

Katherine Lebow

Unfinished Utopia?

Jan-Werner Mueller
Democracy
under Threat

Leon Botstein
Music and
Politics

Mykola Riabchuk
Ukraine: Across
the Dividing Lines

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Editorial

Anhaltende Proteste in Russland und der Ukraine, eingeschränkte Freiheitsrechte in Ungarn, europaweite Abhörskandale und wachsende Ungleichheit als Folge der Wirtschaftskrise – 2013 war ein einschneidendes Jahr. Das gilt auch für das IWM und die Regionen (Süd-)Osteuropas, die seit Gründung des Instituts besonders im Blickfeld stehen. Die aktuelle Ausgabe der *IWMpost* widmet sich u.a. der Frage, was aus den einstigen Zukunftsvisionen geworden ist, welchen politischen und gesellschaftlichen Realitäten sie gewichen sind und vor welchen Herausforderungen alte wie neue Mitgliedsstaaten der EU heute stehen. Während sich die Beiträge von Katherine Lebow und Leon Botstein historischer Themen annehmen, geht es in den Artikeln von Jan-Werner Mueller, Balázs Trencsényi und Mykola Riabchuk um gegenwärtige Brennpunkte. Aleš Debeljak und James Dodd schreiben über Menschen, die ihr Leben geprägt haben.

Kurz vor Drucklegung dieser Ausgabe der *IWMpost* haben sich die Ereignisse in der Ukraine dramatisch zugespitzt. Unter der Rubrik „Ukraine in Focus“ (www.iwm.at/ukraine-in-focus) kommentieren seit Anfang Dezember 2013 Fellows, Alumni und Freunde des IWM die Proteste. Ebenfalls online verfügbar sind weiterführende Informationen zu den zurückliegenden Veranstaltungen am IWM, die im Mittelteil dieser Ausgabe (als redaktionelle Neuerung) im Überblick dargestellt sind. Ein Ausblick auf zukünftige Veranstaltungen und Ausschreibungen findet sich ab sofort am Ende des Blattes. Wir wünschen eine anregende Lektüre und alles Gute für das neue Jahr! ◀

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Ongoing protests in Russia and the Ukraine, increasingly restricted democratic rights in Hungary, the NSA spying scandal and growing inequality as a result of the economic crises—2013 was a year of change and dramatic developments. This was also true for the IWM, as well as for the regions of (South-)Eastern Europe which have been important foci of the Institute’s work since its foundation. Themes of the current issue of the *IWMpost* include looking at what became of past visions of the future and what political or social realities replaced them, and the challenges which are facing the old and the new EU-member states today. While Katherine Lebow and Leon Botstein tackle issues of historical relevance, Jan-Werner Mueller, Balázs Trencsényi and Mykola Riabchuk focus on some of today’s most pressing questions. Aleš Debeljak und James Dodd in turn write about individuals whose influence shaped their lives.

Shortly before this issue went to press, the situation in Ukraine escalated. Under the heading “Ukraine in Focus” IWM fellows, alumni and friends have been commenting on the protest movement since the beginning of December 2013; their contributions can be read online: www.iwm.at/ukraine-in-focus. Also available on the our website are details on the Institute’s past and future events. A new feature in this *IWMpost* is a central spread giving an overview of past events. Information on upcoming events and calls for fellowship applications currently open can be found on the final page. We hope you enjoy reading and wish you all the best for 2014! ◀

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Day of the Child Parade
in Nowa Huta during
the 1960s

Photo: Henryk Makarewicz / thanks to courtesy of
Foundation Imago Mundi collection

From Goulash-Communism to Goulash-Authoritarianism?

BY BALÁZS TRENCSENYI

The present situation in Hungary is a challenge for the model that has shaped the political life of Western Europe since World War II.

The way the European Union handles the Hungarian issue has a significance that reaches well beyond the individual case of a minor East Central European state and might become an indicator of the direction European political culture will take in the decades to come.¹⁾



Photo: László Balogh / Reuters

The late 1990s and early 2000s have been considered a period of social and political stabilization of the “Other Europe”, marked by a growing economic and institutional convergence with the Western part of the continent. Personal and political cleavages notwithstanding, a relatively large segment of the new political elite, left and right, post-communist and anti-communist, still shared a common commitment to the necessity of the institutional reforms stipulated by the “transition paradigm”. This entailed the consensual aim of “getting closer” to European structures and adopting European institutional practices, with their respect for

democratic procedural rules, since they seemed to command social support and were also legitimized by the manifest historical victory of ‘Western’ liberal democracy over ‘Eastern’ communism. Most importantly, it also entailed a certain propensity for ‘self-restraint’—both in terms of not using the full scale of administrative pressure available to a governmental party for reshaping the political system at the expense of the opposition, and also of a certain reluctance to develop the inflexible antipathies and ideological divisions that characterized the political cultures of these countries in the interwar period. This democratic and Europeanizing “minimal consensus”

was also linked to a critical stance toward pre-communist authoritarian political traditions and entailed the rejection of the personality cult of leader figures.

Beyond the inherent thrust toward political polarization, the erosion of post-1989 consensus politics can be linked to a series of divisive collective experiences in the respective political communities. The pervasive pro-Western European stance characterizing the early, naive stage of the transition, which was combined with very limited interaction with Western institutions, gradually started to change in the process of negotiation and adaptation to EU structures. Various frustrations

with the pace and direction of the transformation came to be linked to perceived or real pressure from ‘the West’. This was coupled with increasing disaffection with the workings of a market economy, which, contrary to expectations, resulted in dramatic social differentiation and a marked disappearance of national sovereignty in the economic sphere in the face of the powerful multinational companies and transnational financial structures.

Compromise and Resistance

The transition societies also carried a number of unresolved historical traumas: the dramatic instability

of state borders and the experiences of massive population transfers and displacements, especially during and after World War II; the Holocaust; the destructive effects of the socialist transformation with its concomitant campaigns of collectivization, ‘de-kulakization,’ and forced industrialization; and, finally, the outbursts of mass terror as well as the complicated dialectics of compromise and resistance characterizing both the interwar authoritarian and the post-war communist regimes. In the heat of the search for future-oriented solutions in the early 1990s, these traumas remained to a large extent suppressed, but continued to feed the divergent ‘private histories,’

which could coagulate into competing alternative representations of the 20th century that could be eventually played out against each other.

Once the formal democratization criteria were met and the integration of most of East Central Europe into the European Union became irreversible, a majoritarian understanding of democracy and a concomitant zero-sum perception of political struggle became dominant in the political cultures of the region. All this led to the growing aggressiveness of political discourse, culminating in constructed and sustained radical visions of mutual elimination. The struggle thus came to be represented as the clash of fundamentally incompatible *Weltanschauungen* that aimed at changing the outlook, and often the very composition, of the political community once and for all.

The rejection of ‘transition liberalism’ on the basis of cultural, political and socio-economic arguments and the search for a new ideological framework that would bracket the whole transition period became a central theme of public discourse in Hungary, which had appeared to be the most eminent ‘pupil’ of Westernization in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This development can be followed in the shifting political discourse of intellectuals linked to FIDESZ, a party that in 1989–93 combined radical anti-communism with a liberal democratic vision of politics. By 1998, when Viktor Orbán became the prime minister of a right-wing coalition government, the liberal democratic element had been minimized and the ideologists close to the leadership had started to experiment with a right-wing republican discourse. They used the notion of “citizen” as the central normative concept—not in the sense of the *citoyen* conscious of his/her civic rights but as a counter-concept to socialism. It was inspired by communitarianism, stressing organic social links in contrast to the “mechanistic” social engineering of really existing socialism, combined with a dose of neo-liberalism, envisioning a new middle class not relying on the welfare system of the state but seeking to realize itself within the new framework based on private property.

When this framework proved unable to generate mass support for the government (due to the relatively high level of nostalgia for the welfare system of real-socialism), Orbán and the intellectual circle around him opted for a more history-centered strategy of legitimation. This was indicated by the pompous celebrations in 2000 commemorating the millennium of Hungarian statehood. It also meant a powerful return to archaic symbols, pre-eminently the Holy Crown, which was upgraded from a venerated but antiquated historical object to serve as the official symbol of national unity and state continuity.

This discourse was radicalized even further after 2002, when FIDESZ unexpectedly lost the elections. Challenging the legitimacy of the socialist-liberal coalition government with an ethno-nationalist rhetoric (claiming that “the nation cannot be in opposition”, which im-

plied that the actual left-liberal government was a historical anomaly), the right-wing political and cultural elite sought to regain power by a wide-ranging social mobilization. The emergence of a national conservative parallel polis, based on local voluntary associations, the so-called “civic circles”—*polgári körök*—entailed among other things the creation of a concurrent cultural infrastructure (ranging from ideologically committed media to an alternative art academy) that would “re-conquer” the public sphere from the representatives of “alien interests”. The underlying political discourse was a combination of fervent anti-communism, anti-liberalism, cultural traditional-

time been perceived as a key agent of democratization. On the contrary, what the last decade has shown is the immense power of a profoundly anti-liberal civic mobilization that has created an anti-democratic and often ethno-nationalist “parallel polis” based on mass participation, parallel channels of communication, collective rituals and symbols (usually linked to the interwar tradition of ethnic nationalism), and particular patterns of sociability and solidarity.

An obvious link also exists between the discourse about the corruption of the transition elites, which supposedly subordinated the national interest to the promotion of global integration (which in practice meant

in systemic terms rather than as a set of disparate statements and improvised outcomes. By building a new institutional and ideological framework, the power elite seeks to perpetuate its power and to implement a social transformation that creates a new reality fitting the “new world order” it projects into the near future. Therefore, in my opinion it is mistaken to see ideological developments in Hungary as a combination of cynical populism that serves mobilization but does not really reflect institutional practices, or as a set of individual ‘violations’ of the European legal norms. One should take the avowed intentions of the Hungarian government seriously in the

carrying as it does the trauma of dependence on external imperial structures and “great powers”, and shaped as it is by the experience of three long-lasting paternalistic-autocratic regimes over the last 160 years, in contrast to the volatile democratic periods of 1848–49, 1918, 1945–47 and the post-1989 decades. Francis Joseph, Horthy and Kádár all established their rule with terror and all became “fathers of the nation”, playing a key role in perpetuating the imperial dependence of Hungary but at the same time conferring the illusion of relative independence. This is echoed by the curious duality of political communication, which raises the eventual possibility of exiting the “oppressive” European Union at the same time as lobbying for as much aid as possible from the structural funds of the EU. All this is legitimized by a discourse in which it is not Hungary that has abandoned the European norms but rather the European Union that has betrayed the “real” European values.

Seen from this perspective, the way the European Union handles the Hungarian issue has a significance that may reach well beyond the individual case of a minor East Central European state and become a powerful indicator of the direction European political culture will take in the decades to come. ◀

¹⁾ The present text draws on parts of the essay, “Beyond Liminality? The Kulturkampf of the early 2000s in East Central Europe,” to be published in the forthcoming special issue of boundary2 (Duke University) on Eastern Europe. I would like to thank the editors of boundary2 for agreeing to my use of these excerpts.

An extended version of this article was published on www.iwm.at/read-listen-watch/transit-online

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The neo-conservative ideological framework has come to question the entire transition process while seeking to offer a more stable framework of authority and identity.

ism, statism, and an increasing ethno-nationalism targeting Hungarians living outside of Hungary as constitutive members of the Hungarian political community.

From “Polling Booth Revolution” to “Parallel Polis”

After almost a decade of political mobilization and increasingly violent mass politics following 2006, the 2010 elections brought an absolute majority to Viktor Orbán’s FIDESZ in Parliament (the party received 52 % of the votes but, due to the electoral system, won 68 % of the seats). The most important reason for this victory was arguably the gradual delegitimization of the socialist government, which had sought to implement a Blairite ‘third way’ agenda in the absence of a solid and relatively broad middle class, while also becoming involved into a series of corruption scandals which undermined the entire rhetoric of public sector reform. Another major blow was obviously the gradually deepening global economic crisis, which reinforced the already tangible signs of economic downturn. In 2010, rather than promising constitutional change, FIDESZ campaigned with an anti-corruption rhetoric and promised immediate measures to curtail unemployment to increase public security. After the victory, however, the election was reinterpreted as a fundamental break, a “polling booth revolution”, supposedly ending two decades of corruption and disorientation and opening up the possibility of the creation of a completely new political-social order, called the “System of National Cooperation”.

A distinctive factor of the system emerging in Hungary is the conscious mobilization of civil society even after the return to power of FIDESZ; this contributes to the atmosphere of “permanent revolution”. As a matter of fact, these developments provide clear proof of the profound ambiguity of the notion of civil society, which in the context of the Eastern European transitions has for a long

dependence on foreign “financial circles”), and the current measures aiming both at the creation of a national entrepreneurial elite close to the government and the complete dismantling of pro-Western cultural and educational frameworks. The professed aim of the educational reforms implemented in the last three years is to produce a new generation that accepts a much more hierarchical order, which has internalized traditional religious and gender norms, and which valorizes physical fitness over critical thinking.

Overall, the neo-conservative ideological framework emerging in Hungary has come to question the entire transition process while seeking to offer a more stable framework of authority and identity. It has attempted to exchange the goulash-communism of Kádár with a new system that promises to ‘take care’ of the needs of its subjects, in return for their relinquishment of democratic political control. While the influence is most probably subconscious, the observer might also find a certain resonance, one that goes beyond the conceptual overlap, between the “Peace Marches” organized by a nominally civil society organization copiously funded by the current government, and the “Peace Struggle” of the 1950s. Whereas the latter was a key trope of mass mobilization in Stalinist Eastern Europe, targeting the imperialist aggression of the West, the former brings together hundreds of thousands of Orbán’s supporters using an increasingly militant anti-colonial rhetoric aimed both against the internal “traitors” who want to “sell the country once again” to foreigners and the European Union, which is presented as a new colonial empire that has taken the place of the Turks, Habsburgs and Soviets in suppressing Hungarian independence.

The Systemic Character of the “New World Order”

Taking all this together, I would argue that it makes more sense to look at the system emerging in Hungary

sense that it is indeed the government of the “System of National Cooperation”. This system entails a certain view of the past and the future and a set of socio-economic and anthropological insights about the human being as embedded in ‘warm’ biopolitical communities (family and ethnic nation) and in need of a certain hierarchy to organize his/her life. Its socio-economic vision is rooted in the rejection of the market as a legitimate regulator of economic behavior, a task it delegates to the state bureaucracy. In this framework, curbing the influence of trade unions and limiting the legal provisions that protect employees (which could be seen as typical neo-liberal measures) combines with economic protectionism and a penchant for corporatism, via the establishment of various chambers representing different branches of the economy and the state sector with compulsory membership and strong ideological control.

All these elements are deeply rooted in the local political culture,



Should Extremist Parties Be Banned?

BY JAN-WERNER MUELLER

The Greek government's crackdown on the country's far-right Golden Dawn party has revived a vexing question that seemed to have disappeared with the Cold War's end. Is there a place within liberal democracies for apparently anti-democratic parties?

To be sure, liberal democracies have felt threatened since communism collapsed in 1989—but mostly by foreign terrorists, who tend not to form political parties and sit in these countries' parliaments. So, should extremist parties that seek to compete within the democratic framework be outlawed, or would such a restriction on freedom of speech and association itself undermine this framework?

Above all, it is crucial that such decisions be entrusted to non-partisan institutions such as constitutional courts, not other political parties, whose leaders will always be tempted to ban their competitors. Unfortunately, the moves against Golden Dawn are mostly identified with the government's interests, rather than being perceived as the result of careful, independent judgment.

On the face of it, democratic self-defense seems a legitimate goal. As US Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson (who was also the chief US prosecutor at Nuremberg) put it, "the constitution is not a suicide pact"—a sentiment echoed by the Israeli jurist Aharon Barak, who emphasized that "civil rights are not an altar for national destruction."

But too much democratic self-defense can ultimately leave no democracy to defend. If the people really want to be done with democracy, who is to stop them? As another US Supreme Court justice, Oliver Wendell Holmes, put it, "if my fellow citizens want to go to Hell, I will help them. It's my job."

So it seems that democracies are damned if they ban and damned if they do not. Or, in the more elevated language of the 20th century's most influential liberal philosopher, John Rawls, this appears to be a "practical dilemma which philosophy alone cannot resolve."

History offers no clear lessons, though many people like to think otherwise. In retrospect, it appears obvious that the Weimar Republic might have been saved had the Nazi Party been banned in time. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda minister, famously gloated after the Nazis' legal *Machtergreifung*: "It will always remain one of the best jokes of democracy that it provided its mortal enemies with the means through which it was annihilated."

But a ban might not have halted the German people's general disenchantment with liberal democracy, and an authoritarian regime still might have followed. Indeed, where



A Greek police officer watches a Golden Dawn member entering the party's headquarter in Athens in 2013.

Photo: Reuters / John Kolesidis

as West Germany banned a neo-Nazi party and the Communist Party in the 1950s, some countries—particularly in Southern and Eastern Europe, where dictatorship came to be associated with the suppression of pluralism—have drawn precisely the opposite lesson about preventing authoritarianism. That is one reason

One criterion that seems universally accepted is a party's use, encouragement, or at least condoning of violence—as was evidently the case with Golden Dawn's role in attacks on immigrants in Athens. There is less consensus about parties that incite hatred and are committed to destroying core democratic princi-

Critics warn of a slippery slope. Any disagreement with a government's immigration policy, for example, might eventually be deemed "racist" and freedom of speech curtailed as a result. Something like the classic American standard—the speech must pose a "clear and present danger" of violence—is therefore essen-

Very few people can remember who led the postwar German neo-Nazis and Communists. Nor is it always the case that mainstream parties can cut off support for extremists by selectively co-opting their complaints and demands. Sometimes this approach works, and sometimes it does not; but it always amounts to playing with fire.

Banning parties does not have to mean silencing citizens who are tempted to vote for extremists. Their concerns should be heard and debated; and sometimes banning is best combined with renewed efforts at civic education, emphasizing, for example, that immigrants did not cause Greece's woes. True, such measures might come across as patronizing—but such forms of public engagement are the only way to avoid making anti-extremism look like extremism itself. <

If the people really want to be done with democracy, who is to stop them?

why Greece, for example, has no legal provisions for banning parties.

The fact that Greece nonetheless is effectively trying to destroy Golden Dawn—the parliament just voted to freeze the party's state funding—suggests that, in the end, most democracies will want to draw the line somewhere. But just where exactly should it be drawn?

For starters, it is important to recognize that the line needs to be clearly visible before extremist parties even arise. If the rule of law is to be upheld, democratic self-defense must not appear *ad hoc* or arbitrary. Thus the criteria for bans should be spelled out in advance.

ples—especially because many extremist parties in Europe go out of their way to emphasize that they are not against democracy; on the contrary, they are fighting for "the people."

But parties that seek to exclude or subordinate a part of "the people"—for example, legal immigrants and their descendants—are violating core democratic principles. Even if Golden Dawn—a neo-Nazi party in appearance and content—had not engaged in violence, its extreme anti-immigrant stance and its incitement of hatred at a moment of great social and economic turmoil would have made it a plausible candidate for a ban.

tial. Marginal parties that are not connected to political violence and do not incite hatred should probably be left in peace—distasteful as their rhetoric may be.

But parties that are closer to assuming power are a different matter, even if banning them might automatically appear undemocratic (after all, they will already have deputies in parliaments). In one famous case, the European Court of Human Rights agreed with the banning of Turkey's Welfare Party while it was the largest party in a governing coalition.

It is a myth that bans turn leaders of extremist parties into martyrs.

Jan-Werner Mueller is Professor of Politics at Princeton University, where he is the Founding Director of the Project in the History of Political Thought. In November 2013, he gave the IWM Lectures in Human Sciences dedicated to the relationship between "Populism and Democracy" (further details on www.iwm.at). This article was first published by IWM's cooperation partner Project Syndicate.

“Managed Democracy” in Crisis

CONFERENCE REPORT

To understand Russia has always been a challenge. As the American commentator and humorist Will Rogers famously put it “Whatever you say about Russia, it’s true.” From June 30 to July 4, 2013, the IWM, in cooperation with the Russian Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the European Council on Foreign Relations and the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia organized a series of international meetings in Moscow, bringing together Western scholars with Russian experts and politicians for debates on the present situation of Russia and its perspectives for the future. For the Western participants, this occasion offered a deep and puzzling insight into the country’s present situation.

Most of the Russian experts agreed that the protests of 2011–12 have irreversibly changed Russian society. The system of “managed democracy” has been deeply shaken, and, as a consequence, conditions have become stricter. Putin’s regime now demands full loyalty from the elites. At the same time, one can observe a process of progressive de-institutionalization. Not only is the regime subverting existing democratic institutions, its opponents are not good at institution-building either: the protests have not been transformed into sustained structures, as happened during the democratic revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe where they later served as foundations for political parties. It seems that, once more, Russia’s long tradition of a strong state with a weak civil society is prevailing. It remains to be seen, however, if Putin’s new, tougher course will succeed in restoring the stability and popularity of his first and second terms.

Foreign policy seems to follow mainly domestic political needs. It is distancing itself from Europe seen as a weak, declining power, and uses an anti-European agenda in order to mobilize the support of conservative groups. Europe is no longer a model for Russia’s decision-makers, who now are proud not to share Western values and instead emphasize patriotism, family and religion.

On the economic front, the situation has worsened. The negative influences of the political situation on the economy were stressed by almost all economists—unusual for this profession which tends to abstain from political reasoning. It seems that Russia’s current economic slowdown is not so much caused by global economic crises but has internal causes. Control prevails over economic efficiency; reforms are postponed, which may lead to stagnation and even collapse. The focus is on extracting revenues under conditions of low or absent growth. Russia is dependent on oil prices, which

are still high but cannot sustain economic growth. The economy could grow if productivity increased, but companies fear that their investments will be taken away and pre-

fer to wait for a more efficient legislative, an independent judiciary and a non-corrupt executive. As one of the participants put it: “Nobody in the government is talking about how

to increase investments—they only talk about how to increase revenues. The debate about economic growth is a smoke screen—government is only concerned about delivering

what they promised to the population and to each other.” ◀

red / special thanks to Kadri Liik

Program Russia in the World to Come June 30–July 4, 2013, Moscow

June 30, 2013

Orientation Dinner with **Maria Lipman**
Chair, Carnegie Moscow Center’s
Society and Regions Program

July 1, 2013

Conference: Democracy and Meritocracy: Are the Two Principles Compatible?

The day before the conference, the journal *Russia in Global Affairs* had published an issue entitled “Shaken Foundations and Russia’s Reorientation”. The journal’s editor-in-chief Fyodor Lukyanov and its publisher Sergei Karaganov were the hosts of the conference. To this issue of *Russia in Global Affairs*, several participants had contributed, including Ivan Krastev, co-organizer of the conference, who wrote about the question “The Rise and Fall of Democracy? Meritocracy? Why Modern Elites Have No Legitimacy and Capacity to Govern”.

