



Miloš Vec

I Wanna Hold
Your Hand

Jan-Werner Müller

A Majority of ‘Deplorables’?

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Madder Than
You Think

Mark Lilla

The Shipwrecked
Mind

Jürgen Habermas

Geburtstagsbrief
an Charles Taylor

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Editorial

Wir leben in einem reaktionären Zeitalter, konstatiert der US-amerikanische Ideenhistoriker **Mark Lilla**. Der Optimismus der vergangenen Jahrzehnte ist einer Politik der Angst, Wut und Aggression gewichen. Das Versprechen, das eigene Land zu alter Größe zurückzuführen, hat Populisten wie Donald Trump stark gemacht. Der Politikwissenschaftler **Jan-Werner Müller** geht der Frage nach, welche Auswirkungen Trumps Sieg für die Demokratie und den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt in den USA haben wird. Ein Schwerpunkt anlässlich des Weltfrauentags 2016 versammelt Beiträge von **María do Mar Castro Varela**, **Elisabeth Holzleithner**, **Shalini Randeria**, **Katha Pollitt** und **Mieke Verloo**, die aufzeigen, wie sehr Frauenrechte durch den Vormarsch radikaler und antipluralistischer Kräfte heute gefährdet sind. IWM Permanent Fellow und Rechtshistoriker **Miloš Vec** greift in diesem Zusammenhang die Debatte rund um den verweigerten Handschlag auf, der das komplexe Verhältnis zwischen unterschiedlichen Begrüßungskonventionen, geschlechtlichen Rollenbildern und rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen kritisch beleuchtet.

Wie ein friedliches Zusammenleben verschiedener Kulturen und Religionen in einer pluralistischen Gesellschaft funktionieren kann, ist auch der Gegenstand von **Charles Taylors** Forschung. Anlässlich seines 85. Geburtstags enthält die aktuelle Ausgabe neben einem Interview mit dem mehrfach ausgezeichneten Philosophen auch ein persönliches Gratulationsschreiben von **Jürgen Habermas**.

Das erste Vienna Humanities Festival, das mit 40 Veranstaltungen an einem Wochenende im September erfolgreich über die Bühne gegangen ist, machte zudem deutlich, wie wichtig Dialogbereitschaft und eine offene Gesprächskultur sind, um zentrale Herausforderungen unserer Zeit wie die Aufnahme und Integration von Flüchtlingen zu bewältigen. Das unterstrich auch der indische Globalisierungstheoretiker **Arjun Appadurai**, der beim Festival ebenso zu Wort kam wie die Historikerin **Holly Case**. In ihrem Beitrag geht es um das Konzept der Unzurechnungsfähigkeit sowie dessen Auswirkungen auf Politik und Rechtsprechung.

Zwei weitere Aufsätze dieser Ausgabe sind dem Thema Kommunikation gewidmet. Während der ukrainische Schriftsteller **Serhiy Zhadan** die Auswirkungen von Krieg auf die Sprache thematisiert, analysieren die beiden russischen Investigativjournalisten **Irina Borogan** und **Andrei Soldatov** die Pläne des Kreml, bei der Überwachung des Internets zukünftig verstärkt mit China zusammenzuarbeiten. ◀

According to the the US American intellectual historian **Mark Lilla**, we live in a reactionary age. The optimism of the last decades has given way to the politics of anger, despair, and resentment. The promise to make one's country 'great again' is drawing disenchanted voters to populists like Trump. Political scientist **Jan-Werner Müller** examines the likely impact of Trump's victory on democracy and social cohesion in the US. Women's rights, too, are under threat by the rise of radical and anti-pluralist forces, as the contributions by **María do Mar Castro Varela**, **Elisabeth Holzleithner**, **Shalini Randeria**, **Katha Pollitt** and **Mieke Verloo** on the occasion of the International Women's Day 2016 make clear. In this context of a return to more authoritarian social norms, IWM Permanent Fellow and legal historian **Miloš Vec** examines the debate on the refusal to shake hands by analysing the complex relations between different cultural conventions, gender roles, and legal frameworks.

How diverse cultures and religions can live together peacefully in a pluralist society has been **Charles Taylor's** research topic for many years. On the occasion of his 85th birthday, the present issue contains an interview with the distinguished philosopher, as well as a personal congratulatory letter from **Jürgen Habermas**.

The successful first Vienna Humanities Festival, turned the Karlsplatz into an urban salon and attracted nearly 3000 visitors to its 40 free events on a weekend in September. It highlighted the importance of open discussion and dialogue in the overcoming of the key challenges of our age, such as the admission and integration of refugees. This point was also made by the Indian globalization theorist **Arjun Appadurai** who was a speaker at the festival, as was the historian **Holly Case**, whose contribution critically examined the history of the 'insanity defence' and not just its legal, but also its political dimensions. Two further essays are devoted to the issue of communication. Whereas the Ukrainian writer **Serhiy Zhadan** discusses the effects of war on language, the two Russian investigative journalists **Irina Borogan** and **Andrei Soldatov** analyse the Kremlin's plans for close future cooperation with China in the field of internet surveillance. ◀

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The Shipwrecked Mind

BY MARK LILLA

We live in an age when the tragicomic nostalgia of Don Quixote for a lost golden age has been transformed into a potent and sometimes deadly weapon, writes Mark Lilla, one of America's foremost intellectuals, in his new book. The revolutionary spirit that inspired political movements across the world for two centuries may have died out. But the spirit of reaction that rose to meet it has survived and is proving just as formidable a historical force.

Hope, said the philosopher Francis Bacon, is a good breakfast, but an ill supper.¹ Only a quarter century ago, hope was an active force in world politics. The Cold War ended peacefully and despite ethnic war in the Balkans functioning constitutional democracies took root in Eastern Europe. The European Union was formally established and membership was steadily extended eastward. Politicians and commentators spoke confidently of “transitions to democracy” in states around the globe. Economies were deregulated and free trade agreements were approved. China opened up and India became more prosperous. The Oslo accords between Israel and the Palestinians were signed, and Nelson Mandela became president of South Africa after spending three decades in prison.

Do we even remember what hope looked like? Today politics worldwide is being driven instead by anger, despair, and resentment. And, above all, nostalgia. “Make X Great Again” is the demagogic slogan of our time, and not just in the United States. What is political Islamism but the violent translation of a fantasy of return, in this case to an imagined era of religious purity and military might? Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan succeeds by spreading a Turkish version of it, invoking the grandeur of the Ottomans. Prime Minister Narendra Modi made his career by propagating Hindutva, a fanciful Hindu nationalism that extols Indian civilization before the arrival of Muslims. Far-right parties across Europe traffic in similar imagined pasts. We can measure how far we have come since 1989 by the fact that both Russian president Vladimir Putin and Chinese president Xi Jinping now garner support by appealing to symbols of the glorious Communist era.

We live in a reactionary age. Revolutionaries traffic in hope. They believe, and wish others to believe, that a radical break with the past is possible and that it will inaugurate a new era of human experience. Reactionaries believe that such a break has already occurred and has been disastrous. While to the untrained eye the river of time seems to flow as it always has, the reactionary sees the debris of paradise drifting past his eyes. He is time's exile. The revolutionary sees the radiant future and it electrifies him. The reactionary sees the past in all its splendor and he too is electrified. He feels himself in a strong position because he is the guardian of what actually happened, not the prophet of what



Popular Front, Paris 1936

To live a modern life anywhere in the world today is to experience the psychological equivalent of permanent revolution.

might be. This explains the strangely exhilarating despair that courses through reactionary literature and political rhetoric, the palpable sense of mission. As the editors of the right-leaning magazine *National Review* put it in its very first issue, the mission is to “stand athwart history, yelling Stop!” Barricades come in many forms.

Reactionaries are not conservatives. This is the first thing to be understood about them. Conservatives have always seen society as a kind

of inheritance we receive and are responsible for. This means, contrary to liberal thinking, that our obligations take priority over our rights. But it also means that we are the medium through which society changes, as it is always doing. The healthiest way to bring about change, the conservative believes, is through consultation and slow transformations in custom and tradition, not by announcing bold reform programs or defending supposedly inalienable individual rights. But the conserva-

tive is also reconciled to the fact that history never stands still and that we are only passing through. Conservatism seeks to instill the humble thought that history moves us forward, not the other way around. And that radical attempts to master it through sheer will bring disaster. That was the French revolutionaries' mistake.

Reactionaries reject this conservative outlook. They are, in their way, just as radical as revolutionaries and just as destructive. Faith in

a new social order inspire the revolutionary. Apocalyptic anger at finding himself disempowered in a new dark age inebriates the reactionary. And both traffic in historical fantasies. Reactionary stories always begin with a happy, well-ordered state where people willingly shared a common destiny. Then alien ideas promoted by intellectuals and outsiders—writers, journalists, professors, foreigners—undermined that harmony. (The betrayal of elites is central to every reactionary myth.) Soon the entire society, even the common people, were taken in. Only those who have preserved memories of the old ways—the reactionaries themselves—see what happened. Whether the society reverses direction or rushes to its ultimate doom depends entirely on their resistance.

Nor are reactionaries to be found only on the right. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and of revolutionary hopes for the post-colonial world, the European left has traded the rhetoric of hope for that of nostalgia. Nostalgia for its own past power. The story the reactionary left tells itself begins with the revolutions of centuries past, the uprisings, the general strikes. And also the literature of revolt, the manifestos, the ten-point programs, and the memoirs of noble defeats, which on the left always count as victories. How did that whole world disappear? Once again, alien ideas are blamed. An international cabal of ‘neoliberal’ economists, we are told, managed to convince governments and formerly working class voters that to get rich is glorious and that everyone would benefit from growth. Racists then convinced them that their enduring problems were not due to the inherent injustices of capitalism, but to immigrants and minorities. The only way out of the contemporary catastrophe is to Make the Left Great Again.

This past summer nostalgia for the old left swept over Paris. It was the 18th anniversary of the Popular Front, the left-wing coalition that led a massive general strike in 1936 that succeeded in gaining workers many new rights, including to paid vacations. It is, with good reason, a milestone in French collective memory. Histories of the movement and novels of the period were on display in bookstores across the city, and the mayor sponsored a series of photo exhibits, conferences, and lectures, as well as a film festival of propaganda films made by important directors sympathetic to the strike. (This being Paris, champagne and canapés

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were served in the lobby on opening night.)

Out on the streets that history seemed to be repeating itself, if only as farce. For months the country's more radical unions led marches against very modest changes in France's notoriously baroque labor law, which were proposed by the Socialist government in order to introduce a modicum of flexibility into hiring and work hours. The theatrics of the protests I attended were exactly those of the newsreels I saw from 1936. At the starting point union members and sympathizers were given banners and armbands. Music played and large balloons with slogans denouncing capitalism floated overhead. As the marching started drummers drum and singers sang the *Internationale*, singing at the top of their lungs "C'est la lutte finale!"—it's the final struggle! The crowd included many young students, for whom participating has been a rite of passage for generations. It also included the requisite troublemakers, who at the end of the march fought with police and were dispersed with tear gas and water cannons. In one incident, the hooligans attacked a children's hospital, frightening the young patients inside.

There is a connection between the French strikes, the British vote to leave the EU, and the enthusiasm for Donald Trump in middle America. Economic globalization and the paralysis of democratic institutions has left ordinary people in Western societies feeling disenfranchised. So has the fact that no party or movement across the political spectrum has offered a plausible vision of the future based on present realities, which change with increasing speed. To live a modern life anywhere in the world today, subject to perpetual social and technological transformations, is to experience the psychological equivalent of permanent revolution. Anxiety in the face of this process is now a universal experience, which is why reactionary ideas attract adherents around the world who share little except their sense of historical betrayal. Every major social transformation leaves behind a fresh Eden that can serve as the object of somebody's nostalgia. And the reactionaries of our time have discovered that nostalgia can be a powerful political motivator, perhaps even more powerful than hope. Hope can be disappointed. Nostalgia is irrefutable. <

¹ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford 1898), Vol. 1, p. 74.

Mark Lilla is Professor of Humanities at Columbia University and a regular essayist for the *New York Review of Books*. In July 2016, he was a Visiting Fellow at the IWM invited under the Institute's Albert Hirschman Fellowship Program. This text is the editorial of his most recent book *The Shipwrecked Mind: On Political Reaction*, published by *New York Review Books* in September 2016.



I Wanna Hold Your Hand

BY MILOŠ VEC

Controversies over Muslims refusing to shake hands with non-Muslims have recently arisen in a number of European countries. They demonstrate a conflict between social customs, religious practices and legal prescriptions. Multinormativity is both part of the problem and the key to a better understanding and more considered handling of the issue, argues IWM Permanent Fellow Miloš Vec.

The politics of the body carry a high symbolic value and regularly occupy the media. This goes for current conflicts over instances where Muslims have refused to shake hands with non-Muslims, which particularly in 2016 have caused discussions. These controversies have escalated beyond the local context not only because of the behavior of those involved, but also because of the reactions of institutions and civil society. The result is

Muslim footballer Nacer Barazite of the Dutch team FC Utrecht refused to shake hands with the sports reporter Hélène Hendriks on live TV. In April 2016, the Swedish Muslim Green party politician Yasri Khan resigned from his own party following heavy criticism after he refused to shake hands with a female TV journalist. In April 2016, it was reported that two Syrian brothers living in the Swiss town of Therwil had refused to shake hands with their teacher at

Controversies are instrumentalized by political and religious extremists on both sides.

a complex challenge that poses both state and society with an apparently insoluble dilemma: Should the cultural identity of the majority society and its social conventions be actively defended? Or does the western concept of democracy not also include a liberal, constitutionally anchored freedom of religion, which entails tolerance towards deviating customs? The fact that majority society now demands the social and cultural conformity of migrants and refugees makes the issue all the more contentious and theoretically interesting.

Much Ado About Nothing?

Essentially it is about different understandings about what constitutes an "appropriate" greeting between men and women. In an intercultural context, these understandings are apparently irreconcilable. Social conventions, religious precepts and moral scruples are invoked to explain and justify individual behavior, yet ultimately the law is expected to solve the conflict. Multinormative demands in society are the reasons for these disputes; however multinormativity might also be the key to a more considered handling of the differences.

Nevertheless, the question remains to which extent media coverage has contributed to a public over-reaction. As far as is known, it is a matter of a series of isolated instances. In autumn 2015, an Imam working at a refugee home in Rhineland announced that he would not extend his hand in greeting to the CDU politician Julia Klöckner, whereupon Klöckner cancelled the meeting. On 1 November 2015, the

the beginning and end of lessons (a school ritual). They were 14 and 15 years old and their father is an Imam. At the end of June 2016, at a private school in Berlin, a Shiite Imam from Turkey refused to shake hands with his son's headmistress. In July 2016, a Muslim pupil in Hamburg refused to shake hands with his teacher, who wanted to congratulate him on passing his final exams. In a much older case in Carinthia in Austria, an Islamic religious teacher and Sudanese citizen refused to greet women by shaking hands.

Despite the different local contexts, in all these cases the individual refusal to shake hands led to far-reaching social discussions about cultural and religious identities. The many press reports, glosses and commentaries published on the issue now created and defined an entire canon of cases, which exerts a major influence on current opinion: positions are aired and strong opinions often formulated. To the extent that online comments are permitted after articles on the topic, they show that the controversies are instrumentalized by political and religious extremists on both sides against a pluralist and tolerant concept of society.

Right Hand Symbolism

Although the real figures are probably much higher, as far as is known it is a case of isolated incidents in schools, with public authorities and in the public sphere, and by no means—as is sometimes suggested—a mass social phenomenon. Moreover, media reportage primarily concentrates on debates in German speaking countries. Experiences from other European coun-



tries, not to mention other continents, very rarely make it into the headlines, if at all. There is no mention of the widespread convention among Muslims and Orthodox Jews throughout the Middle East not to shake a woman's hand out of politeness. In view of the many violent conflicts worldwide, some external observers find these debates strangely trifling. Even people who were refused a handshake deliberately and demonstratively have so far not claimed to be injured in a legal sense (e.g. as a violation of criminal law). The lack of respect they experienced thus counts as no more than a breach of good manners. It is primarily a question of disregard for social protocol, a classic case of impoliteness, and not a breach of a legal norm.

Nevertheless, it is not surprising that refusing to shake hands can cause irritation or insult to other people. The handshake as a ritual of greeting is symbolically loaded, particularly in connection with the right hand. It expresses friend-

liness, commitment, physical proximity, and the consensual nature of the social contact. At the same time, unlike the hug, it signals a formalization, in which polite distance is involved. For many, the handshake embodies the self-conception of civil society, in which reciprocal social relations are not to be mistaken for friendship. The right hand is also highly symbolic in cultural-historical terms. One raises it not only when greeting, whether close by or from a distance, but also to swear an oath, in other words a metaphysically founded, conditional self-damnation. Contracts can be demonstratively concluded with a handshake, as can words of honor and promises. An indication of the cultural significance of the hand is provided by Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Wander in his five-volume, nineteenth-century lexicon of German proverbs, which lists 924 proverbs and sayings associating "hand". Additionally, there are also numerous composite nouns equivalent to "handshake", including, literally, "hand press", "hand smack"

and “hand rub” in the lexicon. How far the norm of handshakes reaches back in time and space is a question probably best answered by ethnology.

If such elementary rituals are refused, an equally elementary counter-reaction is to be expected. Moreover, since the handshake is more or less represented throughout all continents, it is all the more astonishing that the current conflict seems to exist only in Europe. Today’s political and social implications have their share in escalating these incidents—a circumstance, which the actors are also conscious of when they publicly insist on their principles. Immigration, flight from war and pover-

ty agreed that this constitutes a specific interpretation not shared by all Muslims. The refusal to reach out for the hand of the other sex is based on a specific interpretation concerning the prohibition on physical contact in the Koran. According to one *fatwah* (the legal pronouncement of a Muslim authority, binding only for those that recognize this authority), it is forbidden to offer one’s hand to a woman who is not *Mahram*, in other words not a family member. This interpretation is in turn based on a *Hadith* (an account from the life of Mohammed) that states that “For one of you to be stabbed in the head with an iron needle is better for him

hong or the traditional Inuit greeting called *kunik* involves two people rubbing noses and foreheads, which to most Euro-Americans would seem too close for comfort.

While one side activates religion and respect for women outside the family as the reason for refusing to shake hands, the other side invokes a different set of normative arguments to demand that this most common expression of good manners be upheld. The most frequent reference is to social convention, according to which “in this country” one extend one’s hand to greet another person. The deliberate refusal to shake someone’s hand thus equals an affront. However, particularly in recent debates, the insistence on the handshake also has gender dimension: The handshake, as an appropriate way to greet a woman, is not only good manners but also a recognition of equality between the sexes. A refusal to shake hands with a woman draws associations with contemporary and historical forms of discrimination. The idea that the handshake as form of physical con-

Mohamed A., whose application for Austrian citizenship had repeatedly been refused by the regional authorities on the basis of “significant shortcomings in integration”. The supposed disregard for basic European values that the authorities accused Mohamed A. of was based almost solely on the fact that he allegedly refused to shake hands with women. The breach of a “fundamental principle of the European cultural realm” outweighed consideration of all Mohamed A.’s efforts to integrate. The constitutional court suspended the ruling, disputed the qualification of the handshake as a “custom of the European cultural realm,” and referred to other fundamental European values such as tolerance that are protected in foundational legal documents. Nevertheless, in Austrian legal praxis, the willingness to shake hands continues to be treated as an indicator of integration and a western attitude (most recently BVwG W128 1423915-1 of June 5, 2014). The conflicts were thus bureaucratized, some of them tried, and via directives partially normed. In oth-

of an open civil society as the basis for functioning democracy can be defended against the opposite model of a segmentary society.” In this context, according to Hörnle, social practices that block social interaction, limit trust-based exchange to specific social units, and oppose the principle of sexual equality and the basic principles of open society play a critical role. This discussion is all the more important as long as it is a question of legal options for behavior to which both sides of the conflict are entitled.

The call for the law to act as mediator in the debate over shaking hands thus has problematic aspects. The law heightens a difference in the social field, whose conventions it does not normally regulate. Salutations traditionally belong to social mores, which are not normed by laws. Conduct manuals also merely reproduce existing norms, rather than creating norms themselves. Instead, what is happening is a process of social self-regulation, in which collective rules not imposed by an authority are central. Their transformation is subject to unpredictable trends; formal sanctions play no part.

Hence, disregard for the dictates of polite behavior is rarely seen as legal infringement. Incidents of this kind are mostly classified in the public sphere as curiosities. One might even consider whether there is not a rule of conduct stating that the polite response to bad manners is to pay no attention—rather than explicitly confront the “offender”. Whoever behaves “improperly” in society by disregarding particular conventions is not necessarily made aware of the fact and disciplined. Self-assured people ought to tolerate deviations.

The Frankfurt school’s classic critique of law is that a juridification of the social would entail an expropriation of the mechanisms of social self-regulation. This critique acknowledges society as a social structure with its own rules, and emphasizes society’s autonomous processes of dispute resolution. The reference to the distinction between different normative forms is important and indicates the limits of what the law can achieve. Again, looking through the lens of multinormativity reveals the various normative levels in debates about the refusal to shake hands. This differentiation not only helps to understand the grammar of argumentation on both sides. Above all in its focus on social convention as the genuine battlefield, multinormativity also draws attention to the problems that arise when transferring the discourse into law. ◀

Translation by Simon Garnett

Religious and social rules cannot realistically be separated.

tact between the sexes should be prohibited because of its unchaste implications is considered a sexualized interpretation of a normal physical ritual. To insist on the handshake is therefore also to defend hard-won progress that should not be called into question.

Multinormativity in Practice

The fact that, out of the billions of greetings that take place yearly, these disparate and sporadic micro-conflicts have been turned into a fundamental issue shows the mutual insistence on one’s own standpoint. In the reported cases, the people involved or those close to them have escalated the incidents. Both sides invoke lack of respect and discrimination. School or school supervisory bodies regularly get involved. General norms are discussed and in some cases regulations are passed. Interestingly, in the Swiss case, the school initially ruled that the handshake should temporarily not be required. This ruling was later overturned by a directive from the Basel directorate of school, culture and sport, which stated that pupils could be obliged to shake hands. If they refused, they or their parents would be liable to receive verbal warnings, written reprimands and fines. In the Berlin handshake affair, the Imam has eventually announced that he will sue the teacher for insult and violation of religious dignity.

The normative quality of the conflicts has thus been altered in a number of ways: what was performative dissent on a social ritual—one need only recall one’s own botched farewells or congratulations—became legally relevant. In Austria, the constitutional court dealt with the case of a Sudanese teacher of religion,

er words, a juridification has taken place and court rulings have been issued. Here, parallels to the discussion on the veil are also evident.

