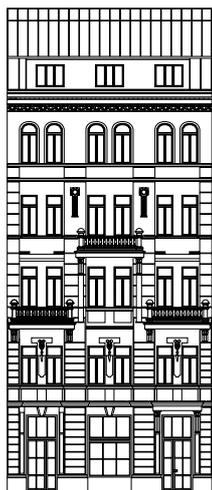




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Conference

Democratic Politics: The Agenda of the Future

Vienna, Hofburg, June 11-14. Report by
Thomas E. Schmidt.

The balance doesn't look bad: at the end of 1995, 117 of 191 states worldwide were democracies, and the number has grown since—a triumphal march without precedent. The foreign policy doctrine of the United States of allowing aid to flow only to those countries that have a democratically consistent form of government is already being characterized as an "American obsession." Turkey is a democracy, as are Croatia and South Korea, and soon maybe even China. Is everything in the world thus in order? We would have to agree if we were to follow the expanded definition of democracy proposed by Samuel P. Huntington: a democracy is a country where a change in government has taken place at least twice through free

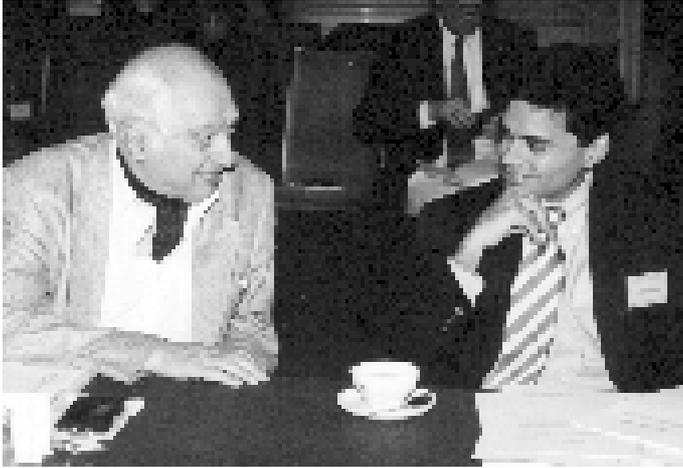


Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, Richard von Weizsäcker

elections. Yet things don't look so rosy, even if there remain only countries that are ruled democratically: global democracy would become weak with strength, because it would no longer have a counterpart with which to prove that it is the more just and free. Already today democratic states must fight more against their own tensions than with external enemies.

The conference „Democratic Politics: The Agenda of the Future,“ organized by IWM with the support of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs and held in the Hofburg, was an attempt to take account of the new problems that have arisen since the dissolution of the Eastern Block. How is participation in the democratic

process still conceivable under the hegemony of a globalized economic order? For in many ways societies are responding to the pressure of globalization with new divisions that are no longer congruent with the nation and the national state, but where ethnicity, language, and cultural customs are suddenly becoming important. Sharp, artificial mechanisms of exclusion are forming, which are



Bernard Lewis, Fareed Zakaria

directed against minorities or which are accepted where casts of the „losers“ who live outside state and social institutions arise.

Before, policy concepts could rely on a tight interweaving in an international order of peace of nation state, market economy, and interests. This knot has come undone. There was agreement that the traditional models of politics are no longer sufficient. Fareed Zakaria, the Managing Editor of the magazine *Foreign Affairs*, stressed that, as a formal political order, democracy can be very much different from a liberal constitutional structure that provides for a life in freedom. Democratization can also favor illiberal regimes and start wars. Bernard Lewis, the Islamic scholar from Princeton, referred in this context to Iran, which along with Egypt could very well count as the most democratic country in the Near East. In Iran religion is also styled as a political ideology of discrimination and separation which, for the sake of securing identity, puts extreme limits on the freedoms of the individual. In Iran, a politically fabricated fundamentalism has replaced the spiritual liberality of Islam, and in turn does not recognize democracy as a secular order. The global situation is characterized by a series of paradoxes to which a future democratic politics must respond.

The Harvard political scientist Charles S. Maier takes the dismantling of the old model of politics one step further. The right/left schema has become meaningless. After the successes of social-state policies and the electoral victories of conservative parties everywhere in Europe in the 1980's and early 1990's, another difference has come to the fore: the difference between a neoliberal politics that sees the best chances for the future in globalization and a „party of territoriality“ that cloaks old divisions with new meanings and works against transnational integration. The Northern League in Italy, Le Pen's Front Nationale, and Haider's FPÖ are examples of this. The western democracies have to now only reacted to this challenge with alarm. According to Maier, the

traditional left is also becoming such an agent of division. They have insisted on defending the circled wagons of the social and nation state, but have not proposed any successful compensation strategies with respect to the process of globalization. There is no alternative to globalization—on this point all the participants were in agreement. Future democratic politics will move within the order established by the worldwide market economy. Claus Leggewie (Giessen/New York), in response, insisted on the possibility of an identifiable politics of the post-socialist left. This project would allocate rights of participation and oppose social mechanisms of exclusion. Leggewie also stressed that the presupposition for this would be for the left to abandon its ritual critique of capitalism and its resentment against new technologies.

A series of contributions were praxis-oriented. In Vienna, the Harvard economist Janos Kornai developed a series of principles for reform in the states of East-Central Europe. Kornai called above all for a multiple-pillar model of the social security system. This would break the monopoly of the state in the sectors of education, health and retirement. The state would only ensure that the citizen can expect a fair chance in the insurance market. Andrzej Rapaczynski (Columbia) was of the opinion that there was still the old fundamental opposition between economics and politics. But he stressed that only a democratic system was capable, with political means, namely the means of collective deliberation, of creating and securing spaces that are independent of politicization and that would be at the disposal of open economies.



Adam Michnik, Roman Frydman, Marcin Król

But what does democracy do when it must tolerate attempts to dismantle social freedoms? The formal system of democracy is never immune to the danger of an identity politics that holds humans in contempt. The philosopher Charles Taylor thus called for future mixed identities which in themselves could be contradictory, temporary, and regional. Yet such a conception, criticized Fritz Stern, would still depend on the answer to the question of what the essential characteristics of a society must be in order to maintain democracy. At this point Claus Leggewie intervened: it would be promising to establish incentives that would make it attractive for minorities and excluded groups to return to society, that is, for their own advantage and not for the sake of a democratic normativity.

The only politician to take part in the conference was Richard von Weizsäcker. He reminded the theoreticians

that with democracy comes "work," that democracy demands "effort" just as much from politicians as from citizens. Democracy also presupposes a certain mentality. To lessen the tensions that beset it is not only a matter of intelligent new policies but also of personal decision.

Program

Wednesday, June 11

Welcome and Reception by Wolfgang Schüssel, Austrian Federal Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs

Thursday, June 12

I. Europe: What has changed?

Chair: Fritz Stern, University Professor Emeritus, Columbia University, New York

Speakers:

Claus Leggewie, Professor of Political Science, Justus Liebig University, Gießen; Max Weber Chair, New York University
Charles S. Maier, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies; Director, Center for European Studies, Harvard University
Aleksander Smolar, CNRS, Paris; President, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw

II. Democracy and the Market

Chair: David P. Calleo, Dean Acheson Professor and Director of European Studies, P.H. Nitze School, Johns Hopkins University, Wash., D.C.

Speakers:

Zsuzsa Ferge, Professor of Sociology, Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
Janos Kornai, Allie S. Freed Professor of Economics, Harvard University; Permanent Fellow, Collegium Budapest
Andrzej Rapaczynski, Professor of Law, Columbia University, New York; Director, CEU Privatization Project



Cornelia Klinger, David T. Ellwood

Friday, June 13

III. Democracy and Culture

Chair: Krzysztof Michalski, Director of IWM

Speakers:

David T. Ellwood, Academic Dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
Cornelia Klinger, Permanent Fellow of IWM, Vienna
Charles Taylor, Professor of Political Philosophy and Political Science, McGill University, Montreal

IV. Democracy and Religion

Chair: Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, Professor of Public Law, University of Freiburg; former Judge of the German Constitutional Court, Karlsruhe

Speakers:

Shlomo Avineri, Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Bernard Lewis, Cleveland E. Dodge Professor Emeritus of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University
Adam Michnik, Editor-in-Chief, Gazeta Wyborcza, Warsaw



Frans A.M. Alting von Geusau, Aleksander Smolar, Fritz Stern

Saturday, June 14

V. The Order of International Relations

Chair: Maarten C. Brands, Professor of History and Director, Germany Institute, Amsterdam

Speakers:

Pierre Hassner, Professor of Political Science, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris
Josef Joffe, Foreign Editor, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich
Fareed Zakaria, Managing Editor, Foreign Affairs, New York

Around the conference two discussions were organized. On June 11, a [Wednesday Club](#) (in collaboration with the Viennese daily Die Presse) took place in the IWM Library on "Islam in Western Europe". Discussants were Shlomo Avineri, Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; former Director-General, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Bernard Lewis, Cleveland E. Dodge Professor Emeritus of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University; Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Ilber Ortayli, Vice President, UNESCO, Ankara; Chairman, Administrative History, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Ankara. The discussion was moderated by Gerhard Bitzan from Die Presse.

On the afternoon of June 14, Maarten C. Brands, Professor of History and Director, Germany Institute, Amsterdam; Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; David P. Calleo, Dean Acheson Professor and Director of European Studies, P.H. Nitze School, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.; Claus Leggewie, Professor of Political Science, Justus Liebig University, Gießen; Max Weber Chair, Center for European Studies, New York University; Aleksander Smolar, Maitre de recherche, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris; President, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; and Fared Zakaria, Managing Editor, Foreign Affairs, New York discussed the issue of Why NATO?. This [Transit-discussion](#) was organized in collaboration with Der Standard and moderated by Christoph Winder. It appeared in Der Standard on July 5/6.

Participants

Frans A.M. Alting von Geusau, Professor of International and European Law, Catholic University of Tilburg and University of Leiden; Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Shlomo Avineri, Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; former Director-General, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, Professor of Public Law, University of Freiburg, Germany; former Judge of the German Constitutional Court, Karlsruhe; Chairman of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Maarten C. Brands, Professor of History and Director, Germany Institute, Amsterdam; Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; David P. Calleo, Dean Acheson Professor and Director of European Studies, P.H. Nitze School, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.; David T. Ellwood, Academic Dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Zsuzsa Ferge, Professor of Sociology, Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest; Roman Frydman, Professor of Economics, New York University and Director, CEU Privatization Project; Thomas M. Gauly, General Manager, Herbert Quandt Foundation, Bad Homburg; Elisabeth Hagen, Advisor on Economic Policy to the Austrian Federal Chancellor, Vienna; Pierre Hassner, Professor of Political Science, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris; Thomas Jansen, Advisor, Forward Studies Unit, European Commission, Brussels; Josef Joffe, Foreign Editor, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich; Ken Jowitt, Robson Professor of Political Science, University of California; Cornelia Klinger, Permanent Fellow, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna; Janos Kornai, Allie S. Freed Professor of Economics, Department of Economics, Harvard University; Permanent Fellow, Collegium Budapest; János Mátyás Kovács, Professor of Economics and Permanent Fellow, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna; Marcin Król, Professor of the History of Ideas, University of Warsaw; Editor-in-Chief, Res Publica Nova, Warsaw; Claus Leggewie, Professor of Political Science, Justus Liebig University, Gießen; Max Weber Chair, Center for European Studies, New York University; Paul Lendvai, Director, Radio Austria International (ORF), Vienna; Bernard Lewis, Cleveland E. Dodge Professor Emeritus of Near Eastern Studies,

Princeton University; Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Irena Lipowicz, Member of the Polish Parliament, Warsaw; Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Constitutional Committee; Charles S. Maier, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies and Director of the Center for European Studies, Harvard University; Helmut Mayer, Editor, Humanities, S. Fischer Publishers, Frankfurt; Krzysztof Michalski, Director, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna; Professor of Philosophy, Boston University; Adam Michnik, Editor-in-Chief, Gazeta Wyborcza, Warsaw; Kenneth Murphy, Author; Senior Fellow, CEU Privatization Project; Helga Nowotny, Professor of Sociology, Institute for Theory and Social Studies of Science, University of Vienna; Professor for



Ilber Ortayli, Bernard Lewis, Shlomo Avineri at the Wednesday Club

Philosophy and Social Studies of Science, ETH Zürich; Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Alan M. Olson, Professor of Religion and Philosophy, Boston University; Ilber Ortayli, Vice President, UNESCO, Ankara; Chairman, Administrative History, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Ankara; Andrzej Rapaczynski, Professor of Law, Columbia University, New York and Director, CEU Privatization Project; Hans-Ludwig Schreiber, Professor of Law and President of the University of Göttingen; Vice-President of the Board of Trustees, Volkswagen Foundation; Dieter Simon, President, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, Berlin; Director, Max Planck Institute for European Legal History, Frankfurt; Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Aleksander Smolar, Maitre de recherche, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris; President, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; Fritz Stern, University Professor Emeritus, Columbia University; Vice-Chair of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Hannes Swoboda, Member of the European Parliament, Brussels/Vienna; Charles Taylor, Professor of Political Philosophy and Political Science, McGill University, Montreal; Vice-Chair of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Andreas Unterberger, Editor-in-Chief, Die Presse, Vienna; Lindsay Waters, Executive Editor for the Humanities, Harvard University Press; Lord Weidenfeld, Publisher, London; Patron of IWM; Richard von Weizsäcker, Former President of Germany, Berlin; Fared Zakaria, Managing Editor, Foreign Affairs, New York.

Conference

Remembering, Adapting, Overcoming: The Legacy of World War Two in Europe

This conference in the framework of IWM's field of research "Rethinking Post-War Europe" was organized in cooperation with the Remarque Institute, New York University, in New York, April 24-27. The meeting aimed to synthesize studies of national experiences into a truly European historiography of the post-war period. In his introduction Tony Judt said:

It has become commonplace in recent years to insist on the need to re-cast our understanding of the era that began in 1945 and ended in 1989: to account for the shape of those decades—and the manner in which they came to an abrupt end—in ways that do not just depend upon the self-descriptions of the actors. It is this search everywhere for a fuller and more critical understanding of the post-war years that has led back to serious scholarly investigation of the immediately preceding decade and especially the war itself.

There is, in the first place, a properly political question behind discussions of post-war domestic score-settling: what are the legitimate uses of myth and of forgetting in the construction of stable polities? 1945 was an extreme instance of destabilized and delegitimized political and administrative units all across the continent; for that reason it may have a lesson to teach on the necessary imperfections of recollection in the construction of democracies—on the virtues, if you like, of forgetting. If that seems obscurantist or even wilfully cynical, let's remind ourselves that since 1989 it is an argument with great political and contemporary salience: in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland and what used to be East Germany, how and whether to deal with past lies and crimes—how much to remember and what and who to forget—are a problem which is unavoidably cast in just those practical, political terms.

There is another, related issue that arises from 1945 and which is political rather than historical in its implications: how to describe and thus exorcise not just guilty men and women but whole blocs of national history. The scholarly analysis of Vichy France and Nazi Germany, for example, has oscillated uncomfortably between inclusion and parenthesis. By including a problematic era or regime in the national story one certainly faces up to the warts on the face of a nation's past. But there is a perennial danger of thereby historicising the actions of that regime, causing it to fit into the sequence of a national story, to make sense in however unpleasant a way; and this runs the risk of implicitly reducing the scale of human responsibility that can be imputed to parties or individuals.

But the alternative—putting a sort of ethical parenthesis around an era, so that its protagonists are expunged from the legitimate national record and can be condemned without thereby polluting the rest of the collective past—while this makes it easier to place blame and punish the guilty, also lays up difficulties for the future. Later generations find the parenthesis unconvincing. They thus begin to question the official history of the troubled era

itself, and end up by treating the whole of the common past as somehow dishonest and something sold to them in bad faith. Anyone familiar with the political echo of these dilemmas in public debate in France, the Federal Republic or Austria will not be surprised to see it reproduced in countries further east and south in years to come.

Lastly, the meaning we attach to the impact of war and civil disruption and division—the language we deploy, such as 'revolutionary' or 'counter-revolutionary'—carries long-term political implications. The ways in which the winners (local and international) secured their power after 1944:—by the punishment of opponents, variously labelled; by either incorporating collaborators into police, administration and political parties or else by identifying them as ethnic or class enemies and casting them out of the political community; by the seizure and sometimes the redistribution of land,



Tony Judt

factories, raw materials and housing stock; by the forcible transfer of peoples within and between countries—all this can be described as: i) social revolution; ii) or else as the completion by other means of long-standing national political projects; iii) or as mid-twentieth-century variations of classic geo-political stabilization and re-arrangement as would have been familiar to diplomats of 1878, 1815 or even 1660. The version you choose depends, I suppose, on what kind of functionalist social theory you find more congenial—and this in turn will colour the significance that you attach to the collapse of most of those arrangements four decades later, in our own time.

The same observations apply to the significance of the war years and their aftermath for students of ethics or jurisprudence. Here, too, the events of recent years have added to our understanding of earlier developments. The Czech (and now Polish) model of lustration, the Gauck Commission handling the Stasi records in Germany, the Truth Commission in South Africa all seem in different ways to be healthier and potentially less divisive ways of coming to terms with a politically criminalised (or straightforwardly criminal) past than those put in place all over Europe in 1945. Why weren't they, or something like them, considered at the time? There are of course many

kinds of answer to that question: the political motives of the winners and the uses to which they put purges and show trials; the condensed and impacted experience of war and occupation in contrast to the decades-long past that is at issue in post-Communist societies; and the qualitatively-distinctive scale of suffering imposed by the Nazis and their friends.

But one aspect merits special mention. The Truth Commissions and official airing of names in post-Communist or post-authoritarian regimes all recognise that what had taken place was domestic; they are coming to terms with civil divisions, offenses committed by fellow-citizens acting in the name of one's own government. This makes retribution and punishment more complicated because more divisive, and for this reason people today have sought alternatives to the old solutions. But it was the pivotal legal and ethical myth of World War Two that most of the bad things of which men might be accused were crimes of war - sometimes called war crimes, sometimes called treason. Many of the domestic collaborators who were punished in 1945 and 1946 were thus punished for variations on a theme of treason or betrayal—which required the premise that they had served a regime that was itself traitorous—a palpable legal fiction in a number of cases, which meant that the charge was sometimes knowingly made in bad faith.

