

CEU
BERKELEY
SYMPOSIUM

**Beyond
Dichotomies:**
Re-thinking the
liberal agenda

28-29 March, 2017
Budapest



OVERVIEW

The workshop discusses the history and the current contradictions of the liberal political project and the profile of its principal alternatives. The often-used dichotomy of liberal and non-liberal (anti-liberal, illiberal, etc.) regime alternatives masks both the contradictions inherent to the liberal project and the variation among the non-liberal models. This variation has increased spectacularly since the end of the Cold War. Societies that move towards closed governmental structures often participate in - and sometimes even drive - globalization. The tendency towards closure in certain fields coexists with the opening up to the exchange of ideas, goods, capital, and technologies in other fields. Closed structures benefit from the existence of open structures.

The roundtable discussions address the transformation of the liberal agenda, the changes in the non-liberal alternatives, the current relevance of the post-communist and post-fascist legacies, the vitality of the nationalist challenge, the social coalitions behind the competing ideological alternatives, and the institutions and policies that led to the current state-of-affairs.

PROGRAM

Location:
CEU Monument Building,
Popper Room

TUESDAY, MARCH 28

09:30 – 09:40 a.m. Introductory Remarks

09:40 – 11:10 a.m. Panel I: Liberalism, Democracy and Globalization

The liberal agenda is under fire from all corners of the ideological spectrum. Most of the critics appeal to democracy and national sovereignty. The panel discusses the merits of the anti-liberal normative arguments as well the possible ways to renegotiate the relationship of the underlying principles of these ideological traditions.

Speakers **Edward W. Walker** | University of California, Berkeley
Janos Kis | CEU
Renata Uitz | CEU

Chair and discussant **Zoltan Miklosi** | CEU

11:10 – 11:30 a.m. Coffee break

11:30 – 1:00 p.m. Panel II: Who are the actors and what will be the winning formula?

Political regimes are sustained and undermined by coalitions. The camps promoting and opposing open society are both colorful conglomerates of political actors. The panel discusses the new, post-financial crisis coalitions and the strategies that can prove viable in the new environment.

Speakers **Jason Wittenberg** | University of California, Berkeley
Michael Ignatieff | CEU
Andras Bozoki | CEU

Chair and discussant **Zsolt Enyedi** | CEU

01.00 – 02.00 p.m. Lunch break

02.00 – 3:30 p.m. Panel III: The ambiguities of liberalism in the East

Historically liberalism exists in many varieties. The debates of the past are relevant in making sense of the tensions between liberalism and democracy. The panel investigates the answers given to these tensions from the Enlightenment through nineteenth-century national liberalism to the interwar projects of "neo-liberalism" in Central Europe as well as in the Ottoman Empire.

Speakers **John Connelly** | University of California, Berkeley
Balazs Trencsenyi | CEU
Nadia Al-Bagdadi | CEU

Chair and discussant **Anton Pelinka** | CEU

03:30 – 03:50 p.m. Coffee break

03:50 – 5:20 p.m. Panel IV: The roots of authoritarianism in the East.

Current authoritarian movements and leaders can rely on long-standing intellectual and political traditions and on widely supported frames of mind. The panel discusses the similarities, differences, and possible continuities between the 19th – 20th century autocratic discourses and practices and the current "hybrid regimes" and ethno-populist movements.

Speakers **Victoria Frede-Montemayor** | University of California, Berkeley
Constantin Iordachi | CEU
Alfred J. Rieber | CEU

Chair and discussant **Andrea Peto** | CEU

from 05.20 p.m. Cocktails and Canapés

Location:
CEU Monument Building,
Popper Room

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29

9:30 – 11:00 a.m. Panel V: The contradictions of post-1989 liberalism

The challenge to liberal democracy have been partly results of the way liberal regimes functioned in the last decades. The panel focuses on the current tensions between the people and the liberal order.

Speakers **Steven Fish** | University of California, Berkeley
Don Kalb | CEU
Ivan Szelenyi | CEU

Chair and discussant **Eva Fodor** | CEU

11:00 – 12:30 a.m. Panel VI: Institutions and policies

Norms are manifested by policies and policies shape norms. The panel discusses current policies in the fields of education, economy, information, gender, and local administration in European nation states and at the level of European Union from the point of view of promoting or undermining open society.