Session I: Contemporary Politics: A Crisis of Democracy or a Crisis of the Governing Elites?

Fyodor Lukyanov (Chair)
Chairman, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy; Editor in Chief, *Russia in Global Affairs*

Shlomo Avineri
Professor of Political Science; Director, Institute for European Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Member, Israel Academy of Sciences

Christopher Caldwell
Journalist, Senior Editor, *The Weekly Standard*, Contributor to *Financial Times* and *Slate*

Stephen Holmes
Walter E. Meyer Professor of Law, New York University School of Law and Humanities

Sergei Karaganov
Honorary Chairman of the Presidium, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy; Dean, School of World Economics and World Politics, National Research University Higher School of Economics

Andrei Melville
Vice-Rector for Research and Professor of Political Science, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia

Session II: Global Agenda vs. National Interest: Is Harmony Possible?

Ivan Krastev (Chair)
Chairman, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia; Permanent Fellow, Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna

Leonid Grigoriev
Deputy Director and Chief of Research, Russian Energy Agency; Professor, Higher School of Economics

Mark Leonard

Co-Founder and Director, European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR)

Vyacheslav Nikonov

First Deputy Chairman, State Duma Committee on International Affairs; President, Polity Foundation, Unity for Russia Foundation, Editor-in-Chief, *Russia’s Strategy*; Dean of History and Political Science, International University, Moscow

Session III: Meritocracy: Values, Ideology, Morals

Sergey Brilev (Chair)

Deputy Director and Anchor, TV Channel “Rossiya” (RTR)

Aleksander Auzan

Member, Institute of Contemporary Development; President, National Planning Institute (NPI) for the “Civil Contract” National Project; General Director, People’s Assembly Foundation

Aleksander Lomanov

Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Alexei Miller

Research Fellow, Institute for Scientific Information, Russian Academy of Sciences; Visiting Professor of History, CEU Budapest

Alexander Smolar

President, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; Senior Researcher, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris

Ivan Vejvoda

Vice President for Programs, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Conference Dinner with **Irina Prohorova**
Editor-in-chief, *New Literary Observer* magazine and publishing house; Co-founder, Mikhail Prokhorov Fund

The conference was supported by the A.M. Gorchakov Fund, Moscow.

July 2, 2013

Breakfast with **Konstantin von Eggert**
former Editor-in-chief of the BBC Russian Service Moscow Bureau

Discussion: Russian Foreign Policy

Timofei Bordachev

Deputy Dean, Director, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Alex Gabouev

Deputy Editor, *Kommersant-Vlast*

Vasily Kashin

Researcher, Centre for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST); Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Far East Studies

Andrey Kortunov

Director General, Russian International Affairs Council; President, New Eurasia Foundation, Moscow

Fyodor Lukyanov

Pyotr Stegny

Ambassador, Senior Member of RIAC

Dmitri Trenin

Director, Moscow Carnegie Center

Discussion: The New Ideological Debate in Russia

Leonid Bliaher

Professor, Pacific State University; Editor-in-Chief, *Politia*, Irkutsk

Valeriy Fedotov

Chairman, Democratic Platform; former Regional Executive, “United Russia”, St. Petersburg

Marat Gelman

Art Gallery Owner

Konstantin Kostin

Chairman, Fund for Development of Civil Society

Olga Kryshtanovskaya

Director, Laboratory Kryshtanovskaya Institute; Head, Center for Elite Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences

Marina Litvinovich

Editor in Chief, *Besttoday*; Polit-Tech-nologist

Vadim Lurie (Bishop Grigoriy)

Theologian, St. Petersburg

Boris Mezhuiev

Editor in Chief, *Terra America*; Columnist, *Izvestia*

Alexander Morozov

Director, Media Center UNIK; Editor in Chief, *Russkiy Journal*; former Press Secretary, “Fair Russia”

Alexey Muravev

Theologian; Senior Research Fellow, Russian Academy of Sciences

Gleb Pavlovsky

President, Russian Institute; President, Center for Effective Policies

Alexander Shmelev

Director, internet projects of the Moscow School of Political Studies; former Editor-in-Chief, *Vzgliad*

Dinner hosted by **Sergey Karaganov**

July 3, 2013

Official Meetings with **Anatoly Antonov**
Deputy Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation

Sergey Lavrov

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation

Dinner with **Boris Nemtsov**
Co-Chair, RPR-PARNAS political party; one of the leaders of the Solidarnost movement

July 4, 2013

Discussion: Russian Economy

Vladimir Drebenzov

Vice President International Relations, BP Russia

Evgeny Gavrilencov

Chief Economist, Sberbank

Evsey Gurvich

Head, Economic Expert Group

Vladislav Inozemtsev

Professor of Economics; Director, Centre for Post-Industrial Studies; Presidium Member, Russian International Affairs Council

Vladimir Nazarov

Gaidar Institute for Economic Policy



Photo: IWM

Kirill Rogov

Senior Research Fellow, Gaidar Institute for Economic Policy

Konstantin Sonin

Professor of Economics, Vice Rector, New Economic School

Oleg Zamulin

Deputy Vice Rector, Faculty of Economics, Higher School of Economics

Further International Participants

Daniel Fata

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Lykke Friis

Danish Politician, “Venstre” Party; Former Minister for Climate, Energy and Gender Equality

Anna Ganeva

Executive Director, Centre for Liberal Strategies

Vasily Kashin

Researcher, Centre for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (CAST); Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Far East Studies

Jana Kobzova

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Head, Research & Development, Erste Group Bank AG; Senior Fellow, Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWI)

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Ukraine: Across the Dividing Lines

BY MYKOLA RIABCHUK

To uphold its legitimacy and demonstrate strength, the ruling party brought thousands of people from the provinces to the capital city for an alternative demonstration. They are now playing the “the-nation-is-divided” card, trying to demonstrate that they have a considerable number of supporters.

Numerous facts about this alternative demonstration, dubbed “anti-Maidan”, have appeared in local media, revealing its fake nature. The majority of the participants were either hired for 300 hryvnia (\$36) or forced to come, being fully dependent on the government’s goodwill (such as teachers, librarians, and others employed by the state).

In either case, the tendency of the regime to pretend to engage in national dialogue persists, raising serious doubts about its credibility in any negotiations. Whereas appeasing the opposition with some minor concessions may mitigate the inter-

notes, “Ukraine might be a divided country, but on this point [the regime’s predatory character], there is a national consensus. And if the Euromaidan has few echoes in eastern and southern Ukraine, it is this consensus that explains the absence there of the counter-revolutionary impulse that existed in 2004 [during the Orange revolution].”

The notion of Ukraine as a deeply divided country has a broad currency in the international media and is often used by the Kremlin-led propaganda, either to imply the “artificial character” of the country (and of Ukrainian independence in general), or to justify Russia’s interference in her neighbor’s internal affairs. This is done under the pretext of taking care of an ill-defined “Russian-speaking population” or even more obscure “compatriots”.

The widespread description of Ukraine as consisting of the “nationalist West and Russian-speak-

tween language, ethnicity and identity type, the hybrid and cross-groups loyalties are quite widespread, making, thereby, ambiguity a characteristic feature of the Ukrainian ideological setting.

Historically, Ukrainian anti-Soviet/anti-colonial identity has always been predominantly pro-Western. In October 2013 53% of respondents in a nationwide survey supported Ukraine’s EU membership—roughly the same number as those who voted for the “orange” presidential candidate in 2004 and for the “orange” parties in the parliamentary elections last year.

The same survey reveals that 35% of respondents oppose Ukraine’s European integration, and 12% remain undecided. The margin is noticeable, but if the data is broken down into age groups, it looks even more staggering: The youngest respondents (18–29 years old) are twice as supportive of the EU than the oldest (60+).

Young Ukrainians of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds think and speak about the EU in an increasingly similar way.

national pressure and give more time for authorities to exhaust protesters, the anti-Maidan can be used against the protesters directly, with both soft and hard tactics.

The soft tactics are purely propagandistic—not only to demonstrate the alleged “popular support” for the regime and denounce the “radicals, extremists, and lazy-bones” at the Maidan, but also to intimidate the opponents and the international community with the prospect of Ukraine splitting along regional lines.

The hard tactics are the extension of the soft ones: to use counter-rallies to provoke clashes with the neighboring Maidan, and then to assume the role of a peacekeeper who prevents the alleged civil war and split of the country, resembling a self-fulfilling prophecy.

So far, the hard tactics look rather unlikely since the people brought to the counter-rally by money or force are not very eager to fight or even to stay at the site, and try to defect from the rally at the earliest opportunity. They may have little sympathy for the EU and for everything it symbolizes, but they have even less sympathy for the regime and the personalized and predatory system it created during the past three years.

Commenting on this, Chatham House analyst James Sherr aptly

ing East” is misleading not only because it simplifies a complex picture where neither the “West” is essentially “nationalist” (whatever that means) nor the “East” is utterly “Russian-speaking” (in actuality, all the citizens of Ukraine are bilingual, to various degrees). The cliché is misleading in a deeper sense because it establishes a false dichotomy between words representing descriptive categories which are in fact incompatible. It implies that whoever is “Russophone” cannot be “nationalistic”, whereas by the same token all the “nationalists” in Ukraine are presumed to be “Ukrainophones”.

The real dividing line in Ukraine is neither linguistic nor ethnic but ideological. It largely determines the type of identity—either Ukrainian Soviet (a.k.a. “East Slavonic”) which correlates, but does not coincide with the proverbial “Russian-speaking”, or Ukrainian anti-Soviet (a.k.a. anti-colonial) which, again, only loosely correlates with the proverbial “nationalism”.

This means that, however sharp the ideological split might be, it is mitigated by two additional factors. First, there is a huge middle group with mixed, undefined, or fluid identities that does not care much about ideological tenets. And secondly, even though there is some correlation be-

This also means that the younger the people, the less significant the correlation between their language, ethnicity, and pro-European orientation. In other words, young Ukrainians of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds think and speak about the EU in an increasingly similar way. And the mass anti-government protests currently overwhelming downtown Kyiv are just another proof of it. They were not staged by politicians, as was the case back in 2004, but rather erupted spontaneously, from below, crossing ethnic divides, ignoring political partisanship, and defending Ukraine’s European choice primarily as a choice of values.

The fight for the new Ukraine will not be easy since the regime is consolidated, resourceful, and extremely perfidious. It may always rely on brutal force and Russian assistance as a last resort. Together they may delay Ukraine’s drift westward but hardly derail it. <

December 16, 2013

Mykola Riabchuk is a political and cultural analyst based in Kyiv, and currently a EURIAS Senior Visiting Fellow at the IWM. His most recent book *Gleichschaltung: Authoritarian Consolidation in Ukraine* was published in both Ukrainian and English. This text, based on an article published by Al Jazeera on December 16, 2013, is part of IWM’s *Focus on Ukraine* (see right column).



Photo: Andrew Meakowski / www.facebook.com/meakowski689

Ukraine in Focus

Euromaidan, a wave of demonstrations and civil unrest in Ukraine, began on November 21 with large public protests demanding closer European integration. The scope of protests has since dramatically evolved, with many calling for the resignation of President Yanukovich and his government. Critical commentators and observers related to the Institute share their views on the IWM website: www.iwm.at/ukraine-in-focus

Both Your Houses. Protest and Opposition in Russia and Ukraine

Mischa Gabowitsch

There is one central similarity between Euromaidan and other recent movements across the world: protesters’ self-reliance and distrust of politicians who pretend to represent them is what gives their movement its democratic credentials, but it is also a weakness. In many ways, Ukraine’s Euromaidan is rather unlike the wave of mass protests in Russia that followed the rigged election to the State Duma in December 2011.

Ukraine: The New Dictatorship

Timothy Snyder

On paper, Ukraine is now a dictatorship. President Viktor Yanukovich, in having the deputies of his Party of Regions endorse an extraordinary packet of legislation, has arrogated decisive political power to himself. After hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians spent weeks in the cold demonstrating for basic human rights and a stronger association with Europe, the president has responded with a violation of human rights and a rather sad imitation of Russia.

Die EU und der russisch-ukrainische Konflikt

Andreas Umland und Jakob Mischke

Die europäische Staatengemeinschaft hat sich zum Partner der Ukraine erklärt und möchte sich mit ihr durch den größten Außenvertrag ihrer Geschichte assoziieren. Um dieses Abkommen trotz des ukrainischen Neins auf dem Ostpartnerschaftsgipfel von Vilnius doch noch realisierbar zu machen, muss Brüssel allerdings Konsequenzen für seine Russland-politik ziehen.

The Folly of “Imperial Integration”

Vladislav Inozemtsev

In recent years, one may have witnessed a widening gap between the discourse promoted by the Russian

leadership regarding the creation of a Eurasian Union incorporating Russia, the states of Central Asia, and presumably Ukraine, and the growing discontent of the Russian public. Despite President Putin’s near-obsessive desire to create such a Union, feelings of discontent have arisen due to the growing number of immigrants from potential Eurasian Union states in Russia that are, in the eyes of some, threatening the integrity of Russian national identity.

Who Lost Ukraine?

Ivan Krastev

Karl Marx famously remarked that major historical events occur twice—the “first time as tragedy, then as farce.” In Ukraine, sadly, tragedy and farce are inseparable. That is why it would be a mistake to read the current wave of mass political protest, triggered by the government’s refusal to sign an association agreement with the European Union, as a second Orange Revolution. In 2004, inspired by the hope of joining the EU as soon as possible, Ukrainians poured into the streets to take back a stolen presidential election. Back then, the Union looked like a fantastic machine capable of making authoritarian states democratic and poor societies rich.

Who is the Biggest Supporter of Ukraine?

Oleh Kotsyuba and Sławomir Sierakowski

Oleh Kotsyuba (Krytyka, Ukraine) speaks with Sławomir Sierakowski (Krytyka Polityczna, Poland) about the events in the aftermath of the Ukrainian President’s decision not to sign the Association and Free Trade Agreement with the European Union.

Provoking the Euromaidan

Anton Shekhovtsov

The U-turn on the association agreement with the EU by the Ukrainian government has sparked the most massive social protests since the Orange Revolution in 2004. The new protests, named ‘the Euromaidan’, are marked by the government’s disproportionate use of violence against the non-violent protests. The authorities have been making use of paid instigators who infiltrate the protests and then start attacking the police to provoke a ‘retaliatory’ suppression of ‘violent protestors’.

Nowa Huta: Poland's Unfinished Utopia

BY KATHERINE LEBOW

Dubbed Poland's "first socialist city" in Stalinist propaganda, the new town of Nowa Huta was meant to transform not just Poland's physical, but also its social and psychological landscape. Was Nowa Huta a utopian project? Two visions of utopia, those of Karl Popper and Zygmunt Bauman, suggest some surprising answers.



Photo: Henryk Makarewicz / thanks to courtesy of Foundation Imago Mundi collection

In 1949, an energetic young architect named Tadeusz Ptasiński was chosen to oversee the planning and construction of a major new town outside Kraków, Poland. Nowa Huta—or “New Foundry”—was to become one of the largest planned cities in Europe. Projected for an initial population of 100,000, and built simultaneously with the massive Lenin Steelworks that would employ a majority of its male breadwinners, Nowa Huta was, and is, one of the most contested symbols of Stalinism in Poland.

Stalinism, the political and ideological formation that held sway throughout East Central Europe from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s, avowedly aimed at the wholesale transformation of the region's social, political, and economic landscapes, drawing on models from Stalin's Soviet industrialization drive of the 1930s. This involved, among other things, bringing millions of impoverished and underemployed

rural Poles to the depopulated cities and to new employment centers created by the “Six-Year Plan” (1950–55) of industrial development. According to the flood of propaganda that accompanied its construction, Nowa Huta (and the Lenin Steelworks, which was the Plan's premier investment) would open new horizons for thousands of Poles: building the new town, they would also be “building socialism”—building a better life both for themselves and for Poland. Nowa Huta would thereby forge enlightened, conscious “new men,” both the builders and the beneficiaries of a new kind of socialist modernity.

And indeed, young, poor, rural, and uneducated Poles flooded to Nowa Huta's construction site in the thousands, many hoping to secure long-term housing and employment in the city. Far from the gray and regimented landscape we associate with Stalinism, however, the fledgling city was colorful and

anarchic. It was a place where the formerly disenfranchised (peasants, youth, women) hastened to assert their leading role in “building socialism”—albeit rarely in the ways the authorities had anticipated. Nowa Huta became, in fact, a place where the meaning of socialism itself would be contested, with significant long-term consequences for the Polish Communist project.

But let us return to Ptasiński, who faced a dilemma: propaganda aside, what was a Stalinist new town, a socialist city, *like*? Official sources referred to the Soviet city of Komsomolsk as model and inspiration, but also insisted that Nowa Huta would reflect Polish traditions; socialist realism would determine its aesthetics, but what this meant in practice was far from obvious. In short, the architects had been given no clear directives about how the city should look or what it should contain. And yet, they knew their plans would have to withstand close scrutiny by the

Party. Lest they should forget this, the security officer who sat silently in the corner of Miastoprojekt's office, the state firm where Nowa Huta's plans would be developed, served as a daily reminder.

Blueprint for Utopia

Ptasiński traveled regularly to Warsaw to discuss the progress of his team's plans with Party officials. One day, he was summoned to make a presentation to President Bolesław Bierut. Guessing that the president would have no idea what to make of architectural sketches and blueprints, Ptasiński brought along a cardboard model of Central Square, painted in bright colors and vivid details like a child's toy. The strategy worked; on returning from Warsaw, Ptasiński announced that Bierut had approved of the plans. He had stressed, however, that no church should be built in the new town—but rather, that some kind of “tower” should be included in

the plans, because “it might remind people of a church.” The architects thus planned a tall tower for Nowa Huta's town hall. Among themselves, meanwhile, they designated two secret locations where churches might be built at a later date.

This anecdote, related by one of Ptasiński's collaborators, provides rich material for reflection on the dynamics of planning and utopianism under Stalinism. Was Nowa Huta—which official propaganda claimed would utterly transform the surrounding social and economic landscape—a “utopian” project? If so, in what sense? Two visions of utopia, those of Karl Popper and Zygmunt Bauman, offer heuristically suggestive models for addressing these questions.

Because Popper's understanding of utopianism had at its heart a metaphor of the “blueprint,” it seems particularly apt to consider his theories when thinking about a planned city under Stalinism—where literal

blueprints were, of course, the order of the day. For Popper, utopianism was the attempt to use *technê* to develop a complex, detailed building-plan—a blueprint, if you like—for a better world. Despite such seemingly benign beginnings, however, the distinctive feature of the utopian blueprint, for Popper, was that it necessarily took on the characteristics of a sacred text. Popper concluded that utopian thinking must inevitably lead to violence: over time, tensions would develop between those who wished to modify the blueprint in accordance with changing historical realities, and those who would see any alteration as heresy, to be stamped out by any means necessary.

Whether or not we accept Popper's argument in full, his broad conclusions retain a wide currency in contemporary thought. Our age is skeptical of what anthropologist James C. Scott, for instance, calls "schemes to improve the human condition," which he associates with those large-scale projects of social and economic engineering that have littered the 20th century with corpses. Among such "schemes," Scott, like many commentators, includes new towns—citing cases from the outsized, windswept Brazilian capital of Brasília to the Gorbals high-rise tenements of Glasgow, described by one inhabitant as "filing cabinets for people." Writing of a French new town in the 1960s, the Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre insisted that "the text of the [new] town is totally legible, as impoverished as it is clear, despite the architects' efforts to vary the lines. Surprise? Possibilities? From this place, which should have been the home of all that is possible, they have vanished without trace." Here again are echoes of Popper's "blueprint": architects may not diverge from its dictates; improvisation, adaptation, response to conditions "on the ground"—all are banished in favor of abstract ideals and rigid principles.

And yet, the metaphor of the blueprint applies little to what we know, with the benefit of archival access and oral history, about Nowa Huta's planning and development. Let us return to Ptasiński and his team of architects. Fresh from supervising the reconstruction of Wrocław when he arrived at Miastoprojekt, Ptasiński—a former champion athlete and Scout leader—was a man not only of tremendous energy but great personal charm. He was also a risk-taker, and surrounded himself with talent, hiring collaborators without regard to political record or social background—at a time when having fought in the underground Home Army in World War II, or having studied in the West, could mean persecution and/or imprisonment. Protected by the powerful mediator figure of Ptasiński, Miastoprojekt was what sociologist Janine Wedel identifies as a *środowisko*—a community based on traditional social, class, and in this case, professional solidarities, psychologically protecting members from ideological pressures on the outside. "There were no ideologues" at Miastoprojekt, insisted Bohdan Bukowski, a draughtsman who worked for Ptasiński; for Stanisław Juchnowicz, an-

other colleague, Miastoprojekt was "an island of happiness in those hard times... where we felt, to a certain extent, free."

Meanwhile, infected by Ptasiński's energy and enthusiasm, the architects stayed up all night, sketched plans on improvised drawing-boards in the field, and savored the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to build a city from scratch. In 1950, Ptasiński enthused to the magazine *Sztandar Młodych* about providing built-in radios in each apartment and a telephone in every entry stair; preschools, shops, cultural centers, sports halls, cinemas, libraries, and theaters; "the complete range of recreational opportunities, to allow [working people] to improve their physical fitness, ensure the best possible conditions for health, enable their intellectual development." Apartments were to have parquet floors, elevators, and domestic conveniences such as cooling cupboards and common laundry areas. To achieve this, Ptasiński and his colleagues were willing to accommodate Warsaw's occasional intervention. Far more frustrating was that Warsaw wanted Nowa Huta to be "monumental," yet built on the cheap. "You can fool people with ideology," Ptasiński supposedly fumed in private, "but to take away people's dreams of a comfortable home is criminal." Indeed, the architects were increasingly fighting a losing battle with cost-cutting, which would force many of their visions into the filing cabinet.

Miastoprojekt completed Nowa Huta's general plan in March 1951; a final version was confirmed by Warsaw in 1952. And yet, construction had already begun in 1949; Nowa Huta's symbolic significance for "building socialism" meant that work could not tarry, even for the architects. The first districts were thus built using borrowed plans from Warsaw—just one example of the piecemeal approach to planning that was legion in Nowa Huta's construction. Blueprints for the steelworks, for example, arrived from Moscow in dribs and drabs, but work had to go forward, with or without plans in hand; completed excavations or finished roads had to be torn out when new plans stipulated the construction of another object on that spot. In Popper's model, following conventional wisdom, blueprints are first developed, and only then is utopia built. In Nowa Huta, the conventional temporality of plans and actions was frequently inverted.

Following Stalin's death in 1953, Warsaw's interest in the new town waned. Building utopia had turned out to be costly, both literally and metaphorically—every time a problem was uncovered in Nowa Huta (and there were many), the yawning gap between the promise and reality of Stalinist modernity made itself all too readily felt. Already in 1951, then, Nowa Huta had been incorporated into Kraków, the city it had originally been meant to overshadow and transform—making it, strictly speaking, no longer Poland's "first socialist city" but, rather, its first socialist district. Then, in 1953—a mere year and a half after its adoption—the general plan was eviscerated. The large main theater

and House of Culture, the obelisk in Central Square, and the entire ensemble of administrative buildings (including the town hall tower, possibly reminiscent of a church steeple) were scrapped. Arguably, now that Nowa Huta had been demoted from municipal status, it no longer needed a town hall; a church itself would have to wait another 24 years.