Forms of public behavior become legal questions. Of course, there is no such thing as a general legal obligation to shake hands. At best, highly specific fields, like for example the social space of the school, feature norms on handshaking. The court judgments in turn provide opportunities for exegesis on how the shaking or not shaking of hands is to be interpreted in connection with rulings on naturalization. The right to a reciprocated handshake is still not stipulated anywhere.

Will the law now bring peace? To expect such a thing would be naive and would truncate and simplify the function of the law. On the contrary, insofar as the law attempts to provide rulings and establish hegemony of interpretation, it escalates the conflict further. A new arena is opened up where the law is supposed to decide how religious and social norms are to be reconciled. Yet it can hardly be expected that, in the current febrile atmosphere, the conflicting parties will bow to a legal ruling without complaint.

The point about expecting too much from the law nevertheless has a comforting aspect: it shows the continued strength of other normative orders. For that reason it is not just the law that ought to concern itself with rules of behavior; civil society can and must also ask what forms of behavior between men and women should be applied in a multicultural and multireligious environment, beyond legal codification.

Already in 2014, the criminal lawyer Tatjana Hörnle rightly pointed out in connection with the discussion on the veil that “the model

ty, and the polarizing debate around these things are the backdrop for negotiating cultural and religious identities concerning the self and other. It is a case of conflicts in multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies that also concerns other fields. Similar arguments are currently made in the equally heated debate on the burka ban. The covering of the female face is seen as a symbol of repression, of the refusal to communicate and to integrate, and as a straightforward provocation. The need among particular social groups for precise laws stipulating a general or context-related burka ban is correspondingly strong. Here, too, there are lively political, social philosophical and legal debates that reflect the need for self-assurance and recourse to particular values within competing concepts of society.

Just a Western Standard?

In the Islamic context, religion is cited as a reason for refusing to shake hands, although it is general-

than that he should touch a woman who is not permissible for him.”

Mutual respect could supposedly be expressed much more suitably by other gestures of greeting. The social refusal is thus religiously based; it is no coincidence that in some of the above mentioned situations the actors are particularly close to religious authorities, or are religious authorities themselves. In the prohibition on shaking hands, religious and social rules cannot realistically be separated. Interestingly, in the public debate there is no mention of similar prohibitions in other religions. There are not only Muslims that frequently avoid shaking hands with women. Orthodox Jews, Buddhists, and Hindus also observe specific prohibitions on physical contact, albeit often not for sexual reasons. Buddhists and Hindus fold their own hands to greet someone, irrespective of gender. Similarly, in many Muslim societies, men greet each other by placing their right hand on their chest, rather than shaking the other man’s hand. Conversely, the Maori



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A Backlash Against Women's Rights?

INTERVIEWS BY AGNIESZKA WĄDOŁOWSKA

The IWM marked Women's Day 2016 with a panel discussion on new threats to women's rights and gender justice. Issues addressed by the four panelists included reproductive rights, anti-discrimination law, migrant and refugee women as well as patriarchy on the far-right. In all these fields, feminism is losing ground and being forced to defend its past achievements. But can we speak of an anti-feminist backlash? María do Mar Castro Varela, Elisabeth Holzleithner, Katha Politt and Mieke Verloo in conversation with Agnieszka Wądołowska. With an introductory statement by Shalini Randeria.



Shalini Randeria

The famous Jewish telegram saying “Start worrying—details follow” aptly summarizes the worrying developments concerning women's rights today. So many victories, which we took for granted, are under massive attack in almost all parts of the world. An ultraconservative crusade has been mounted in Germany and Switzerland recently not only against the very word ‘gender’, or gender studies at universities, but even the idea that gender is a socially constructed category is being questioned. Hard-won achievements like the right to abortion are under attack in the US as well as in many parts of Eastern Europe. The push-back shows that constant political mobilization, and even legal struggles, may be necessary to guard against losing already won rights.

Who Are the ‘WE’, Who Had Won Women's Rights?

However, enjoying these rights is a privilege that only some women in a few countries of the world share. Class, caste, race matter, when it comes to the exercise of women's rights. In many societies, fundamental women's rights, which especially young women in the West take for granted, are not even recognized as

such. In other countries, they are enshrined in law but are unobtainable in practice. In yet other states, including most Western European democracies, these rights are only available to those, who enjoy citizenship rights, but may not apply to migrant women, refugees, undocumented workers as well as asylum seekers. This makes the question of belonging to a political community,

and with that the issue of migration, a pertinent one as women's rights are often inextricably intertwined with citizenship rights.

NGOization of Women's Rights Agenda vs. Women's Movements?

The struggle for women's rights was a collective, national one and on some issues a transnational one too. The absence of a national or transnational women's movement today in the face of the backlash is a matter of concern. In the paradoxical world we live in, women are on the move,

but women's movements are on the decline. Two possible factors could play a role here. A broad-based women's movement which won some of these rights through large scale mobilization on the ground and legal battles, has been replaced by professionalized, advocacy NGOs that are now defining and defending women's rights. Secondly, successful institutionalization of women's rights

may have also led to a certain loss of political momentum with regard to issues around which struggles raged say some 20 or 30 years ago. Has the struggle for our rights shifted from the streets to the courts? What does this shift towards institutionalization, professionalization and juridification mean for the protection of rights especially in the face of a backlash?

Gender Parity Parallels a Rise in Violence Against Women

Although the Istanbul Convention, adopted by the Council of Eu-

rope, is now in force, a recent survey by the Fundamental Rights Agency of the EU shows that women still hardly go to the police or use courts in Western Europe in order to ask for the protection, which should be their due. And paradoxically, the same survey showed that women were subjected to violence more often in those European countries which had a higher level of gender parity.

These paradoxes have grave consequences that need to be addressed. And since these negative developments can be observed at all levels from that of the state to that of the household, we also need to understand better what is happening in the familial context.

Advances in Identity Rights Accompany Dismantling of Economic Rights

Finally, let me point to the larger structural changes within which these trends need to be situated.

While gay and lesbian rights enjoy wider public support than ever before in many European, and in some non-European, countries, economic rights for women are being dismantled rapidly with the whittling down of the welfare state. Thus the backlash against women's rights is not merely a political one, but we need to analyze the structural conditions under which women's rights are at risk today. Neoliberal restructuring in Europe and beyond affects women highly negatively as work conditions become precarious and childcare, healthcare as well as care of the elderly become more expensive and less accessible even for women, who otherwise enjoy full citizenship rights. ◀

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Mieke Verloo

It is enough to look at the declining number of potential allies for feminists to see the backlash. Dominant discourses—such as on efficiency and competition—make it increasingly difficult to argue for social justice. In Europe, social-democratic, left-leaning parties with social justice at their core are no longer as strong as they used to be. Unfortunately, many moved to the center and now try to accommodate the market, rather than focusing on exploitation in capitalism. They believe that the market provides some kind of fairness. However, the market does not care about social justice. In order to be heard, you have to speak the language of meritocracy, competition, growth and efficiency.

That is why so much attention is given to the glass ceiling. Women are just as good as men, so the argument goes, but are prevented from breaking through. Which is a very meritocratic type of argument. It has nothing to do with social justice. By using this argument, you lose the opportunity to talk about the many underprivileged women—victims of the system, people who are exploited and abused. The problem is that only a few, weak parties seem still to care about exploitation.

No less worrying is that right-wing parties are getting stronger by the day. They say that the government has been pampering citizens for too long, that instead of demanding rights people should shoulder their duties and work harder. They also embrace

law-and-order discourse focused on penalizing and sanctioning people. After 9/11, you could see a growing belief that certain—othered—groups should be monitored and sanctioned for 'our' safety.

In the Netherlands, radical socialist parties have returned to old-school thinking and the idea that class is everything, and hence all other inequality issues should be excluded. As a result, they advocate protecting those, who are already in work, but care little about migrants or the

Is this a backlash or a case of obstacles that feminism encounters having entered mainstream politics?

When you see people in France taking to the streets in their millions to protest against same-sex marriage, or against sexual education at schools, this is a real backlash. In Italy, the success of the movement for gender and social justice also triggered a counter-movement. Some try to link these counter-movements to

ows, especially in Europe. This is a totally different game. I am not sure our strategies are up to it, since it is potentially much more confrontational. It is not about teaching people how to do gender mainstreaming. It is less about convincing and more about power. As feminists, we urgently need to rethink our strategies and adapt to the new situation.

One of the problems that we struggle with is that, in high politics, science and knowledge are much more contested. It all boils down to what

along those lines. The power of gender studies to construct truth is very limited. Years ago, I did a training course for the academic directors of a Belgian university. They were outraged at me for saying that gender is not sex, and that there is a very complicated relationship between the two. They were ready to dismiss me on the spot and go home, because for them it simply wasn't true. They had a deep-seated belief in the existence and rightfulness of biological differences between men and women. They weren't even prepared to discuss it. If this is the way educated people think, you know you're in trouble.

I think that gender studies needs to become more aware of the political nature of the knowledge it generates. That means you have to engage with opponents, who simply don't believe what you are saying. Confrontations are necessary. You have to disseminate and defend your knowledge, and make people engage with that. With that in mind, the efforts in France and Italy to fight gender-stereotyping in education is spot on. They are right: it is crucial what you teach children. We need to increase our efforts for gender equality in education. ◀

Feminists have to engage with opponents who simply don't believe what you are saying.

unemployed. Which is a step backwards in terms of social solidarity. Such people narrow their focus to their immediate surroundings and those already in the system.

It's a very dynamic landscape, but for feminism it has the same effect: to reduce chances of finding political partners. Given the dismantling of welfare states and the current economic crisis, there are more and more people, who have to work extremely hard in order to earn a living, which in turn reduces their ability to mobilize and change their situation. Furthermore, Leftist organizations and NGOs find it increasingly difficult to find resources.

anti-abortion groups, claiming that there will always be a reservoir of people, who want to maintain gender inequality. In the recent past, these groups have been peripheral. However, they are undergoing a political revival with the rise of organized religion and the far-right. To me, that is a backlash.

On the other hand, all this also provides an opportunity for different types of victories. In countries where the backlash is taking place, the political parties are forced to take a stance on gender issues. The problem is that many feminists are not accustomed to high politics. Numerous feminist victories have been won in the shad-

gender really is. We thought that the discussion on whether women and men are biologically equal belonged to the past. But it is still out there; society is not convinced, and large groups mobilize against us and our research. Academia has no strategy for how to deal with it.

In many countries, gender studies have never moved beyond academia. Why not?

Sometimes, people in gender studies don't fully realize how political their field really is. They see it as an objective science. But socially and politically, it has never worked

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Elisabeth Holzleithner

Let's take antidiscrimination laws. In the early 2000s, there was a boom—the EU adopted a series of antidiscrimination directives covering not only race and ethnicity but also age, sexual orientation, religious faith, world-view and disability. The EU member states were obliged to transpose these directives into national law and create bodies to ensure that the regulations did not remain on paper.

Unfortunately, the boom ended quickly. Antidiscrimination law has never been popular in the member states, so the institutional bodies are toothless, lacking the power to execute the regulations. If you add to that the economic crisis and the right-wing backlash, antidiscrimination laws are no longer at the top of the agenda. That leads to cuts in funding. Specialist bodies have been merged with larger human rights bodies, which can cause even greater loss of power. On top of that, the enlargement of the EU has relegated the antidiscrimination agenda to the backburner too as there were apparently many more urgent issues to attend to.

Is this a backlash or more a case of stagnation?

We should not exaggerate. Anti-discrimination law is not a dead let-

ter. However, hopes were set much higher. At the legal level there has not yet been a complete backlash; the laws are still in place. However, public discussion has taken worrying turns, particularly after the events in Cologne on New Year's Eve, which brought issues of women's safety and sexual autonomy to the forefront.

Before Cologne, there were discussions on the implementation of the

Have women's rights become a tool for anti-refugee propaganda?

Yes. It is crucial to note that. You would assume that there would be synergies for other disadvantaged groups, however the opposite is true. You fight one cause at the expense of another. Women's rights are used to bash other groups.

Far-right parties fronted by attractive people standing for very ugly ideas, carrying around a huge bag of anti-egalitarian policies.

Istanbul Convention to prevent and combat violence against women. The aim was to strengthen rape laws and include provisions against sexual harassment. This was ridiculed by far-right politicians—and not only them. Even female politicians argued that women are strong enough to defend themselves. After Cologne, everybody suddenly seemed to agree on the demand for protection of women's physical integrity. However, it came at a cost. A certain group of men—Muslim immigrants—were identified as 'natural' perpetrators and the whole discourse became bluntly racist.

In the debates after Cologne, many claimed that the radical right had finally discovered feminism. They couldn't be more wrong! Those whose world-view includes anti-immigrant sentiments are not remotely feminist. They resort to reactionary ideas about protecting 'white women' from the 'non-white men', which is nothing but an age-old patriarchal motif. If these voices are the ones that are heard most, we will end up with a simplistic discourse without any nuanced discussion.

If rightwing parties expressing such sentiments gain yet more mo-

mentum, we might experience a real backlash. A glance at their programs suffices to see that they have very reactionary views about women. Which is even more startling given that there are so many women at the forefront of these parties. Look at AfD (Alternative for Germany): there you have many young, conventionally attractive women. Keeping them in the public eye makes the party seem less radical.

It suggests the AfD stands for equality and modernity though the party's program says something utterly different.

Why do women accept to be instrumentalized like this? Do they take certain liberties for granted and turn a blind eye to their parties' anti-feminism?

I believe that they think their rights are safe. So many things have changed over the last decades. We haven't reached equality wonderland, but if you compare the situation today to women's situation in

the 1970s, there is no denying that we live in a different world now. Women in right-wing movements take those changes for granted. I can't imagine that they would want to practice their parties' policies in their private lives.

For example, the leader of the party program commission of the AfD is a lesbian who, in accordance with German law, lives in a registered partnership with another woman. They also have a child together. And her party is deeply against gay rights! How come she feels her rights are protected? How does she disassociate her private life from the party program? I believe this is something we have good reason to fear. Far-right parties represented in the public eye by attractive people standing for very ugly ideas, carrying around a huge bag of anti-egalitarian policies. I guess that many people voting for the AfD have no idea, or don't care about what the party stands for beyond its strident anti-refugee policy. Most people concentrate on immigration and ignore everything else that the party says. ◀

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María do Mar Castro Varela

Let's talk about migrant women. In the 1960s and 70s, when immigrants first came to Germany and Austria, they were not seen as gendered. Public discourse focused only on young male workers. Even social scientists studying migration hardly addressed gender or the question of women migrants, though women constituted at least 30% of the migrant population and were very specifically targeted for hiring in certain professions.

In the 1980s, the picture changed both in academia and in the public debate. All of a sudden, migrant women became visible. As workers, they contributed to the family income and had their own role in the migration process. Since the 1990s, however, migrant women have been seen as victims rather than actors in their own right. This is a serious step backwards. The migrant woman has again become the ultimate subject of patriarchy, perceived as backward, and as a victim within her own family.

Today, women refugees are predominantly defined as mothers, not in terms of their qualifications. This is astonishing since many women from Syria and Egypt are highly educated and qualified and many are professionals, e.g., doctors, or engineers. In the 1980s, the media often portrayed migrant women at work, or on strike, dressed in the latest fashions. Now, they are depicted pre-

dominantly taking integration courses, wearing headscarves, learning to read and write. You even find such photographs on the websites of the German government. What is interesting is the reaction of conservative feminists, some of whom claim that the wave of refugees threatens feminist achievements.

So do they perceive refugees to be a trigger of the backlash against women's rights?

Yes, that is how they are represented by many conservative feminist. As a result, these feminists enter into alliances with ultra-conserva-

tive group of men as a threat. Paradoxically, some women swim in this backlash, temporarily benefiting from it. They ignore the fact that their actions are bound to backfire.

But is this a backlash? Is it not a concomitant of victory that one must defend one's ground?

Indeed, as Mieke Verloo mentioned: There are so many struggles that we often forget how much we have achieved. I also see that as a professor in my interactions with students. New generations of students perceive the status quo as something that has always existed. Frustratingly,

other gender mainstreaming or of the diversity policy. Worryingly, such thinking is gaining ground. A white professor speaking on the radio about biology or neuroscience suddenly started talking about gender distinctions.

However, to return to your question: I don't know if there has been a backlash. But there is definitely something dangerous in the air. Take the recent protests in southern Germany, when thousands of people took to the streets against imparting sexual education in schools as they claimed it would turn their children into homosexuals. How unbelievably absurd! And this isn't just a

violence against women and shifts in the public discourse may mobilize women to come together in large numbers. Another impetus might come from women from other parts of the world, where feminist movements are alive and on the streets. As I see it, what we are facing is not a refugee crisis, but a chance for renewal. All these people arriving in Europe from the Middle East and from Africa may force us to answer crucial questions about social justice, inequality, or the meaning of democracy.

This also applies to the field of gender violence. As I said, my students have been usually silent when it comes to feminism as they tend to take it for granted. However, they have become deeply involved politically since the refugee crisis. Talking about gender violence in migrant families and refugee camps forces them to compare it to gendered violence in European families, the violence they themselves experience. What they see becomes a mirror. <

What we are facing is not a refugee crisis, but a chance for renewal of public debate on gender violence, social justice, democracy.

tive movements. Of course, far-right movements have always had women members. But this is different: we're talking about feminists. The people these feminists join hands with also perceive refugees as a threat, but the conclusions they draw are bluntly patriarchal and openly racist. On the one hand, they advise women to stay at home, to not go out at night, to dress modestly; on the other hand, they see a very spe-

cific group of Catholic fundamentalists. It's worth remembering that civil society is not necessarily a morally good space, but merely the sphere where public conflicts take place.

The fights against sexism and for gender mainstreaming often trigger resentment and anger, predominantly among young white men, who believe they no longer stand a chance. How many times have I heard that irrespective of who actually got an academic position, the white male considered himself a victim of ei-

tiny group of Catholic fundamentalists. It's worth remembering that civil society is not necessarily a morally good space, but merely the sphere where public conflicts take place.

Will these recent developments prove to be a test for the feminist movement?

To be honest, I don't see much of a movement now. The increasing

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Katha Pollitt

A very real backlash is hitting reproductive rights in the USA—288 anti-abortion laws have been passed since 2010. It isn't only abortion that's under attack, but also birth control and sex education. The reasons are simple. Women are becoming more powerful and independent both socially and economically. At the same time, conservative sexual mores are losing their grip on the culture. To social conservatives, it looks as if all hell is breaking loose. Women can do whatever they want: they can have a baby out of wedlock; they can, to use the

which women's liberation is quite a big piece, and of course the Catholic Church. When you combine religion and politics, usually nothing good for women comes out.

Is this not just a consequence of feminism entering mainstream discussion?

Well, it's better to air things publicly, because then you find out what people's fears are, and can hopefully address them. But the problem is that, in the US, as well as in Poland and many other countries, the

to physical violence, to force women to have babies. There is nothing good about that.

So what has happened since Roe vs. Wade?

Some claim that the anti-abortion movement gathered strength in the US because women won too extensive abortion rights too quickly. To some, it seemed that the Supreme Court decision in Roe vs. Wade, which legalized abortion in 1973, fell from the sky. Actually, it didn't. There was a lot of activism,

In the 1970s and 1980s, the anti-abortion movement was aggressively courted by the Republican Party. It became a crucial part of the party's base, and over time that gave it a lot of political power. Anti-abortion politics fed into the general backlash against feminism, which gathered steam throughout the 1970s. The Equal Rights Amendment was defeated. Imagine that! My country said: No, the equality of the sexes should not be a part of our constitution. That tells you something. There are plenty of people who don't like social change, whether it's legal abortion or immigrants, and when they are gathered in one political party they can be very dangerous. Look at Donald Trump. He is an open racist, a xenophobe and a misogynist. However America is not alone here. Populist right-wing movements in Europe have found effective leaders and are reaching a broader base. It has happened in France, in Denmark, in Poland and here in Austria.

Most of those parties have very clear ideas about curbing women's rights.

Donald Trump was interviewed on TV and said that there should be punishment for women who had abortions. The whole country went wild, although that is exactly what

the anti-abortion movement has been proclaiming publicly since decades. Within hours he took it back—the law should stay as it is. Then he added that he stands by what he said. There's no way to make sense out of that!

In the US, women are already being punished for having abortions. In Indiana, Purvi Patel got a twenty-year prison sentence for having a late abortion with pills she bought on the internet (she says she miscarried). In Tennessee, a woman who tried to abort herself with a coat hanger in a bathtub was arrested. There's a woman serving a prison sentence in Pennsylvania because she bought abortion pills on the internet for her daughter. More broadly, hundreds of women have been arrested in recent years for their conduct during pregnancy, usually drug abuse, even if the baby turns out fine. I'm afraid that we're going to see more monitoring of pregnancy. In the US, we're moving toward saying that a pregnant woman has a legal obligation to follow doctor's orders, even though doctors are often wrong.

How extreme do you think it might get?

It partly depends on who wins the presidential election, because the next president will determine the shape of the Supreme Court for decades to come. What most peo-

When you combine religion and politics, usually nothing good for women comes out.

words of the anti-abortionists, "kill the baby"; they are completely out of control. The more social conservatives lose on other issues—same-sex marriage, trans rights, 'pornography', non-marital childbearing, divorce—the more they double down on women's right to control their bodies. The backlash against reproductive rights is centered in the Protestant evangelical and fundamentalist Churches, which have become a repository of resistance to modern mores, of

abortion debate is not just a seminar on women's roles or the personhood of the fetus; it shapes reality. In the US, eleven people have been murdered by anti-abortionists. Clinics have been burned, attacked with bombs; some are picketed every day. The laws have become so harsh that clinics are closing down around the country. The message is not: Let's have a discussion. Instead, it is: We are doing everything we can, from high-minded arguments

and a lot of public discussion. Doctors were calling for legalization because the law prevented them from giving good care to patients with cancer and other diseases; besides, they saw the hospital wards full of women injured and infected through illegal abortions. Everyone knew that illegal abortion was very common. Polls showed a majority in favor of liberalizing the law. Still, Roe went pretty far, and changed things rapidly.

Katha Pollitt continued from page 10

ple don't realize is that most abortion law is enacted at the state level, and that in many states the pro-life movement is very strong. Back in the 1980s, the movement focused on getting an abortion ban into the Constitution—the Human Life Amendment. That failed, as have attempts to ban abortion in state constitutions. The new strategy is to pass regulations that force clinics to close. They have been pretty successful: dozens of clinics have been put out of business. Five or six states have only one clinic left. There's a case from Texas currently before the Supreme Court that may determine how far states can go in forcing clinic closures.

One possibility is that the country becomes a patchwork, with abortion almost unavailable in large parts of the country and readily available in others. If you want an abortion in New York City, you can get one easily. But not in Montana, North Dakota, Arkansas, Missouri, Texas and large swathes of many states, including some that are Democrat, such as Pennsylvania. We could become a legally divided nation, which was the situation before Roe v. Wade. Effectively, this is where we are already.

