INSTITUT FÜR DIE WISSENSCHAFTEN VOM MENSCHEN

INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SCIENCES

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IWM NEWSLETTER 34

March - April 1992

IWM HAS MOVED TO NEW QUARTERS:

In order to accommodate the development of its programs, IWM moved to new quarters at the beginning of April. Please note IWM's new address and numbers; the telephone number has again changed since the publication of the last *Newsletter*:

A-1090 Wien, Spittelauer Lände 3 Tel. (0222) 31358-0, Fax 31358-30

IWM's new facilities may be easily reached using public transportation: (subway line: U 4; station: Friedensbrücke).

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1. Central European Forum II: April 24-26, 1992

As part of its "Transitions to Democracy" project which began in 1990, IWM organized the first Central European Forum in June 1991. The purpose of this meeting was to create an open, politically non-partisan, and multinational forum of opinion on neutral ground designed to give a representative cross-section of leading politicians and intellectuals from the CSFR, Hungary, and Poland an opportunity to informally exchange views and discuss mutual problems and interests without the pressure of negotiations or decision-making. Last year's Central European Forum focused on the consequences of German unification, the prospects of regional economic cooperation after COMECON, the future of the Soviet Union, and strategies for European integration. The first Central European Forum was a success, and IWM decided to organize a subsequent meeting this year. The following agenda was articulated with the help of the individuals who attended the meeting.

Programme:

Friday, April 24th, 1992:

Reception for all participants hosted by Krzysztof Michalski, Director of IWM

Saturday, April 25th, 1992:

National Self-Determination and European Integration

(Chair: Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Introductory Remarks: Bertalan Andrásfalvy and Milan Knazko)

Luncheon hosted by Erhard Busek, Austrian Federal Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Science and Research, Chairman of the Austrian People's Party

Social Responses to Economic Transformation

(Chair: Péter Akos Bod. Introductory Remarks: Ludwik Dorn and Márton Tardos)

Dinner hosted by Krzysztof Michalski, Director of IWM

After-Dinner Talk: Kurt Biedenkopf, Prime Minister of Saxony: The Role of United Germany in Postcommunist Central Europe

Comments: Bronislaw Geremek

Sunday, April 26th, 1992:

The Problems of De-communization

(Chair: Ján Carnogursky. Introductory Remarks: József Szájer and Daniel Kroupa)

Luncheon hosted by Helmut Zilk, Mayor of Vienna

Participants:

Eugeniusz Aleksandrowicz, M.P., Liberal Party, Poland; Bertalan Andrásfalvy, M.P., Minister of Culture and Public Education, Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF); Jacek Baluch, Ambassador of Poland to the CSFR; György Bánffy, M.P., Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF); Tomasz Bankowski, M.P., Chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Polish Economic Programme (PPG); Władysław Bartoszewski, Ambassador of Poland to Austria; Antonín Baudys, Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, Chairman of the Czechoslovakian People's Party (CSL), Czech section; Václav Benda, President of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), CSFR; Anna Bialobrzeska, Assistant, Polish Economic Programme (PPG); Kurt Biedenkopf, Prime Minister of Saxony, Germany; Péter Akos Bod, M.P., President, Hungarian National Bank; László Bogár, M.P., State Secretary of International Economic Relations, Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF); Ján Carnogursky, Prime Minister, Slovak Republic, President of the Christian Democratic Movement of Slovakia (KDH); Pavol Demes, Minister of International Relations, Slovak Republic; Ludwik Dorn, Centrum Alliance (PC), Poland; Alajos Dornbach, M.P., Deputy Chairman of the Hungarian Parliament, Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ); Bronislaw Geremek, M.P., Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Relations, Chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Democratic Union (UD), Poland; István Hegedüs, M.P., Member of the Presidium, Alliance of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), Hungary; Zdenek Jicinsky, Vice-President of the National Assembly, Social Democratic Party of Slovakia (SDSS); Lubor Kinst, Secretary of the Presidium of the Civic Movement (OH), CSFR; Milan Knazko, Vice-President of the Political Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS); Gyula Kodolányi, State Secretary, Foreign Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister, Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF); Zbigniew Komorowski, Senator, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Defense, Deputy Chairman of the Polish Peasants Party (PSL); János Mátyás Kovács, Permanent Fellow of IWM, Vienna; Maciej Kozminski, Ambassador of Poland to Hungary; Daniel Kroupa, M.P., Vice-President of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), CSFR; Jan Litynski, M.P., Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Social Affairs, Democratic Union (UD), Poland; Tadeusz Mazowiecki, M.P., Chairman of the Democratic Union (UD), Poland; Günter Meyer, State Secretary, Prime Minister's Office, Saxony, Germany; Krzysztof Michalski, Professor of Philosophy at Boston University; Director of IWM, Vienna; Marton Módos, M.P., Member of the Presidium, Alliance of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), Hungary; Jan Petrík, Deputy Chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement of Slovakia (KDH); István Podkornicky, Member of the Presidium of Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), Hungary; Tibor Pongrácz, State Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF); Pawel Popiak, Editor-in-Chief of the PSL-Daily "Zielony Sztandar", Polish Peasants Party (PSL); Martin Porubjak, Deputy Prime Minister, Slovak Republic, Public Against Violence (VPN); Petr Pospichal, Deputy Director for Foreign Affairs, Office of the President, CSFR; Aleksander Smolar, Political Scientist, Chairman of the Batory-Foundation, Poland; Tomás Svoboda, International Secretary, Christian Democratic Party (KDS), CSFR; József Szájer, M.P., Deputy Leader of the parliamentary faction of the Alliance of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), Hungary; Barnabás Szöke, First Secretary, Hungarian Embassy, Vienna; Márton Tardos, M.P., Chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), Hungary; Magdaléna Vásáryová, Ambassador of the CSFR to Austria; Roman Zelenay, M.P., Federal Assembly, Speaker for Foreign Relations for the Political Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS); Jan Zylber, M.P., Polish Economic Programme (PPG).