Meanwhile, extensive cost-cutting in construction techniques meant ersatz materials and lowered standards: stone façades were replaced with plaster; only one in three apartments would have a balcony; elevators were eliminated, as were parquet floors. "In conception palaces," regretted a critic, "and in reality a dormitory for the working class—unfulfilled dreams of a beautiful city. That is Nowa Huta today."

From Planning to Challenge

Pace one historian's claim that "the plan was everything" under Stalinism, then, planning as conventionally understood was not much practiced in Nowa Huta, that most Stalinist of planned cities. Much work was unplanned in the sense of being spontaneous; some plans (like the architects' secret localization of Nowa Huta's churches) never appeared on any blueprint; and many, many blueprints were unrealized. In any system, plans are fragile things, and visions more so. Yet according to cultural theorist Vladimir Paperny, unrealized designs, demolition of completed structures, and construction according to constantly changing directives were typical features of Stalinist building culture. This suggests that Stalinist violence cannot be explained through Popper's trope of a rigid and unchanging blueprint—sadly, perhaps, as it could have provided us with a certain moral comfort about our own, very unplanned age.

Today, Nowa Huta is unfinished. Incompleteness, of course, is a feature of any landscape—landscapes evolve continually, and can be said to have no end-point. But a planned city is unfinished in a different way from a more seemingly organic, unplanned urban environment; a planned city's incompleteness draws

attention to itself. In the best of scenarios, such incompleteness serves as a stimulus to civic debate, as visible gaps in the landscape prompt inhabitants to consider which visions of community are worth pursuing and how to do so.

Such a conversation may be underway in post-Communist Nowa Huta where, after the first shocks of transition, something unexpected happened: the new town's old districts began to seem interesting, unique, even charming. Contrasted not only to the dreary, substandard, pre-fab housing that had been such a familiar part of the landscape in former Communist countries from the 1960s onward, but also to the chaotic, unregulated sprawl that has covered so much of the urban landscape since 1989, Nowa Huta's "plannedness" looked better and better. Nowa Huta even became a bit bohemian, attracting young people and artists; long-time residents, meanwhile, put tremendous efforts into the district's cultural revitalization. Among Nowa Huta's newer cultural institutions are the avant-garde Łaźnia Nowa theatre, the local branch of the Kraków history museum; the Cyprian Norwid cultural center; an annual film festival, and the 1949 Club, a cafe and gallery "devoted to telling a more positive story about Nowa Huta" focusing on its builders and residents.

For many residents, this more positive story was meant to combat the negative image Nowa Huta still evokes for many Poles, its persistent reputation as a "Communist city without God." Such counter-narratives have stressed Nowa Huta's history of vibrant anti-regime protest, including the 1960 "Struggle for the Cross" (a two-day riot following the government's cancellation of permission to build a church) and its key role in Solidarność and the pro-democracy movement of the 1980s. Residents have also insisted on their own right to determine Nowa Huta's semantic geography, for example, protesting *en masse* when Kraków's city council voted to rename the district's Central Square for U.S. president Ronald Reagan in 2004.

Over the last decade, then, residents of Nowa Huta have increasingly expressed pride in their "little

fatherland" and sought ways to preserve its *genius loci*. Ironically, after efforts by generations of protesters to deface and destroy the enormous statue of Vladimir Lenin on Nowa Huta's Rose Avenue, some residents say they wish the statue would be brought back—not in homage to Lenin, but as a reminder of Nowa Huta's past—and because the remaining pedestal, now colonized by skateboarders, seems empty. Others suggest that Nowa Huta should finally build its unrealized city hall; Nowa Huta has many churches now, after all, but residents still await their chance for self-government.

Utopian thinking, according to Zygmunt Bauman, hinges upon a feeling of incompleteness: the better world it envisions must be "felt as still unfinished and requiring an additional effort to be brought about." In this sense, today's Nowa Huta is a utopian endeavor: the early visions of the town's planners and builders, only partially realized by an ambivalent sponsoring regime, are felt by many of Nowa Huta's partisans as an ongoing challenge—and ones that will never be fulfilled, in Bauman's words, "unless fostered by a deliberate collective action."

That challenge has only intensified, arguably, with the transition to market capitalism, since Nowa Huta now conforms all the more to another of Bauman's conditions of "utopia": in echoing the state socialist past, it tangibly represents "a system essentially different from, if not antithetical to, the existing one." It remains to be seen whether Nowa Huta's unfinished utopia can serve as an ongoing inspiration for critics of the present social and political order, and for putting *technê* in the service of human needs. <

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Die Zeitung für Leserinnen

Traveling Back In Time? Job Quality in Europe

REPORT BY JÁNOS MÁTYÁS KOVÁCS

No, the IWM has not turned into an institute of labor economics or a human resources consultancy. We simply continue to show interest in comparative economic cultures. During the past decade, the Institute has accomplished a number of research projects on recent institutional/cultural developments in Eastern Europe. Our ACCESS project asked whether the new member states would serve as cultural assets or rather liabilities in the economy of the European Union. DIOSCURI examined the cohabitation of foreign and indigenous economic cultures¹⁾ while CAPITO focused on the varieties of emerging capitalist regimes in the region.

Two years ago, the IWM joined the NEUJOBS program²⁾ to study the cultural undercurrents of labor markets in two old and two new member states of the Union. In examining “good jobs” in Hungary, Slovakia, Spain and the UK³⁾, our research group examined how stakeholders and scholars think and speak about “goodness”, but we were equally interested in popular attitudes to job quality. After having completed a broad literature review⁴⁾, we prepared eight case studies in various industries, ranging from telecommunications to food processing, to grasp the employees’ preferences “on the ground”. The company case studies were complemented by issue studies of labor legislation.

In the first decade of the new millennium, one couldn’t help discovering a large gap between the mounting popularity of the terms “good job” and “decent work” (which have become catchphrases like “flexicurity” and “employability”) in politics and academia, and a growing number of people who seem to be satisfied with “bad jobs”. However, scholarly research tends to circumvent that disparity, instead of bridging it, by measuring job quality rather than trying to comprehend the changing cultural priorities of employees.

We entered fieldwork with the following hypotheses in mind: (a) in thinking of “decent work”, the main actors of the labor market organize their discourses along the security/flexibility axis; (b) elite discourses combine both the security and flexibility narratives but, in the end, lean toward the latter; (c) employees prefer security and when it comes to choosing between “materialist” and “post-materialist” features (Ronald Inglehart) of job quality, materialist features appear to be preferred; (d) hence, popular attitudes point to a process of retraditionalization, i.e. a partial return to the concept of a good job that prevailed back in the 1960s and entailed a fixed contract

“‘The academic discourse is out of touch from what is going on.’ [...] We spend our lives ‘having theories about whether the contract of employment is green, yellow or pink, instead of asking if everybody has an employment’”.

A labor law expert from the UK.



with full-time work, fair pay and appropriate physical working conditions (simply put, a “good job” is an acceptable job that will continue to exist tomorrow); (e) as regards the four countries under scrutiny, instead of the East-West divide that is widely held to exist (the West is flexibility-prone and post-materialist, the East is security-prone and materialist), a North-South divide emerges, in which Hungary and Slovakia join Spain on the Southern side, whereas the UK still represents the post-materialist values of the North.

In other words, we expected to witness a journey back in time to a world in which quality attributes such as self-fulfillment, creativity, recognition, autonomy, participation, equal opportunity, “greenness” and the like were much less valued in Europe than in the early 2000s. Given the limited means our research group had in order to test the working hypotheses, a large survey was not feasible. At any rate, our quasi-anthropological case studies, based on in-depth interviews and participant observation, were able to reveal cultural preferences more precisely than a large, impersonal survey. The same applies to the issue studies, in which legal experts and politicians informed us about their own cultural choices in drafting labor laws after a change in government in all four countries over the past few years.

Our research project is now finished.⁵⁾ The fieldwork encouraged us to reinterpret the initial hypotheses but we did not have to give up any of them. The empirical findings nuanced much of what our research group believed we knew about materialist versus post-materialist cultures in the context of the flexibility and security discourses. It became clear that a simplistic model of materialism versus post-materialism cannot be identified with one of security versus flexibility (or of East versus West or South versus North). Aspiring to security may go beyond materialist values (e.g. if stable jobs result in mental/spiritual well-being),

whereas flexibility may combine with materialist values (e.g. if flexible work contracts increase job security through inclusion). Symbolic geography is also a slippery slope: we saw Eastern European employees subscribe to post-materialist values (e.g. demanding more recognition and dignity) while Westerners proved to be deeply materialist (regarding professional education as a means of becoming employable rather than of self-fulfillment).

Our interviews suggested—and I consider this the most thought-provoking finding—that retraditionalization appears not so much as the return to a preference for materialist values but as an inclination towards egoistic values, be they materialist or post-materialist. The low priority of any altruistic definition of job quality among the overwhelming majority of our respondents in almost all companies (and *Hexenküchen* of labor legislation) in the four countries counts as a near-representative result of our project. The ignorance and/or neglect of green values was perhaps the strongest evidence, followed by weak interest in social responsibility, participation and equal opportunity. “It is very difficult to value sustainability if you don’t have a job”, a Spanish respondent noted sadly.

Even more striking was the fact that with those components of “good jobs” that could have been interpreted both ways, the non-altruistic option prevailed. The best example is participation (social dialogue), which was not regarded by the interviewees as a (collectivist) end in itself but as a means of attaining predominantly egoistic goals such as the prevention of layoffs and wage cuts. Flexible working time presents a more complicated issue. When it was popular at all, employees defended it as an opportunity to achieve a work-life balance. Nevertheless, altruism rarely surpassed the boundaries of the family; when it did, the free time gained through flexibilization was seen to increase personal autonomy, in particular, the freedom to engage in leisure activities.

In any event, when employees talked about the concept of the ideal job, they normally described a “second-best” occupation that they could realistically obtain. Having lowered their levels of aspiration, they mean “acceptable/agreeable” when saying “good”. This overall attitude applies almost equally to the materialist and the post-materialist components of decent work. However, when it comes to actual choices, our respondents tend to sacrifice post-materialist values more easily.

Cultural differences with national/ethnic roots did not surface in the fieldwork to a great extent. What we found here and there (e.g. health in the UK, dignity in Hungary and Slovakia, or time in Spain as high-priority features of decent work; the importance attributed to physical working conditions in Hungary and Slovakia or to professional education in Spain and the UK) may be important cultural motives in themselves, but in our project

they did not provide a solid basis for generalization.

Our inquiry need not end with these conclusions. One might, for instance, give further thought to how detraditionalization turned into retraditionalization, and ask what role the recent global economic crisis played in that shift of emphasis. All uncertainty notwithstanding, I think we may continue to raise our eyebrows if someone tells us that job quality in country A is three times higher than in country B, flexibility killed security, and the era of post-materialism is over for good. <

¹⁾ See J. M. Kovács and Violetta Zentai (eds): *Capitalism from Outside? Economic Cultures in Eastern Europe after 1989*, CEU Press, 2012.

²⁾ See “Neujobs. Creating and adapting jobs in Europe in the context of a socio-ecological transition” (www.neujobs.eu). The program is coordinated by Miroslav Beblavý at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels, and supported by the 7th Framework Programme of the European Commission.

³⁾ The research activities were divided between The Conference Board, Europe, the Slovak Governance Institute and the IWM. Researchers included Christoph Hilbert, János Mátyás Kovács (project director), Marcela Veselková and Tünde Virág. The project was coordinated by Manuel Tröster and Christina Pössel.

⁴⁾ See J. M. Kovács: *Jobs First? In Search of Quality*, CEPS Brussels, 2012 (www.neujobs.eu)

⁵⁾ I would like to thank, besides the members of the research group, the participants of the final conference of the project in June for their valuable contributions (see Infobox).

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Conference GOOD JOBS—BAD JOBS. Cultural Attributes of Decent Work in Europe June 21–23, 2013, Vienna

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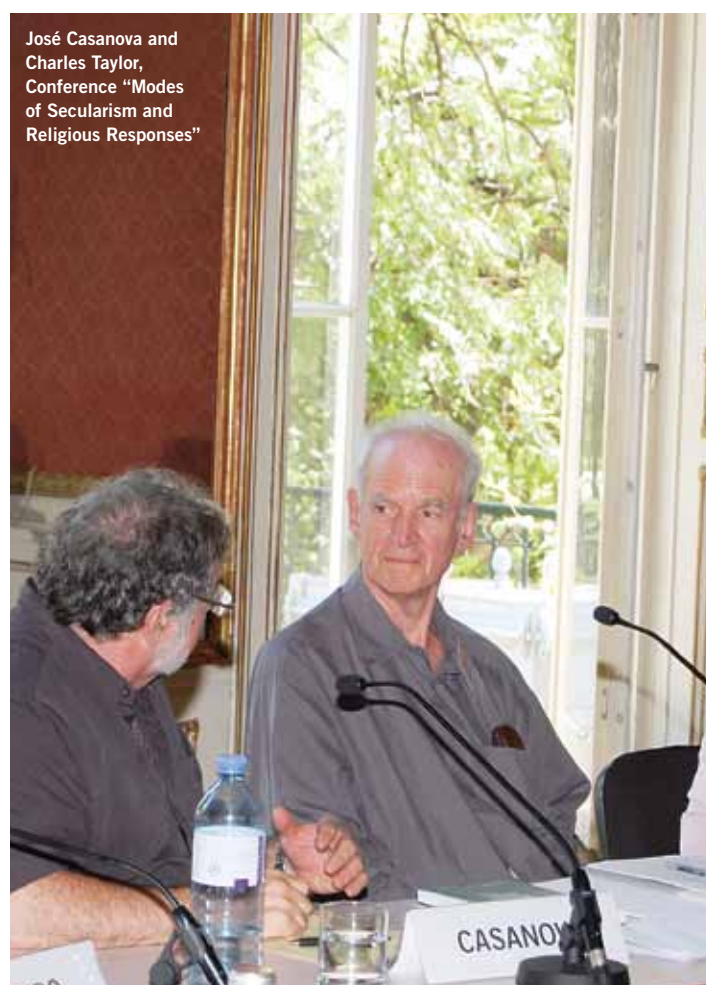
Between Magic and Mass Protests: Secularism Today

CONFERENCE REPORT BY PAOLO COSTA

Seen from the viewpoint of the dialectics between religion and secularism, the contemporary world looks like a gigantic laboratory of change. But, as is well known, any attempt to understand major historical transitions while they are happening is always hazardous. To avoid mistaking fireflies for lanterns, antithetical but complementary intellectual virtues are required: The capacity to produce a plausible overview of human history (a credible “Grand Narrative”) and a good eye for detail and meaningful differences. Steps in the right direction have been made thanks to a series of conferences organized by the IWM in recent years gathering round the table experts in various fields, summoned to share their different backgrounds and disciplinary skills in an atmosphere of intense and friendly exchange.

This year’s conference was opened by Charles Taylor, IWM Permanent Fellow and chairman of the meeting. In his keynote speech, entitled “Religion and its Others,” Taylor examined the constellation of magic, religion and spirituality, suggesting seeing the history of secularization as a continuing process of oscillation between the “de-bundling” and “re-bundling” of the three. In any case, the goal, shared by many religious and secular reformers during all periods of history—arriving at a coherent and purified view of the spiritual facets of human life—does not seem a viable solution in the modern, globalized world.

This fact loomed large during all four sessions of the conference. The speakers on the first panel (“Trajectories of Secularization and Spirituality in Latin America”)—Bernice Martin, José Casanova, Jorge Claudio Ribeiro—all highlighted the fluid character of religion in today’s Latin America, and especially in Brazil. Changes are remarkable not only in terms of numbers (in Brazil, Catholicism has lost approximately 24 million adherents over the last 40 years, amounting to 27% of the total sum of believers in the country, with corresponding increases among Pentecostals and the unaffiliated), but also in terms of the historical and cultural trajectory of Brazilian society. Here, “de-bundling” would mean untangling a complex web incorporating many different things: Colonialism; the internal stratification within Christianity and, especially, the Catholic Church; conflicting national and racial identities; blatant social injustices, etc. This complexity makes it hard to detect a recognizable cultural Gestalt that would allow one to speak of a coherent “post-secu-



José Casanova and Charles Taylor, Conference “Modes of Secularism and Religious Responses”

lar” model. The fluidity and richness (to the point of confusion) of the general picture are the two aspects that stand out most.

However, as both speakers on the second panel (“Reactions to Immigrants and Religious Pluralism in Europe”) remarked, the confusion is just as great in Europe and its neighbors. Whereas Raphaël Liogier focused his talk on the paradoxical, indeed paranoid, logic at work in contemporary Islamophobia in France, Nilüfer Göle opted for an in-depth analysis of the protests in Turkey, showing how simplistic and polarized frameworks of analysis fail to explain what lies behind this highly diverse and unexpected protest movement. Here, it may be safely said, the prospect of the “de-bundling” of religious and secular was not even in sight.

Islamist Politics & the Modern State

The laboratory of change that has attracted the attention of the majority of analysts from around the globe is, of course, the “Arab Spring”. Consequently, the topic of the third panel was “Islamist Politics in the Mediterranean Muslim World”. The speakers, Hussein Ali Agrama and Charles Hirschkind, both social anthropologists, offered a distinctly open reading of the current situation, focusing especially on the process of constitutional reform currently underway in Egypt.

While it is not easy to tell the old from the new, it is even harder to detect signs of a new mode of secularism fitting the Islamic “combination” of religion, society, culture, politics and law.

The conference ended with a less empirically-oriented panel called “Secularization and Norms of Self-Limitation in the Modern State”. Employing a theoretical framework drawn from the “late” Foucault, the two speakers, Dilip Gaonkar and Michael Warner showed how the modern Western state came to limit itself not for moral or political reasons, but in order to realize functional or systemic pre-political goals in a social space seen as a quasi-biological field of circulation (the “insurance”/ security mode of statehood). Ultimately, however, the question was left open whether a development towards modes of secular, self-limited governmentality is possible within cultures that have emerged from historical paths different to those of modern secular societies, thus confirming once again that it is very difficult, although perhaps inevitably so, to make sense of historical changes while they are in progress. <

Paolo Costa is Director of the Higher Institute for Religious Studies (CSSR) and Permanent Researcher at the Fondazione Bruno Kessler in Trento. From May to June 2013 he was a Visiting Fellow at the IWM.

Conference Modes of Secularism and Religious Responses V June 13–15, 2013, Vienna

Program

June 13, 2013

Religion and Its Others

Keynote Speech:
Charles Taylor

June 14, 2013

Session I: Trajectories of Secularisation and Spirituality in Latin America

Introduction:
José Casanova
Bernice Martin
Jorge Claudio Ribeiro

Session II: Reactions to Immigrants and Religious Pluralism in Europe

Introduction:
Nilüfer Göle
Raphael Liogier
Tariq Modood

June 15, 2013

Session III: Islamist Politics in the Mediterranean Muslim World

Introduction:
Hussein Ali Agrama
Charles Hirschkind

Session IV: Secularisation and Norms of Self-Limitation in the Modern State

Introduction:
Dilip Gaonkar
Michael Warner

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Michael Warner
Professor of English and American Studies, Yale University, New Haven/Connecticut

This conference, convened by Charles Taylor for the fifth time in a series, was generously supported by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung and the Institut Française Autriche.

Religious Traditionalisms and Politics

BY KRISTINA STOECKL

In 2008, the Russian Orthodox Church declared: “Without seeking a revolutionary reconstruction of the world and acknowledging the rights of other social groups to participate in social transformations on the basis of their own worldview, the Orthodox Christians reserve the right to participate in building public life in a way that does not contradict their faith and moral principles.” In 2013, this claim to a post-secular kind of dialogue has revealed its potential for conflict on the question of homosexuality: While gays and lesbians were claiming their right to non-discrimination, the Orthodox Church supported the governments’ ban on gay “propaganda.”

What the terms “post-secular” and “post-secular society” have added to the age-old question on how to think about the relationship between the religious and the secular is, first of all, the recognition that modern societies are, by default, secular; and secondly, that by virtue of being democratic societies, they are at the same time also “post-secular”; in other words, modern societies are not secular by ideology, but by institutional design. This, at least, is the way in which I understand Jürgen Habermas’ concept of post-secular society, and his conclusion that in a democratic society both religious and secular arguments must have a place in public debate is generally convincing. It was against this theoretical and normative background that I set out to study the human rights debate in the Russian Orthodox Church, as one example for how a religious tradition enters public debates and “translates” its ideas into the secular language of politics. In the course of my research, however, I have grown more critical towards this theoretical and normative framework, not least because I realized that, even when a conservative religious tradition like Russian Orthodoxy engages in the work of “translation,” what it renders understandable to a secular audience is far from reconcilable with liberal democracy.

My collaboration with the IWM as a Visiting Fellow in the first half of 2013 fell into this period of fruitful puzzlement and has resulted in the formulation of a new research topic, called “Religious Traditionalisms and Politics”. This project pursues two objectives: empirically, it wants to explore the hard cases of muddled religious-political phenomena, cases like the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the *Ennahda*-political movement in Tunisia, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey, the present Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, conservative



Patriarch Kirill faces reporters in front of the train with which representatives of the Moscow Patriarchate travelled from Moscow to Kiev for the celebration of the 1025th anniversary of the Kievan Rus' in 2013

Catholics and Evangelicals. In short, it deals with religious phenomena that defy neat differentiations into what is religious about them, what is cultural and what is political. By disentangling the conceptual challenges encountered in the empirical work, the project hopes to enrich the concept of the post-secular.

Mutual Fragilization

An approach along the lines of the experience of “mutual fragilization” described by Charles Taylor seems promising in this regard. Mutual fragilization is an important qualifier for our understanding of the post-secular situation which is so optimistically sketched out by Habermas. When reading Habermas one might gain the impression that religious citizens in a post-secular society efficiently translate their religious ideas into a language that is comprehensible to their secular co-citizens, who are in turn eager to listen and debate back politely. In this way a complementary learning process sets in which leads to greater reciprocal understanding and better politics. Whilst public controversies sometimes work like that, they clearly often don’t. It is much more realistic to assume, as Taylor does, that pluralistic coexistence leads not to greater understanding, but to greater insecurity.

Critics of the concept of the post-secular often reject the term because they argue that on the ground nothing has really changed. Religions co-exist with secular societies today just as they have done for centuries. All that has changed is our (that is, the political theorist’s and sociologist’s) way of looking at it. What I hold against this view is that in today’s pluralistic societies, which are rendered ever more permeable through

modern communication technologies, something has indeed changed. And this something is captured by Taylor’s concept of “mutual fragilization”. Post-secular society is a place where the relation between different religions, and between religions and secular worldviews, is not being negotiated as confrontation between self-contained ideological universes, but as an encounter that unsettles each of the actors involved by triggering a process of self-reflectivity.

