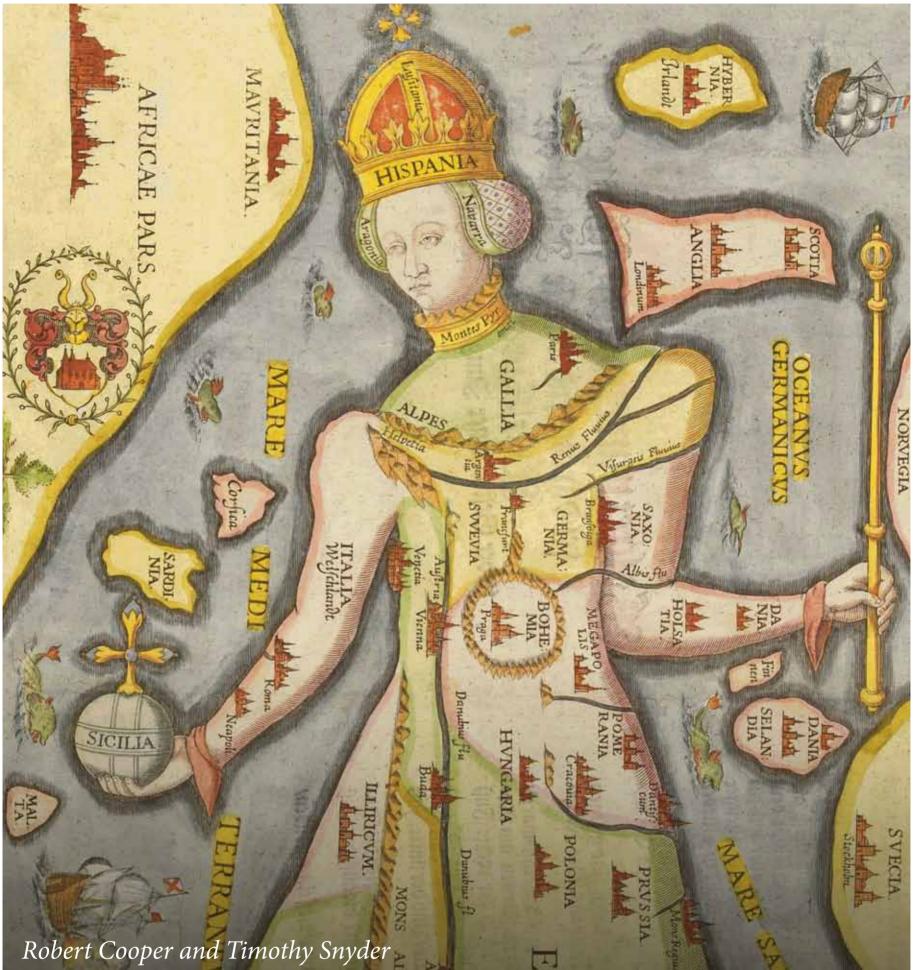
NO. 111 • SEPTEMBER 2012 – APRIL 2013

# IWMDOSt

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## Learning from the Habsburg Experience

Vladislav Inozemtsev Ivan Krastev Anton Shekhovtsov In Memoriam Krzysztof The Transparency The Ukrainian Russia, Inc. Michalski Conspiracy Extreme Right

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### Editorial

as drohende Auseinanderbrechen der Europäischen Union, der Vertrauensverlust in demokratische Institutionen, das Naheverhältnis von Politik und Wirtschaft in Russland und der Vormarsch rechtsradikaler Parteien in der Ukraine - dies sind die Schwerpunktthemen der 111. Ausgabe der IWM*post.* Die Redaktionsarbeit – wie die Arbeit des gesamten Instituts - wurden von einem ebenso traurigen wie unerwarteten Ereignis überschattet, dem ein weiterer Schwerpunkt dieser Ausgabe gewidmet ist. Krzysztof Michalski, Gründer und Rektor des IWM, verstarb am 11. Februar 2013 im Alter von 64 Jahren in Wien. Er wurde am 22. Februar in Warschau beigesetzt. In Wien nahmen am 5. April seine Freunde und Kollegen im Rahmen einer akademischen Trauerfeier von ihm Abschied. Der Mittelteil dieser Ausgabe versammelt ausgewählte Nachrufe sowie einige persönliche Erinnerungen von Freunden und Wegbegleitern. Wir möchten diese Gelegenheit auch nutzen, um uns für die zahlreichen Beileids- und Solidaritätsbekundungen zu bedanken, die wir erhalten haben! Gleichzeitig bitten wir um Verständnis, dass an dieser Stelle nur eine Auswahl veröffentlicht werden kann. Eine vollständige Sammlung befindet sich auf unserer Website.

Nach dem Tod seines Rektors vollzieht das IWM nun einen Generationswechsel. Die soliden Strukturen der Institution, die langjährige Erfahrung des Kollegiums und der Mitarbeiter, das weltweite Netzwerk der Freunde und Förderer gewährleisten einen sicheren Übergang in die Zukunft – eine Zukunft, in der die Ziele, Werte und die Arbeit des иwм nicht weniger bedeutsam sein werden als in der Vergangenheit. In der Phase des Übergangs wird das иwм von seinem Präsidenten, Dieter Simon, gemeinsam mit dem Direktorium und in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Kollegium und den Institutsgremien geleitet. Das Direktorium, bestehend aus Michael Sandel (Professor of Government, Harvard University; Mitglied des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats des IWM) und

The (dis)integration of the Eu-▲ ropean Union, the loss of confidence in democratic institutions, the close interlinking of power and business in Russia and the Ukrainian Extreme Right—these are the focal themes of IWMpost 111. Work on this issue—indeed the work of the whole Institute-were overshadowed, however, by a sad and unexpected event, to which we devote an additional section. Krzysztof Michalski, founder and Rector of the IWM, passed away in Vienna on February 11, 2013, at the age of 64. He was buried in Warsaw on February 22. His work and memory were celebrated at an academic Commemoration Ceremony in Vienna on April 5. This edition brings together selected obituaries as well as some personal recollections by friends and companions. We would like to use this opportunity to express our gratitude for the numerous condolences and expressions of solidarity we received. Due to spatial restrictions, we can only publish a selection in this issue, but a full list of all condolences is available on our website.

In the wake of the death of its founding Rector, the IWM is now in the process of a generational change. The solid fabric of the institution, the long-standing experience of its Permanent Fellows and staff, the worldwide network of friends and partners will ensure a safe transition into the future-where the aims, values, and activities of the IWM will be of no less importance than in the past. During this phase of transition, the IWM will be led by its President, Dieter Simon, together with its Board of Directors and in cooperation with its Permanent Fellows and advisory bodies. The Board of Directors, consisting of Michael Sandel (Professor of Government, Harvard University; member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board) and Cornelia Klinger (Professor of Philosophy, Tübingen University; IWM Permanent Fellow), was formally appointed in May 2013. ⊲ red

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red



#### Europa Regina

The representation of "Europa Regina" or Queen of Europe, was first drawn by Jonannes Bucius in 1537. This simplified version appeared in several editions of Münster's Cosmography from 1580 onwards. West is shown at the top with Spain forming the crown and head, France the neck and bust, Italy the left arm and Denmark the right arm holding a scepter with Britain as the flag. The remainder of the figure is a flowing robe with Greece and Russia at the feet (www.map-fair.com) BÜNTING, Heinrich: Europa primi pars terrae in forma

Virginis, Magdeburg 1581

# Integration, Counter-Integration, Disintegration

#### BY TIMOTHY SNYDER

How did the Habsburg Monarchy deal with the problem of nationalism? Which policies of integration prevented the empire from falling apart? And what conclusions should the European Union draw out of that Habsburg experience? These were the central questions Timothy Snyder posed at the Conference on The Political Logics of DisIntegration.



am going to say a word about what kept the Habsburg Monarchy together, a word about what actually brought it apart, and a word about what this might mean for the European Union. This has to be a bit of a counter-propaganda effort, because in general there is in Western Europe, in Central Europe, and in the West as a whole, the sense that the Habsburg Monarchy was doomed, that it had inherent flaws, that it had to collapse. This sort of thinking arose, on the one hand, as a result of the fact that Britain, the United States and France won World War I and, on the other, because the Habsburgs were an enemy, although it wasn't really clear exactly why they were an enemy. Therefore we have a guilty sense of triumphalism with respect to the Habsburg Monarchy, which led us to the sentiment that the Habsburg monarchs, the emperors, were-to quote a famous judgment-"mad, bad and unfit to rule." Some of them were indeed mad, some of them were indeed bad, some of them were indeed unfit to rule. But

nevertheless we are dealing with an institution, with a state, which lasted for ten times longer than the European integration project has lasted and for three times longer than the United States has lasted. We are looking at a project, at a state, which lasted for something like 600 years.

I think it's fair to begin with this question of duration. How could

the sun never sets on an empire was originally applied not to the British Empire, but to the Habsburg Monarchy. The Habsburg monarchs in the early modern period controlled the Spanish and the Portuguese possessions, and the Dutch possessions later on, which meant that they literally controlled much of the globe. And then there was the Habsburg Monly a particular problem. The easiest way to think about nationalism is that there are these particular faiths, there are these minorities, who cause problems for majorities. I would say that the proper way to think about nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as today, is that it is a European problem that has to be handled on a large institutional scale. What I mean is the empire. But there are responses.

The responses involve, first, cooperation with elites. The Ausgleich, the famous compromise of 1867 that turned Austria into Austria-Hungary, as a compromise with Hungarian elites, as well as the less famous but perhaps equally significant compromise with Polish elites in Galicia, allows Habsburg rule to continue in the East. After that there are a series of even more forgotten compromises with one nation after another which in their sheer intricacy rival anything that the European Union has ever done. The notion of a European Union that seeks peace by finding ways to keep people negotiating in rooms for extraordinary long times certainly also applies to the Habsburg Monarchy in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Take the Moravian compromise, in which every Moravian school child was to be given a nationality, as a means of dealing with school attendance. Or the Galician compromise, interrupted by World War I, which was going to do the same thing for Poles, Ukrai-

### *If the European integration project lasts another 550 years, we would consider that to be a great success.*

something like this have lasted so long? If the European integration project lasts another 550 years, we would consider that to be a great success. Six hundred years is a very long time. Six hundred years of endurance, also as very different kinds of states, as a kingdom in the middle of Europe, as the largest empire in the history of the world. The notion that archy's final phase as a multinational European empire in the  $18^{th}$ ,  $19^{th}$ , and early  $20^{th}$  centuries.

How did the Habsburgs deal with the problem of nationalism, which we now see as central for the European Union? I would stress that for the Habsburgs, as for the European Union, nationalism was a kind of European problem and not exactthat the Habsburg Monarchy had institutional ways of dealing with national questions. Over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, nationalism quite literally washes across the empire, starting with Napoleon at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and washing through the empire again during the revolutions of 1848; not to forget also that nationalism surrounds

nians and Jews in Galicia. These things are forgotten except by historians of law in Central Europe. But they are incredibly interesting, because they demonstrate that the monarchy had the capacity not just to compromise with elites, which in a way is an easy thing to do, but to pursue these intricate compromises that were meant to anticipate problems in generations to come. They might not have worked, but the impulse for compromise was certainly there from within.

#### The Monarch, the Parliament and the Officer Class

Then, of course, there are other ways of handling nationalism. One of them was parliament. After the compromise with the Hungarian nobility comes dissatisfaction from the non-Hungarian majority in South Hungary. After the compromise with the Polish nobility comes dissatisfaction from the non-noble and also non-Polish majority in Galicia. The compromises with the elites had the effect of forcing the Habsburgs to do something else. That something else was parliament. That something else was the expansion of what eventually became the universal suffrage in 1907. The parliament of Austria was truly national; if one overlooks the exclusion of women, it was an incredibly inclusive parliament. For example, just to give you a comparison: When Woodrow Wilson at the end of World War I made his famous speech about the 14 points, there were no blacks in the American Congress. In the Austrian parliament, every single nationality was represented.

This was a way of diffusing the national question. Another way was by central institutions, the most important of which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the Emperor himself. The fact that Franz Josef ruled from 1848 to 1916 meant that in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century almost everybody who was alive had lived under no other emperor, and the Emperor, as a Head of State, was able to absorb national questions in a certain way. He spoke most of the languages that it was possible to speak. He spoke them locally, as he travelled from place to place, and he presented himself as a non-national figure. The other non-national central institution that was incredibly important was the bureaucracy, and in particular the officer class. The constitution of the officer class of the Habsburg Monarchy shows very well that it had an influential class that was non-national, which was loyal to the institutions and the monarchy as such. Some of the nations were also centralizing. If you think of national interest, you think of nations wanting to spin off from empires and cause trouble. But very often what nations want to do is preserve empires. Take the critical case of the "trouble-making" Czechs. They were right in the middle of the Habsburg Monarchy. Basically every Czech political thinker in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, from Palacky to Masaryk, thought that the best thing to do was to preserve the Habsburg Monarchy, not to take it apart. Why? Because the moment that the Habsburg Monarchy fell apart, they were going to be absorbed or threatened by a unified German nation state, an analysis that proved to be exactly correct in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That's why the Czechs wanted the Habsburg Monarchy to prevail. It explains also why small nation states in Eastern Europe like the European Union. Vulnerable nations within a multinational institution understand that it is in their own interest for that institution to continue because a return to nation states will be threatening for them. The only reason the Czechs changed their mind about this during World

tegration. But on the borders of the Habsburg Monarchy you had something that might be seen as counter-integration. The more familiar word for counter-integration is national reunification, but I'm avoiding that term because it's so teleological. When we say "national reunification", it makes it sound like the Germans were just there to be unified, the Italians were just there to be unified, and so on. As a matter of fact, there was an Italian as well a German unification, and there were the beginnings of a Yugoslavian and a Polish unification. All this happened on Ottoman empire, but the third Balkan War in 1914 was directed against the Habsburg Monarchy. By a series of coincidences that war became a World War which in turn brought down the Habsburg Monarchy. Why is this Balkan War important? It's an example of a general pattern. Serbia was trying to unify what it saw as the Serbian nation. This was one of these counter-integrations or national unifications. It so happened to be the one that provoked the Habsburgs into a very stupid war.

How did it destroy the Habsburg Monarchy? First of all, by physically

The Habsburg Monarchy was a collection of complex problems that also had complex solutions.

War I, and the reason they changed their mind is because it was clear that after the war there was going to be a German nation-state anyway. So as long as there is some possibility that the Habsburg Monarchy was going to survive, the Czechs were largely in favor of it.

Which leads me to the German problem. If you think of a nation that betrays the Habsburg Monarchy, it's not the ones that are difficult to pronounce, it's the Germans, it's the ones who are already in the middle. The one political party that was the closest to being truly treacherous was the German national party of Schönerer, which was important right here in Vienna. It was the German speakers here and elsewhere in

the borders of the Habsburg Monarchy. And this, of course, posed a problem in principle: if you have national self-determination, the multinational monarchy cannot exist. The difficulty in practice, though, was that these were counter-integrations that drew attention from the Germans and others inside the monarchy. So how does the monarchy actually fall apart? Even given the attraction that these counterintegrations exert, it takes the most punishing war in the history of modern Europe, four years of that and then defeat, for the Habsburg Monarchy to fall apart.

So what is it that brings about the end of the monarchy? I will tell you a little story which is going to be eliminating the officer class. By Christmas of 1914, a huge majority of the officer class was dead or wounded to such an extent that they were not going to be participating in politics or anything else. The war physically eliminated the loyal classes, and exposed the whole population to national propaganda from outside. The British and then the Americans used nationalist propaganda against the Habsburg Monarchy quite consistently throughout the war in an effort to try to get the monarchy to fall apart. The second way that the war destroyed the monarchy was that it generated hunger, and hunger made the inter-ethnic differences much more sensitive than they would have been otherwise. And the

of Europe. That is exactly what we did. We brought to an end a multinational state by applying the notion of national sovereignty, thereby taking the problem that began the war and applying it to much of the rest of Europe. That meant the end of the Habsburg Monarchy of course.

What does this mean for today? The first thing that this story shows is that integration over a very long term is possible. The second thing is that neutral, top-level institutions are crucial. I even dream of a European Monarchy or a European soccer team. Something that can absorb symbolic weight is very important. Top-level institutions also include a parliament, not just as a legal body. In the case of the Habsburg Monarchy the treasury was one of these important institutions. Another top-level institution is an officer class, and one of my obsessions over the last couple of decades has been a European military academy. The lesson is that you should have a very large officer class, but you should not let them fight stupid wars. Because as long as there is peace the officer class integrates. When you fight stupid wars and you kill off your officer class, then you have defeated the purpose.

The threat to the Habsburg Monarchy came not from the inside, and not exactly from the outside. It came when rival projects of integration began to affect the inside of the Habsburg Monarchy. The reason to worry about the European Union would be projects of counter-integration that were actually tempting to people inside the European Union. With the worrisome exception of Hungary, which one can see as the leader of a future authoritarian camp, I don't think this is really the case.  $\triangleleft$ 

The problem was: if you have national self-determination, the multinational monarchy can't exist.

Austria who wanted to join Greater Germany after 1871, who were closest to being political traitors while the monarchy still existed. Here I want to draw a certain analogy to the 21st century, mainly because I want to make a transition to the way that the threat of nationalism was actually posed. It was actually not posed from within. The Habsburg Monarchy was not a collection of nationalities yearning to be free, battling against the monarchy, trying to break out. The Habsburg Monarchy was a collection of complex problems that also had complex solutions. The reason why nationalism was a problem was not that the Habsburg Monarchy was a prisonhouse of nations, which it most certainly was not. The reason why nationalism was a problem had to do with the rest of the world. In the rest of the world, you had what might be seen as counter-integration.

a bit unfamiliar. What brings about the collapse of the monarchy are not its internal problems, but one of these external counter-integrations: the third Balkan War. The first two Balkan Wars, in 1912 and 1913, respectively, were directed against the final reason was that it ended with a series of peace treaties that balkanized Central Europe. The war began because of Balkan nationalism and the Balkan idea of nation states, and at the end of the war the Allies applied the Balkan solution to the rest



Timothy Snyder is Bird White Housum Professor of History at Yale University and **IWM** Permanent Fellow

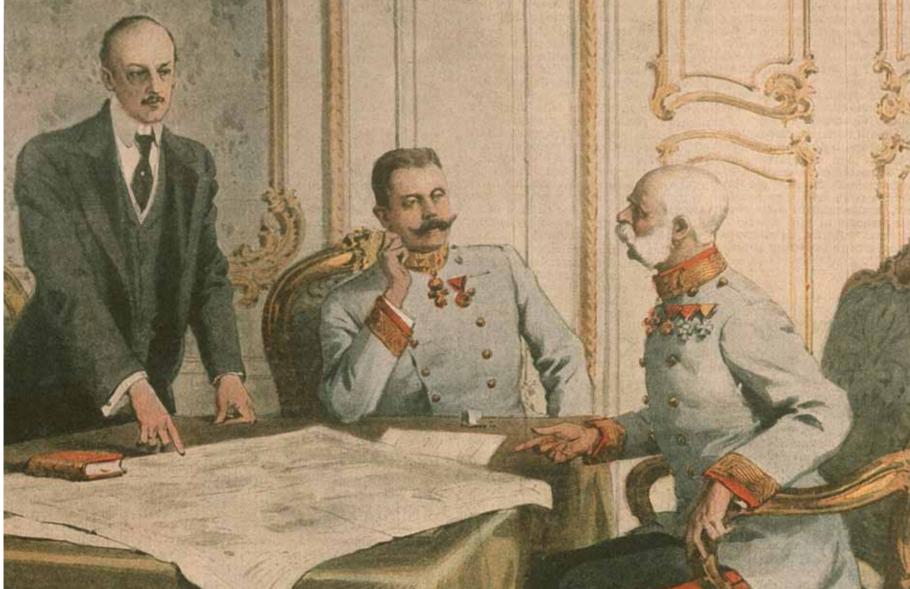
#### The Threat of **Counter-Integration**

Everything that the Habsburgs were doing can be thought of as a kind of policy of integration: The monarch, the parliament, the officer class. This is one means of in-

# The European Union and the Habsburg Monarchy

#### BY ROBERT COOPER

The Habsburg Monarchy lasted five centuries. It was both solid and flexible; it aroused genuine affection among its citizens. But it vanished in a puff of smoke. Should we expect the European Union, shallow in history and unloved by those it serves, to do better?



o be fair, it was more than a puff of smoke. The bullets from Gavrilo Princip's revolver killed the Arch-Duke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofia. What killed the Habsburg Monarchy was the four years of pounding by artillery that followed. This brought death and ruin to the old Europe; in Russia it brought revolution and tyranny, and in Germany regime change accompanied by failed revolution, then inflation and depression, and finally world war and genocide. What arose from the ashes? The answer is: the European Union and NATO. It is the EU and its resemblance to the Habsburg Monarchy that is the subject of this essay, but something needs first to be said about NATO which was and is its indispensable partner. NATO and the presence of US forces in Europe have given European countries the assurance that the us would defend them against the Soviet Union. But almost more important, NATO also turned defence into a collective enterprise. Without this, each country would

have had to make its own provision against the Soviet threat; some might have felt compelled to create massive armies; some might have

And the EU itself, by creating a collective identity outside the field of security—and without the US—, has contributed to NATO's longevity by

tary accession (in the old days it was called dynastic marriage) rather than by conquest. The EU is partly bound together, as the Habsburg Monarthe Habsburg Monarchy would have continued to develop in its haphazard way, no doubt giving more autonomy to those who wanted it but still providing the smaller states with things that mattered a lot to them.

These also included roads, railways, laws, police to enforce them, courts, parliaments, education, and a centralized bureaucracy to manage it all. The Habsburg Monarchy liber-

Security issues which for centuries have divided Europe at last unified it. And out of this the European Union was born.

gone for bilateral alliances. Whatever the result, Europe would have been back to the old, failed games of balance of power and arms race. NATO also created an incentive to free riding on us military capabilities. This has been criticized by the us ever since; but paradoxically it is also a notable achievement that European countries have felt able to keep defence spending down: this shows that NATO has generated a sense of collective security in the best meaning of those words; security issues which for centuries have divided Europe at last unified it. And out of this the European Union was born.

demonstrating that the us presence is an enabler of cooperation rather than an instrument of domination.

#### **Benefits for Small Nations**

In any event, it is striking that after the unhappy interval of the 1930s and World War II, Europe or rather Western Europe—found itself with a body that in many ways resembles the Habsburg Monarchy. Like the Habsburg Monarchy, the EU is not a nation state but a complex confection of states, nations, centralised bureaucracy and local autonomy. Both have grown by volunchy was, by transnational elites: in the Habsburg case it was the officer corps and the civil service; for the EU it is business elites and civil servants, both national and European.

Above all, both the Habsburg Monarchy and the EU have provided a home for the small nations of Europe who would have difficulty surviving alone: in the nineteenth century, their need was to avoid being at the mercy of the less liberal German and Russian Empires. In the twentieth, belonging to a larger framework has brought both political and economic security. Had it not been for the catastrophe of war, ated its serfs some twenty years before Russia and America, and introduced universal male suffrage early in the twentieth century. All these were useful and helped bring modernization to many parts of the Empire; but the peoples of central Europe could have got them from Germany and maybe even from Russia one day. What was unique in the Habsburg zone was that it enabled the small nationalities to survive, keep their culture, some level of autonomy, and even to thrive with it. The security it provided was political; but was backed—for this was the nineteenth century-by military force. A further curious resemblance to the European Union is that the Mon-

archy was (as Robert Kann puts it) a power without a name; or rather a power with several names, none of them quite right: Habsburg Empire? Austro-Hungarian Empire? Habsburg Monarchy? None quite expresses its nature, because, like the European Union, it was complicated and did not fit into any convenient category. For Europe today, Common Market and European Economic Community are too little; European Union is too much: the EU is not a union in the sense that the United States or the United Kingdom is. This last name is an aspiration; but what is the use of an aspiration if nobody knows what it amounts to?

#### Cooperation among Sovereign States

There are, however, two important differences. First, the EU (as, for want of better, we continue to call it) is not a state and the Habsburg Monarchy, for all its quirkiness, was. That meant it was sovereign and it had a sovereign whose picture could appear on banknotes and on prints the EU been in creating an environment in which small states can live comfortably, that the temptation for Flanders, Scotland, Catalonia and no doubt many others to enjoy the luxury of their own state may become a pattern of the future.

This should not be a surprise since, for most purposes, small states are better than big states: more intimate, more cohesive, closer to the citizen. Only two things make big states desirable: the security of a big army and the prosperity of a big market. The Habsburg Monarchy provided the first while allowing diverse nationalities to flourish; the EU has provided the second while enabling small states to flourish and to have a voice in making the rules to run it.<sup>1)</sup>

The Habsburg Monarchy was threatened first by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which brought it physically too close to Russia, and in consequence also became politically too dependent on Germany. Long before the Great War it had begun to lose its multi-national character (visible in the use of German as the official language of the Em-

If the EU ceases to be a bringer of prosperity but becomes instead a cause of impoverishment, it too will collapse.

to be found in the humble huts of peasants in far corners of the Empire. And it had an army. And when the crisis came, it was the Monarchy that was in charge. One of the ways in which we know that, in spite of flag and anthem, the EU is not a state is that in the crisis of the Eurozone power quickly returns to its source in the member states. Just as it would also in a security crisis. Because the Monarchy was a state, its components were nations with limited autonomy. Because the EU is not a state, it is made up of states: sovereign, equal, and ultimately its masters.

The second important difference is that, although the EU and the Habsburg Monarchy both enable the small to survive by providing the benefits of scale, they do it in different fields. Over the five centuries of the Habsburg Monarchy, its key contribution was the security that it provided against threats from outside, to begin with from the Ottoman Empire, later from nation states, against whose deadlier dynamism it was less successful. Thanks to NATO and to the end of the Cold War, security is no longer the big issue. Instead, the most visible benefit of scale that the EU brings is the prosperity it has provided through a Europe without borders; the invisible benefit-perhaps more important-has been the security of good political relations. These come from joint enterprise of making the laws that govern Europe's borderless space. The practice of cooperation may be tedious and time consuming but it creates relationships with neighbours such as no country has ever had before. So successful has pire). And then it was destroyed by the war itself and by its manifest inability to provide physical protection for its people and political protection for its nations.