Is there a united feminist movement that could prevent a backlash like this?

The fight to preserve reproductive rights is nation-wide. For forty years, it has consumed enormous amounts of feminist energy. Other feminist issues may have been neglected as a result, such as government-funded childcare. Both sides realize that reproductive rights is the key topic. It's almost as if those opposing women's progress said: Aha, if we can only keep them stuck on this issue, they won't get anything else. Reproductive rights is the ground zero. If you can't control your fertility, you can't control your life. The right to decide when and if to have children is based on a totally different picture of what it means to be a woman. It's not just about being a mother or wife, or someone who exists relative to men and children. It says that women, like men, are full human beings. <

Political Salons

In 2016, the IWM organized five Political Salons in cooperation with the Austrian newspaper Die Presse and generously supported by EVN. The event series, established in 2004, hosts renowned scholars and politicians in order to discuss questions of current political and social relevance.

The distinguished guests of this year included former US Secretary of State **Madeline Albright**, the Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs **Lubomír Zorálek**, the former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs **Adam Rotfeld**, the Russian Journalist **Zhanna Nemtsova** as well as the social anthropologist and migration expert **Alessandro Monsutti** from the Graduate Institute in Geneva. The topics addressed the so called refugee crisis and its impact on national, European and global politics, the rise of nationalism as well as the emergence of new divisions in Europe and between the EU and its neighbors.

With the exception of the Political Salon on April 18, moderated by **Gerald Knaus**, founding Chairman of the European Stability Initiative (ESI), all debates were chaired by **Christian Ultsch**, head of the Foreign Politics Department at *Die Presse*, and IWM members **Paweł Marczewski** (Head of Publications) or **Ivan Krastev** (Permanent Fellow). <

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| Zhanna Nemtsova , January 17 |
| New Russian Nationalism |
| Alessandro Monsutti , February 22 |
| Beyond the 'Refugee Crisis': Afghan Asylum Seekers in Europe |
| Madeline Albright , April 18 |
| Global Responsibility: Europe, the US and the Refugee Crisis |
| Adam Daniel Rotfeld , October 10 |
| Russia, Ukraine, Poland: Difficult Past, Uncertain Future |
| Lubomír Zorálek , November 24 |
| Escaping the Trap of Radicalism: Reflections on Central Europe |
| © Videos of all Political Salons on: www.iwm.at/video |



Paweł Marczewski, Zhanna Nemtsova, Christian Ultsch



Alessandro Monsutti



Madeline Albright



Lubomír Zorálek



Adam Daniel Rotfeld

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The interviews, conducted by **Agnieszka Wądołowska**, are based on a panel discussion at the IWM on March 8, organized in cooperation with Frauen*solidarität on the occasion of the International Women's Day 2016.

A Majority of ‘Deplorables’?

BY JAN-WERNER MÜLLER

Barack Obama was right to say that democracy itself was on the ballot in the just-concluded US presidential election. But, with Donald Trump’s stunning victory over Hillary Clinton, do we now know for certain that a majority of Americans are anti-democratic? How should Clinton voters relate to Trump’s supporters and to the new administration?



Photo: Carlos Barria / Reuters

Had Clinton won, Trump most likely would have denied the new president’s legitimacy. Clinton’s supporters should not play that game. They might point out that Trump lost the popular vote and hence can hardly claim an overwhelming democratic mandate, but the result is what it is. Above all, they should not respond to Trump’s populist identity politics primarily with a different form of identity politics.

Instead, Clinton supporters ought to focus on new ways to appeal to the interests of Trump supporters, while resolutely defending the rights of minorities who feel threatened by Trump’s agenda. And they must do everything they can to defend liberal-democratic institutions, if Trump tries to weaken checks and balances.

To move beyond the usual clichés about healing a country’s political divisions after a bitterly fought election, we need to understand precisely how Trump, as an arch-populist, appealed to voters and changed their political self-conception in the process. With the right rhetoric, and, above all, plausible policy alternatives, this self-conception can be changed again. Members of today’s *Trumpenproletariat* are not forever lost to democracy, as Clinton suggested when she called them “irredeemable” (though she is probably right that some of them are resolved to remain racists, homophobes, and misogynists).

Trump made so many deeply offensive and demonstrably false statements during this election cy-

cle that one especially revealing sentence went entirely unnoticed. At a rally in May, he declared, “The only important thing is the unification of the people, because the other people don’t mean anything.” This is tell-tale populist rhetoric: there is a “real people,” as defined by the populist;

respond to real problems. It would be a mistake to think that Venezuela and Turkey had been perfect pluralist democracies before Chávez and Erdoğan came along. Feelings of dispossession and disenfranchisement are fertile ground for populists. In Venezuela and Turkey, parts of the

populists, portraying the majority group as persecuted victims.

It did not have to be this way. Trump has obviously made a successful claim to represent people. But representation is never simply a mechanical response to pre-existing demands. Rather, claims to represent

appeal to ethnicity, let alone race. Populists are always anti-pluralists; the task for those opposing them is to fashion conceptions of a pluralist collective identity devoted to shared ideals of fairness.

Many rightly worry that Trump might not respect the US Constitution. Of course, the meaning of the constitution is always contested, and it would be naive to believe that non-partisan appeals to it will immediately deter him. Still, America’s founders obviously wanted to limit what any president could do, even with a supportive Congress and a favorably inclined Supreme Court. One can only hope that enough voters—including Trump supporters—see things the same way and put pressure on him to respect this non-negotiable element of the American constitutional tradition. <

*Members of today’s Trumpenproletariat
are not forever lost to democracy.*

only he faithfully represents it; and everyone else can—indeed should—be excluded. It is the kind of political language deployed by figures as different as Venezuela’s late president, Hugo Chávez, and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Notice what the populist always does: he starts with a symbolic construction of the real people, whose supposedly single authentic will he deduces from that construction; then he claims, as Trump did at the Republican convention in July: “I am your voice” (and, with characteristic modesty: “I alone can fix it”). This is an entirely theoretical process: contrary to what admirers of populism sometimes argue, it has nothing to do with actual input from ordinary people.

A single, homogeneous people who can do no wrong and need only a genuine representative to implement their will properly is a fantasy—but it is a fantasy that can re-

population really were systematically disadvantaged or largely excluded from the political process. There is substantial evidence that low-income groups in the US have little to no influence on policy and go effectively unrepresented in Washington.

Again, notice how a populist responds to a situation like this: instead of demanding a fairer system, he tells the downtrodden that only they are the “real people.” A claim about identity is supposed to solve the problem that many people’s interests are neglected. The particular tragedy of Trump’s rhetoric—and, arguably, its most pernicious effect—is that he has convinced many Americans to view themselves as part of a white nationalist movement. Representatives of what is euphemistically called the “alt-right”—latter-day white supremacy—were at the center of his campaign. He has stoked a sense of common grievance by maligning minorities and, like all pop-

citizens also shape their self-conception. It is crucial to move that self-conception away from white identity politics and back to the realm of interests.

This is why it is crucial not to confirm Trump’s rhetoric by dismissing or even morally disqualifying his supporters. This only allows populists to score more political points by saying, in effect: “See, elites really do hate you, just as we said, and now they are bad losers.” Hence the disastrous effect of generalizing about Trump’s supporters as racists or, as Hillary Clinton did, “deplorables” who are “irredeemable.” As George Orwell once put it: “If you want to make an enemy of a man, tell him that his ills are incurable.”

Of course, identity and interests are often linked. Those defending democracy against populists also sometimes have to tread on the dangerous ground of identity politics. But identity politics need not require an



China is Ready to Build Putin's Firewall

BY IRINA BOROCHAN AND ANDREI SOLDATOV

Disenchanted with its approach of silencing social media via intimidation, and failing to build an effective filtering system, the Kremlin turns to China. The Russian authorities are looking for technology and Beijing is ready to lend a hand.

In the early morning of April 27, 2016, a group of Chinese officials in business suits headed towards a huge concrete building on Zubovskiy boulevard: the headquarters of *Russia Today*, Russia's main propaganda outlet.

On that day it hosted the First Russia-China Cyber Forum with top Internet officials from both countries in attendance. The Chinese brought Lu Wei, the head of China's State Internet Information Office, and Fang Binxing, the architect of the 'Great Firewall'. They were warmly welcomed by Igor Shchyogolev, Putin's assistant on Internet-related issues and former Minister of Communications, as well as Alexander Zharov, chief of Roskomnadzor, the Russian Internet censorship agency.

They gathered to find a solution to a problem Russian authorities have been struggling with for five years: bringing the Internet and social media under their control. The Kremlin was awakened to the problem posed by Twitter's and Facebook's potential for mobilization after the Arab Spring and the protests against Vladimir Putin in Moscow in 2011.

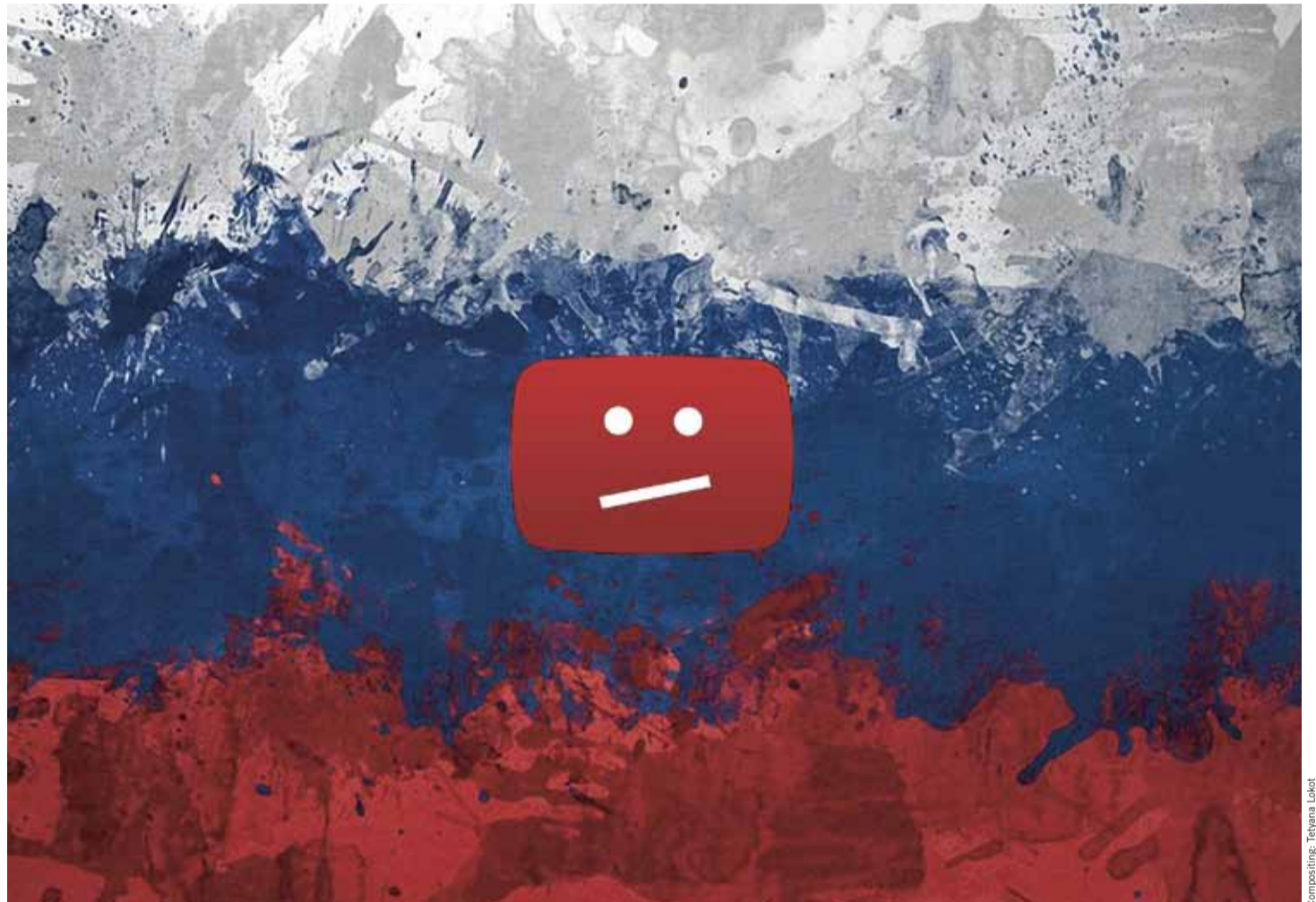
In 2012 the Kremlin introduced a blacklist of banned websites that were to be blocked by the country's Internet Service Providers, but that effort was not that successful. Russian users began using circumvention tools like TOR and VPN to get access to the blocked websites and online media outlets.

Russia's Approach to the Internet: 2012–2015

The strategy the Kremlin came up with was based on intimidation rather than technology: the Russian authorities chose to put pressure on companies rather than users.

Beginning in 2012, all sorts of tricks were employed to lure companies, both domestic and international, into closer cooperation with the Kremlin—introducing national Internet filtering, requiring them to relocate their servers to Russia and updating the national online surveillance system, SORM. This was another aspect of getting companies to fall in line with the authorities, as the companies were required to pay for the installation of surveillance equipment.

Frightened by constantly changing, repressive legislation, top-level officials of companies like Yandex, Google and Twitter rushed to the Kremlin to talk. But this strategy was only partially effective.



Compositing: Tetyana Lukot

The Kremlin's biggest wager was on the data localization law that went into effect on September 1, 2015, under the pretext of protecting Russians from surveillance by the US National Security Agency. According to this law, Internet companies that collect personal information from Russian users must store their data on servers within the country. The main targets of the initiative were Google, Facebook and Twitter.

The goal was not only to make the companies' servers accessible to the Russian secret services for wiretapping, but also to get the three Internet giants landed in Russia.

In short, the Kremlin wanted to force these global Internet giants into a situation where they would be treated just like domestic ones—ready to get a call from the Kremlin, open to cooperating to remove and block content, with their servers directly connected to the Russian security services.

But the offensive stalled. Fall and winter passed, with contradictory statements made by Russian officials. In the fall of 2015, the authorities began jailing users for posting critical comments on social media, but in most cases it was users of the Russian social network Vkontakte, not Facebook or Twitter.

On April 27, 2016, when it was

Alexander Zharov's turn to come to the podium at the Russia-China Cyber Forum, he was in no position to avoid the most pressing topic, data localization. He had to say something, and he did: he praised Chinese companies for being quick to relocate their servers to Russia. But the entire point of data localization had nothing to do with China: nobody uses Chinese social media in Russia.

Go East

The Russia-China Cyber Forum was one of the first signs that a new approach is under development. The organizers of the Forum, which appeared to set the rules for cooperation between the two countries, came up with a joint roadmap. The organizers' statement has two points. The first concerns the coordination of the two countries' efforts on the global stage, meaning their activities at the level of the UN. The second point calls for a "joint action to ensure the safety and sustainability of the national top-level domains of Russia and China."

After the forum, talks between the two countries over cooperation in matters of Internet censorship intensified: In May Nikolai Patrushev, Secretary of the Security Council of Russia, and Meng Jianzhu, Secretary

of the Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission of the Communist Party of China, met in Grozny to talk about information security. According to officials, they also "discussed further cooperation between Russia and China in the fight against terrorism and in ensuring public order and countering color revolutions" (quoted in *Russia Beyond the Headlines*, May 24, 2016).

In June, while in Beijing, Vladimir Putin signed a joint communiqué with the President of the People's Republic of China entitled "On cooperation in the development of the information space." One of the points calls for:

"respect for the national sovereignty in the cyberspace ... and oppose the interference of other countries' internal affairs through the cyberspace." (quoted in *Forbes*, June 29, 2016)

On October 25 of this year, Beijing hosted "Infoforum," Russia's National Forum for Information Security. Fang Binxing, the architect of the Great Firewall, was present, this time as host. He opened the forum with this statement:

"Cyberspace sovereignty is a natural extension of national sovereignty over cyberspace carried by ICT systems located at its territory, i.e. activities made by ICT systems

(corresponding to the cyber space), ICT systems themselves (i.e. Platforms) and the associated data (cyber assets) under the jurisdiction of sovereign states (rights to intervene in manipulating the data)." (quoted from his presentation).

Just four days later, the Russia-China Internet Media Forum began in Guangzhou. Alexei Volin, Russian Deputy Minister of Communications and Mass Communications, who was present at the forum, echoed Binxing's statement, calling on Russia and China to join forces in protecting the Internet and ensuring that "the national segments of the Internet are stable and invulnerable to external influence".¹

Immediate Results and Perspectives

There are at least two areas in which Chinese and Russian Internet censors can find opportunities for close cooperation.

First, the Russian internet filtering system remains porous. Denis Davydov, executive director of the Safe Internet League, a Russian vigilante group launched in 2011 for volunteers to police the Internet, told us that they were working on developing a "second stage" of

continued on page 28

Events in Retrospect 01–06 2016

January

January 13



“Das Rote Bologna” Revisited—A Communist City in a Capitalistic Country

Eloisa Betti
Research Fellow, Department of History
and Culture, University of Bologna

January 13/14



„Die Vergangenheit ist immer präsent“ – Filmabende mit Sergei Loznitsa

Ort: Stadtkino, 21er Haus, Wien

Yustyna Kravchuk
Film- und Medienwissenschaftlerin;
Mitglied, Visual Culture Research Center,
Kiew

Sergei Loznitsa
Weißbrüssischer Filmemacher,
Amsterdam/Kiew

Oksana Sarkisova
Direktorin, Verzio International Human
Rights Documentary Film Festival,
Budapest; Research Fellow, Open Society
Archive, CEU, Budapest

Bettina Henkel (Moderation)
Künstlerin; Leiterin, Medienlabor,
Akademie der bildenden Künste, Wien
*In Kooperation mit dem Medienlabor der
Akademie der bildenden Künste und dem
Stadtkino im Künstlerhaus*

January 14



South-South? East-East? Chinese Managers and Local Workers in Hungary

Pal Nyiri
Professor of Global History from an
Anthropological Perspective, Vrije
Universiteit Amsterdam

January 17



Wozu brauchen wir TTIP?

Ort: Burgtheater, Wien

Éva Deseffy
Expertin für internationalen Handel,
Bundesarbeiterkammer, Wien

Lutz Güllner
Referatsleiter in der Generaldirektion
Außenhandel, Europäische Kommission

Petra Pinzler
Autorin und Journalistin, *Die Zeit*

Franz Schellhorn
Direktor, Agenda Austria, Wien
ehemaliger Wirtschaftsjournalist

Peter-Tobias Stoll
Rechtswissenschaftler, Institut für
Völkerrecht und Europarecht, Universität
Göttingen

Shalini Randeria (Moderation)
Rektorin, IWM; Professorin für
Sozialanthropologie und Soziologie,
Graduate Institute of International and
Development Studies, Genf
(siehe IWMpost 117)

Video on www.iwm.at/video

January 18



Political Regime Transforma- tion in Russia—The Trajectory of Change

Ekaterina Schulmann
Senior Lecturer of Political Science,
Institute of Social Sciences, Russian
Presidential Academy of National
Economy and Public Administration
(see IWMpost 117)

January 19



New Russian Nationalism

Zhanna Nemtsova
Russian journalist and activist

Paweł Marczewski
Head of Publications, IWM

Christian Ultsch
Head, Foreign Politics Department, *Die
Presse*
*In cooperation with the Embassy of the
Republic Of Poland in Vienna*
(see p. 9)

Video on www.iwm.at/video

January 21



Explaining Atrocities

Steven Lukes
Professor of Sociology, New York
University

January 27



Land and Violence in West Bengal

Rohan Gudibande
PhD candidate in Development Econo-
mics, Graduate Institute of Inter-
national and Development Studies,
Geneva

January 28



Junior Fellows' Conference: The Power of the Norm— Fragile Rules and Significant Exceptions

February

February 10



Emancipation or Illusion? The Intellectual History of Czechoslovak Democratic Socialism after 1968

Kristina Anđelova
PhD candidate in History, Charles
University Prague

February 11



Intellectuals and (Counter-) Politics: Essays in Historical Realism

Gavin Smith
Professor em., Department of
Anthropology, University of Toronto

February 14



Zukunft der Demokratie

Ort: Burgtheater, Wien

Giorgos Chondros
Mitglied, Zentralkomitee Syriza

Kinga Göncz
Ehemalige ungarische Außenministerin
(2006–2009)

Rebecca Harms
Fraktionsvorsitzende der Grünen,
Europäisches Parlament

Peter Keller
Schweizer Journalist; Politiker,
Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP)

Adam Krzemiński
Polnischer Journalist und Publizist

Alexandra Förderl-Schmid (Moderation)
Chefredakteurin, *Der Standard*

Video on www.iwm.at/video

February 15



From Information to Disinfor- mation Age—Russia and the Future of Propaganda Wars

Peter Pomerantsev
Publicist, nonfiction writer and TV
producer, London

Anton Shekhovtsov
Fellow, Legatum Institute, London
*In Cooperation with Deutsche Verlags-
Anstalt (DVA)*

February 17



International Lawyers in the Aftermath of Disasters

Adil Hasan Khan
PhD candidate in International Law,
Graduate Institute of International and
Development Studies, Geneva

February 22



Beyond the ‘Refugee Crisis’— Afghan Asylum Seekers in Europe

Alessandro Monsutti
Associate Professor of Anthropology and
Sociology of Development, Graduate
Institute of International and Development
Studies, Geneva

Paweł Marczewski
Head of Publications, IWM

Christian Ultsch
Head, Foreign Politics Department,
Die Presse
(see p. 9)

Video on www.iwm.at/video

Events Colorkey

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.

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.

Debates at the Burgtheater

Debating Europe, organized in co-
operation with the Vienna Burgtheater,
ERSTE Foundation and *Der Standard*, is
a matinée series of public debates.

Russia in Global Dialogue

This series of events aims at intensifying
intellectual debate between Russia and
Europe.