Speakers **Laura Jakli** | University of California, Berkeley
Laszlo Bruszt | CEU
Sara Svensson | CEU

Chair and discussant **Violetta Zentai** | CEU

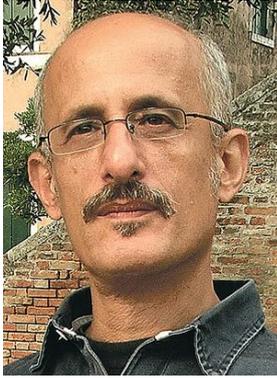
PARTICIPANTS



Nadia Al-Bagdadi is Professor of History and the Director of the Institute of Advanced studies at CEU. She is a historian of modern Islamic history, thought, literature and culture. Her research interests are deeply anchored in Arab nineteenth century history and its place in universal, or in today's terms, in global history. Initially starting with a study on cultural and intellectual transformations in Egypt as expressed in the emergence of new genres of writings and the *nahda* movement (the Arab Renaissance), she moved towards examining in-depth the various actors, structures and relationships of what she calls Late Ottoman Modernity and Muslim Reformism in the Arab East. Two intertwined streams of research have since marked her work and fascination with this history, the tension between the secular and religious as it manifests itself in the formation of new socio-cultural and intellectual trajectories and the late emergence of print culture and its Eastern Mediterranean specificities. Her current book project follows these two developments through the lenses of the life and thought of the polymath, writer and printer Faris Ahmad al-Shidyaq (to appear with Edinburgh UP).



Andras Bozoki is Professor of Political Science at CEU. His main fields of research include democratization, political ideas, Central European politics, elites, public discourse and the role of intellectuals. He is the chairman of the Political Science Committee at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He also served as president of the Hungarian Political Science Association. He has taught as visiting professor at Columbia University (2004, 2009, 2015), Smith College, Mount Holyoke College, Hampshire College, Nottingham University, Tübingen University, Bologna University, Ljubljana University, and in his native Eötvös Loránd University. He has been a research fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study (Wissenschaftskolleg) in Berlin, at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA), at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS), at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, at the Sussex European Institute in Brighton U.K., at the Institute for Humane Sciences (IWM) in Vienna, and at the Institute for Advanced Study at CEU in Budapest.



Laszlo Bruszt is Professor of Political Science at CEU. He has taught in the United States at Notre Dame University, at the New School for Social Research and at Cornell University. He has been a research fellow at the EUI in 1987/88 and a visiting fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin, at the Budapest Collegium and at the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. His current collaborative research with Balazs Vedres studies the impact of EU regional development programmes on regional governance structures and the emergence of local developmental agency. His research with Gerald McDermott on transnational integration regimes deals with comparing the ways EU and NAFTA effect institutional development in evolving market democracies.



John Connelly is Professor of History at Berkeley, currently director of the Institute for East European, Eurasian, and Slavic Studies. He has published *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech and Polish Higher Education* (Chapel Hill, 2000), which won the 2001 George Beer Award of the American Historical Association, and *From Enemy to Brother: The Revolution in Catholic Teaching on the Jews* (Harvard UP, 2012), which was awarded the John Gilmary Shea prize of the American Catholic Historical Association. He is currently working on a history of East Central Europe, 1784 to present, due to appear with Princeton University Press. Other work has appeared in *Minerva*, *East European Politics and Societies*, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, *The Journal of Modern History*, *Slavic Review*, *The Nation*, the *London Review of Books*, *Znak* (Krakow) and *Commonweal*.



Zsolt Enyedi is Professor of Political Science at CEU. He studied comparative social sciences, history, sociology and political science in Budapest and Amsterdam. The focus of his research interests is on party politics, comparative government, church and state relations, and political psychology (especially authoritarianism, prejudices and political tolerance). His articles appeared in journals such as *Political Psychology*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Political Studies*, *West European Politics*, *Party Politics*, *Political Studies*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Journal of Ideologies* or *European Review*. Zsolt Enyedi was the 2003 recipient of the Rudolf Wildenmann Prize and the 2004 winner of the Bibó Award. He was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center (Washington D.C.), Kellogg Institute (Notre Dame University), the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies (Wassenaar), the European University Institute (Florence) and Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University.



