In his latest book "First as Tragedy, Then as Farce," the philosopher Slavoj Žižek points out that "although we always recognized the urgency of the problems, when we were fighting aids, hunger, water shortages, global warming, and so on, there always seemed to be time to reflect, to postpone decisions … But with the financial meltdown, the urgency to act was unconditional: sums of an unimaginable magnitude had to be found immediately." However, the call to “save the banks!” is more and more met with the slogan “We won’t pay for your crisis!” The financial crisis has turned into a crisis of solidarity and social cohesion seems at risk. At the iwm conference "Social Solidarity and the Crisis of Economic Capitalism" on October 16 and 17 international experts discussed the social impact of the global crash of the markets and the ensuing reactions of governments. The following article by Robert Kuttner explains why it is that even the center left parties but also Barack Obama, who everyone expected so much from, do not find answers to the big crisis of capitalism.

**BY ROBERT KUTTNER**

W **hy does the center-right now dominate so many countries? Why has the democratic left been unable to make gains, even in a moment of the greatest disgrace for free market capitalism since 1929?** The financial collapse was the ultimate test of the proposition that markets are self-regulating; and it should have discredited its sponsors, as in 1929. But so far, the democratic left is weaker than it was in 2007, at the beginning of the crash. Of course, the troubles of the social democratic model and of social solidarity go back well before the recent financial collapse. The standard story of the weakness of the left is that the welfare state, or mixed economy, or managed form of capitalism has reached its natural limits, fiscal, economically, and demographically. You reach a point where you can’t provide any more services without taxing the middle class so heavily that voters revolt, and the political coalition collapses; or you tax industry and entrepreneurs so heavily that the productive engine sputters; or you defensively create a two-tier welfare state of insiders and outsiders, as the French and Germans and Italians have done, and that further splinters your coalition. This tension is compounded by an aging population that needs more services, and working age people who are having fewer children, so that there are fewer workers to pay the costs. The model is further strained by immigrants who are not easily assimilated and who are rejected by the locals, both culturally and because of the costs to the welfare states. On all counts, voters turn to the right because they conclude that the social democratic model is no longer a good bargain. There is also, supposedly, a cultural dimension, in that some younger citizens have bought the appeal of individualism; they don’t accept their grandparents’ ideal of social solidarity; they are not getting much from it, and they don’t understand why successful people need to pay for society’s failures.

A neo-Marxian variant of the same story, going back to the first stagflation crisis of the 1970s, proposed a fiscal crisis of the state, in which the state was being made to socialize the ever increasing social costs of capitalism, and these just got too onerous to bear. There are elements of truth to all of this, but I don’t think any of it is the primary explanation. The history and institutions of particular countries vary widely, as does the stage of their development of the welfare
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Editorial

W e all know what 9/11 stands for. But what is the meaning of 9/15? On September 15, 2008, the major American bank Lehman Brothers went bankrupt, in collapse marked the beginning of the economic crisis. One year after Lehman, the swm invited researchers and politicians to discuss the soci-

economic consequences of the crash. Dur-

ing a Tischner Debate in Warsaw it be- came clear that while the financial

crisis is unlikely to end capital-

ism, it may undermine the econom-

ic model of self-regulating markets.

Roman Frydman and Michael Gold- berg argue that this model has failed, on page 13 of this swmpost. Not just the market’s “invisible hand” has lost credibility, but also the policies of moderate leftists in Europe. The conference “Social Solidarity and the Crisis of Economic Capitalism” asked for the reasons behind this development. Robert Kuttner’s ar-
ticle on pages 1, 4 and 5 provides some answers.

As we all know the Copenha-
gen Summit did not save the pla-
net from climate change; Copenha-
gen did not become “Hopenhagen.” In their guest contributions, Franz Fischler and Paweł Świeboda outline the future of climate policy. They call for a second industrial revolu-
tion to bring about a low-emission global economy.

However, 2009 was not just a year of crisis, it was also a year of retrospection. In 1989 the Berlin Wall fell and Europe was reunited. Still, a common history of the post-

war era, accepted by both Western and Eastern Europeans, has yet to be written. Twenty years after the Fall of the Wall, the conference “Tomorrow’s Yesterday” showed that such a common history is possible only if objective historiography takes the place of particular national narratives. On page 7, Slavenka Drakulic, discuss-
ing the example of former Yugo-

slavia, describes the frightening alternative to objectivity: the creation and proliferation of myths.

The Roma are commonly ignored in Europe’s history. Few seem to no-
tice that they are facing increasing racist violence. Milena Jesenská Fel-

low Lisa Bjurwald wrote a jobbing fea-
ture on hateful politicians, an igno-
rant public, and the fear of the Roma; you can find it on page 14. I

I hope you enjoy reading.

Sven Hartwig

Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen
Institute for Human Sciences

IWMpost

NO. 102 • SEPTEMBER – DECEMBER 2009

Jennifer Hochschild, Professor of Government at Harvard University, discussing with the panelists of the James Krupp Debate on Solidarity at the IWM Library. The debate dealt with the impacts of the economic crisis for society and politics. Read more about this in the contribution by Robert Kuttner on pages 1, 4 and 5.
He saw himself as the jester, as the one "who doubts all that appears self-evident". On June 17, 2009, Leszek Kołakowski, the great Polish philosopher and historian of ideas, died at the age of 81. He had been a true and inspiring friend of the Institute and a member of its Academic Advisory Board from the beginning. But first and foremost, he was "simply a very brilliant thinker" as Krzysztof Michalski referred to him in a recent interview on Kołakowski in the Polish weekly Tygodnik Powszechny (see below). In one of his last essays that we exclusively present here in English, Kołakowski reflects upon one of the most self-evident realities of human existence, the terrifying passing of time and upon the four ways we can escape that: reason, god, love – and death.

A Complete and Short Metaphysics. There will be no other. There will be no other.

F our cornerstones support the house in which, to put it pompously, the human spirit lives. And those four are: Reason God Love Death

The vault of this house is Time – the most commonplace reality and the most mysterious. From the moment of our birth, we think of Time as the most ordinary, the most familiar of realities. (Something was, and then ceased to be. Something was such-and-such and is now different. Something happened yesterday or a minute ago and can never, ever, come back.) But while Time is our most commonplace reality, it is also the most terrifying. The four entities mentioned are our ways of coping with that terror.

Reason is there to discover eternal truths, which are impervious to time. God, or the absolute, is an entity that knows neither past nor future, but contains everything in its "eternal present." Love, when lived intensely, also blots out past and present; it is a concentrated form of present, cut off from Time. Death is the end of the temporal reality which engulfs us in life and perhaps a transition to a different kind of temporality, of which we know nothing (or almost nothing). Thus all the cornerstones of our thought are instruments which allow us to escape the terrifying reality of Time; all seem designed to make Time into something we can live with – something familiar and tame.

From the book 'City Pas: Bez just cywilizacji' (2009) translated by Agnieszka Kolakowska.

Krzysztof Michalski: Yes, I think there is. Of course, his early texts from the late 1940s or 1950s, such as those collected in Sketches on Catholic Philosophy, are very different from the book he wrote a few decades later about Pascal and Saint Augustine and other works from the 1990s and 2000s: the young Kołakowski was initially a communist activist who sharply attacked the institutions and doctrine of the Catholic Church, while the (very rapidly) matured Kołakowski was an uncompromising critic of communist reality, and in time also of his Marxist theoretical foundations; he was full of sympathy for religious consciousness and for its institutional expression, the Catholic Church, as well.