Political Salons

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

For further information about our fellows and guests see p. 22. More information about all past and upcoming events on: www.iwm.at/events

Events in Retrospect 01–06 2016

February

February 24



Being a Foreign Agent— How to Behave Under the Pressure of the Law in Russia

Daria Skibo
Research Fellow, Centre for Independent
Sociological Research, St. Petersburg

February 25



Hungary: An Illiberal Democracy in the Middle of Europe

Gábor Halmai
Professor of Law, Department of European
Studies, Eötvös Loránd University,
Budapest

February 25



Vernissage: Stolen Facades

Csaba Nemes
Hungarian Artist
(see IWMpost 117)

March

March 2



Postmemory/Bodily Memory: Holocaust at Present

Ella Klík
PhD candidate, Department of Media,
Culture, and Communication, New York
University

March 8



The Backlash Against Women's Rights

María do Mar Castro Varela
Professor of General Pedagogy and Social
Work, Alice Salomon Hochschule, Berlin
Elisabeth Holzeithner
Professor, Department of Legal
Philosophy, University of Vienna
Katha Pollitt
Author, journalist, poet, and cultural critic
Mieke Verloo
Professor of Comparative Politics and
Inequality Issues, Radboud Universiteit
Nijmegen; Non-Resident Permanent
Fellow, IWM
Shalini Randeria (Chair)
Rector, IWM; Professor of Sociology and
Social Anthropology, Graduate Institute of
International and Development Studies,
Geneva
*In cooperation with Frauen*solidarität*
(see p. 6)

March 10



Migration Flows and Global Inequalities

Jeffrey Sachs
Director, The Earth Institute, Quetelet
Professor of Sustainable Development,
and Professor of Health Policy and
Management, Columbia University;
Special Advisor, United Nations
Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on the
Millennium Development Goals
Video on www.iwm.at/video

March 13



Flüchtlinge in Europa: Wie schaffen wir das?

Ort: Burgtheater, Wien
Johannes Hahn
EU-Kommissar für Europäische
Nachbarschaftspolitik und Erweiterungs-
verhandlungen
Randall Hansen
Politologe, Munk School of Global Affairs,
Universität Toronto
Melissa Fleming
Sprecherin, UN-Flüchtlingshilfswerk
UNHCR
Kilian Kleinschmidt
Berater der österreichischen Bundes-
regierung in Flüchtlingsfragen
Franz Karl Prüller (Moderation)
Vorstandsvorsitzender, ERSTE Stiftung
Video on www.iwm.at/video

March 14 / 15 / 17



The Future of War

Lecture I: The Transformation of War
Lecture II: War Bursts Its Boundaries:
Counting the Costs
Lecture III: The Future of War and the
Future of Law

Rosa Brooks
Professor, Georgetown University Law
Center; columnist, *Foreign Policy*; Senior
Fellow, New America Foundation
Video on www.iwm.at/video

March 16



Martyrdom and Democratic Politics: The Case of the Communist Movement in North Kerala

Lipin Ram
PhD candidate and teaching assistant in
Anthropology and Sociology of
Development, Graduate Institute of
International and Development Studies,
Geneva

March 21



De-Occupation: Another Take on Donbas

Olena Styazhkina
Professor of History, Mariupol State
University and Donetsk National
University, Vinnytsia

March 30



Every Day Practices and Ethnic Markers: Language, City Space and Displays of Nationalism

Zsuzsana Varga
PhD candidate in Comparative Gender
Studies, Central European University,
Budapest
Guzel Yusupova
Assistant lecturer of Sociology,
Department of Religious Studies, Kazan
Federal University; Research Fellow,
Institute for Oriental Studies, Russian
Academy of Sciences

March 31



The Right to Appear: The (Geo)Politics of Visibility in Today's Europe

Luiza Bialasiewicz
Jean Monnet Professor of EU External
Relations, Department of European
Studies, University of Amsterdam

April

April 7



Voodoo Economics EUro-Style: Neoliberal Resurgence in the (Mis)Management of the Euro Crisis (2009–2012)

István Csaba Adorján
PhD candidate in Sociology, University of
Chicago

April 12



Ukraine: Non-Russia, Novorossia or a 'Better Russia'?

Vladislav Inozemtsev
Professor of Economics, Higher School
of Economics; Director, Centre for
Post-Industrial Studies, Moscow
Anton Liagusha (Discussant)
Associate Professor, Department of World
History, Donetsk National University,
Vinnytsia

April 13



Framing Sexual Citizenship / Media and Political Discourses in Ukraine and Russia

Olya Kazakevich
PhD candidate in Cultural Studies,
Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk
Maria Teteriuk
PhD candidate in Mass Communications,
National University of Kyiv-Mohyla
Academy

April 14



Solidarity and Capitalism: Is Solidarity Just a Dream in a Reified Society ?

Gáspár Miklós Tamás
Hungarian philosopher
Video on www.iwm.at/video

Monthly Lectures

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

Fellows' Seminars

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

Conferences and Workshops

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

Books in Perspective

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

Art Exhibitions

Contemporary art exhibitions, curated by Hans Knoll, are presented at the IWM in cooperation with Knoll Galerie Wien+Budapest.

Events in Retrospect 01–06 2016

April

April 14



Pro Patria Mori—Solidarity and Sacrifice in the First World War

In cooperation with ERC Project GRAPH—The Great War and Modern Philosophy, *KU Leuven*

April 18



Global Responsibility—Europe, the US and the Refugee Crisis

Madeleine Albright
Former US-Secretary of State; Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service

Gerald Knaus
Founding Chairman, European Stability Initiative (ESI)

Christian Ultsch
Head, Foreign Politics Department, *Die Presse*
In cooperation with ESI
(see p. 9)

Video on www.iwm.at/video

April 19



The Habsburg Monarchy in Its Last Century: Lessons—and Warnings—for Today's Europe

Steven Beller
Historian, Washington D.C.

April 20



Russia and Its Aliens: (Re-)Making Symbolic Boundaries in a New Society of Immigration

Vladimir Malakhov
Director, Center for Political Theory and Applied Political Science, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Moscow

April 21



Governance of Diversity

Gunnar Folke Schuppert
Professor für Staats- und Verwaltungswissenschaft, Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung, Berlin

April 27



From 'Is' to 'Ought'... and Vice Versa

David Jenkins
PhD Graduate in Philosophy, London School of Economics

Katherine Miller
Visiting Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Reed College/Portland

April 28



Toward a New Paradigm for Modernity and Religion

Peter L. Berger
American sociologist; founder, Institute for Culture, Religion and World Affairs (CURA), Boston University
In cooperation with *Wien Museum* and the *Department of Sociology, University of Vienna*

Video on www.iwm.at/video

April 29



The Börne Identity

Alexander Soros
Founder, Alexander Soros Foundation; Global Board Member, Open Society Foundations

May

May 4



Employees Who Do Not Work: Reflections on Work, Wage and the Neoliberal State in Jordan

Claudia Fioroni
PhD candidate, Department of Anthropology and Sociology of Development, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

May 10



Vernissage: Parallel Films

Blue Noses
Contemporary Russian provocateur art group

May 11



Clumsy Democrats: Moral Passions and Forms of Sociability in Postwar West Germany

Till van Rahden
Canada Research Chair in German and European Studies, Centre Canadien D'Études Allemandes et Européennes, Université de Montréal

May 18



Governance Without Hierarchy: Effective and Legitimate in Areas of Limited Statehood?

Tanja A. Börzel
Professor of Political Science; Chair for European Integration, Otto-Suhr-Institute of Political Science, Freie Universität Berlin

Thomas Risse
Professor of International Relations, Otto Suhr Institute of Political Science, Freie Universität Berlin

May 19



Signs of Power: Action, Expression, Institution

Martin Pokorný
Lecturer in Comparative Literature, Charles University, Prague

May 20



Free Speech: Ten Principles for a Connected World

Timothy Garton Ash
Professor of European Studies, Oxford University; Member, IWM Board of Trustees

Video on www.iwm.at/video

May 23



The Politics of Solitude: The Ukrainian Bartleby and His Company

Andriy Ryepa
Philosopher, translator, and editor, *Nika-Centre* publishing house, Kyiv

Georg Schöllhammer
Head, *tranzit*; curator, *School of Kyiv*
In cooperation with the *School of Kyiv Department Vienna*

May 25



Banks, Gold, and Weddings: A Substantivist Perspective on Financial Literacy

Özge Burcu Günes
PhD candidate in Development Studies, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

May 30



Remembering and Forgetting

Aleida Assmann
Professor of English and General Literature, University of Konstanz

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

Dariusz Stola
Director, Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw; Professor of History, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences

Karolina Wigura
Head of the political section, *Kultura Liberalna*

Marcin Król (Chair)
Professor of History of Ideas; Dean, Faculty of Applied Sciences, University of Warsaw

Shalini Randeria (Chair)
Rector, IWM; Professor of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

May 31



Freedom of Expression in Europe

Miklós Haraszti
Hungarian writer, journalist, human rights advocate and university professor

Agnieszka Holland
Polish-French film director and screenwriter

Claire Fox (Chair)
Founder and director, Institute of Ideas (IoI), London

Video on www.iwm.at/video

Events Colorkey

IWM Lectures in Human Sciences

This series of public lectures was launched in 2000 on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Hans Georg Gadamer, supporter of the Institute since its inception.

Ukraine in European Dialogue

Understanding Ukraine and the nature of the current conflict with Russia is vital for the future of the European endeavor. This series seeks to contribute to this exchange.

Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture

Since 1987, the IWM regularly organizes lectures in memory of the Czech philosopher and human rights activist Jan Patočka (1907–1977).

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.

Tischner Debates

This series of public debates in Warsaw was jointly launched by the IWM and the University of Warsaw in 2005 in memory of IWM's founding President Józef Tischner.

For further information about our fellows and guests see p. 22. More information about all past and upcoming events on: www.iwm.at/events

June

June 2



The Ancient Is the Modern: The History of the East Slavic Lands in Light of the Myths of Contemporary War

Timothy Snyder

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

In Kooperation mit der Deutsch-Ukrainischen Historikerkommission (gefördert vom DAAD und der Robert Bosch Stiftung)

Video on www.iwm.at/video

June 6



Junior Fellows' Conference: Dissidents—Pushing the Boundaries of the Political

June 6

No Laughing Matter

Ivan Krastev

Permanent Fellow, IWM; Chair, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia

Steven Lukes

Professor of Sociology, New York University (also see p. 15)

Video on www.iwm.at/video

June 7



Is Europe Taking a Right Turn?

Gilles Kepel

Professor, Sciences Po and École Normale Supérieure, Paris

Chantal Mouffe

Professor of Political Theory, Westminster University

Philipp Blom (Chair)

Historian, writer, journalist and translator

Video on www.iwm.at/video

IWM Pop-Up

This series of external events, organized in cooperation with the City of Vienna, intends to make scientific research and scholarship more visible at district level.

June 9



"I Have Been Very Slow in Writing this Letter to You, Mahatma": Buber, Gandhi and the Efficacy of Non-Violence

Jyotirmaya Sharma

Professor of Political Science, University of Hyderabad

June 13



'Homo Militans': Paramilitary Individuals' Motivation in Ukraine

Oksana Mikheieva

Professor and Head, Department of Sociology, Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv

June 20



Gute Rechte für alle!? Chancen und Gefahren (mensen-)rechtsbasierter Entwicklungsstrategien

Ort: Volkshochschule Wiener Urania

Shalini Randeria

Rektorin, IWM; Professorin für Sozialanthropologie und Soziologie, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Genf

In Kooperation mit der Dialogreihe Gutes Leben für alle und der Volkshochschule Wiener Urania

June 28



Experiments in Justice—Translating 'the Rule of Law' in Bangladesh

Tobias Berger

PhD in Politics, Freie Universität Berlin

Wiener Festwochen

In 2016, the IWM hosted two debates at the Vienna Burgtheater in cooperation with the European Network of Houses for Debate "Time to Talk" and Sheldon M. Chumir Foundation for Ethics in Leadership.

ERC Mentoring Initiative

European Research Council (ERC) Grants are any researcher's dream, providing funding for the PI and his or her chosen team of PhDs and Post-docs to undertake a large-scale fundamental research project for up to 5 years. For young researchers in particular, an ERC grant offers a unique opportunity to gain international recognition and secure a permanent position. From a science policy perspective, these grants can be expected to have

significant impact also on the development of entire departments, institutions, disciplines and fields.

ERC Grants are part of the European Commission's research funding framework "Horizon 2020" and are awarded to early-career researchers (Starting Grants), mid-career researchers (Consolidator Grants) and internationally-established researchers (Advanced Grants). The success rate for applications is around 10–12%, but the geographical distribu-

tion of these grants is very uneven. Only three countries host over 60% of the 74 social science and humanities projects that were awarded funding in the 2016 Call for Starting Grants (UK 25; Netherlands 11; Germany 10), and only one grant in the social science and humanities went to Eastern Europe (Estonia).

To tackle the problem of this unequal success rate, the IWM and the Polish Academy of Sciences' Scientific Centre in Vienna, with the support of the Austrian Ministry of Science, Research and Economy (BMWFW) and the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (MNiSW), ran four Mentoring Workshops for potential ERC Starting and Consolidator Grant applicants in the social sciences and humanities from Austria, Poland, and other (South-)Eastern European countries between November 2015 and December 2016. Around 45 early- and mid-career researchers benefited from in-depth advice on the academic content and design of their projects by renowned mentors experienced in the ERC's rigorous peer-review and selection procedures. <

List of Mentors

Ayşe Çağlar (December 2016)
University Professor of Social Anthropology, University of Vienna

Josef Ehmer

Professor em. of Economic and Social History, University of Vienna

Andreas Føllesdal (December 2016)

Professor of Political Philosophy, University of Oslo

Thomas König

Strategic Advisor, Institut für Höhere Studien, Vienna

Shalini Randeria

IWM Rector; Professor of Social Anthropology and Sociology,

Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID), Geneva

Sonja Puntischer Riekmann

(February 2016)

Jean Monnet Professor and Director of Salzburg Centre of European Union Studies, University of Salzburg

Balázs Trencsényi

Associate Professor of History, CEU, Budapest

Project Coordinator

Christina Pössel

Academic Program Coordinator, IWM

IWM Pop-Up

In 2016, the IWM developed a new event format called "IWM Pop-Up" in cooperation with the City of Vienna. The intention of this innovative concept was to make scientific research and scholarship more visible at district level.

In June, British sociologist **Steven Lukes**, who was a Krzysztof Michalski Visiting Fellow at the IWM at that time, and IWM Permanent Fellow **Ivan Krastev** discussed (and made) political jokes at the Kabarett Vindobona in Vienna's 20th district. The event was inspired by Steven Luke's book *No Laughing Matter*—a collection of more than 600 political jokes from all over the world.

Video on www.iwm.at/video

In November, the IWM organized a "Science Speed Dating" event at Vienna's oldest Heurigen "10er Marie" in Ottakring. In this homely setting surrounding the current IWM Fellows met around 80 members of the Viennese public to discuss their research in an informal atmosphere. After 20 minutes of face-to-face conversations people moved on to another thematic table accompanied by a modern interpretation of Viennese *Schrammel* music by "Martin Spengler & die foischn Wiener". <





Alexandra Förderl-Schmid and Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi



Ágnes Heller and Alexandra Förderl-Schmid



Humanities Festival

RESUMÉ BY ISABEL FREY

The cosmopolitan, intellectually vibrant and artistically innovative Vienna described in Stefan Zweig's *The World of Yesterday* is long gone and also forgotten today, so the common perception. But have we simply overlooked, and thus failed to capitalize on, its contemporary cosmopolitan culture? Drawing their inspiration from Vienna's vibrant and cosmopolitan past but equally on the large international community of intellectuals, authors, artists and scholars in Vienna today, IWM and Wien Museum organized the first "Vienna Humanities Festival" from the 23rd to the 25th of September. This revival of the city's tradition of intellectual exchange in public spaces also borrowed elements from the Chicago Humanities Festival, which Matti Bunzl, director of Wien Museum, curated between 2010 and 2014.

They chose to anchor the Festival in several institutions around Karlsplatz, which readily agreed to host some 40 events. Created as a public space in the late 19th century the Karlsplatz is home to several prominent public institutions in the city, such as the Wien Museum, the

Technical University, the experimental theater *brut* and the magnificent church, Karlskirche. Referring to the square's specific character, architect Otto Wagner once said, "The Karlsplatz is not a square, it is an area". The festival brought alive this area through lectures and public discussions at these venues, which were open to the public and free of charge. Its theme "Anderorts—Out of place" allowed scholars, public intellectuals, writers and artists to address a wide variety of topics ranging from histories of exile and emigration, forced and voluntary migration, displacement to populism and the question of guilt. The Festival evinced a rare mix of the academic and analytical, the philosophical and literary, as well as the artistic and experiential to rethink issues of displacement and identities, belonging and hybridization, membership and migration that are exercising the European public imagination today. It brought insights from the arts, literature and the humanities to bear on questions that have been reduced to statistics and numbers, or are driven by demographic fears based on anxieties of loss of a national culture as

well as a decline of Western values and Christian civilization.

With the Humanities Festival critical thinking in the humanities and social sciences moved out of the ivory tower and into the public sphere to respond to the need for public debates on the forces that shape our new social and cultural realities. The festival attracted some 3000 visitors, who were active participants in the discussions. As Matti Bunzl, director of the Wien Museum, put it: "We managed to create the atmosphere of an urban saloon."

Anderorts, translated as *Out of Place*, carries connotations of 'elsewhere' or 'displacement'. It focused on the theme of the so-called "refugee crisis" in Europe, which has strongly affected public discourse in Austria and Vienna, albeit in a much larger perspective of fluid and multiple identities, flight of capital, flows of goods and images, or of roots and routes. Over the weekend questions of identity, belonging and rights set a counterpoint to the current obsession with numbers, limits to migration and problems of integration. Scholars, intellectuals and artists from various fields and dis-

ciplines—history and philosophy to literature and cultural studies to architecture and music—placed contemporary political debates into completely new perspective demonstrating that the humanities are an essential component of any democratic public sphere.

The program of the festival was dense, with up to four events held simultaneously. Most were in the form of one hour 'one-on-one'-conversations between an invited guest speaker and a moderator from the IWM, the Wien Museum, or journalists from the newspaper *Der Standard*. In the opening event, Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi, Austrian journalist, columnist and editor, shed light on the contemporary debate about refugees by relating it to her own experiences of being "out of place". Other highlights of the program were anthropologist Arjun Appadurai speaking about "Flows of Globalization" (see p. 17), philosopher Ágnes Heller reflecting on "The Divided Society". Gerald Knaus of the European Stability Initiative critiqued the inadequacy of the European response to the so-called "refugee crisis", while Jan Werner Müller dealt with the rise

of populism (see also p. 10). Besides conversations with renowned intellectuals including IWM's Visiting Fellows, for instance, the historian Holly Case on "A Question of Guilt" (see p. 18), the Institute's *Ukraine in Global Dialogue* program invited the "Theatre of the Displaced" from Kiev for a multimedia performance. At a five-hour-long "Read-a-thon" ten authors read excerpts from books of their choice. A Syrian-orthodox mass was held in the Karlskirche as an act of solidarity with the Syrian community of Vienna.

For those who missed some parts of the program, video recordings of several events can be found on the Youtube-channel of the IWM (www.youtube.com/IWMVienna). And, of course, there will be the chance to attend the festival next year as the Wien Museum and the IWM have already decided to turn it into a permanent fixture of the Viennese public sphere. <



Shalini Randeria and Arjun Appadurai



Rainer Schüller and Michael Landau



Jan-Werner Müller



Gerald Knäus



Matti Bunzl



Miloš Vec



Andreas Mailath-Pokorny

Flows of Globalization

REPORT BY ISABEL FREY

The title of the talk between Shalini Randeria, Rector of the IWM, and Arjun Appadurai, one of the leading theorists of globalization, in the first Vienna Humanities Festival on 25th September 2016 was “Flows of Globalization”, a title inviting a theoretical overview of his oeuvre. Appadurai, who holds a professorship in media, culture and communication at New York University and was a fellow at the IWM some 15 years ago, has lived and worked in South Asia, the USA and Europe in the course of his distinguished academic career. The conversation began with his autobiographical reflection on the festival’s theme “Andernorts”, roughly translated as “Out of place”. “What does it personally mean for you to be out of place? Are you at home anywhere? Or are you out of place everywhere, but in different ways in various places?” Randeria asked Appadurai. Having grown up in Mumbai, one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world, Appadurai is familiar with the feeling of being both out of place and in place at the same time. “It is a place where everybody is from somewhere else and so everybody is at home, but everybody is also out of place.”

This experience was also what first sparked his interest in globalization, or, what was initially referred to as transnationalism in the mid-1980s. Partly due to his experience as an Indian scholar in a US university setting he realized that the then still fashionable concept of modernization, which was the key framework for thinking about processes of socio-economic transformations, seemed too simplistic and linear. “It was a kind of one way street, or like a marathon and there were winners and there were people who were going to make it in three hours and people who were going to make it in five hours and people who would never make it.” Reflecting on modernization in light of other transnational processes, and asking himself “who owns modernity? Can anyone be modern?” he and many other scholars realized that modernity was, in the words of Zygmunt Baumann, more liquid. This way of thinking about global processes lead to his highly influential work “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy” (1990) published in *Public Culture*, a journal he founded. Here he introduced his highly influential notion of “scapes” (mediascapes, financescapes, ethnoscapes etc.) to suggest the fluidity of these different flows that are tied to one another in contingent, ever changing ways but whose form varies with the view and van-

tage point of the observer. He thus argued for the need for perspectivity in the study of cultural globalization as well as the importance of images, imaginations and the imaginary.

The conversation turned to the rise of ethnic nationalisms in the diaspora as well as the pitfalls of transnational processes of political support, a phenomenon increasingly significant but also specific to our times. For Appadurai these processes point to the crumbling of the assumption that the nation state is the natural way of living. What we are witnessing today is a form of global “anxiety” that this system is falling apart. “That sense of dislocation or lack of fit between identity, place, loyalty and so on, has become a part of the anxiety of states, but also of migrants... No one is sitting, as it were, completely secure. So if you take the US, for instance, the people who have entered recently, let’s say undocumented migrants from Mexico or elsewhere, as well as Donald Trump, the most hyper-privileged, are all anxious.”

It is this psycho-politics of globalization that Appadurai analyzes in his second book on globalization *Fear of Small Numbers* (2006). It deals with the “dark side” of globalization: the ethno-nationalism, majoritarianism, populism and rise of violence against ethnic minorities. In contrast, his earlier book *Modernity at Large* (1996) presents a far more optimistic scenario of the potential for emancipation that globalization brings. Randeria contrasted the two books as representing two aspects of globalization, the aspirational and the (structurally) violent, asking if Appadurai’s work had shifted from one to the other aspect. “It was evident that the kind of optimism that I and others felt when the Berlin wall came down, for Europe, for the world, had to be rethought. Because there were other potentials, actually opposite potentials, of shrinkage of the imagination, of a kind of localizing of identity, all this exactly opposed to the opening up, to the communication, to the imagination of bigger spaces and larger possibilities”, he responded.

Appadurai felt that, his most recent book, *The Future as Cultural Fact*, which draws on his research on grassroots movements of the urban poor in Mumbai, reflects a better co-presence of these two intertwined aspects. What we can observe today, he remarked, is a “global shift to the right”; from Modi, to Putin, to Trump and so on. In the context of India, he explained, “the questions is only ‘How far right are you’. Official politics is right, righter, rightest.” This phenomenon is not exclu-

sive to non-Western countries—in most democracies, both Western and non-Western, the left of today is the right of yesterday and the left of yesterday seems to be completely “out of place”. But at the same time there is a “dramatic tension between official politics, state elites, corporate elites, governments, more and more just debating how far right to be”; and the “grassroots level”, movements like Black Lives Matter, or the slum dwellers in Mumbai whom Appadurai worked with. On this level, “you still see a huge aspirational politics, which is progressive, which is democratic, which is rights-centered.”