Steven Fish is Professor of Political Science at Berkeley. He is a comparative political scientist who studies democracy and authoritarianism in developing and postcommunist countries, religion and politics, and constitutional systems and national legislatures. He is the author of *Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence* (Oxford, 2011), which was selected for Choice's Outstanding Academic Titles, 2012: Top 25 Books. He is also author of *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (Cambridge, 2005), which was the recipient of the Best Book Award of 2006, presented by the Comparative Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association. He has conducted extensive field research in Eurasia, East Europe, and Southeast Asia. He served as a Senior Fulbright Fellow and Visiting Professor at the Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia, in 2007 and at the European University at St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg, Russia, in 2000-2001. In 2005, he was the recipient of the Distinguished Social Sciences Teaching Award of the Colleges of Letters and Science, University of California, Berkeley.

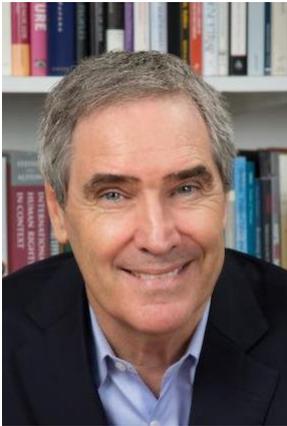


Eva Fodor is Associate Professor of Gender Studies and is currently the Pro-Rector for the Social Sciences and Humanities at CEU. She has a PhD in Sociology from the University of California in Los Angeles and works in the field of comparative social inequalities. She is interested in how and why gender differences in the labor market and elsewhere are reshaped, renegotiated and reproduced in different societies. Her book, "Working Difference" compares the organizing principles and everyday practices of state socialist and capitalist gender regimes in Hungary and Austria between the late 1940s and 1990s. A more recent research project compares post-communist EU members states and examines the relationship between gender differences in poverty and the ways in which countries are integrated into the global capitalist economy. Her current research interest includes the foster care system in Hungary and the ways in which foster parents conceptualize work as they are raising children and negotiating their relationship with state authorities and birth parents.



Victoria Frede-Montemayor is Associate Professor at the Department of History at Berkeley and a member of the international academic advisory board of the Graduate School for East and Southeast European Studies. Her research focuses on the history of Imperial Russia in the late 18th and 19th centuries, Russian intellectual history in comparison with other European developments, history of anti-religious thought, emotions and friendship. Her current research project, titled "Elective Affinities: Friendship in Russia, 1750-1840", centres on political elites and the impact of the sentimental cult of friendship on political hierarchies and loyalties. In 2011, Frede published her first monography "Doubt, Atheism, and the Nineteenth-Century Russian Intelligentsia". Therein she argues that in Russia doubts about the

existence of God and finally atheism developed differently than in other European states. Russian atheism was strongly influenced by the Intelligentsia's relationship towards the autocratic state.



Michael Ignatieff is President and Rector of CEU. Ignatieff comes to CEU after serving as Edward R. Murrow Professor of Practice of the Press, Politics, and Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. An international commentator on contemporary issues of democracy, human rights, and governance and a Canadian citizen, Ignatieff is also an award-winning writer, teacher, former politician, and historian with a deep knowledge of Central and Eastern Europe. Ignatieff received his doctorate in history from Harvard University and has held academic posts at Kings College, Cambridge, the University of Toronto and the University of British Columbia. He served in the Canadian Parliament and was Leader of the Liberal Party. His books include *The Needs of Strangers* (1984), *Scar Tissue* (1992), *Blood and Belonging* (1993), *The Warrior's Honour* (1997), *Isaiah Berlin* (1998), *The Rights Revolution* (2000), *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry* (2001), *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror* (2004), and *Fire and Ashes: Success and Failure in Politics* (2013).