2. Visiting Fellows, Junior Visiting Fellows, and Guests

Jan Blonski, Professor for Polish Language and Literature at the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Corresponding Fellow of IWM, and member of the IWM Translation Committee, was an IWM Guest during March.

Peter Demetz, Sterling Professor emeritus of German Language and Literature at Yale University, began a six weeks' research stay at IWM at the beginning of April in order to complete work on the

manuscript of the unpublished third volume of T.G. Masaryk's Russia and Europe. Professor Demetz previously worked on this IWM Masaryk project as a Visiting Fellow from January to July 1991.

Magdalena Krawczyk-Ruta (Jewish Studies, Cracow) completed her six months' stay as a Junior Visiting Fellow in March. A scholarship from the Austrian Ministry for Science and Research will enable her to continue her study of Yiddish language and literature at the University of Vienna for another two semesters.

Ladislav Matejka, Professor emeritus of Slavic Language and Literature at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Corresponding Member of IWM, and founder and editor of Cross Currents: A Yearbook of Central European Culture (Yale University Press) was an IWM Guest during April.

Current IWM Visiting Fellows: Jerzy Holzer, Professor of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences and University of Warsaw (IWM Research Project: "Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians in Galicia: 1772-1918"); Tony Judt, Remarque Professor of European Studies at New York University, and Drago Roksandić, Associate Professor of History at the University of Zagreb (IWM Research Project: "The Experience of War in East Central Europe"); Imre Kertész, author and translator, Budapest (IWM Translation Program: Wittgenstein's Vermischte Bemerkungen).

Junior Visiting Fellows from Boston University: Richard Holden (Philosophy), Karen Geraghty (Philosophy/Medical Ethics), Maria Mitchell (History), Karl Rüping (Law/International Relations), and Wanda Torres Gregory (Philosophy).

3. IWM Fellows' Meeting: April 3, 1992

IWM Permanent and Corresponding Fellows; Patrons; members of the Academic Advisory Board; and associates, friends, and staff of the Institute met at the annual Fellows' Meeting on April 3, 1992 and commemorated the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Institute. At this occasion, **Sir Ralf Dahrendorf**, Warden of St. Antony's College, Oxford, and Patron of IWM, spoke on *The New Europe*.

Speakers at previous Fellows' Meetings:

1989: Jacques Rupnik (Paris), East Central Europe: A Transition to What?