These were then awarded self-determination by the victorious nation states. This turned out to be a poisoned gift, since they were left naked in the face of powerful neighbours and their own weak political culture. That they have regained their freedom and re-established democracy within the European Union is their credit, and also that of the EU and of NATO.

### This Fish Rots from the Tail, not the Head

In contrast to the world at the beginning of the last century, the geopolitical environment in Europe today is benign. The Middle East and the Mediterranean are disturbed, but no worse than usual; the Cold War is over and Russia is preoccupied with making money, a peaceful activity; even the Balkans make halting progress. No one is thinking of war. But the threat that the EU now faces is, in its way, as deadly as the one that confronted the Habsburg Monarchy a hundred years ago. Instead of the uncontrolled expansion of armies and navies of the early twentieth century, when few understood the implications of the new military technology, we live today in a world of uncontrolled global financial markets dealing in instruments that few comprehend. And the crisis strikes at the heart of the EU. If the EU ceases to be a bringer of prosperity but becomes instead a cause of impoverishment, it too will collapse. Because, unlike the Habsburg Monarchy, the EU is not a state but a community of states, its collapse will not begin at the centre, but at the edges. If it ever dies, it will do so with a whimper, rather than a bang. This fish rots from the tail, not the head. The explosion will come not in Brussels but on the streets of Athens, Rome or Madrid. Perhaps we are seeing the first signs. And if the explosion comes, it will bring down with it the open borders, the single market, the practice of cooperative relations with others, the collaboration in many fields, and at its centre the good political relations that have delivered peace and a sense of community over fifty-five years.

At the beginning of "The Struggle for the Mastery of Europe", his great book describing the diplomacy that led to World War I, AJP Taylor wrote: "In the state of nature which Hobbes imagined, violence was the only law, and life was 'nasty brutish and short'. Though individuals never lived in this state of nature the Great Powers of Europe have always done so". Taylor, strangely, omitted Hobbes' first two adjectives. The original says: "and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short". Hobbes is writing about man's life outside society. But Taylor's analogy with states works even more powerfully if we include these two adjectives: it is the solitary nature of states that has made them both poor and dangerous. States, like men, live better in communities. Our greatest achievement is that the Great Powers of Europe no longer live by the rules (or the lack of them) that Hobbes evokes. If Europe loses that, it will lose again everything that was lost with the Habsburg Monarchy.

The stakes in the Euro-game are high: monetary union was meant to bring prosperity (and to bind Germany closer!). If the result is penury and political instability, then the EU will share the fate of the Habsburg Monarchy.

This is not inevitable. Unlike war, there are no winners when financial markets collapse (no, not even George Soros). If we fail, it will be by errors in our economics or misjudgments of our politics or through collective stupidity. Getting it right does not need a miracle. It requires only open debate, open minds, a readiness to listen and to learn. Intellectual clarity and human sympathy is all that we need, plus some understanding what we stand to lose.  $\triangleleft$ <sup>1)</sup> Small states are pleasant for their citizens, but there is a question whether they impose costs on the system as a whole by making consensual decisions more difficult. The experience of the EU is that problems come more from large states than small ones. However, a system that consisted entirely of small states, without the leadership (or bullying) of large states might operate differently

## The Specter of European Disintegration

CONFERENCE REPORT BY KAROLINA WIGURA



he word "crisis"—once a commonplace on the eastern side of the Berlin Wall—has, in the last few years, come to be heard everywhere in the European Union. Indeed, one might ask whether our habituation to the rhetoric of crisis signals the disappearance of the final vestige of the Cold War... The facts, however, are incontrovertible: First, since the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers in 2008, there has been an international recession. Second, there is a general crisis of political leadership in the democratic nation-states, visible not only in the European Union. Third, the eurozone has undergone serious perturbations. Although many European countries remain wealthy, in other states it has become impossible to overhear voices saying that making a living has become a nightmare. Simply talking to people from the countries unflatteringly referred to in the press as "PIGS" confirms that there is much truth in those claims.

Ulrich Beck's theory that the EU develops by overcoming successive crises comes to look overly optimistic. It seems that a specter is haunting Europe once again; this time, however, it is the specter of disintegration. But what does "disintegration" mean? What is the difference between disintegration, decay and the breakdown of a political organism? What lessons can be drawn from the history of transnational polities such as the Habsburg Monarchy and Yugoslavia? These were some of the questions discussed by the participants of the conference The Political Logics of DisIntegration II, organized on October 26 and 27, 2012, by the Institute for Human Sciences. Conceived by Ivan Krastev, the meeting convened eminent scholars from a range of disciplines alongside political analysts.

gary, Timothy Snyder argued that if we were to know today that the European Union would last another 600 years, in other words for as long as the Habsburg Monarchy, we would consider it to be a spectacular success. Despite often being denounced as a "prison of nations," Austro-Hungary was a political organism with a highly sophisticated political culture, where compromises were sought not only among the elites but also between nations. The search for explanations for the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy cannot, therefore, be limited to simple causes—be it World War I or the rise of nationalisms (read the full text of his presentation on page 3).

Panelists emphasized three causes of disintegration of the Monarchy: competing concepts of integration, including the unification of Germany and the Yugoslav project (Snyder); asymmetries of power, particularly between Austria and Hungary as regards to Serbia, culminating in World War I (Ivo Banac); and the state's loss of legitimacy as a result of its failure to provide security, economic opportunities, and development during the war (Daniel Unowsky).

#### Stigmatization and Fiscal Dissolution: Yugoslavia

Susan Woodward opened the second session, devoted to the disintegration of Joseph Tito's state. Both she and her co-panelist, Vladimir Gligorov, emphasized analogies between Yugoslavia and the European Union. A turning point for Yugoslavia was the moment when economic conflicts were interpreted as ethnic or national conflicts, according to Woodward: "Once politicians started to use nationalist rhetoric, the question was: What will hold Yugoslavia together?" The same might apply to the EU today, in which economic crisis is escalating into an identity conflict. A decisive factor for the eventual collapse of Yugoslavia was "the vicious circle of stereotyping, stig-

Read a German summary of the text on Tr@nsit\_online: www.iwm.at

Sir Robert Cooper is a former British diplomat who for the last ten years worked for the EU High Representative. Recently retired, he remains a Special Adviser to the High Representative on Burma/ Myanmar. In October 2012, Robert Cooper participated in the conference "The Political Logics of DisIntegration II: The Habsburg and the Yugoslav Experiences".

#### No Prison of Nations: The Habsburg Empire

Opening the first session on the disintegration of Austro-Hun-

matization of the adversary, and dehumanization of the other". One can observe similar mechanisms in the EU, both within national societies and between northern and southern member-states.

For Vladimir Gligorov, responsibility for Yugoslavia's collapse lay with its politicians, whose indolence caused them to miss the opportunity to forge a better inter-ethnic social contract in the new constitution in 1974. Also fatal was the fiscal crisis of the 1980s, the result of gargantuan international debt, and the consequent collapse of the common monetary system. Given these events, the fact that politicians like Slobodan Milosevic "were in the wrong places at the wrong time" were of secondary importance, argued Gligorov.

### A Short Spell in the Sun: The EU in its International Context

When George Bush senior spoke of a "new world order" in 1991, no one thought that this could mean a world without the USSR; nonetheless, the Soviet Union disintegrated only months later. The breakdown of the bi-polar world order brought another challenge to the stability of the European project, argued Ivan Krastev: the sudden emergence after 1989 of as many new countries on the Old Continent as in post-colonial Africa.

The first hint that "Europe's moment in the sun" wouldn't last forever was the painful humiliation during the Balkan War, argued Francois Heisbourg, the first speaker of the session devoted to the EU's international context, while Mark Leonard recalled Europe's confusion during the war in Georgia. Despite these experiences, Europe has stopped short in its strategic reflection on the future of its security, preferring to stay in the shelter of America and NATO. Despite the EU's twofold expansion after 1989—both geographical (eastern enlargement) and economic (the creation of the euro)—there has been no deeper reflection on the functional efficiency of the new institutions, bemoaned Heisbourg: "European bureaucrats reassured themselves with the thought that 'the market will take care of it.' This was deeply wrong." Leonard added two recent examples of the consequences of this attitude: deepening British separatism and "the new German question." The dominant position of the Federal Republic, a result of its significant economic advantage, should encourage Germany to take the lead in forging of a political union, argued Leonard; either that or it should leave altogether. (See George Soros's article "The Tragedy of the European Union" in IWM*post* 110.)

racy"? Although member states are required to be fully-fledged democracies, Brussels operates only under limited democratic control.

Whether democratization is a remedy or a threat in the current European crisis was the central question discussed by Andrew Moravcsik and Aleksander Smolar in the fourth panel. Moravcsik argued that neither a simple technocratic answer nor a naïve democratic approach can provide a solution. Citizens should not be treated as "rational ignoramuses," especially when it comes to the euro crisis, which has generated a huge public interest. However, increased participation is not a solution either. The only way forward, according to Moravcsik, is a "wise system of constitutional rights, prerogatives and limitations."

Aleksander Smolar, in turn, stressed that democratization must be an important element in a thorough reflection on the future of the European political project. United Europe cannot remain an "elite project." Nor can officials in Brussels follow Napoleon's famous saying On s'engage et puis on verra. The European welfare state is a constitutive element of the EU's legitimacy. Today, this model has come under heavy attack. It is high time to begin with responsibly and carefully measured reforms, concluded Smolar: we cannot afford to leave the costs of changes to upcoming generations.

#### Not to Vanish in a Puff of Smoke

"The Habsburg Empire vanished in a puff of smoke. Should we expect the European Union, shallow in history and unloved by those it serves, to do better?" asked Robert Cooper in his introduction to the concluding session (see page 5).

European politics needs time. But politicians in Brussels must be careful not to test the patience of the EU's 500 million inhabitants. Issues, such as aid for Greece, the European budget, and the reform of the monetary union, have been discussed for many months; yet among the citizens of the EU there is little sense of participating in deliberations and decision-making to any meaningful extent.

In the next few years it will be crucial that the EU strives for new sources of legitimacy. Without this, new generations will lose interest in Europe as a space of quality of life and tolerance. "Change requires open debate, open minds, and readiness to

#### Conference The Political Logics of DisIntegration II: The Habsburg and the Yugoslav Experiences October 26–27, 2012, Vienna

The EU's recent crisis has shown that contrary to what the classic notion of the "ever closer Union among the peoples of Europe' suggests, the process of Europe's integration is not irreversible. The spectre of disintegration is haunting the European Union. It is in light of the eminent challenges facing the integration project that IWM organized in October 2012 the conference "The Political Logics of DisIntegration II: The Habsburg and Yugoslav Experiences". Bringing together senior policy makers, disintegration experts and renowned public intellectuals the aim was to arrive at a more thorough, historically grounded understanding of the risk of disintegration facing the European project and to reflect on strategies to cope with or even halt the fracturing dynamics that have engulfed the EU. The idea of the conference was to examine the psychological dimension of the disintegration process in the light of the Habsburg and Yugoslav experience, and to focus on the relevant lessons that European policy makers can learn from the disinte gration of the Habsburg Empire and Tito's Yugoslavia. What, if anything, should Europeans be afraid of? What are the tipping points in the process of disintegration? Were there policy roads not taken that might be deployed for the current European debate?

#### Program

October 26, 2012

Welcome and Introduction: Ivan Krastev

Session I: What kept the Habsburg Empire together? What did bring her collapse? How relevant is the Habsburg experience in making sense of the current crisis of the European Union?

Chair: Jan-Werner Mueller Introduction: Timothy Snyder Ivo Banac Daniel Unowsky

Session II: The political logic of the Yugoslav disintegration and its relevance for the current EU crisis

Chair: Jacques Rupnik Introduction: Susan Woodward Vladimir Gligorov

October 27, 2012

Session III: The international context as a factor in the current Session IV: Democracy and Disintegration. Is the democratic nature of the EU member states a factor for the survival or disintegration of the European Union?

Chair: Anton Pelinka Introduction: Andrew Moravcsik Aleksander Smolar

Session V: The Disintegration Risk: Re-reading the Habsburg and Yugoslav Experiences

Chair: Ivan Krastev Introduction: Robert Cooper

Participants

Ivo Banac Bradford Durfee Emeritus Professor of History, Yale University

Sandra Breka Divisional Director, Robert Bosch Stiftung, Berlin

Robert Cooper Counselor, European External Action Service, Brussels

Vladimir Gligorov Economist, Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (WIIW)

Heather Grabbe Director, Open Society Foundations, Brussels

François Heisbourg Special Advisor, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris; Chairman, International Institute for Strategic Studies

Bruce P. Jackson Founder and President, Project on Transitional Democracies, Washington D.C.

Jakub Wisniewski Director, Department of Foreign Policy Strategy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw

**Craig Kennedy** President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Ivan Krastev Chairman of the Board, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia; IWM Permanent Fellow

Stefan Lehne Visiting Scholar, Carnegie Brussels

Mark Leonard Director, European Council on Foreign Relations, London

Li Qiang

Klaus Nellen

Permanent Fellow, IWM, Vienna

#### Anton Pelinka

Professor of Political Sciences, Central European University, Budapest

#### Jacques Rupnik

Director of Research, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Paris

#### Aleksander Smolar

Director of Research, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Paris; President, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw

#### **Timothy Snyder**

Bird White Housum Professor of History, Yale University; IWM Permanent Fellow

Daniel Unowsky Professor of History, University of

#### Ivan Vejvoda

Memphis

Vice President for Programs, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Washington D.C.

#### **Thanos Veremis**

Professor of Political History, Department of European and International Studies, University of Athens; Founding Member, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Athens

#### Susan Woodward

Professor of Political Science, The Graduate Center, City University of New York

#### Jan Zielonka

Professor of European Politics, University of Oxford; Ralf Dahrendorf Fellow, St Antony's College, University of Oxford

This conference was the second in a series organized by the IWM and funded by the Open Society Foundations (OSF) in New York.

#### A Broken Mirror? Democracy and Disintegration

Today, it seems to have been forgotten that the origins of the European project were imbued with a certain skepticism towards democracy. After all, the man who started World War II used the parliamentary system to come to power. Does this historical experience explain the EU's mode of "constrained democlisten and to learn," Cooper argued. Only this—yet so much. ⊲ European crisis. Does the international factor help keep the EU together, or does it push it apart? What role did the break-up of the post-Cold War world order play in the current European crisis?

Chair:

Craig Kennedy Introduction: Mark Leonard Francois Heisbourg Professor, School of Government; Director, Centre for European Studies, Peking University

#### Andrew Moravcsik

Professor of Politics and International Affairs; Director, European Union Program, Princeton University; Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

#### Jan-Werner Mueller

Professor of Politics, Princeton University

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political section of *Kultura Liberalna* and adjunct at the Institute of Sociology at the University of Warsaw. She is currently a Bronisław Geremek Junior Visiting Fellow at the IWM.

Karolina Wigura is the editor of the

## Beyond Myth and Enlightenment

#### BY LUDGER HAGEDORN AND MICHAEL STAUDIGL

A Conference Dedicated to the Re-Thinking of Religion in the Modern World.

#### Conference Beyond Myth and Enlightenment. Phenomenological Reconsiderations of Religion September 11–14, 2012, IWM, Vienna

#### Program

September 11, 2012

Jean-Luc Marion (Keynote Speech) "Das Unreduzierbare"

September 12, 2012

#### Session I: Phenomenology of Religion

Chair: Wolfgang Palaver Jean Leclerq: "The Objects of Phenomenology and Religion—Are They Identical?"

Branko Klun: "Horizon, Transcendence and Correlation. Some Phenomenological Considerations"

**Dragan Prole:** "Die frühe theologische Kehre der Phänomenologie"

Session II: Christianity and Historicity

Chair: Johann Schelkshorn Ludger Hagedorn:

"Christianity Unthought—As Thought by Patočka and Nancy"

Nathalie Frogneux: "Religion Beyond Eternity and Historicity"

Eddo Evink: "Religiosity After Religion. Some Thoughts on Surrender"

September 13, 2012

Session III: Interferences of Philosophy and Religious Traditions

#### Chair: Lubica Ucnik

Jean-Claude Monod: "Entmythologisierung, Übersetzung und philosophische Säkularisierung: eine unendliche Arbeit?"

Jonna Bornemark: "Naming or Not-Naming—That Is the

#### September 14, 2012

Session V: Religion, Violence and Politics

Chair: Michael Staudigl

Marc Maesschalck: "Violence and Redemption. A New Perspective on the Theologico-Political Dimension of Power"

James Dodd: "Between Tyranny and Care. Some Remarks on Phenomenological and Religious Violence"

Nicolas de Warren: "Evil: Otherwise Than Being and Beyond Essence"

#### **Participants**

Jonna Bornemark Södertörn University

**Ivan Chvatik** University of Prague

Nicolas de Warren University of Leuven

James Dodd The New School, New York

Eddo Evink University of Groningen

Jan Frei Center for Theoretical Studies, Prague

Nathalie Frogneux Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve

Arne Græn Copenhagen University

Ludger Hagedorn IWM, Vienna

> **David Higgins** University of Vienna

Branko Klun University of Ljubljana

Rolf Kühn University of Freiburg Jean Leclercg

Catholic University of Louvain-la-

Dragan Prole University of Novi Sad

Joseph Rivera Edinburgh University

Johann Schelkshorn University of Vienna

Wojciech Starzynski Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

Michael Staudigl University of Vienna

> Lubica Ucnik Murdoch University, Perth, Australia

The conference was generously supported by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF).

### Veranstaltungen 2013

Im Rahmen der Forschungsprojekte Polemical Christianity (Ludger Hagedorn, IWM) und Beyond Myth and Enlightenment (Michael Staudigl, Universität Wien) wird es dieses Jahr zwei weitere Konferenzen und eine Fortsetzung der Veranstaltungsreihe Re-Thinking Religion in the Modern World geben, die 2011 mit einem vielbeachteten Vortrag der Berliner Islamwissenschaftlerin Gudrun Krämer begonnen wurde.

#### Konferenzen:

#### 16.-18. September 2013

"Den Primat der Gegebenheit denken. Perspektiven und Potentiale der Phänomenologie nach Jean-Luc Marion" Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen (IWM)

#### 10.-12. Oktober 2013

"Zum Gewaltpotenzial unbedingter Ansprüche im Kontext politischer Theorie"



Jean-Luc Marion giving the keynote speech of the conference

ike a specter, the "return of the religious" has haunted recent intellectual debates. Whether sociological fact or phantasmagorical fiction, auspicious promise for the future or revival of past ideologies—the phenomenon challenges, even in its denial, contemporary thought. Thus far, much of the debate has focused either on sociological observations about the place of religion(s) in modern societies or on questions of its immediate political implications: the threat radical Islamism poses to Western democracy, the impact of Evangelical Christianity on American politics, and so on. However, the crucial issue seems to be a genuinely philosophical one: What does the new presence of religion(s)—and be it the presence of a specter-mean for a modern self-conception in which "modern" (as well as "scientific," "critical," and "enlightened") has become synonymous with "secular"? Does this "return" of something new, unprecedented, and indeed un-thought reveal a profound deficiency in the secular worldview? Or does it merely call into question its hegemonic pretensions?

Those were the central questions addressed by an international conference held at the Institute for Human Sciences from September 11<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup>, 2012. Organized by Michael Staudigl and Ludger Hagedorn, the conference took place in the framework of two research projects currently running at the University of Vienna and the IWM respectively. ible correlate of our intentional activities. But what does it mean to ponder "Of God Who Comes to Mind" (to quote an early title of Emmanuel Levinas)? Referring to authors as divergent as Spinoza, Wittgenstein, Levinas, and de Sade, Marion outlined the far-reaching consequences of conceptualizing God as an idea that cannot be reduced.

Many of the subsequent speakers did not share the insights of Marion's thought-provoking lecture, but it was certainly a good opener for the discussions that took place over the next three days. Some papers reflected upon the closeness of the earlier phenomenological tradition to questions of religion, referring to philosophers such as Max Scheler and Hedwig Conrad-Martius. Others emphasized more historical and hermeneutical approaches such as offered in the works of Jan Patočka and Paul Ricœur. However, the focus of the debate was directed to the more recent "theological turn in French philosophy" and thinkers such as Michel Henry and Emanuel Lévinas, or the more critical view of Jean-Luc Nancy.

The opinions as well as conclusions regarding the so-called "return of the religious" were divergent. It became clear, however, that the philosophical task can neither be to blemish religion nor to save or to revive it. On the contrary, it might be necessary to warn against certain radicalizations that revivals might entail in terms of our understanding of human rights or ideas of political freedom. Nevertheless, the intellectual challenge remains fully unanswered if religious convictions are dismissed as merely irrational commitments to a transcendent reality. The same holds true for recent attempts to consider religion as a sort of pool that offers "certain values" with which our otherwise unquestioned modern self-understanding might be refined. Instead, taking up the challenge calls upon us to reassess the role and potential of religion in the contemporary world. Philosophy will need to go beyond the old dichotomy of enlightened reason and obscure mythical thought, one that still prevents us from really thinking religion. ⊲

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Question"

#### James Mensch:

"The Intertwining of Binding and Unbinding in the Religions of the Book"

#### Session IV: Reconsiderations of Transcendence

#### Chair: Ivan Chvatik

#### Rolf Kühn:

"Religion und Modernität. Zur Notwendigkeit einer phänomenologischen Religionsphilosophie heute"

#### Arne Grœn:

"Seeing Beyond. Reconsidering Immanence and Transcendence"

#### Joseph Rivera:

"Contemplating Transcendence. Temporality After Husserl and Heidegger" Neuve

#### Marc Maesschalck

Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve

#### Jean-Luc Marion

Académie française, Paris-Sorbonne, University of Chicago, Institut Catholique de Paris

James Mensch Charles University Prague

Jean-Claude Monod CNRS, Paris

Klaus Nellen IWM, Vienna

Wolfgang Palaver University of Innsbruck

#### Riccardo Papparusso

Center for Theoretical Studies, Prague Institut für Philosophie, Universität Wien

#### Abendvorträge:

#### 19. März 2013

#### Peter Trawny:

",In meinem Namen'. Gemeinschaftskonzeptionen bei Bultmann, Henry und Agamben"

#### 6. Juni 2013

#### Walter Schweidler:

"Muss man glauben, um zu verstehen? – Offenbarung als Erkenntnisform"

#### 15. Oktober 2013

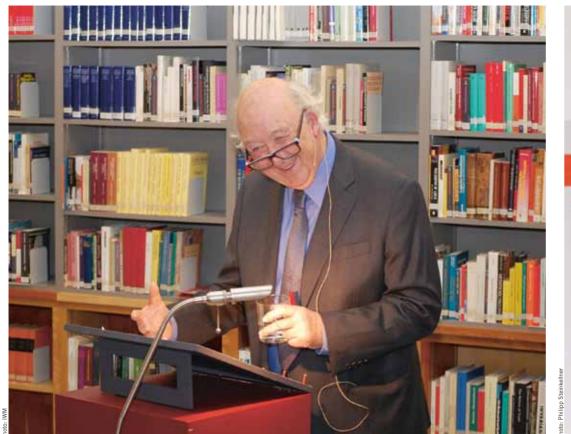
Jean Greisch:

"Überdenken und Eingedenken. Zu Jacques Derridas Religionsbegriff"

#### 14. November 2013

#### Hans Joas:

"Religionsgeschichte als Religionskritik? David Hume und die Folgen" Speakers included some of the bestknown researchers in the phenomenology of religion. The opening lecture was given by Jean-Luc Marion, member of the Académie francaise and professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago. Holding his lecture in German, Marion referred to the phenomenological operation of putting into brackets the question of existence and turning towards the descriptive analysis of our intentional consciousness and its inherently meaningful correlates. In his talk, concisely entitled "Das Unreduzierbare" (The Irreducible), he tried to demonstrate that the idea of Godinadequate and inconsistent as it may be-embodies just such an irreduc-



### For the Ransom of the Soul

IWM Lecture in Human Sciences by Peter Brown, October 15 / 16 / 18, 2012

*T*ithout a doubt one of the most exciting events at the им last autumn was Peter Brown's series of three lectures in October, which attracted a large and diverse audience from across the academic world. Entitled "For the Ransom of the Soul: Wealth, Death, and Afterlife from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages", Brown gave the 2012 *IWM Lectures in Human Sciences,* which have welcomed—since their inauguration in 2000-prominent speakers from various disciplines. Brown, Professor Emeritus of History at Princeton University, added new and exciting dimensions to the format by shifting the focus to the history of Late Antiquity, a field of study which he himself put on the map of scholarship. Even the uninitiated know Peter Brown for having given intellectual respectability to the notion of Late Antiquity as a transitional period that stands on its own, no longer fully part of Antiquity but not yet integrated into the Middle Ages.

In his IWM Lectures, Brown presented insights gained from his recent work on religious beliefs and rituals connected with the memory of the dead in Late Antiquity, together with related concepts of poverty, wealth, intervene in the world of the dead were shared throughout the Christian world—from Christian communities in Rome to the Manicheans in Mesopotamia.

The second lecture, "Forgive Us Our Sins': Alms, Expiation, and Afterlife in the North Africa of St. Augustine," focused on the era of St. Augustine (354–430), one of the main figures in Western Christianity. It was around this time that the notion arose the poor were the primary objects of Christian religious charity. This form of alms-giving marked a major innovation on the preceding pagan period, when secular giving was directed to one's fellow-citizens and poverty as such providing no entitlement. St. Augustine's view that alms-giving atoned for one's sins and was obligatory for Christians was very much an expression of this radically new notion.

The third lecture, "Who Cease to Think about the Last Judgment': Penance and the Other World from Salvian to Columbanus," shifted from St. Augustine's North Africa to Gaul in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Brown's case study of Lérins showed how the questions of the previous lectures were addressed in the very specific context of a monastic community. Peter Brown's considerations on the "ransom of the soul" provided another dimension to his previous work on the Christianization of the Roman world (see for example Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World, 1995). Indeed, the themes of death and afterlife have preoccupied him for decades. In 1976, he wrote that "much of medieval history is inconceivable without the preliminary decision to allow the dead into a central position in worship" (Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity, 1976). What was new in Brown's IWM Lectures was the idea that wealth and religious giving, in all their complexity, provided the possibility for the living to intervene in the world of the dead and, ultimately, for creating a link between heaven and earth. ⊲

Clemena Antonova

**Clemena Antonova** is lecturer in Art History and Theory at the American University in Bulgaria. Currently, she is Lise Meitner Visiting Fellow at the IWM, where she pursues a project on Pavel Florensky and the nature of Russian religious philosophy.