For this reason it would be short-sighted to frame the relationship between religion and politics still in a liberal-fundamentalist dichotomy. We can no longer think about religions as either adapting to secularizing society and becoming more liberal; or resisting secularization and modernization and becoming fundamentalist. The research project “Religious Traditionalisms and Politics” argues that there actually is a *third* way of confrontation between religion and modern secular society: “religious traditionalism” does not reject cohabitation with modern secular society as such, but neither does it melt into it; “religious traditionalism” does not seek to overthrow democracy, but neither does it accept a retreat into the private, it actually wants to give shape to the political system. It plays an antagonizing function vis-à-vis the secular liberal mainstream and enters into democratic deliberation with a distinctive conservative political agenda. In short, “religious traditionalisms” are at the center of the post-secular mutual fragilization. As they try rigorously to resist fragilization, they nonetheless become examples for “post-secular” religions. One example is the Moscow Patriarchate, which has accepted to join a global discourse on human rights through the rejection of human rights.

My research aims at a comparative study of these and other traditionalist religious actors and their political agendas. The emphasis lies on patterns of emergence of a religious traditionalist “middle ground” and on the description of its characteristics, cross-confessional similarities and denominational specificities. Inversely, the research project asks how the national and international political and public spheres are restructured in the process of confrontation with religious actors of this kind: the emergence of political parties, debates about “*Leitkultur*” and “religious majorities”, discussions over “reasonable accommodation” of religious minorities and “legal pluralism”, and “margins of appreciation” of national systems

with regard to deviations from international human rights standards. <

Kristina Stoeckl is ÖAW-APART-post-doctoral fellow at the University of Vienna and Director of the research project “Religious Traditionalisms and Politics” at the IWM. Her book *The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights* is forthcoming with Routledge in March 2014.



Religious Traditionalisms and Politics

This research project, led by Kristina Stoeckl, is part of IWM’s research focus “Religion and Secularism”. It is jointly organized by the University of Vienna, the Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence and the IWM.

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Colloquia on Secularism

January 14, 2014
“The Pussy Riot Case and the
Peculiarities of Russian Post-Secular-
ism”—INEX-Talk at the University of
Vienna, organized in collaboration
with the IWM

Dmitry Uzaner, Editor-in-chief,
*State, Religion, Church in Russia
and Worldwide*; Associate Professor,
Russian Presidential Academy of
National Economy and Public
Administration Moscow, Russia

January 21, 2014
“The Holy Alliance against
Secularism: Religious Traditionalists
and the Judicialization of Religious
Freedom”

Pasquale Annicchino, Research
Fellow, Robert Schuman Center for
Advanced Studies, European
University Institute Florence (research
project *ReligioWest*)

March 3, 2014
“Rediscovering the Umma. Muslims
in the Balkans between Nationalism
and Transnationalism”

Ina Merdjanova, Senior Researcher
and Adjunct Assistant Professor, Irish
School of Ecumenics, Trinity College
Dublin

March 24, 2014
“Religion and Politics after the
Tunisian Revolution”

Nadia Marzouki, Research Fellow,
Robert Schuman Center for Advanced
Studies, European University Institute
Florence (research project *Religio-
West*); Research Fellow, Centre
d’études sociologiques et politiques
Raymond Aron, Paris

April 7, 2014
“The Disconnect between religion and
culture: the triumph of secularism
(even in Egypt)”

Olivier Roy, Professor, Robert
Schuman Center for Advanced
Studies, European University Institute
Florence (Director of the research
project *ReligioWest*)

Political Modernity and Contemporary Orthodox Theological Responses

January 16–17, 2014, IWM, Vienna
Workshop organized by **Ingeborg
Gabriel** (Department of Social Ethics,
University of Vienna), **Kristina Stoeckl**
(Department of Political Sciences,
University of Vienna; IWM) in
collaboration with the Institute for
Eastern Christian Studies, Radboud
University Nijmegen

How do Orthodox Churches today think about the role and place of the church and its social function in an increasingly pluralistic and fragmented society? How do they define their relationship to the liberal project of political modernity (human rights and democracy) theologically as well as politically? The aim of this meeting is to identify the possible range of answers which Orthodox theology today holds in store in front of these questions and to explore the dynamics of the inner-Orthodox conversation on these issues.

Are the Rich no Longer Afraid of the Poor?

CONFERENCE REPORT BY CHRISTINA PÖSSEL

In the last decades of the 20th century, the rich got even more rich compared to the rest of society. According to a 2011 OECD study¹⁾, the richest 10% of the population in OECD countries now earn on average nine times as much as the poorest 10%—and behind that average lie much more extreme cases of income inequality. In the USA, the income of the top highest earners (the infamous “1%”) increased by 275% between 1979 and 2007, as compared to an increase of a mere 18% for the lowest-earning 20% of the population.²⁾ Particularly between 2000 and 2007/8, the Gini coefficient (a statistical measure of income inequality) grew to levels last seen during the latter stages of the European Industrial Revolution or the heyday of the robber barons during the US ‘Gilded Age’.

The manifold effects of socio-economic inequalities have been much discussed, not least since the publication of Wilkinson and Pickett’s *The Spirit Level* in 2009.³⁾ Its authors sought to show that it is not a higher level of average income but rather of income equality within a society that is statistically linked to better results in areas such as health, crime, and education. The idea behind the conference *On Solidarity and Inequality* was to examine how the structural causes of social, economic or political inequalities interact with how inequality is experienced, perceived and constructed to lead to action, or not, on behalf of those affected. It was the eighth in a series of international conferences *On Solidarity* organized jointly by Columbia University of New York and IWM. This year’s conference was chaired by Kenneth Prewitt of Columbia University and Claus Offe of the Hertie School of Government in Berlin.

Four Dimensions of Inequality

To capture the different political, social and cognitive processes that affect inequality, Ira Katznelson proposed that one has to look at four dimensions of inequality: structure, experience, outlook or dispositions, and action. The actual situation of differing levels of income and wealth, physical space, cultural assets, access to the political system, etc. is not just experienced differently depending on one’s position in the complex structure of inequality. It is also processed differently as we apply our understanding of the world (our outlook/dispositions) to our experience. The cliché of the ‘American Dream’, for example, constructs economy and society as meritocratic systems and there-



Photo: Martin Johansen / Mia Ceeberg

fore attributes success to individual ability and effort. Income inequality is therefore constructed as the result of some people working harder than others; action, whether by the state or the individual, is not required.

In the session on inequality and social geography, Rainer Münz diagnosed the different government attitudes apparent in the statements on the US, Europe and Russia as hinging around the question of whether you want to bring quality of life to the people (by redistributing resources) or whether you seek to bring people to quality of life (by redistributing people). Whereas in the US, declining areas are left to their own devices as in the striking case of Detroit, centralized Russia moves resources to people. The EU oscillates between the two poles: working to bail out struggling Eurozone economies at the same time as Angela Merkel is telling young Spaniards, Italians and Greeks to move to where the work is.

Do the Rich no Longer Fear the Poor?

The radical increase in income inequality became a matter of public debate in many countries when the measures taken in response to the financial crisis of 2007/8 were seen to exacerbate the divide between rich and poor, rather than to close the gap. Substantial public anger at the bonuses of ‘banksters’ whose firms had been bailed out with government funds, the ‘naming and shaming’ of celebrities who deposit their wealth in tax havens, and protests such as by the ‘Occupy’ movement, however, seem to have had little effect. As Ivan Krastev put it: why do elites no longer seem to feel the need to appease the populace with reforms or redistributive measures? Are the rich no longer afraid of the poor?

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, European political elites, fearing social instability and the spectre of communism, reacted by extending the right to vote and developing the welfare state. We now seem to have firmly come to the end of this era. Governments indebted after banking bail-outs struggle to maintain welfare measures at the levels which their populations expect. The discourses of ‘austerity’ and ‘fiscal prudence’ have furthermore made it acceptable to cut back on social policies.

One reason that elites do not feel the need to be seen to do more to equalize incomes, Rogers Smith pointed out, may be that they established powerful institutions during the years of high growth which protect their interests and, crucially, are outside the electorate’s control. Unelected central banks, unelected courts, and transnational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank—but also, of course, the European Commission—are not accountable to voters. For the US, Nicole Marwell pointed to the development of so-called ‘collaborative governance’, in which government cooperates closely with corporate actors and not-for-profit organizations, which has also made it much harder to pinpoint responsibility. The rhetorical strategy used to deflect calls for reform is to allude to these supranational systems and institutions, whose power is supposedly inescapable.

Framing Inequality: Whose Fault Is It?

Different explanatory models of what causes socio-economic inequalities are important in society’s attitudes towards those in disadvantaged positions. Cornelia Klinger discussed three types of answers to the

question of where inequality comes from. The traditional view assumed that different individuals naturally had different social status. People were born into the social position they deserved and were fitted to take up. To seek to change one’s status was to rebel against the divinely-ordained order of the world. Whilst this view might sound outdated, it is currently undergoing a revival in a neuro-biological guise: now it is not god, but your genes or your cognitive skills which are seen as determining your position in life.

A second theory of the causes of inequality sees it as contingent: unequal treatment is the result of random events in the past, and can therefore be remedied. Inequality is here seen as a handicap which can be overcome with the help of social technologies, such as schooling.

The third view sees inequalities as endemic in our societies, that is, as an integral part of capitalism. As early as the 1820s, Hegel argued that modern society was not moving towards more equality, but was rather exploiting exterior space because it was not self-sustainable. Capitalism required colonies to provide cheap resources and external markets. Inequality is therefore inherent in the system and cannot be solved by mild social reforms or progressive taxation.

Gerd Grözinger explored a psychological angle. Studies show that, when faced with an individual, people tend to attribute his or her circumstances to the person’s own agency. Thus, if somebody is poor, the first impulse is often to assume that this person lacks the skill or the drive to be successful. It is easier to live with inequality in our society if we can categorize the disadvantaged as belonging to a different group from us: be this a particular ethnic group like the Roma, or abstract categories

with derogatory labels like the lazy or the feckless.

This mechanism of justifying unequal circumstances or treatment in society by attributing it to individual or group failure ceases to work either, as Grözinger pointed out, when a society is too homogenous, or when the disadvantaged become too numerous. However, the threshold at which unemployment tends to be no longer attributed to the failure of individuals lies at a very high 20–30%.

Experiencing Inequality and Assessing One’s Political Chances

It might be easy to see why those reaping the benefits of an unequal society have little motivation to change the status quo. Why, however, do the disadvantaged not engage more actively in the political process, such as by voting in elections?

In the second session, on social geography, Natalia Zubarevich identified three different ‘Russias’, each containing roughly a third of the population—the highly-developed and educated European cities, the blue-collar industrial heartlands, and the rural provinces. Only the inhabitants of the big cities are likely to seek political change; blue-collar Russians of the industrial towns tend to mobilize only over issues of work or wages. The poorest third, the rural populations, are unlikely to become politically active at all: they have no expectation of state help but rely only on their own networks and resources.

What people expect of the state, whether they can conceive of alternatives to the status quo and how they rate their own political power emerge as crucial factors in people’s decision to protest against inequalities or not. The shift of power to transnational institutions or multinational corporations has made many voters lose confidence that their vote matters. Case studies furthermore seem to confirm that people are actually very skilled at judging whether engaging in particular areas of politics is an efficient use of their resources. Thus, whereas the Roma are very active in local elections in Bulgaria, they stay invisible in national elections. They know that their obvious involvement would cause a backlash and thus be counterproductive.

The State as Culprit or Savior

So who should be acting to overcome socio-economic inequalities? Is it the responsibility of the state, or of those benefitting from the unequal distribution of income and

continued on page 16

Events in Retrospect 05–09 2013

May

May 7

Dragan Đilas



Belgrade's Social Care Model

Dragan Đilas

Mayor of Belgrade; Member of the Democratic Party (DP)

Karoline Krause

Foreign Desk, *Kurier*

Alexander Van der Bellen

Member, Viennese Municipal Council

Ivan Krastev

Chair of the Board, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia; IWM Permanent Fellow (see p. 18)



Fellows' Welcome at the IWM

May 8



Provincial Russia in Transition. The Rise of Urban Culture at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries

Mikhail Semenov

Senior Teacher of Russian History, Belgorod National Research University

May 23



Health, Illness and Death. Vienna 1944–1948

Herwig Czech

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

May 28



'No Help From Anyone.' Law and Film in a Post-Communist Country "The Debt" (1999) by Krzysztof Krauze

Introduction: **Jarosław Kuisz**

Editor-in-chief, *Kultura Liberalna*

May 14



Integration and Disintegration of the European Union

Aleksander Smolar

Chairman of the Board, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; Member of the Board, European Council on Foreign Relations

May 24



Fellows' Meeting

Keynote Speech by **Robert Cooper**

Former British Diplomat; Special Advisor at the European Commission (Myanmar); Member, European Council on Foreign Relations

May 29



From Seed to Superstar on the European Market. A Biography of the Tomato

Annemieke Hendriks

Freelance journalist, Berlin

May 15

Poland: A Success Story of Managing the Crisis?

Aleksander Smolar

May 27



Новый Режим, его приход и уход

Gleb Pavlovskiy

President, Effective Policy Foundation and Russian Institute; Editor-in-chief, Russian Journal and Pushkin Magazine

June

June 4



Is Europe Losing Its Vision? Egalitarian Politics at Stake

Martti Ahtisaari

Former President of Finland; Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 2008; President, Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) (see p. 18)

June 5



Where Do We Come from? Or: The Autobiography of the Mind

Barbara Torunczyk

Editor-in-chief, *Zeszyty Literackie*

June 6



Muss man glauben, um zu verstehen? Offenbarung als Erkenntnisform

Walter Schweidler

Professor für Philosophie, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

June 10



The End of the State? Presentation of the Book "Thinking the 20th Century"

Timothy Snyder

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

Ivan Krastev

Chair of the Board, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia; IWM Permanent Fellow

Marci Shore

Associate Professor of History, Yale University; IWM Visiting Fellow In Cooperation with Bruno Kreisky Forum, Hanser Verlag, and Eurozine (Audio file on www.iwm.at)

June 11



Is the Modern Age a New Axial Age? The Return of Big History

Paolo Costa

Director, Higher Institute for Religious Studies (CSSR); Permanent Researcher, Fondazione Bruno Kessler, Trento

June 12



Music and Politics

Leon Botstein

President, Bard College; Music Director and Principal Conductor, American Symphony Orchestra (ASO); Conductor Laureate, Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra (JSO) (see p. 19)

June 13–15



Modes of Secularism and Religious Responses V

Keynote Speech: *Religion and Its Others*

Charles Taylor

Professor em. of Philosophy, McGill University, Montréal; IWM Permanent Fellow

With the generous support of Fritz Thyssen Stiftung and Institut Français d'Autriche (see p. 11)

Monthly Lectures

Once a month, public lectures take place in the IWM library on subjects related to the main research fields of the Institute.

Beyond Myth and Enlightenment

This lecture series, supported by the FWF, explores the much debated "return of the religious". It is jointly organized by the IWM and the Institute for Philosophy at the University of Vienna.

Political Salons

The Political Salons, jointly organized by *Die Presse* and the Austrian Federal Ministry of Finance, are a discussion forum on current political and social questions.

City Talks

The series *City Talks*, organized in cooperation with the *Kurier*, invites mayors of European cities to discuss the challenges of city administration and urban planning in the 21st century.

Conferences

The IWM frequently organizes international conferences and workshops related to the Institute's research interests.

Events in Retrospect 05–09 2013

June



June 18

The Artist, the Autist and the Holy Fool. On the Cult of Spontaneity

Mark Lilla
Professor of Humanities,
Columbia University, New York



June 19

Greater Kosovo or Greater Albania. The Fate of the Albanians in the Balkans

Robert Austin
Project Coordinator and Lecturer, Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, MUNK School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto



June 21–23

GOOD JOBS—BAD JOBS. Cultural Attributes of Decent Work in Europe

Keynote Speech: *Why Policy Makers Should Care About Job Quality*
Georg Fischer
Director of Analysis, Evaluation and External Relations of the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, European Commission, Brussels
With the generous support of the European Commission (7th Framework Program)
(see p. 10)



June 26

Waiting for EUgo?

Luke Hartman
PhD candidate in Political Science,
Boston University



June 27

Popular Revolt, Populist Turn: Turkey's Critical Turn after a Decade of AKP Rule

Soli Özel
Professor of International Relations and Political Science, Kadir Has University
(see p. 18)



Commemoration Ceremony for Krzysztof Michalski, MAK Vienna



July 25

The Sacrifice of Jan Patočka

Claire Perryman-Holt
PhD candidate in Philosophy,
Pantheon-Sorbonne University, Paris



September 13

Negotiating Modernity: History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe

Organized by:
János Mátyás Kovács
IWM Permanent Fellow; External Research Fellow, Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
Balázs Trencsényi
Associate Professor, CEU, Budapest
In Cooperation with the European Research Council and the Center for Advanced Study Sofia



September 16–18

Den Primat der Gegebenheit denken. Zur Transformation der Phänomenologie nach Jean-Luc Marion

Keynote Speech: *Gegebenheit und Hermeneutik*
Jean-Luc Marion
Greeley Professor of Catholic Studies and Professor of the Philosophy of Religions and Theology, University of Chicago; Professor em., Sorbonne University, Paris
Mit freundlicher Unterstützung des FWF und der Fakultät für Philosophie und Bildungswissenschaft der Universität Wien



September 25

Who is a Person? Responsibility and Self-Constitution in Husserl and Patočka

Nicolas de Warren
Professor of Philosophy,
University of Leuven



September 25

The Land Is Waiting Mămăliga te așteaptă (2004) by Laurentiu Calciu

Introduction: **Miruna Voiculescu**
Freelance translator, Bucharest



September 26

Multiple Modernities: Überlegungen im Anschluss an Max Weber

Thomas Schwinn
Professor für Allgemeine und Theoretische Soziologie, Universität Heidelberg
In Kooperation mit der Deutschen Botschaft in Wien



Fellows' Seminars
In the course of the semester, Junior and Senior Visiting Fellows present their research projects in the Fellows' Seminars.

Seminars Faces of Eastern Europe
This seminar series is a forum to discuss issues connected to the economies, politics and societies of Eastern Europe in an interdisciplinary, comparative perspective.

Fellows' Meeting
Each year, the IWM invites its fellows, friends and supporters to an informal meeting, featuring a lecture by a well-known friend of the Institute.

Books in Perspective
Books written or edited by fellows or related to the Institute's research fields are presented to a wider public.

Films in Perspective
Occasionally, the IWM library turns into a cinema when movies directed by fellows or related to the Institute's work are being presented and discussed.

continued from page 13

access to power, or does it take the agency of the disadvantageded themselves? Katherine Newman's analysis of the effects of taxation in the US below the federal level demonstrated how state actions can create, or at least exacerbate, inequality. Alfred Gusenbauer pointed out in his concluding remarks that, furthermore, people are much more critical of the inequalities created by the state than of those created by the markets. However, in their suggested solutions, the experts from the US and those from Europe, perhaps characteristically, looked towards different saviors: whereas the US scholars were more likely to ponder how to mobilize social movements against so-

cio-economic inequality, the Europeans looked to their governments and the EU for redistributive policies. As Claus Offe remarked: "We can legislate standards for clean air; why does it not seem possible to legislate for lower Gini coefficients?" ¹⁾ OECD: Divided We Stand. Why Inequality Keeps Rising, 2011. ²⁾ Congressional Budget Office: Trends in the Distribution of Household Income between 1979 and 2007, 2011. ³⁾ Richard G. Wilkinson and Kate Pickett: The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better, Bloomsbury Press: London, 2009.

Christina Pössel joined the IWM in 2013 as program coordinator.

Commemoration Ceremony

On the first evening of the conference, a commemoration ceremony in memoriam Krzysztof Michalski (1948–2013), founding Rector of the IWM, took place at the Museum of Applied Arts Vienna. In his memory, Michael Sandel, Anne T. and Robert M. Bass Professor of Government at Harvard University and member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board, gave a lecture on "Solidarity" (for a German translation see Transit 44), preceded by and introductory speech (see IWMpost 111) by Cornelia Klinger, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Tübingen and IWM Permanent Fellow.

Solidarity and

REPORT

The economic downturn and the rigorous austerity policies that followed the banking and financial crisis of 2008 increased the level of inequality within European societies and among EU member states. New models of solidarity are in more demand than ever. On April 7, 2013, Elsa Fornero, Ira Katznelson, Michael Sandel, Andreas Treichl and Alfred Gusenbauer (chair) discussed how to escape the crises and to promote new models of good life at the Vienna Burgtheater.

From a theoretical point of view, Ira Katznelson opened up the discussion with distinguishing between four different layers of inequality: the structural dimension of inequality, the every-day experi-

and elderly people, in particular, had been excluded from the highly protected labor market so far, Fornero emphasized that inequality has increased not only in Italy, but also in Europe and the US. As a main reason for the current disaster she identified the excessive and blind faith that was put in markets. In his function as CEO of Erste Group and representing, as Alfred Gusenbauer put it, "the view from inside the beast", Andreas Treichl showed sympathy for his female co-discussant: "It is not extremely enjoyable to be a banker these days, but to be an Italian politician must be horrible." In his statement Treichl questioned the double standards when talking about the financial crisis and its consequences for states like Greece: For decades, Western and Northern European countries—including Austria—had made huge profits by exporting goods and services to Southern Europe they actually weren't able to afford: "And now we tell them, what they did was wrong and that they have



“Putting a price on a good also changes its meaning.”

Michael Sandel

ence of inequality, the way we think about inequality and how we act in certain situations. These four dimensions could explain, so the Professor of Political Science and History at Columbia University, why inequality is experienced and discussed in different ways. Elsa Fornero, Italian Minister for Labor, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, was confronted with the less abstract outcomes of redistribution struggles right at the beginning of the debate. A group of young Italians in the audience who called themselves "Choosy Italian migrants" heckled her and handed out leaflets. Their spokesperson criticized Fornero for her labor market reforms which have forced many young workers to go abroad. Fornero, in turn, invited the activists to meet with her after the public debate (which they did) and stressed, according to her personal experience, the narrow limits of solidarity when it comes to mediate between opposing demands in times of crisis. Well-aware that young, female



“We now know that the faith we put in markets was too much.”