1990: Adam Michnik (Warsaw), The Dynamics of the Decomposition of Totalitarian Regimes

1991: Timothy Garton Ash (Oxford), Germany and Central Europe

Participants:

F. A. M. Alting von Geusau, Professor of Law of International and European Organisations at the Catholic University of Tilburg, Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Iris Baird, Receptionist of IWM; Jan Blonski, Professor of Literature at the Jagellonian University in Cracow, Corresponding Fellow of IWM, Member of the Advisory Committee for the IWM-Translation Programme; Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, Professor of Law at the University of Freiburg; Judge of the German Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe; Chairman of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Gottfried Boehm, Professor of Art History at the University in Basel, Permanent Fellow of IWM; Endre Bojtar, Professor of Literature at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; Member of the Advisory Committee for the IWM-Translation Programme; Gertrude Brinek, Member of the Vienna City Council; Erhard Busek, Austrian Federal Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Science and Research, Chairman of the Austrian People's Party, Patron of IWM; Martin Butora, Advisor to President Havel, Prague; Thomas Chorherr, Editor-in-Chief, Die Presse, Vienna; Witold Czartoryski, Polish Embassy, Vienna; Sir Ralf Dahrendorf, The Warden of St. Antony's College, Patron of IWM; Peter Demetz, Sterling Professor Em. of German Language and Literature, Yale University, Member of

the Advisory Committee for the IWM-Translation Programme; Zsuzsa Földvári, Vienna Correspondent of Napi; Karen Geraghty, Graduate Student of Philosophy, Boston University; Junior Visiting Fellow of IWM; Aleksander Gieysztor, Professor of History at and President of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Vice-Chairman of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Jacqueline Hénard, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin; Pawel Hertz, Translator and Writer, Warsaw, Corresponding Fellow of IWM, Member of the Advisory Committee for the IWM-Translation Programme; Richard Holden, Graduate Student of Philosophy, Boston University; Junior Visiting Fellow of IWM; Christine Huterer, IWM-Administrator; Dorothee Janetzke-Wenzel, German Embassy, Vienna; Lonnie Johnson, Associate Director for Development of IWM; Tony Judt, Remarque Professor of European Studies, New York University, Visiting Fellow of IWM; Eva Kellner, Research Assistant at IWM: "Transformation of the National Higher Education and Research Systems in Central Europe"; Peter Keresztesi, Hungarian Embassy, Vienna; Imre Kertész, Writer and Translator, Budapest; Visiting Fellow of IWM; Cornelia Klinger, Permanent Fellow of IWM; Cardinal Franz König, Patron of IWM, Vienna; Jan Koopman, Member of the Finance Control Commission of IWM, Amsterdam; János Mátyás Kovács, Permanent Fellow of IWM; Andreas Kuhlmann, Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt; Annette Laborey, Treasurer of IWM, Paris; Ewa Lipska, Deputy Director of the Polish Cultural Institute, Vienna; Ladislav Matejka, Professor Em. of Slavic Literature at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Corresponding Fellow of IWM, Member of the Advisory Committee for the IWM-Translation Programme; Krzysztof Michalski, Professor of Philosophy at Boston University, Director of IWM; Maria Mitchell, Graduate Student at Boston University, Philosophy; Junior Visiting Fellow of IWM; Klaus Nellen, Permanent Fellow of IWM, Editor of Transit; Eva Nowotny, Advisor of Foreign Affairs to the Federal Chancellor of Austria; Helga Nowotny, Professor of Sociology, Director of the Institute for Philosophy of Science at the University of Vienna; Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Aaron Rhodes, Project Coordinator at IWM: "Transformation of the National Higher Education and Research Systems in Central Europe"; Ulrike Rieger, Secretary to the Director of IWM; Drago Roksandić, Associate Professor of History at the University of Zagreb; Visiting Fellow of IWM; Karl Rüping, Graduate Student at Boston University, Law and International Relations, Junior Visiting Fellow of IWM; Jacques Rupnik, Research Fellow at C.E.R.I., Paris; Christopher Schönberger, Member of the Finance Control Commission of IWM, Munich; Edward Shils, Professor of Sociology and Social Thought, University of Chicago; Honorary Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge University; Vice-Chairman of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Ernest Skalski, Deputy Editor of Gazeta Wyborcza, Warsaw; Erhard Stackl, Foreign Editor, Der Standard, Vienna; Gerald Stourzh, Professor of History at the University of Vienna; Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Márton Tardos, Professor of Economics at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Deputy Chairman, Economic Commission of the Hungarian Parliament, Budapest, Corresponding Fellow of IWM; Józef Tischner, Professor of Philosophy at the Pontifical Academy of Theology in Cracow, President of IWM; Wanda Torres, Graduate Student at Boston University, Philosophy, Junior Visiting Fellow of IWM; Hans Tuppy, Professor of Biochemistry at the University of Vienna, Chairman of the Austrian National Committee of the European Cultural Foundation, Patron of IWM; Magda Vásáryová, Ambassador of the CSFR to Austria; Franz Vranitzky, Federal Chancellor of Austria, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party; Patron of IWM; Johanna Wagner, Secretary at IWM, Transit; Lord Weidenfeld, Publisher, Patron of IWM, London; Kurt Wimmer, Editor-in-Chief, Kleine Zeitung, Graz; Rosemarie Winkler, Secretary at IWM; Elizabeth Winter, Editor at the Times Literary Supplement, London, Member of the Advisory Committee for the IWM-Translation Programme; Elisabeth Zickbauer, Secretary at IWM; Josef Zumr, Director of the Institute of Philosophy at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague, Member of the Advisory Committee for the IWM-Translation Programme.