Towards the end of the conversation, Randeria described Appadurai’s latest work as a “politics of hope”, in which there is the acknowledgement of potential grounds for the formation of new forms of local and translocal solidarity through flows of globalization. Central to this politics is “cosmopolitization from below”. Whereas transnational elites are cosmopolitan by choice, the urban poor become cosmopolitan out of necessity. In their situation it is essential for survival to “learn the skills of taking on difference”. As an example, Appadurai discusses tolerance: Tolerance is not something that only those have, who are literate or are able to theorize about it. For many subaltern people today, for slum-dwellers, for women, it is a survival strategy. This poses a political question: Will the conditions for this “daily collaboration between people, which allows them to expand their imaginations”, get shrunk by those governing their lives? “Minus the daily encounter with difference and difference successfully negotiated you can have all the policies in the world, and people in their daily lives will have no interest in them”, Appadurai says. But how to enable such interaction, and not let the politics of segregation and hatred being promoted through state policies or the media hinder the flourishing of aspirational politics, is a question we must all address within our own local contexts. <

Isabel Frey joined the IWM in September 2016 as Research Assistant to the Institute’s Rector Shalini Randeria.

Madder Than You Think

BY HOLLY CASE

Is there a relationship between politics and madness? The history of the legal strategy known as the insanity defense offers some clues.

One thinker, the political philosopher Hannah Arendt, was so haunted by the moral confusion of the insanity defense as to wonder whether there is a way to tell right from wrong without reference to right and left.

In November 2016 before a packed courtroom in Graz, Austria, a man stood trial for three counts of murder and 108 counts of attempted murder. The defendant, Alen R., appeared each day in a white suit. His face, like his last name, was obscured in the Austrian media, but the case was such a high-profile one—all seven days of the proceedings were broadcast live and it was front-page news in every one of the Austrian dailies—that Alen R. became something of an anti-celebrity.

On June 20, 2015, just after midday, Alen R. ran down pedestrians and cyclists with his SUV along a route stretching more than a mile through the city center of Graz. Witnesses estimated his maximum speed to be over 60 miles per hour. At one point he stopped to attack two people with a knife. Over the five-minute duration of his “mad driving spree,” he killed three people and injured thirty-six, many of them seriously.

The focus of the trial came down to one question: “Is Alen R. so mentally ill that he can assume no responsibility for the apocalyptic drive in his SUV through the pedestrian zones of Graz?” At issue were the conflicting expert assessments of psychiatrists and a psychologist regarding the defendant’s sanity: one had concluded that he was “of unsound mind” and should therefore be referred for psychiatric treatment rather than given a prison sentence, while another believed Alen R. to be very much “of sound mind” and said he should stand trial as an accused criminal. To break the tie, a third (German) psychiatrist was called in who diagnosed him with schizophrenia. In the end, the jury deferred to the testimony of a *fourth* expert, a psychologist, who declared Alen R. to be of sound *enough* mind to be criminally responsible for murder and attempted murder. He was given a life sentence (though it is not yet binding) along with a referral for incarceration in a facility for the criminally insane.

One matter that was largely skirted in the trial but hotly debated “on the street” was whether Alen R.’s drive had been politically motivated. Just prior to the attack he deleted all but one of his twitter posts, and the remaining one suggested the deed was not spontaneous, but planned. Interpretations varied widely: his estranged wife said he was a radicalized Muslim who made her wear a burka; he himself told police he felt he was being pursued by “Turks”; the psychologist who swayed the jury said he was obsessed with “hegemonic maleness” in the pattern



*The opposite of thoughtlessness is thought;
no form of automatism—political, religious, even moral—
can stand in for it.*

of Grand Theft Auto: “He sits at the red light, feels himself threatened, then the light turns green and he puts the pedal to the floor. Objective achieved. Game over.”

*

Although the Austrian media was legally restrained from revealing some of Alen R.’s personal details during the trial, the British and American media were not. They gave his full name, Alen Rizvanović, and even posted photos of him. When I first saw his full name, a faint echo of association brought the “mad driver” into accidental relation with another media sensation from some years ago: Željko (Arkan) Ražnatović. But the association was absurd. Alen R. is a Muslim whose family fled the war in Bosnia when he was just four

years old to settle in Austria. Insofar as anyone associates any politics with him, it is in the context of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism and the possibility that he had been radicalized prior to running amok.

Arkan R., on the other hand, was a Serb. He was also a criminal of international infamy who had organized his own paramilitary group known as Arkan’s Tigers during the Yugoslav war. There is an iconic photo of him in dark-colored military gear, gun in one hand, a tiger cub by the scruff of its neck in the other. Members of the Tigers are ranged behind him atop a tank, all wearing dark uniforms and balaclavas. Only Arkan is showing his face. He had nothing to hide.

The contrast to Alen R. is striking, his face blurred out by the rules of a rule-of-law state, sitting in a white

suit, head slightly bowed. Alen R. did not get away with murder. Arkan did. Indicted in absentia on several counts of war crimes by the Hague Tribunal, including torture and mass execution of captured Bosnian Muslims, he never stood trial. In fact, he became one of the wealthiest and most powerful figures in the region, at least, until he was assassinated in the crowded lobby of a Belgrade hotel in 2000. More than 10,000 people attended his funeral.

The association of Alen R. with Arkan R. may be politically absurd, but it makes moral sense. In one of the many comment streams to the Austrian coverage of Alen R.’s trial, I came across the following exchange: “People who run amok and intentionally kill strangers without political or religious motivation have a not inconsiderable personality disorder

anyhow, one that can’t be eliminated by simple therapeutic measures,” wrote one person. Another replied: “So a person is somehow less disturbed if they kill strangers with political or religious motivations?”

*

Beginning in the nineteenth century, as mass politics was just coming into existence, the legal basis for the insanity defense was the determination of whether—at the time a crime was committed—the perpetrator could tell the difference between right and wrong. Introducing moral categories into the insanity defense set it on a collision course with politics. As politics increasingly focused on distinguishing between right and left, its *method* came to be about aligning this distinction with the one between right and wrong. Small wonder that modern politics is rife with competing claims that the other side is both morally suspect and of questionably sound mind.

Furthermore, the charge of insanity even came to serve as a kind of moral absolution. A great many movements and ideologies that have come to form states and make laws, laying down their own standards for right and wrong, were once considered insane—democracy, Bolshevism, Nazism/fascism, Islamic fundamentalism. Furthermore, culture and history prime us to view the moral underdog as the champion of a deeper moral truth. Long before the modern era, Socrates famously and repeatedly “made the worse appear the better cause,” and Jesus Christ turned the morality of his time on its head (“So the last shall be first, and the first last”). When Christ said on the cross “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,” was he not issuing a blanket assessment of humanity’s collective insanity?

Sometimes it seems a shake-down of the moral order is just what the social order needs. But not always. Perhaps the starkest counterexample is offered by the 1961 trial of Adolf Eichmann. Though he did not kill anyone himself, Eichmann oversaw the logistics behind a significant part of the Holocaust of European Jewry, most notably the rapid mass deportation of more than 450,000 Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz in the spring of 1944. After the war he assumed a fake identity and joined thousands of other former Nazis and their sympathizers in self-imposed exile in Latin America.

Eichmann was captured in 1960 by Israeli agents and put on trial in Jerusalem. Among those present at the trial was the political philoso-

Photo: iStock / ralkidom

pher Hannah Arendt, who penned her now-famous reflections in a series of articles that later became a book: *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Eichmann's sanity was the centerpiece of Arendt's reflections. "It would have been very comforting indeed to believe that Eichmann was a monster, [a] Bluebeard in the dock," she wrote. "The trouble with Eichmann was precisely that so many were like him, and that the many were neither perverted nor sadistic, that they were, and still are, terribly and terrifyingly normal." Eichmann's normalcy was the surest indicator that "a new type of criminal" had entered the world, one who "commits his crimes under circumstances that make it well-nigh impossible for him to know or feel that he is doing wrong."

"[I]ntent to do wrong is necessary for the commission of a crime," Arendt continued. "Where this intent is absent, where, for whatever reasons, even reasons of moral insanity, the ability to distinguish between right and wrong is impaired, we feel no crime has been committed." Yet for Arendt, the fact that Eichmann "merely ... never realized what he was doing" should by no means exonerate him from judgment. She decried the "quite extraordinary confusion over elementary questions of morality" created by the case of Eichmann and those like him, which had produced a "reluctance everywhere to make judgments in terms of individual moral responsibility."

Political power, be it right or left, Arendt insisted, stands in no necessary or fixed relation to right and wrong. But where *do* we get our understanding of right and wrong, if not from politics? In Arendt's view, matters of morality had to be worked out by the individual, and doing so would not be easy. Above all, it would require *thinking for oneself*. Under the Nazis, she wrote, "those few who were still able to tell right from wrong went really only by their own judgments, and they did so freely; there were no rules to be abided by, under which the particular cases with which they were confronted could be subsumed. They had to decide each instance as it arose, because no rules existed for the unprecedented."

A decade after the Eichmann trial, Arendt gave a lecture on "Thinking and Moral Considerations" in which she made the case for thinking as a moral undertaking. "The manifestation of the wind of thought is no knowledge," she told her audience, "it is the ability to tell right from wrong." The opposite of thoughtlessness is thought; no form of automatism—political, religious, even moral—can stand in for it. Even if God forgives us when we "know not what we do," it's still no excuse. Thoughtlessness cannot be the basis of morality. That way madness lies. <

Holly Case is Associate Professor of History at Brown University. Currently she is a Visiting Fellow at the IWM. This article is based on her presentation at the Vienna Humanities Festival entitled "A Question of Guilt" on September 24, 2016.

Varia



On November 24, Austria's Foreign Minister **Sebastian Kurz** opened together with his Czech counterpart **Lubomír Zaorálek** an Austrian-Czech Dialogue Forum at IWM. The forum has been set up to further intensify relations between Austria and the Czech Republic. In the context of this newly created platform, economists, experts and representatives of government and non-government institutions from both countries will from now on have the opportunity to engage in enhanced exchange on current social policy issues. At the launch event, discussions focused in particular on dealing with the phenomenon of political radicalization.

On the occasion of IWM's annual Fellows' Meeting on May 20, Polish Ambassador **Artur Lorkowski** posthumously awarded the "Bene merito" honorary distinction to the IWM's founding rector **Krzysztof Michalski** who died in 2013. It was accepted on his behalf by the Institute's Rector Shalini Randeria. Established in 2009, the "Bene merito" honorary distinction, awarded by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, is conferred upon the citizens of the Republic of Poland and foreign nationals in recognition of their merits in promoting Poland abroad.

Michael Ignatieff, an award-winning writer, teacher, former politician, and historian with a deep knowledge of Central and Eastern Europe, joined the Institute's Academic Advisory Board. Before being appointed President and Rector of the Central European University in Budapest in 2016, Ignatieff was Edward R. Murrow Professor of Practice of the Press, Politics, and Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Canadian philosopher and IWM Permanent Fellow **Charles Taylor** has been named the first winner of the Berggruen Prize. The \$1 million award from the Berggruen Institute is given annually to a thinker whose ideas are of broad significance for shaping human self-understanding and the advancement of humanity. "Charles Taylor is a brilliantly appropriate recipient, because he has changed the way people all over the world think about some of the most basic questions in human life," said Nicolas Berggruen, Chairman of the Berggruen Institute.

On May 13, **Timothy Snyder**, Professor of History at Yale University and a Permanent Fellow at the IWM, received the "Man of the Year" Prize awarded by the Polish daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*. The prize was established in 1999 to honor distinguished people from the world of politics and culture. "Timothy Snyder's books tell history of bitterness and misery, bloodshed and suffering. And yet they also convey certain optimism: evil can be counterbalanced with faith, hope, and love," said Adam Michnik, editor-in-chief of *Gazeta*.

British television producer **Peter Pomerantsev**, who was a *Russia in Global Dialogue* Visiting Fellow at the IWM in 2013, was awarded the £10,000 RSL Ondaatje Prize for his book *Nothing Is True and Everything Is Possible. The Surreal Heart of the New Russia* published in 2014. His book, "a distinguished work of fiction, non-fiction or poetry evoking the spirit of a place", was presented at the IWM in February 2016.

Arkady Ostrovsky, another *Russia in Global Dialogue* Visiting Fellow at the IWM in 2013, won the Orwell prize, the UK's most prestigious prize for political writing, for his book *The Invention of Russia*. It looks at Russia's post-Soviet transformation and the media's central role in the country's national narrative.

Stilian Yotov, who was a *Paul Celan* Visiting Fellow at the IWM in 2013, received this year's *Award for Outstanding Achievements* by the Bulgarian Translators' Union for his translation of *Der Detektivroman* and *Die Angestellten* by Siegfried Kracauer from German to Bulgarian.

The Ukrainian writer, poet and translator **Serhiy Zhadan**, who was at the IWM in July 2016, received the Ukrainian Book of the Year Award in the category 'outstanding achievements in literature' for his novel *Mesopotamia*.

IWM Visiting Fellow **Iva Lucic** from the Department of History at the University of Uppsala has been awarded the Westinska Prize by the Swedish Royal Society of Sciences for her "outstanding dissertation".

León Castellanos-Jankiewicz, PhD candidate in International Law at the Graduate Institute in Geneva and a Visiting Fellow at the IWM in 2016, received a grant by the Swiss National Science Foundation to cover his research stay at the Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, University of Cambridge, and a Max Weber Postdoctoral Fellowship at the European University Institute, Florence.

Agnieszka Pasięka (Institute for East European History, University of Vienna), who was a *Bronisław Geremek* Visiting Fellow at the IWM in 2011/12, became President of the Polish Studies Association (PSA).

The IWM mourns the death of distinguished German-born historian and Professor Emeritus at Columbia University **Fritz Stern**, who died on May 18, 2016, at the age of 90, in New York City. As a member of the Institute's Academic Advisory Board and a member of the editorial board of *Transit – Europäische Revue*, he supported the IWM with advice and assistance from the very beginning. Prof. Stern was particularly helpful in building and intensifying transatlantic relations as well as in reconceptualizing European contemporary history after 1989.

Another long-time Member of our Academic Advisory Board, the sociologist **Jerzy Szacki**, passed away on October 25, 2016, at the age of 87. His books *Kontrewolucyjne paradoksy* (Counterrevolutionary Paradoxes, 1965), *Liberalizm po komunizmie* (Liberalism after Communism, 1994) and *monumental Historia myśli socjologicznej* (History of Sociological Thought, 1981) are among the most important works of Polish humanities. In the years 1974–1991 he was editor-in-chief of the *Polish Sociological Bulletin*. In 2003 he and his mother Anna-Barbara were recognized as *Righteous Among the Nations* for saving the life of Irena Hollender. With the passing away of Professor Szacki the IWM has lost one of its intellectual pillars and a very dear friend.

Cezary Wodziński, one of the most prominent Polish philosophers, passed away on June 12, 2016, at the age of 57. Wodziński, an authority on Russian religious philosophy and the thought of Martin Heidegger, was twice—in 1990 and 1994—a Visiting Fellow at the IWM and was a long-time friend of the Institute. Many of his books, including *Heidegger i problem zła* (Heidegger and the Problem of Evil, 1994) and *Św. Idiota. Projekt antropologii apofatycznej* (St. Fool: An Attempt in Apophatic Philosophy, 2000) are among the most important works of Polish contemporary philosophy. He will be greatly missed.

Furthermore, the IWM is mourning the loss of **Karl Duffek**, Director of the Renner Institute, who passed away on August 7, 2016 at the age of 54. Karl Duffek was a friend and close supporter of the IWM for many years. His death deprives Austrian society of one of its leading social-democratic thinkers and his friends of an exceptionally intelligent and kind interlocutor.

Hana Soucek, who worked as receptionist at the IWM for 12 years, entered her well-deserved retirement in November 2016. We thank her for her great commitment, support and dedication and wish her all the best for the future.

As her successor, we warmly welcome **Sherife Luli** as the Institute's new receptionist, as well as **Barbara Jarosz**, who is a greatly appreciated as kitchen assistant.

Furthermore, we are happy that **Katherine Younger** joined the IWM team as research associate of the *Ukraine in European Dialogue* Program.

A Dictionary of Military Terminology

BY SERHIY ZHADAN

You can, of course, ignore war. You can act like you don't notice it, like it doesn't affect you. You can stubbornly avoid looking in its direction. But then, ostentatiously ignoring it is also taking a stance, and not always a productive one.



Photo: Iv Bogdan

When the country you're a citizen of is enduring military aggression from its nearest neighbor for a third year running, ignoring the military conflict your compatriots are dying in every day is, at the very least, odd. All the more so if you are a writer or an artist. Reality influences art, puts pressure on it, and it would be odd if it were otherwise. Sometimes it's pleasant to live in a vacuum, but taking up long-term residence there deprives you of a connection with the obvious. Life crawls through your windows, and if in response you prefer simply to close the window, you risk suffocating from the lack of fresh air.

The war in Ukraine has been going on for three years now. Officially it's called an anti-terrorist operation. That is, officially the war doesn't exist. Over these three years, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian citizens have lived through battles, gunfights, occupation, captivity, and liberation. That is, you can say that to a certain degree this war has managed to affect everyone. Some people have managed to grow accustomed to it, some people have learned how to avoid it, some people have even figured out how to profit from it. Some people see it as their own individual tragedy, as something personal that you have to react to and that you have

to answer for. One way or another, the war is what everyone is talking about. They are trying to talk about it. They are learning how to talk about it. And they are also learning how to write about it.

A lot is written about the war in Ukraine. Somehow or other, art was forced to react to the societal cataclysms that began in the country with the beginning of the revolution, in winter 2013–2014. In a certain way, for Ukrainian art today, the events on Kyiv's Maidan, as well as the beginning of the Russian occupation and the operations in Donbas, have been a serious test of maturity and responsibility. There was always a lot of politics in the life of Ukrainian society, but in the majority of cases art preferred to exist in isolation from direct socio-political pretensions. On the one hand, this attitude is completely justifiable—grappling with the political sphere can easily lead to serving it, to sinking openly into an ideological space, where the artistic element imperceptibly and painlessly gives way to the propagandistic. On the other hand, thorough and steadfast distancing from the processes that determine the social and societal climate often make art too abstract and detached from reality, marginalizing it and sidelining it from public interests. It is difficult to write about politics in a lan-

guage devoid of political activism. But writing about politics is necessary. And talking about it is necessary. Otherwise propaganda will say it all for you.

There's another question: how can we write about war? What lexicon should be used? In recent history Ukraine hasn't fought wars and—let's be honest—hasn't prepared for war. This is in contrast to Russia over there, with its traditional militaristic discourse and the open revanchism that it has been nursing in recent years. So it is unsurprising that when operations began the question arose: how do you write about something that you were personally unprepared for, about something whose appearance you couldn't even foresee based on your own personal experience and private reflections?

War truly changes the intonation and stylistics of speech. It brackets many phrases that were used completely naturally and reasonably before the war. It changes your attitude towards many words, like, let's say, irony. Or arrogance. Or cynicism. Or pathos. The last one is a really bizarre one—when death occupies an increasingly large part of the space around you, lots of phenomena and pursuits that carried an abundance of emotion, wrath, joy, or rapture with them before the war look totally different today.

War changes distance, changes perspective. You are forced to come face to face with many things that earlier seemed abstract and absent from your personal experience. Death, blood, pain and despair have a totally different sound and coloring when you find yourself a mere arm's length away from them. Refugees and exiles stop being simply terms you hear in the media when you run into them on the streets of your own city. The word chaplain, which previously you might only have encountered in fiction or history books, sounds totally different after you become personally acquainted with priests on the front. Obviously you can't write about these priests like they were portrayed in the fiction or history books of your childhood, because this is not at all fictional and not at all historical—this is your own personal experience, which now you have to come to terms with.

War also changes the optics of things. You begin to notice details that were uninteresting before. You pay attention to the wrinkles beneath your eyes, to the wedding ring on your finger, to the child in the stroller. The tense coexistence of life and death gives weight to everyday things, like those you aren't used to being thankful for. No, it's more than that—things that no one

taught you to be thankful for. But in the end it is precisely these things that seem the most valuable and precious. Learning to value all of this, learning to talk about all of this—this is difficult both for the reader and for the writer. Difficult, but extraordinarily important.

How does literature react to war? I remember two years ago, in spring 2014, when the first 'wartime' texts began to appear. Not necessarily 'professional' ones, from professional writers. Sometimes it was simply a few lines someone had posted on social media. 'Folklore,' in a certain sense. Sometimes it was overly emotional, sometimes too publicistic, but it spoke to the most important thing: no one completely understands how to talk about something they've never encountered before. Accordingly, war is often written about with certain literary clichés, with allusions to the classics. Poetry might have been the first thing to react to the course of the war—back in the very first months of the Donbas operations, Ukrainian poets' reflections began to appear. In the end, this shouldn't strike us strange—the distance between reality and poetry is a fair bit shorter than between, for example, that same reality and prose. By now, however, there are more and more novels and serious investigative reports appearing on this subject. The depth of thought and analysis in these books varies, but that's not even what is important—what is important is that literature is an extraordinarily effective way to capture and preserve a multitude of names and stories. Stories that don't appear in the propaganda.

And one more thing. Today no one can say how much longer the war will go on. But one thing can already be predicted: in the future there will be literature written by those who have returned from the war. What this Ukrainian 'trench' literature will be like is also difficult to say today. This war is changing all of us—both those who write and those who read. Everything is changing. Literature included. I'd like to hope that it won't become less humane and open. ◀

Serhiy Zhadan is an Ukrainian author, poet and translator. In July 2016 he held a 'Ukraine in European Dialogue' Solidarity Fellowship at the IWM.

IWM's Ukraine Program—An Interim Report

Responding to the dramatic events of Maidan and its aftermath, in summer 2015 the IWM launched a new research project called *Ukraine in European Dialogue* (UiED). This project, initiated by IWM Permanent Fellow Timothy Snyder and administered by Research Director Tatiana Zhurzhenko and Project Associate Katherine Younger, is intended to promote dialogue and intellectual exchange between Ukrainian scholars, intellectuals and activists and their counterparts in Europe and North

America at a crucial moment for the future of Ukraine.

As a kickoff to UiED, in September–October 2015, the IWM co-curated *The School of Abducted Europe*, one of the six main components of the *Kyiv Biennial*, together with the Visual Culture Research Centre in Kyiv. Many members of the IWM community, including both Permanent and Visiting Fellows, traveled to Kyiv to participate in panel discussions, debates, lectures, and seminars. In this issue of *IWMpost*, former IWM Visiting Fellow Kateryna

Mishchenko reflects on the significance and lessons of the *Kyiv Biennial*.