Yet it is not so hard to spot a distinct continuity within this difference. I think the reasons that led Kołakowski to his initial acceptance of communism were not so very different from those that later led him to reject it – just as his early criticism of Catholic philosophy is not entirely at odds with his later affirmation of the fundamental role of religion and the church for culture; the element with which he is not now.

Naturally I do not wish to blur the actual differences, both in Kołakowski's views and in his moral attitude. Towards the end of his life he did not believe that a free society cannot be accomplished without nationalising the means of production (as he thought in the 1950s); he very soon recognised that his own youthful criticism of Catholic priests and philosophers – in a situation where in fact not his, but arguments similar to his, sometimes led to the imprisonment or even the death of those to whom they were addressed – was inadmissible from the moral viewpoint too. He regarded communism as the embodiment of reason, and as a remedy for social injustice and exploitation. In this he was wrong. But even then, in his criticism of the Church, he was also right about many things. As the young Kołakowski used to remind us, the Catholic Church often really did fulfil a reactionary social role – here and there it still does nowadays. It helped – as it still sometimes does – to provide grounds for inequality, oppression and exclusion. Eminent church leaders, such as John Paul II, also saw this and fought against it.

Religion – Christianity – does not have to be a tool for immunsing a moral code, a defensive wall built around a collection of moral rules which, as a result, becomes something like a set of military regulations demanding total obedience (without any elaborate intellectual gymnastics, including standing on one's head, I do not think this sort of understanding of religion can be connected with the stories in the New Testament in any case). Kołakowski deliberately, sometimes very amus-

Kolakowski's mature philosophy helps to understand religion rather than to reject it

ingly criticised this understanding of religion in his early articles, and later on the fruit of this criticism was Ethics Without a Code. Finally, Kołakowski's opposition to the view that texts we regard as sacred (such as the Old and New Testaments) explain the world to us in the same sense as science does, and thus that they can be a yardstick separating good science from bad – this opposition, taken to its ultimate consequences in The Presence of Myth and other texts in Kołakowski's mature philosophy, help to understand religion rather than to reject it.

The twenty-sixth-year-old Kołakowski criticised religion in the name of reason and by doing so also exposed actual weaknesses in Christian institutions and doctrines. In time he came to understand – and convinced many of us, his listeners and readers – that opting in favour of reason means above all opting in favour of freedom; for the total, unlimited freedom of the human being.

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An Intellectual Volcano
It would be hard to think of two succeeding administrations more different than Bush and Obama—except when it comes to dealing with the financial crisis.

Robert Kuttner is Co-founder of The American Prospect and a Senior Fellow at the US think tank Demos. He is author of eight books, most recently Obama's Challenge: America's Economic Crisis and the Power of a Transformative Presidency (2008).

It is no secret that Barack Obama is an economic centrist, intent on promoting competitiveness, fiscal responsibility, and regulatory reform. But the center-left now has two economic crises to deal with: one from Wall Street, the other from a global financial system gone haywire. The main question for the President is how to combine the two so that the US economy will be stronger and fairer.

In the last three decades, the US has run a twin deficit: a trade deficit and a budget deficit. The trade deficit is the easier of the two to resolve, but the fiscal deficit is much more serious.

For years, the US ran a trade surplus and generated a tax base that could easily finance the national debt. But today, the US runs a trade deficit and has no fiscal surplus to finance the debt. This means that the US must run a fiscal deficit to pay for its debts. The US is, in effect, a giant bank that lends money to itself.

I believe that the US needs a new economic strategy to deal with the fiscal crisis. The problem is that the US has no fiscal surplus to finance the debt. This means that the US must run a fiscal deficit to pay for its debts. The US is, in effect, a giant bank that lends money to itself.

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He became a Marxist in the name of reason – and in the name of reason he dropped it

by no other Polish humanist of the twentieth century: Kolakowski became a fellow of the legendary All Souls College at Oxford, and in time of the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago in an era when the most eminent Western scholars taught there (such as Paul Ricoeur, Mieke Elswijk, François Furet, Reinhard Koselleck and others). The Germans awarded him their biggest prize, the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade, the French elected him to their elite Académie, the United States Library of Congress named him the first winner of the

I n an American history, the great pro-
gressive presidents who turned crisis into opportunity all became more progressive in office. They did so because they had social movements pushing on them. That describes Lincoln, who at first wanted to preserve the nation but not free the slaves; and Roosevelt who at first wanted to balance the budget. And it describes the Lyndon Johnson of the civil rights era before the Vietnam debacle, who became a real radical on the subject of social equality. None of this would have happened without the abolitionist movement pushing on Lincoln and the industrial labor movement pushing on Roosevelt, and Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement pushing on Johnson.

So if we want Obama to maximize the moment, and to redeem the promise of his presidency, the democratic left need to rekindle a social movement. Otherwise, Wall Street will be disgraced but not disempowered.

The Kluge Prize, from Israel, he received the Jerusalem Prize, and from the Kluge Prize, from Israel he received the Jerusalem Prize, and from Italy the Nonino Prize – this list is much longer, I am sure I only know a small part of it.

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Tygodnik Powszechny: In the lat-
er period did Kolakowski feel chang-
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The conference was generously supported by Dziedzictwo Ikonom, Dzie Foundation, Rene Institute, Institute of Neander.
The tension between memo- 
ry and history was one of the 
key problems addressed by 
the conference. So far, just as 
in the immediate witness of 
living memory, history has been 
getting the upper 
hand. Those discussing memo-
ry, then, are exactly those who 
have none. Instead of trying to 
reveal lesser known aspects of 
history, “memory as a theatre” addresses events whose 
history has already been framed. “Auschwitz” and “the Gulag,” for 
example, have become misleading metaphors for much more diverse 
and complicated events. This 
dominance of memory also carries the 
danger of its manipulation for 
political purposes: every generation will try to use memory for its own 
collective goals. Depending on the type of memory, societies are also 
often torn in the dilemma either to remember or to forget.

Commemorations of significant 
historical events that had an impact 
on the whole of Europe provide ample 
opportunities in how differently 
memories are structured. The main 
obstacle is that historical narratives 
are still constructed on the national 
level, thus creating a barrier to inte-
gration. The precondition of a Euro-
pean memory is a common history. This is not surprising, since common 
narratives have always been a prima-
dy device in nation-building.
For this purpose teaching should start early in school and deal with controversial 
issues, especially mass violence. For 
example, World War II was recently 
taken up again in this country, as 
will try to use memory for its own 
collective goals. Depending on the type of memory, societies are also 
often torn in the dilemma either to remember or to forget.

The established hierarchy of memory was disturbed when some of 
the ex’s new members described communism and Nazism as “equal-
ly criminal,” although this argument was already present in the German 
History Verein. Since “Auschwitz” ac-
quired the role of a “negative founding 
myth” in Europe, they deal with their wartime past has 
become a significant issue for states 
wishing to enter the Union. This 
structure yet another one where history enters the 
picture. History is needed for a clear-
ance of the past. With the 
availability of documents from communist 
sources, a wealth of new opened, and it is 
important how societies use them. In this respect the German 
Gauck-Birth-Authority is regarded as ex-
emplary. Germany benefited from its earlier experience, and intended 
to compensate for its failure to deal 
with the Nazi past in the post-war 
era. German emphasis on the Stasi 
as part of its national history, rath-
er than as the work of external forc-
es, contrasts with the approach of 
many former post-communist states, 
which prefer to represent commu-
nism as an imposition of their sides from outside.