#### IWM Lectures in Human Sciences

The *IWM Lectures in Human Sciences* were launched in 2000 on the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> birthday of Hans Georg Gadamer, supporter of the Institute since its inception. Selected lectures are published in English (Harvard University Press, Cambridge), German (Suhrkamp Verlag, Berlin) and Polish (ZNAK Publishers, Krakow, and Kurhaus Publishers, Warsaw).

#### October 15/16/18, 2012

**Peter Brown:** "'For the Ransom of the Soul': Wealth, Death and the Afterlife from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages"

 "'Treasure in Heaven' and Memory of the Dead in Early Christianity"



24. Jan Patočka Gedächtnisvorlesung

Jan Patočka Gedächtnisvorlesung von Martin Walser, 23. November 2012, Palais Liechtenstein

Mit einem Vortrag des deutschen Schriftstellers Martin Walser gedachte das IWM zum 24. Mal in Folge des tschechischen Philosophen Jan Patočka.

Martin Walser, Jahrgang 1927, zählt zu den wichtigsten deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsautoren. Als streitbarer Beobachter, Chronist und Kritiker begleitet er seit über fünf Jahrzehnten die Wege und Irrwege unserer Gesellschaft. Er studierte Literaturwissenschaft, Philosophie und Geschichte in Regensburg und Tübingen und promovierte zu Franz Kafka. Walser schrieb mehr als 20 Romane sowie zahlreiche Novellen, Theaterstücke und Essays. 1998 wurde ihm der Friedenspreis des deutschen Buchhandels verliehen.

Seine Vorlesung am 23. November wurde eingeleitet von dem Rechtswissenschaftler Dieter Simon, Präsident des IWM. Im Mittelpunkt der von Martin Walser vorgetragenen Überlegungen stand das Problem der Rechtfertigung, mit dem er sich seit einiger Zeit auseinandersetzt.

"Ich war immer ein Leser. Also bin ich auch ein Bewusstseinstheater, in dem die Texte aus 2000 Jahren geworden ist, was nicht mehr ohne Kirchliches gedacht wird. Wer sich heute fast instinktiv erhaben fühlt über alles Religiöse, weiß vielleicht nicht, was er verloren hat. Polemisch gesagt: Rechtfertigung ohne Religion wird zur Rechthaberei. Sachlich gesagt: Verarmt zum Rechthaben."  $\lhd$ *red* 

#### Jan Patočka Gedächtnisvorlesung

Seit seiner Gründung widmet sich das IWM dem Werk des tschechischen Philosophen und Bürgerrechtlers Jan Patočka (1907–1977) und veranstaltet seit 1987 alljährlich eine Vorlesung zu seinem Gedächtnis. Ausgewählte Vorlesungen sind im Wiener Passagen Verlag erschienen.

#### 23. November 2012

Martin Walser: "Auf der Suche nach Rechtfertigung"

7. November 2013 Nancy Fraser

Bisherige Redner: Pierre Rosanvallon

and alms-giving. A theme that cut across all three lectures was the impact of Early Christianity on these beliefs and rituals and the dramatic transformations in profound human perceptions of life, death, and the afterlife.

The first lecture, "Treasure in Heaven' and the Memory of the Dead in Early Christianity," examined the conviction that religious giving (of money) in memory of the dead serves the purpose of "ransoming the soul"—an idea that is both Jewish and Christian. Hence the idea of treasure in heaven—religious giving in this life brings benefits in the next. Participatory rituals around the idea that the living can

- "'Forgive us our sins.' Alms, expiation and the afterlife in the Africa of Saint Augustine"
- "Who cease to think about the Last Judgment.' Penance and the Other World from Salvian to Columbanus"

#### November, 2013

Jan-Werner Müller: "We the People: On Populism and Democracy"

#### **Previous Speakers:**

Vincent Descombes Zygmunt Bauman Claus Offe Ryszard Kapuscinski Abraham B. Yehoshua Cornelia Klinger Paul Ricœur Charles Taylor nie ganz verstummen wollen." sagte Walser einmal. Im Palais Liechtenstein konnte ihn das Publikum im Dialog mit Paulus und Augustinus, Hölderlin und Nietzsche erleben. Walser ist auch ein Leser der Religion: Für ihn ist sie eine "Ausdrucksart wie andere, wie Literatur, Musik, Malerei. Ich lese Religion als Literatur. Dass Texte, die für uns, 'nur' noch zur Religion gehören, Dichtung sind, um es im Betriebsdeutsch zu sagen: große Dichtung, das kann man doch noch sagen. Die Psalmen. Das Buch Hiob. Das Weihnachtsevangelium. Andere lassen mich wissen: Religion, das war einmal. Es ist eine eher unglückliche Entwicklung, dass Religion etwas

**Claus Offe** Ian Buruma Joschka Fischer **George Soros** Lord Dahrendorf George Steiner Giuliano Amato Edward W. Said Czeslaw Milosz William Julius Wilson Elie Wiesel Tadeusz Mazowiecki Albert O. Hirschman François Furet Mario Vargas Llosa Jacques Derrida **Charles Taylor** Paul Ricœur **Zbigniew Brzezinski** Leszek Kolakowski Hans-Georg Gadamer

## The Elder Zosima's Secret: Patočka and Monotheism

Monthly Lecture by Nicolas de Warren, September 18, 2012



In one of his last writings, an essay on the philosophy of religion in Masaryk (1976), the Czech philosopher Jan Patočka remarks that the lessons from the life of the Elder Zosima in Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* may provide essential clues for responding to the contemporary crisis of Christianity. What is striking about Patočka's pronouncement is his consideration that this central episode in Dostoyevsky's novel promises a renewed consideration of religion (Christianity) and our relation to "being" more radical than Heidegger's quest for the meaning of "being" and his critique of its metaphysical tradition. Patočka's own understanding of the Elder Zosima's wisdom remains, however, undeveloped in this essay. Much as with Alyosha in the presence of the Elder Zosima's stories, Patočka remains silent in the presence of his own suggestion. What did Patočka understand as Elder's Zosima's philosophical secret? How does this implicit wisdom relate to the secret of Christianity discussed by Patočka in his *Heretical Essays*? In

Freethinking, Secularism,

and the Arab Spring

Monthly Lecture by Aziz Al-Azmeh, October 23, 2012

his lecture in September 2012 Nicolas de Warren critically explored the possible meanings of Patočka's insight by way of an interpretation of *The Brothers Karamazov* centered on the problem of evil and marked by Patočka's own reflections on the philosophical meaning of Christianity as the truth of Monotheism. ⊲

Nicolas de Warren is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Leuven (Belgium). In September 2012 he was Guest at the IWM.

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## Holocaust: Was wissen wir heute über die Täter?

Monatsvortrag von Peter Longerich, 8. November 2012



Peter Longerich zeigte in sei-nem Vortrag am IWM, wie sich das Bild über NS-Täter in der Forschung seit der Debatte zwischen Browning und Goldhagen Mitte der 90er-Jahre gewandelt hat. Das in der damaligen Diskussion um "willing executioners" und "ordinary men" vorherrschende Bemühen, einen möglichst homogenen Tätertyp mit einer eindeutig bestimmbaren Motivation zu konstruieren, ist mittlerweile einer differenzierteren Betrachtungsweise gewichen. Dies machte Longerich deutlich, indem er eine Hierarchie der Täter entwickelte und näher auf drei spezifische Gruppen einging: die Masse der am unteren Ende der Befehlskette stehenden, unmittelbar handelnden

"Direkttäter", die mittleren und höheren Funktionäre als die eigentlichen Akteure mit Handlungsspielraum sowie die relativ kleine Gruppe der №-Spitzenpolitiker, die die Leitlinien der Politik setzten. ⊲

Peter Longerich ist Professor für Moderne Deutsche Geschichte und Direktor des

Research Centre for the Holocaust and

Holloway College der Universität London.

Twentieth-Century History am Royal

In Kooperation mit der Deutschen Botschaft Wien. red

#### Betrachte machte I er eine H ckelte un





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September 11, 2012 marked the Start of a series of protests and outbursts of violence in parts of the Arab World, leading to the deaths of a us diplomat and a number of civilians. The first protests took place in Libya, whence they spilled over, with varying intensity, to other Muslim countries and beyond. The demonstrations and violence were a reaction to an amateur video depicting the Prophet Mohammad as a fraud, womanizer and pedophile. The film was condemned by activists and politicians, Muslim and Christian alike, as a tasteless provocation, but this had little effect on protests where they occurred. In his lecture Aziz Al-Azmeh addressed the present condition of the relationship between religion and polity in the Arab World following the upheavals in the two years since the Arab Revolutions. He looked at the current interac-

tions between religion and polity in the context of the long history of secularism and freethinking in the Arab World. ⊲

red

Aziz Al-Azmeh is University Professor at the School of Historical and Interdisciplinary Studies at the Central European University, Budapest. Born in Damascus, Syria, he is widely recognized as a leading scholar in the fields of Arab and Muslim history.

## supports Brussels' intervention in EU member states.

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## Krzysztof Michalski

1948-2013

"Let us not forget that all these words—'moment' and ... 'eternity', as well as 'time', 'past', and 'future'—acquire meaning only in the context of what I do, in the context of my life. The moment ... can be understood only by a participant, not by an observer. Time is me, eternity is me, my life. My life, its every step, undermines everything that is. It sets off the earthquake and uncovers new wells. This creative human activity unveils the fragility of everything that seems to be (whereas it is passing away and becoming). It is my life that connects 'today' and 'sometime' ... Eternity—that link between passing *and becoming, the link between past and future—is* 'mine' or 'yours' not in the way pants or a pen can be but as the body is, as the heart is: intimately, inextricably, forever, so long as I am alive. Eternity is intertwined *with everything I do and think; it co-creates the meaning* of life. Without it, my life would be incomprehensible. *This is where its color (gold), imperceptible to the eye,* comes from, as well as its incomparable flavor (bittersweet), the color, the flavor, of life in which the world comes to the fore. My life separates past and future from one another, and at the same time it binds them together ... Eternity is its hidden current, its inextinguishable fire—its vitality, which shatters any form it may attain." (p. 187).

*"Love reveals an unnamed, as yet unknown identity"* within me, and within you. In this way, it also brings to *light the common condition that we—people, these* animals sick with eternity—all share" (p. 139).

Krzysztof Michalski: The Flame of Eternity. An Interpretation of Nietzsche's Thought, Princeton University Press, 2012



## Das IWM nimmt Abschied von seinem Gründer und Rektor

#### VON DIETER SIMON



m 11. Februar 2013 ist Krzysztof Michalski gestorben. Überraschend auch für jene wenigen Personen, die von seiner schweren Erkrankung wissen mussten. Er hat es seinem Tod nicht schwer gemacht, und der hat ihn dafür vor Qual und Siechtum bewahrt. Krzysztof war 64 Jahre alt und hatte noch sehr viel vor. Sein Feld war nicht bestellt, und er war nicht müde. Jetzt sind alle Fäden zerrissen, und die Zurückgebliebenen starren bestürzt und ratlos auf die am Boden liegenden losen Enden.

Meine Verbindung zu ihm war relativ jung. Die heroischen Zeiten des Instituts waren schon verflossen, als die Publizistin Jacqueline Hénard uns zusammenbrachte.

Ich wusste wohl, dass es in Wien ein kleines, von deutschen und polnischen Intellektuellen gegründetes Institut gab, das sich dem aussichtslos wirkenden Vorhaben gewidmet hatte, über Personen und treffend gewählte Sachthemen - seien es philosophische, politische, ökonomische, wissenschaftliche oder alltagsweltliche - Ost und West zusammen und einander näher zu bringen, um auf diese Weise den widernatürlichen Vorhang, der sich anschickte, das politisch auseinandergerissene Europa auch geistig und kulturell völlig voneinander zu entfremden, wenn nicht aufzubrechen, so doch vielleicht anzubohren. Aber ich hatte auch gehört, dass das offensichtlich überspannt Idealistische, das trotzig gegen die Realität auf Vernunft und Wort Hoffende, das dieses Institut und seine Menschen kennzeichnete, in Wahrheit äußerlicher Schein und Propaganda für Naive sei, die nicht sehen wollten, dass das Unternehmen vom кдв finanziert werde oder, wie andere behaupteten, vom CIA, während wieder andere, die von den freundschaftlichen Beziehungen gehört hatten, die Michalski mit Papst Johannes Paul II verbanden, entschieden den Vatikan als geheimen Steuermann und Financier ins Gespräch brachten.

Jaqueline Hénard beruhigte meine irritierte Nachfrage mit dem ironischen Hinweis, dass vermutlich alle drei Organisationen gleichzeitig das Institut finanzieren würden ten und relativ kurzen Gespräch bat, mich in die Dienste des Vereins nehmen zu dürfen – eine überraschende Bitte für mich, der ich nichts anzubieten hatte, als eine kurzfristige Erfahrung in der Wissenschaftspolitik und einen hartnäckigen pädagogischen Eifer in meinen Fächern Rechtstheorie und Rechtsgeschichte.

Für mich war es eine leichte Entscheidung. Ich war sofort gefangen von dem tiefen Ernst und der absoluten Glaubwürdigkeit des Manner Freunden Cornelia Klinger und Klaus Nellen begonnen habe, erledigt wäre und dem weiteren Gang der Dinge tatenlos zugesehen werden solle? Richtig sei, dass ein gravierendes Hindernis aus dem Weg geräumt worden sei, aber nicht mehr. Und nicht weniger richtig sei auch, dass jetzt, so denn erst alle, die in Betracht kämen, in der Europäischen Union zusammengefasst seien, die Aufgabe ganz eigentlich erst beginne, denn schließlich müsse nun darastlosen Arbeiter und Leiter von *Transit*, und János Mátyás Kovács, dem umsichtigen ungarischen Zuerwerb des deutsch-polnischen Trios anfreunden.

Ralf Dahrendorf tauchte auf und Ulrich Voswinckel, der Vorsitzende des Stiftungsrates der Hamburger Körber-Stiftung. Mit ihnen, die stellvertretend für die zahlreichen intellektuellen und finanziellen Unterstützer stehen können, wurde das Institut in die Lage versetzt, sein riesiges Osteuropa-Projekt, das in zahllosen Besuchen, Evaluationen, Bewertungen, Preisvergaben, Entwürfen, Projekten, Gründungen, Vorschlägen und Ratschlägen für die osteuropäischen Universitäten bestand, mit nachhaltigem Erfolg durchzuführen

Damals und mit diesem Unternehmen ist das Institut in sein zweites Leben, sein gesamteuropäisches Leben gestartet und hat es mit den schönsten jährlich ausführlich dokumentierten Erfolgen, die zuletzt auch in ersten, aber nicht vorläufigen transatlantischen Beziehungen kulminierten, fortgesetzt. Zahllose Wissenschaftler, Politiker und Manager aus den verschiedensten Lebensbereichen haben die permanente Einladung zur Reflexion angenommen und sind bereichert in ihre Residenzen zurückgekehrt. Der aus den Felsen der Versteinerung geschlagene Quell sprudelt nun seit knapp 30 Jahren, und jedenfalls ein guter Teil von Michalskis Traum konnte verwirklicht werden.

Jetzt hat das Institut seinen Architekten und Rektor verloren, aber nicht seinen Antrieb und seine Kraft. Es wird den Atem anhalten und zusehen, wie es ohne Stocken in die von Krzysztof Michalski gewiesene Richtung zu laufen hat.

Aber vollständig verloren haben wir ihn nicht.

Michalski hatte nicht nur Philosophie studiert. Er philosophierte auch. Die Flamme der Ewigkeit, seine Nietzsche-Studien, die zuerst auf Polnisch und dann auf Englisch erschienen sind (siehe Publikationen, S. 24), werden absehbar auch auf Deutsch vorliegen. Dann werden wir wieder Krzysztof Michalski zuhören können. Manche werden ihn dabei von einer Seite kennenlernen, von der sie, als er noch lebte, allenfalls etwas geahnt, aber nichts gewusst haben. Für alle aber werden sein Charme, seine klugen Augen und sein ruhelos suchender Geist wieder präsent sein. ⊲

Aufgabe sei, dass sich die europäische Welt verstehen lerne, dass sie über sich reflektiere und dass daraus ein Strom ständigen Wandels hervorgehe.

und gab damit zugleich einen Hinweis auf des Rektors innere Unabhängigkeit und Freiheit einerseits und andererseits auf eine Fähigkeit von Krzysztof Michalski, die ich in dieser Form bis dahin bei keinem Wissenschaftsmanager beobachtet hatte – die Fähigkeit, auch noch mit dem verbohrtesten Bürokraten und dem vernageltesten Geldgeber in einer Weise umzugehen, dass ihm niemand die Strapazen, die Kränkungen und die Niederlagen, die er in diesem Geschäft hinnehmen musste, ansah. Er war ein grandioser Fundraiser, ein Bittsteller für seine Sache, dem kaum jemand widerstehen konnte, und nur im vertrauten Gespräch unter vier Augen konnte man lernen, welche Last dem feinsinnigen und sensiblen Mann diese Aufgabe bedeutete. Auch ich konnte nicht widerstehen, als er mich nach einem ersnes, der meine nicht eben höfliche und durchaus skeptisch-abwehrend formulierte Eingangsfrage, ob denn das Institut aufgrund des Falls der Mauer und des Zusammenbruchs

für gesorgt werden, dass sich die europäische Welt verstehen lerne, dass sie über sich reflektiere und dass aus dieser Reflexion ein Strom ständigen Wandels hervorgehe.

des Ostblocks nicht Daseinszweck und Rechtfertigung eingebüßt hätte, weil das, was dort sieben Jahre lang diplomatisch, verschwiegen und mühsam organisiert worden war, nämlich das ungezwungene, freie und unbeobachtete Gespräch zwischen den verschiedensten Angehörigen der beiden Blöcke, jetzt jederzeit zwanglos und offen möglich geworden sei, erstaunt und ein wenig amüsiert parierte:

Ob ich denn wirklich der Meinung anhänge, so fragte er freundlich zurück, dass mit der Demontage des Eisernen Vorhangs die kulturelle Einheit Europas wieder hergestellt sei, so dass die Aufgabe, die er vor wenigen Jahren mit seinen Köl-

So definierte der Erstaunliche seine und seiner Mitstreiter Aufgabe, und ich nahm geehrt das Angebot an, ihnen dabei ein wenig behilflich zu sein. Ich lernte Józef Tischner kennen, den ersten Präsidenten des Instituts, der die kleine Einrichtung vom ersten Tag an fürsorgend begleitete, sah die tiefe Zuneigung und Verehrung, die Krzysztof diesem katholischen Priester und Krakauer Philosophieprofessor entgegenbrachte und seine tiefe Trauer, als er dem langsamen und langen Sterben des liebenswürdigen Mannes zusehen musste. Ich durfte mich mit Cornelia Klinger, der feinnervigen Philosophin und stillen Gefährtin, mit Klaus Nellen, dem

Dieter Simon ist Präsident des IWM und Honorarprofessor der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Von 1995 bis 2005 war er Präsident der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

## The Power of Vision and the Gift for Narration

#### BY CORNELIA KLINGER

o commemorate a departed person is not an easy task. Which phase or event of his life do we remember? Which feature of his personality, which aspect of what he has been or done, do we shed light on in commemoration? The better we have known him, the more difficult is this task because we recall so many moments and facets. As remembering necessarily implies forgetting this can only be a simplified picture.

Immediately before our eyes we see Krzysztof Michalski: the founder and Rector of the IWM, the public intellectual, the cosmopolitan, the European and the Polish patriot at the same time, the man of action, the 'naturally' talented and most effectual manager—sometimes more respected than loved—, the "man among people", a witty and charming person, with a very special sense of humour, the smart and shrewd player in power games, impressively well-connected to celebrities all over the world.

All things considered, an active and ambitious man, a forceful and successful personality. This was the bright, publicly visible side of Krzysztof Michalski. The other side of his life was by no means invisible or dark, but it shone in a very different light. Let me recall him for a moment in his chosen profession, or rather, vocation: as philosopher and as teacher of philosophy.

"If you want to enter the realm of philosophy", he taught his students, "you have to leave behind the certainties of common sense and everyday life, you have to un-know, to dis-acquaint the world and yourself in order to confront the absolute that is the unknown". Let me try to elucidate this brusque advice to his students by quoting from his last book, *The Flame of Eternity:*<sup>1)</sup> "At every step—in the confrontation with the unknown, which demands courage, and in the pain of separating from what has been dear till now-this sense [of what I am, my identity, my self, ck] is created anew. Everything I know about myself, everything that is familiar and my own, is in each successive moment placed under a question mark". (p. 51) Paul Ricœur famously called Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud and Friedrich Nietzsche "the masters of suspicion". Avec toute proportion gardée Krzysztof belonged to this intellectual tradition. He was less interested in finite answers than in the infinite questions behind them. He was engaged in an existential, immediately personal fashion in the ardent questions of time and eternity, life and death. Wielding the sharp weapon of logic, asserting "a reason that hurts"



he used philosophy as a way to deal with the conditions of contingency, or in his words: "the terrors of life". He envisioned the wretchedness of existence as vividly as one of his favourite thinkers—Pascal—whom he quoted not only in his writings but during the months of his fatal illness: "The final act is bloody, however fine the rest of the play. In the end they throw some earth over our head and that is it forever." (p. 44) Unlike Pascal, Krzysztof did not lar case of something. It is only the prospect of death that makes the life I am living my own." (p. 82)

Considering the two sides in Krzysztof Michalski's life and personality one might come to think that there was a split, a rift between them, that there were two diverging parts that could not have fitted together well. But no, this is not the case. There were no "zwei Seelen, ach, in meiner Brust", no conflict of two souls within his chest. Both identi-

We continued to dream the original dream, namely to enlighten the heads and hearts of citizens and to make society a better place.

take refuge to a merciful god nor did he trust in the stability and security promised by scientific rationality. Following Nietzsche he rejected ties, that of the doer as well as that of the thinker followed from two capacities Krzysztof Michalski was endowed with to an extraordinary exthe world, of course) could meet, discuss and work together. He did not only persuade two young philosophers from Germany of his dream to help overcome the division of Europe by the force of the mind but also countless others, individuals and institutions who soon concurred in the effort to found such an institution in Vienna. When some years after the foundation of the IWM in 1982 the iron curtain fell in 1989, this certainly did not happen as a result of the power of Krzysztof Michalski's dreaming alone—and yet his, our initial dream had come true.

Well, the realization of one dream will never stop a true dreamer from dreaming. In the decades after 1989 we continued to realize dreams together. Basically we dreamt of two things:

Firstly, to develop the IWM into an institute for advanced study where older and younger colleagues, outstanding scholars and newcomers could teach and learn on a face-toface level without the constraints of big bureaucracy and hierarchy, where scholars could pursue their research by Ira Katznelson and Ken Prewitt, and the IWM. The conference on social solidarity<sup>2)</sup>, the eighth in a series that started in 2005 to focus on the pressing problems of inequality and poverty in today's world, was the last conference Krzysztof Michalski had planned and worked for until a few days before his death.

I deeply deplore that Krzysztof's death forestalls the continuation of his philosophical work. He had many plans for the future, as for example, to write on Hegel's philosophy of religion or on Carl Schmitt's concept of religion. And though I am sure that Krzysztof the thinker and Michalski the doer were in harmony as one and the same person, I have to admit: there was a constant struggle going on between the two for the just share of his scarce time. For so many years Krzysztof's philosophical ideas had to stand behind Michalski's indefatigable activities to develop the IWM. His hopes (and mine) to adjust this imbalance in the long years of a quiet old age have been thwarted.

While nobody can replace Krzysztof the thinker to complete his projects, we are well prepared to carry on the other part of his lifework. Three decades ago a beautiful dreamer together with a few young companions won sufficient support to establish and-what is more-learnt to run an institute for advanced study earning international renown over time. This is, as far as I know, an unparalleled story. We handled our enterprise in the spirit of independence and intellectual freedom, blending academic rigor with entrepreneurship, adding a pinch of audacity and nonchalance. Of course, like life itself the existence of this institution has never been safe in the past and it cannot be expected that it will ever become secure in the time ahead. And yet, the dream has materialized and found its unique stature. We will use the force of vision and the power of narration that we had the chance to learn from Krzysztof Michalski to convince as many people and institutions as possible to join us in the effort to give IWM a future. ⊲

the consolations (intoxication, narcotic, anesthetic) of religious faith as well as of secular knowledge. Following Nietzsche he boldly embraced the singularity and plurality of existence, of the world, of the self and also even of thought and concept. As a consequence, that is to say, as a radically modern thinker, he accepted the boundaries and limits of life as the very conditions of its pos*sibility and of freedom.* In this vein he could write: "Death is closer to me than any character trait [...] it is more mine than the person I love most or my most important task. Without [...] death there is no me. Death defines me: an irrepeatable individual, and not merely a particutent: *the power of vision and the gift for narration*. While Krzysztof the philosopher envisioned the sombre nightmares of the human condition, Michalski the man of action had the rare capacity to transform lucid dreams into reality. I can think of no better way to illustrate this latter ability than to recall the history of this amazing institution IWM: Soon after Klaus Nellen

I can think of no better way to lilustrate this latter ability than to recall the history of this amazing institution IWM: Soon after Klaus Nellen and I had met Krzysztof Michalski in 1980 he started to convince us to create an institution on the model of the Interuniversity Center in Dubrovnik (where we first met), that is to say, to establish a place where intellectuals and scholars from Eastern and Western Europe (and the rest of sheltered from the pressures of the academic business, where people of radically converse opinions and controversial ideas could think and debate freely.

