

Andrew Brandel

## Intellectuals in the Age of Right-Wing Insurgency

Lilia Shevtsova

Did Liberals  
Bury Liberalism?

Sebastian M. Spitra

Discovering, Pro-  
tecting, Destroying

Andrei Kurkov

The Hippies  
of Soviet Lviv



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Editorial

Über den Aufstieg des Populismus und die Krise der liberalen Demokratie wurde bereits viel geschrieben. Doch welche Rolle spielen Intellektuelle beim Vormarsch rechter Parteien in Europa und darüber hinaus? Während **Andrew Brandel** den ideologischen „Kampf der Worte“ und den neoliberalen Wissensverfall in der US-amerikanischen Universitätslandschaft näher beleuchtet, erklärt **Lilia Shevtsova** warum es der Liberalismus bis jetzt nicht geschafft hat, in der russischen Gesellschaft Fuß zu fassen. Auf weltpolitischer Ebene ist es angesichts der zunehmenden Spannungen zwischen Russland und dem Westen wichtiger denn je, multilaterale Gespräche und internationale Diplomatie voranzutreiben, um einen neuen Kalten Krieg zu verhindern, wie **Walter Kemp** in Anlehnung an den OSCE Workshop am IWM ausführt. Um Rechtsstaatlichkeit und internationales Kriegesrecht geht es auch in den Beiträgen von **Ezgi Yildiz** und **León Castellanos-Jankiewicz**, die sich mit dem Wandel des Völkerrechts im 21. Jahrhunderts auseinandersetzen. In diesem Zusammenhang zeigt **Sebastian M. Spitra**, dass das Konzept von Kulturgütern in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart gerne als ein Instrument (neo)kolonialer Herrschaft verwendet wurde.

Weitere Beiträge dieser Ausgabe umfassen unterschiedliche Milieustudien aus dem post-kommunistischen Raum. Während **Andrei Kurkov** die bislang wenig beleuchtete Geschichte der sowjetischen Hippies aus Lemberg erzählt, befragte **Chiara Bonfiglioli** frühere Textilarbeiterinnen über ihre Erfahrungen mit den gesellschaftlichen Umbrüchen im post-sozialistischen Jugoslawien. **Annemieke Hendriks** wiederum dokumentierte die Reise der Tomate von der Saat bis zum Supermarkt, indem sie die Widersprüchlichkeiten und Mythen des Gemüsehandels sowie die landwirtschaftlichen Veränderungen nach Ende des Kalten Krieges innerhalb Europas aufzeigt. ◀

Much has been written lately about the rise of populism and crises of liberal democracy. But what role do intellectuals play in an age of right-wing insurgency in Europe and beyond? While **Andrew Brandel** focuses on the “battle over language” and the neoliberal erosion of knowledge in the US academic system, **Lilia Shevtsova** explains why liberalism has failed to take deep root in Russian society. On the world political stage, as tensions between Russia and the West continue to mount, multi-lateral dialogue and international diplomacy are more important than ever to avoid a new Cold War, says **Walter Kemp** in his article based on an OSCE workshop at the IWM. The rule of law and the laws of war are also discussed in contributions by **Ezgi Yildiz** and **León Castellanos-Jankiewicz**, who reflect on the functions and transformations of international law in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In this context, **Sebastian M. Spitra** shows how the concept of cultural property has been used as an instrument of (neo)colonial rule in the past and present.

Further contributions to this issue include studies of different milieux in the post-communist space. Whereas **Andrei Kurkov** sheds light on the little-known history of the hippies of Soviet Lviv, **Chiara Bonfiglioli** asks former garment workers about their experience of post-socialist transformation in former Yugoslavia. **Annemieke Hendriks**, in turn, traces the biography of the tomato from seed to supermarket by analyzing the paradoxes and myths of the fresh food trade and the transformation of Europe’s post-Cold War agricultural landscape. ◀



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# Intellectuals in the Age of Right-Wing Insurgency