Perpetrators, Victims, Heroes 
The Friday evening panel On 
the Advantages and Disadvantages 
of Memory for Life took up another 
key question of the conference: 
who is the victim, who is the per-
petrator? Collaboration might blur 
the distinction. Different pasts 
and their victims compete for public and 
based recognition. Today’s legal 
culture favours victimhood, rath-
er than heroism. Compensation is 
given to victims of genocide or ex-
pulsion. This has not always been the 
case. In post-war Europe every deportee was a “hero” who died for 
France, even as a victim of the 
Holocaust; in Poland, on the other 
hand, Poles in general were regard-
ed as victims.

Europe is united but its history is still divided between East and West. While 1945 stands for freedom and prosperity in the same year, 
she makes things entirely different in most of the Eastern European countries: the transition from one occupation to another, from 
Nazism to communist rule. The Institute’s research focus “United Europe – Divided Memory,” lead by Yale historian and twst 
Temporary Fellow Timothy Snyder, seeks to overcome divisions among Eastern and Western historiographies. Since 2004 international conferences have taken place in 
this project, dealing with Hitler’s and Stalin’s policies in occupied Eastern Europe. The concluding conference “Tomorrow’s Yesterday: Memory Politics in Europe” (September 25 to 26) critically reflected on today’s obsession with memory. Since commemoration, as Slavenka Drakulic shows in 
her contribution on Tito, is always highly selective, we need more fact-oriented history to come to a better – and common – understanding 
of Europe’s past.
Tito Between Legend & Thriller

A museum to Tito at his one-time summer residence glorifying the Yugoslav dictator is in stark contrast to a daunting new biography. Yet between the two extremes is an absence of objective history-writing in the former Yugoslavia.

**By Slavenka Drakulic**

DURING a school break, Tito took me on a boat trip to the Brijuni archipelago in the northern Adriatic near Pula. He was such a goodhearted person, he brought these tangerines to orphanages for me, in fact it was a trip back to the time I saw the other day, while travelling on a boat towards the Brijuni archipelago in the northern Adriatic near Pula. Joseph Broz Tito must have had the very same idea when he visited the islands for the first time in 1947. However, the difference was that for him, this paradise on earth became reality. Soon afterwards, the late president of the former Yugoslav slavia moved to a newly built residence in Vanga, one of fourteen islands. After him, no one else had a chance to nurture the same dream. Ordinary mortals could no longer even visit the islands. It is said that the surveillance was so strict that even the fishing village of Parenza, on the mainland directly across from the archipelago, was populated solely by secret policemen and their families. After Tito's death in 1980, the Brijuni archipelago was proclaimed a national park. On my visit that day, I learned that over the thirty or so years that Tito enjoyed the privilege of living there, he often managed to spend up to four months a year in Vanga and Veli Brijun, which he loved the most. I could find out all about his life in Brijun in a photographic exhibition from 1984, on the floor of the local museum. There, in hundreds of sepia coloured photos, I saw him in his role as head of state with visiting tourists, as well as in his private moments. I could also see that, during his stay in paradise, Tito not only relaxed. He spent his holidays working as the head of state, chairman of the communist party and commander of the military. At the same time he played host to political leaders from Field Castro to Queen Elisabeth, Indira Gandhi to Willy Brandt, Leonid Brezhnev to the French Isare Sahlasi – and many, many others. He was fascinated by Tito, and many popular personalities, from opera singers like Mario del Monaco, to Valentina Tereska, the first woman in space, were invited to Brijuni too. But he enjoyed visits by film stars the most – Elizabeth Taylor and Sophia Loren, to mention two. While a foreign visitor would probably find this exhibition bizarre, for me it was a trip back to my childhood. Seeing a photo of Tito harvesting tangerines in his orchard, for example, I remembered our teacher telling us that he always sent these tangerines to orphans – he was such a goodhearted person, would add. We kids could only try to imagine how heavenly these fruits tasted, as there were none to buy in Yugoslavia at the time. But it would not escape the notice of any visitor that this exhibition is a glorification of the "biggest son of our nations and nationalities" – as Tito was once called.

On the ground floor of the museum there is another exhibition, a very strange one. It is dedicated to Tito's animals. It was the fashion at the time for visiting statesmen to bring presents, often wild, exotic animals that could not adapt to the local climate and soon died. They would then get stuffed and exhibited. So, while upstairs you can see Tito playing with a baby orang-utan, downstairs you can see the stuffed corpse of the wretched beast. While upstairs he is photographed caressing a young leopard, on the floor below the visitor can see the same leopard staring at him with his glass eyes. Although it probably wasn't intended, the stuffed animals exhibited in the same museum create an awkward, morbid contrast to the glorification going on upstairs, almost turning the museum into a metaphor for Tito's rule.

The 25-year-old photographic exhibition of Tito's life and work in Brijun is only a small contribution to the personality cult that Yugoslavians built and nourished so successfully for so long, with notoriously tragic consequences.

But there is another approach based on glorification that sporadically comes to the surface. Recently, in both Belgrade and Zagreb, a new book about Tito appeared that tries to prove that this historical person, however important, was – to put it mildly – not unblemished. Tito: A Phenomenon of the Century is written by the Belgrade journalist Pero Simic, who has studied Tito's personality for decades. Simic has also written a book about the compounding documents about Tito he found in the Stalin archive in Moscow. This recent biography, however, is a kind of “all-you-ever-wanted-to-know-about-Tito-but-never-dared-ask” publication. In other words, Simic, reveals to the reader secrets and half-secrets about Tito for how long... and so on.

In Simic's book, documents from Tito's time spent in Moscow as a Komintern cadre are published for the first time. Apparently, he gained permission by informing on his comrades, many of whom ended up being executed. His rise to the top of the communist party in Yugoslavia seems to be highly suspicious too, according to Simic. From the very beginning till the end of his political career, Tito was not only a manipulator and liar but a traitor, guilty of ordering the murders of his close collaborators and even friends – as well as mass executions of war prisoners in Belgrade after WWII. Tito appears as an ambitious, ruthless man not shy to commit criminal acts – the closest parallel probably being a Mafia don.

Obviously, the aim of Simic's book is to discredit Tito as a person, and thus his political decisions and projects. However, since the book is based on quotations, it is very difficult for an ordinary reader to judge how truthful Simic's arguments are. Their reliability depends on the reliability of his sources, which can be verified and judged only by specialists, i.e. historians. Most other readers will only be able to read the book as a thriller.

I visited Brijuni with a journalist, a foreign correspondent from the former Yugoslavia. While touring the Veli Brijun island and its museum, we debated the exhibition and the book, as the two extreme approaches to Tito. My journalist friend asked me why I thought that, after more than a thousands books written about Tito, there is not one meticulously researched, reliable biography of him. It is an excellent question to which there are many answers, though none are very convincing. For one, there has been no time to write it, because the country fell apart in several wars. Another is that the attitude towards the past in the Balkans is rather problematic in general. But – my friend insisted – perhaps now, thirty years after his death, the time has come for a serious biography that could be used by historians? I could not agree more. We often hear that "there is too much history in the Balkans." This is indeed true, but only in the sense of historical events, not history as a discipline. Tito is just an example of how, in the former Yugoslav slavia, we still have too many myths and too much ideology instead of facts, of history. Tito deserves to be approached seriously. We owe this to him as a historical personality – and even more to ourselves.