Constantin Iordachi is Professor of History at CEU, and co-director of Pasts, Center for Historical Studies. His research and academic teaching focuses mainly on comparative approaches to historical research; totalitarianism and mass politics; and nationalism and citizenship in Central and Southeastern Europe. His publications include: *Charisma, Politics and Violence: The Legion of the "Archangel Michael" in Inter-war Romania*; and *Citizenship, Nation and State-Building: The Integration of Northern Dobrogea in Romania, 1878-1913*. Iordachi authored over 50 articles and book chapters in various journals and edited collections, and has lead several international research projects. Editor of: "Fascism in East Central and Southeastern Europe: A Reappraisal," Special Issue, *East-Central Europe*; and *Comparative Fascist Studies: New Perspectives*, Series: "Rewriting Histories." and Co-editor of: *Transforming People, Property and Power: The Process of Land Collectivization in Romania, 1949-1962*.



Laura Jakli is a PhD student at the Department of Political Science at Berkeley. Her research focuses on the intersection of modern European politics and political behavior. She has designed and implemented field experiments, internet-based survey experiments, and interview-based research in the U.S., Greece, and Hungary. She is currently working on her PhD dissertation, which examines how digital infrastructure can be leveraged to institutionalize anti-democratic norms and politics in democracies. As an overall frame to her dissertation, she asks whether there are particular features of far-right politics that make their interaction with social networks fundamentally different from left-wing interactions. For example, to the extent that the far-right perceives itself as shut out from mainstream news elites and cultural elites (in a way not characteristic of the left), it disproportionately tends to self-isolate via digital networks. She examines the asymmetric effect of the rise of digital infrastructure on the right versus the left via spatial network analysis and natural experiments.



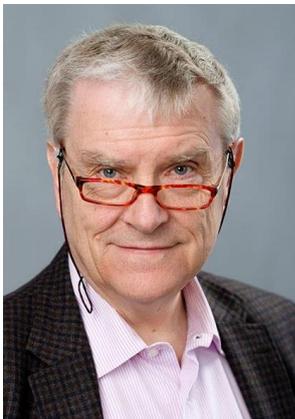
Don Kalb is Professor of Sociology and Social Anthropology at CEU, and Senior Researcher in the Anthropology Department at Utrecht University. His research focuses on globalisation and the development of a distinct anthropological approach to class. He is the founding editor of *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology*. His publications include *Expanding Class: Power and Everyday Politics in Industrial Communities, The Netherlands, 1850-1950* (Duke University Press, 1998); (ed.) *The Ends of Globalization. Bringing Society back in* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000); (ed.) *Globalization and Development: Key Issues and Debates* (Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004); and (ed.) *Headlines of Nation, Subtexts of Class: Working Class Populism and the Return of the Repressed in Neoliberal Europe*, (Berghahn, 2011).



Janos Kis is University Professor of Philosophy and Political Sciences at CEU. He was a leading member of the democratic opposition to the communist regime in Hungary since the mid-1970s on. He took an active part in the process of the transition to democracy in 1989/90. He withdrew from politics in 1991. In 1983, he was a guest lecturer at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (Paris). In 1988/89, he was visiting professor at the *New School for Social Research* (New York). In the Fall of 1996, 2000, 2002, 2006 and 2010, he was visiting global professor at the *New York University School of Law*. His main professional interests are in moral and political philosophy and in democratic theory. His books in English include *Constitutional Democracy*, and *Politics as a Moral Problem*, both published by CEU Press.



Zoltan Miklosi is Associate Professor of Political Science at CEU. He received his Ph.D. in Philosophy from ELTE University, where he specialized in political and moral philosophy. His research areas concern questions of political obligation, distributive justice, and the basis of equal moral status. His current work focuses on the relational critique of distributive conceptions of justice, basic equality, and the basis of equal political rights. His recent publications include "Immigration and the Democratic Stability Argument," *Moral Philosophy and Politics* (2016), "Collective Responsibility and the Scope of Justice," *Ethics and Global Politics* (2016), and "A Puzzle about Free Speech, Legitimacy, and Countermajoritarian Constraints," *Res Publica* (2014). He has been teaching courses in introduction to political philosophy, cosmopolitanism and global justice, and political equality.