Elsa Fornero

to pay for what we sold them." Thus solidarity can be found, in the best case, only within national contexts, according to Treichl. Compared to

Conference
On Solidarity VIII:
Inequality and Social Solidarity
April 5–6, 2013, Vienna

Program

April 5, 2013

Welcome and Introduction:
Cornelia Klinger

The IWM / Columbia Social
Solidarity-Program:
Kenneth Prewitt

Session I:
Introduction—Thinking
About Inequality

Introduction:
Robert Hauser
Ira Katznelson
Ivan Krastev

April 6, 2013

Session II:
Concentrated Poverty—
Economic Deprivation and
Social Geography

Introduction:
Paul Jargowsky
Gerard Pfann
Nicole Marwell
Natalia Zubarevich

Session III:
Concentrated Poverty—
Differentiated Citizenship

Introduction:
Kay Schlozman
Miroslav Beblavy
Rogers Smith

Session IV:
Consequences for
the Poor and Non-Poor

Introduction:
Cornelia Klinger
Katherine Newman
Paul Starr
Conclusions:
Alfred Gusenbauer

Conference chairs:
Claus Offe
Kenneth Prewitt

Participants

Miroslav Beblavy
Professor of Public Policy, Comenius University, Bratislava; Member of the Slovak Parliament; former Deputy Minister of Social Affairs

Klaus Dörre
Professor of Sociology, Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena

Karl Duffek
Director, Dr.-Karl-Renner-Institut, Vienna

Georg Fischer
Director, Analysis, Evaluation, External Relations, Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs & Equal Opportunities, European Commission, Brussels

Gerd Gröttinger
Professor of European Studies, International Institute of Management, University of Flensburg

Alfred Gusenbauer
Former Federal Chancellor of Austria, Vienna

Elemer Hankiss
Public Policy Fellow and Research Director, Institute of Political Science, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

Robert Mason Hauser
Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Paul A. Jargowsky
Professor of Public Policy; Director, Center for Urban Research and Urban Education, Rutgers University, Camden

Ira Katznelson
Professor of Political Science and History, Columbia University, New York; President, Social Science Research Council; Deputy Chair of the IWM Academic Advisory Board

Cornelia Klinger
Permanent Fellow, IWM, Vienna; Professor of Philosophy, University of Tuebingen

János M. Kovács
Permanent Fellow, IWM, Vienna; External Research Fellow, Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest

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

Nicole P. Marwell
Professor of Public Affairs and Sociology, City University of New York

Rainer Münz
Head of Research and Development, Erste Bank, Vienna; Senior Fellow, Hamburg Institute of International Economics

Katherine S. Newman
Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs; Dean, Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

Ton Nijhuis
Professor of German Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences; Scientific Director, Duitsland Instituut, University of Amsterdam; Member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board

Claus Offe
Professor of Political Sociology, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin; Member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board

Gerard Pfann
Professor in Econometrics of Markets and Organizations; Vice-Dean for Research, School of Business & Economics, Maastricht University

Kenneth Prewitt
Vice-President for Global Centers and Professor of Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York

Kay L. Schlozman
Professor of Political Science, Boston College, Chestnut Hill

Rogers Smith
Professor of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Alexander Smolar
Senior Research Fellow, CNRS, Paris; President of the Board, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw

Paul Starr
Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs, Princeton University

Mieke Verloo
Professor of Comparative Politics and Inequality Issues, University of Nijmegen; IWM Non-Resident Permanent Fellow

Natalia Zubarevich
Professor of Economic and Social Geography of Russia, Moscow State University; Director of the Regional Program, Independent Institute for Social Policy

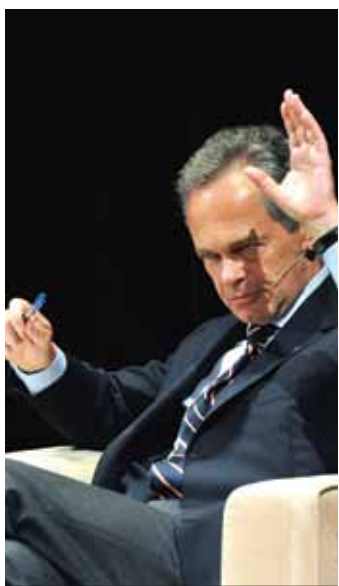
The conference series "On Solidarity" is organized in cooperation with Columbia University, ERSTE Foundation, Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam, Renner Institute and Erste Bank.

the Promotion of Good Life



Michael Sandel, Andreas Treichl, Alfred Gusenbauer, Elsa Fornero and Ira Katznelson debating about "Solidarity and Inequality" at the Vienna Burgtheater

the last decades of the 20th century, when events like the fall of the Iron Curtain made him proud of being European, he—and probably not he alone—has lost his enthusiasm for the EU. At this point, Elsa Fornero countered that especially the younger Italians define themselves as Europeans, but that youth unemployment is one of the most pressing challenges today. Therefore the focus has to be put on macro-policies



"You can't be half pregnant, either we go for Europe in total or we forget it."

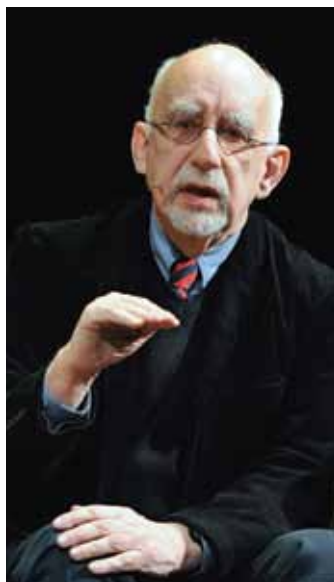
Andreas Treichl

in order to return to "real solidarity" that is not built on privileges.

Referring to Andreas Treichl comments that the European Union

had concentrated too much on the economic project over the last 13 years, Michael Sandel, Professor of Government at Harvard University, posed the question—as an "outsider" from the USA—what became of the (political) vision of Europe. He agreed with his co-panelists that the moral and civic bases of solidarity had eroded in the last decades and named two reasons for that development: The first is that inequality itself has increased and the second is the tendency to "marketize" every sphere of life—including personal relations, health care, education and civic life. "Democracy does not require perfect equality", as he put it, but when these two tendencies (inequality and market thinking) come together "we end up in a situation where people from different social, ethnic or religious backgrounds do not encounter with each other anymore in their daily lives". Combined with widespread mistrust and cynicism in politics, the widening gap between rich and poor is thus not only an obstacle to solidarity, but a real threat to democracy—a point on which all participants agreed. As a possible way out of this crisis, Sandel stressed the importance of public discourse on questions of the good life and the value of public goods—a process that might raise controversial, but essential issues related to democratic citizenship. Although democratic institutions, the rule of law as well as the protection of individual and group rights are equally important for the functioning of civic life, as Ira Katznelson emphasized, parties and democracy itself would not work very well. When it comes to questions of healthcare,

education, and pension systems, a new social contract is indispensable to restoring solidarity across generations, Sandel concluded with a plea



"If democratic procedures are being questioned we really have to be fearful."

Ira Katznelson

for lived solidarity: "We should not regard solidarity and civic virtue as commodities that are depleted with use, we should instead regard them as muscles that are strengthened with exercise." ◀

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Debating Europe / Europa im Diskurs January 13 / March 10 / April 7, 2013 Burgtheater, Vienna



Since 2008, the series *Debating Europe* brings leading politicians, scholars and intellectuals together on-stage to discuss pressing questions of European relevance. The public debates are jointly organized by the Vienna Burgtheater, ERSTE Foundation, and the newspaper *Der Standard*.

Die Matinee-Serie *Europa im Diskurs* bringt seit 2008 führende Persönlichkeiten aus Politik und Wissenschaft auf die Bühne des Wiener Burgtheaters, um über aktuelle europäische Fragen zu diskutieren. Die Reihe ist eine Kooperation von IWM, Burgtheater, ERSTE Stiftung und der Tageszeitung *Der Standard*.

Sonntag, 13. Januar 2013

Welche Rolle spielt Europa in der Welt?

Die USA wenden sich immer mehr von Europa ab und der Pazifik-Region zu. Die erste Veranstaltung der Reihe *Europa im Diskurs* 2013 ging der Frage nach, ob Europa nur noch als „historisches Disneyland“ (Walter Laqueur) von Bedeutung ist, oder ob die Europäische Union als Friedensprojekt und „Soft Power“ nach wie vor Vorbildcharakter hat.



Roland Berger
Unternehmensberater

Benita Ferrero-Waldner
ehem. EU-Außenkommissarin

Klaus Hänsch
ehem. Präsident des EU-Parlaments

Jean Ziegler
Globalisierungsgegner

Moderation:
Alexandra Förderl-Schmid
Chefredakteurin, *Der Standard*

Sonntag, 10. März 2013

Was hält Europa zusammen?

In der zweiten Diskussionsrunde ging es angesichts der drohenden Staatspleite Griechenlands sowie der Austrittsdrohung Großbritanniens aus der EU um die Fliehkräfte innerhalb

der Europäischen Union und die Frage, ob es trotz aller kulturellen Unterschiede so etwas wie eine gemeinsame kulturelle Identität geben kann.



Heinz Fischer
Österreichischer Bundespräsident

Rosen Plevneliev
Bulgarischer Staatspräsident

Johannes Hahn
EU-Kommissar für Regionalpolitik

Roger Köppel
Chefredakteur, *Die Weltwoche*

Moderation:
Alexandra Förderl-Schmid
Chefredakteurin, *Der Standard*

Sunday, April 7, 2013

Inequality and Solidarity

The level of inequality within societies and among states increased within the last years. Policies to fight back the crisis from 2008 onwards caused record-high public debts and intensified this trend. The third debate in this series asked for the social and political consequences of the widening gap between rich and poor (for details see p. 16/17).

Elsa Fornero
Italian Minister for Labor, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities

Ira Katznelson
Professor of Political Science and History, Columbia University; President, Social Science Research Council

Michael Sandel
Professor of Government, Harvard University

Andreas Treichl
CEO, Erste Group, Vienna

Chair:
Alfred Gusenbauer
Former Chancellor of Austria

Videos of all debates on: www.iwm.at

Popular Revolt, Populist Turn: Turkey's Critical Turn after a Decade of AKP Rule

Political Salon with **Soli Özel**, June 27, 2013



Photo: IWM

The protest wave, which started in May 2013 to protest against the urban development plan for Istanbul's Taksim Gezi Park, brought Turkey to an almost existential crossroads. In his talk at the IWM, Soli Özel posed the question whether Erdoğan's government was going to heed a widespread, pluralistic, popular outcry and deepen Turkish democracy, or would be lured by the

siren calls of populism and monopolistic power. Furthermore, he predicted that the "the road not taken" will have repercussions beyond Turkey's own destiny and referred to the EU's role as a neighboring actor in foreign and security policy. <

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Soli Özel

Professor of International Relations and Political Science, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

Discussants:

Ivan Krastev

Chair of the Board, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia; IWM Permanent Fellow

Christian Ultsch

Foreign Desk, *Die Presse*

Is Europe Losing Its Vision? Egalitarian Politics at Stake

Political Salon with **Martti Ahtisaari**, June 4, 2013



Photo: IWM

Welfare state and the principle of democratic egalitarianism have been at the core of the political identity of European societies in the last 50 years. But is the global economic crisis going to change all this? Is the EU still interested in the pursuit of democratic egalitarian society that works for all? And is there a basis for a common European foreign policy? These were only a few of the questions, Nobel Peace Prize laureate and Martti Ahtisaari discussed with Ivan Krastev and Christian Ultsch at the Political Salon in June. <

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Martti Ahtisaari

Former President of Finland; Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 2008; President, Crisis Management Initiative (CMI)

Discussants:

Ivan Krastev

Chair of the Board, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia; IWM Permanent Fellow

Christian Ultsch

Foreign Desk, *Die Presse*

Belgrade's Social Care Model

City Talk with **Dragan Đilas**, May 7, 2013

Belgrade, 'the White City' at the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers has a long and varied history. Once the proud capital of Tito's Yugoslavia, more recently damaged by bombings during the war in Kosovo, it is a city in transition that faces many new challenges in the 21st century. Social welfare is one of them: not everybody is benefitting from recent developments in this growing and changing city. In his City Talk, Dragan Đilas, mayor of Belgrade since 2008, discussed—together with Karoline Krause, Alexander Van der Bellen and Ivan Krastev—which social measures have been taken in Serbia's capital to help families, elderly people, Roma citizens, as well as to improve health care and the public transport system. <

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Photo: IWM

Dragan Đilas

Mayor of Belgrade; Member of the Democratic Party (DP)

Discussants:

Alexander Van der Bellen

Member, Viennese Municipal Council

Ivan Krastev

Chair of the Board, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia; IWM Permanent Fellow

Karoline Krause

Foreign Desk, *Kurier*

Political Salons

Since 2004, renowned scholars and politicians are invited to discuss questions of current political and social relevance at the IWM. The *Political Salons* are organized in cooperation with the Austrian newspaper *Die Presse* and the Austrian Federal Ministry of Finance.

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 European cities are invited to speak about the future of their city, related challenges and political solutions.

On the side of democracy? Jan-Werner Müller supports Brussels' intervention in EU member states.

Part of the upcoming Eurozine focal point "The ends of democracy"

www.eurozine.com

Music and Politics

BY LEON BOTSTEIN

Music is part of our construct of mythic pasts and allegiances. The closer we can come to unraveling the complex fabric of the culture and norms from the past, the clearer we can be about negotiating competing normative ambitions about the present and future. Music can illuminate the tension between ideals of the cosmopolitan and definitions of heritage and legacies that distinguish communities and nations.



Eduard Hanslick and Richard Wagner, silhouette by Otto Böhlér

The perspective from which the following reflections are written is rooted in the performance of music on the concert stage. As a practicing musician, a conductor, I have noticed three disturbing patterns.

First, there is little affection for music that shares characteristics we might readily identify as “modern.” The resistance to modernism in music has been far more persistent than that encountered by comparable developments in art, literature and architecture.

Second, the performance of music on the concert stage, particularly instrumental music, has remained cut off from any connection to other facets of life, whether these be political, social, philosophical or aesthetic. Music appears to be either divorced or stand apart from history when encountered in the concert hall or, for that matter, in the curriculum of the conservatory or the music lesson.

Third and perhaps most significantly, the repertoire of concert life today represents a distorted mirror of history. The active repertoire is a mere fragment of what was actually played and heard during the past 250 years. At stake is not the revival of the obscure. Rather, music has been eliminated that once was thought of as having consid-

erable merit. This circumstance is particularly acute in the field of opera. No other art form suffers from a comparable obsessive focus on a very few works by a select group of composers. It is as if all but a few rooms in the metaphorical museum of musical history were closed.

The writing of music history has flourished since the mid-18th century in tandem with the expansion of interest in the making of music itself. By the mid-19th century a sufficient literate public emerged with enough interest in reading about something they enjoyed doing—much as to-

ic of the character of music culture in the urban centers of Europe and North America. Hanslick’s achievement represents the most celebrated and influential synthesis between the normative and descriptive traditions of writing about music. He also perfected the most admirable and re-

tures on Wagner represented an effort at synthesis, an attempt to render Wagner more an object of history than an object of heated polemic. Adler founded what he regarded as a scientific school in the systematic study of music and sought, with success, to elevate it to a respected status within the university, within the *Geisteswissenschaften*.

But like Hanslick, Adler was never in doubt about the cultural and political power of music as part of an historical legacy crucial to contemporary culture. Adler came to the defense of Mahler and Schoenberg, commented on the cultural crisis of modernity, and even sought to engage Karl Lueger on the matter of anti-Semitism. Hanslick, for his part, sought to defend aesthetic norms on the basis of a linkage between ethics and aesthetics reminiscent of the 18th century, of Schiller and Shaftesbury.

It is significant that neither Hanslick nor Adler placed any emphasis on how music might be understood in connection with parallel phenomena in history apart from the strictly musical. At the same time, for Hanslick, what was wrong with the so-called New German school—Liszt and Wagner—could not be contained within the rubric of the aesthetic. The subordination of the listening experience, of music, to im-

Music became a powerful art form with the capacity to shape the attitudes of a community.

What in art history passes for significant and great works from the past in music has been effectively silenced and forgotten.

Therefore the questions “Why write music history” and “What might be learned from music history that is unique” are not merely rhetorical. These are being asked as a necessary means to an effort to rejuvenate concert life and restore the scope, beauty and power of our musical heritage. An understanding of the musical past beyond the biographical and the recovering of the depth and variety of this past can and should propel a transformation of what we perform, how we perform and how we plan and realize a vibrant concert life.

day sports journalism does—in direct proportion to the numbers of those playing as amateurs. The shift of music from a domestic art form to a public one dependent on spectators during the 19th century was a function of the expansion and transformation of music amateurism and music education.

Writing about Music: Hanslick and Adler

The late 19th century became the heyday for music journalism and history. Two of the most widely influential and read practitioners, Eduard Hanslick and Guido Adler, were based in Vienna. Indeed Vienna can be considered emblematic

of the character of music culture in the urban centers of Europe and North America. Hanslick’s achievement represents the most celebrated and influential synthesis between the normative and descriptive traditions of writing about music. He also perfected the most admirable and refined style in writing criticism for the daily press. His prose was free of platitudes, clichés, stock phrases and a self-congratulatory voice—stylistic vices that would come to plague newspaper well beyond writing about music throughout the 20th century and beyond. If the balance in Hanslick’s work was rather more toward the analysis and judgment of new music—toward criticism and not history—the reverse was true of Adler. Adler wrote for the daily press, but for him that was a sideline. If in his career Hanslick drifted sporadically from music criticism and journalism to historical scholarship and philosophical writing, Adler undertook the journey from scholarship sparingly in reverse. His 1904 lec-

age making and narration signaled—perhaps rightly so—the shift of music as an art form, and as a form of life, that helped define the realm of individual subjectivity (as in the cases of the early Romantics—notably Schuman and Chopin). In Liszt and Wagner music assumed the primary status of a public art form capable of moving and inspiring masses of people in grand spaces along transparent ideological lines. Music became a powerful art form with the capacity to shape the attitudes of a community. For Hanslick this was done by subordinating individuality, triggering conformity and motivating a mob. Hanslick witnessed the inherent danger in the nearly narcotic allure of Wagner and the hypnotic attraction of Brucknerian form and sonority.

Hanslick's negative reactions reflected his uncanny instinct about the consequences of theatrical allure, decorative variety and formal simplicity in music successfully pioneered by Liszt, Wagner and Bruckner. The effective subordination and use of what was for Hanslick the essence of music's autonomy help explain the roots of what would later emerge as the uncomfortable affinity between Nazism and the Wagnerian, and Hitler's special enthusiasm for Bruckner. More than music was at stake as well in Adler's defense of Mahler and Schoenberg (and Schoenberg's pupils). It was inspired by his commitment to a liberal spirit of universalism and cosmopolitanism, and directed against a rising tide of enthusiasm for radical reductive constructs of nationalism and exclusive cultural particularity.

Hanslick and Adler, giants in the field of writing on music, worked in a context in which music made a real difference. It was a powerful cultural element in daily life, the construct of the local community, and the character of society. Their readers were members of an urban setting in which musical culture had become a modern consumer industry. Most of their readers did not go to concerts, just as many readers of the sports pages today do not attend or even watch professional sports events. But they remain interested. The elevation of music to a central place in the economic and social life of Vienna derived from the city's status as an Imperial capital, and therefore the winter residence of the Habsburg court, for which music had long been a vital component of ritual, protocol, entertainment and worship.

The 18th century Austrian aristocracy—as well as its Hungarian and Czech counterparts—had a considerable share in its ranks of avid musical amateurs, as did the Imperial family. The aristocracy patronized composers and performers. By the end of the Napoleonic period, in the face of straitened economic circumstances, they banded together to sustain what had once been an activity confined to each nobleman's palace by transforming patronage and participation into civic activities. These aristocrats founded the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. They sought a new means to continue their own treasured pastime. They were joined eagerly by an aspiring new and educated elite in the city—pro-

fessionals, merchants, bankers, civil servants. As much as vulgar Marxism suggests that the new bourgeoisie generated novel cultural norms and mores, there was at the same time considerable continuity from the “ancien regime”. The insecurity of social status with respect to social class lent culture a prestige highly sought after by new wealth. As a new non-aristocratic public sought to internalize the tastes and habits of the aristocracy, music took on a new patina, one closer to the habits of the middle class and compatible

politics and society, it was because those enterprises were defined by and exclusively in the hands of those on whom music had, by choice and tradition, an influence. Wagner was important because public figures from Ludwig II to Walter Rathenau and Hitler were engaged with Wagner as part of the conduct of their daily lives. This was the case with the public that mattered.

Consider a curious, obscure example from the history of music in Vienna. In November 1905, there was a famous Social Democratic pa-

work's composition overlap exactly with the crisis in Viennese politics over the extension of franchise. The opera, Schmidt knew, was destined for an audience caught up in the contest over the allegiance of the majority of residents. On the one side was an anti-Semitic, anti-capitalist reaction to modernity, a pan-German nationalism and a pro-monarchical conspiratorial reactionary populism (with which Schmidt was sympathetic) symbolized by Christian Socialism and Karl Lueger. On the other were varying versions of

ly Schoenberg and the first Vienna performances of Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf*, Berg's Violin Concerto and Schmidt's *Book of the Seven Seals*—musical life in the years surrounding the Anschluss of 1938—is a task essential for understanding Austria, the European 19th century and, more narrowly, the contemporary character and conceits of Vienna today.

These reflections appear at a moment of crisis for Europe in the early 21st century. The idea of Europe, it turns out, has fewer political and psychological roots in the mass of citizens within the various constituent nations of the European Community. New forms of nationalism and xenophobia have flourished, from Finland to Hungary. There is widespread fear of non-European immigration and the loss of local cultures, traditions and languages. Little progress has been made with respect to the treatment of minorities, whether they are Muslims or Roma.

History, both political and cultural, has played a powerful role in the shaping of the contemporary political debate, from the early days of fascism in the 1930s (when, to Béla Bartók's dismay, his research into folk music was distorted for narrow political ends) to the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s and more recently to the terrorist shootings in Norway in the summer of 2011.

This is why one writes music history today. Truth—or rather adequacy in description and explanation vis-à-vis the past—is the contemporary historian's obligation and goal. We must write the history of music and musical culture precisely because it remains strangely powerful both in its most popular forms and high art manifestations. We still have a long way to go in getting our history straight. Since the past after 1750 is a subtle amalgam of the local and of ever expanding larger units, from the regional and national to the global, understanding Vienna, whose centrality to musical culture is clear during its long history as the capital of a multi-ethnic monarchy (and its aftermath), represents a vital goal for today's historian. <

Wagner was important because public figures from Ludwig II to Walter Rathenau and Hitler were engaged with Wagner as part of the conduct of their daily lives.

with social status—that of a marker of education and cultivation, of *Bildung*.

Over the course of the 19th century in Vienna and elsewhere, musical culture was gradually ceded by the aristocracy (who took more and more to hunting and gambling) to a burgeoning middle class of amateurs who by the 1830s formed the cadres of readers, spectators and consumers of sheet music and instruments. It is this demographic shift and growth that enabled Vienna to become a self-sustaining center of musical activity and commerce. In this context music criticism and music history emerged as significant constituents of a public conversation about society, politics and culture.

