anarchism. Londone: Oneworld
- Uri Gordon (2008), *Anarchy Alive: Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory*. London: Pluto Press
- James C. Scott (2012), Two Cheers for Anarchism. Princeton: Princeton UP
- Ziga Vodovnik (2013), A Living Spirit of Revolt. Oakland: PM Press, 63-102.
- 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
- Jim McLaughlin (2016), Kropotkin and the Anarchist Intellectual Tradition.. London: Pluto Press

WEEK 8. November 16, 18. **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.

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

POSITION PAPER 2.

"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.

Further readings

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

- Benito Mussolini (1997 [1932]), "The Doctrine of Fascism" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 192-202.
- Adolf Hitler (1997 [1925]), "Mein Kampf" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 183-191.
- 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
- Ali Rattansi (2007), Racism: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford UP Kevin Passmore (2014), Fascism: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford UP Jane Caplan (2019), Nazi Germany: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford UP

WEEK 9. November 23, 25. **Populism**

Mandatory readings

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
- 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

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

- 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 30, December 2. **Feminism**

Mandatory readings

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1997 [1848]), "The Seneca Falls Declaration" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. 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.

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.

Hester Eisenstein (1984), Contemporay Feminist Thought. London-Sydney: Unwin Rosemarie Tong (1989), Feminist Thought. London-Sydney: Unwin

Susan Moller Okin (1997 [1989], "Justice, Gender and the Family" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. Ideological Voices. New York: McGraw-Hill, 381-395.

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

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

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

WEEK 11. December 7, 9. **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), *Green Politics: A Global Promise*. Santa Fé: Bear & Co., 29-56.

Further readings

James Lovelock (1979), *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*. Oxford: Oxford UP Tom Regan (1997 [1983]), "The Case for Animal Rights" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 362-367.

Andrew Dobson ed. (1991), *The Green Reader*. London: Andre Deutsch Andrew Vincent (1992), "Ecologism" in A. Vincent: *Modern Political Ideologies*. Oxford: Blackwell, 208-237.

Petra Kelly (1997 [1994]), "Creating an Ecological Economy" in Paul Schumaker et al. eds. *Ideological Voices*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 356-362.

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 14, 16. Concluding discussion

Recommended readings

George McKenna & Stanley Feingold (1999), Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Political Issues. Guilford, CT: Dushkin/McGraw-Hill Paul Schumaker (2008), From Ideologies to Public Philosophies. Oxford: Blackwell Michael Ignatieff & Stefan Roch eds. (2018), Rethinking Open Society: New Adversaries and New Opportunities. Budapest – New York: CEU Press