However, the advantages of this approach were clear: it was easier to explain to the public the notion of treason. It was easier to punish domestic enemies under that heading, and less divisive. The conflation of collaboration and treason drew a heavy veil across more complex memories of collaboration as civil war, collaboration as realistic accommodation, or collaboration as pre-war politics by other means.

But what worked at the time has caused agonies of division and reappraisal since—and not accidentally around the issue of Jewish experience. We tend, today, to focus justifiable attention on the political reasons for playing down or ignoring the distinctively Jewish experience of extermination, during the war and afterwards:

Firstly, there was considerable post-war anti-semitism all across Europe—as Krystyna Kersten and some of the papers at this conference have suggested, anti-semitism in 1945 was actually worse in some places than it had been in the 1930s, for various reasons—a reminder that it is sometimes war that creates enduring enmities and not the other way around (a better understanding of this point might contribute to greater understanding of what is happening in the Balkans today).

Secondly, the anti-Jewish dimension of Nazi violence did not fit comfortably into the dominant anti-fascist, Popular Front account of Hitler's motives and the struggle to defeat him; thirdly, in some places there was already resentment mixed with some public and private embarrassment at the way local populations had concurred or at least stood by as the Jews were killed; fourthly, the influential resistance martyrology in post-war political culture did not allow for involuntary victims; and finally, most Jews had of course been killed in just that part of Europe - Eastern Europe and the Balkans—where political pressures to recast the war as a prelude to social or national revolution were strongest.

But there was also an implicit formal problem. The categories of war crime, or treason, were meaningless in the case of the specific experience of Jews during World War II. If Jews were acknowledged as victims of the war, much less as the major victims of the war, the very categories of collaboration and resistance, treason and loyalty, war crime or crime tout court would have had to be recast. The fact that Jews did not have a state, did not constitute a class, did not share a real or imputed ideological stance and were not part of anyone's pre-war project (Nazis aside) - all this meant that in the terms in which people in 1945 understood or were encouraged to understand what had just happened to them, the extermination of the Jews—as a moral, legal or political issue—made no sense and thus had no place, with or without anti-semitism.

It is thus a striking paradox that in today's public discussion of the unfinished business of World War II, we should so often be led back to that subject via the sufferings of Europe's Jews and the carelessness of their neighbours, then and since. To demand that we install the project to exterminate Jews at the centre of our account of the legacy of World War II is in one crucial sense absurdly unhistorical. That is not how contemporaries understood it. And yet that same demand, however unhistorical, has had the signal virtue of forcing us to look closer at just what that contemporary understanding really was.

*

This brings me back, then, to the historians' point of view. Why did things look the way they did in 1945 and after? One reason, as a number of papers point out, is that 1945 was so close to the 1930s. In Istvan Deak's words, 1945 marked "The triumphant return of Popular Front politics." Or as Martin Conway concludes, "With the history of Catholicism, as with so many other aspects of the history of mid-twentieth-century Europe, it is the framework 1930-1950 which seems more appropriate than that of 1939-1945".

Set against these continuities, which help account for the markedly conservative quality of political life after 1945 (in fact if not name), despite the wartime hopes and the pyrrhic victories of the political Left, there stood the immediate experience of war itself. In the east it had left in its wake, in Norman Naimark's words, "a vast canvas of deportations, detentions, displacement, killing and the seizure of property." This era of suffering didn't end in the Balkans or much of central and eastern Europe until the very late forties at the earliest. In the West, on the other hand, at least until 1944 (or 1943 in the Italian case) the experience of war had been rather different and much milder. That is one reason why post-war memory in Western Europe had something of an ambivalent relation to the final months of Liberation, which in France or the Low Countries, as in Germany, had been by far the worst time for most domestic residents. The chronology of the war and its aftermath is one of the real and enduring differences between the two halves of the continent, and a reminder, perhaps, of the limits of comparability.

To conclude: Given the unprecedented nature and extent of crime and suffering in the Second World War, any history of it or of its outcome is in some measure an 'engaged' history, if only in the facile sense that it implicitly involves 'taking sides' - though not necessarily in the

way that would have been understood at the time. But it is also the case—and if it weren't we wouldn't be here tonight—that the Second World War, its outcome, its legacy, the way in which Europeans have come to terms with it, are also, unavoidably, part of our own times. Anything we say about that whole experience is thus also, and no less unavoidably, a contribution to the history of our own times. This was already true before 1989—in agonised and divisive public debates among historians in every major Western European country and even in samizdat publications further east; but since 1989, and especially since 1991, the point is surely incontrovertible.

After all, what is happening in Europe today is in large measure about abandoning the pleasant illusions of the post-war decades—and perhaps also constructing new illusions for the decades to come. In the interim - a sort of 'time out' between the decay of one set of myths and the forging of their successors—the social and moral costs of World War Two, and the post-war failure to acknowledge these in their troublesome entirety, at both national and international level, are with us again. The ostensible European agenda today is still occupied with monetary union, economic organisation and trans-national integration. But on the real European agenda we find, once again: purges; aspirations to genocide; the breaking of the laws of war; ethnic and religious persecution and inequality; the political legitimisation of national particularism and its accompanying intolerance of difference; failures of international organisation and intervention; the construction of instant myths about intolerable recent pasts and the denial of competing claims upon a shared past.

Of course, as Mark Mazower reminds us, all this has been part of the experience of most of the rest of the world on a fairly continuous basis since 1945. But it has been perhaps the greatest of all the post-war European illusions to claim that in Europe, at least, the era of prejudices and horrors had been forever banished, in their different ways by West and East alike. Dispelling this illusion, by piecing together a more complex account of what happened in Europe during and after World War Two, might be more than just a timely scholarly undertaking. It might also make a civic contribution of some lasting value.

Program

Thursday, April 24:

Remembering, Adapting, Overcoming ... And Forgetting?

Introductory Remarks

Tony Judt, Remarque Institute, New York University; Permanent Fellow of IWM, and Hans Mommsen, Faculty of History, University of Bochum

Friday, April 25:

REMEMBERING

Collaboration/Accommodation/Resistance

Chair: Molly Nolan, Department of History, New York University
Paper: István Déak, Institute on East Central Europe, Columbia University

Responses: Roderick Kedward, School of European Studies, University of Sussex, Jan T. Gross, Department of Politics, New York University

Revolution and Reconstruction

Chair: Michael R. Marrus, Dept. of History, University of Toronto
Paper: Norman M. Naimark, Dept. of History, Stanford University
Responses: Andrew Shennan, History Department, Wellesley College; Marija Obradovic, Institute for the Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade

"Progressivism" and the Uses of Anti-Fascism

Chair: Nicole A. Dombrowski, Department of History, Princeton University

Paper: Paul Ginsborg, Dept. of History, University of Florence
Responses: Richard Mitten, Center for International and Interdisciplinary Studies, Vienna; Amir Weiner, Department of History, University of Ljubljana

Saturday, April 26:

ADAPTING

From Anti-Fascist Coalitions to State-making

Chair: Gabriella Etmektsoglou, IWM Vienna
Paper: Drago Rokсандic, Dept. of History, University of Zagreb
Responses: Pieter Lagrou, Law and Society Institute, Catholic University Leuven; Jerzy Holzer, Department of History, University of Warsaw

The Fate of Ethno-Nationalism

Chair: Wojciech Sadurski, Faculty of Law, The University of Sydney

Paper: Christopher Harvie, Dept. of British Studies, University of Tübingen

Response: Ivo Banac, Dept. of History, Yale University

The Construction of a "new" Europe

Chair: Christopher Browning, Dept. of History, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma

Paper: Mark Mazower, School of European Studies, University of Sussex

Response: Alan Milward, Dept. of Economic History, London School of Economics

Sunday, April 27:

OVERCOMING

Amnesty and Reintegration

Chair: Peter Romijn, War Documentation Institute, Amsterdam
Paper: Luc Huyse, Law and Society Institute, Catholic University Leuven

Response: Jacques Rupnik, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris

Religion and Politics

Chair: Sarah Farmer, Dept. of History, University of Iowa

Paper: Martin Conway, Balliol College, Oxford

Responses: Colin Nettelbeck, Dept. of French and Italian Studies, The University of Melbourne; Radmila Radic, Institute for the Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade

Education and Public Knowledge

Chair: Brad Abrams, Dept. of History, Columbia University

Paper: Wolfgang Hoepken, Dept. of History, University of Leipzig

Responses: Marc Ferro, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris; Sonia Combe, Library for International Contemporary Documentation, University of Nanterre

The Hannah Arendt Prize

The Invisible College Budapest

For the third time the Körber Foundation (Hamburg) and IWM have awarded the Hannah Arendt Prize for outstanding self-initiated reform efforts in higher education and research in East Central Europe. This year's winner is the Invisible College Budapest. On the 2nd of June the prize which includes a grant of DM 300,000,- was awarded at a ceremony at Vienna's Palais Schwarzenberg.

The Invisible College (Lathatatlan Kollegium) was founded in 1992 to provide extra support for exceptionally gifted university students with a view to forming a new generation of scholars and professionals fully capable of facing the challenges of civil society. The College is „invisible“ in the sense that, unlike traditional colleges, it has no permanent building, but rather is a network of tutors, students, and associates who together form a community aiming to maintain high-level intellectual and professional standards in the human and social sciences.

Academic and professional development

The essential objectives in carrying out this mission are to help students acquire a high level of intellectual and professional awareness, and to make them open minded, culturally well-informed, socially sensitive and with good communicative skills. Working in the tradition of Oxford and Cambridge, and the pre-war Eötvös Kollégium in Budapest, the heart of the Invisible College is the tutorial system, providing gifted students with instruction and supervision by leading scholars. Invisible College students also participate in special courses (e.g., political philosophy, constitutional law) and in general courses designed to augment their professional preparation such as in the art of reasoning or essay writing, or in work-related skills such as writing CVs or job applications. In addition to their academic and professional work, students also follow a program of self-education and self-improvement. The College subsidises language courses and sports activities, and provides free medical care and even personal counselling to foster the development of well-adjusted and well-rounded personalities. Students are also provided stipends to enable them to devote their full attention to their studies and to live independently.

Selection Process

Invisible College students are selected through a highly-competitive multi-stage process involving a written exam, oral exams, and interviews. Applicants at the undergraduate level are recruited from the fields of law, business, economics, sociology, political theory, philology, history, philosophy, theology, etc., from throughout Hungary. Approximately 20 students are selected each year; for the 1996-97 academic year there are 73 students in total (undergraduate, post-graduate and graduate). Upon admission students become members of the Invisible College while retaining their regular full-time student status at the university where they are enrolled. Students spend three or four years as members of the Invisible College until they receive their MA or equivalent diploma

from their respective universities, and some of them may spend further years in the College as PhD students.

Invisible College students receive a certificate which provides information about the student's development and achievement as a member of the College. Tutors are selected from academic and professional spheres, and are employed on fixed-term, part-time contracts according to the interests of current students. At present 51 part-time tutors are employed by the College.

In addition, the College has created the Visible Extension Project to develop social science curricula and prepare materials to meet the urgent demand for up-



The Hannah Arendt Prize Jury

to-date textbooks for university teaching in the fields of philosophy, economics, law, political theory, sociology, anthropology, and social work. Invisible College tutorials are transformed into regular university courses, and teachers experimenting with innovative courses are invited to develop their courses as tutors at the Invisible College. The most successful teaching materials are being transformed into textbooks which can be offered for publication or circulated as photocopied course packages by the college, enabling them to be used by other universities and colleges. The five-year project, financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation, aims to prepare approximately 30 courses and publish 20 textbooks.

The Invisible College also supports the development of graduate work in the social sciences through two further initiatives. A Network of Doctoral Students, created in 1996, seeks to serve as a forum of exchange of educational and research results through electronic means and through conferences, colloquia, and seminars. The Research Fellowship Programme, launched in 1997,

brings three or four research fellows per semester to form a research unit and to work together with doctoral students from the College.

The model of the Invisible College has proven to be an exemplary model for others in the region. Invisible Colleges have been established in Cluj, Warsaw, and Bratislava, and others are currently being set up in Bucharest and in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. In Budapest, the Bolyai Kollegium is also being created to provide a similar program of education for students in the natural sciences. The College is located in a small rented flat with computer and photocopying facilities, and is managed by three full-time employees (the Principal, the Treasurer and Secretary) and three part-time advisors. The Invisible College is a private institution financed and supervised by the Invisible College Foundation, which is headed by a Board of Trustees. Created as a non-profit, civic initiative by Prof. György Bence (head of the Department of Philosophy at Eötvös Lorand University), Dr. András Veér (Director of the National Psychiatric and Neurological Institute), and Gábor Princz, (chairman and chief executive of Postbank and Savings Bank Cooperation), the Invisible College is financed to a large extent by the business sector, including the Postbank and Savings Bank Corporation. Other financial supporters include the Open Society Institute's „Higher Education Support Program“, the City of Budapest, the State Securities and Exchange Commission, the Ford Foundation and the Corvina Foundation.

Lord Dahrendorf: Laudatio

Today, the Hannah Arendt Prize for exemplary reforms in higher education in post-communist Europe is awarded for the third time. Once again, I have the pleasing duty to give you the Jury's reasons. Above all I want to congratulate all those who were nominated for the Prize, and most particularly the four other finalists who are, I am delighted to say, represented here. We decided in the first year that, contrary to practice, we would not split the Prize but try to reach a clear conclusion; yet as we considered the final five we were sorely tempted to change our minds, for all of them are remarkable and deserving.

In 1995, the Hannah Arendt Prize went to the Graduate School for Social Research in Warsaw. We welcome Professor Amsterdamski who received it on behalf of the Graduate School. Warsaw has remained one of the great European centres in the social sciences. Even so, this prizeworthy initiative had to be developed outside the main lines of existing academic institutions. This experience is not confined to post-communist Europe: reforms do not easily emerge from within universities and academies, nor from ministries of education; they are the work of individuals and groups who are prepared to cut across organisational boundaries and pursue their goals despite resistance by more orthodox colleagues. Reforms take courage, the courage of those who take the challenge of civil society—the challenge of self-help and unforced cooperation—seriously. In this regard the 1997 finalists are no exception.

In 1996 the Prize was awarded to Palacký University in Olomouc for the way in which it had risen if not from the ashes then certainly from the spiritual devastations of communism. Most particularly we were impressed that under the leadership of its then Rector Josef Jarab it had not just recreated traditional structures and activities, but reached out to the community around it, by making the knowledge of its distinguished lawyers available for civic education, by studying and helping the Romany community in the area, and in other ways. Rector Jarab has since moved on to even greater things. He is now a senator of the Czech Republic, elected by the citizens of Olomouc, as well as Rector-President of the Central European University in Budapest.

Winner of the 1997 Prize is the Invisible College in Budapest, under the leadership of the remarkable woman, Ágnes Erdélyi, and invented by the imaginative political philosopher, György Bence, who has since handed over the chairmanship of the trustees to Dr. András Veér.

Before I return to the winners, let me say a word about the motives of the Jury and the other finalists. In 1997, we decided to reward sheer excellence. Not that the earlier prizewinners were anything less than excellent. Yet then we took additional factors into account, like the combination of teaching and research, the effect of initiatives on higher education generally, the outreach to a wider community. This year we looked above all at academic and intellectual brilliance.

Thus we were intentionally elitist. I make no apologies for this fact. Academic systems, indeed the entire knowledge class of countries, are as good as the best. I do not know whether what the best do necessarily trickles down to the rest—we have become sceptical of trickle-down theories not just in economic terms—but it does set standards. Without standards, advanced research and teaching soon degenerates into the kind of mediocrity which is only too widespread in Europe. Without standards, wider intellectual endeavours, from the arts and literature to policy research and the quality of management thinking, will not flourish. The Jury wanted to emphasize that standards of excellence are needed, and also that there are initiatives in East Central Europe which have come to set such standards.

The question may be asked whether entire universities can be described in these terms. More particularly, some may wonder whether Trnava University belongs in this list. The Jury had good reasons to include this university among the finalists, and it was not disappointed when it visited Trnava to meet faculty and students. Sometimes, the potential for excellence is stunted by circumstances outside the control of those who try to realize it. Trnava University is a case in point. Its re-foundation in 1992, 215 years after its closure in 1777, was an act of faith by Slovak intellectuals. The spiritus rector, Frantisek Miklosko, got much support from the Prime Minister of the time, Ján Carnogurský. Since then the foundation has fallen on less happy times. Yet we found, under the Rectorship of Professor Ladislav Soltés, a lively and resilient institution, much appreciated by its students. For the most part, Trnava University is devoted to the humanities including theology, though we were particularly impressed by the activities of the Faculty of Public Health.

Striving for excellence in adverse circumstances is itself an achievement which deserves support and recognition.

The Central European University in Budapest is a success story. As a university however it would not be eligible for the Hannah Arendt Prize because it is an exogenous rather than an indigenous initiative. It is of course one of the numerous traces left in the higher education scene of the post-communist world by that great champion of the open society, George Soros. He has always put his money where his heart is, and we have encountered the impact of his funds almost everywhere we went.



Lord Dahrendorf

Created in 1992 by Professor Gábor Klaniczay and Professor János Bak, it has become one of a handful of top-class centres in the field anywhere in Europe. It may surprise some—as it surprised us—to find that medieval studies help staff and students to define a common European identity. The Latin Middle Ages may well have been the last real Europe, more real by cultural ties than any common market can make the continent. A bright group of Ph.D. students mostly from Eastern Europe complements a distinguished staff of teachers and researchers. The Department of Medieval Studies at the CEU is a truly standard-setting achievement.

Many universities in East Central Europe have tried to set up economics departments which can compete with the best, though few have succeeded. Economics has become an esoteric discipline and the top departments in the world jealously guard their status. If any one in the new democracies has succeeded in competing successfully, it is the Center for Economic Research and Graduate Education (CERGE-EI) in Prague. The founders of 1991 were themselves destined for both theory and practice; Professor Jan Svejnar went to the University of Michigan, and Professor Josef Zieleniec into the government of the Czech Republic. Professor Frantisek Turnovec has led the institute which, like the Graduate School for Social Sciences in Warsaw is independent but grafted onto both the University and the Academy, to new heights. Close links with American institutions, and outreach to business, politics and the wider public make CERGE-EI a prime centre for advanced economic teaching and research in the region.