4. The Institute for Human Sciences: How it Has Developed

- A Few Personal Reflections by Krzysztof Michalski

At the beginning of the eighties, the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer organized seminars on "Hermeneutics and the Arts" in Dubrovnik along with the art historian Gottfried Boehm and myself. Numerous students and professors from the former Eastern Bloc participated, and for many of them these seminars represented the first and, for some, only opportunity to establish contact with colleagues from Western countries.

These seminars were a success, and they obviously fulfilled an unsatisfied need among the "Western" as well as the "Eastern" participants for an exchange of ideas and discussion across the Iron Curtain. The success of these seminars led me to the idea of establishing an institution that would provide the work we had started in Dubrovnik with continuity and long-term consequences. I thought that such an

institution could make a contribution -- of however modest proportions -- toward bridging the increasingly broadening intellectual gap between both parts of Europe.

This institution was supposed to be an institute for advanced study that would provide scholars, artists, and intellectuals from Eastern Europe with an opportunity to work together with their colleagues from the West: an institute for the humanities and the social sciences because the separation of Europe was most poignant in these disciplines.

The intention of an assistant professor from the University of Warsaw to found an institute for advanced study in the West could be dismissed as a nice but completely unrealistic dream. As a matter of fact, most of the people with whom I discussed this idea did so. My good fortune was that not everyone thought that way. I managed to convince some, indeed many people to cooperate and to support its realization. That was my greatest success; it made the establishment of the Institute for Human Sciences possible.

The first person with whom I broached the idea of the Institute and whose support I gained was my friend Józef Tischner: a Catholic priest and professor of philosophy in Cracow. That was in spring 1980 during one of our Dubrovnik seminars. Then Gottfried Boehm joined us and Hans-Georg Gadamer placed his advice and support at our disposal.

In late summer of the same year, Tischner and I went with a group of Polish academics to the summer residence of the Pope in Castelgandolfo in order to participate in a seminar on science and religion with John Paul II. The strikes that were to lead to the establishment of Solidarity were just starting in Poland, and our seminar ended on the same day that Lech Walesa signed the "Twenty-One Point Agreement" with the communist government. In Castelgandolfo we had an opportunity to discuss the idea of an institute with the Pope. He supported it wholeheartedly, in particular our intention of establishing the Institute as an ideologically and politically independent organization without church or Catholic affiliations.

After long discussions, we finally decided to try to establish the Institute in Vienna. Austria is a neutral state, a fact that was of great political importance at that time. We assumed -- as we were to see, correctly -- that it would be easier to invite Eastern European scholars to Vienna than to a NATO country. Furthermore, Vienna has a long tradition of political and cultural mediation between Europe's East and West. We hoped to find understanding and support there, and we did.

At the beginning of 1981, Tischner and I went to Vienna to meet the then presiding Vice-Mayor Erhard Busek, who had distinguished himself by his energetic and insightful engagement with Eastern Europe. Busek gave us his support, and he won over the then presiding Mayor of Vienna, Leopold Gratz, for the idea of supporting the Institute. Both politicians -- in Vienna, Busek was the head of the Christian Democratic Austrian People's Party and Gratz was the head of the Socialist Party -- agreed that the Institute was to be a politically independent and non-partisan institution.