Even more important than just to provide a comfortable resort for a handful of lucky and privileged intellectuals, we continued to dream the original dream, namely to enlighten the heads and hearts of citizens and to make society a better place. In one way or another the various projects the Institute has initiated and carried out over the course of its existence serve this purpose. One important example is the longterm cooperation between Columbia University of New York, represented 1) Krzysztof Michalski: The Flame of Eternity: An Interpretation of Nietzsche's Thought, Princeton University Press, 2012

2) Conference: On Solidarity VIII: Inequality and Social Solidarity, *April* 5–7, 2013

**Cornelia Klinger** is Professor of Philosophy at Tübingen University and IWM Permanent Fellow. In May 2013 she was appointed the Institute's Acting Rector, together with Michael Sandel, Professor of Government at Harvard University and member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board. This text is based on the introductory speech given by Cornelia Klinger at the Commemoration Ceremony for Krzysztof Michalski on April 5, 2013. To all of us who knew him, Krzysztof was a truly unusual person. Not a philosopher-king, but a philosophercitizen, who was able to practice what Thomas More had called 'philosophia civilior', active in the here-and-now; a Polish patriot and a true citizen of the world, equally at home in metaphysics and organizational knowhow, to whom none of us could ever say 'no'; a humanist in the Erasmian mould. He inspired all of us, and we shall all miss him deeply. The IWM, its achievements, its past and present Fellows and friends, its outreach near and far, will be his monument."

Shlomo Avineri, Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board

■ "Mehr als drei Jahrzehnte war er eine feste Größe im Leben: ein Vorbild an Klugheit, Zuversicht, Mut, Witz und Bescheidenheit."

Margret und Gottfried Boehm, Mitglied des IWM-Vereinsvorstands

• "His presence, his intellectual stature, his deep approach to things and people, his singular charisma will be missed."

Oliver Bouin, Director, RFIEA, Paris

"He was a magnificent instructor to all academics, like us, who wanted to build a new institute and we have gratefully used his example and numerous advises. He was really great in finding support for his ideals, ideas and initiatives. We admired the way he gained commitment for a wide range of potential supporters, not only financially but also intellectually. He was convincing: it was just impossible to refuse him anything, you just could not say no. The reward was great: having a loyal friend and exciting conferences.

He organized a broad scheme of debates on pressing subjects of the modern world, bringing together various disciplines. He combined being a philosopher of deep thoughts and at the same time being a practical organizer with a lot of humour and a sound scepticism of authority. As the founding rector of the IWM he found a way to connect East and West, during the Cold War and after the fall of the Berlin Wall. He created a new intellectual public atmosphere and influenced political speeches. We do hope that the Institute will cherish his achievements and continue to carry out his important work."

■ "Das IWM ist wohl die beeindruckendste internationale Einrichtung der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften in Österreich. Es ist zu hoffen, dass die Weiterführung gelingt..."

Erhard Busek, ehemaliger österreichischer Vizekanzler und Kuratoriumsmitglied des IWM, *Wiener Zeitung*, 14. 02. 2013

Michalskis plötzliches und unerwartetes Dahinscheiden trifft uns die wir mit dem Werk Jan Patočkas befasst sind, aber auch breitere intellektuelle Kreise in Tschechien schmerzhaft. Sein Name wird mit dem Schicksal von Patočkas Werk auf immer verbunden bleiben. Auf Empfehlung von Patočkas polnischer Kollegin Irena Krońska lernte Michalski als Redakteur der Krakauer philosophischen Zeitschrift Znak Jan Patočka im Jahr 1973 per Korrespondenz kennen und begann, sich mit ihm über seine Dissertation zur Philosophie Martin Heideggers auszutauschen. Schließlich bat er Patočka, für Znak über seine phänomenologische Geschichtsauffassung zu schreiben. Patočka nahm das Angebot bereitwillig an, und bis 1975 entstanden so die Ketzerischen Essays zur Philosophie der Geschichte. [...] Ohne den aufopferungsvollen Einsatz Krzysztof Michalskis wäre vieles von dem, was erreicht wurde, insbesondere was die internationale Rezeption von Patočkas Werk betrifft, nicht vorstellbar gewesen."

Ivan Chvatík, Leiter des Jan Patočka-Archivs, Center for Theoretical Study, Prag, *iDnes.cz*, 18. 02. 2013

■ "Mit Professor Michalski haben wir einen Vertreter der besten Traditionen der polnischen Philosophie, einen Schüler von Leszek Kołakowski, aber auch von Jan Patočka, verloren, der eine Symbolfigur der internationalen wissenschaftlichen und intellektuellen Zusammenarbeit war."

Bogusław Dybaś, Direktor, Wissenschaftliches Zentrum der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien

Für uns war Krzysztof Michalski ein vertrauter Partner und interessierter Begleiter der Stiftung seit den allerersten Schritten, die wir unternommen haben. Seine profunde Kenntnis der brennenden Themen und der jeweils aktuellen gesellschaftlichen Debatten besonders in Zentral- und Osteuropa, dort, wo wir tätig sein wollten, hat uns immens geholfen, die richtigen Mitstreiter zu finden und die Kontexte zu erkennen, innerhalb derer wir dann zu arbeiten begonnen haben. Krzysztof Michalski hat uns mitgenommen, hat uns seine Netzwerke geöffnet. Er hat uns eingeladen zu Projekten, die - benannt nach Vorbildern wie Milena Jesenská oder Paul Celan oder zu Werten wie der Solidarität - für unsere eigenen Initiativen zu vorbildlichen Beispielen wurden. Gemeinsam durften wir die Diskussionsreihe "Debating Europe" entwickeln, deren Reigen nicht nur prominenter, sondern auch prononcierter Gäste zeigte, wie gern die Menschen kamen, wenn er zum Diskutieren einlud. Als Direktor und Spiritus Rektor des Instituts für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen hat er genau darauf geachtet: auf den Raum und die Gelegenheit zum Austausch. Die Bibliothek, das Herzstück des Instituts, hat so viele spannende Debatten beherbergt, und auch wir haben uns, auch mit eigenen Veranstaltungen, die wir dort abhalten durften, diesem Geist nicht entziehen können. Krzysztof Michalski hat das IWM zu einem Zentrum für kreative Intellektuelle aus der ganzen Welt gemacht. Dank dieser Anziehungskraft bereichert etwa auch Ivan Krastev, Permanent Fellow am IWM, das Kuratorium der ERSTE Stiftung. Wir könnten noch vieles beschreiben, das wir Krzysztof Michalskis Arbeit und seinem Geschick Menschen zu verbinden, verdanken. Nichts davon bringt uns jedoch den Menschen zurück. Sein freundliches Wesen, seinen trockenen Humor, seine Aufmerksamkeit, wenn man mit ihm sprach. Er wird uns einfach fehlen."

#### Die KollegInnen der ERSTE Stiftung

Jie Nachricht vom Ableben von Prof. Krzysztof Michalski hat mich tief bewegt. Der Verstorbene hat mit der Gründung des Instituts für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen im Jahr 1982 eine Forschungsstätte schaffen können, die durch den regen geistigen Austausch zwischen Ost und West, zwischen Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft wesentlich zur Integration osteuropäischer Länder in Europa beigetragen hat. Mit dem Ableben von Krzysztof Michalski ist ein großer Philosoph von uns gegangen und wir haben einen wahren Kämpfer für die gerechte und menschliche Welt verloren."

Werner Faymann, österreichischer Bundeskanzler

, Der Gründer und Rektor hat sein Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen (*IWM*) in sehr konsequenter Arbeit unter den europäischen Spitzeninstitutionen außeruniversitärer Forschung im Bereich der Geistes- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften positioniert. [...] Aufgegeben hat er nie. Auch nicht die Idee, dass Wien und das IWM, das zunächst die Aufgabe übernommen hatte, Ideen und Intellektuelle von diesseits und jenseits des Eisernen Vorhanges miteinander vertraut zu machen, auch und gerade nach dem Wendejahr 1989 eine europäische Aufgabe haben. Michalski war österreichischer Staatsbürger, bekennender Pole, neugieriger Transatlantiker und selbstverständlicher Weltbürger. Ich hatte das Glück, Krzysztof Michalski, der sowohl mit der Presse als auch mit dem Standard eine Reihe von Kooperationen ins Leben gerufen hatte, persönlich näher kennenzulernen. Sein Humor, seine Wertschätzung für Verschiedenheit und seine Loyalität machten es einem leicht, ihn als Freund zu sehen [...]. Ironisch-liebevoll war er auch dann, wenn er Dankbarkeit zum Ausdruck brachte. Da unterlegte er in seinen Mails und sms-Botschaften die Anrede M. sowohl mit meinem Vornamen als auch mit ,Mutti', weil er fand, ich hätte mich so gut um ihn gekümmert. [...] Ich gehöre zu den vielen, die ihn vermissen werden."

Michael Fleischhacker, ehemaliger Chefredakteur, *Die Presse*, 13. 02.2013

■"Mit großer Bestürzung haben wir vom Ableben unseres langjährigen Partners und Freundes des Hauses, Krzysztof Michalski erfahren. Seine Gedanken zu den intellektuellen Fragen unserer Zeit, seine Kreativität und nicht zuletzt sein warmherziger Humor werden dem Burgtheater schmerzlich fehlen."

Matthias Hartmann und Corinna Lange, Wiener Burgtheater

■ "Ich wünsche ihm, dass er dort, wo er jetzt ist, endlich die Muße dazu findet, mit Nietzsche die weiter offenen Fragen auszudiskutieren."

**Otto Kallscheuer,** Professor für Philosophie , Universität Sassari, Italien

■ "Der Tod von Rektor Krzysztof Michalski ist ein schmerzlicher Verlust für das intellektuelle Europa. Er war ein scharfsinniger Vor- und Querdenker, der in der öffentlichen Debatte in Österreich fehlen wird. Es erfüllt mich auch persönlich mit Trauer, habe ich doch über die letzten Jahre immer wieder Gelegenheit gehabt, mit ihm zusammen zu treffen und zu arbeiten."

Richard N. Kühnel, Vertretung der Europäischen Kommission in Österreich

■ "Die Verbindung nach Polen hat er stets gehalten, auch als er 1982 in Wien

freiung Ostmitteleuropas auch unsere Freiheit mehren würde. Im 9. Wiener Bezirk wurden nicht die üblichen Ost-West-Dialoge abgehalten oder Entspannungsübungen friedlicher Koexistenz zwischen den Systemen veranstaltet, sondern der stets auch politisch ergiebige Austausch wissenschaftlicher Positionen gepflegt. Die Stadt Wien und die Republik Österreich bekamen damit ihr erstes Institute for Advanced Study von internationaler Statur, was sie nicht immer hinreichend zu schätzen wissen. [...] Denker wie Charles Taylor und Ralf Dahrendorf gingen im IWM ein und aus, über die Bedeutung der Religion in Europa etwa ist am IWM früh und intensiv nachgedacht worden. Lebhaft erinnere ich einen Abend, an dem der damalige grüne Fraktionschef Joschka Fischer zunächst in öffentlicher Runde, dann in kleinem Kreis im nahegelegenen Beisl Stomach und schließlich im Weinkeller des Fürsten Schwarzenberg mit der Frage rang, ob man angesichts der ethnischen Säuberungen im zerfallenden Jugoslawien einen prinzipientreuen Pazifismus aufrechterhalten könne. Oder an eine Sommerschule in Castel Gandolfo, wo unter schweigender, aber wacher Anteilnahme von Papst Johannes Paul II., einem persönlichen Freund Michalskis aus alten Krakauer Zeiten, amerikanische Neokonservative, katholische Deutsche und ein Freidenker wie Tony Judt über soziale Gerechtigkeit stritten. [...] Für mich war Krzysztof Michalski ein ,Herr Europa', und in seinem Sinne soll der Kampf für das vereinte Europa weiter gehen."

Claus Leggewie, Direktor, Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut Essen, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 14. 02. 2013

• "We lost a great philosophical mind and public intellectual of rare kind. Krzysztof Michalski was a man of many virtues and merits. His contribution to the development of human sciences in Poland, Europe and the United States is substantial. His books on Heidegger and Nietzsche formed whole generations of intellectuals in our country. His influence reached far beyond academia. We will never forget about Michalski's role in the construction of democratic open society in Poland and other post-communist societies."

Marek Lubaś, Director, Institute of Sociology, Jagiellonian University Krakow

#### Maarten Brands and Ton Nijhuis,

Director, Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam; Member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board mit Cornelia Klinger und Klaus Nellen sein Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen gründete. Die Bedeutung dieses Instituts vor und nach dem Fall der Mauer als Denkstätte der europäischen Wiedervereinigung kann kaum überschätzt werden. In das neutrale Österreich kamen Intellektuelle und "Dissidenten", die nach Deutschland nicht einreisen wollten – oder nicht einreisen durften. In Wien konnten wir Westler lernen, wie schal unsere Zufriedenheit mit einem halben Europa war und dass die wesentlich von Solidarnosc angetriebene Be-

• "Krzysztof Michalski's Institute for the Human Sciences has long held a special place, asking the defining questions and attracting an astonishing circle of exciting thinkers, coming together at a point where ideas, heart and society meet, and the future of an enlivened, self-aware and hopeful Europe feels very real."

Dardis McNamee, Editor-in-chief, Vienna Review, March 2013

• "With great dolor, I bid farewell to Krzysztof on behalf of his friends at Gazeta Wyborcza, a newspaper that he honored with his essays. His death leaves a void for all of us."

Adam Michnik, Historian, publicist and editor-in-chief, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 12. 02. 2013

"Krzysztof was a man who really mattered. To the intellectual world, the political world, to East and West and to our common hometown of Vienna. I am so glad to have met him."

**Ewald Nowotny,** Governor, Österreichische Nationalbank

■ "A philosopher who came from Eastern Europe to Vienna—with a global vision, immense organizational talent and great personal charme. An impressive scholar—with the ability to communicate beyond epistemic and other boundaries. A human being who will be greatly missed."

Helga Nowotny, President, European Research Council; Member, IWM Academic Advisory Board

"The Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies will remain deeply grateful to Krzysztof Michalski for his support during his NetIAS presidency."

Sami Pihlström, Director, Helsinki Collegium of Advanced Studies

,Früh schon stand er in den europäischen Startlöchern. Als es in der zweiten Hälfte der Achtzigerjahre östlich des Eisernen Vorhangs zu bröckeln begann und die Zahl derer zunahm, die das Ende der großen Spaltung herbeisehnten: Da hatte Krzysztof Michalski längst sein Institut gegründet, dessen nicht geringste Aufgabe es sein sollte, nicht Festtagsbrücken, sondern geistig anspruchsvolle Stege zwischen Ost-, Mittel- und Westeuropa zu schaffen. [...] In Polen hatte er mit Leszek Kolakowski zusammengearbeitet, der – fast möchte man sagen: exemplarisch - den Weg vom überzeugten Sozialisten zum skeptischen Gottsucher durchlaufen hatte. Michalski gelang es früh, als Lehrender in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Fuß zu fassen. Doch er vergaß sein Polen nicht. Dort brannte die Fackel der Freiheit, auch ein gewisser Karol Wojtyla hielt sie in der Hand, und Michalski gehörte, wenn auch strikter Laie, zu dessen Umfeld. Mit einer Empfehlung Wojtylas ging er in den mitteleuropäischen Westen, nach Wien, und schlug dort ein ,Institute for Humanities' vor. 1982 war es gegründet, es hieß am Ende ,Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen', Michalski wurde und blieb Rektor. Das Institut war dem österreichischen Staat willkommen, er verwöhnte es finanziell aber nie. Dennoch erblühte es ost-westeuropäischen intellektuellen Werkstatt. [...] Krzysztof Michalski bestand immer darauf, ein Forschender und Lehrender zu bleiben, die Hälfte des Jahres versah er eine Professur für Philosophie in Boston. Vor allem aber war er wirklich das, was man einen Vermittler nennt. Mit Leidenschaft brachte er Menschen zusammen, suchte Stipendiaten aus und achtete dabei sehr darauf, dass das Pendel nicht nur in eine Richtung ausschlug: Christen und Muslime, libertäre Linke und konservative Theologen, Empiriker und Visionäre – alle sollten es sein. [...] Europa hat nicht viele, die wie er Europäer des ganzen Kontinents sind."

schnell und wurde wirklich zu einer

Thomas Schmid, Journalist und Herausgeber der *WELT* Gruppe, *Die Welt*, 15. 02. 2013

■ "Wien und Europa hat einen wunderbaren Denker, einen wahren Humanisten, einen großen Philosophen verloren, einen Menschen, der Wien nicht nur Ideen und Gedanken gegeben, sondern in dieser Stadt Raum für intellektuellen Diskurs geschaffen hat, einen Denk-Ort, einen Nachdenk-Ort, einen bürgerlichen Salon und einen Treffpunkt der globalen Intelligenzija."

Thomas Seifert, Chefredakteur, Wiener Zeitung

*"IWM was to become both a home"* for the Patočka archive and a forum for intellectuals on both sides of the *Iron Curtain. In time it acquired a* broader profile as a community of scholars devoted to overcoming boundaries between East and West. Michalski remained *IWM's* rector until his death. He was a rare intellectual with a talent for organization. [...] He believed that philosophers should con*tinue to ask the big questions: about* the meaning of life, of death, of history. He was preoccupied with the problem of the passing of time and with the historicality of reason, understanding and truth."

Marci Shore, Associate Professor of History, Yale University; IWM Visiting Fellow, *The Times*, 22. 02. 2013

• *"We admired him greatly as a man of deep understanding and remark-*

was not only a philosopher, but also a custodian of the legacy of eminent humanists from Central and Eastern Europe. It is enough to mention Jan Patočka, Józef Tischner or Bronisław Geremek, whom he commemorated by giving their names to prestigious fellowships at the Institute. Will there be anyone who will commemorate the life and work of Michalski with the *same care and, above all, skill?* [...] Michalski used to come once a year to lead a two-week seminar at the University of Warsaw, which was dedicated to German philosophy (usually Nietzsche) and taking place in the Centre of Studies of Ancient Tradition, in the imperium of yet another centaur—philosopher and organizer—Jerzy Axer. Before the classes, the atmosphere was filled with expectations: students were waiting for 'that Krzysztof Michalski' and they were curious whether the meeting would be 'as everyone says'. Indeed, everything was special. Michalski would dwell for hours on one philosophical *question, he would walk from left to* right and toss pieces of chalk, and, instead of making breaks between the sentences, he would say 'iszsz' or perhaps the German 'ich', as if it was a secret response to the Heideggerian Seinsfrage or as if the professor had burned himself with the 'flame of eternity'..."

Sławomir Sierakowski, Editor-in-chief, *Krytyka Polityczna,* 12. 02. 2013

What were Krzysztof's views? When he left Poland, they were liberal-conservative. His experiences in the West made him move to the left, but not in a partisan sense. He had friends among Christian democrats, conservatives and socialists. Also in Poland he tried to maintain good relations with different political currents, but his sympathies were obvious. The field of his ideological identification was marked by prominent Poles—Józef Tischner, Leszek Kołakowski, Bronisław Geremek and Jacek Kuroń—whose memories he aimed to preserve. He organized a series of big conferences on social politics in the US and Europe and he devoted them to Jacek Kuroń. He was a faithful friend, and he fought a conscious, persistent battle for the place of such people in the Polish and international collective memory."

Aleksander Smolar, Chairman of the

■ "Krzysztof was a thinker with a very wide vision; he had an unerring sense for what needed to be said, worked on, explored, discussed; what people needed to be connected to each other, and what debates had to be fought out. Very often he brought nothing but that to the table, and with it he managed to convince foundations, intellectuals, and even skeptical politicians. He built a great organization and drew together a great network. Such people are rare. It was a great shock to lose him. I hope we can carry on his work."

**Charles Taylor,** Professor em. of Philosophy, McGill University, Montréal; IWM Permanent Fellow, *Kultura Liberalna*, 19. 02. 2013

,Wissenschafts- und Forschungsminister Karlheinz Töchterle zeigte sich betroffen über das Ableben des Rektors und Gründers des Instituts für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen (*IWM*) Krzysztof Michalski. ,Seine Arbeit hat wesentlich dazu beigetragen, Ideen und Erfahrungen aus dem Osten Europas in westliche Debatten *zu tragen. Das IWM und Österreich* verlieren einen wichtigen Botschafter der grenzüberschreitenden Verständigung', so Minister Töchterle. Seit der *Gründung im Jahr* 1982 *hat sich das* иwм auf die Trennlinien zwischen Ost und West konzentriert, später wurde der wissenschaftliche Fokus auf die Balkanregion sowie die Staaten der ehemaligen Sowjetunion ausgedehnt. Unter der Führung von Krzysztof Michalski hat sich das *IWM* zu einem renommierten Forschungsinstitut entwickelt und dazu beigetragen, Wien als intellektuelles Zentrum zwischen Ost und West zu positionieren. Ein persönliches Anliegen war Michalski auch der Dialog zwischen Kirche und Wissenschaft, etwa im Rahmen der Gespräche in Castel Gandolfo, die er für , seinen' polnischen Papst konzipieren und leiten durfte. ,Krysztof Michalski war einer der bedeutendsten Intellektuellen unserer Zeit, der es verstand, unterschiedliche Denkschulen, Disziplinen und gesellschaftliche Grundfragen zusammen zu führen. Als Brückenbauer zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik hinterlässt er eine große Lücke', so Wissenschaftsminister Töchterle abschließend."

ringste Anbiederung. Ein Mann mit Eigenschaften geradezu paradoxer Mischung. Eindeutig Pole, gleichzeitig auch Österreicher und Kosmopolit, der in Wien, Boston und Warschau gleichermaßen zu Hause war. Bei alldem kein akademischer Wichtigtuer, sondern begnadet mit trockenem Witz – bei allen lösbaren und unlösbaren Problemen gab's auch was zu lachen, zumindest zu lächeln. [...] Unser Verlust ist groß, sehr groß."

Alexander Van der Bellen, Wiener Gemeinderat und Beauftragter der Stadt Wien für Universitäten & Forschung

"I will miss Krzysztof's wonderful, mischievous sense of humor and superb sense of intellectual taste. This deprives me of the chance to come together with him again, which makes me feel very sad; but it also deprives the world of a person who made much good happen in the world. The IWM has been great outpost of intellectual and moral daring. I do trust you all will find a way to carry on your mission."

Lindsay Waters, Executive Editor for the Humanities, *Harvard University Press* 

"Krzysztof Michalski was an indefatigable idealist with his feet firmly on the ground, a majestic intellect, a persevering fighter and deeply appreciating and loyal friend. His memory will be indelibly inscribed in all who worked and fought and laughed with him."

Annabelle and George Weidenfeld, Chairman of Weidenfeld & Nicolson Publishers, London; President, Institute

for Strategic Dialogue, London; Member, IWM Board of Patrons

• "We have all lost an outstanding scholar and a courageous human being of the greatest integrity and of uncompromisingly high standards of scholarship. What he achieved both in scholarly and institutional terms was absolutely exceptional."

**Björn Wittrock,** University Professor, Uppsala University; Principal, Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study (SCAS), Uppsala

A complete list of all obituaries is available on the IWM website.

able ability to do good in the world."

Grace and Bob Silvers, Editor, New York Review of Books

• "In Poland, the books of Krzysztof Michalski were groundbreaking, as they introduced the thought of Martin Heidegger and modern German philosophy. To the world, Michalski Board, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; Member, IWM Academic Advisory Board, *Polityka*, 19. 02. 2013

■ "Zuerst war das IWM nicht mehr als eine kleine Wohnung im neunten Wiener Gemeindebezirk. Doch Michalski, der tätige Philosoph, gab nicht auf und schaffte es mit der ihm eigenen Aktivität, daraus ein international sichtbares geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliches Institute for Advanced Study zu machen."

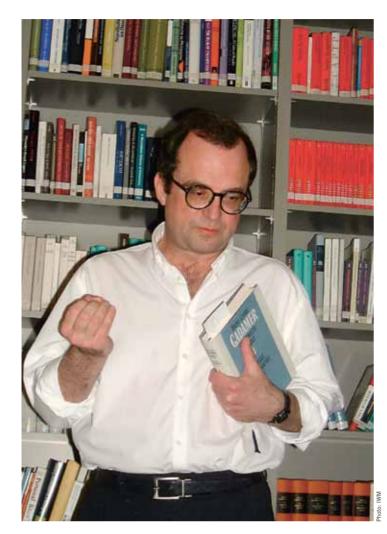
Klaus Taschwer, Der Standard, 12. 02. 2013

■ "Krzysztof Michalski erlebte ich als absolut ungewöhnliche Persönlichkeit. Ein Philosoph mit höchsten wissenschaftlichen Ansprüchen, gleichzeitig ein Finanzierungs- und Organisationstalent ersten Ranges mit 'Gefühl' für Medienarbeit; praktisch aus dem Nichts schuf er in Wien das IWM, ein transatlantisches Zentrum für Intellektuelle. Krzysztof Michalski kannte anscheinend (fast) jede(n), der (die) auf diesen Feldern eine gewichtige Rolle einnimmt, aber – so meine ich – mit spröder Distanz, ohne die ge-

APA OTS, 12. 02. 2013

## A True Citizen of the World

#### BY IRA KATZNELSON AND CLAUS OFFE



ver the course of three decades, the annual programs of IWM have been testimony to the protean mind, intellectual energy, and normative commitments of Krzysztof Michalski, the founder and spiritus rector of this unique institution. What an ambition is inscribed in its very name: Institut für die (implying all) Wissenschaften vom Menschen! Yet that is what Krzysztof wrought. Spanning philosophy and public affairs, social movements and public policy, analytical history and value-based assessments, social sciences and the humanities, the Institute, over the years of continued growth, has offered a home for these engagements of the highest order.

From the very start, as a martial law regime was being installed in Warsaw and long before anyone could anticipate the fall of the Berlin Wall, Krzysztof fashioned the Instisince, his work as an academic leader and public intellectual never lost an unremitting focus on the spiritual and cultural contours of "Europe."