The fourth finalist takes us back to Warsaw and to a type of activity which is in many ways close to that of this year's prizewinner: it is the extraordinary creation of Professor Jerzy Axer. Dare I call it "Axerland"? "Axerland" is about enabling the best students to be

exposed to the best teachers without regard to departmental boundaries or restrictive academic rules. This began with students of the Center for the Study of the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe (OBTA). Like the Medieval Studies Department in Budapest, OBTA has discovered the force of tradition in uniting people despite boundaries. Since 1993, Professor Axer's initiative has however moved on to "interdepartmental individual studies in the humanities" more generally (MISH) and then from Warsaw to other universities in East-Central Europe (MBSH). Professor Axer's energy seems boundless, so much so that he has not only found funding for his ventures but also overcome vested interests in the university. There will be—if there is not already—a significant group of young people who have benefited from wider horizons and deeper understanding than normal academic study can offer. We salute this achievement.

And so to the prizewinner, the Invisible College in Budapest. This really is an indigenous idea—one dare not call it an institution, since it is invisible—and one of great moment. I remember sneaking doubts when Professor Bence first explained to me, before the actual foundation in 1992, what he had in mind. He was however not to be deflected by such doubts, and found the money as well as the people to put his idea to the test in Budapest. An "invisible college"? What is that supposed to be? It is, as we now know, an intellectual community of outstanding students and committed tutors, all of whom are fully integrated into their universities but who enrich each other in a climate of knowledge and experience which only their community can give them. If I may quote myself from my Prize address in 1995: The College "is invisible only in the sense that it has spurned institutionalisation in solid



Ágnes Erdélyi and Ulrich Voswinckel

buildings with corridors of administrators. For the students and tutors carefully selected for membership it is very real indeed. These form a group of young people in the humanities and social sciences who are unashamedly an elite, but one with a strong sense of solidarity and of commitment to the world in which they are living. They pursue their degree courses but receive and give that extra ounce of interest which is the seedcorn of civil societies."

The quote from 1995 shows that we have considered the Invisible College before. Why then have we decided to

award them the Prize in 1997? The Invisible College was close to winning then, and it has kept up its quality and commitment. On revisiting it, we were impressed by the way the students—and their tutors—talked about it; they emphasised obligation and future effort rather than privilege. Beyond such confirmation of earlier judgments, two new initiatives deserve mention. One is the “Visible Extension Project” which is intended to make the experience of the tutorials available to many, notably in the form of a series of textbooks, the first of which look very promising. Secondly, it is now clear that the Budapest Invisible College has not remained a singular invention. In Budapest itself, a new college will cater for natural scientists. Elsewhere, the list of similar initiatives, often directly informed by the Budapest experience, is growing steadily: Warsaw, Bratislava, Cluj, and soon Bucharest, Vilnius and Bishkek in Kyrgyzstan. And as I add reasons for the Jury’s decision, I must not forget one of particular importance: the skill and enthusiasm of Ágnes Erdélyi, whose nervous energy is breathtaking and whose profound devotion to the College demonstrates her qualities of decency and commitment.

Most of the finalists for the Hannah Arendt Prize, including this year’s prizewinner, seem to benefit small numbers only. The Invisible College takes in 20 new students each year, Professor Axer started with similar numbers though his flock has grown, and Trnava University has more than 2000 students. However, both CERGE and the Medieval Studies Department of the CEU are no larger than the Invisible College. Such smallness did in no way concern the Jury. For one thing it shows that the founders are thinking about the long term; over the years 20 soon turn into hundreds. For another thing, it is a part of the pursuit of excellence that it spreads from small beginnings. Indeed we are back to our primary objective, a civil society which enhances the life chances of people by stimulus and by example.

On behalf of the Jury, I want to thank all finalists for their contribution to this goal, and congratulate the Invisible College in Budapest for its signal achievement.

Transit Discussion

Do We Still Need the University?

At the Hannah Arendt Prize Ceremony Peter Glotz, Rector of the University of Erfurt, and Dieter Simon, President of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, discussed this question. Dieter Simon’s seven theses to the subject are reproduced below. Peter Glotz’ answers as well as the following discussion will appear in the next issue of Transit - Europäische Revue.

1. We still need the university as an institution of higher education. Its admission of twenty-five percent of high school graduates relieves the labor market. This is why every attempt to limit the number of students—even when initiated surreptitiously by university leaders and state higher education administrators—has failed. In addition, the university provides employment credentials for around ninety percent of students, which can be useful in and of itself, but not in the labor market. However, since being trained to be a qualified unemployed person cannot be regarded as a special privilege, it is hardly possible to charge fees, so for the time being the university cannot be counted on as a source of revenue for topping up state coffers.

2. We no longer need the university as university, as its traditional *differentiae specificae* with respect to the *Fachhochschulen* (polytechnics)—“unity of research and instruction” or “science as a way of life”—have evaporated. Thus in the future the university will be lumped together with vocational and technical colleges as institutions of “secondary education”. Occasionally, the division of research and instruction is demanded under the slogan of differentiation in order to, on the one hand, set up degrees that are also occupational credentials, while on the other hand relieving the “research course” of those

who are less interested or talented in the sciences. The fact that this has already happened long ago is overlooked. The only thing that is missing is its recognition and institutionalization. The fact that in this or that “orchid” discipline the separation has not yet occurred only proves that such disciplines are still around, but they can hardly be taken as the rule. The ongoing campaign to re-establish some balance to the “teaching and research” equation by restoring some value to teaching is merely chimerical: in most universities nowadays, overburdened with throngs of students, teaching has become the sole *raison d’être* of the university. Space for research is shrinking daily. Research has become an object of scorn—a hobby one pursues during the holidays. Fundamentalism demands for a return to the values of teaching has contributed much to this cooling off of the research environment. Moreover, the increasing desire to develop a specific academic profile for each institution is already making talk of the university appear just as inappropriate as talk of the *Fachhochschule*. In future the range of possibilities open to academics will merely be extended from “teaching only” to “teaching + research-led teaching”. One could even predict that usage of the traditional expression “research and instruction” will come to be ascribed to a poor mastery of the language.

3. We still need the university as a reform program. For about thirty years the state of the universities has been bemoaned, and reform idea after reform idea amassed, each new conception reproaching the old as inadequate. Reform is no longer a project, but a long-term program. One can only assume that such talk about reform and the need for reform satisfies some deep-seated societal need. Those who have traveled in America often return as proselytizers for the advantages of the strong executive dean as a solution to the German university's woes. Yet those who advocate a strengthening of the executive organs of the university often do not consider that such executive power does not de facto ensure quality, and that strength can also be achieved in the Gruppenuniversität (the democratically-governed university, now often a synonym for inefficiency) by a steadfast commitment to academic excellence. In addition, the proper place for the training of teachers should also be considered—the idea of incorporating such training into the university has obviously caused almost the same amount of damage as did the ill-considered allocation of an army of a million students to what had once been a place for research. Finally, “interdisciplinarity” and “transdisciplinarity”—terms now bandied about with great enthusiasm by education ministers, politicians, and other would-be reformers—are merely new ways of describing the progressive specialization within academic disciplines which has so characterized academic life over the past century. After all, the past thirty years of fanciful yearning for “inter-”, “trans-”, and “pluri-” disciplinarity has had no visible effect on the march of specialization. Without the university

these and similar inspirations would beset other institutions and frustrate their development, while in the university they can be subdued without consequence.



Peter Glotz

4. We no longer need the university as a home for ideas of the university. It can be left open whether Wilhelm von Humboldt is now “dead” or, as some metaphysicians would have newspaper readers believe, “still alive”. The possible causes of his demise (“suffocated”!) or banishment (to the “orchids”!) can also be left aside. His regulative principle “education through science” is on its last legs. Education is nice, but not marketable. All the new ideas of the university, such as “the forum of the nation”, “a place of enlightened dialogue”, or “the hub of social communication”, rest on romanticized misjudgments of the current and foreseeable realities of the mass university as well as the interests of those who teach and those who learn. In any case, other institutions, foundations, and fora have long ago taken over these tasks.

5. We still need the university as refuge for the human sciences. The university laments the two-culture syn-

drome—the gulf that divides the humanities and natural sciences—but nevertheless through its symbolic, interdisciplinary discourse it has made no progress in bridging this gap. Neither has it been successful in integrating the fragmented human and social science disciplines, where the disciplinary boundaries are rather products of historical accident and contingency. At the same time, the university is without question the only institution that pursues human and social scientific research on a large scale, stockpiling knowledge that is augmented by the work of various types of new para-university foundations (such as Frankfurt an der Oder or Erfurt). As such, the university—against its will and unintentionally—contributes to the petrification of the status quo. But the rich knowledge that is available in the humanities and social sciences is a latent yet potential resource for society, even if their regrouping under the moniker “cultural science” will not forge a new paradigm capable of taking over from the philological-historical disciplines, which lost their status as leading disciplines in the First World War, or the theoretical social sciences, which forfeited their social-explanatory power with the fall of the wall in 1989-90. The concept of “cultural science” is like the blind trying to lead the blind. In the meantime molecular biology, cognitive sciences, and information technologies have long since installed themselves as the leading disciplines.



Dieter Simon

6. We no longer need the university for the administration and supervision of a research monopoly. The research monopoly taken for granted by W. von Humboldt was already ruined by Harnack's suggestion to Kaiser Wilhelm I to found separate research institutes. Since then, with the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, the Helmholtz-Gesellschaft, and the Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft, a large part of natural science research—whether fundamental or applied—has steadily and irrevocably decamped from the university. Even the function of the university as supplier for extra-university research is itself in danger, and will be significantly weakened still further by the participation of non-university researchers (which is required for fiscal reasons). If students training to be school teachers did not leap into the breach, some natural science faculties would have to (or could!) close their doors. Even big companies are themselves giving up their own research institutes in order to buy research results on the open market and, as customers, they are turning less and less to the university.

7. We still need the university as an experimental field—the last battleground of the ever-weakening Kulturstaat (the state as a cultural entity). The self-organization of science as the fourth power of the state after the judiciary, which Schelsky dreamed of in the end, did not come

about. The organization of research by the state ossified the university into a subordinate administrative authority. The drive to modernization set off and driven by the current financial crisis will force the university to compete in the marketplace, and turn the state into a remote, faceless financier. The privatization and/or autonom-

ization of public and private corporate bodies can and will become the model for other areas of culture-state activity. Whether it will become an exemplary model remains to be seen. Jaspers' claim that "society and state sink together with the university" no longer causes anxiety. If the university sinks—which it already has—state and society remain (as one can see) untouched and unmoved.

IWM Lectures in Gender Studies

Teresa de Lauretis: Basic Instincts: A Feminist Re-Reading of Freud

On May 15, 22 and 26 Teresa de Lauretis, Professor of the History of Consciousness, University of California, Santa Cruz, gave this year's Lectures in Gender Studies. The three lectures were entitled: I. The Witch Metapsychology: Letter to an Unknown Woman; II. Constructions in Analysis, or Reading After Freud; III. The Stubborn Drive. We quote from her introduction:

Feminist readings of Freud since the late 1960s, i.e., in the context of second-wave feminism, have ranged along a wide spectrum of intellectual formations and political positions testifying to the ambivalence toward Freud and his theory of psychoanalysis that characterizes Anglo-American culture at large. As convenient signposts for the two ends of the spectrum we can think of Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1969), written as a doctoral dissertation in literature, and Juliet Mitchell's *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* (1974), written in part as a response to early feminist critiques. Millett, a New Yorker, went on to become a novelist, while Mitchell, New Zealand-born and Oxford-educated, is now a practicing psychoanalyst in London. Millett articulated the main points of the feminist critique of Freud and his view of femininity and female sexuality by singling out phrases—penis envy, anatomy is destiny, the libido is masculine, etc.—that instantly became flags in the 70s march toward sexual liberation. Her book was both tendentious and erudite, passionately biased but not superficial. Her opening statement in the chapter on Freud sums up the American attitude of admiration and indignation that began with Freud's first and only visit to the United States sixty years earlier, was reflected in the ambivalence of women analysts like Karen Horney and Clara Thompson, and continues to this day.

By an irony nearly tragic, the discoveries of a great pioneer, whose theories of the unconscious and of infant sexuality were major contributions to human understanding, were in time invoked to sponsor a point of view essentially conservative. And as regards the sexual revolution's goal of liberating female humanity from its traditional subordination, the Freudian position came to be pressed into the service of a strongly counterrevolutionary attitude. Although the most unfortunate effects of vulgar Freudianism far exceeded the intentions of Freud himself, its anti-feminism was not without foundation in Freud's own work. (Sexual Politics, p. 252)

Millett's recognition of what she calls his "discovery" of the unconscious and infantile sexuality is quickly stated and quickly forgotten. The rest of the essay is devoted to detailing the "counter-revolutionary," oppressive, and prescriptive doctrine of female sexuality that she gleans

out of his writings. But Millett, however begrudgingly, does give Freud what is Freud's. In the vast majority of subsequent feminist works—in psychology, sociology, literary criticism, and the whole interdisciplinary area of women's studies—"Freud" has come to mean mainly what Freud is said to have said about women, while the unconscious and in particular the theory of drives are dismissed as old-fashioned and "biologistic" at best, or, at worst, as a patriarchal plot to justify and perpetuate the social reality of women's oppression.

However, the canonical text for a numerically smaller but academically influential trend in feminist theory turned to psychoanalysis precisely for its elaboration of sexual difference and identity in relation to the unconscious. This was the position taken by Juliet Mitchell in *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, who argued that the rejection of psychoanalysis was a fatal mistake: "However it may have been used," she wrote, "psychoanalysis is not a recommendation for a patriarchal society, but an analysis of one" (p. xv). And women's struggle against sexual discrimination, as well as their effort to redefine gender and sexual roles, could not afford to ignore that analysis or, even less, ignore the role of the unconscious in the internalization and reproduction of oppressive social norms within female subjectivity itself. She insisted that the "social realism" of feminist politics and its emphasis on the reality principle was short sighted:

The way we live as "ideas" the necessary laws of human society is not so much conscious as unconscious—the particular task of psychoanalysis is to decipher how we acquire our heritage of the ideas and laws of human society within the unconscious mind, or, to put it another way, the unconscious mind is the way we acquire these laws. (Psychoanalysis and Feminism, p. xvi)

In contrast to the feminist anti-Freudian position represented by Millett, Mitchell's defense of Freud represented a position that I will call the feminist "neo-Freudian left," for whom the achievement of psychoanalysis was not a prescriptive or normalizing definition of female sexuality but rather its singular emphasis on the instability, even the impossibility, of a feminine sexual identity.

Now, more than 20 years later, the spectrum of feminist positions has not changed very much. In spite of the current dominant emphasis on the relation to the mother, which Freud tended to disregard and feminists therefore derived from the work of Melanie Klein and a version of object-relations theory (the self-in-relation), the two ends of the contemporary spectrum are again defined by the acceptance or the rejection of Freud's theory of drives and the system unconscious.

My title, then, "Basic Instincts. A Feminist Rereading of Freud," may suggest to you that I locate my work closer to the Mitchell end of the spectrum—at least the Mitchell prior to her conversion to Lacan. And indeed I agree with her that if one reads "Freud's writings on femininity outside the context of the main concepts of psychoanalysis they are doomed to sound absurd and/or reactionary" (as she wrote in *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, p. 351). But I differ from her in that I think that one can read Freud's writings through Lacan's concepts of the linguistic unconscious, the phallus, and sexual difference, as Mitchell does in her introduction to Lacan's *Feminine Sexuality*, and they still sound quite conservative and/or reactionary.

So let me be deviant, or perverse, and situate my work outside this spectrum of feminist positions. Let me say that my readings of Freud are informed by feminist theory and politics as I have lived it over the past 25 years; that I have changed my mind with each rereading and according to the vicissitudes of both my own history and the history of feminism; and that I may change my mind again, who knows, if illusion has a future. What is feminist about my present work is not my arguing for sexual or gender equality—I've never argued for that—or for a female sexual specificity—I will not ask "Was will das Weib?": no one can or should answer that, for there is not Woman but only women, and women are very different from one another. What is feminist about these reflections on Freud's writings is the way of posing a problematic, a set of questions that, even as they are not addressed specifically to women, would be unthinkable without the epistemological framework of feminism.

In these lectures I return to Freud's writings, his contradictions, ambiguities and ambivalence, in order to rethink—or to reframe through them—the questions of desire, of the relation of sexuality to fantasies private and public, and of the body as the material ground of subjectivation, the site of the inscription of gender, sexuality and race in the social subject. I return to Freud's theory, his "Witch Metapsychology," after the feminist sociological revision and the current vogue of feminist psychotherapy in the U.S., to refind the negativity of his sexual theory over against the positivity of any cure, to reemphasize the resistance of the unconscious to progress and recuperation by political programs, including feminist programs. I return to Freud, after the Lacanian feminist revision, to retrieve a conceptual space in which the corporeal, embodied nature of the subject is not evacuated by an exclusive (idealist) emphasis on language, as it is in Lacan. It is not the Lacanian, Cartesian subject, constituted as an effect of speech that concerns me. It is the Freudian bodily ego (Körper-Ich), a projected perceptual

boundary that does not merely delimit or contain the imaginary morphology of a self but actually enables access to the symbolic; the body-ego as a permeable boundary—an open border, so to speak—a site of incessant negotiations (translations, Laplanche would say) between the external world of the others, the social field, and the internal world of the psyche with its instinctual drives and mechanisms of defense—repression, disavowal, and so forth—and its "internal foreign objects," as Laplanche calls the unconscious.