While we were waiting on the mainland for a boat to take us over to Brijuni that afternoon, Stipe Mesic, the Croatian president, together with a few bodyguards disembarked at the tiny port in Parenza. The handful of tourists and locals standing at the pier waiting for a boat did not even react to his presence as the president walked along the waterfront to his car. My companion was impressed with his easy-going manner. Obviously, times have changed – unlike our attitude to history, which we still perceive as a mixture of legends and crime stories.

The day of our visit was a perfect summer's day. Before we left, I wanted to take a swim in a stunning bay with ruins of a roman villa from the first century A.D. and temple to Aphrodite. Legend has it that if you swim under the right fence, you will find perfect love. But I did not take a swim. I was afraid. One should not ask too much of life, I thought. What a strange idea on the island where, once upon a time, one man just snapped his fingers and got it all. It is a sad fact that exactly thirty years since he departed from Brijuni for the last time, on 29 August 1979, it remains to be seen who Tito really was.©

*first published in Ljubljana
*www.eurozine.com

Watch the video of the panel discussion “Aspects and Disadvantages of Memory for Life”: www.iwm.at –> Menu

*[First published in *Ljubljana*](http://www.eurozine.com)*

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**Slavenka Drakulic** is a Croatian novelist and journalist. She has written for various newspapers and magazines. *Tito: A Phenomenon of the Century* was As I Am Not There: A Novel About the Balkans. In 2008 she was a *Winning Fellow at the IIWM*. **Simic, reveals to the reader secrets and half-secrets about Tito for how long... and so on.**
The Guilt of Being Alive: Sacrifice and Humanity in Militant Rhetoric

Monthly Lecture: Faisal Devji, September 16

Faisal Devji started his lecture by explaining that al-Qaeda surprisingly does not create a distinct and negative picture of its supposed enemies in its rhetoric. This is because the foes to Islam are characterized just as Muslims themselves. No hierarchy of the “good” i.e. Islamists, and the “bad” or “less worthy/lower in life” (i.e. any kind of non-Muslim state or group of people) is established, instead of degrading or dehumanizing their enemies, militants routinely aspire to compete with their foes in virtue as well as in vice. Justification of militant activity is thus not easy to find as it is only perceived as the retaliation of the supposed persecution of Muslims or responses to unfired provocations. Responsibility is no longer necessary in a global arena where all are complicit in provocations and retaliations.

Devji stressed that there is only one militant phenomenon al-Qaeda would claim full responsibility for, that of martyrdom. Sacrifice is the trait al-Qaeda’s self-perception that distinguishes it from others, both on the outside and the inside of the organisation. It is what demonstrates Islam’s universality in militant circles, though even such practices of sacrifice can be stolen from Muslims and so must be repeated in the most egregious ways.

To illustrate his point, Devji coined the category concept since sacrificial practices can be found anywhere where people dedicate themselves to a cause, be it humanitarian, environmental or other. Indeed, sacrificing oneself for humanity has its well-known and longstanding history in Christiani- the Gospels and for the sake of mankind. ◁

Paradoxe Integration: Erfolg, Globalisierung und der Globalisierungsdruck

Monatsvortrag: Chrisla Wichterich, 5. November


So werden Frauen als homo economicus zwar von tradierten Gendernormen befreit, resümierte Wichterich, doch solange die Un- gleichheit der Geschlechter gesell- schaftlich und marktwirtschaftlich fibrig bleibt, wird sich der Schlechterstehung von Frauen kaum etwas ändern. ◁

The Politics of Assassinations: The Soviet Case

Monthly Lecture: Hiroaki Kuromiya, October 20

The attack came down, about 4 a.m. I was fast asleep, hav- ing taken a sleeping drug after a hard day’s work. Awakened by the rattle of gun fire but feeling very scary, I first imagined that a national hoil- day was being celebrated with fire- works outside our walls. But the ex- plosions were too close, right here within the room, next to me and over- head. The odour of gunpowder became more acrid, more penetrating. Clearly, what we had always expect- ed was now happening: we were un- der attack.” This is how Leon Trotsky described the attempt of his assassi- nation by the Stalinist secret ser- vice.

Kuromiya showed in his lecture, Trotsky’s assassination is just one example for thousands of victims of Stalinist state terroris- m: from 1932 until Stalin’s death in 1953, up to twelve million people were killed or deported to the cizu- llago. Among the victims were dissi- dents, regime critics, “subversives” and “counter-revolutionaries,” or anyone who was suspected to be in opposi- tion to the Stalinist rule. As Kuromi- ya pointed out, these assassinations were an integral part of Soviet poli- tics: Stalin used killings and terrorism strategically to achieve his political goals, i.e. the protection of his own power and the expansion of the So- viet empire. Even though many of the assassinations were executed se- cretly, they were, in Stalin’s view, a legitimate means of policy because, so he thought, everyone in politics would sooner or later get his hands dirty. Kuromiya emphasized that the Soviet politics of assassination did not end with Stalin’s death but con- tinued during the Cold War, even though the number of the murders decreased and mass terror was not a part of government policy anymore. Even today, as the cases of Anna Polit- kovskaya and Alexander Litvinenko have shown, political killings occur in Russia. Yet unlike in Soviet times assassinations are nowadays “out- sourced” and “privatized” so that any connection to Russian govern- ment officials cannot be found. A significant difference, said Kuromi- ya, because “Stalin didn’t really care if someone found out.” ◁

The Self Laid Bare: Phenomenological Encounters in Central Europe

Monthly Lecture: Marcı Shore, December 1

In a February 1990 speech to the United States Congress a few months later, Czechoslovakia’s new president Václav Havel asserted, “Consciousness precedes Be ing,” and not the other way around, as the Marxist claim. “Few of Harv- d’s American listeners had any idea what he meant. Yet Havel’s language of “consciousness” and “Being” did not come from nowhere, but rather reflected at least a century of in- telllectual history in his part of the world. In Eastern Europe, and in other dis- cussion of phenomenology’s role in Eastern Europe with the nineteenth- century philosopher Franz Brenta- ser, who rejected Hegel’s Geist in favor of a more concrete, empirical “consciousness.” Students attending Brentano’s lectures in Vienna of the 1870s and 1880s included Sigmund Freud and Tomáš Masaryk.

Hiroaki Kuromiya is Professor of History at Indiana University Bloomington and IWM Visiting Fellow. In 2007 he published The Voice of the Devil: Stalins Terror in the 1930s. GPS on May 24, 1940. Three months later on August 20, the murderers finally succeeded in killing one of Stalin’s big opponents.