The Power of Music: From Wagner to Hip Hop

The economic circumstances surrounding music—the presence of an avid audience eager to consume, emulate and even read about music—are comparable today if we choose to compare so-called classical music in the late 19th century to so-called popular, rock and movie music today. The interest may now be keener among younger adults and teenagers, but the massive interest is there. The focus remains on new music and on star performers and only residually on revivals and on new versions of old staples, or radically recast known material. As a result of its currency we believe that popular music has political and cultural significance. Therefore Rap and Hip Hop have both been subjected to complex analytical scrutiny. They are said to play a role in the contest over values and spirituality; in the eyes of pundits and consumers this is understood as true.

By contrast, the continuing traditions of concert and opera music flourish more at the margins. But this is true because the terms of political influence and participation have changed. At the heyday of classical music, power and influence remained severely restricted, and precisely to those literate elites who were amateur musicians and patrons. If classical music was “important” to politics and the discourse about culture,

trade-demonstration in the city on the Ringstraße, one of the first large examples of the power and scale of mass movements. This mass demonstration was fueled by frustration by the non-enfranchisement of the majority of urban subjects in the city in both local government and in the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole. This led ultimately to the radical extension of the franchise in 1907. The ruling elites were shaken by the events in Russia in 1905. The conservative fear of a revolution from below was widespread. At stake was more than money and power. Socialism and democracy were understood as destructive of culture and sensibility (defined in 18th-century terms). In terms of culture, democratization was not viewed as progressive.

Franz Schmidt, a self-consciously conservative and pro-monarchist composer, who disliked Mahler and played in the Vienna Philharmonic under Mahler, was working at the time on an opera based on Victor Hugo's *Hunchback of Notre Dame*. Schmidt, who recast the story himself (with the help of an amateur librettist, a chemist), began working on the project around 1904. He completed the score in 1906. The final result, *Notre Dame*, is arguably his masterpiece, a truly fine and unjustly neglected work in the repertory, and was premiered finally in April 1914, months before the beginning of the true end of the 19th century, the outbreak of World War I in August 1914. It is striking how Schmidt chose to alter the story for his libretto. Quasimodo takes on a relatively minor role against the backdrop of a love story at the center of which is Esmeralda. The chorus in the opera is given a key role. Through its presence, the argument of the opera is transformed into a morality play about the dangers of the mob and the threat that the masses represent to love and individuality. Little is left of Hugo's sentimental affection for the lost, the poor and the forlorn victims of injustice.

Schmidt's recasting of Hugo—as well as his unique version of late-romantic melody and harmony and his allegiance to certain formal structures—can be explained by examining the intersection between art and politics, since the years of the

socialism and liberalism that were secular and, to varying degrees, egalitarian. Their representative figures included Jews, Viktor Adler among them. The public's aesthetic commitments came into play, from the realms of popular song and theatre to the classical and concert traditions. The character of music criticism in Vienna, from the reaction to Mahler, Schmidt and Schoenberg to the performances of Wagner and Bruckner, all were intertwined with the political and social discourse of the era in ways that defy reductive parallels.

It is precisely the daunting fact that concert music and opera, despite the internet, You Tube and streaming, are at the periphery of contemporary political life in a way that is in contrast to the experience of the first half of the 20th century and all of the 19th, that music history needs to be written today.

First, if we wish music to be performed and listened to, particularly the historical repertoire, professionals and amateurs need to be able to embrace “classical” music as more than matters of sound and style. The vanished political, social and philosophical claims of music need to be reconstructed, so that the power of the musical experience can be enlarged. Access points to listening located in history and culture beyond music need to be cultivated. There was always more at stake in writing and performing music than “music alone”, and we need to understand the history of that fact to fashion, refine and develop our own appropriations of the past. Music cannot be understood as a self-contained auto-poetic phenomenon whose history is a sequence of self-referential styles autonomous of other facets of the past.

Second, given the centrality of a notated Western musical culture from the Baroque to early 20th-century modernism, music can and should function as a key source for a better understanding of the past in general. Let us return once again to the example of Vienna. Penetrating the complex surface of musical life in Vienna from the mid 18th-century, from Haydn and Mozart's time to the age of Grillparzer's *Der arme Spielmann* all the way to the premieres of ear-

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Durable Fiction. Danilo Kiš and His Library

BY ALEŠ DEBELJAK



Photo: Ulf Andersen

As a historical and contemporary conglomerate of cultures and religions, languages and nations, the Balkans made their first imprint on the European public consciousness in the early 19th century. After the Greeks and a few other Balkan nations achieved statehood, they immediately subjected the diverse peoples in their territories to state-sponsored programs of ethnic homogenization. As a result, by the 20th century, the legacy of Balkan hybridity, fluidity, and a mixture of ethnicities, languages, and cultures was preserved only in Yugoslavia. Today the “balkanization” of a given community is a slur, suggesting the narcissistic fragmentation of large collectives into smaller splinter groups that assert themselves in bloodshed and hatred, the cunning moralism of purity, and the ritual evocation of ancient rights. The violent disintegration of the Yugoslav federation in the 1990s lent tragic support to this stereotype.

And yet a vibrant cultural tradition thrived in interwar Yugoslavia, a culture that encouraged and allowed the intense trafficking of ideas, attitudes, and symbols across linguistic and ethnic borders, and fostered an atmosphere of intellectual hybridity and cosmopolitanism. Ultimately, this tradition turned out to be more of a sliver than solid timber but nev-

ertheless it fomented a movement called *zenitism* (zenithism), an historical avant-garde movement with an authentic Balkan twist. Ljubomir Micić edited the eponymous magazine for five years, turning it into a showcase for local experiments in German Expressionism and Russian Constructivism. His chauvinist idea of the barbaro-genius, the authentic Balkan man who in his creative zenith injects fresh blood into decadent and decaying Europe, perfectly captured the regionally popular belief that the Balkan peoples were untainted by corrupt European reason. And, for a time, it appeared to be true. The works of Slovenian poet Srečko Kosovel contained a trembling cadence of emancipatory prophecy. The poems of a Croatian poet Tin Ujević were full of insightful meditations on the passing of time. Ivo Andrić, whose work was claimed by Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks alike, expressed the fatalistic acceptance of misfortune. But none of these writers, all of whom reached beyond their own ethnic heritage, continues to have such a powerful attraction as Danilo Kiš.

The Last Yugoslav Writer

Danilo Kiš (1935–1989), an influential fiction writer, a prolific translator from French, Hungar-

ian, and Russian, was a charismatic *bon vivant*. Jewish, Serbian, and Hungarian roots animated his cultural background. And yet, though he was born to a Jewish father and a Montenegrin mother, he proclaimed himself to be the child of the Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges and the Polish writer Bruno Schulz. He did not entirely reject ethnic allegiances, but rather than opting for any one of the collective identities on offer to him, he boldly embraced the ecumenical designation of the “last Yugoslav writer.” This positioning allowed him to resist the appeal of the separate and competing nationalisms of his homeland. Following in his footsteps, I strive to this day to remain committed to the primordial realms of intimate geography, history, and community, even as I foster links to global cultural movements. Defying both the rigidity of nationalist navel-gazing and the blithe nonsense of global citizenship, I attempt, like Kiš, to trace the concentric circles of identity that emanate from images of the self, embedded in communal experience, and ripple outward into local, regional, and national identities.

This layered, hybrid, and multifaceted identity is available only to the particular gaze that has the transformative power to erode locally entrenched descriptions of ev-

eryday life and turn them into stories of universal meaning. This is the gaze of artists and writers in whose work mature reflection travels in the same compartment as the commitment to a chosen community that is different from one’s ethnic or linguistic group. Such a cosmopolitan perspective necessitates individual deliberation and moral choice. It necessitates choosing membership in an elusive community in which the imperative to be human is not merely a given right, but a responsibility as well. What protects those of us who still want to participate in a life in which the idea of common humanity has not yet withered away is the frail hope that a critical attitude toward exclusivist ideologies will give us the power to resist the status quo and prevent us from the fatalist acceptance of evil.

Against Exclusivism

Danilo Kiš was my writer-hero. I admired his moral insistence that the central question for writers of the 20th century was the question of camps, of Auschwitz and the Gulag. I warmed to his lyrical procedures that accommodated both the litany of railway stations and the tremor of an anxious soul. I liked his claim that kitsch is as indestructible as a plastic bottle, his resigned, though

not defeatist, realization that, having spent his last decade in voluntary Parisian exile, contemporary French intellectual debates were familiar to him, while the debates of his native realm would remain forever alien to his French peers. I cherished his persistence in the belief that literature is written with the totality of one’s being, not with language alone, and this made him cling to his Serbo-Croat literary idiom despite the false comforts of French, the adopted language of his everyday life as an exile. I believed in his anti-nationalist hybridization of literary genres and cultural experiences, his opposition to the chauvinist elevation of “the chosen nation” to the level of a metaphysical Idea that justifies any and all means to advance its protection. With his ethical integrity and aesthetic practice, Kiš was the voice that inspired me most in my pursuit of the true cosmopolitan attitude.

I discovered Danilo Kiš in the early 1980s, when, as a student at the Ljubljana University, Slovenia, I shared the larger home of Yugoslavia with him. Coming across his stories was a revelation, and good luck, as his literary work had not been canonized yet. In fact, in the wake of the publication of his collection of short stories, *The Tomb for Boris Davidovich* (first published in 1976; two years later, Harcourt Brace Jova-

novich published the English translation), a fierce controversy erupted over the proper use of literary methods. It was the biggest literary polemic in the small country at the time and Kiš was subject to the public character assassination and harassment by communist cronies that ultimately resulted in his emigration. Kiš went to live in France where he first taught Serbo-Croat at provincial universities and then settled in Paris. I went into the exile of his fiction. Three decades later, I am still its happy denizen. I continue to draw sustenance from Kiš, never more than today, in our world of capitalism without alternative. Of course I'm aware that to contemplate the consolations of library as a continuation of human community is to engage in what seems a vaguely indecent pursuit in these hard times, and yet I can't help but daydream. I daydream about books and reality, literature and mortality, I daydream about the durable fiction of Danilo Kiš.

The Importance of People without Importance

In his work, notably in the story *Encyclopedia of the Dead* (first published in 1983; Farrar, Strauss and Giroux published the English translation in 1989), Kiš exploited the metaphor of the library, and where there's a literary library, there's Jorge Luis Borges. It was Borges's meta-fictional strategy that made Kiš exclaim that the history of literature is divided into "before Borges and after him." The claim may be debated, but it is indisputable that Borges strongly influenced Kiš's literary use of documents, chronicles, and fact-based references. Plowing through their respective claims to truth, Kiš created fictional works of the highest aesthetic order.

Borges devised a metaphor of a library whose aim was to be the universe. In his story *The Library of Babel* (1941), the library is enormous as it contains the infinity of all past, present, and future events. Borges' library is as unlimited as the anxiety of those who look in vain in the orderly rows of bookshelves for an explanation to chaos.

Kiš was impressed by Borges' library, but not content. He chose a sharp, passionate, and doubtless polemically pregnant rendition of the trope in *Encyclopedia of the Dead*. First, Kiš's encyclopedia, the essential book in this library, is open only to those people who are already dead. Second, the selective mechanism is at work even within the community of the dead as Kiš's library excluded all of those whose names had already merited inclusion in any other book, lexicon, or library. The people who didn't make it into any of the existing *Who's Who* reference books thus find sole recognition in the genuine encyclopedia of the dead, the encyclopedia of the nameless. This methodological gesture is nothing less than a celebration of the equalizing power of death. It is a macabre reminder of the frequently ignored principles of freedom, brotherhood, and equality.

The encyclopedia's entries weave a web of events, the lullabies sung by

the deceased, the relatives and wedding guests, postmen with feather-light feet and diligent milkmaids, all the people the deceased used to see, know, smell. Each entry is endless. But isn't this obvious? The web that an individual life creates, after all, is so extensive that it literally captures the entire world, for every person sooner or later crosses paths with another person who has been in touch with the deceased man's acquaintance. As the web spreads to include relatives and relatives of relatives as well as acquaintances and casual encounters, the encyclopedia of the dead reveals its emancipatory potential, intimating that we are connected with all living and dead things and people in the world. This labyrinth, this impossible-to-untangle skein of links, running both horizontally and vertically, is so vast that, during my first reading of Kiš's story, I had the thrilling sense of discovering such an exceptionally accurate and detailed map of England, say, that it was actually England itself, as Josiah Royce described in his book *The World and the Individual* (1899). Moreover, such a map welcomes constant repetition *ad infinitum*, for every map of England must contain itself, and thus progressively accumulates multitudes of its own image.

Kiš's encyclopedia, however, represents the multitude that is always already there. But here the vocabulary of entries metamorphoses from the linear quality of ordinary written records that sets the norms of our everyday speech and our chronological lives into simultaneously present slices of life which all the deceased suffered through. The entire history of a person is summarized in a few sentences, defined not only by the tedious perspective of basic information—birth date, education, marital status, addresses changed, jobs held—but rather with an artistic sensibility that summons the most ambitious of ideals, the totality of being.

The Book, the secret project of Stéphane Mallarmé, shines through this unfulfilled desire to sing the totality of being, to live the totality of song. Mallarmé, the founder of French Symbolism in the late 19th century, deified language and its capacity for a dream-like synthesis in which all self-division is overcome and "all earthly existence must ultimately be contained in the Book." Mallarmé, to be sure, never wrote the Book. His maxim that everyone and everything that occurs in the world must one day arrive into the Book, however, was recuperated with aesthetic beauty and social sensitivity under the pen of Danilo Kiš. ◀

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Krzysztof Michalski als Erzieher

BY JAMES DODD



Photo: Philipp Steinkeller

The title above is an allusion to a famous essay by Friedrich Nietzsche, the second of his *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*, "Schopenhauer als Erzieher" (1874). I employ it here, placing it as a title above some reflections on Krzysztof as a teacher and intellectual influence, with some hesitation; above all, I do not want to indulge my narcissism—recall Nietzsche's confession in *Ecce Homo* that his essay was in fact more about himself than about Schopenhauer, so more about *Nietzsche* as educator. More, Nietzsche's reflection in his essay is conditioned by the fact that he never met Schopenhauer personally; the entire exercise thus takes place on the level of the abstract, however

distinctly personal his tone may be. By contrast, I knew Krzysztof personally, and for an important, even decisive period of my life, my education actually took shape under his guidance, and I was and continue to be inspired by his example.

Perhaps, given these caveats, the title is not the most apt. The motivation behind it, and why it still stands (however wobbly), is that I would nevertheless like to evoke Nietzsche's brilliant and complex descriptions in his essay of the cultural need that he believed a figure like Schopenhauer could fulfill. The need in question is for a renewed confidence, even faith, not so much in ideas as in our personal capacity to pursue ideas. Such a need becomes

acute in an environment where the life of the mind becomes more and more dominated by a busy but inane intellectual professionalism, and philosophy in particular burdened by a regime of scholarship that too often embodies only the most superficial of values, masking a hollowness and poverty of its spirit. The problem of what it means to personally devote oneself to the cultivation of ideas in a world in which ideas are rapidly becoming the trivial products of an industry that bears little more than the nomenclature of the university—this is the problem of education, made all the more pressing by the fatuousness of the modern university so wonderfully mocked by Nietzsche, that I want-

ed to evoke in describing Krzysztof Michalski as educator.

In Nietzsche's hands, the question of an educator is accordingly a fundamentally personal one; it is about us, about who we are. It thus has no real sense unless we see it in personal terms. And in fact I cannot write about Krzysztof as a teacher in any other way, so please indulge me a little history.

A Little Personal History

I first took courses with Krzysztof when I was a graduate student in philosophy at Boston University, beginning in 1990. The seminars were intense, challenging, unrelenting in spirit, though not without being punctuated by an occasional flash of humor, which often provided much needed relief. I think it is safe to say that, had Krzysztof lacked completely any sense of humor, he would have been a particularly terrifying teacher. And humor was in fact deeply important to Krzysztof, a basic part of a complex personality. He would often describe his occasional trips back to his native Poland as an opportunity to recuperate, regenerate his strength, and that essential to all that was catching up on the latest jokes from his friends, which he would rave about but which, of course, could never translate into English. You only know what a limitation it is not to know a language when you lose someone who speaks, and lives in it—then what was once merely a possibly temporary limitation suddenly becomes a profound, irretrievable loss.

Never overdoing the humor, Krzysztof's seminars were always focused, always productive; but the most important thing is perhaps what they were not: they were never workshops for the production of footnotes, the proselytizing of the agenda of one scholarly faction or the debasement of another. Nor were they ever meant to recruit disciples to help generate that professorial aura that all too often functions as an important currency of influence in the academic world. Though the manner in which Krzysztof would carry himself as a professor sometimes stood in stark contrast to many of the academic mores that guide professional scholars in the production of their reputations, he was not completely out of place in such an environment—he could basically name-drop anyone under the table, for example, and in the process put to shame many who held themselves to be well-connected. But he was certainly different. Some found this liberating, others found it irritating; to me he rapidly became an intellectual oasis.

However important the seminars were to my education, they pale in importance to Krzysztof's invitation to visit, in only the second semester of my graduate studies, The Institute for Human Sciences as a Junior Visiting Fellow. Since it was only my first year in the program, it was clearly far too early for me to be given a fellowship; but I had proven myself intelligent enough that, at least in Krzysztof's judgment, I would probably not turn out to be an embarrassment. So in one fell swoop I

was taken out of a rather ordinary American academic program and thrown into a remarkable intellectual world that, to risk a cliché, forever shaped the very way that I perceive the world. The transformations of 1989 still underway in Europe, IWM at the time was the site of a dizzying variety of discussions about history, economic transformation, social revolution, and yes, even philosophy that had become suddenly and powerfully animated by contemporary events. Having been turned to philosophy through phenomenology and, thanks to Erazim Kohak, my understanding of phenomenology shaped through an intense engagement with the thought of the Czech philosopher Jan Patočka, I even felt that I had some stake in the questions under debate, as opposed to being a simple American intellectual tourist watching the show.

An Intellectual in General, and a Philosopher in Particular

My experiences during those first six months at IWM also revealed to me something important about Krzysztof as an intellectual in general, and a philosopher in particular. I discovered that there was a reason why narrow concerns about the mechanics of academic advancement were absent in the seminars back in Boston: Krzysztof was operating under very different assumptions about the institutional possibilities of intellectual life. He was convinced it was possible—and together with the rest of the leadership at IWM, showed that it is in fact possible—to carve out spaces in which one can offer the requisite time, freedom, and independence for a genuine exchange of ideas, an authentic cultivation of perspectives. I encountered in IWM a place that suspends, just enough, the more pernicious effects of the rank divisions among junior and senior faculty, as well as the social isolation of academic from non-academic intellectuals, or researchers from policy makers, opening the way for often unexpected patterns of intellectual cooperation and community. Anyone plagued by doubts that there is any room left in the academic world for the creation of communities—even if transitory—where ideas are actually thought through in a spirit of honest discovery and creativity, could at that time only find a powerful source of inspiration at IWM, and still do to this day.

At the same time it began to become clear to me, with a clarity that only grew over the years, that Krzysztof's commitment to IWM was not a function of choosing a "practical" at the expense of a "theoretical" path through intellectual life. It is certainly true that he spent an enormous amount of his time and energy on the administrative and political side of things at the IWM, but at the same time he always remained in tune with the manner in which a whole host of apparently different kinds of discussions, debates, and controversies were relevant to a basic, fundamental call to reflect on the meaning of the human condition. Krzysztof, in other words, always remained a philosopher, even as he was pulled, at

times willingly but sometimes not, into the politics of his native Poland, or into the endless work of securing the position and clout of IWM in the Viennese and Austrian landscapes of influence.

Krzysztof Michalski and Jan Patočka

Though there are many differences, in both situation and temperament, I believe that Krzysztof shared a great deal in common on this score with Patočka, another genuine philosopher consistently drawn out of his books to address a more public need for reflection. Both were, in ways that are far too uncommon, genuine Europeans—each a patriot, of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia respectively, but at the same time deeply committed to the spirit of Europe as a task, a yet to be realized ideal. Krzysztof liked to tell a story of a visit to Prague, when Patočka personally took him on a tour of the city; I've often reflected on this story since learning of Krzysztof's death, since it seems to be so rich in promise: the aging philosopher, not long before his own death, leading the younger through the streets of a decaying, ancient capital with its ghosts of empires and wars, revolutions and defeats, reflecting on what Europe was and what it could be. It's easy to romanticize this too much, of course; but it is clear that together, these two intellectuals represent an important form of a specifically philosophical calling, for which reflection is something that is pursued in order to shape the world in accordance with its potential, not avoid it with a facile, critical disdain.

The intensity of the seminars, the introduction to a genuinely cosmopolitan philosophical life, the vibrant sense of taking part in an emerging understanding of history as it unfolds—all this was pretty heady stuff for a first-year graduate student. It made ideas something astonishingly concrete, but also something personal, or rather it brought to the fore how ideas are in fact inseparable from concrete existence, from the lives that we actually live. The lesson is a simple one, but not at all easy to teach. The concreteness of ideas also means that philosophy, if in the end this is what we want to call a life in ideas, is not always an easy thing, for it often becomes entangled in our self-delusions, our unfounded hopes, our vanities and passions; more, it means that ideas are tied up with our history, including everything in our history that is painful.

Intellectual Generosity—a Prerequisite to Human Understanding

I learned something about this during a seminar co-taught by Krzysztof and an elderly scholar (whom out of respect I will not name) on the work of the important but controversial legal theorist and philosopher Carl Schmitt. Krzysztof had only recently discovered Schmitt at the time, and was working through the relevant texts with his characteristic rigor. In the course of the seminar, however, it became clear that

the elderly scholar in question had no interest in Schmitt as a philosopher: his aim in teaching the seminar was solely to discredit Schmitt, as a direct response to the popular revival that Schmitt's work was enjoying at the time, especially with regard to his critique of democracy. Looking back many years later, I believe that this interest in attacking Schmitt was rooted in a profound sense of betrayal: the elderly scholar was of roughly the same generation as Schmitt, and considered him to be nothing more than a traitor, whose work and very name should be greeted with nothing but contempt.

The students, including myself, were rather irritated by this attitude, and what we took then to be dismissive and shallow criticisms offered up by this scholar, all of which contrasted so strongly against Krzysztof's intellectual honesty and penetrating engagements with the text. At the time I took to heart (and still do) Krzysztof's oft-repeated principle, learned from his own teacher, Hans-Georg Gadamer no less, that one can only truly understand a philosophical position if one first assumes, however temporarily, that it is true. This is not simply a matter of intellectual generosity, but of a necessary act of imagination that is integral to the very dynamic of human understanding. But such understanding is in the end precisely *human*, entangled in the web of human affairs, which means that to pursue it has its risks. In the case of this seminar, the risk flowered into outright hostility, which threatened to undermine the integrity of the exercise.