I return to Freud to look for a conceptual space in which the so-called social construction of the subject, its subjection and its agency in resignification or self-fashioning, are not merely effects of a discursive performativity that transcends it, as some American readings of Foucault would have it. The equivocation that, in the cultural context of the US, generally resistant to the notion of the unconscious, with its stubbornness and intractability, has welcomed Foucault's theory of sexuality in *La volonté de savoir* as a way to refute and replace Freud's theory of a biologically grounded drive, will be one of my topics in the lecture I have entitled "The Stubborn Drive" using, precisely, Foucault's words. In *La Volonté de savoir* he writes:

Sexuality must not be described as a stubborn drive, by nature alien and of necessity disobedient to a power which exhausts itself trying to subdue it and often fails to control it entirely. It appears rather as an especially dense transfer point for relations of power.... (History of Sexuality, Vol. I, p. 103)

I will argue, however, that Foucault's and Freud's views of sexuality are not as incompatible or mutually exclusive as they may appear at first sight, and that in fact only Freud's notion of a stubborn, obdurate, intractable instinctual drive can account for what Foucault calls the "implantation of perversions" in the subject. Foucault's theoretical object, in *La Volonté de savoir*, is sexuality as a social technology, the social conditions and discursive mechanisms that bring about the knowledges and practices which produce in the social body something called sexuality, and then implant it in each social subject. But he was not concerned, in that work (he would be later on, in the subsequent volumes of his *History of Sexuality*), with how that implantation takes, as it were, the ways in which it becomes effective or is actually realized in each subject. Freud, on the other hand, is concerned precisely with the psychic mechanisms that articulate that something called sexuality to fantasies and (self) representations in the subject's psychic reality. His conceptualization of the relations of ego and drives, and by extension of the relations of the subject in culture, is what we have come to know as Freud's "constructions in analysis," and I have called passionate fictions: the primal scene, the Oedipus complex, the death drive, the unconscious itself. Once, citing Faust with keen self-irony, he himself called his theorizing "the Witch Metapsychology," suggesting the contiguity of theory and fantasy: "So muss denn doch die Hexe dran"—the Witch Metapsychology. Without metapsychological speculation and theorizing—I had almost said 'phantasying'—we shall not get another step forward."

Fellows' Meeting

François Furet

On March 21 the French Historian François Furet, Institut Raymond Aron, Paris, gave a lecture on the occasion of IWM's yearly Fellows' Meeting entitled "The Concept of the 'Ancien Régime' in Toqueville's Interpretation of the French Revolution". Furet, member of IWM's Academic Advisory Board, had been named new member of the Académie Française, the greatest academic honour in France, and celebrated his 70th birthday a few days later.

Editor's Note: We have since received news that François Furet passed away on July 12 in Paris. Please see pages 16 and 33.



Gerhard Rainer, Christopher Schönberger, Annette Laborey



Krzysztof Michalski, Gerhard Botz, François Furet



Juraj Alner, Oldrich Tuma



Friederike Hassauer, Gerfried Sperl



*Junior Fellows
John Leake and
Pertti Ahonen*



In front: P. Engelmann, Alexander Etkind, Don Kalb, behind: E. Tugendhat



Milos Havelka, Herta Nagl

François Furet

An Obituary by Tony Judt, Director of the Remarque Institute, New York University, and Permanent Fellow of IWM

François Furet, who died on July 12th, at the age of 70, was one of the most influential men in contemporary France. This may seem a strange observation to make of a man who spent his whole life in academic employment and whose output consisted for the most part of a series of scholarly studies of the French Revolution. It is a tribute to Professor Furet, and an illustration of the enduring place of the intellectual in modern French culture, that his influence was so very great.

But François Furet was no ordinary intellectual, and no ordinary historian. In his younger days, like so many other French scholars and intellectuals of his generation, he was a member of the French Communist Party. He left the party in 1956, resigning in protest at the Soviet invasion of Hungary; as he would later acknowledge, "it was the most intelligent thing I have ever done." His experience in the French Communist Party shaped Furet's personal and scholarly concerns for the rest of his life. After graduating from the Sorbonne, Furet devoted his academic work to the study of the French Revolution, publishing in 1965 *The French Revolution*, a widely-noticed two volume general study of the era, co-written with the late Denis Richet. In this book Furet approached the history of Revolutionary France from the then fashionable perspective of the *Annales* school, emphasizing continuities with the French past, and giving priority to long-term social and cultural processes at the expense of the importance usually attached to the political developments themselves.

This new study of the Revolutionary era was already a radical departure from the then accepted interpretation, heavily influenced by the Marxist historiography that dominated the study of the French past after World War II. But in the two decades that followed, Furet was to go on to publish a series of utterly original, path-breaking essays that have transformed our understanding of France's Revolutionary past beyond anything that could have been imagined before. In *Interpreting the French Revolution*, *Marx and the French Revolution*, *The Revolution 1770-1880*, and *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (co-edited with Mona Ozouf), Furet destroyed what he himself called the "revolutionary catechism": the Marxist and Neo-Marxist account of France's Revolution as the model and forerunner of bourgeois revolutions everywhere, based on an interpretation of the years 1789-1794 as a classic instance of class conflict.

Furet's signal contribution to the interpretation of the French Revolution was this: he simply displaced the old social categories and supposed conflicts from the center of our historical concerns, and replaced them with an emphasis upon political, intellectual and cultural accounts and understandings of France's revolutionary past, reminding his readers that the Revolution was above all a radical shift in human self-understanding and in the balance of intellectual and political power. In Furet's hands the French Revolution became once again what it had been in the age of the great liberal historians of the early 19th century: a complex conflict of world views and political and philosophical approaches to government and

politics, with its roots in the Enlightenment but responding to the complicated and rapidly shifting political circumstances of the Revolutionary decade.

The significance of Furet's work in France was this: it both coincided with the decline of Marxism as a controlling pattern of thought in French intellectual and scholarly circles, and helped to complete that process. Moreover, by dismantling long-accepted clichés about the revolutionary origins of modern French politics, Furet helped his contemporaries learn to think about politics itself, and the ways in which France is governed and might be governed in years to come. In this sense, François Furet's recasting of our understanding of the French Revolution became a significant factor in the overcoming of the revolutionary heritage in French political argument; as a result, it has once again become possible to discuss politics, political philosophy and the place of the state in society without constant recourse to the categories of the "revolutionary catechism": the Bourgeoisie, the Proletariat, Class Conflict, the "historical process," etc. Whatever now happens in our understanding of the French past, or in the French present itself, Furet's achievement is incontrovertible. Nothing will ever be as it was before he came along.

If François Furet had just stopped there, he would already have made a magnificent contribution to the study of the European past and to the political culture of his own country. But he did not stop there. For eight years, from 1977 to 1985, Furet was the president of the EHESS (*Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales*). Under his presidency it was intellectually renewed, with many new, younger and radically different scholars and writers taking their place at the center of French intellectual and scholarly life. Furet also played the leading role in setting up the Institut Raymond Aron. This institute, dedicated to the memory of France's greatest contemporary social theorist, but a man who was much neglected by his French peers during his lifetime, has become the focal point for the re-birth of French liberal thought today.

In recent years Furet's interests had developed further still into the present, and in 1995 he published *Le passé d'une illusion*, an extended essay on the 20th century, in the form of history of the myth of Communism. This brilliant polemical tour de force took France by storm. As a history of the Communist illusion in our century, and the ways it was believed and exploited, Furet's book was not particularly original: as he acknowledged, Hannah Arendt and others before him had said many of the same things. But Furet's genius lay in combining a scholarly survey of contested pasts with a polemical, reasoned argument directed toward the present. In this respect his book was an overwhelming success. A best-seller in France and widely read throughout Europe, it is seen by many commentators as having driven the final nail into the myth of Leninism, a myth closely bound-up with the more broadly disseminated myth of revolution in the West as it has emerged through over the past two centuries. In his last and perhaps greatest work, he thus brought to a close his lifetime achievement, drawing a final and conclusive line

under the illusion of Revolutionary transformation that has shaped so much of European thought since the late 18th century.

François Furet's sad death comes shortly after his election to the Academie Française, establishing him as one of the "immortal" glories of his country. It was an honor richly deserved. Yet nothing about François Furet bespoke the conventional image of the aloof, proud Academician. He remained, at the age of 70, what he had been throughout his career; a friendly, accessible, warm and utterly engaged scholar, as much at home in a graduate seminar in the University of Chicago, as he was

expanding his views to the mass public on French national television. He was uniquely generous with his time, his energies and his knowledge - as his many colleagues in the US, France and the rest of Europe will readily acknowledge. He was a courageous spokesman for the things he believed in, and gave unstinting support to students, colleagues and causes, even when (as on the occasion of the bicentennial of the French Revolution) this made him many enemies among scholars and others nostalgic for a simplistic past of which Furet had deprived them. His death is an inestimable loss to all of us, to the historical profession and to his country.

Workshop

Development of Social Policy Curricula

The common interest and involvement in the reform of higher education in East-Central Europe induced IREX and IWM in the framework of its TERC Program to organize a workshop on the question of the curricular and institutional reorganization of universities. The workshop took place in Vienna on March 14-15. Report by Jochen Fried, Head of Programs, IWM.

A new tendency has become clearly apparent in those East-West programs that support the reform process in the institutions of higher education in East-Central Europe. If in the past the emphasis was primarily on "East goes West," to the point that, according to recent data on individual East-Central European humanities and social science faculties, almost two thirds of all university instructors have spent time in the West¹, now those programs that operate "on site" are becoming more prominent. These programs are intended not so much to strengthen individual mobility as the impulse for institutional and structural self-renewal. The workshop at IWM enabled participants to exchange their experiences with the implementation of such "on site" projects, which are meant to strengthen the impetus for reform by helping to smooth out the often difficult path of reforming structures from within.

The point of departure for the discussions was a short review of the projects that IREX (the International Research and Exchange Board in Washington, D.C.) has been supporting since 1994 at the Institute for Sociology at the University of Warsaw, the Center for Public Affairs Studies at the Budapest University of Economic Sciences, and the Faculty for Political Science, Public Administration, and Journalism at the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca (Rumania). Behind the seemingly unified, normative facade created by recent higher education legislation in each country—which is more or less congruous with respect to academic values such as the freedom of research and instruction and the autonomy of universities—is concealed a confusing multiplicity on the operational level, in particular with respect to institutional arrangements and forms of organization which are highly specific to each institution. Alongside the classical, traditionally-structured Institute for Sociology at the University of Warsaw one finds not only new, but also innovative institutions such as the Center for Public Affairs Studies in

Budapest with its strong emphasis on "teaching and learning by doing," as well as faculties, such as that of Cluj-Napoca, which pursue an interdisciplinary program rather than rashly demarcating artificial spheres of knowledge through institutional differentiation. The wider landscape of the radically changing field of higher education in East-Central Europe includes: in some cases extremely different developmental speeds of individual segments within the same university, or even the same faculty, that can lead to stark divisions; complex decision making structures, as well as sluggish administrations, which often enough slow down or even derail good ideas and meaningful concepts of reform; and an unwillingness to reform by those who are afraid of change, because they fear losing their jobs.

The participants in the workshop, which along with representatives of the above mentioned institutes also included IWM Visiting Fellows from St. Petersburg, Wroclaw, and Brno, as well as associates of IREX and IWM, were unanimous: the stage of academic tourism and curiosity about the world on this or that side of the former Iron Curtain is over. After the phase of rapidly absorbing the stocks of western knowledge and institutional "models" comes the somewhat more sober probationary period. Only those East-West cooperative projects will last that are successful in translating ideas into everyday institutional praxis, and which thus act as catalysts for a lasting reform of higher education.

The success of this first workshop has given the impetus for IREX and IWM to develop plans for a regular exchange of experiences. Other organizations from the West and the East will also be invited.

¹ as participants in weekend conferences or as holders of guest professorships etc. — see. CEP/IWM: Education for the Transition. Part II: Social Science Teaching at Central and East European Universities. A Needs Assessment, Budapest 1997, p. 30ff.

Workshop

Gender Studies

Among a number of events in the field of gender studies—which also included the lectures given by Teresa de Lauretis and a book presentation by Isabell Lorey—a long planned Gender Studies working group met May 23-25 in the library of IWM. Urte Helduser reports.

The idea of a workshop for both presenting current projects and discussing general theoretical and political concepts excited a lively interest among the participants of the feminist theory circle at IWM as well as former and current junior fellows. Over thirty women registered, and their contributions made for an extensive three day program organized by Katharina Pühl and Isabell Lorey. As a point of departure, the double task of presenting individual themes and pursuing a general discussion proved to be equally necessary and controversial. The research field of feminist theory(-ies) has become differentiated and extended into a variety of disciplines, and was accordingly represented here by not only political, cultural, literary, and art theorists, but also by philosophers, pedagogists, sociologists, and legal scholars as well. In all these guises it is again and again referred to the context of its theory and action. This claim to social-transforming praxis at the same time requires an understanding of one's own positioning. Donna Haraway's definition of positioning as knowledge grounding practice, as responsibility for practices that empower us, provided the subtext of the discussion. In the course of these discussions the necessity for self-reflection was called for under the slogan of a "structure debate" concerning the form and content of the event. Now and then the subtext became the principal text, yet in the end it was the program itself that finally settled the controversy.

One of the first sets of themes dealt with the work of the Czech scholar Donna Haraway. Haraway's dissolution of the dichotomy of nature and culture does not lead to a "postmodern denial of external discourses," but instead understands itself as a "denaturalization without dematerialization." Haraway justifies the necessity of making the discursivity of the concept of nature a political program with the already successful dissolution of the dichotomies in the technical sciences. This leads to the question of the interweaving and valence of different forms of knowledge. This question concerns the various sciences just as much as it does the relation between literature and theory. In Donna Haraway, theoretical constructs are tied to feminist science fiction. With the critique of the constructs of narratively composed theories comes the valuation of literary constructs. Judith Butler also presents an example of the interweaving of both fields. Her theory of the performativity of race, ethnicity, and gender is based on her reception of the Chicano literature of Gloria Anzaldúas and Cherrie Moragas. To be sure, the literary conceptions constitutive for the identity of the Chicano movement point beyond Butler, yet nevertheless the theoretician is in the end more successful. The mechanisms of exclusion that are here brought to bear raise the problem for femi-

nist approaches of their own entanglement in hegemonic discourse. The concept of queerness as refusal to define identities in terms of social categorizations (race/class/gender/sexual orientation) sets up critical self-reflection as the deconstruction of hegemony. In light of the demonstration that even the reflection on the mechanisms of exclusion is not capable of automatically averting their reproduction, the question of polarization mechanisms and desire for definition formed the closing of the first round of discussion.

This question was further pursued in a set of themes concerning feminist politics as critique of patriarchal standardization and the discussion of normative feminist theoretical concepts. The restrictive abortion legislation in Poland is exemplary of the way standardization functions, in that as usual it is based on the subordination to the national interest of women's rights of self-determination. The critique of standardization is also fundamental to a feminist critique of the theories of the welfare state, the standardization of which is formulated in universal terms—whereby the underlying gender perspective, which can be glimpsed in the centrality of wage labor in pension plans and the orientation around traditional forms of the family, is not explicit. On the other side, the realization of the principles of equality via normative assumptions also appears problematic. Thus in the inconcreteness of the statutes of the *Laenderbildungswerke* close to the Greens, the standard of gender democracy contributes more to the consolidation of structures than to stepping over them. Thus, against an unrealistic normative assumption, a "sober" difference approach is called for that begins with the current conditions of feminist criticism. Accordingly, concept of care in the revaluation of assistance work is understood as the social praxis of a feminist ethics. During the course of the discussion it became clear that feminist theory, in that it is bound to the present, is itself caught up in hegemonic discourse. Thus both the fields of aesthetics and politics equally require a deconstructive politics, the starting point of which is to reveal the conceptions and power relations with the goal of altering and recasting the present discourse. An example of this was offered by the visit to the *Valie Exports* exhibit at the *Museum des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* at the close of the meeting: characteristic of *Exports'* work is the clarification and dissolution of images and ways of seeing structured by the relation of gender. The overwhelming exhaustion of the participants that afternoon at the close of three days of often intensive debate did not dampen the desire to repeat a workshop that had proven to be productive with respect to both of the theoretical and practical goals formulated above.

Workshop

Trade Unions and Welfare Reform: East and West

Joint Workshop of IWM and the Austrian Chamber of Labor. IWM-Library May 30-31.

In the framework of its SOCO (Social Costs of the Economic Transformation in Central Europe) program IWM regularly organizes conferences and workshops to discuss theoretical and political issues of welfare reform from a comparative perspective. Our Fifth Central European Forum (October 1997) carries the title "The Politics of Welfare: Between Governmental Policy and Local Initiative". Among other topics the Forum will focus on the role of the various mediating institutions between the local and central levels. Besides the political parties, NGOs, etc., it is the trade unions and other associations of labor that occupy an important place in the process of mediation. In order to prepare the third session of the Forum, IWM and the Austrian Chamber of Labor held a joint workshop with the participation of the SOCO Selection Committee members and a number of Austrian and East-European experts.

Following the keynote speech delivered by Harald Ettl on the social dimension of the enlargement of the European Union, the participants of the workshop discussed the changing rules of the game in the field of welfare

reform in the West (in particular, in Austria) and the lessons Eastern European social reformers can draw from the changes in the status and policies of the trade unions. Also, they asked how the current transformation of the ex-communist welfare regimes and the role of trade unions may affect Western programs for social reform. The introductory papers were given by Claus Offe, Günther Chaloupek and Michal Boni.

Participants

Helen J. Addison, SOCO Program Coordinator, IWM; Michal Boni, Research Director, Institute for Public Affairs, Warsaw; former Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Policy of Poland; László Bruszt, Prorector, Central European University, Budapest; Günther Chaloupek, Head of the Department of Economics Research, Austrian Chamber of Labor, Vienna; Harald Ettl, President, Trade Union of Textile Workers, Austria; Member of the European Parliament; former Austrian Minister of Health, 1989-1992; Antoinette Hetzler, Department of Sociology, Lund University; Jozefina Hryniewicz, Institute for Applied Sciences, Warsaw University; Ira Katznelson, Political Science Department, Columbia University, New York; Janos Matyas Kovacs, Permanent Fellow, IWM; Jane Lewis, The Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford University; Claus Offe, Institute of Sociology, Humboldt University of Berlin; Franz Traxler, Institute of Sociology, Center of Business Administration, Vienna.

Workshop

New Media and Politics

A workshop organized in conjunction with the Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis in Ljubljana, May 29, IWM Library. Sebastian Reinfeldt reports.

The meeting of participants from both institutes for human sciences was the result of an initiative of Jochen Fried and Rastko Mocnik. It was agreed that a series of thematically oriented workshops would be organized to be held alternately in the capitals of Slovenia and Austria. The first and smaller of these events took place in Ljubljana, and had as its theme the significance and function of the opposition newspapers in the former Yugoslavia. The workshop in May took up the question of the chances and risks of new media for contemporary democratic processes.