Beyond the *Kyiv Biennial*, the IWM has hosted a number of other UiED events in the program's first year, including screenings of documentaries by the prominent director Sergei Loznitsa and a bilingual poetry reading with Serhii Zhadan, whose essay on language and war appears in this issue of the *IWMpost*; the Institute also served as host for a working meeting of the German-Ukrainian Historical Commission. Additionally, in September 2016,

UiED contributed to the Vienna Humanities Festival, whose focus on displacement is relevant to both Europe as a whole and Ukraine in particular.

The UiED program offers a variety of fellowships to Ukrainian scholars, and in the program's first year it awarded Junior Visiting Fellowships to Maria Teteriuk (Kyiv) and Oleksandr Marinchenko (Dnipro); and Solidarity Fellowships for Ukrainian intellectuals whose lives have been disrupted by war to Olena Styazhkina (Donetsk/Kyiv), Oksana Mikhei-

eva (Donetsk/Lviv), Anton Liagusha (Donetsk/Vinnitsia), Ihor Todorov (Donetsk/Uzhhorod), and Nani Hohokiia (Luhansk/Kyiv). In September 2016, the IWM welcomed the program's first Andrei Sheptyts'kyi Senior Fellow, Adam Daniel Rotfeld, the former Polish Foreign Minister whose personal connection to Sheptyts'kyi makes him a symbolic figure for the program.

Beginning in July 2016, Ukraine in European Dialogue is part of a partnership with Ukrainian Free University, Munich. ◀



f.l.t.r.: Serhii Zhadan, *Kyiv Biennial*, Tatiana Zhurzhenko and Olena Styazhkina, Timothy Snyder, *Art Performance Kyiv Biennial*, Adam D. Rotfeld

The *School of Kyiv Biennial* and the Politics of Excess

KATERYNA MISHCHENKO

For two months in fall 2015, Kyiv was turned into a cultural-political laboratory for the study of questions on the future of Ukraine and Europe. The *Kyiv Biennial 2015—The School of Kyiv*, organized by the Visual Culture Research Center (VCRC), opened its classrooms in twenty different spots around the Ukrainian capital and convened the classes of its six 'schools': the Schools of Realism, Landscape, Image and Evidence, the Displaced, and Abducted Europe. The enlightenment intension of its name had a very real dimension: workshops, seminars and lectures could be said to be the main component of the biennial. If the artistic program took as its starting point the didactic practices of Kazimir Malevich and Aleksandra Ekster, the discursive program (although it must be noted that such a division in the context of contemporary art is often conditional) took a bold intellectual course: it invited Europe to its periphery and suggested learning from Kyiv and in Kyiv

for the sake of building an alternative European utopia. The *School of Abducted Europe* featured 27 events—lectures, conversations and panel debates with prominent intellectuals, academics, artists and journalists, whose participation became possible thanks to a cooperation with the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) and its Ukraine in European Dialogue Program.

And thus, nearly every day the *School of Abducted Europe* became a vibrant international discussion space—"What Europe does Ukraine need?," "Mainstreaming the Far Right in Europe," "How to make a war," "Who is afraid of Gayropa?," "Making a space of knowledge: the cities of free Universities" and so on. In the history of independent Ukraine there had decidedly never been such a profound and lengthy consideration of Europe and our country's place in it. After the space at the center of Kyiv was physically filled with the European idea in the winter of 2013–2014, it became

necessary to place this idea *in time*, or in other words to transform that powerful impulse into an adequate long-term discourse.

This is probably the most urgent and serious task facing the cultural field in Ukraine in general, a task which the *School of Kyiv* was particularly enthusiastic about taking on—after all, the School sees its roots precisely in the agora of the Maidan. The need to react instantly and act quickly during the protests gave way to the need for more precise concepts and reflection on the socio-political context, a need which—as is well known—still remains acute. The acceleration of Ukrainian life increasingly makes clear the many ways in which Kyiv has failed to make a break with the old status quo two and a half years after the Maidan. Outwardly, Kyiv less and less resembles the city of Europe's hope, as the biennial's curators, Hedwig Saxenhuber and Georg Schöllhammer, termed it.

It is thus all the more important,

perhaps, to remember the lessons learned from this, the most interesting cultural event of the post-Maidan era. The first lesson is visual. You overcome your grief over things left undone or invisible by creating new images. The iconoclasm of decommunization, media propaganda, and right-wing and conservative mobilization are radically depleting the arsenal of images at hand, so that it is impossible to speak of new ones. Thus the battle over imagination is as relevant as ever.

And the second lesson: more is more. The biennial's desire to sate the intellectual deficit and slake the cultural thirst of many years was funneled into such a number of events that none of its guests could possibly take them all in. Besides the fervor for the event, which takes us back to the experience of the Maidan, this excess can be read as an attempt to put an end to the local fragmentation of cultural life in general and intellectual expression in particular. Transgressing the horizon of ex-

pectation for the local context, the *School of Kyiv* also went beyond the geographical boundaries of Ukraine: its events have also taken place in Vienna, Leipzig, Athens, Amsterdam, Paris, Sofia, Karlsruhe, and Tbilisi.

The excessiveness and occasional underappreciation of the *School of Kyiv* strikes me as useful in drawing an enticing parallel: reading Ukraine as its own sort of surplus for a renewed vision of the European continent. Kyiv was where an event started that sought to become the promise of a restart for Europe. Europe, in turn, must urgently become a *bigger* and better place for human life. That's obvious, isn't it? But how should the contours of this new picture be examined? It seems that its lines are about to wither against a backdrop of crises and fatigue. At a minimum, the next biennial in Kyiv will continue its politics of excess and try to include everyone looking for a new future in our troubled times. ◀

Fellows and Guests 01-06 2016

István Csaba Adorján
Krzysztof Michalski Junior Visiting Fellow (March–August 2016)

PhD candidate in Sociology, University of Chicago

Stability in Crisis: Debt, Finance, and the Re-Regulation of the EMU (2008–2014)

Kristina Andelova
Jan Patočka Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2015–February 2016)

PhD candidate in History, Charles University Prague

The Intellectual History of Czech Democratic Left (1968–1998)

Aner Barzilay
Junior Visiting Fellow (February–June 2016)

PhD candidate in History, Yale University

Michel Foucault's Nietzsche: From the Discovery of Historicity to the Development of a Genealogy of Power (1952–1984)

Tobias Berger
Junior Visiting Fellow (January–October 2016)

Lecturer in Politics, Freie Universität Berlin

Transnational Law in Translation

Rima Bertašvičiūtė
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow (January–March 2016)

PhD candidate in Philology, project manager, Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University

Judith Butler: Gender Trouble (English > Lithuanian)

Eloisa Betti
EURIAS Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2015–June 2016)

Post-Doctoral Fellow of History Culture Civilization, University of Bologna

Gender and Precarious Work in a Historical Perspective: The European Context

Aditya Bharadwaj
Visiting Fellow (February–May 2016)

Research Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, Graduate Institute Geneva

Red Revolution: The Emergence of Stem Cell Biotechnologies in India

Luiza Bialasiewicz
Bronisław Geremek Visiting Fellow (October 2015–July 2016)

Jean Monnet Professor of EU External Relations, University of Amsterdam

Other Empires, Other Europes: Europe, Beyond Territory

Jan Biba
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow (April–June 2016)

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Charles University in Prague

Nadia Urbinati: Democracy Disfigured: Opinion, Truth, and the People (English > Czech)

María do Mar Castro Varela
Visiting Fellow (October 2015–August 2016)

Professor of General Science of Education and Social Work, Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin

Democracy, Education and Epistemic Change

Claudie Fionni
Junior Visiting Fellow (March–July 2016)

PhD candidate, Department of Anthropology and Sociology of Development, Graduate Institute, Geneva

Phosphate and Politics in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Reshaping Rulers—Ruled Relationship under Neoliberal Capitalism

Rohan Gudibande
Junior Visiting Fellow (December 2015–February 2016)

PhD candidate in Development Economics, Graduate Institute, Geneva

The Nexus Between Land Redistribution and Violence—Evidence from West Bengal

Özge Burcu Günes
Junior Visiting Fellow (March–July 2016)

PhD candidate in Development Studies, Graduate Institute, Geneva

Social Exclusion and Economic Integration Strategies of Roma in Turkey

Mark von Hagen
Guest (June 2016)

Professor of History, Arizona State University School of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Tempe

Pavlo Khrystiuk in Vienna

Gábor Halmaj
EURIAS Visiting Fellow (September 2015–June 2016)

Professor of Law, Department of European Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

The Rise and Fall of Post-Communist Constitutionalism: The Case of Hungary and its Impact on the Future of Liberal Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe

Randall Hansen
Guest (June 2016)

Director, Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto

Stephen Holmes
Guest (April–May 2016)

Walter E. Meyer Professor of Law, New York University School of Law

Counter-Revolution: The Revolt Against the World America Made

Vladislav Inozemtsev
Guest, Russia in Global Dialogue (April 2016)

Professor of Economics, Higher School of Economics; Director, Centre for Post-Industrial Studies, Moscow

Russia in Search for a New Model of Democracy

David Jenkins
Krzysztof Michalski Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2015–June 2016)

PhD Graduate, London School of Economics

Justice as It Has to Be

Olya Kazakevich
Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Fellow (January–June 2016)

PhD candidate in Cultural Studies, Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk

Constructing Citizenship on Russian Makeover TV: Gender, Sexual and Cultural Dimensions

Jelka Kernev Štrajn
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow (April–June 2016)

Translator and literary critic, Ljubljana

Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari: L'Anti-Oedipe: Capitalism et schizophrénie (French > Slovenian)

Adil Hasan Khan
Junior Visiting Fellow (June 2015–February 2016)

PhD candidate in International Law, Graduate Institute, Geneva

Temporality and Coloniality in International Legal Discourse

Ella Kliek
Junior Visiting Fellow (January–June 2016)

PhD candidate, Department of Media, Culture, and Communication, New York University

Objects to Erase with: A Historico-Philosophical Perspective

Martin Koci
Jan Patočka Junior Visiting Fellow (January–June 2016)

PhD candidate in Theology and Religious Studies, KU Leuven

Christianity beyond Athens and Rome—The Retrieval of Patočka's Philosophy

Valeriya Korablyova
Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2015–June 2016)

Associate Professor of Philosophy of Humanities, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv; Member, International Political Science Association; co-editor, *Topos*

Euromaidan as the Trace of 'Equaliberty': Recapitulation of Modern European Values

Yustyna Kravchuk
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow (January–March 2016)

PhD candidate in Film and Media Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv

Judith Butler: Frames of War. When Is Life Grievable? (English > Ukrainian)

Anton Liagusha
Guest, Ukraine in European Dialogue (April 2016)

Associate Professor, Department of World History, Donetsk National University, Vinnytsia

Heroes and Antiheroes in National Narratives of CEE Countries in the 20th Century

Steven Lukes
Krzysztof Michalski Visiting Fellow (September 2015–July 2016)

Professor of Sociology, New York University

The Sociology of Morals

Vladimir Malakhov
Alexander Herzen Visiting Fellow (January–June 2016)

Director, Center for Political Theory and Applied Political Science, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Moscow

The Transformation of Public Space under the Impact of Migration: European Union and Russia Compared

Oleksandr Marinchenko
Junior Visiting Fellow, Ukraine in European Dialogue (February–April 2016)

Research Associate, Dnipropetrovsk State University of Internal Affairs

Nazi Nationality Policy Towards Soviet POWs in Occupied Ukraine (1941–1944): Social History and International Law

Alexandru Matei
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow (January–March 2016)

Associate Professor of Applied Modern Languages, Centre Francophone d'Excellence en Science Humaines, Lumina—The University of South-East Europe, University of Bucharest

Roland Barthes: Le Neutre. Cours au Collège de France (French > Romanian)

Oksana Mikheieva
Guest, Ukraine in European Dialogue (May–June 2016)

Professor of Sociology and Head of Department, Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv

'Homo Militans': The Motivation of Paramilitary Fighters in Ukraine

Katherine Miller
Krzysztof Michalski Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2015–June 2016)

Visiting Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Reed College, Portland

Particularity and Universality as Moral Orientations: Isma'ili Islamic Ethics in Northern Pakistan

Gleb Pavlovsky
Guest (May 2016)

President, Effective Policy Foundation; President, Russian Institute; editor-in-chief, publisher, *Pushkin Magazin*; former counselor, Presidential Administration, Russian Federation

Martin Pokorný
Jan Patočka Visiting Fellow (April–June 2016)

Lecturer in Comparative Literature, Charles University, Prague

Power Relations. A Philosophical Investigation

Irina Prokhorova
Guest, Russia in Global Dialogue (April–May 2016)

Russian intellectual, democratic politician; President, Mikhail Prokhorov Foundation; owner and editor-in-chief, *New Literary Observer*, Moscow

The State of Cultural and Intellectual Life in Russia Today

Till van Rahden
Visiting Fellow (May–July 2016)

Canada Research Chair in German and European Studies, Centre Canadien d'Études Allemandes et Européennes, Université de Montréal

Forms, Style and Manners: Democracy as a Way of Life

Lipin Ram
Junior Visiting Fellow (September 2015–January 2016)

PhD candidate, teaching assistant in Anthropology and Sociology of Development, Graduate Institute, Geneva

Rethinking Democratic Politics: Affect, Violence and Communist Politics in North Kerala

Christelle Rigual
Junior Visiting Fellow (April–May 2016)

Associate Researcher in Political Science, International Relations Department, Graduate Institute, Geneva

The Principle of (Non) Intervention: Inter-Polity Systems in Europe since the 17th Century

Ekaterina Schulmann
Guest, Russia in Global Dialogue (January 2016)

Senior lecturer of Political Science, Department of Public Administration, Institute of Social Sciences, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration

The Legislative Process and Parliamentarism in Russia's Modern Political System

Gunnar Folke Schuppert
Gast (März–April 2016)

Professor für Staats- und Verwaltungswissenschaft, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung

Zum Umgang mit religiöser Pluralität in säkularen Gesellschaften

Jyotirmaya Sharma
Visiting Fellow (September 2015–June 2016)

Professor of Political Science, University of Hyderabad

A Genealogy of Hindu Identity

Anton Shekhovtsov
Visiting Fellow (January 2016–December 2017)

Fellow, Legatum Institute, London

Russia and the Western Far Right

Marci Shore
Visiting Fellow (May–July 2016)

Associate Professor of History, Yale University

Phenomenological Encounters: Scenes from Central Europe

Daria Skibo
Alexander Herzen Junior Visiting Fellow (January–June 2016)

Research Fellow, Centre for Independent Sociological Research, St. Petersburg

Structural Inequality in the Third Sector: How Law Produces, Supports and Organizes Hierarchy Systems among NGOs

Gavin Smith
Guest (February 2016)

Professor em. of Anthropology, University of Toronto

Exploring the Temporal and Spatial Scales of Ethnography Across Disciplines: Implications for Concepts and Methods

Alexander Soros
Guest (April–May 2016)

Founder, Alexander Soros Foundation; Global Board Member, Open Society Foundations; Advisory Board Member, Global Witness

The Börne Identity

Eugen Stancu
Visiting Fellow (May–July 2016)

Associate Professor, University of Bucharest; Executive Director, Eurocentrica

Future in the Past? Regimes of Nostalgia in Post-Communist Romania

Olena Styaszhkina
Guest, Ukraine in European Dialogue (March 2016)

Professor of History, Mariupol State University and Donetsk National University, Vinnitsa

The Mechanisms of Formation and Presentation of Biographies: During the Occupation and after World War II

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, 70–90 Visiting Fellows and Guests are awarded fellowships to pursue their individual research projects at the IWM. Since its inception in 1982, the IWM has hosted more than 1,000 scholars, journalists and translators.

Weltraumphilosoph und stiller Publizist

Maria Teteriuk

Junior Visiting Fellow,
Ukraine in European
Dialogue (January–
June 2016)

PhD candidate in Mass
Communications, senior
lecturer in Media Studies,
National University of
'Kyiv-Mohyla Academy',
Ukraine

**Political Discourse on
LGBT Rights in Ukraine
Before and After
EuroMaidan**

Zsuzanna Varga

CEU Junior Visiting Fellow
(March–May 2016)

PhD candidate in
Comparative Gender
Studies, Central European
University, Budapest

**The Exotic in Eastern
Europe: Producing Ethnic
and National Identities in
Fin-de-Siècle Hungary**

Viktor Voronkov

Guest, Russia in Global
Dialogue (Februar 2016)

Präsident, Centre for
Independent Social
Research, St. Petersburg

**Was ist ethnisch an der
ethnischen Ökonomie?**

Güney Yildiz

Milena Jesenská Visiting
Fellow (January–March
2016)

Reporter; producer and
analyst, BBC London

**Disillusionment with
Social Media: The Case of
Turkey's Political Activists**

Guzel Yusupova

Alexander Herzen Junior
Visiting Fellow (October
2015–March 2016)

Assistant lecturer of
Sociology, Department of
Religious Studies, Kazan
Federal University, Volga
Region

**Everyday Islam in
Post-Soviet Tatarstan:
Developing a Theoretical
Understanding of Religious
Nationalism**

Andrey Zolotov

Guest, Russia in Global
Dialogue (April 2016)

Executive Editor (Europe),
Russia Direct

**Developing a Platform
for Russia-EU Dialogue of
Experts**

VON WALTER FAMLER ZUR EMERITIERUNG VON KLAUS NELLEN

Gebohren 1948 und aufgewachsen im nordrhein-westfälischen Velbert hat Klaus Nellen Philosophie und Germanistik in München und Köln studiert. Jahrgangsgemäß in deutschen 68er-Milieus sozialisiert bietet sich ihm Mitte der 70er-Jahre die Möglichkeit einer wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeit am Husserl-Archiv der Universität Köln. Seine Staatsexamensarbeit beschäftigt sich mit Barockmetaphorik, eine geplante Dissertation mit der Lebensweltproblematik bei Husserl. Er sei, reflektiert Nellen im Rückblick, in Husserl eher hineingerutscht, als dass er sich für die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit diesem bewusst entschieden hätte. Eigentlich fühle er sich mehr mit Denkern wie Adorno, Foucault oder Derrida verbunden.

In den Räumlichkeiten des Kölner Husserl-Archivs lernt Klaus Nellen den polnischen Philosophen Krzysztof Michalski kennen. Die entstehende Freundschaft wird zur Basis für ein gemeinsames Lebensprojekt. Nach einer Idee von Michalski baut Nellen gemeinsam mit diesem und der feministisch orientierten Philosophin Cornelia Klinger ein *Institute for Advanced Study* auf, das im Kern auf dem Erfahrungsaustausch mit unabhängigen Wissenschaftlern und Intellektuellen aus dem kommunistischen Osteuropa basiert. Nach positiven Erfahrungen mit der Sommeruniversität im jugoslawischen Dubrovnik konnten führende europäische Gelehrte wie Hans-Georg Gadamer, Leszek Kolakowski und Paul Ricœur für das Projekt gewonnen werden. Die zentraleuropäische Lage und die leichteren Einreisebedingungen im neutralen Österreich, aber auch die finanzielle Unterstützung durch das österreichische Wissenschaftsministerium und die Stadt Wien führten schließlich 1982 zur Gründung des IWM in Wien.

Die ersten vom IWM organisierten Konferenzen und Vorträge werden von der sozialdemokratisch kodierten Wiener Linksintelligenzija skeptisch aufgenommen, das Institut gilt dieser eher als getarnte Außenstelle des Vatikans und antimarxistische Unterminierungsagentur denn als liberal-demokratisch orientierter Thinktank. Die in den 1980er-Jahren in neoliberalistische Idiome wechselnde Sozialdemokratie sowie die neuentstandenen Grünen werden in den 90er-Jahren, als mit dem Umzug des Institutes an die Spittelauer Lände auch eine entsprechende räumliche Infrastruktur zur Verfügung steht, zunehmend kooperationsbereiter, und bald drängeln sich auch SPÖ- und Grün-Mandatare bei den Castelgandolfo-Gesprächen in Papstnähe.



Walter Famlar und Klaus Nellen 1997 im Pavillon KOCMOC, Moskau

Die Binnenstruktur am IWM ist zu dieser Zeit vom positiven Spannungsverhältnis zwischen den drei Gründern geprägt, arbeitsteilig sind sie mit János Kovács die Kernaggregate des Institutes. Klaus Nellen obliegt die Funktion des Binnenkommunikators. Er kümmert sich neben der kollegialen Eingemeindung der Junior-Fellows aber auch zusammen mit seinen Kollegen um die Gewinnung von Sponsoren und neuen Kooperationspartnern. Neben der Leitung des Jan Patočka-Archivs (siehe das Interview in der IWMpost 117) war Klaus auch für die institutseigenen Publikationen verantwortlich. Von der ersten, 1990 erschienenen, Nummer an redigierte er die Halbjahreszeitschrift *Transit – Europäische Revue*, verfasste deren Editorials und übersetzte Beiträge aus dem Französischen und Englischen. *Transit* entwickelte sich in kürzester Zeit zu einer politisch-essayistischen Zeitschrift, die mit ihren Themenschwerpunkten und Debattenbeiträgen weit über das Institut hinauswirkte und für die von Beginn an Autoren wie Timothy Garton Ash, Ralf Dahrendorf, François Furet, Jacques Rupnik oder Elemér Hankiss nicht nur als Beiträger, sondern auch für Redaktionskomitee und Beirat gewonnen werden konnten.

Als die Zeitschrift *Wespennest* anlässlich ihrer hundertsten Ausgabe 1995 im Rahmen eines seit 1983 bestehenden Netzwerkes in Wien eine Zeitschriftenkonferenz organisierte, war es aufgrund einer Kooperation mit *Transit* erstmals möglich, eine repräsentative Anzahl osteuropäischer Magazine einzuladen. Nachdem bei dieser Konferenz von einzelnen Teilnehmern der Wunsch geäußert wurde, ein transeuropäisches Zeitschriftenprojekt zu initiieren, formulierte Klaus Nellen

mit mir ein erstes Konzept für *Eurozine*, das wir mit zunächst mäßigem Erfolg auf einer Konferenz 1997 in Moskau präsentierten. Nur die KollegInnen aus Skandinavien, allen voran der spätere *Eurozine*-Chefredakteur Carl Henrik Fredriksson, reagierten begeistert. 1998 wurde in Klaus Nellen's Wohnung dann der Verein *Eurozine* gegründet. Die ersten Jahre war *Eurozine* in *Wespennest* einquartiert, mit *Transit* eine von sechs Gründungszeitschriften, und Klaus engagierte sich in der Folge viele Jahre im *Eurozine*-Redaktionskomitee.