From the start, we viewed independence -- from political parties, churches, ideologies, bureaucracies - as the absolute precondition of our work. Not everyone was prepared to believe us. Throughout the years, the Institute has been accused of being a CIA operation as well as a KGB, crypto-Catholic, neoconservative, Opus Dei, Free Mason, or a leftist organization, etc. (The respective categorization depended upon the position from which we were perceived.)

Next to the City of Vienna, the Robert-Bosch Foundation provided us with decisive initial financial support which shortly thereafter was augmented by the Volkswagenwerk Foundation. The support of a growing group of German scholars and intellectuals, whom we had won for the idea of the Institute in the interim, also was decisive: in particular, Richard and Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, and naturally Hans-Georg Gadamer. Then there was Annette Laborey, who ran a small foundation in Paris, which was nonetheless enormously important for Eastern European intellectuals, the *Fondation pour une Entraide Intellectuelle Européenne*, and she was among those individuals who did not courteously humor me but offered her support and help from the very beginning. She brought me together with George Soros, a Hungarian-born American finance manager, who was in the process of supporting the development of an "open society" in Eastern Europe with his own foundation. Soros decided on the spot to support the project of our Institute.

We could start.

Not only the support of institutions and friends, as important as they were, were necessary to establish the Institute; the fate of the project also depended upon people, who were prepared and capable of building up the Institute with me on-site. My good fortune was to find such colleagues. In Cologne, where I had worked as the recipient of a Humboldt Scholarship in 1977 and which I visited regulary during my second research stay in Germany as a Thyssen-Fellow during 1981/82, I had made friends with the Germanist and philosopher Cornelia Klinger and with Klaus Nellen, a member of the staff of the Husserl Archive. Both of them were prepared to go with me to Vienna to develop the planned institute.

Such preparedness could by no means be taken for granted. The financial resources at our disposal were exceptionally modest. However, the project appeared to Cornelia and Klaus to be worth the risk. Therefore, we headed for Vienna at the end of 1982 in order to realize our dream.

Since then the size of our team has grown considerably. The fact that Christine Huterer assumed responsibility for the administration a few years later was especially important for the development of the Institute. The Hungarian economist and political scientist János Mátyás Kovács was also subsequently recruited as a further Permanent Fellow.

Another important date for the history of the Institute -- as well as the history of our part of Europe -- was 1989. The revolutions which turned "Eastern Europe" into the "former East Bloc" removed many of the political obstacles that previously had hindered our work. A series of Eastern European academics and intellectuals, who had previously participated in the work of the Institute, assumed important functions in public life in the new democracies practically overnight, and they turned to the Institute for support once again, but for support of a completely different and completely new kind. Therefore we decided to initiate some programs which could assist the creation of democratic institutions in the former East Bloc. For example, we started a project on the "Transformation of the National Higher Education and Research Systems in Central Europe," which has been designed to help identify the problems former communist countries are confronting in the reconstruction of academic institutions as well as propose alternatives for solving them.

In the immediate future, we will begin a similar project dealing with the difficult question of "Social Costs of the Economic Reforms in Central Europe." Finally, the Institute organizes an annual "Central European Forum" which gives political leaders from the democratic parties of Central Europe an opportunity to discuss the problems of the transition to democracy.

Despite these new initiatives, the strategy of the Institute has remained unchanged. From the beginning, the conception of the Institute was not based on the ideological East-West conflict; therefore, there was no need to change this conception after the end of this conflict. The basic idea of the Institute was to incorporate ideas and individuals from the Eastern part of Europe into the Western discussion and to modify it in this way. No longer obstructed by communist regimes, we have been able to pursue this goal with greater intensity since 1989. Furthermore, it also has become possible to assist the former Eastern European countries in the reconstruction of those institutions which are necessary preconditions for the exchange of ideas. This is what we attempt to achieve with the new projects.

With the tenth anniversary of its establishment, the Institute is approaching the end of its initial phase of development. We have moved for the third time in a decade into new quarters which provide the growing Institute with sufficient space. What has become of our dream? What is the Institute for Human Sciences today?

It is above all a community of scholars consisting of Permanent, Corresponding, and Visiting Fellows who come from Eastern and Western Europe and the United States. They reflect upon and discuss the history of European ideas and their social and economic conditions. They also attempt to promote the construction of the institutional conditions for democracy, in particular in the fields of teaching and research, in the former East Bloc. Their work is supported by an Academic Advisory Board upon which Hans-Georg Gadamer serves as Honorary Chairman and Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde serves as Chairman. An administrative staff, which also has grown in the interim, provides organizational support.