BY ANDREW BRANDEL

*The current political climate is increasingly defined by a battle over language. What role do intellectuals play in the context of radical right populism in the US and Europe and what can they do to counteract the neoliberal erosion of knowledge and culture?*

On February 9<sup>th</sup>, the United States' 9<sup>th</sup> Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the decisions of lower courts to stay execution of the president's racist and unconstitutional Muslim travel ban. What received less attention was that legal standing in the case was established on the basis of injury to university and scientific communities. The government contested the earlier ruling in part by claiming that district courts lacked subject-matter jurisdiction, because the states (Washington and Minnesota) had no standing to sue. The appellate court ruled, however, that the university system was indisputably party to their respective states (a fact uncontested by the administration), that the obstruction of migration and legal visitation impaired the capacity of researchers to conduct their work, and that such disruption constituted "substantial injuries and even irreparable harm."

## The Language of Politics

The tactics of far-Right insurgency have nevertheless proven remarkably effective. The administration, despite having temporarily consented to abide by the courts' rulings without immediate appeal, launched a vociferous attack on language and the authority of experts to challenge their judgment. In the days that followed, the Republican controlled House of Representatives passed legislation, with little fanfare, that would require federal agencies supporting scientific work to subject all grantees' research to a 'national interest' test, aimed to undermine particular fields of inquiry; notably research on anthropogenic climate change. The president and his spokespeople immediately moved to coopt categories like *fake news* and *post-fact* that were initially deployed by scientists, artists and activists to call attention to the consistent disregard for material conditions on the ground. The administration barred several of the nation's most widely circulated media outlets from press access. The president himself boasted on his victory tour that he would take the message directly to the people, unmediated by 'lying' journalists who 'lacked' sources. In the wake of his infamous statement implying a recent attack in Sweden (which never took place) Fox News consulted a supposed Scandinavian security expert and advisor who, it turned out, was none of the above. The deployment of dubious expertise



A selection of Ákos Birkás' early photographic work is currently on show at the IWM (see also p. 16).

is a tried and true rhetorical method of the American Right (and the supposed Left)—like Herman Cain's economic advisors in the previous election—but the irreverent and dif-

tiny, whether through mockery or expert refutation, such opposition is used to mark out the speaker as an agent of disruption, and thus to coalesce or to cohere an imaginary

of the 'real' people and who counts within it. Yet the shock that commentators profess about this 'crisis' in language is uttered with a degree of self-delusion. Whatever one's tepid faith in the capacity of civil institutions to resist authoritarian usurpation, and despite the temporary successes of our courts in halting some of the administration's mea-

asures, the institutions to which we have previously turned for meaningful critique have been corroding for decades. The American Right in particular has spent years attacking tific Jewish conspiracy, and an assault on the 'white race.' So-called mainstream Right wing politics operates tacitly with the same mode of judgment, evident in the structure of their narratives.

*Opposition is used to mark out the speaker as an agent of disruption, and thus to coalesce an imaginary of the 'real' people.*

## Dismantling Institutions of Knowledge and Culture

But they have had not-so-strange bedfellows in the neoliberal wing of American and European politics, if by different means. The neoliberal erosion of knowledge and culture takes especially insidious forms. Art, which once struggled to free itself from bourgeois principles of organization (to paraphrase Pierre Bourdieu), has turned "art for art's sake" into a commodity, visible in any museum of contemporary art. While the eruption of mass demonstrations in the U.S. has been heartening, political action has become, for some, an

fuse reliance on "many people" who "are saying" many things seems to many to have escalated in both frequency and absurdity.

The emergent political situation is increasingly defined by this battle over language, one that has left those of us eager to resist without trusted paths to political action. Wherever the words or actions of the administration have been subjected to scru-

of the 'real' people and who counts within it.