Für *Transit*, so Nellen, sei *Eurozine* bis heute von großer Bedeutung. Viele Beiträge erreichten über den Abonnentenkreis und den Verkauf im Buchhandel hinaus ein größeres, internationales Publikum, oft in mehrsprachiger Fassung; Fellows des Institutes fanden Publikationsmöglichkeiten jenseits von Fachmedien. Die erfolgreichste Veröffentlichung eines Beitrages aus *Transit* in *Eurozine* war Timothy Snyders erste Skizze zu seinem Buch *Bloodlands*, die er zunächst als Vortrag der Eurozine-Konferenz 2009 in Vilnius vorstellte und die schließlich in zehn Übersetzungen in *Eurozine*-Partnermagazinen publiziert wurde.

In ihrer Wohnung an der rechten Wienzeile veranstalteten Klaus und Tatiana Zhurhenko regelmäßig eine Art Salon, wo sich IWM-Fellows mit heimischen Gästen in geselliger Atmosphäre austauschen und wo oft sehr unterschiedliche politische Überzeugungen aufeinanderstoßen. Von seinen dortigen Fenstern überblickt Klaus den Naschmarkt, regelmäßig durchstreift er den samstägigen Flohmarkt – beides Terrains, die tiefe Einblicke in Bauch und Geist des kakanischen Wesens ermöglichen. Über die Jahre konnte sich Klaus hier ein

gewisses Verständnis der für Deutsche in der Regel verschlossen bleibenden österreichischen Sprach- und Denkwelt aneignen. Der begeisterte Koch und Schwammerl- bzw. Pilzsucher isst im Schweizerhaus im Prater aber immer noch Schweinefüße und keine Stelzen.

Bei oben bereits erwähnter Konferenz in Moskau wurden Klaus Nellen und ich auch Zeugen der Umwandlung des Pavillon KOCMOC, der eine gigantische Ausstellung der Errungenschaften der sowjetischen Raumfahrt beherbergte, in eine Ramschmeile für Unterhaltungselektronik. Mein Plan, den Kopf des Juri Gagarin, eine etwa zwei Meter hohe Aluminiumbüste des ersten Kosmonauten der Welt, aus dem Pavillon zu retten, fand zwar Klaus' Unterstützung, war aber zum Scheitern verurteilt. Noch vor Ort gründeten wir deshalb die Bewegung KOCMOC/Gruppe Gagarin unter dem Deckmantel, das Lächeln des Juri Gagarin weltweit und massenhaft auf die Antlitze der Frauen zu zaubern. Klaus avancierte zum Frauenbeauftragten. Leider musste er aufgrund der ständigen Beanspruchungen durch das IWM seine Aktivitäten in der Bewegung KOCMOC über die Jahre weitgehend zurückstellen. Statt in seinem ursprünglichen Aufgabenbereich hat er sich Verdienste beim Aufbau des Wiener Juri Gagarin Archivs erworben. Einstimmig haben das KOCMOC-Zentralkomitee und der Generalstab nun den Beschluss gefasst, anlässlich von Klaus Nellen's Ausscheiden aus dem IWM ihm den Ehrentitel „Frauenbeauftragter auf Lebenszeit“ zu verleihen. ◀

Walter Famlar ist Generalsekretär des Kunstvereins Alte Schmiede, langjähriger Herausgeber der Zeitschrift *Wespennest* und Kommandant der Bewegung KOCMOC/Gruppe Gagarin.

Redefining The 'We'

INTERVIEW BY THOMAS SEIFERT

According to **Charles Taylor**, integration can only occur if immigrants are permitted to collaborate in the definition of national identity. In this interview, published on the occasion of the philosopher's 85th birthday on November 5, he proposes an intercultural approach based on shared experience.

Thomas Seifert: Nationality is crucial in a welfare state like Austria, since it determines access to benefits. It is also the central issue for the resurgent far-right. How can tensions around nationality be overcome?

Charles Taylor: The solution isn't easy, but it is to re-define what it is to be Austrian. Trying to understand your national identity purely in terms of where you come from is going to become increasingly impossible for all North Atlantic societies, because economics and war has made it necessary that we receive people from outside. This is particularly hard for Europe, which traditionally does not consider itself an immigrant society. We have the same problem in Canada, particularly in Quebec. Until twenty years ago, the French speaking part of Quebec was made up of people who mostly were descended from original settlers. When immigrants started arriving, we needed to develop an approach to integration. We call this 'interculturalism', not 'multiculturalism'. This concept could be relevant to a country like Austria. Starting from this originally German-speaking Catholic country, with all its particular traditions, you can elaborate, together with the people that have come in, a new understanding of what it is to be Austrian. Interculturalism means developing the sense, particularly among younger people, that nationality is a work in progress. This can be very difficult in a period of economic pressure and austerity, and that's why we see a rise in right-wing populism in many—though not all—European societies. The far-right targets the European Union precisely because it stands for this kind of openness. It's a tremendous struggle, but you can start winning if the younger generation gets excited about this idea of Austria.

Seifert: But what could this entail for migrants from Turkey and the Arab world?

Taylor: I co-chaired a commission in Quebec on integration, and we asked people: Why did you come to Quebec? They gave two reasons. First was *liberté*, freedom. These were Muslims from the Maghreb. And the second reason people gave was their children's education: I want my children to have a chance at a career that I could never have hoped for, to go to university and so on. That's what draws people. If some part of that dream is fulfilled, then they become very attached. The next generation goes through school, they come to love French literature and the Quebecois sense of humour, our *chansonnerie* and so on. That's how integration comes about. If all goes well, you can create this idea that yes, we

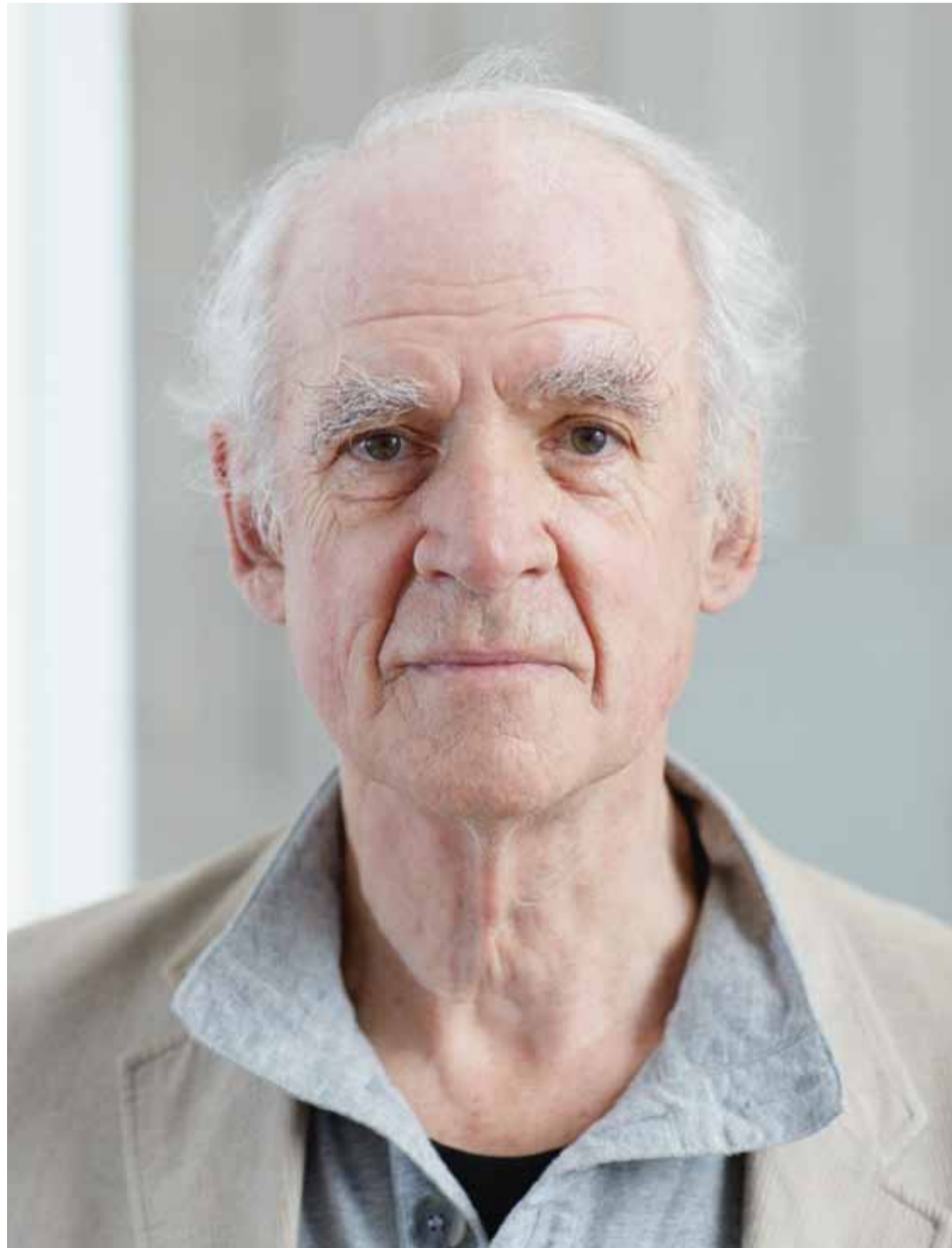


Photo: Philipp Steinweller

have this culture that comes from way back, but it is evolving and changing. Young people understand that well.

Seifert: So culture is one avenue for integration?

Taylor: Yes, definitely. The problem is that it doesn't happen just like that. You need time and you need

Maghrebi, partly because after the post-war boom there was a problem with employment, and partly because of the fraught history of France in Algeria. So you get a majority of these Maghrebi living in the *banlieues*, they are not getting jobs and they are very frustrated.

long. On the one hand you have to avoid provoking the sense that 'they don't want us here', and on the other hand you have to avoid saying, 'this identity is dangerous'. This is not easy given the geopolitical situation. We are going through a dangerous passage. There are better and worse

Interculturalism means developing the sense that nationality is a work in progress.

to avoid deep rifts. Deep rifts happen when the dream doesn't get answered. In Europe, one of the paradigm cases of this is France. Between the two wars, France integrated a huge number of people from Poland, Italy, Spain, Portugal. Admittedly, these are Catholic countries, but the integration was incredible. After the Second World War, the same thing didn't happen with the

An anti-identity starts to form, the 'new French'. That's one way in which the thing can fail. And the other way in which it can fail is if the host society immediately starts stigmatizing. Unfortunately, the French have got into a terrible rut of stigmatization. They have this absurd legislation prohibiting the *hijab*, which is purely symbolic, but which signals to the migrants that they don't be-

performances in Europe at the moment. Societies need to understand why some young people get turned by Islamic extremism and need to work with leaders in the community to prevent this happening. If they do that they will get through this transition period.

Seifert: How can there be reconciliation between Islamist groups who consider the West to be the ene-

my, and groups in the West who consider the enemy to be Islam?

Taylor: What you need is the understanding that we are developing among ourselves, that we are working together to stop this. Along with the best possible police intelligence there has to be real collaboration with people who have some kind of authority with these kids. You need to create the sense that it's not just the host society, but society as a whole, including representatives of people from outside, that is working to prevent Islamic extremism. When a culture has been highly homogeneous for a long time, then it's natural that the arrival of newcomers makes people uncomfortable. One doesn't have to moralize this. But with time, and if we can avoid really terrible conflicts, we can get people beyond this anxiety. We see this happening all the time, people who are very xenophobic enter into some kind of contact with immigrants and begin to see that they're not that different, that they're not that bad.

Seifert: What causes xenophobia? Is it competition for resources and welfare benefits? Is it anxiety that immigrants work harder, that their children will do better? Or is it a deeper kind of anxiety, based on what Zygmunt Bauman has referred to as the dystopia that immigrants represent, the possibility that one's existence is not as secure as one imagines it to be?

Taylor: There may be something in the last idea but it isn't articulated. However the first two are articulated. Even in situations where careful study shows that jobs are not being stolen and that there are fewer immigrants claiming welfare benefits than others. In the end, the express belief about these threats, even when it isn't valid, can be overcome by working and living together. In a big city like Montreal, problems do exist, but so does the antidote. When you get polls asking whether people want French-type legislation, the numbers in favour are higher in the suburbs, where the French-Canadian middle class lives.

Seifert: How do you account for the fact that, in Europe, support for the far-right tends to come from the lower end of the social spectrum?

Taylor: Growing inequalities undoubtedly add to the sense that one is getting a raw deal. It's easier to blame the immigrant next door than certain features of the system. This is a problem not just for integration, but for democracy as such. When you get growing inequalities, people at the lower end check out of democracy and become recruitable for parties offering this utterly simplistic solution.

Seifert: What I also sense here is that right-wing populism encourages the bourgeoisie to abandon its solidarity with the lower classes. Do you see a similar kind of thing happening in Canada?

Taylor: There is a similar discourse, but it's on a different basis. This says that if people are poor it's their fault. Its real source is the US, which spills over to some degree. Think of Mitt Romney in the last elections, which he probably lost because he was caught on tape saying that 47% just receive, they aren't doing anything. If you're down then

er called non-religion just shatters. There isn't a single thing called religion, just as there isn't a single thing called Islam.

Seifert: At the end of the day, we share 99% of our DNA and a common planetary destiny. So why don't we see a merging of religions?

Taylor: Well, we do that too. It's very complex. There's definitely a greater planetary consciousness today than five hundred years ago. On the other hand, you get these deep hatreds, suspicions. There's something in human beings that in certain circumstances makes them suscep-

*It's easier to blame the immigrant
next door than the system.*

*This is a problem not just for integration,
but for democracy as such.*

it's your own fault, don't expect me to get you out of your mess. That's the rationale for a similar withdrawal of solidarity.

Seifert: So how can we retain the ethos of solidarity in traditional welfare states?

Taylor: Only by redefining who the 'we' is. The Scandinavian countries are trying to do this, and they are the ones who built a welfare state based on a very high degree of homogeneity. Of course there's a backlash. It all depends on how quickly you can change the sense of who the 'we' is. It starts off as an idea among an ensemble of very different people, who then work together and begin to get a real, concrete sense of a 'we' that bridges those differences. Alternatively, if you start off with the idea that there is somebody outside that does not belong to the 'we', then that also takes on its own kind of reality. It's about the attractiveness of an idea, the idea that we can change, that we can become something new, together with success in acting it out, in politics, in the workplace, so that the idea is ratified by life.

Seifert: Let's turn to the question of secularism. Given the developments in the Middle East since 2002, how can one not be a secularist today? Surely religion is part of the problem, not the solution?

Taylor: Sometimes religion is part of the problem, sometimes nationalism is part of the problem, sometimes radical politics is part of the problem—look at the Khmer Rouge, where was the religion there? It would be just as absurd to say religion is always violent as to say that religion is always peaceful. People can find reasons for violence in any large scale commitment, as well as reasons to bring people together in peace. People like Ghandi and Martin Luther King led movements inspired by religion that rejected violence and sought reconciliation.

Seifert: Is there a difference between big political ideas and religions?

Taylor: There's a tremendous variety of ethical ideals moving around in the world. Once you look at the world, the idea that there's a separate category called religion and another

tible to that. You can only beat it by developing another kind of identity, where reaching out and being part of the larger whole is really valued.

Seifert: Is secularism the answer, the idea that one can believe whatever one wants in private, as long as religion has no place in the public sphere?

Taylor: That doesn't work either. It is a misconception that secularism means that the public sphere is free from religion. The key to secularism in the modern West is that public authority is not aligned, whether to a religion or to an anti-religion. People should have the maximum freedom to act out whatever their idea is, whether it is atheist or Christian or Jewish or Muslim or whatever. Before the Enlightenment, we lived in societies that were defined confessionally; in order to do justice to the diversity of the modern world, it was necessary to move from a religiously or ideologically defined state to a state that was deliberately non-aligned. In the French speaking world, there is a big fight over how to define *laïcité*. In Quebec, we have this more open concept. The more closed concept that's gaining ground in France is creating deep divisions, stigmatizing, and not realizing a non-aligned state. <

The Quebecois political scientist and philosopher **Charles Taylor** was born in Montreal in 1931. His oeuvre covers moral philosophy, liberalism, multiculturalism and the philosophy of religion. Since 2009, he is a Permanent Fellow at the IWM. In October 2016, he has been named the first winner of the \$1-million Berggruen Prize.

Thomas Seifert is deputy editor-in-chief of the Austrian newspaper *Wiener Zeitung*. A shorter version of this interview, edited by Simon Garnett, was first published in German in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 29 January 2016.

Geburtstagsbrief an einen alten Freund und Kollegen

VON JÜRGEN HABERMAS

Lieber Chuck, erlaube mir, diese Gelegenheit für einen kurzen Rückblick auf unsere Beziehung zu nutzen. Ich möchte nämlich nicht nur den neidlosen Respekt vor Deinem Werk und vor Deiner beneidenswert fortgesetzten Produktivität ausdrücken, sondern einen sehr speziellen Dank für unsere weit zurückreichende Beziehung begründen.

Nur noch wenige Jahre trennen uns von dem Zeitpunkt, an dem unsere erste Begegnung ein halbes Jahrhundert zurückliegen wird. Auf Deine Einladung fuhr ich damals – es wurde meine erste und einzige Fahrt mit einem Greyhound-Bus – von New York nach Montreal zu einem Kollegen, der mit seinem Buch *The Explanation of Behavior* bekannt geworden war. [...] Für mich war diese Begegnung ein philosophischer Glücksfall – und eine Überraschung: Ich traf einen Kollegen, der mit Studium und Lehre in Kanada, Oxford und Paris einen völlig anderen akademischen Hintergrund gehabt und doch die gleichen Bücher gelesen hatte, der von Husserl, Merleau-Ponty und Wittgenstein geprägt war, die deutsche und die französische Philosophie ebenso gut kannte wie die angelsächsische, der ein ähnlich breites Spektrum von Forschungsinteressen verriet, mit Politikwissenschaft und Psychologie vertraut war – und sich zuhause für die Labour-Partei engagierte!

Erst als wir Dich wenige Jahre später im Starnberger Institut in tagelange Diskussionen verwickelten, wurde mir klar, wie tief Du in die deutsche Tradition von Hamann, Herder, Humboldt und Hegel bis zu Dilthey und Gadamer eingedrungen warst. Ich kannte niemanden, der das methodische Vorgehen der analytischen Sprachphiloso-

phie so überzeugend mit genuinen Einsichten der philosophischen Hermeneutik verbinden konnte – außer Ernst Tugendhat, der übrigens damals dabei war und einen ähnlichen philosophischen Weg wie Du, nur in umgekehrter Richtung, zurückgelegt hatte. Diese zwanglose Verbindung der beiden Traditionen hat Dich auch zu jenem ersten weltweit rezipierten Werk befähigt, mit dem Du das Interesse der angelsächsischen Welt für Hegel gewonnen hast. [...]

Wir haben unsere gegenseitigen Besuche in Oxford und Frankfurt fortgesetzt. Trotz gegenseitiger Kritik in manchen systematischen Fragen der Sprachphilosophie und der Vernunftkonzeption hatte ich das Gefühl, dass wir gewissermaßen Seite an Seite dasselbe Projekt verfolgten, Du vielleicht stärker mit politikwissenschaftlichen, ich mit gesellschaftstheoretischen Mitteln – nämlich die Beförderung eines sozialwissenschaftlich aufgeklärten philosophischen Selbstverständnisses der Moderne. [...] Die Lektüre Deines zweiten großen Buches über die *Quellen des Selbst* hat mich dann freilich nicht nur in meiner Bewunderung für Deine theorienkonstruktive Kraft bestätigt, sondern auch über den Dissens belehrt, den die Zurückweisung der Kantischen Verfahrensethik auch im Hinblick auf unser Verständnis der Moderne zur Folge haben musste: Hinter dem normativen Selbstverständnis der Moderne, das sich um den Begriff der vernünftigen Autonomie kristallisiert, sollte nun – gut Aristotelisch – der substantielle Begriff eines „modernen Guten“ auftauchen. Jedoch hat uns dieser philosophische Dissens auch in den letzten 25 Jahren nicht eigentlich voneinander entfernt, persönlich ohnehin nicht, aber ebenso wenig in der Sache.

Für mein nicht nachlassendes Interesse an Deinen immer weiter voranschreitenden philosophischen Arbeiten gibt es einen einfachen Grund. Nach meinem Eindruck verfolgen wir nämlich immer noch ein ähnliches Projekt, wenn auch inzwischen von gegenüberliegenden Ufern aus. [...] Du bist mir mit Deinem dritten großen Buch *Ein säkulares Zeitalter* wieder einmal weit voraus. Und ich sehe seit 1996 nicht nur klarer das katholische Motiv, sondern auch den Grund für den Blick vom anderen Ufer aus: Aus meiner Sicht zeichnet sich das säkulare vor dem religiösen Selbstverständnis durch die Bereitschaft und Fähigkeit zur vorbehaltlosen Öffnung gegenüber einer diskursiven Vernunft aus, die uns regulativ über alle Kontexte hinweg miteinander verbindet. Hingegen ist in Deinen Augen genau dieses säkulare Selbstverständnis nur eine unter vielen kontextgebundenen und unaufhörlich miteinander konkurrierenden Weltanschauungen. Wenn aber, wie Du meinst, genau dieser vernünftigerweise als unauflöslich zu erwartende Pluralismus aller Weltansichten das reflexiv gewordene, jedoch nach wie vor partikularistische Selbstverständnis der Moderne auszeichnet, wirst Du mit unserem freundschaftlich gehaltenen Dissens gut leben können.

Ich wünsche Dir weiterhin die Energie und den klaren Kopf eines philosophischen Waldläufers,

herzlich Dein
Jürgen

Leicht gekürzte Fassung. Original in: *Transit* 49 (2016/2), Schwerpunkt: Charles Taylors Landkarte, hrsg. von Ulf Bohmann/Gesche Keding/Hartmut Rosa, S. 179–181.

Charles Taylor zum 85. Geburtstag

Mit Beiträgen von Jürgen Habermas, Craig Calhoun, Nancy Fraser, Hans Joas, Steven Lukes, Axel Honneth, Alasdair MacIntyre, William E. Connolly, James Tully, Amy Gutmann und vielen anderen.



Grenzen der Toleranz / Charles Taylor
Transit – Europäische Revue, Nr. 49
Herausgegeben am Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen (IWM), Wien;
Verlag Neue Kritik, Frankfurt am Main.