The results of our work are published in numerous languages and numerous countries on both sides of the former Iron Curtain. We are especially proud of the five-volume edition of the selected writings of the Czech philosopher Jan Patočka, who died in 1977, which is being edited at the Institute and published by Klett-Cotta in Stuttgart. Since 1990 we also edit a periodical, *Transit. Europäische Revue*, which appears at the Verlag Neue Kritik in Frankfurt. The City of Vienna, the Austrian Federal Ministry for Science and Research, the European Communities, the Ford Foundation (New York), the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (New York), the Bradley Foundation (Milwaukee), the European Cultural Foundation (Amsterdam), and the Central and East European Publishing Project (Oxford), along with other American and European supporters, place the necessary financial means at our disposal.

5. IWM Translation Program Fellowships for 1993

Members of the Translation Program Advisory Committee met on April 3, 1992. The following individuals will receive six months' grants as IWM Visiting Fellows during 1993 in order to translate the works listed.

Jerzy Jarzebski (Cracow), Michel Foucault, Les mots et les choses
Pawel Kaczorowski (Warsaw), Golo Mann, Deutsche Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts
Maria Kajtár (Budapest), Golo Mann, Deutsche Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts
György Petri (Budapest), Karl Popper, Logik der Forschung

IWM Translation Program Advisory Committee:

Professor Endre Bojtar (Literature, ELTE, Budapest); Professor Jan Blonski (Literature, Jagiellonian University, Cracow); Sterling Professor em. Peter Demetz (German/Comparative Literature, Yale); Pawel Hertz (author and translator, Warsaw); Professor em. Ladislav Matejka (Slavic Languages, Ann Arbor; editor of Cross Currents: A Yearbook of Central European Culture); Professor Krzysztof Michalski (Philosophy, Boston University; Director of IWM); Susanna Roth (Czech specialist and translator, Prague); Professor Jerzy Szacki (Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw); Elizabeth Winter (Board Member of the Central and East European Publishing Project, Oxford; editor, Times Literary Supplement); Josef Zumr (Director, Institute of Philosophy, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague).

The IWM Translation Program is supported by the European Cultural Foundation (Amsterdam) and the Central and East European Publishing Project (Oxford).

6. Sixth Annual Patočka Memorial Lecture was held on March 12, 1992, 7:00 pm at Palais Schwarzenberg:

Jacques Derrida (Paris)

Le secret - de la réponse et de la responsabilité

Previous Patočka Memorial Lectures:

1987: Hans-Georg Gadamer: Phänomenologie und das Problem der Zeit

1988: Leszek Kolakowski: Die Illusionen der Entmythologisierung

1989: Zbigniew Brzezinski: The General Crisis of Communism

1990: Paul Ricoeur: The Person: Its Ethical and Moral Structure

1991: Charles Taylor. Two Theories of Language

Forthcoming in 1993: Václav Havel (Prague)

The text of Professor Derrida's Patočka Memorial Lecture will appear in the fourth issue of *Transit*. *Europäische Revue* in summer 1992.

7. IWM Lectures in Modern Philosophy 1992:

Bruce Ackerman, Sterling Professor of Law and Political Science at Yale University, held this year's IWM Lectures in Philosophy: *The Future of Liberal Revolution*.

Monday, April 27: Rethinking Revolution

Tuesday, April 28: The Next European Revolution

Wednesday, April 29: Constitutionalizing Revolution

Previous IWM Lecture in Modern Philosophy:

1991: Peter Winch: Überreden und Argumentieren

Forthcoming in 1993: Richard Rorty

In his lectures, Professor Ackerman distinguished the liberal revolutionary tradition from religious, nationalist-romantic, and rationalist-Marxist-Leninist traditions of revolution, on the one hand, and made a further distinction between laissez faire or Hayekian liberalism and activist liberalism -- a tradition with which he identified himself -- on the other. He then expounded on a two track constitutional framework which is necessary to distinguish between the revolutionary incentives of minorities or self-proclaimed vanguards and revolutionary change as a response to those self-conscious mass movements which create historically rare "windows of revolutionary opportunity."