Anton Pelinka is Professor at the Department of Nationalism Studies and the Department of Political Science at CEU. He was full professor at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, from 1975 to 2006 and visiting professor at Harvard University (Schumpeter Fellow), Stanford University (Austrian Chair), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, the University of New Orleans, and the Université Libre de Bruxelles (Institute for European Studies). His research fields include Comparative Politics and Democratic Theory. His immediate research focus is on democracy and transnational politics. Among his publications are: *Austria. Out of the Shadows of the Past* (Boulder: Westview, 1998); *The Politics of the Lesser Evil. Leadership, Democracy and Jaruzelski's Poland* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1999); *The Haider Phenomenon in Austria* (ed. with Ruth Wodak; New Brunswick: Transaction, 2002); *Democracy Indian Style. Subhas Chandra Bose and the Creation of India's Political Culture* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2003).



Andrea Peto is Professor at the Department of Gender Studies at CEU and Doctor of Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. She has edited fifteen volumes in English, seven volumes in Hungarian and two in Russian. Her works have appeared in 15 different languages. She has also been a guest professor at the universities of Toronto, Buenos Aires, Novi Sad, Stockholm and Frankfurt. Her books include: *Women in Hungarian Politics 1945-1951* (Columbia University Press/East European Monographs New York, 2003), *Geschlecht, Politik und Stalinismus in Ungarn. Eine Biographie von Júlia Rajk. Studien zur Geschichte Ungarns, Bd. 12.* (Gabriele Schäfer Verlag, 2007) and together with Ildikó Barna, *Political Justice in Budapest after WWII (Politikai igazságszolgáltatás a II. világháború utáni Budapesten. Gondolat, Budapest, 2012 and 2015 by CEU Press).* Her recent book is co-edited with Ayşe Gül Altınay: *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories. Feminist Conversations on War, Genocide and Political Violence*, Routledge, 2016. She serves as an associate editor for the *European Journal of Women's Studies*. Presently Prof. Peto is working on gendered memory of WWII and political extremisms.



Alfred J. Rieber is University Professor Emeritus at the Department of History at CEU. He has been teaching and writing Russian and Soviet history for more than fifty years. He was a participant in the first year of the Soviet-American cultural exchange in 1958-59 and has returned to the Soviet Union and Russia many times to lecture and conduct archival research. He began teaching at Northwestern and then moved to the University of Pennsylvania where he taught for twenty-five years and chaired the History Department for ten years, now holding the title of Professor Emeritus. For the past twenty years, he has taught at CEU where he was also chair of the History Department for four years. He has been a visiting professor at the University of Chicago and Columbia University. In 1966 he was awarded the E. Harris Harbison Prize as one of the ten best teachers in the U.S. by the Danforth Foundation. He has won additional teaching awards at Penn and CEU where he was elected professor of the year in 1997 and 1998. The American Philosophical Society awarded him the Henry C. Moe Prize in 1985.



Sara Svensson is Research Fellow at the Center for Policy Studies and Visiting Professor at the School of Public Policy at CEU. She teaches qualitative methods, policy analysis, international policy practice and courses related to sub-national regionalism and European integration. She has taught courses and supervised BA theses at four Swedish universities: Orebro University, Karlstad University, Halmstad University, and University West. She occasionally contributes to broadcast and print media in Sweden, and has worked at different locations as a news journalist for the public service broadcasting company Sveriges Radio. Her academic research focuses on policy formation and governance structures in European cross-border regions, and she has published on that topic in *Eurasian Geography and Economy*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Regional & Federal Studies*, *Regions & Cohesion* and *Journal of Borderlands Studies*. She holds a PhD in public policy/political science from CEU, an MA in political science from CEU (1999) and a BA in journalism from Stockholm University (1997).