Wirtschaftliche Chancen und Risiken des Klimaschutzes

Reihe: Umweltpolitik und Solidarität mit Claudia Kemfert, 25. November

W enn jeder der fast 7 Milliarden Menschen auf der Erde einmal pro Jahr für die Treibhausgase verantwortlich ist, dann kostet dies derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit derzeit 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Auratisierungen zwischen High and Low: Zur anhaltenden Notwendigkeit feministischer und postkolonialer Kritik an der Figur des Künstlers

Reihe: Kunst – Gesellschaft – Politik mit Slika Wenk, 1. Oktober


Figures of Memory in East and West German Painting 1945–1989

Series: Art – Society – Politics with Andreas Huyssen, November 3

Adolf Loos und das koloniale Imaginäre


In Kooperation mit dem Renner Institut

O ctober a month public lectures that revolve around the main re search interests of the Institute take place at the iwm library. A sequel to the Tuesday Lectures, which were initiated in 1993, the purpose of the Monthly Lectures is to be a “mirror” of the Institute’s work.

Monthly Lectures 2010

Ivan Krastev Democracy and Dissatisfaction. How 1989 Changed Our View on Democracy January 26

Lajos Bokros Crisis Management Without Reforms – Hungary Before and After the Elections February 12

Wolfgang Benz Bending to the New Orleans: The New Politics of Zapatismo March 23

Peter Demetz Does French Laïcité Respect Individual Freedom? April 8

Patrick Weil How 1989 Changed Our View on the Elections May 11

Dipesh Chakrabarty Globalization and Global Warming: Some Emerging Questions in Human History June 6

Peter A. Berger Rückkehr der Klassengesellschaft? Feudalism, Socialism and Religion in Rural China June 13

James M. Kouaës Anything New? Understanding Necessity and Capitalism in Eastern Europe June 20

Christian Wenk Co operative Economics: Veit Harlans “Die Goldene Stadt”, 1942 July 4

Patrick Weil The Memory of Capitalism: Reform and Dissatisfaction. A European Perspective on the 1989 Changes July 11

In cooperation with Renner Institute

Christian Kravagna is Professor for Postcolonial Studies at the Academy of the bildenden Künste in Vienna.

Andreas Huyssen is Vilard Professor of German and Comparative Literature at Columbia University. He recently published Other Clives, Other Worlds (2009).
Die Blindheit der Avantgarde

Die Blindheit der Avantgarde – Nationalsozialistische „Wegung“ und ästhetische Modernität

Reihe: Kunst – Gesellschaft – Politik mit Uwe Hebebus, 3. Dezember


Die Blindheit der Avantgarde

Reihe: Kunst – Gesellschaft – Politik mit Helmut Lethen, 10. Dezember


European Prospects for the West Balkan

Political Salon with Miroslav Lajčák and Wolfgang Petritsch, October 15

T he iwm prepared a Political Salon for October 15 dealing with the European Prospects for the Western Balkans. The current High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina (oHR), Valentin Inzko had to cancel due to political developments in the Balkan region. Fortunately, the iwm succeeded in finding a replacement: Wolfgang Petritsch, Austrian diplomat serving as Special Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2009-2012. The Editor of Foreign Affairs of the Post-Istrian, Wieland Schneider, and iwm Visitor Ivan Krastev chaired the discussion.

In his opening speech, Lajčák emphasized that “there are no better perspectives than the European ones for the Western Balkans” but also stressed out that “the whole process lost its dynamic and credibility” He voiced his recommendation to the international community to find a compromise between political and technical criteria for EU entry, set neither too high nor too low, and approach all countries in the region in the same way and, last but not least, to promote regional cooperation. Wolfgang Petritsch then commented on Lajčák’s views, highlighting that the whole region is dependent on the European integration process while the regional power of Serbia must not be overlooked. They then discussed the impact of a visa-free zone for all the Balkan countries. Bosnia and Albania had been excluded since they do not fulfil the criterion of biometric passports. Lajčák and Petritsch pointed out that this decision was made on technical grounds rather than on political ones.

The question whether Bosnia and Herzegovina would gain EU candidate status if a new Constitution is implemented remained unresolved in the following discussion with the audience. Yet keeping in mind that the leaders of Bosnia’s three major ethnic groups recently failed to reach an agreement on constitutional reforms for the country, it seems there is still a long way to go towards the European Union.

in cooperation with Die Presse

Miroslav Lajčák is Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovakia and was the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina from 2007 to 2009.

Wolfgang Petritsch is Permanent Representative of Austria to the OECD. He served as the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1999 to 2002.
Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies

QuING conference at CEU Budapest, October 2–3

QUING is a European-wide re- search project aiming at con- structing the knowledge needed for inclusive policies that integrate gen- der and other forms of inequalities. It assesses the current content, qual- ity and problems of gender equality policies and formulates recommen- dations and standards for gender training so that policy making fits gender equal citizenship in a multi- cultural Europe. It covers all 27 Eu- ropean Union member states plus Turkey and Croatia as tv accession candidate countries.

On October 2–3 the QUING Con- ference was held at the Central Euro- pean University, Budapest. A select- ed range of preliminary results of the different research activities of QUING were presented to the public as well as to Agnès Hubert from the European Commission. As most of the re- search activities are coming to an end soon, possibilities for publication as well as future research cooperations were discussed. It was agreed that the data collected in QUING and the re- search conducted so far offered rich insights for inclusive gender equality policy making and that this would be particularly fruitful not only for academia, but also for civil society and policy makers. QUING is coordinated by the www.quing.eu and involves 12 partner insti- tutions throughout Europe. It is funded within the European Com- mission’s 6th Framework Program and will last until 2011.

For the detailed conference program please refer to: www.quing.eu

The Milena Jesenská Fellowships are awarded to enable experienced European journalists in print, broad- casting, and electronic media to work in Vienna for three months on pro- jects of their choice, free of daily duties and obligations. The projects typical- ly have European relevance. Recent calls for applications have been dis- corted towards cultural journalists, with the term “cultural” employed in the broad sense to encompass all kinds of artistic and intellectual disci- plines. The program is supported by the Erste Foundation, Project Syn- dicate and private sponsors.

Please visit the IWM website for further details: www.iwm.at/fellowships.htm

Deadline for application is April 9, 2010.

Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies

Perspectives on Memory and Identity

Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conference, December 17

At the end of each semester, the Junior Visiting Fellows present the results of their research at the Institute. The conference on December 17 dealt with the various perspectives on memory and identity.

Conference Program

Panel 1: Secular and Religious Identities
Avish Jusic
Law, Identity and Religion. A Theoretical Analysis from Economics and Psychology
Paulina Najderova
From the Secularisation of the State to the De-Differentiation of Religion and Faith-Based Initiatives in the USA
Avraham Rot
Political Non-Differentiation and Popular Indifference in the EU

Moderator: Erich Klein, Redakteur der Literaturzeitschrift Wespennest

Panel 2: Lessons in Remembering and Forgetting
Katrin Hammersheim
Divided Austria: History Fiction in Linz
Andreas Maurer
The Unbearable Burden of Forgetting. Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Romania
Ewa Rzanna
Tombstone. Remembering the Great Famine of 1958–1962 in China

You can find the final results of all Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conferences on the IWM website.
Please refer to: www.iwm.at/publications/junior-visiting-fellows-conferences

For further information please refer to: www.quing.eu

Deadlines for application

DEBATES AND LECTURES
Market Mysticism

The Tischner Debates have been organized by the iwm and the University of Warsaw since 2005. They regularly take place in Warsaw in commemoration of the Polish priest and renowned philosopher Józef Tischner. On November 24, a debate entitled “Russia, Poland and WWI” was held on the different memories these two countries – Russia and Poland – have of the war. Before that, on October 19, the discussion “Crisis of Capitalism?” dealt with the financial breakdown. See below a contribution to the latter, arguing that the current crisis was caused by the neoliberal assumption of self-regulating markets.