Professor Ackerman dismissed the idea of "permanent revolution" as well as "the end of history." However, he posited the idea of liberal revolution not only as a mass quest for democratic government under authoritarian or totalitarian circumstances but also as a periodic and necessary form of renewal to the challenges which face democratic societies and governments themselves. He criticized what he called an "inverted Marxist pattern of interpretation" of revolution he identified as characteristic for the Eastern European evaluation of the revolutions of 1989 -- a glorification of laissez faire capitalism, economism, the fallacy of a last revolution, and an overestimation of the liberating power of the market. He then turned to an analysis of the tasks confronting Western European liberals: the receding relevance of Christian Democratic and Social Democratic ideologies, a Western European reliance on neo-corporatism and elite management, and the dangers of resurgent nationalism. He viewed pan-European activist liberalism and the instigation of mass support for the idea of a liberal federal Europe as the basis for the "next European revolution" as well as the prerequisite for successful European integration, and he emphasized the role a rejuvenation of the liberal revolutionary tradition will play not only for Eastern European democracies but also for the "second generation" of revolutionaries in the developing world. In closing, Professor Ackerman drew a series of parallels between the American experience of "constitutionalizing revolution" and the relevance of the American experience for the post-revolutionary governments in Eastern Europe today.

His last lecture, "Constitutionalizing Revolution," will appear in the fourth issue of *Transit* in summer 1992. Professor Ackerman's IWM Lectures in Modern Philosophy were based upon a manuscript he has been preparing for publication: *The Future of Liberal Revolution*.

8. IWM Lectures: March-April 1992

April 7: Frans A.M. Alting von Geusau (Tilburg), Liberal Society and the "New World Order"

April 21: Ladislav Matejka (Ann Arbor), Central Europe in Ferment

9. Roundtable Series: Neuer Alter Kontinent ("New Old Continent")

The Museum of Modern Art, Vienna, and Transit - Europäische Revue are co-sponsors of a roundtable series, "New Old Continent," which addresses new perspectives in Europe since 1989. This series is being coordinated by Regina Haslinger from the Museum of Modern Art and Klaus Nellen, editor of

Transit. The third roundtable in this series was held on April 4, 1992 at the Museum of the 20th Century.

Das Neue Europa: Einigung oder Zerfall? ("The New Europe: Integration or Disintegration?")

Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde (Chairman of the IWM Academic Advisory Board, Freiburg i.B.); Sir

Ralf Dahrendorf (Patron of IWM, Oxford); Prince Schwarzenberg (Patron of IWM,

Prague/Vienna); Moderation: Krzysztof Michalski (Director of IWM, Vienna)

10. Varia

Tony Judt spoke on "What's left of the Left?" at the Neuzeit Colloquium of the University of Vienna's Institute of History on April 2. His article "Metamorphosis: The Democratic Revolution in Czechoslovakia" appeared in Ivo Banac, ed., *Eastern Europe in Revolution* (Comell University Press, 1992).

An excerpt of the translation of Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Vermischte Bermerkungen*, which Imre Kertész is translating into Hungarian under the auspices of the IWM Translation Program, appeared in the Hungarian journal *Orpheus* 1/1992.

Cornelia Klinger is teaching a course "Public and Private as Fundamental Concepts for a Political Theory of Gender Difference" (Öffentlichkeit und Privatheit als Grundbegriffe einer politischen Theorie der Geschlechterdifferenz) at the University of Vienna's Institute of Philosophy this semester.

János Mátyás Kovács is teaching a course, "The Economics of Transformation," at the University of Economics, Budapest, during this semester. He lectured at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics on "An Economic Theory of Post-Communist Transition: Is it Possible?" on March 19. From April 10-12, he participated in a conference organized by the European Studies Center of the Institute for East-West Security Studies, Prague, and spoke on "Market Economics and Social Safety Nets."

Drago Roksandić spoke on "Croats and Serbs in Croatia: How to Stay Together?" at the "Chances for a Good Peace" Conference organized by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation and Alliance of Free Democrats in Budapest, March 1-3, and on "Krajina: The History of the 'Military Border' and the Origins of the Current Conflict" at the Republican Club New Austria, March 31. He participated in a roundtable, "The Human Rights Situation in Croatia and the future of the Serbian Minority" organized by the Alpen-Adria-Alternative in Graz on March 24.

Editors: Lonnie Johnson & Klaus Nellen