Reason, Which Hurts

I take the following to be a basic truth, one that I first learned to see as a student of Krzysztof: any commitment to ideas is of one piece with a commitment to the trust, confidence, and respect of others, because real thinking is a potentially dangerous risk. This means that a key part of education must be the conscious cultivation of a willingness to be flexible, forgiving, open to seeing why it is that we argue what we do, believe in what we believe, despite how messy the reasons are. I've tried to be sensitive to this basic truth in my teaching and advising; but it has perhaps proven most valuable when grappling with the many disappointments and contradictions of academic life, as well as keeping the joys and successes in perspective. All the narrowness, pettiness, and absurdity wrought by academic professionalization that Nietzsche mocks so well is still with us, and the university as an idea, a purpose, is I would argue very much in crisis—a crisis that perhaps represents one of the most important challenges we face with regard to the contemporary spiritual world. Yet for all that the game is not up, we should always temper our indignation by realizing that what is at stake in these questions is being experienced in a manifold of very human encounters with the legacy of ideas, with the vocation of the scholar, and with the hopes and desires of each of us—and there is, I

believe, always something of value even in the most limited, passion-ridden, difficult, absurd character of our encounters with one another.

In the end, I believe this is just the kind of awareness that Krzysztof expresses on a more sophisticated philosophical register in his last book, *The Flame of Eternity*, and by extension why Nietzsche became such an important philosopher in his eyes. How else should we read a chapter with the title "Reason, Which Hurts"? This deeply personal book on almost every page expresses the profound urgency of existence, of the potential for life to break free from its fetters, and the pain and suffering that must entail, and not just for the great, for those who seem to be running the world, but for each of us, each life as a being in time, a being weaving together the fragile fabric of the world.

There are of course aspects of Krzysztof's personality, intellectual and otherwise, that I never understood at all. The question of religious faith always represented a certain divide between us, one that sometimes had an impact, never negative but at times ambiguous, on our philosophical relationship. A couple of years ago in conversation I made a comment to the effect that the past is full of forgotten lives, that the overwhelming majority of those who have lived become part of an anonymous mass that constitutes a fundamental feature of the specifically human past. I had meant to say something about the frailty of human existence, of its radical dependence on a capacity to remember that, tragically, cannot possibly succeed, and meant to express with that something of a strange beauty in it all. But here Krzysztof simply rejected the very idea—no one, for him, is ever forgotten; everyone counts, and for all eternity.

The discussion was inconclusive, and dissatisfying, I think for both of us. I remain quite certain that I will be forgotten. But I will always remember Krzysztof Michalski, the *Erzieher*, with the deepest gratitude and respect, and I will miss him as a friend. <

James Dodd is Associate Professor of Philosophy at The New School for Social Research in New York. Currently, he is associated with the ongoing FWF research project "Polemical Christianity: Jan Patočka's Concept of Religion and the Crisis of Modernity" at the IWM directed by Ludger Hagedorn.

Krzysztof Michalski, Founding Rector of the IWM, passed away on February 11, 2013. He was Professor of Philosophy at the Universities of Boston and Warsaw. His last book *The Flame of Eternity* was published by Princeton University Press in 2012. On October 28, 2013, a memorial service and reception was held in celebration of his life and career at Boston University Castle. Some months ago, another commemorative event entitled "Democracy is Controversy Plus Solidarity: In the Absence of Krzysztof Michalski", sponsored by the Austrian Cultural Forum and the Polish Cultural Institute, took place on May 4, 2013, in New York City.

Books, Articles and Talks 05–09 2013

Books by Fellows and Alumni

Vincent Descombes
Die Rätsel der Identität
Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2013.
Rozterki Tożsamości
Warsaw: Kurhaus, 2013.
Les Embarras de l'Identité
Paris: Gallimard, 2013.



Globalisierung und Postmoderne haben Identitäten, seien es individuelle oder kollektive, tiefgreifend erschüttert und unterlaufen. Doch was genau meinen wir mit „Identität“ in Zeiten ihrer Krise? Was sind das „Ich“ und das „Selbst“? Und: Wie kann ein „Ich“ überhaupt zu einem „Wir“ werden? Vincent Descombes, einer der führenden Vertreter der französischen Philosophie, spürte in den IWM Vorlesungen 2010 dem rätselhaften Begriff der Identität und seiner heutigen Bedeutung nach. Die englische Ausgabe erscheint 2014.

Cornelia Klinger (Hg.)
Blindheit und Hellsichtigkeit. Künstlerkritik an Politik und Gesellschaft der Gegenwart
Wiener Reihe, Themen der Philosophie (hg. von Herta Nagl-Docekal, Cornelia Klinger, Ludwig Nagl und Alexander Somek), Bd. 16, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014.



Gegenwärtig findet, nicht zuletzt unter dem Eindruck neuer kommunikationstechnologischer Revolutionen, eine umfassende Ästhetisierung statt, gleichzeitig erlebt gesellschaftskritische, engagierte Kunst einen Boom. Den Fragen, was Kunst jenseits der Illusion ihrer Autonomie von der Gesellschaft in Zukunft sein, welche Stellung sie in der Gesellschaft einnehmen und wie sie diese verändern kann, ist dieses Buch gewidmet.

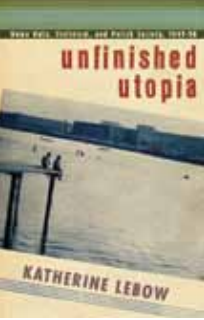
Dieser Band wird gemeinsam mit der zuvor erschienenen Publikation der Wiener Reihe Hegels Ästhetik als Theorie der Moderne (Bd. 17) am 18. März 2014 am IWM vorgestellt.

Friederike Kind-Kovács and **Jessie Labov** (eds.)
Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond. Transnational Media During and After Socialism
New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2013



In many ways what is identified today as “cultural globalization” in Eastern Europe has its roots in the Cold War phenomena of *samizdat* (“do-it-yourself” underground publishing) and *tamizdat* (publishing abroad). This volume offers a new understanding of how information flowed between East and West during the Cold War, as well as the much broader circulation of cultural products instigated and sustained by these practices.

Katherine Lebow
Unfinished Utopia: Nowa Huta, Stalinism, and Polish Society 1949–56, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013.



Unfinished Utopia is a social and cultural history of Nowa Huta, dubbed Poland’s “first socialist city” by Communist propaganda of the 1950s. Focusing on Nowa Huta’s construction and steel workers, youth brigade volunteers, housewives, activists, and architects, Katherine Lebow explores their various encounters with the ideology and practice of Stalinist mobilization. (see p. 8)

Michael Staudigl (ed.)
Phenomenologies of Violence
Studies in Contemporary Phenomenology, Vol. 9, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014.



This volume presents phenomenology as an important method to in-

vestigate violence, its various forms, meanings, and consequences for human existence. On the one hand, it seeks to view violence as a genuine philosophical problem. On the other hand, it provides the reader with accounts on the many faces of violence, ranging from physical, psychic, structural and symbolic violence to forms of social as well as organized violence.

Michael Staudigl and **George Bergugo** (ed.)
Schutzian Phenomenology and Hermeneutic Traditions
Contributions to Phenomenology, Vol. 68, Dordrecht: Springer, 2014.



The essays of this book explore the practical applicability of Schutz’s thoughts on questions regarding economics, literature, ethics and the limits of human understanding. Given its emphasis on the application of Schutzian ideas and concepts, it will be of special interest to a wide range of readers in the social sciences and humanities, who are interested in the application of phenomenology to social, political, and cultural phenomena.

Sergej Danilov
Education as a Limit? The Case of a Roma Teacher [in Slovak], Bratislava: Open Society Foundations, 2013.

Évá Forgács
Ellenfényben / In Back Light. Fehér László. Budapest: Pauker Collections, 2013.

Piotr Nowak
The Signature of the Prince. Some Thoughts on Power and Weakness [in Polish] Warszawa: Biblioteka kwartalnika KRONOS, 2013.

Dragan Prole
Das innere Ausland. Philosophische Reflexion der Romantik [in Serbian] Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 2013.

Barbara Toruńczyk
Eastern European Tales [in Polish] Warsaw: Żeszyty Literackie, 2013.

Jack Russell Weinstein
Adam Smith’s Pluralism. Rationality, Education, and the Moral Sentiments
New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Transit – Europäische Revue

Heft 44 (Herbst 2013)
Verlag Neue Kritik, Frankfurt a.M.

Zukunft der Demokratie
Während sich in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten im Rest der Welt mehr Menschen als je zuvor an demokratischen Wahlen beteiligten, hat in vielen europäischen Ländern die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung den Glauben daran verloren, mit ihrer Stimme etwas bewirken zu können. Hier sinkt die Wahlbeteiligung seit langem, vor allem bei den Unterschichten – eine Entwicklung, die den Zusammenhalt der Gesellschaft gefährdet. Die Beiträge in diesem Heft beschäftigen sich mit der gegenwärtigen Malaise der Demokratie, sie versuchen, Diagnosen zu stellen und machen Therapievor schläge.

Ivan Krastev (Mitherausgeber)
Der Transparenzwahn

Nadia Urbinati
Zwischen Anerkennung und Misstrauen. Repräsentative Demokratie im Zeitalter des Internets

Claus Offe
Zweieinhalb Theorien über den demokratischen Kapitalismus

Sighard Neckel
Die Ordnung des Finanzmarktkapitalismus. Gesellschaftskritik und paradoxe Modernisierung

Jan-Werner Mueller
Anläufe zu einer politischen Theorie des Populismus

Claus Leggewie und **Patrizia Nanz**
Neue Formen der demokratischen Teilhabe – am Beispiel der Zukunftsräte

Pierre Rosanvallon
Gleichheit im Zeitalter der Ungleichheit

Michael Sandel
Solidarität (englische Version auf: www.iwm.at)

Krzysztof Michalski
Patriotismus

Stefan Auer
Das Ende des europäischen Traums

Jiří Pehe
Tschechien: Vom Kommunismus zur Demokratie ohne Demokraten

Jacques Rupnik
Ungarns illiberale Wende

Nilüfer Göle
Gezi Park und die Politik des öffentlichen Raums (englische Version auf: www.iwm.at)

Peter Pomerantsev
Risse in der Kreml-Matrix. Postmoderne Diktatur und Opposition in Russland

Ergänzende Texte auf Tr@nsit online



Charles Taylor
Wieviel Gemeinschaft braucht die Demokratie? (1992)

Steven Beller
Is There a Future for Democracy?

Stawomir Sierakowski
Open Letter to the Parties: Time for the Neo-Dissidents

Ralf Dahrendorf und **Krzysztof Michalski**
Solidarität – Ein Netzwerk von Zugehörigkeiten (2007)

Articles and Talks by Fellows and Guests (05–09 2013)

Clemena Antonova
“Neo-Palamism in the Russian Philosophy of Full Unity: The Icon as Energetic Symbol”, in: *Sobornost’* (incorporating *Eastern Churches Review*), Vol. 34, No. 1, 2013.

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“Between the Medieval Icon and the Modernist Image: The Fourth Dimension and ‘Synthetic Vision’ in Early 20th Century Russia”, Workshop *Word and Image in Russian Contexts: The Legacy of the Russian Avant-garde*, University of Edinburgh, February 1, 2013.

“L’enseignement des arts en Russie soviétique dans la première moitié des

années 1920 et son context institutionnel. Le Cours de Pavel Florensky sur la perspective et l’analyse de l’espace aux Vkhoutemas (1922–1924)”, Séminaire du Labex Créations, arts, patrimoines, Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art, Université Paris I, May 16, 2013.

“Contemporary Debates on the Role of Religion in Modernity”, *Sciences Po Reims*, Reims, April 3, 2013.

Évá Forgács
“Internationalists Spread Thin. The Hungarian Aspect 1920–1922”, in: Hubert van den Berg, Lidia Gluchowska (eds.): *Internationality and Internationalism in the European Avant-Garde in the First Half of the 20th Century*, Leeuven: Peeters, 2013.

“Modernist Magazines, Hungary” (together with Tyrus Miller), in: Peter Brooker, Andrew Thacker, Sacha Bru, Christian Weikop (eds.): *The [Oxford] Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, Vol. 3 (Europe 1880–1940), Part 2, 2013.

„Studios and Secrets. Péter Nádas im Kunsthau Zug“ [in Hungarian], in: *Élet és irodalom*, Budapest, November 23, 2012.

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“Ákos Birkás and Art in Hungary in the 1970s”, Hans Knoll Galerie, Vienna, March 21, 2013.

“Malevich and His Perception West of Russia. A Reception History”, *EURIAS Conference*, Uppsala, April 19, 2013.

Ist die Demokratie in Gefahr?

Über Wege aus der gegenwärtigen Krise der Demokratie diskutieren im neuen Heft von *Transit – Europäische Revue* u.a. Nilüfer Göle, Ivan Krastev, Claus Leggewie / Patrizia Nanz, Jan-Werner Müller, Pierre Rosanvallon, Michael Sandel und Nadia Urbinati.

Zukunft der Demokratie
Transit – Europäische Revue, Nr. 44
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Books, Articles and Talks 05–09 2013

“Berlin, Capital of the 20th Century. Modernism’s Epicenter in the Early 1920s”, special invitation by the Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague, April 24, 2013.

“Deconstructivist Neo-Constructivists in Hungary 1960–1990”, Conference *Illusions Killed by Life: Afterlives of Soviet Constructivism*, Princeton University, May 10, 2013.

“Cultural Transfers. The Reception History of the Russian Avant-Garde West of Russia”, special invitation by the Graduiertenschule für Ost- und Südeuropastudien, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Regensburg, May 17, 2013.

Ludger Hagedorn

“On Brackets and on Being a Marxist-In-A-Certain-Sense”, in: Jean-Luc Nancy, Marcia Sá Cavalcante: *Being With the Without*. *Jean-Luc Nancy in Conversation*, Stockholm: Axl Books, 2013.

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“Solidarity—But whose and for whom?”, Conference *The Solidarity of the Shaken*, organized by the Václav Havel Library, The Center for Phenomenological Studies and the US Embassy, Běhal Fejér Institute, Prague, May 15–16, 2013.

“The Language of Solidarity is a Solidarity of Language”, Public Seminar, Tensta Art Museum, Stockholm, April 25, 2013.

“Quicquid cogitat. On the Uses and Disadvantages of Subjectivity”, Conference *Phenomenology and the Problem of Meaning in Human Life and History*, organized by the Australian Research Council, Academy of Sciences, Prague, April 19–20, 2013.

„Das jüdisch-christliche Erbe in der Geschichtsphilosophie Jan Patočkas“, öffentlicher Abendvortrag, Otto Mauer-Zentrum der Universität Wien, 16. Januar 2013.

Vladislav Inozemtsev

“Economic Relations between the European Union and Russia: Before and after the Crisis” (together with Ekaterina Kuznetsova), in: Joan de Bardeleben, Crina Viju (eds.): *Economic Crisis in Europe: What It Means for the EU and Russia*, Houndmills, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

“Putin’s Self-Destruction. Russia’s New Anti-Corruption Campaign Will Sink the Regime” (together with Ivan Krastev), in: *Foreign Affairs*, June 9, 2013.

“Continent Siberia” (together with Ilya V. Ponomaryov and Vladimir A. Ryzhkov), in: *Russia in Global Affairs*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Jan–Feb 2013.

Cornelia Klinger

„Krise war immer ... Lebenssorge und geschlechtliche Arbeitsteilungen in sozialphilosophischer und kapitalismuskritischer Perspektive“, in: Erna Appelt, Brigitte Aulenbacher, Angelika Wetterer (Hg.): *Gesellschaft – Feministische Krisendiagnosen*. Reihe Forum Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung der Sektion Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung in der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie, Bd. 36, Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2013.

„Die Wiederkehr der erhabenen Natur in Bildern der Gegenwart“, in: Christophe Girot, Albert Kirchengast (Hg.): *Miszellen zur Landschaft*, Zürich: gta Verlag, 2013.

„Für sich selbst sorgen oder Selbsttechnologie? Das Subjekt zwischen liberaler Tradition und Neoliberalismus“, in: Brigitte Aulenbacher, Maria Dammayr (Hg.): *Für sich und andere sorgen: Krise und Zukunft von Care*, Weinheim: Beltz Juventa, 2014.

„Selbst- und Lebenssorge als Gegenstand sozialphilosophischer Reflexionen auf die Moderne“, in: Brigitte Aulenbacher, Birgit Riegraf (Hg.): *Care im Spiegel soziologischer Diskussion. Soziale Welt*, Sonderband 20, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2014.

János Mátyás Kovács

„Tradition, Nachahmung, Erfindung. Neue Kapitalismen in Osteuropa“, in: *Transit* 43, 2013.

“Shooting Sparrows with a Cannon? On the History of Eastern European Economic Thought” (1917–1989) [in Hungarian], in: 2000, May/June 2013.

Ivan Krastev

“It Is Increasingly Difficult to Anticipate the Future of Democracy by Looking Back at Its Past”, in: Piotr Dutkiewicz, Richard Sakwa (eds.): 22 *Ideas to Fix the World. Conversations with the World’s Foremost Thinkers*, New York: University Press, 2013.

“Who Lost Ukraine?”, *Project Syndicate*, December 12, 2013.

“Putin’s Self-Destruction. Russia’s New Anti-Corruption Campaign Will Sink the Regime” (together with Vladislav Inozemtsev), in: *Foreign Affairs*, June 9, 2013.

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“Nightmares, Dreams and Security Challenges in the Balkans”, *EU, Russia and Turkey—Security Trends and Challenges in the Balkans*, Bruno Kreisky Forum, Vienna, September 23–25, 2013.

“The Future of Power: More Actors, More Options, More Constraints”, Seminar *Empowering Europe’s Future*, FRIDE and Chatham House, Brussels, September 6, 2013.

“The Future of Europe”, *Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance*, ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius and the Heinz Nixdorf Stiftung, Berlin, August 23, 2013.

“Europe for the Young: Building Reliable Roadmaps”, *Europe Joins Croatia*, Zagreb, June 28, 2013.

Imploding Balkans—Exploding Middle East. How to Frame Security Challenges, Nightmares and Dreams, Bruno Kreisky Forum, Vienna, June 17, 2013.

“Is Democracy Possible Without Trust?”, Forum des 100, Lausanne, May 23, 2013.

“Western Democracy in Crisis at Home: Implications Abroad”, Transatlantic Academy Event, Robert Bosch Stiftung, Berlin, May 16, 2013.

“Power and Personality”, *Golitzino Seminar*, Moscow School of Political Studies, Golitzino, April 25–26, 2013.

“Orbán’s Hungary: How Far from Liberal Democracy?”, Conference *Radical Politics: Hungary, Poland, Europe*, The Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw, April 8–9, 2013.

Moran Pearl

“Memory and Memorialization in Germany after 1945 and their Embodiment in the Monument Discourse”, Deutsch-französisch-polnische Sommerschule, Paris, July 7–14, 2013.

“The ‘Counter-Monument’ and the ‘Vanishing Monument’: On the Germans’ Conflicts with their Past”, DAAD Nachwuchskonferenz *Die deutsche Vergangenheit und das europäische Gedächtnis: Diktatur und Demokratie im 21. Jahrhundert*, Institute for German Studies, University of Birmingham, July 24–26, 2013.

Anton Shekhovtsov

“From Para-Militarism to Radical Right-Wing Populism: The Rise of the Ukrainian Far-Right Party Svoboda”, in: Ruth Wodak, Brigitte Mral, Majid Khosravini (eds.): *Right Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.

“The ‘Orange Revolution’ and the ‘Sacred’ Birth of a Civic-Republican Ukrainian Nation”, in: *Nationalities Papers*, 2013.

“Controlling All Alien Ethnic-Racial Groups”? Radical Right in Ukraine [in Ukrainian], in: *Kultura Liberalna*, No. 218, March 12, 2013.

“After Scandals and Delays, the National Socialist Underground Trial Finally Starts in Munich”, in: *Searchlight*, No. 453, May 2013.

“Out of Harm’s Way”, in: *Open Democracy*, June 7, 2013.

“The Ukrainian Extreme Right Seen From Inside and Out”, in: *IWMpost*, No. 111, June 2013.

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“The All-Ukrainian Union ‘Svoboda’ at the 2012 Parliamentary Elections: A Longing for a Nationalising State”, Conference *Russian and Ukrainian Nationalism: Entangled Histories*, Hariman Institute, Columbia University, New York, April 22–23, 2013.

“The Ukrainian Extreme Right”, Expert Meeting of the Editorial Board of *Fascism: Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies* (Brill), NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam, April 26, 2013.

“Historical and Contemporary Forms of Ukrainian Nationalism”, Doktoratskolleg Galizien, University of Vienna, June 6, 2013.

Marci Shore

“Out of the Desert: A Heidegger for Poland”, in: *The Times Literary Supplement*, August 2, 2013.

“The Banality of Merkel”, in: *Foreign Affairs*, May 29, 2013.

“Homeless People in a Shattered World”, Hannah Arendt on the Jewish Question [in Polish], in: *Gazeta Wyborcza, Magazyn święteczny*, April 26, 2013.

“The Jewish Hero History Forgot”, in: *The New York Times*, April 19, 2013; reprinted in the *International Herald Tribune*, April 20, 2013, and the *National Post*, April 23, 2013.

Introduction to the Polish translation of Tony Judt: *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals 1944–1956*, transl. by Paweł Marczewski, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 2013.

Review of Barbara Toruńczyk: *Żywe cienie* [Living Shadows], in: *The Times Literary Supplement*, February 8, 2013.

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“The Afterlife of Totalitarianism—Or, ‘The Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life’”, Third Annual Interdisciplinary Summer School for Graduate Students *Memory and Affect*, Baranów Sandomierski, Poland, July 2, 2013.

“Phenomenology in East-Central Europe: ‘Friendshipology’—or an Attempt at a History of Encounters”, University of Regensburg, June 19, 2013.

“Living in Truth: A Philosophical History of a Catastrophic Time”, Keynote Lecture at the Annual Conference of the Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena *Catastrophe and Utopia: Central and Eastern European Intellectual Horizons, 1933 to 1958*, Budapest, June 13, 2013.

“Phenomenological Encounters: Scenes from Central Europe”, Yale University, April 17 / *The Europe Center*, Stanford University, March 14 / University of Virginia, Charlottesville, March 1, 2013.

“Remembering Tony Judt”, Discussion with Krzysztof Czyżewski, Timothy Snyder, and Barbara Toruńczyk, Kawiarnia “Piosenka o porcelanie”, Krasnogruda, Borderlands Foundation, August 6, 2013.

Timothy Snyder

Translations of *Bloodlands: Eastern Europe between Hitler and Stalin* [Czech/Paseka; Hungarian/Park; Belarusian/Medisont; Georgian/Radarami; Slovak: Premedia], 2013.

Polish Translation of *Thinking the Twentieth Century* (together with Tony Judt), Rebis, 2013.

Introduction to Barbara Toruńczyk: *Eastern European Tales*, Warsaw: Fundacja Zeszytów Literackich, 2013.

Several Articles about the Ukrainian Protests, in: *The New York Review of Books Blog*, 2013/2014 (see p. 7).

“In the Cage, Trying to Get Out”, in: *The New York Review of Books*, October 24, 2013.