Yet the shock that commentators profess about this 'crisis' in language is uttered with a degree of self-delusion. Whatever one's tepid faith in the capacity of civil institutions to resist authoritarian usurpation, and despite the temporary successes of our courts in halting some of the administration's mea-

universities, artists, and activists for human and ecological justice as dens of "radical, communist, elites". A recent white nationalist attack against my discipline of anthropology rerouted Google search results for "Boasian anthropology" (the American four-field tradition that combatted long-standing and naturalized prejudices about gender and race) to a website declaring it a pseudo-sci-

Photo: Ákos Birkás / Kroll Gallery Budapest / Vienna





New York, United States of America, November 21, 2016: People looking at sticky post-it notes on wall in Union Square subway station which were set up as protest against presidential election results.

occasion to perform one's "good politics" and display their efforts to the world through social media. Smiling faces holding signs of protest as marketing stratagem.

scrambling for piecemeal careers as adjunct lecturers or research fellows, teaching overtime for little pay and no benefits under precarious yearly contracts. Degrees for un-

known ahead of time, and that it can be compared across fields. Scientific work, the system demands, must be predictable, discernible into discrete packages, it must be mapped

dents, both in fomenting the return of hardline Left that is less egalitarian and postcolonial than it imagines, and at the same time, helping the far-Right to seize on disaffected and otherwise classically liberal young people. And they have been provided their own intellectuals, in the guise of Richard Spencer or Milo Yiannopoulos, who pattern their speech on academic debate, who have found their publics on college campuses and drawn uncannily on the free speech clause while ignoring what legal scholars call the Brandenburg test for hate speech, the inciting of violence.

(global capital), but does so through its own vocabularies and through opposition to neoliberalism and the Left. This Right has made a series of critical advances in the name of capital, many of which the Left has long envisaged, only to be betrayed again by the accommodating left-liberal order. The first has been a coalescence of a political chimera, at once global in scale and relentlessly nationalist. If the New Deal and the social-democratic welfare state served to protect the bourgeois regime from proletarian anger, it has been capital, not labor, that appears dissatisfied. This even after decades of dismantling social safeguards. It has achieved this movement through a hegemonic story of an older order, one that guides middle-class anger against their own interests and toward an aspirational American dream receding ever more rapidly from their grasp. It is a fantasy of war-time, industrial labor, of town and country. And it has been sold through careful use of language, by taking hold of concepts and terms by clever tacticians.

In the United States, those who would oppose the current administration are themselves divided. Articles abound calling for the uses of laughter and the presentation of evidence to combat the abhorrent lies of those in power. But we must first either re-occupy the institutions that make such efforts possible, or perhaps more likely, forge new ones. It will require reflection, as a recent IWM visitor Gavin Smith has argued, on the nature of our practice embedded within and relationships to other institutions and other practices. It demands that we are willing to struggle for the meaning of our words, for the ways they move through the world, and we must redouble our efforts to listen. <

## *The American Right in particular has spent years attacking universities, artists, and activists for human and ecological justice as dens of "radical, communist, elites".*

These are clear symptoms of neoliberalism's contribution to the defanging of the weapons it might have itself otherwise wielded against the new reality. Fewer have drawn the connection between the rise of what Jennifer Washburn calls "University, Inc." or Ben Ginsburg the "all-administration university" and the current political climate. Earlier social theory on the Left, particularly in the post-War period, warned not only of the dangers of the culture industry (as Adorno and Horkheimer famously did) but also the rise of intellectuals in service of capital. Some called them benign technocrats (as did Galbraith). Earlier they were the master-classes wielding a new means of control (e.g. for Bakunin). Later they were the ally of the old capital class (Parsons), servants of power (Chomsky) or even a competitor to the capitalists for hegemony (Gouldner).

The commodification of knowledge has generated clear structural failures that are regularly subject of critique in higher education magazines and the occasional traditional media. Today, universities face a job-market collapse of their own design. Doctorates are awarded at enormous rates, while fewer faculty lines are available, generating an entire generation's worth of highly-qualified, under-employed labor,

dergraduates are considered, at least in the U.S., credentials to be bought and sold; Masters degree programs are cash-crops for administrations to squeeze more value from faculty. An ever-proliferating cast of assistant deans, administrative personnel, and financial managers command larger and larger percentages of the payroll, while graduate workers are forbidden from unionizing, and along with adjunct faculty, often lack access to adequate health insur-

onto a strict chronology, and offer small, consistent, and anticipated improvements to existing theories, be marketable to society and its experiments cannot fail. Tenure and tenure-stream positions are awarded for volume of production. We do not invest in individuals, or teams, but in projects.