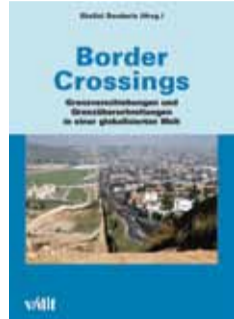
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Books, Articles and Talks

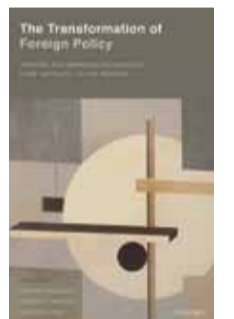
Books by Fellows and Alumni

Shalini Randeria (Hg.)
Border Crossings: Grenzüberschreitungen und Grenzüberschreitungen in einer globalisierten Welt Zürich: vdf Hochschulverlag, 2016



Die Publikation widmet sich dem Spannungsfeld zwischen Grenzüberschreitungen und Grenzüberschreitungen in einer globalisierten Welt. Im Mittelpunkt stehen Fragen der Toleranz, Religion, Rechtsstaatlichkeit, Migration, Staatsbürgerschaft sowie der Transformation von familiären Bindungen sowie individuellen und kollektiven Identitäten und deren Auswirkungen auf die Herstellung von Solidarität und Ausschluss. Besondere Beachtung wird dem außer-europäischen Kontext und der Geschlechterperspektive geschenkt.

Andreas Fahrmeir, Gunther Hellmann and Miloš Vec (eds.)
The Transformation of Foreign Policy. Drawing and Managing Boundaries from Antiquity to the Present Oxford University Press, 2016



The study of foreign policy is usually concerned with the interaction of states, and thus with governance structures which emerged either with the so-called 'Westphalian system' or in the course of the 18th century. This edited volume, however, presents a novel understanding of what constitutes foreign policy today. In a broad perspective stretching from early Greek politics to present-day global cities, it offers a theoretical and empirical presentation of this concept by political scientists, jurists, and historians.

Annemieke Hendriks
The Tomato and the Bizarre World of Fresh Vegetables [De tomaat en de bizarre wereld van vers voedsel] Nieuw Amsterdam Publishers, December 2016



In this book, written by Dutch journalist and former Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow Annemieke Hendriks, the tomato is used as a metaphor to describe the business with fresh vegetables in Europe. Focusing on various decision makers in the life of the tomato and the absurdities from seed to supermarket, the story predominantly takes place in the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Austria, Romania, Poland and Hungary.

Mark Lilla
The Shipwrecked Mind: On Political Reaction New York Review Books, 2016



The revolutionary spirit that inspired political movements across the world for two centuries may have died out. But the spirit of reaction that rose to meet it has survived and is proving just as formidable a historical force. We live in an age when the tragicomic nostalgia of Don Quixote for a lost golden age has been transformed into a potent and sometimes deadly weapon. Mark Lilla helps us to understand why (see p. 3)

Oliver Kohns, Till van Rahden and Martin Roussel (Hg.)
Autorität: Krise, Konstruktion und Konjunktur, Texte zur politischen Ästhetik 5 Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2016



Drei Perspektiven kennzeichnen die Rede von Autorität im 20. Jahrhundert: die vermeintliche Krise einer vormals fraglosen Gültigkeit, der Versuch genealogischer Rückversicherung durch Versatzstücke der Tradition und die Behauptung, Autorität könne als Grundbegriff der politischen Theorie vor allem in der Demokratie dienen. Krise und Neubegründung, die historische Unterscheidung guter von falscher Autorität sowie eine Diskussion über demokratische Autorität sind die Folge dieses Problemhorizontes. Der Begriff der Autorität verortet sich deshalb im 20. Jahrhundert in einem Spannungsfeld zwischen zeitgeschichtlichem Problembewusstsein, konservativem Denken und politischer Theorie.

Kristina Stoeckl and Alexander Michailowski
Interview with Sergey Horujy
Studies in East European Thought, Vol. 68 Springer, 2016



Sergej S. Horujy is one of the leading exponents of Soviet dissident religious thought. In this interview with Kristina Stoeckl and Alexander Michailowski he reflects on the return of religious philosophy to Russian public debate in the perestroika period and Yeltsin years. His insights shed a critical light on Russia's current turn to religion and traditional values.

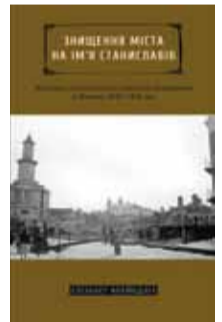
Paul Celan Translation Program

Virginia Held
The Ethics of Care: Personal, Political and Global [Etika péče: Osobní, politická a globální] Translated by **Petr Urban** (English > Czech) Prague: Filosofia, 2016



The book introduces the ethics of care as a promising alternative to the dominant moral theories. The ethics of care can be seen as an approach rooted in a fundamentally relational view of human beings. It rejects the traditional emphasis on abstract moral reasoning, and promotes instead moral understanding based on the practical experience of embodied, situated agents engaged in inter-individual interaction.

Elisabeth Freundlich
Die Ermordung einer Stadt namens Stanislaw. NS-Vernichtungspolitik in Polen 1939-1945 [Знищення міста на ім'я Станіславів] Übersetzt von **Halyna Petrosanyk** (Deutsch > Ukrainisch) Discursus, 2016



75 Jahre Massenmord am jüdischen Friedhof von Stanislaw – das Massaker vom 12. 10. 1941 gilt heute als Beginn der „Endlösung“ im „Generalgouvernement“, 50 Jahre nach dem Stanislaw-Prozess, 30 Jahre nach dem ersten und einzigen Erscheinen von Elisabeth Freundlich's *Die Ermordung der Stadt Stanislaw* und 15 Jahre nach dem Tod der Autorin, erschien 2016 die ukrainische Übersetzung des Buchs von Halyna Petrosanyk sowie eine deutsche Neuausgabe im Verlag der Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft.

Selected Articles and Talks by Fellows and Guests

Özge Burcu Günes

“Weddings and Savings: A Critique of Financial Literacy Programs”, *Roma Discussion Group*, King's College London, June 24, 2016.

“Discrimination, Stereotypes and Social Inclusion of Roma in Sakarya (Turkey)” and chair of the session “Gypsies on the Move”, 4th *Turkish Migration Conference*, University of Vienna, July 14, 2016.

Ludger Hagedorn

“Europe's 20th Century: History of Wars and War as History”, in: Darian Meacham, Francesco Tava (eds.): *Thinking After Europe: Patočka and Politics*, London: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016.

“Solidarity—but for Whom? Remarks on Solidarity beyond Solidity”, in: Martin Palouš (ed.): *The Solidarity of the Shaken*, Prague: The Václav Havel Library, 2016.

“René Girard's Theory of Sacrifice, or: What is the Gift of Death?”, in: *Journal for Cultural and Religious Theory* (JCRT), Vol. 15, No. 1, 2016.

“Summer School „Deutungen der Reformation II. Theologische, kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Wirkungen in 500 Jahren“, Guardini Stiftung in Kooperation mit der Humboldt Universität Berlin, 18.–30. Juli, Erfurt.

“Negativity and Devotion. Transcendence in the Thought of Jan Patočka”, Workshop *Transcendence and Self-Transcendence* in the frame of the Research Project “The Return of the Religion in Postmodern Thought”, IWM, Vienna, October 20–21, 2016.

“Go all out: War, Sacrifice, Holiness”, Workshop *Pro Patria Mori. Solidarity and Sacrifice in the First World War*, IWM, Vienna, in cooperation with the ERC Project GRAPH—The Great War and Modern Philosophy, KU Leuven, April 14–15, 2016.

„Philosophie und die Kriege des 20. Jahrhunderts“, Konferenz *Philosophie, Geschichte, Politik. Europa und die Sorge für die Seele*, Center for Theoretical Study, Prague, March 31–April 1, 2016.

Gábor Halmai

“Constitutionalism, Law, and Religion in Israel: A State's Multiple Identities”, in: *Journal of Civil and Legal Sciences*, 2016.

„Der Niedergang der liberalen Demokratie mitten in Europa“, in: *Transit – Europäische Revue*, Nr. 48, 2016.

“Three Facets of Rising Populism: Cases from Turkey, Europe, and the United States”, *German Marshall Fund of the US in Istanbul*, June 7, 2016.

“How the EU Can Cope With Populist Regimes? The Cases of Hungary and Poland”, Conference *European Constitutional Democracy in Peril: People, Principles, Institutions*, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, June 23–24, 2016.

“Transitional Justice in Hungary”, Conference *Legislating and Judging History. European Memory Laws in Comparative Perspective*, University of Amsterdam, June 2–3, 2016.

“Constitutionalism, Law and Religion in Israel. A State's Multiple Identities”, *EURIAS Fellows Meeting 2016*, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, April 12–13, 2016.

“The Hungarian Constitutional Court and the Transnational Forums”, Conference *Possible Alternatives of Constitutional Democracy*, Central European University, Budapest, January 12–13, 2016.

János M. Kovács

“Minden, amit tudni akartam a matematikai közgazdaságtanról, de nem mertem megkérdezni” [Everything I Always Wanted to Know about Mathematical Economics but Was Afraid to Ask], published on www.ketezer.hu/e-2000.

“The Long Shadow of the Iron Curtain. Economic Thought under Communism and East-West Exchange of Ideas”, Conference *Cold War Epistemics Revisited. Resistance and Legitimation in the Social Sciences*, CEU, Budapest, February 5–6, 2016.

“Axes of Recognition. Janos Kornai and the East-West Exchange of Economic Ideas”, Conference of the History of Economics Society, Duke University, June 17–20, 2016.

Ivan Krastev

Several Articles and Comments on Russia, Turkey, Eastern Europe, Brexit etc. in: *The New York Times*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Green European Journal*, *Kyiv Post*, *Financial Times*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* etc.

“Reverse Engineering”—Russia and the West”, Lecture Series, *Russia. Between Realpolitik and*

Propaganda: Assessing Russia's Global Reach, Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue, Vienna, January 12, 2016.

“The Imitation Games”, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, September 17, 2016.

“Lessons from the Ukraine Conflict for Crisis Management in the European Security Order”, The Brookings Institution, Washington, January 28, 2016.

“Is Populism the New Normal in Politics?” Conference *Risks and Trends 2016*, Warsaw, February 15, 2016.

Conference *The West and Russia between Crimea and ISIS*, Institute for Advanced Study, Warsaw, March 10–11, 2016.

“The Refugee Crisis—Implications for Economies and Societies”, *Brussels Forum*, March 19, 2016.

“The Battle for Europe”, Symposium, Nexus Institute, Amsterdam, April 2–4, 2016.

GLOBSEC Bratislava Global Security Forum, Bratislava, April 15–17, 2016.

EUISS Annual Conference 2016 Towards an EU Global Strategy: *The Final Stage*, Paris, April 21–22, 2016.

“Governance Debates in Europe”, *The Civic Roundtable*, Berlin, May 1–2, 2016.

“Europe Whole and Free: a Fading Dream?”, *Lennart Meri Conference 2016*, Tallinn, May 13–15, 2016.

“World in Focus”, Warsaw International Gathering, Warsaw, June 3–4, 2016.

“Re-mapping Europe?”, International Workshop, Oxford, June 10–11, 2016.

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„Lumpen Sammeln: Auf Um- und Abwegen durch das 19. Jahrhundert“, *Forschungskolloquium zur Europäischen Geschichte*, Universität Regensburg, 12. Juli 2016 bzw. Konferenz *Errettung oder Erlösung der Wirklichkeit? Film, Geschichte und Politik bei Siegfried Kracauer*, IFK, Wien, 9.–11. März 2016.

„Wie Vati die Demokratie lernte: Die Frage der Autorität in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik“, Konferenz *Deutsche und sowjetische Gesellschaften im ersten Nachkriegsjahrzehnt: Traumata und Hoffnungen*, Bonn, 8. Juli 2016.

“Minority and Majority as Asymmetrical Concepts: The Perils of Democratic Equality and Fantasies of National Purity”, *Forschungskolloquium*, Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung, Technische Universität Berlin, 22. Juni 2016.

„Völkermühle‘ Hauptbahnhof: Kommerz, Geselligkeit und Furcht im Wien des frühen 21. Jahrhunderts“, Konferenz *Bahnhof verstehen. Zur Geschichte der Wiener Süd- und Hauptbahnhöfe*, Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien, 17. Juni 2016.

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“The Role of Institutions—Experiences and Prospects”, Round Table, 4th CAS SEE International Conference *Playing by the Rules*, May 26, 2016.

“Spatial and Temporal Entanglements: Post-colonial Perspectives”, IFS-Lecture, Institut für Soziologie, Technische Universität Berlin, June 14, 2016.

„Gute Rechte für alle! – Chancen und Gefahren (menschen)rechtsbasierter Entwicklungsstrategien“, Dialogreihe *Gute Rechte für alle!*, VHS Wiener Urania, 20. Juni 2016.

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Ekaterina Schulman

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Marci Shore

“Where Brutality Meets Poetry”, review of Traiq Cyril Amar: *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, Ola Hnatiuk: *Odwaga i strach*,

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“Revolution and Subjectivity”, Conference *People Power: Polish Solidarity and the Ukrainian Revolution*, Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, May 5, 2016.

“Dziedzictwo totalitaryzmu w postmodernistycznym świecie”, *Borderlands Foundation*, Krasnogruda, August 3, 2016.

Timothy Snyder

“The Wars of Vladimir Putin”, in: *New York Review of Books*, June 9, 2016.

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“Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning”, Panel Discussion, Harvard, Center for European Studies Panel Discussion, March 9, 2016.

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tística, urbanização e industrialização”, *Congresso Internacional Cem Anos do Código Civil*, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio, May 16–20, 2016.

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„Lehre als performativer Akt. Statement des Preisträgers 2015“, UNVIE Teaching Award 2016: Preisverleihung, Universität Wien, 9. Juni 2016.

Guzel Yusupova

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Ponarin), in: *Problems of Post-Communism* (published online and forthcoming in paper in March 2017).

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“Bottom-up Minority Nationalism of Cultural Virtuosos in Contemporary Russia: Individual Strategies and Collective Attitudes”, *BASEES 2016 Annual Conference*, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, April 2–4, 2016.

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“Performing and Consuming Ethnicity in the Islamic Context: the Case of Tatars in Russia”, *Loughborough University Nationalism Network (LUNN)*, UK, March 16, 2016.

“Islam and Ethnicity in Tatarstan 2010s: Everyday Nationalism Approach”, Department of Politics, Languages, and International Studies, University of Bath, March 14, 2016.

“Performing and Consuming Ethnicity in the Islamic Context: the Case of Tatars in Russia”, *Politics, Identities and Institutions in Russia's Regions*, *King's Russia Institute*, Kings College London, March 10, 2016.

Tatiana Zhurzhenko

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Recent Articles on Transit Online

Trump, Contemporary Fascisms and the Acquiescence of the Left

Andrew Brandel



To whatever extent we may be tempted to call the current threat fascism, it must be acknowledged that we no longer live in the world of 1930s Europe. This, instead, would be a fascism born of a bourgeois fantasy of enduring domination, given shape, for example, as the American dream—white, Christian, heteronormative, masculine.

Invalid Anti-Migrant Referendum in Hungary

Gábor Halmai



Despite all the immoral and unlawful efforts of the government to influence the Hungarian voters, the majority of them did not cast votes, and made the referendum invalid. Disregarding this result, at the night of the referendum, Prime Minister Orbán an-

nounced the amendment of the constitution “in order to give a form to the will of the people.”

Knowns and Unknowns behind Turkey's Failed Coup

Huercan Asli Aksoy



Although Turkey has meager democratic credentials, a military intervention is not a solution for re-establishing or consolidating democracy in Turkey. Surprisingly, the deeply divided Turkish political scene was unified in condemning the coup attempt and Gulen's movement.

Partitions and the Sisyphean Making of Peoples

A. Dirk Moses



Far from solving identity dilemmas, partitions represent another episode in the endless process of their re-configuration and adaptation. Rather than engaging in the separation of

homogenous peoples, partitions are a modality of their making, however fraught and incomplete, indeed impossible. For while nationalists imagine that partition led to the territorialization of their people and its return to “history”, the last sixty years has revealed the Sisyphean nature of realizing this national fantasy in practice.

Vienna's War on Drugs: Refugee Crises and the Recriminalization of Narcotics

David Petruccelli



The recent refugee crisis in Europe has resurrected many specters the continent thought it had banished. Calls for increased national sovereignty and a limitation on or dismantling of the EU, for an abandonment of multicultural policies and for strict immigration controls, have grown louder and more insistent. It may also revitalize the global drug control regime. Vienna's efforts to stamp out the drug trade in the 1920s–30s helped birth the global war on drugs. The city's efforts today may help save it.

Further details and more articles on: www.iwm.at/transit-online

China is Ready to Build Putin's Firewall
continued from page 11

the Internet filtering system, which would let censors “search and find” information, not just block websites and pages. The League was intimately involved in bringing the Chinese to Moscow in April, and Fang Binxing launched a Chinese “Society of Information Security” consisting of volunteers, as an imitation of the League’s approach of using volunteers to patrol the Internet.

The second area is technology. In 2016 the Russian officials began a campaign to reshape the critical infrastructure of the Internet—with the goal of putting it under government control. In June 2016 Putin also signed a new anti-terrorism package, which requires communications providers to store user data (including calls and messages) for at least six months, while making it accessible to the security services; it also gives the government the power to demand the keys to encrypted traffic.

This presents a technology problem. The Kremlin has announced “import substitution”—a thinly veiled attempt to portray Western sanctions as something beneficial to the country, something that could help develop Russian industries. But the infrastructure of the Russian Internet was built on Western—largely American—technologies, first and foremost Cisco. Now the government is trying to find a way to replace Western technologies with something produced in Russia, or in the East.

China has made a point of signaling that they are ready to help. Talks were reportedly held between Russian officials and Huawei, the Chinese telecom equipment leader, about licensing its data storage and server technologies.

In 2016 Huawei was a sponsor of almost every conference on information security in Moscow, and the company’s representatives were given a time slot to speak at the Russia-China Cyber Forum in April 2016. It was also a “general sponsor” of the Infoforum in Beijing—and a visit by Russian officials to the Huawei HQ in China’s capital was on the event’s agenda.

A Window of Opportunity?

For years, the Russian secret services have been suspicious of Chinese telecom equipment. They were very aware of media reports that Beijing could use the Huawei’s equipment for spying. But now their search for a solution to the “Internet problem” could bring Russia into the arms of Chinese telecom companies. One can only guess the implications for the Russian Internet. ◀

¹⁾ <http://minsvyaz.ru/ru/events/35983/>

The Russian investigative journalists **Irina Borogan** and **Andrei Soldatov** (agentura.ru) are the authors of *The Red Web: The Struggle Between Russia's Digital Dictators and the New Online Revolutionaries*, published in 2015. From November to December 2016, they were *Russia in Global Dialogue* Guests at the IWM.

Upcoming Events 01–05 2017

January

January 15



Photo: Matthias Cremer

Im Zeitalter des Populismus

Ort: Burgtheater, 1010 Wien

Heinz Bude

Professor für Soziologie, Universität Kassel

Alexander Gauland

AfD-Politiker, Jurist und Publizist

Jan-Werner Müller

Professor für Politikwissenschaft, Princeton University; Visiting Fellow, IWM

Mark Lilla

Professor of Humanities, Columbia University

Alexandra Förderl-Schmid (Moderation)
Chefredakteurin, *Der Standard*

Nächste Termine:
19. 02. und 05. 03. 2017

January 19



Photo: IWM

Ach Ukraine! Persönliche Erfahrungen eines Polenisten

Martin Pollack

Historiker, Schriftsteller und Übersetzer

Der Vortrag eröffnet die konstituierende Sitzung der Österreichisch-Ukrainischen Historikerkommission und beleuchtet die Beziehungen zwischen Polen und der Ukraine aus der persönlichen Perspektive des renommierten Polenkennters.

January 25



Photo: Legatum Institute

Russia and the Western Far Right

Anton Shekovtsov

Fellow, Legatum Institute, London; Ukraine in European Dialogue Visiting Fellow, IWM

The lecture discusses relations between various Russian actors (activists, politicians, organizations, media, officials, etc.) and the Western far right. It provides a historical perspective, discussing the pro-Soviet or pro-Russian views of particular Western far right activists, but its major focus is contemporary Russia.

February / March

February 16



Photo: Georges Seguin / Wikimedia

Die Welt des Herrn Bickford

Ort: Alte Schmiede, 1010 Wien

Andrej Kurkow

Ukrainischer Schriftsteller; Sheptytsk'kyi Visiting Fellow, IWM

In seinem skurril-melancholischen Roman wirft der ukrainische Schriftsteller Andrej Kurkow einen enthüllenden Blick auf die Nachkriegs-Sowjetunion und die Wunden in der Seele der „Sowjetmenschen“.

February 23



Photo: Wolfgang H. Wogner / Wikimedia

Europa und Österreich – Wo liegt die Zukunft?

Erhard Busek

Österreichischer Politiker und ehemaliger Vizekanzler; Vorstandsvorsitzender, Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa

Der nächste Politische Salon mit Erhard Busek, veranstaltet in Kooperation mit der Tageszeitung *Die Presse*, diskutiert die Zukunftsperspektiven der Europäischen Union und welche Rolle Österreich innerhalb der EU spielen wird.

March 2



Photo: Vasilena / iStock

Democratic Inclusion: A Pluralistic Theory of Citizenship

Rainer Bauböck

Professor of Social and Political Theory, European University Institute, Florence

A normatively attractive conception of democracy must be pluralistic in three senses: it presupposes a diversity of interests, ideas and identities; it also assumes a plurality of bounded democratic polities; and it ought to accept a plurality of inclusion principles that apply in different ways to democratic policies, governments and political communities.

April / May

April 5/19/26



Photo: Taylor / Wikimedia

IWM Lectures in Human Sciences

Stephen Kotkin

The American historian, academic and author Stephen Kotkin will deliver the IWM Lectures in Human Sciences 2017. He is currently a professor in History and International Affairs at Princeton University and a Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution.

May 4



Photo: Marco Merrens

Patočka Memorial Lecture

Venue: Wien Museum, 1010 Wien

Chantal Mouffe

Professor of Political Theory, University of Westminster; Albert O. Hirschmann Visiting Fellow, IWM

In 2017, the Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture will be given by the Belgian political theorist Chantal Mouffe, who directs the Center for the Study of Democracy at Westminster University.

Events Colorkey

Debates at the Burgtheater

Debating Europe, organized in cooperation with the Vienna Burgtheater, ERSTE Foundation and *Der Standard*, is a matinée series of public debates.

Monthly Lectures

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

Political Salons

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

IWM Lectures in Human Sciences

This series of public lectures was launched in 2000 on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Hans Georg Gadamer, supporter of the Institute since its inception.

Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture

Since 1987, the IWM regularly organizes lectures in memory of the Czech philosopher and human rights activist Jan Patočka (1907–1977).

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

Call for Applications: Fellowships 2017/18

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

Milena Jesenská Fellowships for Journalists → Deadline: February 6, 2017

Paul Celan Fellowships for Translators → Deadline: February 6, 2017

Ukraine in European Dialogue Fellowships → Coming soon