Then young, just 34 and having earned a doctorate in Philosophy at Warsaw University in 1974, his work was inspired by the Czech phenomenologist Jan Patočka and specialized in Heidegger's and Gadamer's writings, and, later, those of Husserl and Nietzsche. With this background, Krzysztof must have seemed an unlikely person to take on such an audacious challenge. Reminding others of the need for the virtues of "decency" and "courage," he was fully aware that the new venture would require "much patience, diplomatic skill, tact, and sensitivity," as he put things early on. Just these traits he possessed to an exceptional and exemplary extent. Even then, he possessed the necessary imagination, drive, and daring. Even then, he combined range and curiosity with rigor and depth. And he exhibited a burning desire to recover an idea of Europe imagined from the East, insisting that it be combined with a cosmopolitan and tolerant sensibility. At once deeply Polish, marked by training in Cracow and by political commitments forged in times both difficult and uncertain, and at home in institutions, cities, and networks that were far-flung, Krzysztof embraced Vienna as a city where exchanges across East-West borderlands might be possible—a site that itself was in search of a post-imperial, and, later, post-Cold War purpose. He came to this task with the help of a highly diverse network he brought from his Polish milieu, with contacts ranging from the new Polish Pope to Jacek Kuroń, from Adam Michnik to Fr. Józef Tischner, and extending to the exiled Leszek Kołakowski. The task concerning Central and East European countries, Krzysztof argued, was to "rediscover and remodel their self-understanding under completely changed conditions." Very soon, his visionary project and personal magnetism engaged the support of such leading western thinkers as Hans-Georg Gadamer and Charles Taylor, Edward Shils and Ralf Dahrendorf, Fritz Stern and Reinhard Koselleck, Emmanuel Lévinas and Paul Ricœur. These persons first yielded to his importuning, but soon became close colleagues and often dear friends.

Over the years, the interests, networks, and subjects that Krzysztof brought within the ambit of the Institute broadened to include the United States, which itself became a second home once he began his professorship at Boston University in 1987. More than anyone we know, Krzysztof was both a true European and an Atlantic intellectual who urgently tried to bridge what he came to see as a "growing rift between Europe and the United States." Yet nobody could have mistaken him for a representative of the "new Europe" as styled by American neoconservatives. As in Vienna, from Boston, he crafted relationships with persons in ident of the European Commission on the "The Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe" during the early years of this century, and often consulted with ranking members of the Commission to offer pointed advice. And he managed to tolerate, even provide a forum for, figures whose views he deeply disliked.

Over the years, especially since the nineties, Krzysztof fortified the Institute's attention to the entwined fates of social justice, including gender justice, and solidarity, thus on challenges that had not been resolved by state socialism, becoming ever more urgent on top of its ruins, and throughout the West, where inequalities multiplied. Regarding these vexing questions, as indeed, on all the others with which he sought to deal, the free play of ideas at the Institute always was a good deal more than a bromide or slogan.

This spirit of intellectual and political pluralism also characterized the remarkable conferences he organized at the invitation of Pope John Paul II at Castel Gandolfo during the summer. With topics that included European identities after the fall of Communism, cross-cultural conceptions of time, and recent historiography dealing with the Enlightenment, Krzysztof promoted various forms of boundary-crossing with great composure.

But it was not simply the prominent or well-endowed whom he

He exhibited a burning desire to recover an idea of Europe imagined from the East, insisting that it be combined with a cosmopolitan and tolerant sensibility.

the academy, journalism, and public affairs across a wide spectrum of politics and scholarship. He also induced such leading scholars as Tony

wished to cultivate. For Krzysztof was especially drawn to younger talent. He offered a special boost to emerging intellectuals and aspiring politicians from East and Central Europe, without neglecting those from other locations. The various fellowship programs he created, combined with the Institute's spirited lecture series, remarkable library, Cortona Summer School, and lively informal and conference exchanges provided a fertile framework for the conduct of meaningful intellectual life, one lacking in self-celebration or the pomp of academic elitism. Rather, the style Krzysztof cultivated facilitated mutual inspiration by fellows, guests, and staff for the sake of sober and serious labor, always leavened by a keen sense of the ridiculous. Across the range of scholarKrzysztof garnered profound respect earned through his aura of purpose and practical achievement. His wry humor, quiet warmth, ability to listen, and embedded loyalty repeatedly transformed even the most formal of relationships into lasting bonds. Concurrently, he exhibited a much admired ability to raise funds for the Institute from governments, foundations, and individuals by deploying skills that were part and parcel of his authenticity and that persuaded by the power of his intellectual judgment and normative steadfastness.

For each of us, the personal and intellectual friendship he offered was prized. Krzysztof taught us much about connections between values and institutions, learning and networks. His uncompromising standards and persistent energy, even when ill, drew us, as it did tens upon tens of others into his orbit. Together, we had the chance to experience this constellation of traits when he invited us both to participate, in the wake of 1989, in an effort to build indigenous policy capacity to craft a post-Communist social state in Budapest and Warsaw, Prague and Bratislava. Together, we also participated with our colleague Kenneth Prewitt in shaping a series of conferences over the past decade that have grappled with the complexities of solidarity, as concept and reality, for our time.

All the while, Krzysztof sustained his vocation as a penetrating scholar. In addition to Boston, he held a professorship at the University of Warsaw, a post he first secured in 1986 after being habilitated there in philosophy. His books on logic and time, on theories of meaning, and, most notably on human finiteness in The Flame of Eternity (see publications, p. 24), whose radical rereading of Nietzsche has attracted devoted attention by readers in Polish, German, and English, mark out a philosophical career of originality and distinction.

He was, in short, as our colleague Shlomo Avineri has observed, "a truly unusual person. Not a philosopher-king, but a philosopher-citizen, who was able to practice what Thomas More had called 'philosophia civilior,' active in the here-andnow; a Polish patriot and a true citizen of the world, equally at home in metaphysics and organizational know-how, to whom none of us could ever say 'no'; a humanist in the Erasmian mold." ⊲

tute to serve as a robust European institution, connecting East and West. As such, the Institute came to have a strong formative impact on western scholars and intellectuals who were offered the chance to discover the heterogeneous and mostly underground cultures of investigation and debate in the East, and on their eastern colleagues, including a young generation, who had been cut off by the Iron Curtain from wider European currents. These connections at the founding in 1981/82 were unprecedented, perhaps even utopian. By acting, Krzysztof and his colleagues allied the Institute with emerging deep currents, and thus with possibilities for profound change. Ever Judt and Timothy Snyder, whose main institutional affiliations were in the United States, to play a central role in Vienna.

Personally modest and reserved, Krzysztof never shrank from personal engagement with a wide range of persons, encompassing those who possessed political power as well as individuals who sought to speak truth to power. Within democratic life, his friendships crossed divisions of partisanship and ideology to include Kurt Biedenkopf and Joschka Fischer, Bronisław Geremek and Alfred Gusenbauer; that is, persons who wished to accomplish both. On the character of Europe, he chaired the Reflection Group advising the Pres-

ly, political, and funding networks,

**Ira Katznelson** is Professor of Political Science and History at Columbia University, New York, and President of the Social Science Research Council.

**Claus Offe** is Professor of Political Sociology at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin. Both are members of the IWM Academic Advisory Board.

## It's too bad Krzysztof is not here

#### BY TIMOTHY SNYDER

fter the Iron Curtain descended, what Winston Churchill in 1946 could still call the "famous cities" of Eastern Europe came to seem oriental and mysterious. East and West became different worlds, divided by military alliances, economic systems, and ideologies. Those who sought ways through and around the Iron Curtain had to rely on ideas that preceded and might outlast the geopolitical division, and conversations that would in the meantime seem enlightening on both sides.

The Polish thinker Krzysztof Michalski, who died on February 11 in Vienna, was one of the few who found such ways, and he became one of the architects of the Europe that emerged after the end of communism. Born in Warsaw, he devoted his life to the risky proposition that philosophical discussion, in the right setting, could bring together Poles and Germans, Eastern and Western Europeans, and eventually Europeans and Americans. He exemplified what Thomas More called *philosophia civilior*, or civil philosophy, which "knows its stage" and "adapts itself to the play in hand." The stage was the Europe of ideas; the play was the Cold War and its resolution. The Iron Curtain could be crossed and might be raised.

Michalski's youthful vision of a common European conversation arose from the seriousness of the Continental philosophical tradition in Poland and the predicaments of scholarship under its Communist regime. In the late 1960s, when he was a student there, Warsaw University had world-class philosophers,



a seminar in Dubrovnik with Hans-Georg Gadamer, Michalski had the idea of founding an institute for advanced study where Eastern European thinkers (above all dissidents) could meet Western European scholars. The point was not to reconcile official ideological divisions, but rather to reach human understanding and establish friendships as a "side effect of intellectual work on subjects of common interest."

Michalski was anticipating, and resolving, a practical problem in the Eastern European political thought of the day. In the 1980s Eastern European dissidents defined "civil society" as the independent activity of people who ignored the oppressive Communist state and sought authentic relationships that might, by indirection, create a new sort of politics. Václav Havel and Adam Michnik spoke of "living in truth" or "living

He became one of the architects of the Europe that emerged after the end of communism. was independent activity, but with structure and support.

It took some courage, all the same. Funding was very limited at the beginning and uncertain throughout. Michalski and his partners, the young German philosophers Cornelia Klinger and Klaus Nellen, abandoned normal academic careers for an uncertain mission in a city where they were little known. They chose Vienna because it was "at the Iron Curtain, but in a neutral country." Communist regimes were more likely to allow their citizens to travel there than to a member of NATO.

The first project of the Institute was to publish the collected works of Michalski's mentor Patočka, which was harder than it sounds. Patočka had signed Charter 77, the demand from Czechoslovak dissidents that the Communist regime respect the rule of law. He had died in 1977 under police interrogation. The loyal Czech students of his illegal underground seminar rescued his many unpublished works from his apartment before the police arrived. Soon after the founding of the Institute, Michalski's friend Nellen began to smuggle Patočka's papers across the Czechoslovak-Austrian border. From these beginnings an Eastern European thinker became a generally known philosopher; writings that were circulating only in Czech samizdat became books accessible in the West. At the same time Michalski began to organize yearly visits of leading humanists to meet John Paul II at the papal summer residence of Castel Gandolfo, as part of a long-term project on enlightenment and faith. This was the first of several undertakings that, at first glance, seemed of special interest to Eastern Europe, but which in fact permitted movement across the entire European stage. As rector of the Institute for Human Sciences, Michalski sponsored inquiries into, among other subjects, the state of higher education, social inequality after freemarket reforms, the spiritual bases of European integration, gender equality, and women's rights.

This intellectual agenda, as befits civil philosophy, was both profound

of his wicked anecdotes concerned the great and the good (John Paul II, for example) who had made his work possible. Though he was good at persuading people to help, he never used them as instruments; earthy stories make us all human: teller, listener, victim alike.

The civility of Krzysztof's philosophy resided in his will to create what he called a "free space" for the discussion of ideas; it did not involve concessions to fashion or compromises in style. He engaged with the deep questions of the phenomenological tradition: What, when, and why is human being? His final study, The Flame of Eternity (see publications, p. 24), a radical reinterpretation of Nietzsche through religious thought, begins from Nietzsche's fertile paradox: "This life, your eternal life!" It is the furthest thing from dry philosophy: the chapter on love, for example, summons the Christian image of heavenly sweat (coeli sudor) and the Jewish notion of the dew of God (talia). Love eternal: "in the blink of an eye" it unites us with an

He engaged with the deep questions of the phenomenological tradition: What, when, and why is human being?

and timely; it permitted a continuation of activity through the transformations of the late 1980s and early 1990s. When communism came to an end in those years, people who had been fellows of the Institute rose to high positions in culture and politics. But such accomplishments understate its importance, which resides above all in intellectual and personal relationships that made European unity seem axiomatic. It was here, for example, that Tony Judt other and calls into question all previous certainties; in this, Michalski writes, it is like death, and prepares us for death, not as consolation but as awareness that we enter the unknowable more than once.

The sense of practiced eternity, perhaps a mark of love, surrounded Krzysztof's allegiances. It was easy to be surprised by the mature grace of his two adult daughters, Kalina and Julia, because he told stories of their girlhood as though they were anecdotes from last week. "It's too bad that Wojtyła is not here," he might say, smiling, as though his friend the pope had not just died the most public death in history, but were simply somewhere else, "I would ask him to put in a good word for you." Or: "It's too bad Patočka is not here," as if the teacher who had been killed three decades before were just otherwise occupied, "because he was very interested in that question." It's too bad Krzysztof is not here. ⊲

including Leszek Kołakowski. Michalski belonged to the spectacular Polish revolutionary generation of 1968, dispersed when the Communist regime expelled many of its brightest members as "Zionists" and fired their teacher Kołakowski. Michalski remained in Poland and wrote a dissertation on Heidegger, befriending the Polish priest-phenomenologist Józef Tischner and the Czech phenomenologist Jan Patočka.

Michalski's second book, on Husserl, brought him to West Germany, where he impressed teachers and made friends. In spring 1980, during as if we were free." The weakness of these inspiring ideas was their understandable suspicion of the state: civil society cannot endure without institutions, which require not just honesty but tact, not only courage but connections. Michalski had all of these. As a scholar in his thirties he managed to obtain the backing of German scholars and foundations, the city of Vienna, the government of Austria, George Soros, and even Pope John Paul II, who, as Karol Wojtyła, was a fellow Polish philosopher and a friend, for his Institute for Human Sciences. This

directed the project that became his book *Postwar* (2006), which more than any work has undivided European history.

It was characteristic of Michalski's unusual blend of intensity and charm that he believed that an esoteric name, "human sciences," could successfully advertise a social endeavor. He could brood with the best of them; some visiting fellows of the Institute claim they never heard him say a word. His speech mixed seductive charisma and professorial absentmindedness. He would sometimes forget which language he was speaking. He was amusing in English; he was funny in German; he was riotous in Polish. Most

Timothy Snyder is Bird White Housum Professor of History at Yale University and IWM Permanent Fellow. This obituary was first published by *The New York Review of Books* on March 21, 2013.

## Ein Tänzer zwischen den Welten

#### VON ALFRED GUSENBAUER



m Samstag, dem 22. Dezember 2012, nachmittags, habe ich Krzysztof das letzte Mal in seiner Wohnung im 1. Wiener Gemeindebezirk besucht. Welcher Kontrast war hier spürbar. Draußen wälzten sich die - trotz Krise - konsumhungrigen Massen durch die weihnachtsbeleuchteten Fußgängerzonen der Innenstadt, um ihre letzten Weihnachtsbesorgungen zu machen. Drinnen sitzt der müde gewordene, gesundheitlich angeschlagene Philosoph inmitten seiner Bücher und vergilbten Fotos. Scheinbar haben die Welt des "Draußen" und des "Drinnen" nichts miteinander zu tun. Wir trinken - wie immer - wenn wir uns in der Predigergasse treffen. Dort wohnt mein Freund Krzysztof, der so gar nichts von einem Prediger an sich hatte. Der kritische, immer skeptische Philosoph war stets auf der Suche nach neuen Fragen, auch wenn die alten noch nicht beantwortet waren. Ich trinke Wodka, er trinkt diesmal Tee und Wasser. Alkohol verträgt sich nicht gut mit seinen Medikamenten. "Krzysztof, welche Krankheit plagt Dich? Die Freunde, auch jene in Amerika, machen sich Sorgen. Können wir Dir helfen?" "Ja, ich habe etwas abgenommen. Ja, und die Krankheit ist schlimm. Aber die Ärzte haben alles unter Kontrolle - sagen sie." Er bleibt skeptisch gegenüber der Kunst der Ärzte, gegenüber seinem weiteren Verbleib auf Erden. Kein Hauch von Kapitulation oder Hoffnungslosigkeit streift ihn, aber auch kein Hurra-Optimismus. Wir diskutieren die für April 2013 geplante Solidaritätskonferenz. Es soll um Ungleichheit

und soziale Solidarität gehen. Damit wollen wir unsere – seit vielen Jahren bestehende – Konversation zwischen Intellektuellen, Politikern und Wirtschaftsleuten aus Europa und den USA fortsetzen. Krzysztof war immer bestrebt, intelligente Leute zusammenzubringen, von links bis rechts, von grün bis liberal, von laizistisch bis klerikal, nur totalitäre Geister mied er. Politische Kritik an Andersdenkenden pfleg-

der öffentlichen Hand – der Republik Österreich und der Gemeinde Wien – an, das Institut zu unterstützen. Auch ich bekam das als Parteivorsitzender und Bundeskanzler zu spüren. Aber bei ihm steckte viel mehr dahinter. Er wollte die durch den Eisernen Vorhang lange getrennten, oft zerrissenen Gesprächsfäden der europäischen Ideengeschichte wieder verknüpfen und sie verbinden mit dem Diskurs in Amerika, wo

lich bei, das Denken dieses außerordentlichen Papstes zu erweitern.

Krzysztof unterrichtete an der Boston University und hielt sich im Kreis von Ira Katznelson, Ken Prewitt, Richard Sennett und Cathy Newman auf. Er brachte Charles Taylor nach Wien. George Soros suchte die Diskussion mit ihm ebenso wie Giuliano Amato. Kurt Biedenkopf, Joschka Fischer, Lord Dahrendorf und Claus Offe waren oft zu Gast. Eine Parteiveranstaltung, sondern anlässlich der IWM Summer School in Cortona (Toskana) kennen. "Das ist ein interessanter Bursche", meinte Krzysztof und verschleppte uns in eine toskanische Taverne.

Es war diese Kraft, Menschen zusammenzuführen, die sich auch ohne ihn hätten treffen sollen, solche, die sich ohne ihn nie getroffen hätten und solche, die sich hoffentlich auch nach seinem Wegscheiden treffen werden.

Krzysztof war ein Wanderer, war ein Tänzer zwischen den verschiedenen Welten. Ohne Opportunismus, Schmeichelei und falsche Kumpanei führte er elegant das philosophischpolitische Tanzbein.

In memoriam posteris - was von uns bleibt der Nachwelt erhalten? Diese Frage, die für uns alle näher rückt, hat Krzysztof durch sein Lebenswerk schon beantwortet. Er hinterlässt nicht nur Spuren und Erinnerungen, Empfindungen und Tröstungen. Das IWM – als intellektuelle Begegnungsstätte des freien Geistes - bleibt hoffentlich noch lange das Denkmal, das an ihn erinnert. Nachdem wir uns am 22. Dezember freundschaftlich - und ich besorgt – verabschiedet hatten, brach er auf, um Cornelia Klinger, seinen langjährigen, intellektuellen und emotionellen Hafen zu besuchen. Jetzt hat sich Krzysztof zur ewigen Ruhe begeben und wir - wir tanzen weiter. ⊲

Er hinterlässt nicht nur Spuren und Erinnerungen, Empfindungen und Tröstungen. Das IWM – als intellektuelle Begegnungsstätte des freien Geistes – bleibt hoffentlich noch lange das Denkmal, das an ihn erinnert.

te er mit den für ihn typischen weit aufgerissenen, neugierigen Augen, seinem tiefen Lachen und einem lakonischen "aber er ist zumindest intelligent" abzutun.

Viele werden sich fragen, wie es dieser, meist skeptisch blickende, von keinerlei Moden berührte, tiefsinnige Philosoph aus Polen geschafft hat, die international anerkannteste geisteswissenschaftliche Einrichtung Österreichs – das IWM Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen – aufzubauen. Ich gebe zu, er konnte nervtötend bis unerträglich sein, wenn er als Subventionsschnorrer auftrat. Nachdem er weltweit vor allem privates Funding aufstellte, sah er es als Verpflichtung die europäischen Wurzeln zu einer eigenständigen Tradition des Denkens gereift sind, die heute vielen in Europa fremd erscheint.

Krzysztof war an vielen Orten zu Hause. In Warschau pflegte er seine Beziehungen zu jenem liberalen Kern der polnischen Intelligenz, der um den "Runden Tisch" den friedlichen Wandel in Mittel- und Osteuropa einleitete.

Aleksander Smolar und Bronisław Geremek, Aleksander Kwaśniewski und Ryszard Kapuściński, Adam Michnik und Jacek Kuroń zählten zu seinen Gesprächspartnern.

Er konnte Papst Johannes Paul 11 für die *Castel Gandolfo-Gespräche* gewinnen und trug so wesentneue Generation von einflussreichen Denkern wie Timothy Snyder und Ivan Krastev wurden aus dem Biotop des IWM geboren.

Kari Schwarzenberg, Krzysztof und ich haben meist – wenn alle anderen nach einem seiner Abendessen, wo meist vorzüglicher Hering und Krzysztofs heißgeliebte Piroggi kredenzt wurden – die Flasche noch einmal um den Tisch gereicht, um in die unerschöpflichen Tiefen der europäischen Geschichte einzutauchen und Antworten auf die Fragen der Gegenwart zu suchen.

Den derzeitigen Vorsitzenden der britischen Labour Party, Ed Miliband, lernte ich nicht – wie vielleicht zu erwarten wäre – auf einer

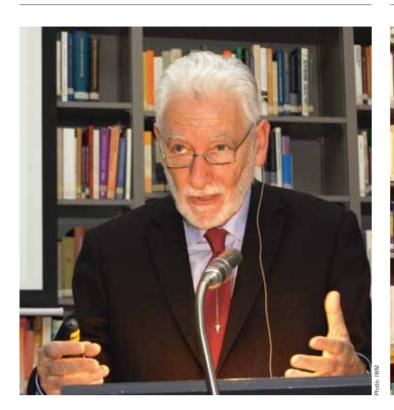
Alfred Gusenbauer war von Januar 2007 bis Dezember 2008 österreichischer Bundeskanzler. Seit 2009 ist er Präsident des Karl-Renner-Instituts Wien.

## Wenn Bilder zum Leben erwachen

Montagvortrag von Philippe Descola, 11. Dezember 2012

## Neurokulturen und Geschlecht

Montagvortrag von Sigrid Schmitz, 14. März 2013



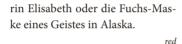
riele ein- oder zweidimensionale Darstellungen erscheinen auf ihre ganz eigene Art lebendig: ein Porträt starrt uns an, eine Skulptur streckt uns die Arme entgegen, eine Landschaftsmalerei lädt uns ein, in ihr zu verweilen. In seinem Vortrag "L'animation des images. Les dispositions cognitives qui prêtent vie à une image" setzte sich der französische Anthropologe Philippe Descola mit jenen kognitiven Dispositionen auseinander, die uns Bilder lebendig erscheinen lassen. Dabei kommt es nicht nur auf die Art des Bildes, sondern ganz besonders auf die kulturellen Gewohnheiten des Betrachters an. So wirkt ein Totemtier, das von australischen Aborigines auf Rinde gezeichnet wurde, anders als ein von Clouet gemaltes Portrait der Kaise-

#### **Monthly Lectures**

Once a month, Visiting Fellows and invited scholars give public lectures in the IWM library on subjects related to the main research fields of the Institute.

September 18, 2012 Nicolas de Warren: "The Elder Zosima's Secret: Patočka and Monotheism"

October 23, 2012



In Kooperation mit dem Institut Français d'Autriche in Wien.

Philippe Descola, Schüler von Claude Lévi-Strauss, ist Professor für Anthropologie der Natur am Collège de France in Paris und Leiter des Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale (LAS).



grenze überschreiten. Gleichzeitig wird das plastische Gehirn in der Leistungsgesellschaft zur Erfolgsressource, optimierbar und zu optimieren durch vielfältigste Selbstund Fremdtechnologien, die tief in den Körper eingreifen. In ihrem Vortrag fragte Sigrid Schmitz nach den emanzipatorischen Potenzialen, aber auch nach neuen Geschlechternormierungen in aktuellen Neurokulturen, wie beispielsweise der Neuro-

On Time

pädagogik, den Social Neurosciences oder der Neuroökonomie. ⊲

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Sigrid Schmitz ist Professorin für Gender Studies am Institut für Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie der Universität Wien.

## Does Democracy Grow under Pressure?

Monthly Lecture by Éva Forgács, January 22, 2013





Monthly Lecture by Krzysztof Pomian, April 18, 2013

Secularism, and the Arab Spring"

#### November 8, 2012

Peter Longerich: "Der Holocaust: Was wissen wir heute über die Täter?"

#### December 11, 2012

Philippe Descola: »L'animation des images. Les dispositions cognitives qui prêtent vie à une image«

#### January 22, 2013

**Éva Forgács:** "Does Democracy Grow under Pressure? Strategies of the Hungarian Neo-Avant-Garde of the 1960s and 1970s"

#### March 14, 2013

Sigrid Schmitz: "Neurokulturen und Geschlecht. Fragliche Unterschiede und ihre Bedeutung in der Leistungsgesellschaft"

April 18, 2013 Krysztof Pomian: "On Time" What new art forms does political pressure bring to life, and how do these affect, in their turn, the political scene? In her talk, Éva Forgács inquired into the close interconnectedness of political power and the arts rebelling against it, the case in point being the particular Hungarian developments during the two decades following the 1956 revolution. She highlighted how the dynamics of power played out in a

national and international context

when it came to an issue as frag-

ile as aesthetics. The lecture investigated how some art forms, while trying to avoid being political, get "weaponized" and how ethical and the aesthetic aspects of art inter-related under political oppression. ⊲

**Éva Forgács** is Adjunct Professor of Art History at the Art Center College of Design in Pasadena/California and EURIAS Visiting Fellow at the IWM. In his lecture, Krzysztof Pomian explored the question how we deal with what we call time. As he described, there are four families of such temporal practices: chronometry, chronology, chronography and chronosophy. In other words, we measure "time", we determine our position in "time", we register events that occur in "time", and we think and speak about "time". Each of these practices ascribes different characters to what it calls "time". Pomian examined whether we are dealing with the same object or with four different objects. If the latter is true, why are they given the same name? If they are dealing with one and the same object, why are there four different approaches to time? The remainder of the lecture was devoted to discuss these questions with the audience. ⊲

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**Krzysztof Pomian** is Professor of History at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń and Academic Director of the Museum of Europe in Brussels.