The unanticipated effect of this system has been the creation of a scholar-class that offers smug forms of surface criticism, or who give the

## *Today, universities face a job-market collapse of their own design.*

ance, maternity leave and childcare.

The quality of the knowledge produced has also been compromised. As Jishnu Das has recently pointed out, grants are evaluated for their 'impact'—an amorphous quality that while neither measurable nor seemingly definable nevertheless cuts off access to funds from many innovative research projects. Such tabulations assume the value of science can be calculated with numerical precision, that it can be

semblance of critique, which can be politically opposed and easily ignored by the Right's 'people'. It is clear in bourgeois postmodernism, in the cult of 'creativity' that is rarely innovative and seldom rigorous, but which provides the veneer of serious scholarship and meaningful analysis. This impression of critical inquiry but without a radical politics clearly serves the interests of the state and the Right. It has birthed, moreover, a backlash among stu-

### **A Future in Language**

The emergent global political situation is one in which the neoliberal elite have laid the groundwork for a Right that serves the same master

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# Russia: Did Liberals Bury Liberalism?

BY LILIA SHEVTSOVA

*Liberalism as an ideology and a political movement has failed to take deep root in Russian society. It had more of a chance to do so immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of Communism, but today, the chances for its rebirth are tiny, says Lilia Shevtsova. “Systemic Liberals” have indeed become instrumental in ensuring the survival of a personalized power system.*



Tens of thousands march through Moscow to honor the Russian opposition politician Boris Nemstov who was shot dead near the Kremlin.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, post-communist Russia found itself in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, a significant swath of society longed for change. As of fall 1991, 47% of Russians said they were prepared to endure unemployment and other hardships for the sake of their future well-being. Only 17% of Russians were opposed to reforms.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the liberal democratic elite did not know how to proceed with this desired change.

President Yeltsin chose Yegor Gaidar's team to reform the country's obsolete economy. However, the fact that economic reform was undertaken before political transformation had profound implications for Russia's trajectory. As Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan have noted, doing

things in this order “weakened the state, weakened democracy, [and] weakened the economy.”<sup>2</sup>

Gaidar's reforms were met with an outpouring of criticism from all sides: the reformers were accused

among those in favor of reforms, 55 to 58% thought that the reforms were a power- and money-grab.<sup>3</sup> In August 1991, two thirds of Russians supported Yeltsin's team, but by February 1992, once Gaidar's reforms

and his colleagues back into the government. But by the beginning of 1994, it had become clear that Yeltsin had brought the Gaidarites back only to give liberal cover to his ‘September Revolution’ which

*Systemic Liberals today continue to invoke the old mantra: economic liberalism is the key to solving all political problems.*

of not being radical enough and of being inconsistent and insensitive to society's needs. Privatization elicited the most criticism: independent analysts argued that privatization had been pursued in the interests of the state apparatus and old elites. Even

were underway, that number fell to 30%.<sup>4</sup> Yeltsin sacrificed Gaidar and formed a pragmatic government under the leadership of an old Soviet bureaucrat, Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The liberals' second coming was in 1993, when Yeltsin invited Gaid-

ended with the shelling of the parliament in 1993. The president was looking for ways to preserve his reformist image, first and foremost in the eyes of observers abroad. Soon the Gaidarites were forced to leave the government once again.

In the summer of 1997, Yeltsin turned to the liberals anew and formed a group of “young reformers” within the government, headed by Anatolii Chubais and Boris Nemstov. This move confirmed a trend: When the Kremlin found itself in a critical situation, it called on those who were ready to take responsibility for an unpopular agenda and who were loyal to the president.