The point of departure was the work of Claus Leggewie on this subject (see Transit 13 and the IWM Working Paper No. 1 on the WWW at <http://www.ping.at/iwm/netizens.htm>). Leggewie argues that the Internet in particular has potential to compensate for the structural problems of representative democracy in that it enables complex many-to-many communication; thus it can (at least potentially) be utilized in a more flexible and democratic manner than the usual one-dimensional media (one-to-many communication) has been up to now. The democratic subject of the Internet is the "well-informed citizen."

In the workshop, Leggewie formulated his theses for discussion. Since they had been distributed among the participants in advance, they could either be translated into other ideas and concepts or critically opposed. The course of the day produced three thematic threads:



Geert Lovink

theoretical media considerations, approaches for a radical critique of the Internet, and democratic-theoretical reflections. The Internet activist and theorist Geert Lovink (Agentur Bilwet, Amsterdam) called for a radical critique of the Internet that would involve its democratic utilization, arguing that in its current form the Internet is not a democratic medium.

Those who would produce this necessary critique would be "virtual intellectuals."

Meike Schmidt-Gleim (dolores' bulemic breakfast in the t0-net, Vienna) focused in this context on the effects of this medium on (gender) identities. She posed the ques-

tion whether or to what extent democracy is based on the explicit ascription of opinions and positions to subjects. With reference to examples of games with identities and the aide of theoretical considerations that drew from, among others, Judith Butler, she made it clear that in the Internet such identification does not need to be made, but can be intentionally (or unintentionally) played with.



Hartmann, Mocnik, Ogrizek, Praprotnik, Milohnic

Konrad Becker (Vienna) dealt with the significance of the activities of critical networking in the Internet, in particular with respect to the recent Net-Time-Meeting in Ljubljana (between May 22 and 24, 1997). Hrachia Kazhoyan, a former television journalist from Armenia and currently a student in Ljubljana, referred to institutional power structures woven into the Internet.

The theses of Claus Leggewie that began the program further inspired a discussion about the structure of electronic and new medias with respect both to their social effects as well as ritual "communication." Melita Zaic from Ljubljana covered in her contribution "Deep Blue" the alteration of models of reality through computer networking with reference to the example of the history of chess automatons and the fantasies about how they work. Can liberal democracy (still) handle such displacements of men by machines or will it itself be displaced in the process?

On the other hand, Joze Vogrinc made it clear that modern ICT (=Information and Communication Technologies) are less machine-based than given specific configurations that put various loci at the disposal of individual and group users. The interactive mode of computer communication that would lead to democratic use is only one variant among other configurations. Thus a will to democratic deliberation cannot be assumed.

Sebastian Reinfeldt brought up the question of the situation of representative democracy which had induced the recommendation of Claus Leggewie. Its current crisis makes apparent the conditions under which it functions: namely, that it presupposes a relative cultural homogeneity, a fixed space and a reliable time frame. The Internet oversteps these coordinates. Thus the use of the Internet in a broadened, democratic sense must carry with it both the critique and the transformation of the institutions of democratic democracy.

Finally, Rastko Mocnik argued that the media institutes social understanding and context through its techniques of representation (playback on TV, for example). He

characterizes the decisive social context of modern media as that of the "abstract individual" which has an individualizing as well as, in that it is an institutional device, collectivizing effect. With reference to the example of the television viewer, it was shown that this figure could function like a democratic protective shield against sharp ideological appeals (in Louis Althusser's sense). Analogously, Mocnik also calls for understanding the Internet as a relatively unique social institution.

The number of ideas, criticisms, and suggestions makes impossible any "solution" to the questions raised by Claus Leggewie. The discussion of the medium or institution of the Internet has only just begun. The workshop made one thing graphically clear: new media will be used, and for that very reason they will be problematic.

Program

I. Chair: Sebastian Reinfeldt (Mainz / ISH Ljubljana)
Claus Leggewie Netizens, or: The Well Informed Citizen Today. Prospects for Democratic Participation in the Internet (Summary of his essay which appeared as IWM Working Paper Nr. 1 (<http://www.ping.at/iwm/netizens.htm>) and in Transit 13)

II. Chair: Konrad Becker (Public Netbase, Wien)
Meike Schmidt-Gleim Neue Medien, neue Mädchen (Summary of her essay in Transit 13)
Geert Lovink Between Praxis and Critique. Reflections on the Virtual Intellectual (an extended version was presented on July 13 at the Documenta in Kassel. See <http://www.thing.at/news/nettime.html>)
Hrachia Kazhoyan Micro Physics of Power in the Internet

III. Chair: Sebastian Reinfeldt
Joze Vogrinc The TV-Viewer, the Net-Communicator and the Will to Deliberate
Melita Zaic Deep Blue

IV. Vorsitz: Don Kalb (University of Utrecht / IWM)
Sebastian Reinfeldt On a Paradox of Representative Democracy
Rastko Mocnik Media and the Mechanisms of Social Cohesion. A response to Claus Leggewie
(IWM Working Paper Nr. 4, <http://www.ping.at/iwm/mocnik.htm>)

Participants

Michaela Adelberger (IWM); Konrad Becker (Public Netbase, Vienna); Maja Breznik (Junior Researcher at ISH, Ljubljana); Boris Buden (Bastard, Zagreb); Jochen Fried (IWM); Frank Hartmann (Forum Sozialforschung, Vienna); Thomas Hübel (Vienna)
Don Kalb (University of Utrecht / IWM); Hrachia Kazhoyan (Student at ISH); Claus Leggewie (Max Weber Chair at New York University / IWM); Margit Leuthold (Mainz / Vienna); Geert Lovink (xs4all, Amsterdam); Oliver Marchart (Public Netbase, Vienna)
Aldo Milohnic (Junior Researcher at ISH; OSI Ljubljana); Rastko Mocnik (Head of the Epistemology Program at ISH); Klaus Nellen (IWM); Maja Ogrizek (Student at ISH) Tadej Praprotnik (Student at ISH); Grega Pusnik (Student at ISH); Sebastian Reinfeldt (Mainz / Visiting Professor at ISH); Sabine Renken (Marburg); Marie Ringler (Dolores / Public Netbase, Vienna); Meike Schmidt-Gleim (Dolores / Public Netbase, Vienna); Irina Slosar (Kulturkontakt, Vienna); Joze Vogrinc (Coordinator of the Media Studies Program at ISH); Melita Zaic (Junior Researcher at ISH).

Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference:

The Dialectic of the Universal and the Particular

The fourth Junior Visiting Fellows' conference, which was held from June 6-7 in the IWM library provided a forum for the presentation and critique of the work of the ten Junior Fellows. Rather than centering the conference around a single rigid theme, the fellows unanimously decided to simply present some of the results of their work in a general manner that would be accessible to the various academic types concerned with *die Wissenschaften vom Menschen*: historians, philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, etc. Indeed, the conference was successful in cutting across the traditional boundaries of the academic disciplines, and the result was a lively inter-disciplinary dialogue from which all parties benefited.

Jonathan Hanen, co-organizer, reports:

Stefanie Rocknak began the conference by summarizing her paper entitled *The Synthetic Relation in Hume*. She argued that Hume's notion of a relation must be understood in every case as a certain kind of non-necessary synthetic relation, on analogy to a mathematical notion of synthesis that she derives from the Kantian theory of the productive imagination. Subsequently, she claimed, it can be shown that Humean skepticism in effect rejected the distinction between analytic and synthetic knowledge long before Quine.

Next, the Junior Fellows were treated to a review of Maciej Janowski's paper, *Dilettante Reflections, or The Importance of Being Earnest*, in which he outlined a philosophy of history from the perspective of the practicing historian. In his reflections, Maciej defended a common-sense methodology against various theories, such as Marxism, Psychoanalysis, and Post-modernism, that make the historian's insight radically contingent upon the religious, social, political, or psychological accidents of his or her epoch and background. Maciej advocated a moderate ahistoricism combined with a moderate historicism in order to do justice to the two-fold aim of achieving a true vision of the past without neglecting the role of the various contingent factors, which can and do affect the historian's judgment to degrees.

Katharina Pühl's contribution, *The Materiality of Gender—Let's forget about sex?*, traced the history of the sex-gender debate in feminist theory from the early texts of the seventies through the post-modernist developments of the eighties. She explained that while the former conceived the distinction in terms of the categories of biological essentialism in static opposition to the categories of the social, symbolic, and cultural dimensions, the latter maintained that these categories negate one another in so far as the scientific categories of sex are produced, if not decisively influenced, by the gendered concepts and practices of everyday life. Through a discussion of the approaches of Judith Butler and Teresa de Lauretis, Katharina explicated the most recent attempts to conceptualize sex as a certain materialized or sedimented notion of the broad field of gendered actions, symbolizations, and self-descriptions. She argued that this is not so much a question of one's personal history of socialization but more a question of a dynamic social-theoretical concept that eternally creates and reproduces gender and sex as a process.

This was followed by Christina Lammer's audio-visual presentation entitled *The Doll in the Doll in the Doll...Or Scenes of Dismemberment in the Medical Depiction of the Body*. Through an interpretation of the paintings of Da Vinci and Vesalius, Christina argued that the desacralization and mechanization of the body began in the Renaissance, when the science of anatomy was integrated into the fine arts, and further developed in early modernity and the Enlightenment. By means of a comparison of the art form of the modern deathmask to the visible human project at the University of Colorado (1993) and the Voxelman project at the University of Hamburg (1987), she explicated the paradoxical triumph of subjectivity in late or post-modernity; modern science and technology have made good on the promise of the Enlightenment to make us the masters and possessors of Nature—at the cost of a radical objectification and dehumanization of the body.

For his part, Csaba Dupcsik gave a synopsis of his paper *The New Wave of the Theories of Imperialism*, a review-article of Larry Wolff's *Inventing Eastern Europe*. By means of a painstaking analysis of the social, political, and military history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Csaba revealed the historical inaccuracies of Wolff's concept of 'Eastern Europe', which reduces Eastern Europe itself to a product of Enlightenment philosophy and Western European Imperialism. By examining the external influence of Russia and the internal developments within Eastern Europe, he outlined the extent of the revisionism and, at times, fictionalization that all too often accompany the application of Foucaultian hermeneutical principles. In sociological terms, Csaba argued that Wolff's book is a case study of the loss of reflexivity that inevitably follows whenever pure constructivism is practiced without any admixture of realism.

Sergei Zhrebkin's effort, *Nomadic Subjectivity and the Politics of Sexuality: Ukrainian Identity in the Age of the Cossacks*, aimed at explicating the role of myth in the formation of the national identity in contemporary Ukraine. Sergei analyzed the history of Cossack sexuality in terms of gender relations and in terms of Deleuze and Guattari's theory of the Eros of collective military action. He explained that Ukrainian nationalist ideology is based on an essentialist model of subjectivity that aims at strengthening the so-called patriarchal structure of society; such ideology traditionally emphasizes the danger of

the symbolic violence against women associated with the regular army tradition, but masks out the direct violence of the Cossack tradition. He argued that the apparent paradox of the recent turn in feminist scholarship towards nomadic politics of this type disappears because it aims at a model of subjectivity that avoids the pitfalls of both essentialism and particularism.

In his contribution, *Europe—Beginning and End of History?*, Ludger Hagedorn outlined the possibilities and the limitations of a philosophy of history. Rejecting widespread metaphysical tendencies in this discipline, he tried to ascertain the extent to which an existential approach to the philosophy of history, such as that of the Czech phenomenologist Jan Patocka, can avoid such shortcomings. Ludger showed that Patocka's model of a beginning and an end of history is not to be understood in the Hegelian sense of an historical progress to a final state, but, on the contrary, stresses the fragility and contingency of history. However, he pointed out, Patocka's emphatic concept of history as a breakthrough that was first achieved by Greek philosophy is clearly limited to the European context, and the link between Patocka's universalist approach and particular traditions and "histories" remains problematic.

In my own effort, *The Unity of Theory and Practice in Plato's Seventh Letter*, I discussed the sobering implications of the Platonic typology of souls for the question of the possibility and desirability of philosophical education in the various cases. I then argued for the unpopular thesis of an inseparable connection between the problem of ontology and the problem of politics, in contradistinction to the recent trend towards feigning the separation of these two dimensions of thinking in the Anglo-American academy and on the continent. Towards this end, I maintained that the concept of Truth given in the so-called metaphysical excursus implies an alienation between political theory and practice that can never be overcome just because a complete discursive account of the whole of being, i.e., Wisdom as the completion of philosophy, is impossible.

Barry Gilbert followed with an overview of his *Three Short Inquiries into the Nature of Science*. He argued convincingly, based upon Nietzsche's remarks in *Ecce Homo*, that the rhetorical polemic of *On the Genealogy of Morality* is directed not so much at the genealogists of morality per se, and not so much at morality itself, but primarily at the scholarly human type, who was to be attracted by the scientific appearance of the work. By interpreting the *Genealogy*, not merely as a history of the genesis of morality, but rather as a work of first psychology concerned with understanding fundamental human types, he fathomed the unstated connection of the psychology of the ascetic priest and the scholar to the project of the re-valuation of all values via the destruction of late modern Europe. Barry concluded with a speculation on the problem of the relationship between philosophy and science, which aimed at establishing a genuine philosophical perspectivalism that would allow for the mediation and rank-ordering of perspectives by means of discourse in the absence of a complete and scientific account of totality.

Mateusz Werner brought the conference to an appropriate end with a review of his paper: *On the Space-time*

Dimension of Melancholy. His talk traced the history of the concept of melancholy, understood generally as the creative force behind philosophical, literary, social, and cultural developments, in an attempt to ascertain its unitary essence. He reasoned that, although melancholy is clearly related to the uniquely human possibility of self-destruction and the feeling of "Leerlauf des Lebens" (emptiness of life), the essence of melancholy is best expressed by the paralyzing alienation that strikes those who are most capable of the highest activities just because, paradoxically, they are so gifted at questioning the value of these enterprises as a whole. Finally, Mateusz diagnosed what he called "the democratization of



Christina Lammer, Csaba Dupcsik

melancholy" as visible in the Kantian interpretation of space and time; the victory of a scientific enlightenment over nature that has succeeded in bringing the phenomenon of melancholy to us all.

After the conference, many of the participants adjourned to a bistro in the Volksgarten to, as it were, "keep the conversation going" and to savor a promenade through the Volksgarten on a beautiful Spring afternoon in Vienna.

Participants

Michaela Adelberger, Program Associate of IWM; Shlomo Avineri, Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Visiting Fellow of IWM; Nancy L. Blakestad, Program Associate of IWM; Csaba Dupcsik; JVF; Gabriella Etmektsoglou, Program Associate of IWM; Jochen Fried, Head of Programs, IWM; Barry Gilbert; JVF; Ludger Hagedorn; JVF; Jonathan Hanen; JVF; Maciej Janowski, JVF; Don Kalb, Assistant Professor in General Social Sciences, Utrecht University, Visiting Fellow of IWM; Leszek Koczanowicz, Professor and Chair, Department of Social Philosophy, Wrocław University, Visiting Fellow of IWM; Janos M. Kovacs, Permanent Fellow of IWM; Christina Lammer; JVF; Jill Lewis, Lecturer, Department of History, University of Wales, Swansea, Associate Fellow of IWM; Ivo Mozny, Director, School for Social Studies, Masaryk University, Brno, Visiting Fellow of IWM; Klaus Nellen, Permanent Fellow of IWM; Ton Nijhuis, Associate Professor of History, University of Maastricht, Visiting Fellow of IWM; Katharina Pühl; JVF; Stefanie Rocknak, JVF; Reinhold Wagnleitner, Associate Professor of Modern History, Salzburg University, Visiting Fellow of IWM; Mateusz Werner; JVF; Sergei Zhrebkin, JVF.

SOCO

SOCO Program Grants for Research and Social Policy Dissemination Projects

In 1996 the SOCO program began to provide grants to projects carried out by Central and Eastern European researchers and NGOs via open, judged competitions. The objective of the SOCO program is to achieve a better understanding of the social impact of the post-communist transformation and to communicate alternative policy options to political leaders in the new democracies. In the first competition, projects were selected primarily on the basis of the quality of the proposal and the extent of the plans for disseminating findings and providing recommendations to policymakers.

New Projects! In February 1997 the following projects received grants:

[Setting Employment and Wages before and after the Transition: A Comparative Case Study with Evidence from the Engineering and Textile Industries](#)

A Research Project to be carried out from June 1997 to May 1998

Coordinator: János Köllő, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.

The project compares bargaining over employment, effort and wages in selected industrial plants in Hungary before and after the transition. The objective is to contribute to a better understanding of changing bargaining arrangements in an area where the statistical background is very weak and researchers' assumptions are uncertain. The findings of studies of engineering and textile firms in the early 1980s by the same research team will be augmented with new analysis based on firm-level, plant-level and individual data. Among the issues to be studied are: How firms adjusted output, employment and wages and how they performed in the period; changes in intra-firm bargaining; changes in the extent of unionization and processes of conflict avoidance; changes in factors shaping workers' behavior.

[International Competition and the Sustainability of the Welfare System - The View from Business](#)

A Research Project to be carried out from April 1997 to October 1998

Coordinator: Agnes Simonyi, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Social Policy Department, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest.

This project analyzes the impact of globalization on social welfare policy in Hungary by examining the importance of globalization for industry. The research examines the views of business leaders on different welfare policies and

developments, and reveals the ways welfare problems are identified by managers as well as how business leaders exert influence on policy debates. The research is expected to give a picture of the importance business leaders attach to the relation between public policies and international competitiveness. Since business leaders must act under the pressure of high international competitiveness, they transmit the effect of globalization into the economy. Their policy orientation is important to understanding the new directions of social policy being taken in Hungary. In the course of the project, a comprehensive literature study will be completed on the political discourse in Hungary about economic globalization and the responses of the government to the new challenges.

[The Adaptation of Citizens to the New Conditions of Social Policy with a Focus on Education](#)

A Research Project to be carried out from February 1997 to January 1998

Coordinator: Olga Gyárfásová, Researcher, Center for Social Policy Analysis (FOCUS), Bratislava.