A year ago, while testifying before Congress, Alan Greenspan, the former head of the Federal Reserve, admitted that the economic theory he followed all his life, which as- sumed that self-regulating financial markets would function faultless- ly, was “profoundly flawed.” To the world’s astonishment, he also ex- pressed his surprise that market par- ticipants’ self-interest was not suffi- cient to protect the financial system’s stability from the sort of irrespon- sible behavior that led to the worst crisis since World War II.

This belief – that self-interest is the basis of self-regulation by mar- kets – became a dominant principle of American economic policy in the last 30 years. Democrats like Bill Clint- ton subscribed to it no less ardently than Republicans like Ronald Reagan and the two George Bushes. For 30 years, economists from the so-called neo-classical school have been building powerful pseudo-scientific foundations for this ideology. According to their theories, markets define values in an exact way, and therefore should not fluctuate sig- nificantly. The recent financial cri- sis – triggered by a severe correc- tion in the housing prices – should not have happened at all.

But since it did happen, a ques- tion must be asked: Could the crises provoked by our ideologically motivated refusal to consider capital- ism’s propensity for extremes, both in the real world (for example, deep inequalities) and in the functioning of financial markets?

In capitalist economies, individ- uals and businesses innovate by discovering new ways of using cap- ital, and by creating new technolo- gies. These innovations are by their very nature unforeseeable, as is the evolution of their social context. They cannot be captured in any mechan- ical way. Unpredictability is hard- wired into market economies.

But, whatever its flaws, finan- cial markets and private property are the only social institutions known to us that are able, adequately though imperfectly, to consider diversity of knowledge and intuition in allocating capital. In order to innovate and to manage ever-imperfect knowl- edge are the main underpinnings of capitalism success. Conversely, the inability of the planned econo- mies of Eastern Europe and the So- viet Union to innovate was one of the main causes of their ultimate collapse – and of the complete dis- appearance of central planning as a serious economic alternative.

Paradoxically, however, contem- porary economic theory has kept alive the core ideas of central planning, because it relies on a similarly false concept of rationality – one whose inadequacy was already proved by Friedrich Hayek. Central planning, Hayek concluded, is by its very nature impos- sible, because no mathematical model can precisely mimic the be- havior of markets.

But mainstream contemporary economists misunderstood Hayek’s con- clusion about rationality as if it ap- plied only to planned economies, while basing economic theory on a new model of rational decision- making that economists have agreed to call “rational.” The center- piece of this standard of rationality, the so-called “Rational Expectations Hypothesis,” presumes that econom- ists can exactly model how rational individuals make decisions and how market outcomes unfold over time, we will no longer be able to make even the most basic forecasts, concerning the relative roles of the market and the state.

A n alternative theory of markets is needed, and its basis should be the fact that participants must cope with ever-imperfect knowledge about the fundamentals of economic change. This obvious feature of cap- italism is completely ignored by the dominant market models, though it is the main explanation for asset price fluctuations in market-based economies.

Such an alternative approach also leads to a new way of think- ing about the respective roles of the state and financial markets. So long as price fluctuations remain within reasonable bounds, the state should limit its involvement to ensuring transparency, curbing monopolis- tic behavior, and eliminating mar- ket failures. But when price fluctu- ations become excessive, as they did in the run up to the recent crisis, the state can implement measures to limit their amplitude (though it always has a greater problem cop- ping with imperfect knowledge than the United States).

A combination of passive and active roles for the state along these lines would leave markets to allo- cate capital while holding out the possibility of reducing the social costs that arise when asset-price swings continue for too long and then end, as they inevitably do, in sharp reversals.

Crisis of Capitalism? Participants:

Michael Boussen, Chanceller of the Polish Prime Minister
Roman Frydman, Professor of Economics, New York University
Jennifer Hochschild, Professor of Government, Harvard University
Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Former Advisor to the President of Poland, Azerbaijan Renaissance

Crisis of Capitalism? Participants:

Víctor Enfóyes, Russian writer
Yasunori Hihira, Director, Institute for Historical Research, Leiden University
Adam Michnik, Editor-in-Chief, Gazeta Wyborcza
Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs
Timothy Snyder, Professor of History, Yale University, RWI Permanent Fellow

Chair:

Marcin Kolt, Warsaw University

Krzysztof Michalski, Polish Radio, tvn24
Roman Frydman is Professor of Economics at New York University. Michael D. Goldberg is Professor of Economics at the University of New Hampshire. They are the authors of Imperfect Knowledge Economics: Exchange Rates and Risk (2007).

Unpredictability is hard-wired into market economies.
Unwanted by All

The hatred against Roma, also known as gypsies, is growing at an alarming rate. In Eastern and Central Europe, it has already reached boiling point. Elected politicians use racist rhetoric to build political platforms while civilians take matters into their own hands, executing individuals whose only crime is their ethnicity. Despite the lessons of his- tory, Europe is failing in protecting the Roma living on its lands. In the EU, published last spring as the first ever ex-ante survey of minority groups’ experience of discrimi- nation, Roma respondents reported the highest levels of discrimination across all surveyed areas.

Prior to the European Parliament elections in June 2009, a Czech ex- tremist group was allowed to run television adverts calling for a “final solution” to the “gypsy problem,” evok- ing Nazi terminology. But the threat to Europe’s ten to twelve million Roma (there are no certain figures) is not just coming from skinhead-gang or individual perpetrators. Cases of coercive sterilizations are still being reported in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Authorities in several EU countries are guilty of the forced evictions of Roma families and the destruction of their camps. These actions, carried out without consideration of the fate of the fam- ilies involved, are a clear breach of the member states’ obligations un- der international human rights law. It should come as no surprise that in the EU-wide survey, 66-94% of Roma did not report their most re- cent experience of discrimination to the competent authority, and 65-100% reported a lack of confi- dence in law enforcement and jus- tice structures.

In a report issued in October 2010 the EU’s Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) states that the Roma are easier targets for hate crimes in their segregated settlements. The FRA also notes that these new ghet- tos are sometimes the result of de- liberate policies by national or local authorities. If it were up in non-Ro- ma citizens, the segregation would be likely to continue: almost a quar- ter of Europeans would feel uncom- fortable having a Roma neighbor, ac- cording to EU statistics.

Healthy Roma children in coun- tries like the Czech Republic, Slov- akia and all over former Yugoslavia are placed in schools for children with special needs, despite having no mental disabilities. Up to 80 percent of children placed in special schools in Slovakia are thought to be Roma.

Roma-only schools and classes are commonplace, hindering the already difficult integration of Roma into society and labeling the youngsters as outsiders from an early age. The FRA reports that Roma women have filed a defamation action in Brussels on September 28, 2009 un- der the auspices of the Swedish EU Presidency. "We cannot allow our- selves to lose another generation of Roma say it has turned their settle- ments into a zoo. Does anyone seri- ously believe that this will lead to a drop in criminality?