Finally, the time came for a fourth liberal government in March 1998, when Yeltsin appointed Sergei Kirienko, who was known as a liberal, as the new prime minister. Kirienko's appointment was a desperate attempt by the president to find a way out of the deep financial and economic crisis Russia was falling into. By overseeing Russia's default on government bonds and a



currency devaluation, the Kirienko government wrote its own obituary. Moreover, its actions gave rise to suspicions that the liberals had worked to rescue those tycoons who were close to them.

### Putin's Power Vertical

With Putin's ascendancy, liberals supported the new president, hanging their hopes on his modernizing potential. Former prime minister Kirienko, who was just recently appointed deputy head of the Kremlin staff responsible for the upcoming 2018 presidential campaign (and thus for Putin's victory!), argued back in the early 2000s that old liberalism had become obsolete and that new liberalism had to pursue the demands of "the generation of statisticians and great power advocates."<sup>5</sup> Liberals (Petr Aven, for example) even called on Putin to become the "Russian Pinochet," and Anatolii Chubais talked publicly about his notion of Russia as a "liberal empire."

Putin's second presidential term, which began in 2004, left no doubts as to where he was heading—towards more assertive one-man rule. Systemic liberals were not worried, having happily incorporated themselves into Putin's "power vertical." True, some, including Gaidar, were frustrated. Gaidar began to criticize Putin's political regime, which he called a "closed democracy." The refusal to build real democratic institutions, wrote Gaidar, constituted "a strategic mistake, and society will pay for this mistake for decades." This was Gaidar's personal repentance. Additionally, one of the leaders of the pro-Kremlin liberal party Union of Right Forces (SPS), Boris Nemtsov, moved to embrace a real opposition movement and became the most popular leader of anti-Putin street protests until he was murdered in 2015. Most liberals, however, remained loyal to the Kremlin.

Today a new generation of systemic liberals continues to invoke the old mantra: economic liberalism is the key to solving all political problems. Liberal loyalists have supported Kremlin foreign policy, including the crucial element of the Kremlin's new platform for consolidation: the annexation of Crimea, support for which has become a major criterion of political loyalty to the Russian authorities.

### Could Liberalism Be Reborn in Russia?

Two factors continue to keep liberalism from gaining broader appeal in Russia. The first factor is the belief that liberalism was responsible for all the ills and unhappiness of the 1990s. But how could Gaidar and his team be held accountable for a whole decade when they were in government fewer than 14 months, with Yeltsin ready to betray them at any moment? Moreover, their policy could be defined as "economic liberalism": with few exceptions, they never viewed liberalism as a political ideology and never agreed to fight for political rights and freedoms. The second factor is liberals' current presence in government (or in the orbit of power). This, in the

eyes of Russian society, makes liberalism an ideology of one-man rule. By reducing liberalism to its pragmatic economic version and associ-

different times influenced other technocrats. In the Russian situation, hope for "spontaneous order" morphed into a nomenklatura-driv-

only through state capture.

Indeed, the first cohort of liberal reformers was constrained by several factors: its members' inex-



Boris Yeltsin and Yegor Gaidar.

ating it with unsuccessful economic reforms, systemic liberals misrepresented it.

Systemic liberals became hostages of a conceptual mistake that led

en rent-seeking form of privatization that only reinforced popular suspicions and backlash. Indeed, the Gaidar government destroyed the state-run economy and made it impossible

perience, the small window of time they had to work in, the urgency of the country's mounting problems, the lack of clear ideological orientation, the struggle for power they

*With few exceptions, they never agreed to fight for political rights and freedoms.*

to further deformation. They hoped that privatization would stimulate further changes (a typically Marx-

for Russia to return to the old system of state planning. But the construct that emerged was based on

found themselves embroiled in, and Yeltsin's inadequacy and weakness as a leader. Yeltsin belonged to the old



Yegor Gaidar (center) and members of Russia's Choice parliamentary caucus in the first Russian State Duma. Moscow, 1994.

ist approach). Privatization arrived on the scene in a situation in which even "ownership" was not a clearly

the marriage of power and business, which has become the cornerstone of a new authoritarian political re-

nomenklatura and shared its authoritarian mentality; the liberals themselves were too Soviet, part and par-

*Serving a system of one-man rule had to be their conscious and rational choice, professionally and personally.*

defined legal term. Liberals' philosophy seemed to resemble Friedrich von Hayek's concept of "spontaneous order"—a concept that had at

game. It brought about an aggressive oligarchy that proved, with few exceptions, unable to generate entrepreneurial activity and survived

cel of the old system, with no other force to rely on.