“Putting the Khatyn Massacres Into Fiction”, in: *The Times Literary Supplement*, July 17, 2013.

„Das Bild ist größer, als man denkt. Eine Antwort auf manche Kritiken an Bloodlands“, in: *Journal of Modern European History*, 11, No. 1, 2013.

“L’Europe centrale prise entre deux terreurs”, in: *L’Esprit*, February 2013.

“The Problem of Commemorative Causality in the Holocaust”, in: *Modernism/Modernity*, February 2013.

Kristina Stoeckl

“Orthodox Theology and Liberal Values: The Human Rights Debate in the Russian Orthodox Church”, Third Solon and Marianna Patterson Triennial Conference on Orthodox-Catholic Relations *Christianity, Democracy, and the Shadow of Constantine*, Fordham University, New York, June 11–13, 2013.

Marius Tatar

“From Partisanship to Abstention: Changing Types of Electoral Behavior in a New Democracy”, in: *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, May 2013.

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Presentation and Review of Kozma T., Bernath K. (eds.): “Higher Education in the Romania-Hungary Cross-Border Cooperation Area”, International Conference of Teacher Education in Central and Eastern Europe, TECERN, Debrecen, June 14, 2013.

Charles Taylor

“Retrieving Realism”, in: Joseph K. Schear (ed.): *Mind, Reason, and Being-in-the-World: The McDowell-Dreyfus Debate*, Oxon/New York: Routledge, 2013.

“Interculturalism or Multiculturalism?”, in: *Reset—Dialogues on Civilizations* (Reset-DoC), June 24, 2013.

Italian Translation of *Laïcité et liberté de conscience*, transl. by Federica Giardini, Roma: Laterza, 2013.

Asiedu, F.: “Theology in a Subjunctive Mood: Reflections on Charles Taylor’s ‘A Secular Age’”, in: *Scottish Journal of Theology* 66, No. 2, May 2013.

Blakely, Jason: “Returning to the Interpretive Turn: Charles Taylor and His Critics”, in: *Review of Politics* 75, No. 3, June 2013.

Carnevale, Franco: “Charles Taylor, Hermeneutics and Social Imaginaries: A Framework for Ethics Research”, in: *Nursing Philosophy* 14, No. 2, 2013.

Fisher-Høyrem, Stefan: “Charles Taylor and Political Religion: Overlapping Concerns and Points of Tension”, in: *Religion Compass* 7, No. 8, August 2013.

Barbara Toruńczyk

Reviews of Timothy Snyder: *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, [Polish] in: *Zeszyty Literackie*, No. 122 / [Lithuanian] in: *Šiaurės Atėnai*, July 2013.

Essay on Activities at the IWM, in: *Zeszyty Literackie*, No. 122, 2013.

“Teachings of Jerzy Giedroyc” [in Lithuanian], in: *Literatūra ir menas*, July 2013.

“Biography of the ‘68 Generation” [in Polish], in: *Przegląd Polityczny*, August 2013.

Commemorative Essay on Czesław Miłosz, in: *Obecność. Wspomnienia o Miłoszu*, Warsaw, PWN, 2013.

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“Remembering Miłosz”, Meeting with Małgorzata Czermińska, Marci Shore, Andrzej Kasperek, Timothy Snyder, Krzysztof Czyżewski, Krasnogruda, Ośrodek Pogranicze, August 14, 2013.

Presentation and Discussion of *Żywe cienie*, Muzeum Gałczyńskiego-Leśniczówka Pranie, August 8 / Krasnogruda, Ośrodek Pogranicze, August 12, 2013.

Manuel Tröster

“Roman Politics and the Whims of the Crowd: The Plebs Contionalis Revisited”, in: *Latomus* 72, 2013.

Stilian Yotov

Translation of Jürgen Habermas: *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Paul Celan Translation Program) Sofia: Saint Kliment Ohridski UP, 2013.

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„What Does it Mean to Be a Person in Moral and in Law” [in Bulgarian], in: V. Dramalieva, E. Marinova (eds.): *Ethics in the Bulgarian Juridical System*, Sofia: UNSS UP, 2013.

“Kant and the Grounds of Social Policy” [in Bulgarian], in: D. Deyanov, T. Karamelska, Sv. Sabeva, H. Todorov (eds.): *The Foreigner and the Everyday Life*, Sofia: NBU UP, 2013.

“Human Dignity in Medicine”, Review in: *Sociological Problems*, Vol. 3–4, 2013.

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„70 Jahre Kampf der Interpretationen“, Konferenz *Gedächtnis und Zukunft*, Viadrina Frankfurt a.d. Oder, 20.–23. Juni 2013.

“Human Dignity and Self Respect”, Conference *Bioethics in Context II*, Rethimno, Crete, August 31–September 8, 2013.

Olesya Zakhorova

“In Different Languages” [in Russian], in: *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, March 25, 2013.

“A Linguistic Look at Russia’s Human Rights Record”, in: *The Moscow Times*, April 9, 2013.

Human Rights Discourse and Russian-European Relations [in Russian], in: *Polis*, July 2013.

Fellows and Guests 05–09 2013

Clemena Antonova
Lise Meitner Visiting Fellow
(June 2011–May 2013)

Lecturer in Art History and Theory, American University in Bulgaria, Blagoevgrad

Pavel Florensky and the Nature of Russian Religious Philosophy

Szilard Borbely
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow
(September–December 2013)

Associate Professor of Hungarian Literature, University of Debrecen

Klaus-Michael Bogdal: Europa erfindet die Zigeuner (German > Hungarian)

Tamara Čarāuš
EURIAS Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2012–June 2013)

Researcher, New Europe College, Bucharest

Democracy and Dissent: From Czech Dissidence to Radical Democracy

Egin Ceka
Guest (July–August 2013)

Political Scientist, Vienna

Religionspolitik und Staatsatheismus in Albanien 1944–1990

Paolo Costa
Visiting Fellow (May–June 2013)

Director, Higher Institute for Religious Studies (CSSR); Permanent researcher, Fondazione Bruno Kessler, Trento

The Secular Age and the Axial Age: Continuities and Discontinuities

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

Maria Dammayr
Guest (September 2013)

Research Fellow, Institute for Sociology, Johannes Kepler University Linz

Leistung und Gerechtigkeit in der Selbst- und Fürsorge. Eine deutsch-österreichische Studie zur Arbeit in der Altenpflege

Aleš Debeljak
Robert Bosch Senior Visiting Fellow (July–December 2013)

Professor of Cultural Studies, University of Ljubljana

Writers of Yutlantis: Post-Yugoslav Literature and the “Common Cultural Space”

James Dodd
Project Associate (June–July 2013)

Associate Professor of Philosophy, New School for Social Research, New York

Europe, Critique, and Religious Life. Jan Patočka’s Reflections on Christianity

Éva Forgács
EURIAS Senior 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 Leader
(December 2010–June 2014)

Lecturer in Philosophy, New York University, Berlin

Polemical Christianity. Jan Patočka’s Concept of Religion and the Crisis 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

Anнемieke Hendriks
Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow (April–June 2013)

Freelance journalist, Berlin

Biography of the Tomato. Doing Business with Fresh Vegetables in Europe

Mariya Ivancheva
Tsvetan Stoyanov Junior Visiting Fellow (July–December 2013)

PhD candidate in Sociology, Central European University, Budapest

Alternative Higher Education: A Case or a Cause?

Katherine Lebow
Visiting Fellow (April–July 2013)

Historian, Vienna

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

Mark Lilla
Guest (June 2013)

Professor of Humanities, Columbia University

Agata Anna Lisiak
EURIAS Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2013–June 2014)

Postdoctoral Researcher, TRANSFORMIG, Institute of Sociology, Humboldt Universität Berlin; Lecturer, Bard College, Berlin

The Image of Woman in Visual Representations of Revolution: From the French Revolution to Occupy Wall Street

Matthew Maguire
Junior Visiting Fellow
(September 2013–June 2014)

PhD candidate in Political Science, Boston University

From Private Regulation to Public Policy: The Case of Corporate Non-Financial Reporting

Ewa Majewska
Bronisław Geremek Senior Visiting Fellow
(September 2013–June 2014)

Lecturer in Gender Studies, University of Warsaw

The Notion of Political Solidarity within Contemporary Polish Social and Political Theories Dedicated to Post-“Solidarność” History

Svetla Marinova
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow
(August–October 2013)

Associate Professor, St. Kliment Ohridski University, Sofia

Boris Buden: Zone des Übergangs. Vom Ende des Postkommunismus (German > Bulgarian)

Moran Pearl
Junior Visiting Fellow
(November 2012–May 2013)

MA student in the Austrian Studies Program, Hebrew University Jerusalem

Books and Libraries as Witnesses of the Holocaust: Monuments in Vienna, Berlin and Jerusalem

Claire Perryman-Holt
Guest (July 2013)

PhD candidate in Philosophy, Pantheon-Sorbonne University, Paris

The Question of History: Patočka as Reader of Heidegger.

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–October 2013)

Historian, Institute of Culture Studies and Theatre History, Vienna

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

Krisztina Racz
Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow (July–December 2013)

PhD candidate in Balkan Studies, University of Ljubljana

Discourses and Practices of Multiculturalism: Hungarian Youth in Vojvodina and Prekmurje

Mykola Riabchuk
EURIAS Senior Visiting Fellow (September 2013–June 2014)

Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Political and Nationalities’ Studies, Academy of Sciences, Kyiv

Muddling through in a Grey Zone: Divergent Trajectories of the Hybrid Regimes after Communism

Christian Rogler
Junior Visiting Fellow, Austrian Academy of Sciences (January–June 2013)

PhD candidate in Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna

Kultur- und Sozialanthropologische Wissensproduktion und -vermittlung im Kontext der neoliberalen Wissensgesellschaft

Katarzyna Sadkowska
Bronisław Geremek Senior Visiting Fellow (October 2012–July 2013)

Assistant Professor of Polish and German Philology, University of Warsaw

The ‘Critical’ Lviv in Relation to Vienna, 1895–1914

Ralph Schoellhammer
Guest (September 2013)

PhD candidate in Political Science, University of Kentucky, Lexington

Mikhail Semenov
Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Fellow (January–June 2013)

Senior teacher of Russian History, Belgorod National Research University

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

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

Visiting Research Fellow, University of Northampton

The Ideology of Ukrainian Nationalists in the European Context

Marci Shore
Visiting Fellow
(June 2013–August 2014)

Associate Professor of History, Yale University

Phenomenological Encounters: Scenes from Central Europe

Volodymyr Sklokin
Junior Visiting Fellow
(September 2013–June 2014)

Assistant Professor of History, Eastern Ukrainian Branch of the International Solomon University, Kharkiv

The Social Relevance of History in Poland, Russia and Ukraine in a Comparative Context (1989–2012)

Aleksander Smolar
Guest (May 2013)

Political Scientist; Chairman of the Board, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw

Nathalie Smolenski
Józef Tischner Junior Visiting Fellow (July–December 2013)

PhD pre-candidate in Anthropology and History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

‘Christian Europe’: The Legacy of John Paul II’s National-European Political Theology in Contemporary Poland

Matthew Specter
Visiting Fellow
(September–December 2013)

Associate Professor of History, Central Connecticut State University

Wilhelm Grewe: Envisioning World Order in the 1930s and 1940s

Ovidiu Stanciu
Guest (July 2013)

PhD Candidate in Philosophy, Universities of Burgundy and Wuppertal

Kristina Stoeckl
Visiting Fellow, Austrian Academy of Sciences
(March–June 2013)

Department of Political Science, University of Vienna

Orthodox Christianity and Politics: Multiple Secularisms, Liberal Norms and Traditional Religion

Marius Ioan Tatar
Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow
(July–December 2013)

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Oradea

Democracy without Engagement: The Roots and Patterns of Political Participation in Post-Communist South-Eastern Europe

Katalin Teller
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow
(February–July 2013)

Assistant Professor, Department of Aesthetics, Institute for Art Theory and Media Studies, ELTE, Budapest

Theodor W. Adorno: Ästhetische Theorie (German > Hungarian)

Barbara Toruńczyk
Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow (April–June 2013)

Editor-in-chief, *Zeszyty Literackie*, Warsaw

Zeszyty Literackie: Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going? Or: The Autobiography of the Mind

Nelia Vakhovska
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow
(July–September 2013)

Freelance translator and editor, Kyiv

Boris Buden: Zone des Übergangs. Vom Ende des Postkommunismus (German > Ukrainian)

Anton Vodiany
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow
(April–June 2013)

Freelance translator, Kyiv

Edward Said: Humanism and Democratic Criticism (English > Ukrainian)

Ioana Miruna Voiculescu
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow
(July–September 2013)

Freelance translator, Bucharest

Michael Stewart: The Time of the Gypsies (English > Romanian)

Nicolas de Warren
Guest (September 2013)

Professor of Philosophy, University of Leuven

Homecoming: Jan Patočka and the 1st World War

Karolina Wigura
Bronisław Geremek Junior Visiting Fellow
(September 2012–June 2013)

Adjunct of History of Ideas, University of Warsaw; Co-editor, *Kultura Liberalna*

Politics of Fear in Post-Communist Countries. The Cases of Poland, Ukraine, and the Former GDR

Gregory Winger
Junior Visiting Fellow
(September 2013–June 2014)

PhD candidate in Political Science, Boston University

Changing Norms of Political Violence in Intrastate Disputes

Olesya Zakharova
Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Fellow
(January–June 2013)

Senior Lecturer in Law, Irkutsk State University

Human Rights in Russian Society and Russian-European Relations

Fellows and Guests

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 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.

Fundings and Awards

The work of the IWM and its late founder, **Krzysztof Michalski**, received both recognition and reward in November 2013 as Austrian, Polish and Czech ministries committed to funding the Institute's activities in the coming years. On 11 November 2013, the Austrian Minister for Science and Research, **Dr Karlheinz Töchterle**, and his Polish colleague, **Dr Barbara Kudrycka**, attended a ceremony at the IWM to sign a memorandum of understanding for funding the Institute annually with 750,000 Euros each from 2014 to 2016. The money is intended to signal both governments' commitment to strengthen their co-operation in support of international and European research in the humanities and social sciences.

"In the 30 years of its existence, the IWM has developed into a well-respected institute with an international reputation", Karlheinz Töchterle said at the ceremony. He emphasized that "it is partly thanks to the work of the IWM and its founder Krzysztof Michalski [...]

that Vienna was able to establish itself as an intellectual center linking East and West." The minister warmly thanked the Republic of Poland and his Polish colleague Dr Kudrycka for their generous contribution to the funding of the Institute. Dr Kudrycka in her speech emphasized the importance of fellowship programs enabling international mobility, in particular for young researchers at the beginning of their careers: "[Such fellowships] can be awarded to young researchers who, like Prof. Michalski himself, promote the idea of an open and tolerant individual in a modern society with their knowledge and research, and who, through intelligent and scholarly debate, help to overcome social tensions and contradictions." Since its foundation in 1982, the IWM has hosted over 1000 scholars and researchers from all over the world, a significant proportion of which came from Poland. On behalf of the Institute, Acting Rector **Cornelia Klinger** and Permanent Fellow **Timothy Snyder** thanked both ministries for their generous support. It will enable the Institute to develop its activities and in particular to offer additional fellowships.

Furthermore, the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs has committed to funding Jan Patočka Fellowships for Czech scholars, to enable senior and junior academics to spend time at the IWM on research related to the work of the Czech philosopher and civil rights activist. The IWM has housed a Jan Patočka archive since its foundation, and has hosted many scholars and projects in its research focus on "The Philosophical Work of Jan Patočka" which aims to make his thought more accessible and better-known to non-Czech audiences, since 1990 also in cooperation with the Prague Patočka Archive.

The support coming from Poland and the Czech Republic honors the IWM's contribution in rebuilding civil society and academic life in both countries after 1989. These additional resources, on top of the long-standing Austrian support, will enable the Institute to do even more to fulfill its European mission of fostering international exchange and debate.

This year's *Frauen-Lebenswerk-Preis* (Women's Lifetime Achievement Award) of the Austrian Federal Minister for Women and Public Administration has been awarded to the philosopher and IWM Acting Rector, **Cornelia Klinger**. The jury justified this award in its announcement with reference to Cornelia Klinger's excellent and important scholarly contributions to feminist research and theory in Vienna over the last decades.

Timothy Snyder was the recipient of this year's Hannah-Arendt-Prize for Political Thought, awarded annually by the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung and the City of Bremen. The prize honors people who, in word or action, make significant contributions to public political debates. Snyder's book on the *Bloodlands. Eastern Europe between Hitler and Stalin* "opened up a forgotten and repressed chapter of European history", according to the awarding jury.

In June 2013, **Charles Taylor** gave the Unseld Lecture and Interdisciplinary Masterclass at the Eberhard Karls Universität, Tübingen. The Unseld Lecture is dedicated to interdisciplinary exchange across disciplinary boundaries, and between academia and society. The theme of Professor Taylor's lecture was "Religion and Secularism in Modern Democracies".

Sabrina Krzyszka, currently on maternity leave, gave birth to her second daughter, **Laila Solei**, on October 16. Warmest congratulations to the parents and the proud older sister!

We are happy that **Klaus Hoffelner** joined the IWM as janitor in June 2013 to keep the Institute's facilities in good working order.

Mikołaj Kunicki, who was a Józef Tischner Visiting Fellow at the IWM in 2005/2006, joined St. Antony's College, University of Oxford as Senior Research Fellow in Polish Studies and Director of its Program on Modern Poland in July 2013. We wish him all the best for his new position.



Furthermore, we congratulate **Mariya Ivancheva**, who was a Tsvetan Stoyanov Fellow at the IWM from July to December 2013, for successfully defending her doctoral thesis in Sociology and Social Anthropology at the Central Eastern University, Budapest.

Karlheinz Töchterle, Barbara Kudrycka, Cornelia Klinger, Artur Lorkowski



Hannah-Arendt-Prize laureate Timothy Snyder



Cornelia Klinger being awarded the Frauen-Lebenswerk-Preis 2013



Unseld Lecture 2013 by Charles Taylor

Photos: IWM, Patrick Gerstorfer

Upcoming Events 02–04 2014

February



The Idea of Political Representation. Reconstructing the Conceptual Frame

Kinga Marulewska
PhD candidate in Political Science, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, Junior Visiting Fellow at the IWM
During the past years, the political representation of women and minorities has been the subject of numerous studies. Instead of discussing contemporary definitions and visions Kinga Marulewska explores in her talk the historical origins of the concept of representation.



Ist die Moderne wirklich ein Vorgang der Entzauberung?

Markus Gabriel
Direktor, Internationales Zentrum für Philosophie, Universität Bonn
Max Webers Formel von der Entzauberung der Welt hat sich wie ein Lauffeuer verbreitet. Dabei wird sie meistens als eine These über die Moderne missverstanden. Daher plädiert Markus Gabriel in seinem Vortrag für eine Philosophie der Soziologie, die einen aktualisierten Begriff von „Ideologie“ ins Zentrum rückt.

March



Rediscovering the Umma. Muslims in the Balkans between Nationalism and Transnationalism

Ina Merdjanova
Senior Researcher and Adjunct Assistant Professor, Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College Dublin
After 1989, Islam reappeared as an important social and political factor in the Balkans. In her talk, Ina Merdjanova argues that transnational Islamic influences in the region often reinforced Muslim ethno-national identities rather than prompting a radical redefinition of religious allegiances in the key of a “universalist” Islam.



The Taste of Ashes. The Afterlife of Totalitarianism in Eastern Europe

Marci Shore
Associate Professor of History, Yale University
In Conversation with: Martin Pollack
Writer, journalist and translator
The Taste of Ashes spans from Berlin to Moscow, moving from Vienna in Europe’s west through Prague, Bratislava, Warsaw 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.



Driften Europa und Amerika auseinander?

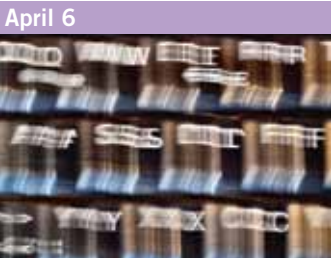
Martin Schulz
EU-Parlamentspräsident; SP-Europawahl-Spitzenkandidat
Hans-Christian Ströbele
Grüner Bundestagsabgeordneter
Werner Weidenfeld
Professor für Politikwissenschaft; ehemaliger deutsch-amerikanischer Regierungsberater
Das Verhältnis zwischen Europa und den USA ist nicht mehr so eng, wie es in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten war. Haben Differenzen im Zusammenhang mit dem NSA-Abhörskandal und der Finanzkrise das Verhältnis nachhaltig gestört? Gibt es noch gemeinsame sicherheitspolitische Interessen? Und was verbindet die beiden Kontinente heute noch?



Enlightenment Obscured? On Legacies and Pitfalls of Rationalism

Philipp Blom
Historian, novelist, journalist and translator
Despite recent attempts at recasting it as a plural phenomenon, “the Enlightenment” has been the subject of intense criticism. Approaching the reception of the Enlightenment from the perspective of the history of ideas, it appears that its central flaw may not be that it has become too absolute, but that it has never been taken to its conclusion.

April



Die Zerstörung des Wissens

Diskussion in englischer Sprache.
Details werden rechtzeitig bekanntgegeben.



Ukraine between EU and Russia—Dangers and Opportunities

Alexey Miller
Visiting Professor, Central European University, Budapest; Senior Research Fellow, Russian Academy of Sciences
In 2013, Ukraine became the object of a zero-sum game between the EU and Russia. This talk will focus on two potential and interrelated dangers which may become imminent—the possibility of the disintegration of Ukraine, and the growth of Russian irredentist nationalism. It will also discuss the possible role of the EU in preventing the negative scenario.

Fellows' Seminars

In the course of the semester, Junior and Senior Visiting Fellows present their research projects in the Fellows' Seminars.

Monthly Lectures

Once a month, public lectures take place in the IWM library on subjects related to the main research fields of the Institute.

Colloquia on Secularism

This seminar series explores the complex processes of secularization in relation to religious traditions.

Debates at the Burgtheater

The series *Debating Europe*, jointly organized by Burgtheater, ERSTE Foundation and Der Standard, brings leading politicians, scholars and intellectuals together on-stage to discuss pressing questions of European relevance.

Books in Perspective

Books written or edited by fellows or related to the Institute's research fields are presented to a wider public.

This is just a small selection of events—a complete list of all upcoming lectures, seminars and debates can be found on: www.iwm.at/events

Call for Applications: Fellowships 2014/15

The majority of IWM fellowships are awarded in open competition, involving calls for application and evaluation by expert juries. Research proposals are currently invited for the following programs. Further details on www.iwm.at/fellowship-programs



Junior Visiting Fellowships for Scholars from Ukraine

Deadline: February 15, 2014



Milena Jesenská Fellowships for Journalists

Deadline: February 15, 2014



Bronisław Geremek Fellowships

Deadline: February 15, 2014



Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Fellowships

Deadline: February 28, 2014



Paul Celan Fellowships for Translators

Deadline: March 1, 2014