We seem to have left the fate of the Roma in the hands of angry mobs and populist politicians – the medieval method, you may call it. Yet the killings and the arson at- Dens of basic healthcare, education and housing. The past autumn saw a string of attacks by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. Yet the police seems hes- itant to act, leading Amnesty Inter- national and Human Rights Watch to call for speedy investigations to prevent further attacks. Despite the fact that the persecution they fled is as bad as ever, thousands of Roma are being forcibly returned to Kosovo and other EU countries. The European media plays a key role in the dehumanization of the Roma. Some of the most vicious at- tacks can be found in the Romanian press. According to Valeriu Nicolae, Senior Advocacy Officer for the Roma initiatives of Open Society Institute, the respected weekly Academia Cat- avena featured a “grotesque mock- ery of the Romani Holocaust” in its first issue of 2009. Writing for Une- rope (the enemy within, March 2009), the paper also published an article, pub- lished by the newspaper Flacara Iasu-

In Hungary, there have been re- ports of a physically violent out- break in the Roma settlement of Tatarszentgyörgy in Hungary, home to an estimated 14,000 Roma, has been widely featured in the media. The true mean- ing of the Roma settlement was im- plemented. The political climate in Hungary is thus becoming clear. Despite having arrived in the Balkans during the Ottoman period, the Roma groups in the Balkans have been subjected to appalling discrimination and racial violence, turning them into a “living proof we come from the enemy within,” a Stockholm-based NGO featured in the first issue of 2009. Writing for Uneurope (the enemy within, March 2009), the paper also published an article, pub- lished by the newspaper Flacara Iasu-

In Italy, home to an estimated 150,000 Roma, has been widely condemned for its discrimination of the minority group. In its lat- est annual country report, human rights NGO Amnesty Interna- tional states that Roma are still not re- cognized as a national minority and thus remain unprotected by the au- thorities. Physical attacks, unallow- ably forced evictions, hate speech by mainstream politicians and arson at- Dens of basic healthcare, education and housing. The past autumn saw a string of attacks by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. Yet the police seems hes- itant to act, leading Amnesty Inter- national and Human Rights Watch to call for speedy investigations to prevent further attacks. Despite the fact that the persecution they fled is as bad as ever, thousands of Roma are being forcibly returned to Kosovo and other EU countries. The European media plays a key role in the dehumanization of the Roma. Some of the most vicious at- tacks can be found in the Romanian press. According to Valeriu Nicolae, Senior Advocacy Officer for the Roma initiatives of Open Society Institute, the respected weekly Academia Cat- avena featured a “grotesque mock-
Fellows and Guests 05-12 2009

Paul Dagos Aligia
Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow (October 2009 – March 2010)
Senior Research Fellow, Faculty, James Buchanan Center for Political Economy, George Mason University, Arlington
From “South-Eastern Europe” to “The Black Sea Region.” A Study of Social and Institutional Construction of Economic Regionalization

Zifian Ban
Paul Claud Visiting Fellow (July – December 2009)
Freier Übersetzer; Budapest
Hannah Arendt: Rahel Varnhagen. Eine Lebensgeschichte (German/English > Hungarian)

Joshua Berson
Junior Visiting Fellow (October 2009 – March 2010)
Historian and Anthropologist, Philadelphia
The Ethnographic Prophylaxis of Cultural/ Spiritual Value

Lisa Bjerwall
Milena Izekszki Visiting Fellow (September 2009 – July 2009)
Editorial and Opinion Writer, Dagos Nilsson, Stockholm
The Women in Europe’s Extreme Right

Christine Blättler
Liv Meister Visiting Fellow (August 2009 – July 2011)
Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Potdum, 1972 project leader
The Phantasmagoria as a Focus of Modernity. On Genealogy and Function of a Philosophical Concept

Mateusz Bosowski
Paul Claud Visiting Fellow (December 2009 – February 2010)
Adjunct Professor of Drama, Jagiellonian University, Krakow
Julith Butler: Antigone’s Claim. Kingship Between Life and Death (English > Polish)

Faisal Desji
Visiting Fellow (May - September 2009)
Reader in Modern South Asian History, Oxford University
Muslim Zion: Jinnah and the Making of Pakistan

Karin Hammerstein
Junior Visiting Fellow (October 2009 – March 2010)
Ph.D. candidate in History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
Youth Movements and Gendered Memory: The Perception of the “West” and Youth Subcultures in the 1960s

Yasirala Myshak
Visiting Fellow (March - September 2009)
Director of the Institute for Historical Research, Low University, Professor of History, Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv, Research Assistant, cph, Budapest
History of Philanthropy in Ukraine, Nationalism, and Revolution: The Case of Ukraine, 1899-2009

Acim Janic
Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow (October 2009 – March 2010)
Ph.D. candidate in Political Science, Masaryk University, cph, Budapest
The Political and Ideological Conception

Ivan Kozlov
Visiting Fellow (May 2009 – August 2010)
Chair of the Board, Central Europe for Liberal Strategies, Sofia
The BRIC-Hilger’s Guide to the New World Order

Grzegorz Kupriew
Bronislaw Geremek Fellow (September 2009 – June 2010)
Adjunct/Research Associate of the Austrian Institute of Political Sciences, Warsaw
Vienna’s Impact on Polish Modern Antisemitism, 1833-1938

Hiroaki Kuromiya
Visiting Fellow (September 2009 – June 2010)
Professor of History, Indiana University Bloomington
Europe, the Soviet Union and Asia

Dilana Lantmánova
Milena Izekszki Visiting Fellow (October – December 2009)
Ph.D. candidate in History, Charles University, Prague
In variate Concordia on the Balkans

Suzanna Lewton
Visiting Fellow (March 2008 – February 2009)
Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Paderborn; 2003-project leader
The Symbolic Power of Biology: Articulations of Knowledge in “Naturnphilosophie” around 1800

Andrea Maiérien
Junior Visiting Fellow (July – September 2009)
Ph.D. candidate in Political Science, Boston University
Lustration in Central and Eastern Europe

Jack Moj
Milena Izekszki Visiting Fellow (July – September 2009)
Assistant Professor of Jewish History, Jewish University of Moscow
Anti-Semitism in the Church in Poland: The Case of Father Stanislaw Mosial SJ

Brian Marrin
Junior Visiting Fellow (October 2009 – March 2010)
Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston College
Can There Be a Politics of Nature?

Jyoti Mishy
Visiting Fellow (August – September 2010)
Professor of Film and Television, Wits School of TV, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Helsinki, Johannesburg, Helsinki, Johannesburg
The Many Faces of Violence: Toward an Integrative Phenomeno- logical Conception

Vera Steigerová
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow (August – October 2009)
Assistant Professor of Political Science, Masaryk University, Brno
The Far Right in Balkan Politics: A Comparative Study

Exe Raema
Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2009 – February 2010)
M.A. student in Far East Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow
The Other Secularity

Marc Shul
Visiting Fellow (August 2009 – August 2010)
Assistant Professor of History, Yale University
The Self Laid Bare: Phenomenology, Structuralism, and Other Cosmopolitan Encounters

Paweł Siewiński
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow (August – September 2009)
Associate Professor of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw
Violence: Toward an Understanding of Nature?