The next time liberals rose to the top, they had no doubts as to what

kind of political regime they were serving. From that point on, their participation in government could only be the result of their readiness to work for an anti-liberal regime. Putin's ascendancy erased all grounds for liberals' naiveté. Serving a system of one-man rule had to be their conscious and rational choice, professionally and personally. Systemic liberals helped the Kremlin imitate and create "Potemkin villages" for display to the West, preserving Western hopes for liberal change in Russia and thereby bolstering Western misperceptions.

Today liberals both within the government and outside of it who declare their readiness to cooperate with the Kremlin are elements of a system that has demonstrated its hostility to the core principles of liberal democracy. Systemic liberals in their various incarnations give the system extra breathing room and create a façade of development. Playing the role of stabilizer of Putin's personalized rule, they undermine liberal principles and disorient the liberal electorate. Trying to prevent Russia from sliding into a deep crisis, they are stabilizing a corrupt petrostate that is anti-modernist by its very nature. The bitter irony is that they often contribute more to the survival of the system than do the *siloviki* (state security officers), who are exhausting domestic resources and undermining the credibility of the regime.

Liberals' presence in the spheres of government related to the economy and finance, as well as the fact that the Kremlin leaders continue to use liberal economic slogans, prevents real liberalism from taking root in Russia. The Kremlin liberals have thus helped to bury Russian liberalism—at least for the time being.

The existence of systemic liberals creates insurmountable challenges for any liberal opposition force in Russia trying to build popular support. Opposition liberals can hardly lead a new wave of protests while systemic liberals oversee government economic and social policy. Indeed, mass protest could provoke a long-anticipated split within the Russian elite.

The destiny of Russian liberalism depends on when and how Russian society closes the chapter on a brand of liberalism that has been an instrument of an obsolete system. Putting an end to liberal conformism could prove to be one of the most powerful challenges that Russia faces. But without it, there is no chance for liberalism in Russia. <

<sup>1</sup>) Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarism, NTV program "Itogi", November 17, 1993.

<sup>2</sup>) Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan: *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, 1996.

<sup>3</sup>) Ekaterina Dobrynina, "Nazlo defoltam", *Rossiiskaia Gazeta*, June 30, 2011; Institute of Sociology and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, *Dvadsat' let reform glazami rossian*, Moscow 2011.

<sup>4</sup>) *Dvadsat' let reform glazami rossian*, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup>) Lilia Shevtsova: *Putin's Russia*, Moscow 2005.

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# Discovering, Protecting, Destroying

BY SEBASTIAN M. SPITRA

*So-called Islamic State reinvaded the oasis city of Palmyra in Syria last December, only to lose the city for the second time to Syrian forces in March 2017. Yet, in the interim, the self-stated “warriors of God” destroyed parts of both the antique theatre and the nearby tetrapylon. This continuing vandalism can be interpreted as an anticolonial act that directly attacks ideas anchored in western international law about what is worth protecting in terms of culture.*



Iraqi archaeologist Layla Salih examines the remains of a statue of a lamassu, destroyed by Islamic State group militants in the ancient site of Nimrud, Iraq, in 2016.

After the harrowing attacks of 2015 in Paris, broad sections of the population expressed their sympathy for the victims with statements of solidarity such as “Je suis Charlie” or “Je suis Paris”. Yet there was another “Je suis” that attracted less attention. It was superimposed above an image of the Assyrian protective deity *lamassu*. After “IS” destroyed a famous statue of this deity in Mosul, the photomontage was to be seen on Facebook, Twitter and other social media.