## **Open Self-Government** and Participatory Democracy

City Talk with Milan Ftáčnik, October 24, 2012



City Talk with Alexander van der Bellen, Milan Ftáčnik, Konrad Kramer (from left to right)

Politics on the level of cities are closer to the individual, and one can expect citizens to be more engaged in them than in national or even supra-national politics. Still, across Europe, political fatigue and distrust in politicians are growing. In order to counteract these serious tendencies, the city of Bratislava developed strategies to improve citizen involvement in political processes and to restore people's trust in political decision-making. Together with Alexander Van der Bellen (City

#### City Talks

Cities all over the world face complex and rapidly evolving challenges. The series City Talks, organized in cooperation with the Austrian newspaper Kurier, is a high profile forum for addressing these challenges. Mayors of important international cities are invited for a keynote speech on the future of their city, related challenges and political solutions. Former guests included Olaf Scholz (Hamburg) and Rafał Dutkiewicz (Breslau).

of Vienna), Konrad Kramar (Kurier) and Ivan Krastev (IWM) the mayor of Bratislava, Milan Ftáčnik, discussed how these policies are implemented on a practical level and what the two partner cities could possibly learn from each other-despite their very different circumstances.

While the size of territory is approximately equal, the population of Vienna is four times larger and the budget of the city government is 50 times higher. Considering that, the mayor of Bratislava presented his priority areas for the period 2010-2014 which include open self-government, transportation and quality of life. In his presentation at the IWM, Ftáčnik mainly focused on the former, namely how to increase transparency in the municipality, how to involve people in the decision-making processes and how to reduce corruption in urban planning, rental housing etc. Measures for increased transparency already implemented include the online publication of all contracts and invoices, and the fact that all tenders

are awarded by E-auctions.

The mayor of Bratislava also presented a project called "Participatory Budgeting" in which ordinary people decide in a process of democratic deliberation how to allocate parts of the municipal budget. The initiative involves more than 1200 cities seeking to encourage citizen involvement around the world and to reallocate city resources. Furthermore, plans for deepening the economic and cultural relations between Bratislava and Vienna were presented for discussion. ⊲

Milan Ftáčnik is mayor of Bratislava and former Minister of Education of the Slovak Republic

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Alexander Van der Bellen is member of the Viennese Municipal Council and Commissioner for Universities and Research of the City of Vienna

Konrad Kramar is foreign desk editor at the daily newspaper Kurier

Ivan Krastev is Chair of the Board of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, IWM Permanent Fellow and author of the book In Mistrust we Trust (see p. 23)

### From Tsar to Emperor

Colloquium on Secularism with Endre Sashalmi, November 12, 2012

The reforms of Peter the Great **L** are commonly associated with the advent of rationalism and secularism in Russia. This view however is contested by some contemporary scholars, and is becoming a subject of heated scholarly debates. The concept of natural law and contract theory, which are seen as crucial to secularization in the field of social and political thought, are present in the most important written sources of official Petrine ideology. It is revealing that whereas the duties of the ruler before Peter were overwhelmingly religious, during Peter the term "common good" became the central concept of the ideology and the justification of his policy. Peter's duty was to promote the common good of his subjects. The public image of the ruler also changed under Peter which is apparent in the surviving imagery. One of the sources crucial to the reflection of Peter's selfimage (and the reflection of ideology in imagery) is the frontispiece of his emblem book published in Amsterdam in 1705 which became the handbook of western symbolism in Russia. In his talk, Endre Sashalmi compared this image with Simon Ushakov's icon The Planting of the *Tree of the Muscovite State* (1668) in order to show the significant changes in the public image of the ruler, while discussing their relevance to the issue of secularization.  $\triangleleft$ 

Endre Sashalmi is Professor of History and Deputy-Chairman of the Department of Medieval and Early Modern History at the University of Pécs, Hungary.

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### The Russian Origins of the So-Called **Post-Secular Moment**

#### Colloquium on Secularism with Chris Stroop, April 29, 2013

Religion never lost its social sig-nificance or made a complete retreat from the public sphere, but many modern states did make attempts to repress it, while many intellectuals and scholars, even in states where such attempts were highly limited, regarded religious reasoning in the public sphere as illegitimate. By the end of the 20th century, it had become clear that attempts to keep religious reasoning out of the public sphere were increasingly untenable. In his talk, Christopher Stroop showed that some of the origins of this so-called post-secular moment are Russian and that the story of "resurgent religion" in the historically Christian West, and particularly in the United States, is largely a Cold War story. That World War I and the Russian Revolution served as catalysts for ecumenical and interconfessional activity, and for the development of a more intellectually robust public Christian discourse is well established. Nevertheless, the role the anti-Bolshevik Russian emigration played in shaping these developments has been little explored so far.  $\triangleleft$ 

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Chris Stroop is Senior Lecturer at the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration.

## Sacred and Secular Geography

Colloquium on Secularism with Andreas Andreopolous, October 5, 2012

 $B_{14^{th}}$  century explored the question of the representation of sacred space, especially in the new type of the icon of the Transfiguration,





which was influenced by hesychastic theology. This new type tried to represent space according to theological principles, Biblical doxology, and also the cartographic principles of the time. This last aspect is interesting, because although very little

#### Colloquia on Secularism

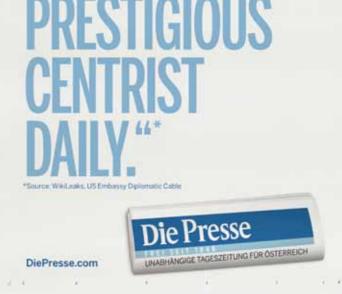
In this series, directed by IWM Fellow Clemena Antonova, scholars from various disciplines discuss guestions related to the IWM research focus Religion and Secularism. The colloquia are generously supported by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF).

of fourteenth-century scientific information from Constantinople and the Christian East is extant, we find in the iconography of the period an expression of the same directions in which the secular representation of space followed in the West as well as in the Arab East in subsequent centuries. In his talk, Andreas Andreopolous explored the secular background of this sacred map, which

presents a much more advanced understanding of space than the medieval *mappa mundi*, and yet does so by serving a complex theological idea. ⊲

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Andreas Andreopolous is Reader in Orthodox Christianity and Program Leader of the MTh in Orthodox Studies at the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Winchester.



### Die Moderne im interkulturellen Diskurs

Books in Perspective mit Jameleddine Ben-Abdeljelil, Cornelia Klinger, Hans Schelkshorn, 11. Oktober 2012

C eit Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts sind **)** in Lateinamerika, Asien und in jüngerer Zeit auch in Afrika eigenständige Diskurse über die Moderne entstanden, die von der europäischen Philosophie bis vor kurzem weitgehend ignoriert wurden. Die gegenwärtigen Umbrüche in verschiedenen Weltregionen, insbesondere in der arabischen Welt, machen jedoch in bedrängender Weise bewusst, dass ein globaler Diskurs über die Moderne ein Gebot der Stunde ist. Der 2012 im Velbrück Verlag erschienene Band Die Moderne im interkulturellen Diskurs versammelt Beiträge lateinamerikanischer, arabischer und europäischer AutorInnen, die vor dem Hintergrund unterschiedlicher Erfahrungen mit der "Moderne" divergente Konzepte und Theorien zu diesem Thema präsentieren.



Hans Schelkshorn und Jameleddine Ben-Abdeljelil (Hg.): Die Moderne im interkulturellen Diskurs. Perspektiven aus dem arabischen, lateinamerikanischen und europäischen Denken, Velbrück, 2012

Inwiefern sich diese Theorieansätze voneinander unterscheiden und was das für die Zukunft der Modernitätsdebatte bedeutet, diskutierten die Herausgeber Jameleddine Ben-Abdeljelil und Hans Schelkshorn gemeinsam mit Cornelia Klinger am 11. Oktober im Rahmen der Iwм-Veranstaltungsreihe Books in Per*spective* am IWM. ⊲

In Kooperation mit dem Institut für Christliche Philosophie der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien und dem Velbrück Verlag

Jameleddine Ben-Abdeljelil ist Assistent am Institut für Studien der Kultur und Religion des Islam an der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe Universität Frankfurt und Redakteur von Polylog - Zeitschrift für interkulturelles Philosophieren.

Cornelia Klinger ist Professorin für Philosophie an der Universität Tübingen und IWM Rektorin ad interim

Hans Schelkshorn ist a.o. Professor am Institut für Christliche Philosophie der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien und Gründungsmitglied von Polylog - Zeitschrift für interkulturelles Philosophieren

Birgit Sauer, between the editors

and the authors present at the event:

Judit Acsády, Oana Băluță, Marina

Blagojević, Slavco Dimitrov, Mile-

na Kirova, Lynette Šikić-Mićanović,

red

and Tatiana Zhurzhenko

In cooperation with ERSTE Stiftung

Krassimira Daskalova is Professor of

of the International Federation for

Sciences and Lecturer at Zagreb

Karl Kaser is Head of the Centre for

Southeast European History at the

Birgit Sauer is Professor of Political

Science at the University of Vienna.

University

University of Graz

Modern European Cultural History at the

University of Sofia, and former President

Research in Women's History (IFRWH)

Caroline Hornstein-Tomic is Research

Associate at the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social

## **Gendering Post-Socialist Transition**

Books in Perspective with Krassimira Daskalova, Caroline Hornstein-Tomic, Karl Kaser, Birgit Sauer, November 20, 2012

Tow did the relationship between How did the relation of the second se 1989? And which new gender roles and concepts of femininity and masculinity emerged out of those transformations? These are the crucial questions raised by the book Gendering Post-Socialist Transition. Studies of Changing Gender Perspectives which was published by LIT Verlag in 2012 as the first volume of the newly established ERSTE Foundation Series. Case studies from eleven Central and South Eastern European countries explore the economic, political, social and cultural effects in the lives of women and men after 1989. On November 20, the volume's editors, Krassimira Daskalova, Caroline Hornstein-Tomic and Karl Kaser, presented these case studies at the IWM, which demonstrate that



Krassimira Daskalova, Caroline Hornstein-Tomic, Karl Kaser, Filip Radunovic (eds.): Gendering Post-Socialist Transition. Studies of Changing Gender Perspectives, ERSTE Foundation Series. LIT Verlag, Münster, 2012

the issues of poverty, social exclusion, nationalism, social and healthcare systems in post-socialist societies all have an important gendered dimension. The presentation was followed by a discussion, chaired by

Populism in Europe

Books in Perspective with Leonore Gewessler, Ulrike Lunacek, Ivan Krastev, January 31, 2013

Moran Pearl: "Books and Libraries as Witnesses of the Holocaust: Rachel



Junior Visiting Fellows discussing the role of politics today, December 13, 2012

Junior Fellows' Conference **Reexamining the Role of Politics** in Different Fields and Contexts December 13, 2012, IWM, Vienna

IWM Junior Visiting Fellows regularly present their research projects in seminars. The final results are discussed at the Junior Fellows' Conference at the end of each semester, and later published on the IWM website

#### Program

#### Session I: Ideas and the **Contemporary World**

Luke Hartman: "EUgoslavia? Conditions and Discursive Strategies for Re-Becoming What Never Was by Negotiating an Un-Becoming Past

Anton Shekhovtsov: "The Rise of the Ukrainian Far Right

Julia Kovalchuk: "International Religious Actors' Presence in the Third Sector: Social Work or Policy Making?'

#### Session II: **Political Philosophy**

Tamara Caraus: "Patočka and the Political

Helena Anna Jędrzejczak: "Responsibility in Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Ethics"

Kinga Marulewska: "Is Political Theology Possible? The Dispute between Carl Schmitt and Hans Blumenberg'

#### **Session III:** Ways of Reading Politics

Ryan Priddle: "Interpreting the Eternal Recurrence in Nietzschel

Karolina Wigura: "Studies on Disgust and Shame as a Way of Reading Politics'

#### **Fellows' Seminars**

In the course of the semester, Visiting and Junior Visiting Fellows present their research projects in the Fellows' Seminars. Issues connected to the economies, politics and societies of Eastern Europe are discussed in the seminar series Faces of Eastern Europe.

#### October 3, 2012

Anton Shekhovtsov: "White Power Music: Scenes of Extreme-Right Cultural Resistance

October 10 2012 Helena Jedrzejczak: "The Political Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer"

October 17, 2012 Florin Faje: "Physical Education and Sports in Interwar Transylvania"

October 31, 2012 Éva Forgács: "Berlin, the Capital of the Twentieth Century?'

November 7, 2012 Katherine Lebow: "Life-Writing Competitions in Interwar Poland"

November 14, 2012 Tamara Caraus: "Cosmopolitanism and the Legacy of Eastern European Dissent

November 28, 2012 Alina-Sandra Cucu: "Placing the 'National' in a National Economy"

December 5, 2012 Raul Cârstocea: "Negotiating Modernity: The Anti-Semitism of Interwar Romanian Intellectuals"

December 12, 2012 Johannes Koll: "Arthur Seyss-Inquart and National Socialism'

January 16, 2013 Julia Kovalchuk: "The 'Asian Face' of Pentecostalism in Post-Soviet Russia"

January 23, 2013 Vladislav Inozemtsev: "Russia's Dual Economy as an Obstacle to Modernization'

January 30, 2013 Albert Kirchengast: "The Forest and the City: Modern Architecture and the Neo-Pastoral'

February 6, 2013 Maxim Trudolyubov: "Will Putin's System Outlive Putin?

February 14, 2013 Tamara Caraus: "Jan Patočka and Radical Democracy"

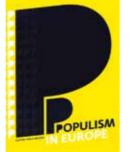
February 27, 2013 Moran Pearl: "Reading Monuments

rogressive forces are confronted with rising political movements that claim to speak in the name of 'the people'. These rightwing populist movements pit themselves against mainstream politics and European integration, which they regard as elitist. The book Populism in Europe (recently translated into German-Rechtspopulismus in Europa) collects

ll over Europe cosmopolitan and

#### **Books in Perspective**

The IWM occasionally organizes debates about books written or edited by IWM Fellows, or related to the Institute's research fields.



Erica Meijers / Green European Foundation (ed.): Populism in Europe, planetVERLAG, 2011

Bureau de Helling / Green Europaen Foundation / Grüne Bildungswerkstatt / Heinricht-Böll-Stiftung (Hg.): Rechtspopulismus in Europa, planetVERLAG, 2012

articles from some of Europe's leading political thinkers and outstanding journalists (Daniel Cohn Ben31, Ulrike Lunacek, Ivan Krastev and Leonore Gewessler (Chair) discussed the threat of these new political forces, the shortcomings of current European politics as well as more inclusive European strategies that valorize diversity and equality. red

dit, Robert Misik etc.). On January

In cooperation with Grüne Bildungswerkstatt and Green European Foundation

Leonore Gewessler is Director of the Green European Foundation

Ulrike Lunacek is Member of the European Parliament and spokesperson of the European Green Party.

Ivan Krastev is Chair of the Board of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia and IWM Permanent Fellow.

Whiteread's Nameless Library in Vienna'

#### Session IV: **History and Politics**

Alina Sandra Cucu: "Producing Knowledge in Productive Spaces The Dawns of a Socialist Economy"

Florin Faje: "Football and Politics: The Romanian Football Federation in the 1930s"

Evgenia Kocheva: "Supranational in Walter Hallstein's European Political Thinking"

- Building Memories. Depiction of Books in Holocaust Memorials'

#### March 13, 2013

Evgenia Kocheva: "Walter Hallsteinan Architect of United Europe"

#### March 20, 2013

Stela Jelincic: "Cold Peace in the Balkans

#### April 3, 2013

Karolina Wigura: "The Great Return of Disgust—Europe's Changing Face"

#### April 17, 2013

Olesya Zakharova: "The Debate over Human Rights between Russia and the European Union"

#### April 24, 2013

Serguei Parkhomenko: "Политическая оппозиция и гражданское движение в России Период накопления сил после 'Большой Протестной Волны'

### Fellows and Guests 09 2012-04 2013

Ludger Helms

January 2013)

Innsbruck

Democracy

Innovation and

Guest (December 2012-

Chair of Comparative

Politics, University of

Fellow (April-June 2013)

Biography of the Tomato.

Vegetables in Europe

Vladislav Inozemtsev

'Russia in Global Dialogue'

Professor of Economics;

Post-Industrial Studies,

Russia in Search for a

Guest, 'Russia in Global

Dialogue' (March 2013)

Senior Research Fellow,

Russian Academy of

Professor of Byzantine

Studies, St. Petersburg

Sciences, Moscow;

State University

PhD candidate in

Sociology / History of

**Dietrich Bonhoeffer** 

Stela Jelinčić

Fellow (January-

March 2013)

Ideas, University of Warsaw

The Political Theology of

Milena Jesenská Visiting

Institute of Slavic Studies,

New Model of Democracy

Director, Centre for

Moscow; editor,

Svobodnaya Mysl

(Free Thought)

Sergey Ivanov

Visiting Fellow,

April 2013)

(November 2012-

**Doing Business with Fresh** 

#### Clemena Antonova Lise Meitner Fellow

22

(June 2011–May 2013) Lecturer in Art History

and Theory, American University in Bulgaria, Blagoevgrad Pavel Florensky and

#### the Nature of Russian **Religious Philosophy**

Una Bauer Paul Celan Visiting Fellow (January-March 2013)

Visiting lecturer in Media and Culture, University of Rijeka, Croatia

**BADco.** Performance Notes (Croatian/Serbian/ Slovenian/Montenegrin > English)

#### **Avrum Burg**

Guest (February 2013)

Author, Peace Advocate, Former Speaker of the Knesset, Jerusalem

#### Tamara Cărăuş

EURIAS Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2012-June 2013)

Researcher, New Europe College, Bucharest

**Democracy and Dissent.** From Czech Dissidence to **Radical Democracy** 

#### Alina-Sandra Cucu

CEU Junior Visiting Fellow (October–December 2012)

PhD candidate in Sociology and Social Anthropology, CEU Budapest

Placing the "National" in a National Economy

**Fellows** 

and Guests

#### Herwig Czech Visiting Fellow, Austrian

Academy of Sciences (October 2012–May 2013)

Historian, Institute of Contemporary History. University of Vienna; Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (DÖW)

Gesundheit, Krankheit und Tod. Wien 1944-1948

#### Florin Faje

CEU Junior Visiting Fellow (October–December 2012)

PhD candidate in Sociology and Social Anthropology, CEU Budapest

From Character to Identity: A History of Transylvanian **Belonging through Physical Education and Sports** since 1919

#### Éva Forgács

EURIAS Visiting Fellow (September 2012–June 2013)

Adjunct Professor of Art History, Art Center College of Design, Pasadena/ California

Cultural Transfer Exchanges of Art and **Culture between Western** Europe, Russia, and Central Europe

#### Ludger Hagedorn

Project Associate (September 2010-February 2013)

Lecturer in Philosophy, New York University Berlin

Helena Jedrzejczak Polemical Christianity. Iózef Tischner Iunior Jan Patočka's Concept of Visiting Fellow (July-Religion and the Crisis December 2012) of Modernity

#### Luke Hartman

Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2012–June 2013)

PhD candidate in Political Science, Boston University

Democratization, Identity, and the Impact of EU Conditionality in the Western Balkans

> Writer, journalist, Lider Press, Zagreb Divided Cities—a Frozen

#### Conflict

**Tom Junes** Bronisław Geremek Junior Visiting Fellow (December 2011-

September 2012) Visiting lecturer in History, Katholieke Universiteit

**Evgenia Kocheva** 

Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Fellow (October 2012–March 2013) Postgraduate student of

History, National Research Tomsk State University Walter Hallstein-an Architect of United Europe

#### **Annemieke Hendriks** Milena Jesenská Visiting

Yulia Kovalchuk Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Fellow Freelance journalist, Berlin (September 2012-February 2013)

> Post-doctoral researcher in Ethnology, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences, Novosibirsk

> Secular and Religious Policy Making in 20thand 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Europe and Beyond: Social and Educational Aspects

**Katherine Lebow** Visiting Fellow (July–December 2012 / April–July 2013)

Historian, Vienna

The Nation Writes: Polish **Everyman Autobiography** from the Great Depression to the Holocaust

Susanne Lettow Guest (March 2013)

Assistant Professor, Institute for Philosophy, University of Paderborn

The Symbolic Power of **Biology: Articulations** of Biological Knowledge in Naturphilosophie around 1800

Siarhei Liubimau

History

Paul Celan Visiting Fellow (November 2012-April 2013)

Lecturer in Critical Urban Studies, European Humanities University, Vilnius

David Harvey: Social Justice and the City (English > Belarusian)

**Fvodor Lukvanov** Guest, 'Russia in Global Dialogue' (March 2013)

Editor-in-chief, Russia in Global Affairs, Moscow

Maciej Nowicki Milena Jesenská Fellow Guest, 'Russia in Global Guest

Serguei Parkhomenko

Dialogue' (April 2013)

Anchorman, Echo of

Moscow: member, Voters

League and Coordination

Council of Opposition,

Guest, 'Russia in Global

President, Effective

Policy Foundation and

in-chief and Publisher,

Counselor to the Presi-

the Russian Federation

Junior Visiting Fellow

University Jerusalem

**Books and Libraries** 

as Witnesses of the

**Holocaust: Monuments** 

in Vienna, Berlin and

Peter Pomeranzev

author, London

Guest, 'Russia in Global

Journalist, TV producer,

Dialogue' (February 2013)

Jerusalem

Studies Program, Hebrew

Moran Pearl

Russian Journal and

Russian Institute; editor-

Pushkin Magazine; former

dential Administration of

Dialogue' (February 2013)

Moscow

**Gleb Pavlovsky** 

University of Vienna

sies on Gender and Gender **Differences in Context** 

Bronisław Geremek Senior Visiting Fellow

Assistant Professor of Polish and German Philology, University of Warsaw

Relation to Vienna, 1895-1914

#### Mikhail Semenov

(November 2012–May 2013) *June* 2013) ма student in the Austrian

Research University

The Phenomenon of Urban Culture in Provincial Towns in Central and Eastern Europe at the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> and Beginning of the 20th Century

Anton Shekovtsov Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2012-June 2013)

**Ryan Priddle** Junior Visiting Fellow

(September 2012-June 2013) PhD candidate in Philosophy, Boston University

Nietzsche and Happiness

Michaela Raggam-Blesch Visiting Fellow, Austrian Academy of Sciences (April-September 2013)

Historian, Institute of Culture Studies and Theatre

,Mischlinge' und ,Geltungsjuden'. Alltag und Verfolgungserfahrungen von Frauen und Männern halbjüdischer Herkunft in Wien, 1938–1945

Christian Rogler Junior Visting Fellow,

Austrian Academy of Sciences (January-June 2013)

#### Nora Ruck

(July-September 2012)

Lecturer in Psychology,

IWM*post* 

Barbara Torunczyk Milena Jesenská Visiting

Literackie, Warsaw

Zesztyty Literackie:

Fellow (April–June 2013)

Editor-in-chief, Zesztyty

Where Do We Come From?

What Are We? Where Are

We Going? Or: The Auto-

biography of the Mind

Guest, 'Russia in Global

Editorial page editor,

Dialogue' (December 2012–

special correspondent and

Paul Celan Visiting Fellow

(January–March 2013)

Research Fellow of

Philosophy, Czech

Academy of Sciences,

Virginia Held: The Ethics

Paul Celan Visiting Fellow

Freelance translator, Kviv

Humanism and Democratic

and Global (English >

Anton Vodianyi

(April–June 2013)

Edward W. Said:

Ukrainian)

Criticism (English >

Nicholas de Warren

University of Leuven

Karolina Wigura

Bronisław Geremek

Junior Visiting Fellow

Adjunct of History of

Fear and Politics of Fear

Countries. The Cases of

Paul Celan Visiting Fellow

(January-March 2013)

Professor of Philosophy,

St. Klimend Ohridski

University, Sofia

Poland, Ukraine, and

the Former GDR

Stilian Yotov

Ideas, University of

Warsaw: co-editor,

in Post-Communist

Kultura Liberalna

(September 2012–June 2013)

*Guest (September 2012)* 

Professor of Philosophy,

and the First World War

Homecoming: Jan Patočka

of Care: Personal, Political

columnist at Vedomosti,

Maxim Trudolubov

January 2013)

Moscow

Petr Urban

Prague

Czech)

Socio-Scientific Controver-

#### Katarzyna Sadkowska

(October 2012–July 2013)

The "Critical" Lviv in

Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Fellow (January-

> Senior teacher of Russian History, Belgorod National

Visiting Research Fellow, University of Northampton The Ideology of the

Nationalists in the

**European Context** 

Martina Steer

of Sciences

Organization of Ukrainian

Visiting Fellow, Austrian

Historian, University of

Memory Transnational.

Jubilees, 1829-1986

**Kristina Stoeckl** 

The Moses Mendelssohn

Visiting Fellow, Austrian

Academy of Sciences

Researcher, Institute

of Political Sciences,

University of Vienna

**Orthodox Christianity** 

and Politics: Multiple

Secularisms, Liberal

Norms and Traditional

(March-June 2013)

(February–November 2012)

Vienna, Austrian Academy

Academy of Sciences

The IWM offers a place for research and scholarly debate across borders and disciplines. Its various fellowship programs are thus a fundamental part of the Institute's work. Each year, 50–60 Visiting Fellows, Junior Visiting Fellows and Guests—mainly from Eastern and Western Europe as well as from North America-are awarded fellowships to pursue their individual research projects while working in residence at the IWM as members of an international and multidisciplinary academic community. The IWM strives to provide conditions that allow the fellows to make significant progress in their research and to profit from the intellectual stimulation of the Institute's seminars, lectures and other events. Since its inception in 1982, the IWM has hosted more than 1,000 scholars, journalists and translators.

Leuven; Visiting researcher, Warsaw University Rebellion, Hope, and

Frustration: Coming of Age when the Cold War Ended

#### Albert Kirchengast

Guest (December 2012-January 2013)

PhD candidate in Architecture, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (етн), Zürich

Die Natur als Gegenwelt. Modernes Bauen und die naturästhetische Kultivierung des Fremden

(October–December 2012) Columnist, Polish edition of Newsweek, Warsaw

Kultur- und Sozialanthropologische Wissensproduk-Dimensions of the tion und -vermittlung im European Crisis Kontext der neoliberalen

#### Margus Ott

Paul Celan Fellow (July-September 2012)

Translator, PhD candidate in Philosophy, University of Tallinn

Selected Writings (French/ Latin > Estonian)

PhD candidate in Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna

Wissensgesellschaft

Guest, 'Russia in Global

The Gaidar Institute for

Economic Policy, Moscow

Dialogue' (October 2012 /

**Kirill Rogov** 

March 2013)

Senior Researcher,

#### Katalin Teller

Religion

Paul Celan Visiting Fellow (February–July 2013)

Assistant Professor. Department of Aesthetics. Institute for Art Theory and Media Studies. Eötvös-Loránd-University. Budapest

Theodor W. Adorno: Ästhetische Theorie (German > Hungarian) Siegfried Kracauer: Der Detektiv-Roman / Die Angestellten (German > Bulgarian)

#### Olesva Zakharova

Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Fellow (January–June 2013)

Senior lecturer in Law, Irkutsk State University

The "Effect of Absence" of the Importance of Human Rights in Russian Society and Russian-**European Relations** 

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz:

## The Transparency Conspiracy

#### BY IVAN KRASTEV

One of the most troubling outcomes of the ongoing financial crisis has been a collapse of trust in democratic institutions and politicians. Indeed, in 2012, the global public-relations firm Edelman's "Trust Barometer" survey registered the biggest-ever decline when it comes to government. Can greater "transparency"—the new political mantra of civic activists and an increasing number of democratic governments—reverse this trend?