Michael Staudigl
Visiting Fellow (November 2009 – October 2009)
Visiting Fellow, University of Vienna, 2009-project leader
The Case of Father Stanislaw Mosial SJ

Vera Steigerová
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow (August – October 2009)
Assistant Professor of Political Science, Masaryk University, Brno
The Far Right in Balkan Politics: A Comparative Study

Some issues, others return:
After more than six rich years working at the iwm, Karin Terlloeg left the Institute in December. She will be making good use of her knowledge and skills acquired in various gender equality projects – notably Secrecy and secrecy – in the Department for Women’s Advancement of the City of Vienna.

Barbara Abraham left the Institute in September. She had been project manager for the past five years. We wish her all the best!

Starting in January 2010 Marcel Triër will be responsible for project management and program coordination at the iwm.

After a long and hot summer, Office Manager Claudia Zimmer returned from maternity leave and was anxious to find a new. aromatic, healthy workplace as well as some new colleagues. Like our new intern Maren Kandiah. She succeeds Katrina Katalán and will support the iwm staff from December 2009 to March 2010. She recently completed her studies in German Literature and Art History at the University of Vienna. Congratulations, too!

Studying the iWM:

The research at the iwm is carried out by an open, transparent community of scholars – that’s what we often say about our work profile. But how does this work? In October a group of young students from the Department of Social Studies of Science of the University of Vienna visited us to find out and to observe social science “in the making.” We are curious about their findings and looking forward to learning more about how we do what we do.

Happy Birthday!

And finally, congratulations to two longstanding friends of the Institute: Bob Silvers, editor of the New York Review of Books, and Kurt Biedenkopf, German politician, economist and member of the board’s Civil Rights, both celebrated their 80th birthday recently.

Silvers on December 31, 2009, Biedenkopf a few weeks later on January 28, 2010. We wish them all the very best for their future activities.

You can find the Trends & Talks on the internet: www.iwm.at => Menu Item: Fellows

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Publications of Fellows and Guests

IWM Publications

Paul Drogus Alföldi
Visiting Fellow

Christine Blüttler
Visiting Fellow

Slavenska Drakulić
Visiting Fellow (October – December 2008)

Timothy Snyder
Visiting Fellow (April – October 2009)
We are His Soul, Odessey: Zurich 1939, 2009.

Yoel Harig
Editorial Fellow

Cerezia Klinger
Permanent Fellow

The Sublime – A Discourse of Crisis and of Power, in: Transit –> Menu item: Papers contributed to the event: www.iwm.at/transit.htm

Józef Miltiades Konics
Permanent Fellow
Capitalism from the Outer to the Inner Echoes. In: Central and Eastern Europe After 1989, with Violeta Zenzia, Budapest: csc.hu Center for Policy Study, forthcoming


Grzegorz Krywcz
Visiting Fellow

Hinsaki Kuremya
Visiting Fellow


Michael Staudt
Visiting Fellow
Alfred Schütz and the Method of Hermetism. Konstanz: uvk, i. E.


Mieke Verloo
Visiting Fellow

Suhrkamp, 2009

The Sublime – A Discourse of Crisis and of Power, in: Transit –> Menu item: Papers contributed to the event: www.iwm.at/transit.htm

Timothy Snyder
Permanent Fellow

Charles Taylor
Permanent Fellow


Mit Beiträgen von: Ralf Dahrendorf, Alan J. Kay, Mark Kramer,火山田 知明 und Andrej Poplunci, Wolfgang Müller, Claus Olle, Ulrich Schieß, Steen Sundberg, Robert B. Silvers, Timothy Snyder, Lynne Viola

Tim@transit.org
The Brave New World? After Communism, The Ethics of Expectation in Comparison Much of the history of the 1989 revolutions has been lost or repressed hidden until now. A good part of it, however, can be reconstructed by the expectations (both hoped and popular) prevailing at the time. On June 18, 2009 the rot instigated an international conference on revisiting the 1989 visions of the much-avoid- ed world after communism. Tim@transit.org is now presenting a preview of the pages contributed to this event: www.iwm.at/ Tim@transit.org/Publications/Transit


Paul Calin
Translation Program
Ewa Nowak
Paul Calin Visiting Fellow (October – December 2009)

Artan Potoçki
Paul Calin Visiting Fellow (October – March 2009)

IWM Post
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Paul Calin
Translation Program
Ewa Nowak
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Artan Potoçki
Paul Calin Visiting Fellow (October – March 2009)

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Was zu tun ist

Kopenhagen didn’t bring about the climate change for climate politics everyone was hoping for. However, the world summit has put the issue on the global agenda. At the fourth European Challenges Forum, hosted by the IWM and the Robert Bosch Foundation on November 20 and 21, representatives from Poland, Germany and Austria discussed the “Social and Political Consequences of Climate Change” on a regional level. In the guest contributions by Franz Fischer and Pawel Szweda you can read what we have to do now, after Copenhagen, to avoid a climate catastrophe.

Franz Fischer is President of the European Social Forum Europe, and Managing Director of Franz Fischer Consult. From 1995 to 2004 he served as EU Commissioner for Agriculture, Rural Development and Fisheries.

European Challenges Forum IV Social and Political Consequences of Climate Change

Participants:

Franz Fischer, President, Ecostical Forum Europe
Kalle Green, Associate Principal, McKinsey & Comp.
Ingrid Hamer, Robert Bosch Foundation
Peter Hanstrick, former President, Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment, Energy
Peter Henmarch, former Rector, University of Heidelberg
Danuta Hilsenrath, Member of the European Parliament
Martin Järnich, Founding Director, Environmental Policy Research Centre, Free University Berlin
Robert Reich, Minister President of Hesse
Kurt J. Laux, Chairman of the Executive Council of the German Christian Democratic Party (CDU)
Kurt Liebfried, Robert Bosch Foundation
Agnieszka Liszka, Manager of External Relations, McKinsey & Comp. Poland
Reinhild Lopatka, State Secretary, Austrian Ministry of Finance
Jani Magnusson, Ambassador of the Republic of Finland to Austria
Wojciech Mazniaki, Chief Editor, Wprost Polska
Krysztof Michalski, BMI
Klaus Morwind, former Member of the Board of Directors, Hannel
Michael Müller, former State Secretary, German Ministry for Environment, President, Friends of Nature Germany
Andrzej Oleschewski, Director, Climate Bank Hamburg and Vienna, former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs
Krysztof Pietruszwikowski, President, Polish Bank Association
Gunter Pfeifer, President, European University Vasdina, Frankfurt (Oder)
Janusz Roll, Special Ambassador for International Environmental Issues, Warsaw
Fritz Roussau, Potsdam-Institute for Climate Research
Heike Rosener, CET, Berlinhomen Media Sp. z o. o., Warsaw
Gerlin Schum, Coordinator of the German Government for German-Polish Relations
Pawel Swidzinski, President, demosEUROPA, Warsaw
Kurt J. Lauk, Minister President of Hesse, Minister President of Hesse
Alexander Van der Bellen, Chairman of the Green Party for International Developing Countries and Foreign Policy in the Austrian Parliament
Mark Wolfs, Advisor to the Deputy Prime Minister, Polish Ministry of Environment
Ingrid Wörner, Robert Bosch Foundation
Krysztof Zrennjawski, Chairperson, Social and Economic Council for Poland, Industry

The event was organized by the IWM and the Robert Bosch Foundation with the generous support of the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Research and the European Climate Foundation.
The building of a low-carbon economy is Europe's fundamental mission in the twenty first century

By Paweł Świeboda

The market itself is not in a position to address the challenge