The sense of identification expressed in the “Je suis” phrase is enshrined in international law. Special emphasis is placed upon it in the preamble to the Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property. It states that “damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind.” The cross-cultural and binding power of cultural property is firmly anchored in this document. Yet the concept of cultural property

in international law has traditionally played an exclusionary role that seems to be problematic.

## Building Identities through Destruction and Protection

The statement “Je suis Lamassu” al-

cy. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, concepts of “international administrative law” and the theory of a community of interests were already being discussed in international law as the basis for common objectives and cooperation in various areas of international activity. These included cultural affairs

countries. Historically, the common administration of cultural interests was first and foremost introduced into the discourse of international law with reference to archaeological discoveries and acquisitions of material culture in eastern Mediterranean countries (the Levant). For

German archaeologist Philipp Anton Dethier who drew up the first “law of antiquities” for the Ottoman Empire in 1874, a law that automatically granted ownership of a portion of the discoveries to the European excavators. And it was exclusively the remains of Romano-Greek antiquity that were considered worth protecting; lawmakers only began to consider Islamic works of art and impose stricter rules at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

*Damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind.*

lows for two interpretations. On the one hand, it expresses a solidaric dismay at the destruction of cultural treasures while, on the other, the person who declares “Je suis” also indicates themselves to be a victim of these attacks. However, this personal sense of dismay also relates to traditions of administering Middle Eastern cultural affairs under international law and their colonial lega-

and the administration of the heritage of antiquity.

This international set of rules favoured only a small circle of “civilized” states in Europe and America, that is, the members of the *family of nations*. International law systematically excluded non-western states or only granted them an inferior status, something that was reflected in how antiquities were dealt with in those

it was there that the origin of European civilization was located, hence the special interest in the region.

The western bias to the protection of cultural property was also upheld in the state structures of the source countries. For almost 100 years, up until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Egypt’s government authority responsible for antiquities was exclusively headed up by French directors. It was the

## A Marker of ‘Civilization’?

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the European-oriented Turkish officers of the Ottoman Empire recognized the potential that the remnants of antiquity on their territory offered when it came to their political aspirations. Though the Empire was formally admitted to the Concert of Europe after the end of the Crimean War in 1856, it was by no means treated as an equal. The Ottoman Empire was no Christian state



and, besides, the West questioned whether it even fulfilled the decisive criterion of being “civilized”.

Clearly, in accordance with the standards of the time, antique remains on Ottoman territory were supposed to help prove the Empire’s level of civilization, a point succinctly made by the education minister Mehmet Tahir Münif Paşa at the opening of the imperial museum in Istanbul in 1880: “The opening of a museum in Istanbul similar to those in other civilized countries was the hope of our progressing nation. There is no need to go on at length about the benefits of such museums. They show the level of civilization of past peoples and their step-by-step progress. From this, many historical, scientific, and artistic benefits can be obtained. Everybody knows the great effects of archaeology on European Civilization.” Antique art

Before they commenced, the resident Arab population who lived among the antique ruins were relocated so that the area could be used for archaeological purposes. The excavators gradually removed any sign of the former settlers’ presence in order to reconstruct the antique remains in a manner as faithful as possible to the Hellenistic originals.

Real Impacts  
of a Theoretical Concept

What exactly does “Je suis Lamassu” mean against this background? European colonial history in the Middle East is specifically shaped by notions of civilization and culture, and their acquisition. In this context, the statement’s wording implies a possessive claim that certainly has problematic “undercurrents”. Moreover, the construct of “common cultural

*The concept of cultural property has traditionally played an exclusionary role.*

and culture was cited as evidence of the civilizational progress that was ultimately supposed to support fully-fledged membership in the “family of nations”. Thus inclusive concepts of culture and exclusionary concepts of civilization went hand in hand. Structural discrimination was already inscribed into the protection of cultural goods under international law from its inception.