The hope is that a combination of new technologies, publicly accessible data, and renewed civic engagement can help people control their representatives more effectively. But the idea that transparency will restore public trust in democracy rests on several problematic assumptions, primarily the belief that "if only people knew," everything would be different.

Unfortunately, matters are not so simple. The end of government secrecy does not mean the birth of the informed citizen; nor does more control necessarily suggest more trust in public institutions. For example, when American voters learned that President George W. Bush had led the United States into a war with Iraq without proof of weapons of of manipulation increases.

Consider how gangsters in crime movies talk, when they know that the police are listening. They speak clearly and offer banalities while exchanging notes under the table. That is government in the age of transparency.

In his study of truth telling in ancient Greece, the philosopher Michel Foucault pointed out that the act of truth-telling cannot be reduced to citizens learning something they didn't know before. Paradoxically, truth in politics is something that everybody knows, but that few dare to express.

People hardly need additional data to recognize, say, a rise in inequality or mistreatment of immigrants. The WikiLeaks cables did not teach us anything qualitatively new people almost everywhere seem preoccupied, simultaneously, with transparency and conspiracy."

#### **Transparency and Conspiracy**

To see the ambiguity of the politics of trust, consider Russia's recent experience. In December 2011, the country's presidential elections triggered a civic explosion. Hundreds of thousands of people poured into the streets of Moscow and other big cities to demand a fair vote and real choices in the subsequent parliamentary election. The escalating crisis of legitimacy forced the government to invent imaginative ways to justify its power.

The central proposal was ingenious: the Kremlin proposed to guarantee the election's fairness by installing webcams at all polling stations; every citizen could personally monitor the voting process. As China's Xinhua news agency enthusiastically reported: "From Kamchatka to Kaliningrad, and from Chechnya to Chukotka, more than 2.5 million net surfers registered to view live streaming from at least 188,000 webcams installed in more than 94,000 polling stations on Russian territory." In the words of one Finnish observer, it was "a landmark in the history of democracy and democratic elections." But, in a regime like Vladimir Putin's, where the government decides who may be a candidate, the webcams would be farcical were they not also so intimidating. Viewed from the West, they were perceived as a tool to keep the government under control by enabling people to watch what it was doing. But, from the point of view of a post-Soviet voter living in the countryside, the webcam sent a different message: the government knows how you vote.

In a way, Putin succeeded twice: he looked transparent to the West and menacing to most of his own citizens. The installation of the webcams was an act of simultaneous transparency and conspiracy.

#### Transparent Governments— Transparent Citizens?

The broader issue is transparency advocates' insistence that open government can be reconciled with citizens' privacy. But might wholly transparent government imply a wholly transparent citizen? As a rule, governments monitor people. When that becomes transparent, so do those citizens who spoke with or were monitored by the government. Contrary to the expectations of transparency advocates, greater disclosure of government information does not make public discourse more rational and less paranoid. If anything, it fuels conspiracy theories (there is nothing more suspicious than the claim of absolute transparency). Who can honestly say that public debate has become more rational and less paranoid when

our governments have become more transparent?

Rather than restoring trust in democratic institutions, the transparency movement could accelerate the transformation of democratic politics into the management of mistrust. In that case, one could imagine the replacement of representative democracy with political regimes that limit citizen control to the executive.

None of this is to deny that transparency in government is a worthy goal. But let's not fool ourselves by thinking that achieving it will restore citizens' faith in their political institutions. ⊲

mass destruction, they re-elected him. Likewise, Italians kept Silvio Berlusconi in power for more than a decade, despite a steady stream of revelations about his wrongdoings.

#### **Gangster Language in Politics**

In politics, "knowing everything" still means knowing different things, which means that compelling governments to disclose information does not necessarily mean that people learn more or understand better. On the contrary, as soon as government information is designed to be immediately open to everybody, its value as information declines and its value as an instrument about America's policies.

Living in truth cannot be reduced to having access to full information. It is people's willingness to take personal risks and confront the powerful by daring to speak the truth, not the truth itself, that ultimately leads to change.

Moreover, information never comes without interpretation. Reading the same raw data, Republicans and Democrats in the US, or secularists and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, will spin it differently because policymaking cannot be divorced from decision-makers' interests and values. As the anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff have put it, ours "is an age in which Ivan Krastev is Chair of the Board of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia and IWM Permanent Fellow. His latest book *In Mistrust We Trust: Can Democracy Survive When We Don't Trust Our Leaders?* came out in January 2013 with TED Books (see publications, p. 24). This short outline was first published by *Project Syndicate* on January 29, 2013.



Prague, Bratislava, Warsaw

#### IWM*post*

### Books, Articles and Talks

#### **Books by IWM Fellows**

#### Vladislav Inozemtsev and Piotr Dutkiewicz

Democracy versus Modernization. A Dilemma for Russia and for the World London/New York: Routledge, 2012



This book seeks to "re-think democracy." Over the past years, there has been a tendency in the global policy community and, even more widely, in the world's media, to focus on democracy as the "gold standard" by which all things political are measured. This book re-examines democracy in Russia and in the world more generally, as idea, desired ideal, and practice. A major issue for Russia is whether the modernization of Russia might not prosper better by Russia focusing directly on modernization and not worrying too much about democracy.

#### **Vladislav Inozemtsev**

The Lost Decade. A Collection of Essays published in different Russian journals in 2000-2010 (in Russian) Moscow: Moscow School of Political Science, 2013



В сборнике статей известного экономиста и социолога Владислава Иноземцева представлены избранные статьи, опубликованные в рос-сийских и зарубежных изданиях в 2002-2011 гг. Основная «сквозная» идея книги — обоснование гипотезы о «бесполезности» для страны и мира первого десятилетия XXI века. В трех частях книги, посвящен-ных анализу соответственно глобальных экономических проблем, гео-политических трендов и тенденций развития России, автор показывает, что практически ни на одном направлении человечество не достиг-ло в этот период видимого прогресса и практически ни одна позитивная тенденция не была серьезно закреплена. «Потерянное десятилетие» — это книга размышлений о том, поче- му в современном мире так сложно найти новые ориентиры, к чему необходимо стремиться «городу и миру», чтобы вернуться на путь про-гресса и проложить более понятные и четкие векторы развития. Книга написана простым и понятным публицистическим языком, тезисы автора подкрепляются большим массивом статистических дан-ных и мнений авторитетных зарубежных исследователей.

#### Tony Judt und **Timothy Snyder**

Nachdenken über das 20. Jahrhundert München: Hanser Verlag, 2013



Das 20. Jahrhundert war das Zeitalter der politischen Visionen. Die unversöhnlichen Konflikte zwischen Kommunismus, Liberalismus und Faschismus hinterließen auch in Tony Judts Familie tiefe Spuren: seine Cousine starb in Auschwitz, sein Vater war Marxist, er selbst begeisterte sich für die Kibbuz-Bewegung in Israel, erlebte 1968 in Paris, das neoliberale Großbritannien unter Thatcher und schließlich, 1989, das Ende des Kommunismus in Europa. In seinem letzten Buch verbindet der 2010 verstorbene Historiker, im Dialog mit seinem Freund Timothy Snyder, kenntnisreich und kritisch die persönliche Erinnerung mit einer Bilanz der großen politischen Ideen der Moderne.

**Ivan Krastev** In Mistrust We Trust:

Can Democracy Survive When We Don't Trust **Our Leaders?** TED Books, 2013

common good, fiscal cliffs. All have left voters exasperated and confused. But while confidence in our elected leaders has never been lower, we cling to the belief that democracies represent the epitome of societal and political organization. Why? In his provocative book Ivan Krastev explores this incongruity between our head and our heart.

#### Krzysztof Michalski

La flamme de l'éternité. Essais sur la pensée de Friedrich Nietzsche Paris: Éditions Zofia de Lannurien, 2013 Une nouvelle inter-

prétation de la philosophie nietzschéenne, notamment le rôle central que jouaient les concepts d'éternité et de temps. L'éternité est une mesure du temps mais aussi un concept physiologique, inséparable du corps. Michalski soutient que l'amour, la morale, l'instinct de conservation, la mort de Dieu prennent un sens inédit à travers le prisme de l'éternité.

#### Anton Shekhovtsov and Paul Jackson (eds.) White Power Music:

Scenes of Extreme-Right Cultural Resistance Ilford: Searchlight and RNM Publications, 2012

This volume presents new analysis of the shifting phenomenon of White Power music. It offers a timely overview of how White Power music helps preserve ultranationalist and racist narratives, recruit young people to the extreme-right political cause, and eventually encourages violence against the alleged 'enemies' and 'traitors' of the 'White Race'. To map this diverse culture, the volume focuses on national case studies ranging from the West to the East, as well as discussing particular topics such as the role of women in White Power music, censorship and the legacy of the late Ian Stuart Donaldson, founder of the Blood and Honour promotion network and a major figure

#### Marci Shore The Taste of Ashes.

scene

and Bucharest to Vilnius and Kiev in the post-communist east. The result is a shimmering literary examination of the ghost of communism—no longer Marx's "specter to come" but a haunting presence of the past. Marci Shore builds her history around people she came to know over the course of the two decades since communism came to an end in Eastern Europe: her colleagues and friends, once-communists and once-dissidents, the accusers and the accused, the interrogators and the interrogated, Zionists, Bundists, Stalinists and their children and grandchildren. For them, the post-communist moment has not closed but rather has summoned up the past: revolution in 1968. Stalinism, the Second World War, the Holocaust. The end of communism had a dark side. As Shore pulls the reader into her journey of discovery she reveals the intertwining of the personal and the political, of love and cruelty, of intimacy and betrayal.

#### Books by Alumni

Cynthia L. Haven (ed.) An Invisible Rope: Portraits of Czeslaw Milosz Ohio University Press, 2011

Czeslaw Milosz (1911-2004) often seemed austere and forbidding to Americans, but those who got to know him found him warm, witty, and endlessly enriching. An Invisible Rope presents a collection of remembrances from his colleagues, his students, and his fellow writers and poets in America and Poland. Milosz's oeuvre is complex, rooted in 20th-century Eastern European history. A poet, translator, and prose writer, Milosz was a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, from 1961 to 1008. In 1080 he was awarded the Nobel Prize

einem Ahnherrn der Vampire werden ließen. Der Autor erzählt das Leben des Vlad Tepes in seiner Zeit, legt dar, wie es zum heute verbreiteten Dracula-Bild kam und warum dieses noch immer fasziniert.

#### Heiko Haumann

Hermann Diamanski: Überleben in der Katastrophe. Eine deutsche Geschichte zwischen Auschwitz und Staatssicherheitsdienst (1910–1976) Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2011

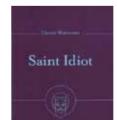


Hermann Diamanskis Leben spiegelt deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert. Diamanski, Seemann und Kommunist. betätigte sich illegal gegen den Nationalsozialismus und kämpfte im Spanischen Bürgerkrieg. Im "Zigeunerlager" von Auschwitz war er Lagerältester, im Januar 1945 musste er am Todesmarsch nach Buchenwald teilnehmen. Nach dem Krieg machte er Karriere in Ostdeutschland, kam jedoch bald in Konflikt mit dem dortigen Apparat und geriet in die Mühlen des DDR-Staatssicherheitsdienstes. Er flüchtete nach Westdeutschland und arbeitete dort dann kurzzeitig für den us-Geheimdienst. Er sagte als Zeuge im Auschwitz-Prozess aus, auf eine Entschädigung als Verfolgter des Nazi-Regimes musste er lange

#### **Cezary Wodzinski** Saint Idiot. Projet

warten.

d'anthropologie apophatique Editions de La Différence, 2012



le »yourodivy« est héritier des prophètes de l'Ancien Testament et de la lettre aux Corinthiens de Paul.

#### Paul Celan **Translation Program**

Jan Assmann

A varázsfuvola – Opera és misztérium (Die Zauberflöte. Oper und Mysterium) Übersetzt von Sandor Tatar (Deutsch > Ungarisch) Budapest: Atlantisz, 2012

Edmund Husserl Prva filozofija. Kritička povest ideja (Erste Philosophie (1923/24). Erster Theil. Kritische Ideengeschichte) Übersetzt von **Dragan Prole** (Deutsch > Serbisch)

#### **Pierre Bourdieu**

Novi Sad: Izdavačka

knjižarnica Zorana

Stojanovića, 2012

Limbaj și putere simbolică (Langage et pouvoir symbolique) Übersetzt von **Bogdan Ghiu** 

(Franz. > Rumänisch) Bucarest: Editura Art, 2013

#### Jiří Langer

Die neun Tore. Geheimnisse der Chassidim. Erstmals vollständig übersetzt von Kristina Kallert (Tschechisch > Deutsch) Wien: Arco Verlag, 2013

#### Hans Joas

Возникновение ценностей (Die Entstehung der Werte) Übersetzt von Ksenia Timofeeva (Deutsch > Russisch) St. Petersburg: Aletheia, 2013

#### **Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences**

Vol. XXXII Agnieszka Pasieka, David Petruccelli, and Ben Roth (eds.)

Re-thinking European Politics and History ıwм, Vienna, 2012

Contributions by Vera Asenova, Tamara Banjeglav, Philip Howe, Yulia Komleva, Olha Martynuk, Agnieszka Pasieka, David Petruccelli, Elizabeth

#### Transit -Europäische Revue

Heft 43 (Winter 2012/13) Verlag Neue Kritik, Frankfurt a.M.

Demokratie und Krise Ivan Krastev Die Logik des Zerfalls: Demokratie und Krise der Europäischen Union Jacques Rupnik Mitteleuropäische Lehren aus der Euro-Krise János Mátyás Kovács Tradition, Nachahmung, Erfindung: Neue Kapitalismen in Osteuropa **Boris Mezhuev** Perestroika 2.0: Dilemmas der politischen Transformation in Russland

Der Balkan als Laboratorium der Moderne Diana Mishkova Transfer der Moderne. Liberalismus und Tradition auf dem Balkan des 19. Jahrhunderts Dessislava Lilova Die Konstruktion des Balkans als Heimat Constantin Iordachi Unerwünschte Bürger. Die "Judenfrage" in Rumänien und Serbien zwischen 1831 und 1919

Martin Krenn City Views (2003-2008). Photographien Julia Hartwig Gedichte **David Martin** Religion und Gewalt. Eine Kritik des "Neuen Atheismus" Webb Keane Secularism as a Moral Narrative of Modernity Sławomir Sierakowski Verlieren für die Menschen. Czesław Miłoszs Science Fiction-Roman Die Berge

#### Tr@nsit online

des Parnass



Recent articles **Gerhard Gnauck** Der neue Kreisauer Kreis Agnieszka Pasieka Being Normal in Poland Martina Steer Jenseits des Traumas Überlegungen zur Erinnerungsforschung in der Postmoderne Robert Cooper



A recent Gallup poll listed the most- and least-trusted professions in America. At the bottom of the list: car salesmen and members of Congress. It's not hard to understand why our politicians rate so poorlyscandals, myopia, obstinence, party loyalty over

The Afterlife of Totalitarianism in Eastern Europe New York: Crown Publishers, 2013

in the extreme-right music





The Taste of Ashes spans from Berlin to Moscow, moving from Vienna in Europe's west through

so den Protagonisten zu

in Literature.

2011

Heiko Haumann

Dracula. Leben und Legende

München: Beck Verlag,

Kaum eine historische Gestalt ist so sehr von Legenden umrankt wie Vlad Draculea Tepes: Fürst der Walachei im Spätmittelalter, Kämpfer gegen das Osmanische Reich und Kristallisationspunkt blutiger Mythen, die schließlich in Bram Stokers großem Roman Dracula (1897) kulminierten und



Un des rares essais sur le personnage du »Fol en Christ« de la tradition byzantine et russe. Cette figure familière des lecteurs de Dostoïevski et des auditeurs du Boris Godounov de Moussorgski où elle vient porter la malédiction à l'usurpateur du pouvoir par un chant en contrepoint, a une spécificité peu connue en

France. Le »saint idiot« ou

Robinson, and Ben Roth

Vol. XXXI Marta Bucholc (ed.)

Social Transformations in Theory and Practice IWM, Vienna, 2013

Contributions by Yulia Arskaya, Marta Bucholc, Elmar Flatschart, Piotr Kuznietzow, Natalia Palisheva, and Olena Palko

All volumes are available as downloads: www.iwm.at

The European Union and the Habsburg Monarchy

The Hungarian Shock: Transition from Democracy? János Mátyás Kovács Frivolous Cohabitation. Preparing the Soil for a **Jobbik Takeover?** András Bozoki The Hungarian Shock: Transition from Democracy? János Kornai Taking Stock Miklós Haraszti Hungary's Media Law Package

Socialism(s) in Eastern

Europe: Visual Cultures

CÉRI-Sciences Po, Paris,

"Life-Writing Compe-

od to Civic Discourse",

Presentation at the IWM.

Vienna, November, 2012.

"Unfinished Socialism:

Nowa Huta's Landscapes,

1949-1989", Presentation

at the Second Congress

for Foreign Scholars of

Polish History, Kraków,

"Russian Nationalism at

the Beginning of 20th

Century: Conservative

Strategies on the Right-

bank Ukraine" (in Russian),

on: www.uamoderna.com,

Politics and Electoral

September 12, 2012.

"Putin's New Clothes.

An Interview with Ivan

Krastev", in: Aspen Review,

"The Germans No Longer

with Emmanuel Todd" in:

"Banks are not Eternal", in:

Histeria", in: Aspen Review,

Aspen Review, Fall 2012.

Aspen Review, Fall 2012.

"Narcissism Versus

Take America Into

Account. An Interview

Maciej Nowicki

Fall 2012.

September, 2012.

**Olha Martynyuk** 

titions in Interwar Poland:

From Social Science Meth-

December, 2012.

and the Writing of History,

### Books, Articles and Talks

Post-Orange Ukraine Anton Shekhovtsov Ukraine: The Far-Right in Parliament for the First Time Mykola Riabchuk Raiders' State **Timothy Snyder** Ukraine's Last Chance? Mykola Riabchuk Tymoshenko: Wake-up Call for the EU Tatiana Zhurzhenko Land of Confusion: Ukraine, the EU and the Tymoshenko Case

#### Articles and Talks by **Fellows and Guests** $(09-12\ 2012)$

#### Clemena Antonova

"Florensky's 'Concrete Metaphysics': The Visual Theme in Russian Religious Philosophy", paper presented at the ASEEES (Association for Slavic Eastern European, and Eurasian Studies) 44<sup>th</sup> Convention, New Orleans. November 15–18, 2012

"The Cult of St. Catherine of Alexandria in the Thirteenth Century: Between Mount Sinai and Pisa", paper presented at the conference Cuius Patrocinio: Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion, Dubrovnik October 18-20, 2012.

"Interview on Pavel Florensky (1882-1937) and Russian Religious Philosophy, Oe1 (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation), December 5, 2012.

#### **Eva Forgacs**

"The Bauhaus and Hungary's Émigré Artists' Last Illusions of Modernity", in: Lilly Dubowitz, In Search of a Forgotten Architect: Stefan Sebők 1901–1941, London: Architectural Association, 2012.

"Studios and Secrets. Peter Nadas in Kunsthaus Zug" (in Hungarian), in: Élet és irodalom, November 23, 2012

"In Light, Space, and Time. Peter Nadas's Text Images" (in Hungarian), in: Enigma, No. 70, November 2012.

#### Vladislav Inozemtsev

"Die Mauern in Europa endgültig schleifen" (zusammen mit Horst

for Russia and for the World, London/New York: Routledge, 2012.

"Putin legt fest, wer nach ihm kommt", in: Die Kleine Zeitung, 14. Dezember 2012.

#### **Tom Junes**

"Student Opposition Politics in Poland and South Africa: Youth Rebellion as a Factor in the Demise of Communism and Apartheid", in: Studia Historyczne LV, No. 3, 2012.

"Copycat Tactics' in Processes of Regime Change: The Demise of Communism in Poland and Apartheid in South Africa' (together with Adrian Guelke), in: Critique & *Humanism*, No. 40, 2012 (a Bulgarian translation of the article by Elitza Stanoeva was published in Sociological problems, No. XLIV-I, 2012).

#### Cornelia Klinger

"Ich seh etwas, was Du nicht siehst ...' Oder: Über das Verhältnis von Blinden und Lahmen", in: Mark Lückhof et al., "... wenn die Stunde es zuläßt." Zur Traditionalität und Aktualität kritischer Theorie, Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2012.

"Leibdienst - Liebesdienst - Dienstleistung", in: Klaus Dörre, Dieter Sauer und Volker Wittke (Hg.), Arbeitssoziologie und Kapitalismustheorie, Frankfurt: Campus, 2012.

"Autonomie – Authentizität – Alterität. Zur ästhetischen Ideologie der Moderne", in: Hans Schelkshorn und Jameleddine Ben Abdeljelil (Hg.), Die Moderne im interkulturellen Diskurs. Beiträge aus dem arabischen, lateinamerikanischen und europäischen Denken, Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft, 2012.

#### **Ivan Krastev**

"European Disintegration? A Fraying Union", in: Journal of Democracy, Vol. 23, No. 4, October 2012.

"The Political Logic of Disintegration: Seven Lessons from the Soviet Collapse", in: Economic Policy, CEPS Essays,

"Sliding Democracies in the West. The Future of the Western Liberal Order' (Presentation), Opening Conference of the Transatlantic Academy, Washington, September 19, 2012.

"The Middle Kingdom in Mitteleuropa: Force for Good or Disruptive Presence?" (Panel Speaker). Central Europe Strategy Forum, CEPA U.S., Washington, September 20-21, 2012.

"It's the Politics, Stupid!" (Panel Speaker), CSIS International Policy Roundtable Meeting As the European Crisis Turns, Washington, September 25,

2012. "Promoting Democracy Abroad, Questioning Democracy at Home. The New Democracy Debate in the West" (Keynote Speech), Democracy Promotion and Nation Building in United States Foreign Policy, GMF International Symposium, Paris, October 18-19, 2012.

"Is Europe... Boring?", Battle of Ideas Festival, Institute of Ideas, Signet House London, London, October 19–21, 2012. "The EU in Crisis—The

View from Russia" (Panel Chair), Europe at Risk, Vienna, Kreisky Forum, October 23-24, 2012.

ECFR Austrian National Debate with Marti Ahtisaari (Participation), ECFR, Vienna, October 31, 2012.

November 14, 2012.

"Europe at Risk—The

Political Logic of Disin-

Warsaw, November 28,

Government (Opening

Speech), Capital Weekly,

Sofia, December 3, 2012.

"The Crisis of Western

Democracy: Have Govern-

Self-Correct? Democracy as

Lecture at the Transatlantic

Academy, GMF, December

13, 2012.

\*

Presentation at the Conference Visions of

ments Lost the Ability to

a self-correcting society".

"Conference Business and

tegration", Lecture at

Krytyka Polityczna,

2012.

#### Margus Ott

Fall 2012.

"In Mistrust We Trust: "Movement and Virtuality. Can Transparency Revive A Recension of Carax's Democracy?", Lecture at Holy Motors" (in Estonian), the International Forum for in: Kinoleht La Strada, Democratic Studies at the October 4, 2012. National Endowment for Democracy, Washington,

"Women and Facilitation" (in Estonian), in: Müürileht, December 14, 2012.

#### Nora Ruck

"Möglichkeiten einer feministischen Wissenschaftskritik an der Psychologie", Ferienuni Kritische Psychologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, 13. September 2012.

"Kritisch Publizieren" -Journale und Institutionen kritischer Psychologie, Ferienuni Kritische Psychologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, 14. September 2012.

"Foreward to Jochen Böhler and Stephan Lehnstaedt (eds.), Gewalt und Alltag im besetzten Polen 1939–1945, Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2012.

"European Mass Killing and European Commemoration", in: Vladimir Tismaneanu (ed.), Remembrance, History and Justice, Budapest: CEU Press, 2012.

#### Anton Shekhovtsov

"European Far-Right Music and Its Enemies", in: Ruth Wodak, John E. Richardson (eds.), Analysing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text, London: Routledge, 2012.

"Ukraine: the Far-Right in Parliament for the First Time", in: openDemocracy. *net*, November 1, 2012.

"Poland: Huge Rise in Nationalist Marchers", in: Searchlight, No. 449, December 2012.

"White Power Music: Scenes of Extreme-Right Cultural Resistance", Paper presented at the Seminar "Faces of Eastern Europe", иwм, Vienna, October 3, 2012.

"Right-Wing Cultural Warfare: White Power Music and Beyond", Paper presented at the Conference The Media and the Radical *Right*, Central European University, Budapest, November 19, 2012.

"Svoboda: A New Force in Ukraine's Parliament", Guest Talk, Europäisch-Ukrainische Kooperation, Vienna, November 29, 2012.

"The Rise of the Ukrainian Far Right", Paper presented at the Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference Re-examining the Role of Politics in Different Fields and Contexts, IWM, Vienna, December 13, 2012.

#### Manuel Tröster

"Plutarch and Mos Maiorum in the Life of Aemilius Paullus", in: Ancient Society, Vol. 42, 2012.

#### Nicolas de Warren

"The Soliloquy of Light and Reason: Husserl's Ideen and Levina Nenon (ed.), The Legacy of Husserl's Ideen, Dordrecht: Springer Verlag, 2012.

#### Karolina Wigura

"The Broken Mirror of Europe" (in Polish), in: Tygodnik Powszechny, No. 49 (3308), December 2, 2012.