This project examines Slovakian opinions and attitudes, and the dynamics thereof, about the reform of social policy, focusing on education. It also investigates the strategies families use to adapt to new conditions and to meet their educational needs in the context of diversification of institutions. It addresses the topic of education as a need, a right and a value in the society undergoing transition, and looks at the relationships between parents, students, schools and the state, the role of NGOs and the challenges of financing education. The results of this project will contribute to the public and political discourse in a very sensitive area that impacts a large part of the population. An important goal, therefore, of the project is to facilitate the participation of citizens in the process of reforming the educational system.

[The 1997 Forum of Non-governmental Organizations: "Development of Civil Society"](#)

A Policy Information Initiative to be held on June 5-8, 1997

Coordinator: Dan Petrescu, Executive President, The Assistance Center for Non-governmental Organizations (CENTRAS), Bucharest.

This event was the fourth Romanian NGO Forum, which has become the leading event in Romania bringing together representatives from NGOs and members of the national and local governments. Its goal is to increase the effectiveness of Romanian public policy NGOs and to raise the level of public support for these organizations and their activities. This project is important to the SOCO

program because of its focus on social sector NGOs, which represent the largest and widest category of NGOs in Romania. In a context where many social policy functions and responsibilities once managed by government are being taken over by the third sector in Romanian society, support for these institutions is vital to a successful political and economic transition. The Forum will produce white papers for each functional sector of NGO activity describing the environment in which NGOs work, NGOs' status and problems, and the tendencies for the development of NGOs.

Sponsors. The SOCO program is made possible with the generous support of the Austrian Federal Chancellery via its Program for Cooperation with Countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the Ford Foundation.

Thanks! IWM would like to express its gratitude to the following individuals for providing invaluable advice and assistance to the SOCO program:

Lucinia Bal (Open Society Institute Educational Advising Center, Bucharest), Stephen Benkő (Benkő & Associates, Budapest), Michal Boni (Reforms of Social Policy Program, Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw), John Fells (Central European Educational Foundation and Center for Social Studies, Central European University, Warsaw), Marek Gora (Warsaw School of Economics), Ulrike Götting (Center

for Social Policy, University of Bremen), Franz Gundacker (Austrian Public Employment Service, Vienna), Olga Gyarfasova (Center for Social Analysis - FOCUS, Bratislava), Irena Herbst (National Economy Bank, Warsaw), Antoinette Hetzler (Lund University, Sweden), Barbara Heyns (Department of Sociology, New York University), Jozefina Hryniewicz (Professor of Social Policy, Warsaw), Derek Jones (Department of Economics, Hamilton College, Clinton, New York), Eugen Jurzyca (Center for Economic Development - CPHR, Bratislava), Darina Kadunkova (Open Society Institute Educational Advising Center, Sofia), Janos Köllö (Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest), Petr Konczewski (Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw), Miroslaw Ksiezopolski (Institute of Social Policy Analysis, University of Warsaw), Maureen Mackintosh (Department of Economics, The Open University, Milton Keynes), Ivo Mozny (Graduate School of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Brno), Eva Orosz (Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest), Martin Potucek (Institute of Sociological Studies, School of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague), Iveta Radicova (Executive Director, SPACE Foundation, Bratislava), Andrzej Rychard (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw), Endre Sik (University of Economics, Budapest), Jirina Siklova (Department of Social Work, Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University, Prague), Jolanta Supinska (Institute of Social Policy Analysis, University of Warsaw), Ivan Szelenyi (Department of Sociology, University of California in Los Angeles), Katalin Tardos (Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest), Göran Therborn (Department of Sociology, University of Gothenburg), Marianna Török (Nonprofit Information and Training Foundation - NIOK, Budapest), Istvan György Toth (Social Research Informatics Center - TARKI, Budapest), Franz Traxler (Institute of Sociology, University of Vienna), Jiri Vecernik (Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague), Claire Wallace (Department of Sociology, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna).

Sponsors

“Die IWM-Fellows tragen kein Mascherl!”—That is not a remark about the dress code at IWM, which is usually rather casual. Rather, what is meant is that the fellows usually do not know whose “ribbon” they wear, that is, to which foundation they owe their invitation to IWM. The list of foundations that financially support the Fellow's Program at IWM is long, and reads like a “Who's Who” of the European and American foundation world. Almost all of IWM's fellowships are financed by foundations on the basis of grant proposals. At the beginning of this year, three new supporters have been added, and the following overview of these new sponsors gives a representative picture of the many foundations and institutions which have been underwriting the Fellows Program at IWM for many years:

The [Andrew W. Mellon Foundation](#) is among those foundations on the other side of the Atlantic that are particularly involved in supporting the social changes in East Central Europe, with a special emphasis on academics and the process of reforming higher education. One of the programs of the Foundation, the “Mellon Research Fellows,” allows scholars in the humanities and social scientists from Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic to spend several months working at a research center of their choice in Western Europe, Turkey, and Israel. At the start of this year IWM was accepted into the circle of renowned institutes for advanced studies, to which belong, among others, the [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme](#), Paris; the [Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences](#), Wassenaar;

the [Wissenschaftskolleg](#), Berlin; the [Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities](#), University of Edinburgh; the [Warburg Institute](#), London; the [Herzog August Bibliothek](#), Wolfenbuettel; the [Villi I Tatti](#), The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Florence; as well as a total of four other American research centers in Italy and Turkey (the offices of which, the [Council of American Overseas Research Centers](#) in Washington, D.C., coordinate the Mellon Research Fellows Program). This is for IWM a special distinction, in that it is the first and only Austrian institute for advanced study to be represented in this circle. The new chapter of Mellon Fellows begins at IWM with Professor Ivo Mozny, a social scientist at the [Masaryk University of Brno](#) (Czech Republic).

Thanks to the mediation of the [Embassy of the Netherlands in Vienna](#), the [Foreign Ministry in The Hague](#) has agreed to support Joint Research Fellowships for academics from the Netherlands and East Central Europe. They are called, in Institute jargon, “Tandem-Fellowships” (which is also a reference to the love for bicycling in the Netherlands), and allow for two academics of different origins but from complementary fields and project proposals to work together as a mini-team for six months at IWM. The first of these Tandem Fellows at IWM are Ton Nijhuis, Professor of Contemporary History at Maastricht University, and Leszek Koczanowicz, Professor for Social Philosophy at the University of Wrocław.

Last but not least: in January a cooperative venture with the [Austrian Academy of Sciences](#) came into effect that the IWM considers to be indicative of the future.

A few years ago the Academy had set up a fellowship program for doctoral and habilitation candidates. It has been agreed that individual fellows whose topics correspond to the research projects represented at IWM could be invited to be (Junior) Visiting Fellows. This would, apart from material support, enable them to take advantage of the opportunity to take part in an academic discourse on an interdisciplinary and international level. Christina Lammer, University of Vienna, is the first stipendiary of the Austrian Academy of Sciences who is working as a Junior Visiting Fellow at IWM.

Book Presentations

Irina Slosar (Ed.): Verschwiegenes Serbien

The conference "Belgrad — White City" co-organized by IWM and held in June last year (see Newsletter 54) was motive and starting point for the book edited by Irina Slosar: *Verschwiegenes Serbien: Stimmen für die Zukunft*, Wieser Verlag, Klagenfurt 1997 (Quiet Serbia. Voices for a Future). On March 18 it was presented in the Parliament in Vienna with a panel discussion on the perspectives of democratic development in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The panel was composed of Marina Blagojevic, Sociologist from Belgrade; Swanee Hunt, Ambassador to Austria from the United States; Vesna Pesic, President of the Civil Alliance of Serbia and one of the authors of the book; and Albert Rohan, Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry, Vienna. Gerfried Sperl, editor-in-chief of the Austrian daily *Der Standard*, moderated the discussion.

Isabell Lorey: Immer Ärger mit dem Subjekt

On May 21 Isabell Lorey presented her contribution to the German discussion of Judith Butler's work. She had worked on this book which is her dissertation during her



Isabell Lorey, Antke Engel, Cornelia Klinger

stay at IWM as Junior Visiting Fellow in 1993/94. Her book is entitled: *The Trouble with the Subject: Theoretical and Political Consequences of a Juridical Model of Power*: Judith Butler. Antke Engel (Hamburg), Sabine Hark (Berlin) and Cornelia Klinger (IWM) discussed the topic with the author.

Peter L. Berger (Ed.): Die Grenzen der Gemeinschaft

This report of the Bertelsmann Foundation to the Club of Rome (Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh 1997) looks for possibilities to develop and strengthen cohesion in societies. In a comparative analysis of eleven countries the book poses the question of the bounds of society in a double sense: Taking the freedom of individuals as a basis in pluralistic societies, the social and cultural resources which enable communities are analysed. In doing this, two questions which the people in the individual societies have to ask themselves structure the view of the report: Who are we? How should we live together?



K. Michalski, P. Berger, Ch. Taylor, J. M. Kovacs, M. Prisching

The results clearly show that the social and cultural resources which enable societies to integrate others are just as limited and scarce as the natural resources. This is especially true for the intermediary institutions, i.e. the mediating authorities in value conflicts. They help to reconcile the individual with society and to bring to unison different value systems, cultural patterns and attitudes. In this way they contribute fundamentally to the intra-societal stability and to the dialogue of the cultures.

Discussants were Peter L. Berger, Professor of Sociology, Boston University and editor of the book; Janos Matyas Kovacs, Permanent Fellow of IWM and author of the report on Hungary; Krzysztof Michalski, Director of IWM; Manfred Prisching, Professor of Sociology, University of Graz; and Charles Taylor, Professor of Political Philosophy, McGill University, Montreal.

IWM Junior Visiting Fellowships 1998

January - June
July - December

The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) is accepting applications from doctoral and post-doctoral candidates for its Junior Visiting Fellowship Program. IWM is an intellectually and politically independent institute for advanced study supported by a community of scholars consisting of Permanent Fellows, Visiting Fellows and Junior Visiting Fellows.

The Institute's mission is to offer, in Austria, a place for research and discussion that crosses borders and disciplines with a view to contributing to the formation of a new intellectual geography for Europe. Since its founding in 1982, the Institute has laid a particular emphasis on the resurrection of an open exchange of ideas with academics, intellectuals and politicians from Central and Eastern Europe, an exchange that has increasingly included researchers from North America.

IWM's Junior Visiting Fellowship Program

The program gives promising young scholars in the humanities and social sciences an opportunity to pursue their research in Vienna under the guidance of IWM's Permanent and Visiting Fellows.

Permanent Fellows are:

Tony Judt, Modern European History
Cornelia Klinger, Gender Studies, Philosophy
Janos Matyas Kovacs, Economics, Political Science
Krzysztof Michalski, Director of IWM, Philosophy
Klaus Nellen, History of Ideas, Patocka Archive

Doctoral and Post-Doctoral Candidates

Applications are especially encouraged from doctoral and post-doctoral candidates who are in the concluding stages of their dissertations or have very recently received their doctorates in Philosophy, Political Science, Modern History, Economics, and International Relations. Preference will be given to research projects which correspond to IWM's fields of research or policy oriented projects, in particular:

- Political Philosophy of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries
- Gender Studies
- Political and Social Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe
- Rethinking Post-War Europe
- Social Costs of Economic Transformation in Central Europe
- Transformation of National Higher Education and Research Systems in Central Europe

Jan Patocka Junior Visiting Fellowships

Two fellowships are awarded annually in honor of the Czech Philosopher Jan Patocka (1907-1977). IWM's Jan Patocka Junior Fellowship is awarded to young scholars working on the philosophy of Jan Patocka, or in fields related to his work, especially Phenomenology, Political Philosophy, Philosophy of History, and Czech History and Culture. Fellows have access to IWM's Patocka Archive which was founded in 1984.

Eligibility Requirements

In order to qualify candidates should:

- **be either in the concluding stages of their dissertation or have recently received a doctorate;**
- work on a research project that corresponds to IWM's fields of research or policy-oriented projects (see above)
- have a good working knowledge of German and/or English

Application Procedure

There is no application form; the following materials are required to be submitted together by mail:

- a concise research proposal, in German or English, consisting of three to four double spaced pages;
- a curriculum vitae;
- two letters of recommendation from established scholars in the candidate's field of study.

Stipend

For their six-month research stay at IWM, Junior Visiting Fellows receive a stipend of US\$1,500 per month to cover transportation, rent and living expenses. Recipients of the fellowships are provided office space and access to in-house and Viennese research facilities.

Deadline

The deadline for completed applications is **September 1, 1997** for the January-June 1998 term and **March 1, 1998** for the July-December 1998 term. Applicants will be notified of their status one month after the respective deadlines; the reviewing committee is not required to justify its decisions .

Please address applications to:

Ms. Traude Kastner
Junior Visiting Fellows Program
Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen
Spittelauer Lände 3
A-1090 Vienna

Guests

Visiting Fellows

Thomas Albrich (October 1996 - March 1997)

Assistant Professor of Contemporary History, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck, focused on the history of World War II, the Cold War period and Jewish History. During his stay he was working on a project called "The Role of American-Jewish organizations in Central Europe during the Cold War, 1944-1957".

Endre Bojtar (January - June)

Literary Scholar and Head of the Department of Central and Eastern European Literature, Institute of Literary Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, specializes in Baltic (Lithuanian and Latvian), Czech, Polish and Russian Philology. During his stay at IWM he finished his book on Baltic philology which appeared this year in Hungarian (Osiris publishers, Budapest).

Most recently his edited volume *The Comparable and the Incomparable* appeared at CEU Press.

Dimiter Denkov (January - June)

Associate Professor of the History of Modern Philosophy, University of Sofia (Translation Program), worked on the translation of Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Wahrheit und Methode* into Bulgarian, to which he also wrote an afterword.

In March his essay "Zur Geschichte der ideologischen Mode in Bulgarien: der Rassismus" appeared in *Deutsch-bulgarische Beziehungen zwischen den Welkriegen*, (Sofia 1997).

Alexander Etkind (January - June)

Senior Researcher at the Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, specializes in intellectual history, Russian studies and in the History of Literature. During his stay he completed a manuscript *Christs and Whips: Mystical Sects and Russian Literature* which will be published in Moscow.

The English translation of his latest book has appeared: *Eros of the Impossible. The History of Psychoanalysis in Russia* (Oxford and Boulder 1997). "The American Connection" appeared in the journal *Znamia* (Moscow 1997).

Zsuzsa Ferge (January - June)

Professor of Sociology and Director of the Department of Social Policy, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, specializes in social structure and social policy. She started a new research project on the relationship of the civilizing process and the state. One new orientation is the history of this relationship in Central-Eastern Europe; another the implications of the withdrawal of the state on civilization in general.



Zsuzsa Ferge

In March her article "The Changed Welfare Paradigm: The Individualization of the Social" appeared in *Social Policy and Administration*, Vol. 31 no.1 1997; in the edited volume by E. Sik und I. Gy. Toth, *The doors are closing, Report of 1996 of the Hungarian Household Panel*, two articles of her appeared: "Attitudes about Poverty", and "On Tax-consciousness" (both in Hungarian; the latter together with I. Dögei). In the April issue of the Hungarian journal 2000, "On the State as Creator of Opportunities", and in the February issue of *Közgazdasági Szemle* (Economic Review), the article "Is Hungary really the most unequal?" appeared (which she wrote together with R. Andorka and I. Tóth).

Milos Havelka (January - June)

Sociologist, Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague (Translation Program), translated selected works of Max Weber into Czech.

Don Kalb (January - December)

Assistant Professor of Social Science, Department of General Social Sciences, Utrecht University, specializes in anthropology and history as well as in historical sociology. His current research is about the problem of globalization and new inequalities, and, in connection with this, the post-communist restructuring "from below".

Recent articles include "The Conundrum of Globalization: Inequality, Marginality, and Policy Imperatives in Advanced Welfare States", Research Paper 97/01 of the Netherlands School for Social and Economic Policy Research, University of Utrecht (together with G. Engbersen, B. v. Steenberger, N. Wilterdink); "The Ghost of Milton Friedman: Against the New Orthodoxy in Social Thought" is IWM Working Paper No 3, to be found in the Internet under <http://www.ping.at/iwm/workpap.htm>.

Leszek Koczanowicz (January - June)

Professor and Chair, Department of Social Philosophy, Wrocław University, works in the field of contemporary American philosophy, and in social and political philosophy. His research project concerned the Communist past in post-totalitarian Poland.

Most recent publications: "Memory of Politics and Politics of Memory", in: *First Rhine-Oder Conference*, (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg 1996).

Mark Mazower (April - June)

Reader in History, School of European Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, was working on an interpretation of modern European History entitled *Dark Continents: Europe's 20th Century* (Penguin & Knopf, forthcoming), and started a new project on the transformation of the city of Thessaloniki in the 1940s and 1950s.

Publications include: *Greece and the Inter-War Economic Crisis* (Oxford UP 1991); *Inside Hitler's Greece: the Experience of Occupation, 1941-1944* (Yale UP 1993), for which he was awarded the Fraenkel Prize 1993 and the Longman's/History Today Book of the Year Prize. His article "Minorities and the League of Nations in Interwar Europe" appeared recently in *Daedalus*, Spring 1997, Vol. 126, No. 2.

Ivo Mozny (January - June)

Professor of Sociology and Social Philosophy; Director, School of Social Studies, Masaryk University Brno, works in the field of social policy and family sociology. He finished his book on family sociology and worked on articles on changes in family life under the present political and economic changes.

Ton Nijhuis (January - June)

Associate Professor of History, Department of History, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, University of Maastricht, specializes in the philosophy of history, contemporary German history, and in German historiography. During his stay at IWM he worked on German foreign policy after reunification.

"Risk and Danger: An Introduction to Luhmann's Sociology of Risk" appeared in *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Wetenschappen* Nr. 17/1997, and "A Farewell to the History of the Labour Movement" appeared in *De Nieuwste Tijd* 7/1997 (both articles in Dutch).

Reinhold Wagnleitner (March - August)

Associate Professor of Modern History, Salzburg University, focuses on the Americanization of European Culture. During his stay at IWM he is working amongst others on two book projects: *The Globalization of American Popular Culture*, and *Empire: American Studies* sponsored by the Swiss and Austrian Associations.

His publications include: *Coca-Colonisation und Kalter Krieg: Die Kulturmission der USA in Österreich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Vienna 1992); *The European Emigrant Experience in the USA*, ed. together with W. Hölbling (Tübingen 1992); "Where's the Coke? There's the Coke", in *Proceedings of the European Association for American Studies*, Warsaw Conference Volume, ed. Cristina Giorcelli and Rob Kroes (Amsterdam 1997).