Ivan Szelenyi is Professor Emeritus from the Department of Sociology at Yale. He is a Sociologist specializing in the comparative study of social stratification across cultures over time. Szelenyi is interested in social inequalities, studying the interplay of ethnicity, gender and socioeconomics in transitional and post-communist societies. In 2006, he was awarded the Szechenyi Prize, recognizing outstanding contributions to academic life by the President of the Hungarian Republic, and his book *Patterns of Exclusion* won the Karl Polanyi Prize for the best publication of the year from the Hungarian Sociology Association. His works have been published in various international journals, including

the American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review, Handbook of Economic Sociology, Annual Review of Sociology and Theory and Society. He is an elected fellow at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and has served as the vice president of the American Sociological Association and executive director of the Society for Comparative Social Research. In 1990 Szelenyi was elected to the Hungarian National Academy of Sciences.



Balazs Trencsenyi is Professor at the Department of History at CEU. He is a historian of East Central European political and cultural thought. In his research, he seeks to transcend the traditional nation-centred frameworks of scholarship and to come to terms with the multiple layers of intertwining pasts in the region, placing all this into a common European framework. Both his Ph.D. dissertation (which sought to compare the Hungarian and British discourses of collective identity in the early-modern period, looking at the “discourses of nationhood” before modern nationalism) and his subsequent research on the discourses of historicity and national specificity in interwar Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary in the context of the changing European cultural and political atmosphere after 1918, were based on a synoptic perspective seeking to reconstruct the East Central European intellectual phenomena in a multi-layered comparative setting.



Renata Uitz is Professor of comparative constitutional law at the Department of Legal Studies at CEU. She started teaching at CEU in 2001, and became chair of the Comparative Constitutional Law program in 2007. Her teaching covers subjects in comparative constitutional law in Europe and North America, and human rights protection with special emphasis on the enforcement of constitutional rights and on issues of bodily privacy and sexuality. Theories and practices of good government in and after transition, questions of personal autonomy and equality, including religious liberty and LGBT rights, are at the center of her research interests. She is the author of *Constitutions, Courts and History* (2004) and *Freedom of Religion in European Constitutional and International Case Law* (2007). More recently she edited *Arguments that Work: Strategies, Contexts and Limits in Constitutional Law* (2013); *Religion in the Public Square: Perspectives on Secularism* (2014); *Freedom and Its Enemies: The Tragedy of Liberty* (2015).



Edward W. Walker is Adjunct Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science at Berkeley. His book *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), emphasizes the role of the institutions and the mythologies of Soviet federalism and nationality policy in the breakup of the Soviet Union. He is the editor of a posthumous volume of writings by Mark Saroyan, *Minorities, Mullahs, and Modernity: Reshaping Community in the Former Soviet Union* (1997), and he has written and taught on problems of Soviet and post-Soviet ethno-politics and ethnic conflict; problems of federalism, secession, and nationalism; religion and the state; the Chechen conflict; Islamist movements in the successor states, and geopolitics in post-Soviet space.



Jason Wittenberg is Associate Professor of Political Science at Berkeley. His areas of specialization include Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet region, quantitative analysis, religion and politics, and ethnic conflict. He is the author of *Crucibles of Loyalty: Church Institutions and Electoral Continuity in Hungary* (2006), which won the Hubert Morken Award of the American Political Science Association for the best book on religion and politics. He is currently co-authoring a book tentatively titled *Intimate Violence: Anti-Jewish Pogroms in the Shadow of the Holocaust*.



Violetta Zentai is Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology and Social and Anthropology and the School of Public Policy at CEU. She is a cultural anthropologist with a PhD from Rutgers University in the United States. She has been the director of the Centre for Policy Studies at Central European University since September 2003. Violetta Zentai is engaged in research focusing on racial and gender equality, welfare debates, post-socialist economic transformation, and democratic governance and decentralization. She coordinated a recently completed collaborative research project on "Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an enlarged Europe (EDUMIGROM)," funded by the European Commission's 7th Framework Program. She also led the Hungarian research team in "Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies (QUING)", a 4.5 year project funded through the 6th Framework Program of the European Commission, concluded in early 2011. She acts as the Hungarian team leader of another major 4-year research initiative launched in 2011 and funded by the 7th Framework Program on "Employment 2025: How Multiple Transitions Will Affect the European Labor Market (NEUJOBS)."