"Europa braucht Demokratie, keine Vormachtstellung", in: Kultura Liberalna, Nr. 199 (44/2012), 30. Oktober 2012.

"What is going on in Gaza?", Interviews with Patrycja Sasnal and Diana Buttu (in Polish), in: Kultura Liberalna, No. 202 (47/2012), November 20,

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"Die Europäische Union ist ein Club der gedemütigten Imperien. Interview mit Peter Sloterdijk", in: Kultura Liberalna, Nr. 206 (51/2012), 18. Dezember 2012.

"I'm Very Bad at the Arithmetic of Suffering Interview with Konstanty Gebert" (in Polish), in: Amen—Catalogue of Mauricio Cattelan's Exhibition in the Centrum Sztuki Współczesnej Zamek Ujazdowski, Warsaw 2012.

"What Changes Does the World Need? How to Solve the Problem of Increasing Social Inequalities?" (Panel Moderation), European Forum of New Ideas, PKPF Lewiatan, Sopot, September 28, 2012.

"Erinnerung, Schuld und Versöhnung als politische Strategie" (Vortrag), Internationales, interdisziplinäres Symposium Identität nach dem Konflikt: Zur Rolle von Erinnerung und Stereotypen in Versöhnungsprozessen, Emden, 16. Oktober 2012.

"The Outcomes of Polish Reconciliation" (Presentation), National Reconciliation in Transitional Realities—Polish Experience and Palestinian Needs. PASSIA & Polish Institute of International Affairs, Jerusalem, November 14, and Ramallah, November 15, 2012.

Radio Broadcast on Peter Sloterdiik, Komentatrze Radia Tok FM, Radio Tok Fм, December 18, 2012

TV Broadcast, Babilon, TVN 24, November 10 and 17, December 1 and 22, 2012.

Teltschik und Andrzej Olechowski), in: Handels*blatt*, 5. November 2012.

"Russia's Perspectives into a New Political Cycle", in: Russian Politics and Law, Vol. 50, No. 6, November-December 2012.

"Universal Value' at Its 'Natural Limit'?", in: Vladislav Inozemtsev and Piotr Dutkiewicz. Democracy versus Modernization. A Dilemma September 26, 2012.

"Sociedade da desconfiança", Interview in Revista magazine, 12<sup>th</sup> edition, December, 2012.

"Il n'ya plus rien en commun entre les élites russes et le peuple", Interview in Le Monde. December 8, 2012.

"Policy brief at the European Commission (Participation), BEPA European Commission Office Brussels, September 6, 2012.

#### Katherine Lebow

"The Conscience of the Skin: Interwar Polish Memoir and Social Rights", in: Humanity: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development 3, Special Issue on Social Rights, 2012.

Holocaust", in: Contemporary European History 21, No. 2, 2012. "Diaspora der Erinnerung", in: Isolde Charim and

**Timothy Snyder** 

"The Causes of the

Gertraud Auer Borea (eds.), Lebensmodell Diapora: Über moderne Nomaden,

Bielefeld: transkript Verlag.

2012.

"The Voice and the Eye: Changing Visual Regimes in Polish Competition Memoir, 1930-1984",

"The Forgiveness of Time and Consciousness", in: Dan Zahavi (ed.), Oxford Handbook on Phenomenology, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

## RUSSIA, Inc.—The New Realities of the Russian State

#### BY VLADISLAV INOZEMTSEV

*Flourishing corruption, personal enrichment and authoritarian leadership have turned Russia into a primarily economic project of the elites. This system combines material wealth with personal freedom—but only as long as it does not challenge the regime itself. Vladislav Inozemtsev gives three reasons why "Russia, Inc." is going to prevail.* 



he future of Russia features prominently in European discourse these days. Most analysts focus on the rise of corruption, political ineffectiveness and street protests; others point to the flight of capital and gloomy economic prospects. While there certainly exist grounds for such speculations, I want to draw some attention to the inner workings of the contemporary Russian state. Moreover, I want to discuss the means by which the state may secure its survival for a comparatively long period of time. My analysis consists of two main arguments. Firstly, the current system in Russia is based not on corruption in the traditional sense, but on a complete merger of public service and private business interests; members of the political elite are focused not on the welfare of the nation but on their respective personal fortunes. Russia has in a sense been transformed into a "Russia, Inc." in which the commercial interests of the political class dominate the needs of the population. Secondly, under such circumstances there is no hope whatsoever that the situation might be changed from above, since

the "vertical of power" is strongly united by its business goals and will consolidate whenever it feels itself threatened. Consequently, I do not envisage any possibility of a conflict inside Russia's ruling political elite in the foreseeable future.

I would point out that Putin's regime draws great strength from the immense wealth it commands. Russia's federal revenues for 2012 exceeded 405 billion dollars, allowing the elite to allocate 20 billion to infrastructure projects and, most importantly, to look the other way as bureaucrats misuse vast sums of public money. This latter phenomenon serves to consolidate a system in which the personal enrichment of politicians is not merely sporadic but systemic; it is part of the very foundation of the regime, as well as its best guarantee against the "revolt of the elites."

#### A Culture of Bureaucratic Corruption

To draw analogies between corruption in the Western sense and corruption as practiced in modern Russia is to greatly underestimate the latter. Bureaucrats in modern Russia have a variety of legal avenues of siphoning off state funds-most commonly, a politician's associates and relatives will organize various businesses which, through formal procedures, are granted public contracts; these contracts are then realized at greatly inflated prices. For example, while the A20 Autobahn in northern Germany, finalized in 2005, cost less than 5,4 million euro per kilometer, the plan to construct a 520km long, six-lane highway around Moscow's outskirts is valued at 469 billion rubles, or 22,5 million euro per kilometer; such disparities fail to provoke surprise among Russians.

The so-called "siloviki" are engaged in a different enterprise: they open criminal investigations against the owners of successful businesses, charge them with tax irregularities and then force them to sell off their assets at cut-rate prices. Only 9% of such lawsuits are brought to trial, as opposed to around 94% of first-degree murder cases. The vast majority these lawsuits, then, are settled of cigarette advertising, according to sources familiar with the issue. Once again, it is important to note that most of these activities fall within Russia's current legal framework. The public service in Russia has already become a kind of very profitable business; would-be bureaucrats are motivated primarily by their drive to convert the privileges of political office into huge material benefits for themselves.

It is obvious that this culture of bureaucratic corruption could never have spread without the consent of the powers that be. Since President Putin took power in 2000, not a single minister has been sentenced for any criminal wrongdoing, nor has any regional governor; the political elite is therefore placed largely above the law. The government sporadically issues warnings when it considers a particular transgression intolerable; such was recently the case with the Defense Ministry, where relatives and friends of the Minister appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars from selling off state assets. Even in so egregious a case, however, it is all but certain that Mr. Serdyukov will never be charged.

It is also crucial to assess the prospect of pressure from below. My view is that such pressure will not be particularly strong in the coming years. From December 2011 onward, no street rallies larger than 100,000 people were held in Russia, unlike the late 1980's, when million-strong crowds were a common occurrence in Moscow. In provincial cities the opposition movement is barely visible, and I believe it will exhaust itself in the upcoming year.

Why, then, does Putin's government remain largely unchallenged? First of all one should acknowledge in the European sense. Thus, many affluent citizens are ready to leave if Russia's authoritarian features were to metastasize, and are consequently less anxious about the fragility of the country's political freedoms. I suppose that the opposition forces would have much better chances of success were it not for this wave of middle-class emigration.

#### A Free Society under Authoritarian Management

This freedom doesn't mean that Russia is—or will soon become—a liberal democracy, because it is mostly limited to "freedom from" rather than "freedom to"-citizens might be free from the necessity to get permission for leaving the country, but the liberties necessary for true political involvement remain rather limited. On the contrary, this system of corrupt governance produces a situation in which it becomes quite simple to resolve many of the problems an ordinary citizen or small-businessman may face, and to resolve them "on an individualized basis." The strength of Putin's model of rule is based on a complete devaluation of any collective action: while being able to resolve all one's problems with bribes, one can expect to face the full force of the state apparatus if one decides to organize any kind of protest against rules and norms of the system, or even to openly challenge these rules. This peculiar mix of personal freedom and the option to resolve many of problems in an "unofficial" manner results in the general feeling that life in contemporary Russia is, if not easy, at least guite comfortable for those who confine themselves to personal materialistic goals-and the vast majority

## *The personal enrichment of politicians is not merely sporadic but systemic.*

preparations for an APEC summit in Vladivostok; meanwhile, federal revenues in 1999 totaled less than 22 billion dollars. Similarly, Gazprom's revenue has multiplied from 11 billion to 158 billion in the same period. This influx of cash affords Putin numerous opportunities: he is able to address the problems of the lowincome population, to launch huge by other means—presumably in exchange for some form of bribe.

In the meantime, deputies often busy themselves manipulating laws so as to benefit certain business interests—the so-called "tobacco lobby" spent more than 30 million dollars in order to postpone new legislation which would ban smoking in public places and tighten the rules that present-day Russia is, in general, a relatively free country. Unlike in the Soviet era, Russians can now acquire property and conduct business, they have unlimited access to information and the Internet, all taboos have been lifted in personal life, and citizens can freely leave the country and return. The latter item is of crucial importance, since more than one million Russians have already left the country in the past eight years, and more than four million Russians now possess cartes de séjour in EU countries alone, allowing them to stay abroad for long durations. This represents up to onethird of those Russians who could properly be considered middle-class

of Russians may well fall into this category. Those who are completely dissatisfied are free to leave, after all—and in this case they would be even better off, because almost everywhere in Europe they would experience a lower cost of living and far more affordable housing prices than in any Russian city with a population of one million or more. Overall, when looking at pres-

Overall, when looking at present-day Russia, one might accurately describe it as a free society under authoritarian management, with relatively few signs of discontent. Putin has brilliantly combined the seductive power of material wealth with the fruits of nearly absolute personal freedom, and he master-fully uses the

might of the state to "correct" small irregularities arising from the liberal aspirations of certain segments of society. Taking all this into account, I do not expect serious problems for the regime to emerge before the new electoral cycle begins in 2016. One uncertainty it faces is the presumed vulnerability of oil and gas prices, given that 54% of Russia's budget revenues originate from the energy sector. However, I do not expect that oil prices will decline dramatically in coming years, since the global economy has already adapted to the current price point over the last decade. Meanwhile, Russia has already accumulated sufficient financial reserves to allow the state to cover any possible budget deficit for up to three years, even in the unlikely event that oil prices dip below 60 dollars per barrel. The only significant threat to the Russian system stems not from any internal conflict but from the per-sonal thirst for power that motivates Mr. Putin

himself. If he were tactful enough to have orchestrated a smooth transfer of power in 2008, as Chinese leaders do every ten years, this system would be capable of persisting for decades. But in returning to the presidency in May 2012, Putin placed his personal wishes above the needs of the political system he has built.

To wrap it all up, I would argue that Europe should prepare itself for long-term cooperation with the peculiar form of energy-rich kleptocracy that has developed on its Eastern borders. Those who grow weary of Putin's personality and his leadership style may try to vote for someone else in 2018; until then, it remains unlikely that anything sudden will alter Russia's political landscape. ⊲

Vladislav Inozemtsev is Professor of Economics and Director of the Centre of Post-Industrial Studies in Moscow. He is chairman of the High Council of the Civilian Force Party and IWM Visiting Fellow as part of the *Russia in Global Dialogue Fellowship Program*.

#### Russia in Global Dialogue

Does Europe get Russia right? And does Russia get the world right? In the two decades after the end of the Cold War, the intellectual interaction between Russia and Europe has intensified a lot, but paradoxically what we witness recently is a constant failure to come up with a common conversation. Europe's current debate on Russia is solely focused on what Russia lacksdemocracy, rule of law, modernization—, and there is a tendency to view Putin's Russia as a "paperback edition" of the Soviet Union. At the same time, Russian public debate is not immune to conspiracy theories in trying to explain the changes in the modern world.

There is an urgent need for re-engagement between Russia's debate on the directions of the world and Europe's debate on the choices that Russia faces. The *Russia in Global Dialogue Fellowship Program* at the IWM, supported by the Open Society Foundations, is an attempt to answer this need.

#### May 21, 2012 Svetlana Boym

Professor of Comparative Literature and Associate, Harvard School of Design and Architecture, Harvard University; IWM Guest Between Nostalgia and Freedom: Reflection on Immigrant Arts

#### May 22, 2012

Alexander Etkind Reader in Russian Literature and Cultural History, King's College, Cambridge

**People or Territory?** (see also *Books in Perspective* p. 21)

October 29, 2012 Kirill Rogov Senior Researcher, Gaidar Institute for

#### January 23, 2013

Vladislav Inozemtsev Director, Centre of Post-Industrial Studies, Moscow; IWM Visiting Fellow Russia's Dual Economy as an Obstacle to Modernization. Economic Growth without Development

#### February 6, 2013

Maxim Trudolyubov Editor and columnist, Vedomosti; IWM Guest Will Putin's System Outlive Putin? How Solid is Russia's Institutional Framework?

#### February 25, 2013

Valery M. Zubov Deputy of the Duma; former Vice-Speaker of the Federation Council; Governor of Russia's Krasnoyarsk Region Vladislav Inozemtsev Director, Centre of Post-Industrial Studies, Moscow; IWM Visiting Fellow Russia Looking Eastwards. Two Ways for the Country to Develop Siberia: Which Vision Is to Prevail?

#### February 28, 2013

Peter Pomeranzev British television producer; non-fiction writer of Russian origin; IWM Guest 'Russia Beyond Belief': Living in a Post-Modern Dictatorship

#### March 5, 2013

Sergey Ivanov Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Professor of Byzantine Studies, St. Petersburg State University; IWM Guest Debates on 'The Byzantine Legacy' in Russia

March 12, 2013 Fyodor Lukyanov Editor-in-chief, *Russia in Global* 

### Varia

We say farewell and thank you to three colleagues who left the IWM at the beginning of 2013: Dessy Gavrilova and Meropi Tzanetakis, who were in charge of the Institute's public relations during 2012, and put lots of dedication and passion into their many tasks. Program Coordinator Manuel Tröster returned to Germany to take on a similar task as scientific coordinator of "The Young Academy" in Berlin. We wish all of them well for their new assignments. At the same time we welcomend and are happy to introduce our two new colleagues who are now responsible for public relations and program coordination. Marion Gollner joined us in January. She studied Social and Cultural Anthropology as well as Political Science in Vienna. Before joining the IWM she worked at the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences as PR officer and scientific researcher. Christina Pössel took over her job in April. Prior to joining the *и*wм, she taught medieval history at a UK university, and is now

using her experience as a researcher to support and coordinate the IWM Permanent Fellows' projects.

The IWM recently launched its new website which provides many additional features—including an extended "Read, Listen & Watch" section with current articles and media clippings, videos and audio files as well as a modified event calendar showing the most interesting lectures, debates and talks at first glance. So have a look and visit us on our new website: www.iwm.at

We are proud to announce that two IWM members have been voted to be among the World Thinkers 2013: Michael Sandel (No. 21) and Ivan Krastev (No. 56). The ranking is based on the Prospect Magazine's annual World Thinkers Poll-a "snapshot of the intellectual trends that dominate our age"including more than 10,000 votes from over 100 countries: www.prospectmagazine.co.uk

Visiting Professorship at the interdisciplinary research centre *Laboratorium Aufklärung* at the Friedrich-Schiller-University in Jena, Germany, is awarded annually to an outstanding scholar. Its recipient in 2012 was **Charles Taylor**, Prof. em. at Montreal's McGill University and IWM Permanent Fellow.

The Friedrich Schiller-

On December 7, 2012, our partner in the EUR IAS Fellowship Program, Central European University's Institute for Advanced Study in Budapest, took its fellows' community on a day trip to Vienna. We used this opportunity to organize a get-together for the IWM's and the CEU IAS's fellows to learn about each other's research and to socialize at the IWM.

Congratulations to **Nora Ruck** on the award of one of the European Commission's prestigious Marie Curie International Outgoing Fellowships. She is planning to use her fellowship for a research residency at York University's History and Theory of Psychology Program in Toronto. She prepared her project during her stay at the IWM as a Guest in summer 2012.

Yulia Arskaya, who came to the Institute as Alexander Herzen Visiting Fellow in 2011, gave birth to a daughter, Tamara, in February 2013. Both the parents and the newborn daughter are well. Only some days later little Viktor, son of Sergej Danilov (Milena Jesenska Fellow 2012) and his wife Sandra, was born. Warmest congratulations to all of them.

We are mourning the loss of Maria Schaumayer, who passed away on January 23, 2013, at the age of 81. Dr. Schaumayer was a friend and close supporter of the IWM for many years. Maria Schaumaver was renowned and highly respected across party-political and national borders in her many career positions as politician, director of the Austrian National Bank (OeNB), government representative for the compensation payments to Nazi-era forced laborers, and pioneering advocate for gender equality.

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Economic Policy, Moscow; IWM Guest Another Forty Years in a Desert. Current Trends in Russian Politics and the Problem of Hybrid Regime Changes

#### November 27, 2012 Vladislav Inozemtsev

Director, Centre of Post-Industrial Studies, Moscow; IWM Visiting Fellow Power as Business in Putin's Russia. Why the State and the People in Russia Seem to Be Satisfied with Each Other

#### January 15, 2013

Maxim Trudolyubov Editor and columnist, Vedomosti; IWM Guest Building a Home of One's Own. Private Life, Political Change and Property in Contemporary Russian Society Affairs, Moscow; IWM Guest Russian Foreign Policy: Transformation in the Era of Uncertainty (Political Salon in cooperation with *Die Presse* and the Austrian Federal Ministry of Finance)

#### April 24, 2013

Serguei Parkhomenko Anchorman, *Echo of Moscow*; member, Voters League and Coordination Council of Opposition, Moscow; IWM Guest Political Opposition and the Civil Movement in Russia: A Period of Accumulation of Forces after the "Big Protest Wave" *Transit 44* (Herbst 2013) wird sich mit dem Thema **Zukunft der Demokratie** beschäftigen. Beiträge u.a. von Ivan Krastev, Nadia Urbinati, Jiri Pehe, Claus Leggewie und Patrizia Nanz, Jan-Werner Mueller, Stefan Auer, Jacques Rupnik, Sighard Neckel, Claus Offe, Pierre Rosanvallon, Michael Sandel, Krzysztof Michalski und Peter Pomeranzev.

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#### Recent contributions

**Robert Cooper,** *The European Union and the Habsburg Monarchy* 

**Bruce P. Jackson,** *The Twilight of the Post-Soviet Space* 

#### Paul Sanders,

Under Western Eyes. How Meta-Narrative Shapes our Perception of Russia

#### Martina Steer,

Jenseits des Traumas. Zur Erinnerungsforschung in der Postmoderne

#### www.iwm.at/read-listen-watch/transit-online/



#### IWMpost

## The Ukrainian Extreme Right Seen from Inside and Out

#### BY ANTON SHEKHOVTSOV

Ukraine is exasperatingly skilled at exposing itself to bitter criticism from the international community, with 2012 being an exceptional year in this respect. Anton Shekhovtsov on the rise of the ultranationalist Svoboda Party and EU's skepticism.

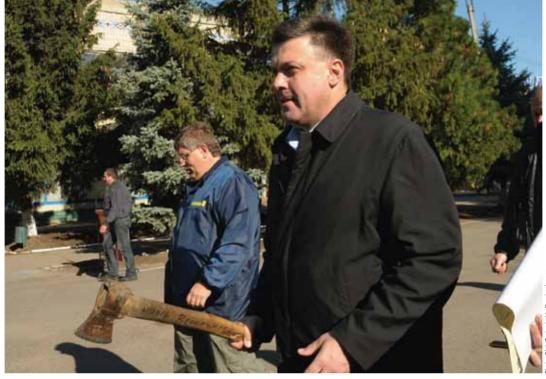
n the run-up to Euro 2012, the country became the object of the somewhat hysterical attention of the British media, including the BBC, The Daily Mail and The Sun, who warned their audience of the perils of attending matches there. According to former Arsenal and Tottenham defender Sol Campbell, the country was racist and full of football hooligans, and non-white fans "could end up coming back in a coffin." In this atmosphere of fear, thousands decided to stay away. It didn't really matter that Ukrainians turned out to be hospitable hosts and that not one racist or violent incident involving Ukrainian fans was reported during the tournament. The damage to Ukraine's image had been done.

But who cares about the image of a country whose authorities repeatedly violate the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law? Moreover, the fact that racism and prejudice do exist in Ukraine makes the country's international image even more vulnerable.

#### **Racial Violence** without Consequences

In 2012, the international media frequently reported on ethnic, cultural and social discrimination in Ukraine. Yet not a single perpetrator of homophobic violence that took place in Ukraine last year has been prosecuted. At the same time, Olaolu Femi, a Nigerian student at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Luhansk, remains in prison. In 2011 he was charged with attempted premeditated murder after he had dared to fend off five young Ukrainians who had carried out a racially motivated attack on him and his friend.

In December 2012, the European Union drew attention to racism in



Svoboda's leader Oleh Tyahnybok with an axe followed by his supporters

the parliamentary elections in October 2012. This marked a turning point in Ukrainian politics. Obtaining a startling 10.44% of the proportional vote and winning in 12 single-member districts, the Svoboda party secured 37 seats in parliament and entered Ukrainian political history as the first party to form an extreme right parliamentary faction.

Although a newcomer to the Ukrainian parliament, the party has been known to researchers since 1991, when it was still called the Social-National Party of Ukraine (SNPU). Its current leader, Oleh Tyahnybok, was twice elected as an MP (in 1998-2002 and 2002–2006), the only relevant successes in the career of the otherwise fringe party. Following the advice of the French National Front, the SNPU changed its name to the All-Ukrainian Union "Freedom" in 2004, along the lines of the Freedom Party of Austria and the Freedom Party of Switzerland (since then, extreme right "freedom" parties have also appeared in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Germany).

distrust of the national democrats (first and foremost the Fatherland party, nominally led by the imprisoned former Prime Minister Yuliya Tymoshenko) and their ability to oppose these policies; and third, growing legitimacy thanks to increased media visibility.

It is difficult to overestimate the latter point. Svoboda's success in the 2012 parliamentary elections

clan's plans. It remains to be seen whether Yanukovych's political advisors indeed conceive a "France 2002" scenario for the 2015 presidential elections. If so, Tyahnybok, playing Jean-Marie Le Pen to Yanukovych's Jacques Chirac, will advance to the second round of the election, only to be crushed by a landslide.

My survey of people who voted for Svoboda at the 2012 parliamen-

Who cares about the image of a country whose authorities repeatedly violate the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law?

directly or indirectly controlled by the authorities. After gaining a miserable 0.76% of the vote in the 2007 and never represented in parliament until the 2012 election, Svoboda had never enjoyed such high visibility.

Regrettably, many other opposition leaders, in particular Tymoshenko, Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk, voiced acknowledgement of Svoboda's "true opposition" status. They all downplayed the ultranationalist character of Svoboda's ideas, either for instrumental reasons or simply because of negligence (Klychko seems to be the only notable opposition leader who is wary).

#### **The Laziest Lawmakers**

Now that Svoboda is represented in the parliament, it is unlikely to moderate its positions, as some Ukrainian commentators suggest. That may appear a clever strategic move-Svoboda could keep the major part of its largely pro-EU voters, who do not share the party's most radical nationalist stances and who presumably gave it the benefit of the doubt in 2012. Yet the party is highly unlikely to challenge its own image as the only ideological and uncompromising force left in Ukraine, as well as to risk suffering a split between its various factions.

The European Parliament's concern about rising support for the ultranationalists should have a sobering effect on those who voted for Svoboda and at the same time support Ukraine's European integration. These voters need to internalize the EU's fundamental values and principles and realize that their electoral behavior adds to the negative image of the country abroad. They may also come to reason by looking at the statistics of the legislative activities of the new parliament: at the end of 2012, Svoboda's faction was the only parliamentary group that had not registered a single draft *law.* With all the intolerant noise and scandal they produce, Svoboda's MPs prove to be the laziest and most inefficient lawmakers. The empty can indeed rattles the most.  $\triangleleft$ 

Ukrainian society. In its resolution on Ukraine, the European Parliament voiced its concern about "rising nationalistic sentiment in Ukraine, expressed in support for the Svoboda Party", and recalled that "racist, anti-Semitic and xenophobic views go against the EU's fundamental values and principles." The resolution was followed by a report entitled "2012 Top Ten Anti-Israel/Anti-Semitic Slurs," published by the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, featuring two prominent members of Svoboda.

The attention paid to the extreme right Svoboda Party-the All-Ukrainian Union "Freedom" to give it its official name-was a result of its strong performance at

#### Svoboda's Formula for Success

The name-change was followed by ideological and organizational modernization, and this played a significant role in the party's recent success. Above all, however, Svoboda has benefited from three factors. First, the perceived popular demand for radical opposition to the "unpatriotic" policies of the current government and President Viktor Yanukovych; second, the deep public

has largely the same source as Tymoshenko's seven-year prison sentence for abuse of office and the subsequent charges brought against her early this year of the contract murder of politician and businessman Yevhen Shcherban. This source is President Yanukovych and his hatred of the national democrats, fuelled by his humiliation during the Yushchenko-Tymoshenko regime and the business interests of Yanukovych's "family" (on its way to being the wealthiest oligarchic clan in Ukraine). The rise of Svoboda is hugely beneficial to Yanukovych and his "family", since it takes place at the expense of invidious national democrats who could thwart the

tary elections shows that the majority had cast their ballots for the mainstream national democrats in previous years. Had Svoboda not taken part in the 2012 elections, they would have cast their ballots for the Fatherland party or Vitaliy Klychko's UDAR. When asked why they supported Svoboda, most replied that it was the only party that was genuinely opposed to Yanukovych. It is true that Svoboda's political discourse is characterized by stark criticism of Yanukovych and Prime Minister Azarov, but it was the "party of power" that enabled Svoboda to communicate its message to potential voters via the media, especially national TV, which is

Anton Shekhovtsov is Junior Visiting Fellow at the IWM and editor of the Explorations of the Far Right book series at ibidem-Verlag (further publications on p. 24/25).