Junior Visiting Fellows

January - June 1997

Csaba Dupcsik

Doctoral candidate in Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, worked on the history of social science in Hungary (1960-1990). His dissertation is entitled "The Reflexivity in the Contemporary Sociology of Science".

His article "Paul Hollander: Political Pilgrims", appeared in *Holmi*, July 1997; "The Concepts of the European Regions and the Central European Debate in the Eighties", is forthcoming in 2000, August 1997 (both in Hungarian).

Barry S. Gilbert

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Boston University, worked on his dissertation entitled "The Art of Polemical Philology: A Commentary on Nietzsche's *On The Genealogy of Morality*".

Ludger Hagedorn

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Freie Universität Berlin; Jan Patočka Junior Visiting Fellow, specializes in phenom-

enology and idealism. His dissertation project is a continuation of his master's thesis on Jan Patočka, focusing on Patočka's conception of asubjective phenomenology and the theory of the three basic movements of mankind.

His article "Robinson in the Heart of Europe" appeared on March 15 in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and is reproduced below in English as Guest Contribution.

Jonathan M. Hanen

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Boston University, works on ancient philosophy and the history of philosophy. His dissertation is on Platonic ontology and political philosophy. During his stay he was working on an interpretation of Plato's Seventh Letter.

Maciej Janowski

Ph.D. in History; Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, specializes in 19th century social and intellectual history. During his stay at IWM he worked on two articles: "History and Politics, or, are we justified in using the term 'Central Europe'?" due to appear in the magazine 2000 (in Hungarian); "Paradise for the Historians, or, if Austria had not existed..." to be published in Polish in the monthly historical magazine *Mowa Wieki*.

Christina Lammer

Doctoral candidate in Sociology, Austrian Academy of Sciences/University of Vienna, continued working on her dissertation entitled: "Eine Anatomie des Blicks. Die Puppe im metaphorischen Sinne, oder: Visuelle Erkenntnisstrategien, die den (post)modernen Körper der abendländischen Gesellschaft konstruieren" — (*Anatomy of the Gaze: The Doll in a Metaphorical Sense*).

Her article "Eidos und Schreibe. Gedanken über die Anwendung des sogenannten 'Wertemanagements' in der Technik- oder Wissenschaftskommunikation", ed. *Interdisziplinäres Institut für Forschung und Fortbildung*, is forthcoming (Vienna 1997).

Katharina Pühl

Doctoral candidate in Political Science, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt/Main, focuses on feminist democratic theory and theory of the state, especially on the "category of gender" as a political concept.

Her report "Geschlecht als Kategorie in der Politikwissenschaft: Chancen und Widersprüche" is forthcoming in *Femina Politica*, Summer 1997; and "Feministische Kritik und neue Formen von Staatlichkeit" (together with Alex Demirovic) will appear in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*.

Stefanie A. Rocknak

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Boston University, worked on her dissertation which is an evaluative comparison of Hume and Quine in the light of two fundamental assumptions they make: "the atomistic postulate" and "the one world assumption".

Mateusz Werner

Doctoral candidate in the History of Ideas, Graduate School of Social Research, Warsaw, has prepared the first part of his dissertation on the historical fluctuations of the meaning of the term "nihilism" from its breakthrough in the 18th century to Heidegger and its banalisation in post-modern debates.

Sergei V. Zherebkin

Ph.D. in Philosophy; Department of Philosophy, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kharkov, worked on modern theories of nationalism and gender theory, focusing on gender, sexuality, and national identity in post-communist Ukraine.

His book *Metaphysics as Genre* (together with Irina Zherebkina) recently appeared (Kiev 1997). His article "War and Politics of Sexuality: National Identity in Contemporary Ukraine," is forthcoming in *Ukrainian Women's Studies*, vol. 1, Charkov 1997. Both publications are in Russian.

Guests

One month research stays

Oldrich Tuma (March)

Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, specializes on the history of the Cold War and the collapse of the communist regimes in Central Europe. During his stay at IWM he was working on a survey article on the Anglo-American historiography of the Cold War.

His book *Here Again Tomorrow: The Demonstrations Against the Regime in Prague before November 1989 as a Political and Social Phenomenon*, appeared in Prague in 1994.

Gudrun-Axeli Knapp (April)

Professor of Social Psychology, University of Hannover, was working on an article entitled "Feminism, Critical Theory, Postmodernism: Convergences and Dissonances".

Her publications include: *TraditionenBrüche. Entwicklungen feministischer Theorie*, ed. together with Angelika Wetterer, Freiburg i. Br. 1992; *Ein Deutschland - zwei Patriarchate*, ed. together with Ursula Müller, Bielefeld 1992.

Teresa de Lauretis (May)

Professor of the History of Consciousness, University of California, Santa Cruz, gave the IWM Lectures in Gender Studies in May (see the article in this Newsletter).

Important publications include: *The Practice of Love: Lesbian Sexuality and Perverse Desire* (Indiana UP 1994); *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (Indiana UP 1987); *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Indiana UP 1984).

Claus O. Leggewie (June)

Professor of Political Science, Max Weber Chair, New York University, was working on new media and their implications for democratic theory.

His most recent publications include: *America First? Der Fall einer konservativen Revolution* (Frankfurt/M. 1997); "Netizens oder: der gut informierte Bürger heute", in *Transit - Europäische Revue* 13, (Frankfurt/M. 1997).

Shlomo Avineri (June)

Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is specialized in modern political

thought, theories of nationalism; and zionism in the Middle East. His current research project concerns the legacy of Marxist theories of nationalism in the construction of national identities in post-communist societies.

Important publications include: *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State*; and *Israel and the Palestinians*. In summer 1996 his article "Nationalism in post-communist societies" appeared in *European Review*.

Tuesday Lectures

March 4

Zsuzsa Ferge

Professor of Sociology, Department of Social Policy, Eötvös Lorand University, Budapest

The Civilizing Effect of the Welfare State: A View from the East

March 11

Leszek Koczanowicz

Professor and Chair, Department of Social Philosophy, Wrocław University

Memory of Politics and Politics of Memory: Reflections on the History of Constructing the Past in Post-totalitarian Poland

March 18

Jill Lewis

Lecturer, Department of History, University of Wales, Swansea; Senior Research Fellow, British Academy, London

Austria 1950 - Strikes, Putsch and Domestic Politics

April 8

Gudrun-Axeli Knapp

Professor of Social Psychology, University of Hannover
Vom Unterscheidungsvermögen. Anmerkungen zur Dekonstruktions-Debatte in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Geschlechterforschung

April 15

Ivo Mozny

Professor of Sociology and Social Philosophy; Director, School of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Brno
An Echo of Political and Economic Transformation in Family Life

April 22

Bruno Etienne

Professeur de Science politique à l'Université d'Aix-Marseille III; Directeur de l'Observatoire du Religieux à l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques d'Aix-En-Provence
Minorités culturelles et minorités religieuses dans l'Europe de demain: Va-t-on vers une Europe de minorités, de communautés ou de citoyens? (in Cooperation with the Institut Français de Vienne)

May 6

[Reinhold Wagnleitner](#)

Professor of Modern History, Salzburg University
Die Marilyn-Monroe-Doktrin oder das Streben nach
Glück durch Konsum: US-Popkultur und die
Demokratisierung Österreichs im Kalten Krieg

May 13

[Mark Mazower](#)

Reader in History, School of European Studies, University
of Sussex, Brighton
Dividing the Spoils: The City of Salonika after the
Deportation of the Jews, 1943-1948

May 27

[Claus O. Leggewie](#)

Professor of Political Science, Justus Liebig University
Giessen; Max Weber Chair, New York University
America first? Der Fall einer konservativen
Revolution

June 3

[Shlomo Avineri](#)

Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, The Hebrew
University of Jerusalem
The Presence of Central and Eastern Europe in
Israeli Culture and Politics

June 10

[Ken Jowitt](#)

Robson Professor of Political Science, University of
California at Berkeley
East Europe as Ghetto

June 17

[Peter Berger](#)

University Professor of Sociology and Director of the Insti-
tute for the Study of Economic Culture, Boston University
Secularized Europe?

June 24

[Ton Nijhuis](#)

Associate Professor of History, University of Maastricht
Historia vitae magistra? The German Left and the
Quest for a New Foreign Policy

Travels and Talks

[Nancy Blakestad](#)

Conference: "European Centers of Excellence in Central
and Eastern Europe", organized by the Collegium Buda-
pest (March 16-18).

[Endre Bojtár](#)

Lecture: "Mythologie bei Mazvydas" at the conference on
M. Mazvydas organized by the Charles University in
Prague (April 17-18).

[Csaba Dupcsik](#)

Conference: "Curriculum Development Meeting for the
TEMPUS SJEP 11184-96" organized by the Daniel
Berzsenyi College in Szombathely, Hungary (April 14-18).

[Alexander Etkind](#)

Lecture: "Psychoanalysis, Biography, and Intertextuality:
Russian Case Studies", at the Dept. of Slavonic Studies,
University of Innsbruck (April 9) and at the Psychoana-
lytische Gesellschaft, Vienna (April 29).

[Gabriella Etmektsoglou](#)

participated in the 12th Annual Human Rights and Justice
Conference, Harvard, organized by the Facing History
Project and Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachu-
setts (April 10/11).

Lecture: "War by Other Means: Political Justice in Greece,
1943-1982" at the Department of Politics, New York
University, New York (April 22).

Chairman of the part "From Anti-Fascist Coalitions to
State-making" at the conference "Remembering, Adapt-
ing, Overcoming: The Legacy of World War II in Europe",
organized by the New York University and IWM, New York
(April 24-27).

Lecture: "The Politics of Retribution in the Aftermath of
World War II" at the 3. Österreichische Zeitgeschichte-
Tage, Institute for Contemporary History, University of
Vienna (May 26).

[Zsuzsa Ferge](#)

Lecture: "Social Policy and Social Transformation" at the
conference "Social Policy and Exclusion in Eastern Eu-
rope" organized by the University of Valencia, Spain
(March 6-7).

Two lectures, "Nouvelle politiques de protection sociale et
populations en Hongrie" and "Réflexions sur la
comparaison des systèmes de protection sociale" at the
conference "Evolution de la protection sociale dans les
PECO", organized by the Ministère des Affaires Sociales,
MIRE, in Paris (March 13-14).

[Jochen Fried](#)

Conference: "New Paradigms, New Institutions" organized
by the Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis and the Open
Society Institute, Slovenia, in Ljubljana (February 26-28).
Conference: "European Centres of Excellence in Central
and Eastern Europe", organized by the Collegium Buda-
pest (March 16-18).

[Ludger Hagedorn](#)

Conference: "The Phenomenon as Philosophical Problem"
organized by the Center for Theoretical Studies, the
Institute for Philosophy, Charles University, and the Czech
Academy of Sciences in Prague (April 9-11).

Conference: "Das Gemeinsame und das Eigene.
Tschechen und Deutsche auf der Suche nach ihrer Rolle in
Europa" organized by the Evangelische Akademie Berlin-
Brandenburg, Berlin (May 23-25).

Milos Havelka

Lecture: "1948-1968-1989: Wandlungen tschechischer Gesellschaft" given on March 6 at the Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut, Vienna, and on May 6 at the Department of History, University of Salzburg.

Don Kalb

Lecture: "Globalization and Inequality" at the University of Wroclaw (May 1).

Cornelia Klinger

Lecture: "Wissenschaften: männlich/weiblich" at the Institut für Interdisziplinäre Forschung und Fortbildung (IFF), Vienna (April 17).

Lecture: "Frauen und Politik an der Schwelle zum 3. Jahrtausend", Club Alpha, Vienna (Mai 14).

Gudrun-Axeli Knapp

Lecture: "Gleichheit, Differenz und Dekonstruktion: Vom Nutzen theoretischer Konzepte für die politische Praxis" at the FrauenHETZ, Vienna.

Discussion of her Tuesday Lecture "Vom Unterscheidungsvermögen. Anmerkungen zur Dekonstruktions-Debatte in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Geschlechterforschung" at the Kunst Depot, Vienna (April 9).

Leszek Koczanowicz

Lecture: "Debating the Past. Memory of Communism and Post-totalitarian Politics" given at the International Institute of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (April 4). Organizer of the "Second Rhein-Oder Conference: Identity in the Process of Transformation" organized by the Universities of Freiburg and Wroclaw, held at Wroclaw (May 1-3).

Christina Lammer

Lecture: "Die Puppe in der Puppe in der Puppe... oder Szenen der Zerstückelung in der medizinischen Bildproduktion" at the conference "Puppe. Monster. Tod - Kulturelle Transformationsaspekte der Bio- und Informationstechnologien" of which she was one of the organizers, organized by the IFF, Projektgruppe Feministische Wissenschafts- und Technikforschung, Vienna (April 23-27).

Mark Mazower

Lecture: "Blueprints for a Golden Age" at the IWM-Conference "Remembering, Adapting, Overcoming: The Legacy of World War II in Europe" organized by the Remarque Institute, New York University and IWM, New York (April 24-27).

Lecture: "Remembering the Holocaust in Post-War Greece" at the 3. Österreichische Zeitgeschichte-Tage, Institute for Contemporary History, University of Vienna (May 27).

Lecture: "Writing the History of Salonika", at the Museum of the Macedonian Struggle in Thessaloniki (May 30).

Krzysztof Michalski

Conference: European Centers of Excellence, organized by the Collegium Budapest (March 16).

Meeting of the Institutes of the Network of the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam (April 22).

Eighth Sinclair-Haus Gespräch of the Quandt Foundation, Bad Homburg (April 25-26).

National Committee Meeting, European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam (April 27-28).

Ivo Mozny

Conference: "Conflict and Cooperation" organized in Nikosia by the European Association for the Advancement of Social Sciences (March 19-23).

Klaus Nellen

Conference: "Internet and Politics", organized by the Burda Akademie zum Dritten Jahrtausend, Munich (February 19-21).

Conference: "The Phenomenon as Philosophical Problem" organized by the Center for Theoretical Studies, the Institute for Philosophy, Charles University, and the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague (April 9-11).

Conference: "Die Bedeutung der Charta 77 für die Wende", jointly organized by the Embassy of the Czech Republic, Vienna, the Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut, Vienna and Brno, and the Institute for Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences, in Vienna (April 21).

Conference: "Aspects of Kitsch in Periods of Transition" organized by the New Europe College in Bucharest (May 22-25).

Sergei Zhrebkin

Conference: "Gender Studies Curriculum Development" of the CEU Budapest (May 5-11).

Publications

Transit 13**Medien und Demokratie (Media and Democracy)**

In June the thirteenth issue of Transit - Europäische Revue appeared.

Contents:

Claus Leggewie: Netizens: Der gut informierte Bürger
 Seyla Benhabib: Die gefährdete Öffentlichkeit
 Sigrid Baringhorst: Symbolische Politik
 Armin Thurnher: Journalismus und politische Kultur
 Gabor Halmai: Ungarn: Medien und Recht
 Manuel Kiper / Ingo Ruhmann: Internet: technologiepolitische Weichenstellungen
 Walter Schmitz: Neue Medien und Universität
 Christoph Bieber: USA: Erst surfen, dann wählen?
 Meike Schmidt-Gleim: Neue Medien, neue Mädchen
 Ivan Colovic: "Serbien ist erwacht. Macht Kaffee!"
 Nenad Stefanov: Nach dem Karneval
 Boris Buden: Serbien im westlichen Blick

Transit-Diskussion über Perspektiven der Sozialpolitik mit Kurt Biedenkopf, Brigitte Ederer und Joschka Fischer
 Christoph Sachße: Die Grenzen der Solidarität
 T. Garton Ash: Das Central & East European Publishing Project

Tony Judt: zu Daniel Jonah Goldhagen

Jan Patočka

Bibliographie 1928-1996

Ed. Jiri Nemcek and David Soucek

in collaboration with Ivan Chvatik and Karel Novotny
304 pp.

Oikumene, Prague 1997

ISBN 80-86005-34-8

This bibliography was set up at IWM in collaboration with the Patočka Archive in Prague and contains all works from 1928 - 1996 as well as the secondary literature.

James Dodd

Idealism and Corporeity

An Essay on the Problem of the Body in Husserl's
Phenomenology

Kluwer Academic Publishers, Phaenomenologica 140

Amsterdam 1997

162 pp., US \$ 87

ISBN 0-7923-4400-6

James Dodd worked on this dissertation during his stay at IWM as Junior Visiting Fellow.

IWM Working Papers

IWM has started a new series, the "Working Papers". This series intends to make accessible in a fast and easy manner the results of the work of our Fellows and Guests. To this effect we utilize the new possibilities of the Internet. The publications can be found under our home page address <http://www.ping.at/iwm/workpap.htm>. Commentaries and criticism are welcome. So far the following working papers have appeared:

- No. 1: Claus Leggewie: Netizens - Another Structural Change of the Public Sphere? Prospects for Democratic Participation in the Internet
- No. 2: Alexander EtKind: Psychoanalysis, Biography, and Intertextuality: The Russian Case Studies
- No. 3: Don Kalb: The Ghost of Milton Friedman
Dissident Remarks on the New Social Orthodoxy
- No. 4: Rastko Mocnik: Media and the Mechanism of Social Cohesion. An ad hoc commentary on Claus Leggewie
- No. 5: Reinhold Wagnleitner: Die Marilyn-Monroe-Doktrin oder das Streben nach Glück durch Konsum. Die US-Popkultur und die Demokratisierung Österreichs im Kalten Krieg.

Articles and Essays:

Gabriella Etmektsoglou

"Changes in the Civilian Economy as a Factor in the Radicalization of Popular Opposition in Greece, 1941-44", in: Richard J. Overy, Gerhard Otto, J. Houwink ten Cate (eds.), *German Economic and Financial Exploitation of Occupied Europe in World War II* (Berlin 1997, Metropol Verlag).

Cornelia Klinger

"Das Phantasma der unberührten Natur, der 'Mönch am Meer' und der Tourist am Strand", in: *Catalogue to the Exhibition: Notfalls leben wir auch ohne Herz. Exemplarisches aus der Sammlung Speck*, Kunsthalle Vienna 1997.

From the Translation Program:

Golo Mann

Nemetország története (German History)

1919-1945

Balassi Kiado

Budapest 1997

ISBN 936-506-123-4

translated into Hungarian by Maria Kajtar

Varia

Moritz Charim

was born in Vienna on March 11, son of Isolde Charim (Project Coordinator of "Legality and Legitimation: Political Justice in the Aftermath of World War II") and Robert Misik.



Moritz Charim

Lord Dahrendorf

received the 33rd Theodor-Heuss-Prize for his lifetime work in cultural and social policy at a ceremony in Stuttgart on April 12.

François Furet

On July 12 the French historian François Furet died at the age of 70. Furet was Member of the Academic Advisory Board since 1986, and since 1994 one of the Vice Chairs; in 1990 he joined the Advisory Board of Transit. In 1994 he gave the Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture, and in this year he gave the lecture at the annual Fellows' Meeting.

Furet was Director of the Centre de Recherches Historiques at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and its President until 1985. In 1985 he was a founding member of the Centre de Recherches Politiques Raymond Aron, which he directed until 1992. In 1989 he became chair of the Committee on Social Thought, University of Chicago. He received the Prix Tocqueville in 1991 for his contribution to the understanding of the French Revolution, and in 1995 the Prix Chateaubriand for his academic work. In March this year he was elected member of the Académie Française.

Please see the obituary by Tony Judt on page 16.

Susanna Roth

translated 30 books: all of Kundera, half of Hrabal, above all the Czech women: Nemcová, Linhartová, Grögerová, Hodrová. One cannot translate more than Susanna Roth translated in her short life. But what does translation mean? In her case much more than a page-by-page translation from the Czech into German. For Susanna Roth it meant—to discover authors, to look after people, to

accompany poets to the doctors and across the Atlantic, to share a beer in a pub and the last hours in the hospital. Bohumil Hrabal she had met during her studies of Slavic languages in Prague in the seventies. In her bet with Hrabal on who would die first, the terminally ill lost. The droll legend of Hrabal's fatal accident while feeding doves on the roof she protested against: Great poets do not fall unintentionally and break in two. Her last work was: "Through this night I see not a single star", three letters of the dying Božena Němcová, the Czech author Kafka so highly had praised. "It seems to me as if a cloud black and

heavy as the night were lingering above me, weighing me down ever more" she cites Němcová in the afterword. "And soon I too am at the end of my powers." On July 11 Susanna Roth died in Zurich at the age of 47.



Susanna Roth

She had not only been connected to the Institute as a professional but as a friend. From 1988 to 1990 she twice was a Fellow in the framework of the Translation Program, which she also coordinated briefly.

Whilst at IWM she translated Ladislav Klíma's *Postmortali* (together with Peter Sacher), she translated works of Jacob Deml and Richard Weiner, and she advised the journal *Transit - Europäische Revue*, of which she was a member of the editorial board.

Peter Winch

On April 28 the English philosopher Peter Winch died in Champaign, Illinois, where he had been teaching since 1984. Winch had been connected with the Institute for many years. He was Corresponding Fellow and worked at the Institute in 1986 as a Visiting Fellow where he wrote his book on Simone Weil *The Just Balance* (1989). In 1991 he inaugurated the IWM Lecture Series in Modern Philosophy with "Überreden und Argumentieren. Vier Vorlesungen über Wittgenstein" (*Persuasion and Argument: Four Lectures on Wittgenstein*).

Winch became well known with his book *The Idea of Social Science* (1958), which quickly became a classic in post-war philosophy. Throughout his life Winch's main source of inspiration was Ludwig Wittgenstein's philosophy, which he had gotten to know through Rush Rhees, a Wittgenstein disciple. Winch became Rhees' successor as one of the trustees of the Wittgenstein estate, and he was the editor and translator of the work *Culture and Value*.

Questions had always been more important for Winch than answers. His thinking was characterized by the endeavor to endure the irreducible tension between what Wittgenstein called "craving for generality" and the appreciation of the particular. Philosophy for him was not an academic exercise but had to prove itself in real life. Thus his preoccupation with Simone Weil who embodied this demand in an emphatic way. Discussion was the central element of his philosophy. The seminars he gave on Simone Weil in Vienna will remain unforgettable. The most patient and kind of people imaginable, he could become intransigent, even sharp, if a participant retreated to philosophical commonalities rather than face a problem.

Guest Contribution

Ludger Hagedorn: Robinson in the Heart of Europe

Twenty years after being driven to death: The Czech philosopher and civil-rights campaigner Jan Patočka

When the civil-rights movement Charter 77 was founded in the opening days of 1977, a man previously unknown to the world at large was dragged into the political spotlight. This was a man who, despite the systematic restrictions he endured throughout the communist rule, had managed to maintain an international reputation as a phenomenologist and a scrupulous historian of ideas. His name was Jan Patočka, 69 year old Prague philosopher, scholar and former student of both Husserl and Heidegger. Together with the two other "speakers" of this movement, the Czech Republic's current President, Václav Havel, and Jiri Hajek, the former foreign minister of "Prague Spring", Patočka demanded the realization of human rights – a claim that Czechoslovakia had also given its consent to in the final agreement of Helsinki. But Patočka paid a terribly high price for this demand: A few weeks after the formulation of Charter 77, Patočka was arrested and subjected to grueling interrogations by the state's secret-police. As a direct result, his health rapidly declined. On March 13, 1977, he was driven through his final round of question-

ing; an eleven hour session that terminated only when Patočka suffered a fatal stroke.

Socratic Questioning

With the politically explosive changes in Czechoslovakia and the dramatic circumstances of his death, Patočka's name dove into the headlines of the Western press. However, only a few were clear about what Patočka actually contributed to the political opposition in Czechoslovakia. In particular, not much was known regarding how much the genuine dissidents were influenced by his ideas. But regardless of the political weight that Patočka's name took on in the aftermath of his death, one should hesitate to characterize him as a "dissident". For his uncompromisability was surely more of a moral-philosophical nature than it was of a political nature. In fact, in his last "interview", given to a German journalist and conducted via paper because visits were forbidden, Patočka was very clear regarding his role in the Charter. He wrote: "For a rather long time the authorities have

treated me as an insignificant figure (and probably rightfully so). They take me to be an old professor, who, so to speak, was thrust into this whole thing. But they didn't think about the fact that an old professor constantly works to remain in contact with the young, and in particular, to convey to them his thoughts which they would not have come to know otherwise. Accordingly, such a professor will probably also attempt to make his students become aware of his various ideas regarding morals and politics."

In fact, in the previous decades, it was probably Patocka's greatest accomplishment to have offered an opposing view to the entrenched Marxist spin on philosophy—despite the government's on-going censorship of particular kinds of publications and teaching. His politically unprejudiced glimpse into the tradition was especially important to the students that attended his private (and forbidden) seminars. Nevertheless, characterizing Patocka as "Václav Havel's Guru" (as done by the American weekly journal *The New Republic*) misses the point – not because it exaggerates his influence on his students, who he in fact did have a tremendous influence on, including Havel – but because it gives the wrong impression. Patocka was no guru. Instead, he was thoroughly Socratic in method; he had no prepared prescriptions for the problems nor a desire to distribute blame. So if he's to be called a "radical", it's to be in terms of the way he questioned with putative certainty, in regard to both political and philosophical matters. Havel himself reflects with an admiring tone: "he was engaging, enthusiastic, vivid, searching"; and primarily concerned with the "question of self and of one's own situation in the world".

Today, one of the biggest streets in Prague bears Patocka's name. Meanwhile, his former prison-mate from the spring of 1977 is currently the President of the Czech Republic. But after all these dramatic changes, it has become easier to re-construe Patocka's role in those early days as that of a radical "dissident". For in light of the pressures of the cold war and the need for a particular kind of hero, perhaps any kind of hero, Patocka seemed to become one of the most likely candidates. For instance, in one of Yves Montand's songs, Patocka is portrayed as recalling his life as a philosophe résistant – worker, librarian and philosopher who did not, could not, and would not allow himself to be swayed. But even Patocka would hardly recognize himself in this existentialist ballad. Yet ironically, this genre of misplaced appreciation in Patocka the "dissident" had a decisive hand in fueling the recent interest in Patocka qua philosopher in France; the well-known papers by Paul Ricoeur and Jacques Derrida on Patocka being some of the more notable examples.

But the interest in Patocka the philosopher still remains limited in the contemporary English and German-speaking world. For although a good selection of his work is available in both English and German, he continues to be seen as a marginal philosophical figure. So to give at least some credit to what I take to be his real work, his philosophical work, let me at least touch on some of the fundamental ideas inherent in his philosophy of history.

History as a breakthrough

Within the *Heretical Essays on the Philosophy of History*, attested Paul Ricoeur, there is a "condensed beauty reminiscent of certain figures painted by Rembrandt". But

at the same time, Ricoeur is irritated by their alarming strangeness. Written in the years before his death, this work unites Patocka's various philosophical interests, compressing them into what he called his "farewell sonata". Reflections about the origins, the peculiarities and the unity of European civilization comprises the central theme, with its starting point being the thesis that the origins of European politics, philosophy and history are rooted in the Greek polis. Spelled out a bit more, this meant that Patocka thought the Greek people ventured for the first time to give sense to their lives without appealing to traditional and mythological models. Instead, they pointedly attempted to gain insight through political bargaining and philosophical reflection. In short, rather than relying on mythology to give their lives sense, they relied on rationality. Only this kind of rational independence from the past, argued Patocka in the *Essays*, can give us a "true" sense of history. Referring to Hannah Arendt's work, Patocka goes on in the *Essays* to demand a life of self-reflection that isn't constrained, but instead, is freely self-determined finding its original expression in rational philosophical inspection. In turn, and only in turn, may we venture into the political arena. Political thought, he was convinced, is fundamentally grounded in philosophical thought. But whereas Arendt comprehended this kind of reflection as a social trial, Patocka thought it could only consist of an existential tremor that shook the individual to his or her philosophical roots. A free community, he thought, could not come into being simply "from the spirit of unselfish devotion to public good". For one must, as an individual, experience radical, almost devastating self-doubt regarding life's significance. Following this acute personal crisis, one must then learn to reorientate one's self in terms of an entirely new purpose—rational thought.

But the freedom gained through such suffusive introspection remains permanently in danger; in danger of complacency—of a certain intellectual fatigue that engenders conceptual stillness. As a result, Patocka rejects a powerfully idealistic conception of history from his Freiburg teacher, Husserl. For on the eve of the second world war, Husserl placed his trust in the reason he was certain was securely fixed in European culture whereas Patocka emphasized its necessary fragility, its potential impermanence qua the threat of complacency.

For Patocka, a given conception of history is not the result of recognizing a "foundation" in the Greek polis that as such could be predictably traced throughout the years in a linear fashion. Rather, history represents a body of knowledge that must always be questioned, as difficult and demanding as that may be. How this demand was fulfilled in different eras is shown with the Roman Empire and the Christian reign of power. In a kind of archeology of human-sciences, Patocka tries to find out into which mold the Roman Empire or the Christian epoch – the fundamental heirs of the polis – had been poured. As a result of determining where the breaks and transformations lay within this mold, it appeared to him that the respective historical formations since the Greek polis have indeed been consistently influenced by rational introspection. In fact, Patocka thought they reflected a common European heritage in so far as they all celebrated a "Life in Truth". He thought it certain, however, that any particular manifestation of truth is hardly written in stone, but instead,

what is respected must always be what is newly won; newborn rational truth is the truth.

But Patočka writes in the Essays that the exact opposite tendency emerged with industrialized modernity. Instead of a life of inspection in the sense of the Socratic motto of "know one's self," reason had increasingly become a pragmatic, administrative tool. Bacon's dictum "Knowledge is Power" and Descartes' conviction that human knowledge makes man the owner of nature, reflects this more administrative, controlling conception of reason. This fundamental change also has an equivalent in the realm of politics: There is no longer "any universal tie, any universal idea that would have an impact on a concrete and binding institution and authority. The primacy of possession instead of being excludes unity and universality; and any attempt to replace them by power is in vain."

As a result of this shift in the function of rationality, the modern state came into being. Here, the concrete protection of each state's own took precedent over a concern for the universal. Meanwhile, science and technology became subordinated to the service of the very particular, if not fragmented interests of the individuals and the self-contained states they were a part of.

But it was not Patočka's goal to condemn modern civilization. Instead, he recognized its unique opportunities – not so much in terms of pure technological progress, but in terms of the fundamental possibilities that arise when the struggle for physical survival is eased through its facilitation. Non-aggression and social justice, for example, are directly related to the advances of civilization. But on the other hand, Patočka freely admits that science and technology are not necessarily the handmaidens of a progressive civilization. Instead, the purposes for which science and technology are employed, he thought, are entirely uncertain.

The Traces of Heidegger

But if the theses are correct that the new Europe is no longer in touch with universal ideas in terms of a rational pursuit of truth and likewise, that any questions concerning spiritual unity are irrelevant, then it seems that the new Europe had become satisfied with its pragmatic and specific national interests. If this is correct, then what follows is inevitable: All goals must become subordinate to the will to power. In fact, almost prophetically, Nietzsche predicted such dark consequences some time before.

These totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century, where the people became insignificant cogs in crushing machines, formed for Patočka the culminating point of the unconscious worship of strength – the worship of power. Meanwhile, the violently explosive nature of the two world wars and the subsequent orgiastic and destructive mania and cruelty they bore stood in stark contrast to an otherwise sober, rational and self-controlled age. Isn't this a further hint that power became an end in itself during these times? Isn't it somewhat suggestive that the rational

political sense that had characterized Europeans since the Greek polis had entirely vanished?

To properly answer these questions, Patočka needed to differentiate the political events and tendencies of the twentieth century. For within different political systems the freedom of the individual had been perversely misshapen while in others it was encouraged. But to his discredit, Patočka does not make this differentiation in the Essays. Further, he takes his existentialist view of politics to what seems to be an unhelpful extreme: He takes all political ideas, whether they are christened progression, freedom, justice or affluence, as mere "Slogans of the Day", which, as such, are interchangeable. With the implementation and realization of these slogans, human beings inevitably become mere 'material'; they are instrumentalized and, cynically, their deaths mean nothing more than another number lost, a tally-mark on a page. In this way, even goals like freedom or peace ultimately unmask themselves as goals of war. "In order to rule, the freedom and the day must send the people to their deaths, just because they want to ensure a progression for future." Here it becomes clear where the heresy of these Essays lies: It is not its fracture with a certain doctrine, but instead, it attempts to undermine all political theories.

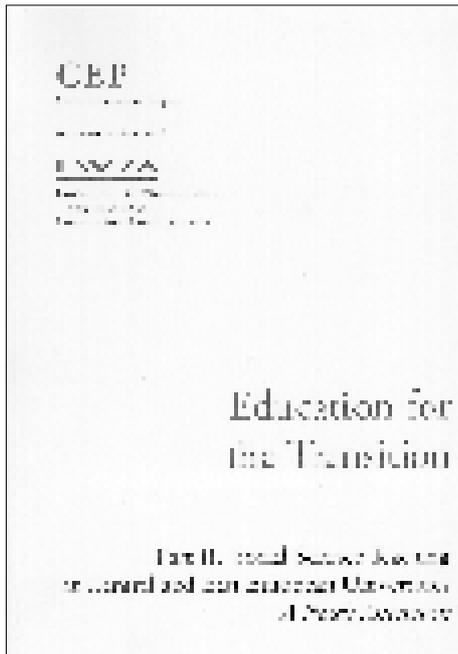
However, Patočka did think that genuine political platforms always reflect personal authenticity, an authenticity that is particularly manifest for him in Heidegger's work. For his former teacher thought that an individual can become free to realize his or her own possibilities through the acceptance of life's finality. Such a (philosophical) conversion takes place only through a powerful tremor of all preceding convictions. In our century, Patočka thought he could identify such a conversion with any immediate, life-threatening experience, particularly where the darkness is most manifest—in war, on the front: "The front is absurdity par excellence... The values that people appreciate highest are torn to pieces. Thus meaninglessness becomes meaningful only with the demonstration that a world capable of producing such horror must disappear. It is the demonstration ad oculos that such a world calls for its own destruction." Through this experience of utter senselessness, all our previous goals, however coveted, however important, swiftly fade away. When the tremor hits the hardest, all thoughts of the future, jobs, careers and daily hopes sink ignominiously into a trifling background. And along with them, all slogans, whatever they may be, are unmasked for what they are – an unashamed drive for power and a continuation of war. War then, as Patočka saw it, is the logical result and the extreme expression of a society gone wrong, of a political system that lost its close relation to philosophy. But on the other hand, through this dramatic display of senselessness, war becomes one of the experiences that drives us directly to the brink of life's abyss. In



Jan Patočka's student ticket for the tram

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its aftermath, genuine political ideals can emerge, where only these ideals are credible, because only they are the direct result of the personal experience of oppression.

But how, I ask, is such a political reality actually cast? Mustn't a political platform built on radical self-doubt eventually be self-defeating?

Patočka saw this difficulty as well, leading him to understand his concept of political authenticity as more of a regulation on spiritual authority than as an actual political platform. Thus if necessary, this spiritual regulation could serve as certain kind of warning, similar to Socrates' daimonion. In this respect, he hoped his daimonion would manifest itself as the collective voice of all those who no longer believed in the "Slogans of the Day", but instead, represented a "Solidarity of the Shaken". As such, this solidarity could at the crucial moment, say "no". And with the signing of Charter 77, this "Solidarity of the Shaken" became a political reality in a way that Patočka himself had never thought possible.

In Havel, we find these very same ideas in one of his best-known essays, *The Power of the Powerless*. In his initial years as president, we may clearly recognize the first signs of such "unpolitical politics" – but only in those initial years. The fact that these tendencies later retreated surely has pragmatic reasons; politics as radical questioning can only be understood as an ongoing demand, but not as something that can be fully realized. But besides that (and maybe more important) the political situation in Europe has changed a great deal since Patočka formulated his *Heretical Essays* in the middle of the seventies. For the "Prague Spring" of '68, brought him not only personal defamation, but to him it also meant the final division of Europe, and thus, the end of Europe's shared inheritance of the Greek polis. In fact, even in Prague, one of the traditional intellectual centers of Central Europe, most of the books he needed for his work were not available. In a letter dated December 17, 1974 to a professor and friend in Germany, Patočka commented in the wake of yet another request for books: "You see, I am a little like Robinson, who theorizes alone on an island."

Translated from German by Stefanie Rocknak

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