Administering Culture by Law

After World War I, the hope of self-determination and inclusion was initially disappointed across large swathes of the Ottoman Empire. In the League of Nations, the new nations of Syria and the Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine were placed under the trusteeship of France and Great Britain as Mandatory Powers. The administration of the heritage of antiquity was also handed over to the Europeans.

International law thus provided the legitimating framework for pursuing an imperialistic cultural policy in the years that followed. The Mandates for Syria and the Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine, along with the new “laws of antiquities”, opened up the Middle East to European archaeologists. The laws were drafted and put into effect by Europeans. This took place in Syria and the Lebanon following the decrees of the French high commissioner of 1926 and 1933. In 1924, “Queen of the Desert” and then director of the Iraqi government’s department of antiquities Gertrude Bell drew up a similar legal code for Iraq. The provisions of these laws predominantly reflected the needs of western archaeology. Expropriation laws and generous provisions for dividing up the excavated artefacts made the activities of European excavators much easier than before the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

French archaeologists carried out the first excavations on the territory of the antique Palmyra in the 1930s.

heritage of humankind” obfuscates the question as to whose concept of culture is actually being used.

The logic of inclusion and exclusion in international law functions on the basis of different concepts of culture. Culture was a characteristic that had to be present in order to gain membership of the international community of “civilized” states. In order to fulfil this criterion, cultural works were instrumentalized. Many of the major international law experts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century such as Johann Caspar Bluntschli or Friedrich Martens drew upon a broad concept of culture with reference to François Guizot and his work *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe*. In parallel to which, a narrower, more elite concept of culture was also fostered and made use of as evidence of being an exclusive part of the “family of nations”.

Ultimately it should not be forgotten that our contemporary image of Palmyra could only come about as a consequence of the eradication of traces of Arab and Islamic life in Palmyra. This view of an antique oasis city presupposes a western and elite concept of culture. It is therefore all the more important in our contemporary multipolar world to think through the real effects of our concept of culture when formulating legal standards of protection. <

Sebastian M. Spitra is a faculty member of the Department for Legal and Constitutional History at the University of Vienna. His article, translated by Benjamin D. Tandler, is based on an international conference entitled “From European to Global Orders: International Law and Normativity in Context—Challenging Narratives” which was held at the IWM in November 2016. It was the kick-off event of IWM’s new research focus *International Law and Multinormativity*, directed by IWM Permanent Fellow Miloš Vec.

# Challenging Narratives— From European to Global Orders: International Law and Normativity in Context

Kick-Off Workshop, November 28–29, 2016



Photo: IWM

The traditional master narratives seem obviously no longer to be appropriate: Progress and civilization appear to be old fashioned, naive, and hegemonic. Positivism and natural law are hard to attribute to historical positions addressing 19<sup>th</sup> century sources of international law.

How can those outdated narratives be replaced? This question was addressed at the kick-off workshop of IWM’s new research focus *International Law and Multinormativity*, directed by IWM Permanent Fellow Miloš Vec. <

red

- Christina Binder**  
Berta-Karlík Professor of Public International Law, University of Vienna
- Maria Adele Carrai**  
Fellow, New York University School of Law
- Matthew Craven**  
Professor of International Law, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
- Paul Hahnenkamp**  
Faculty member, Department for Legal and Constitutional History, University of Vienna
- Stefan Kroll**  
Member, Cluster of Excellence: The Formation of Normative Orders, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt
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- Luigi Nuzzo**  
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  - Sebastian M. Spitra**  
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Associate Professor, Erasmus University Rotterdam and University of Helsinki
  - Miloš Vec**  
IWM Permanent Fellow; Professor of European Legal and Constitutional History, University of Vienna
  - Stephan Wendehorst**  
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# Law—What is It Good For?

BY EZGI YILDIZ AND LEÓN CASTELLANOS-JANKIEWICZ

*IWM Visiting Fellows Ezgi Yildiz and León Castellanos-Jankiewicz reflect on the functions and transformations of international law in the 21<sup>st</sup> century by focusing on both the issue of economic inequality as well as the dilemma of humanitarian aid in new wars.*

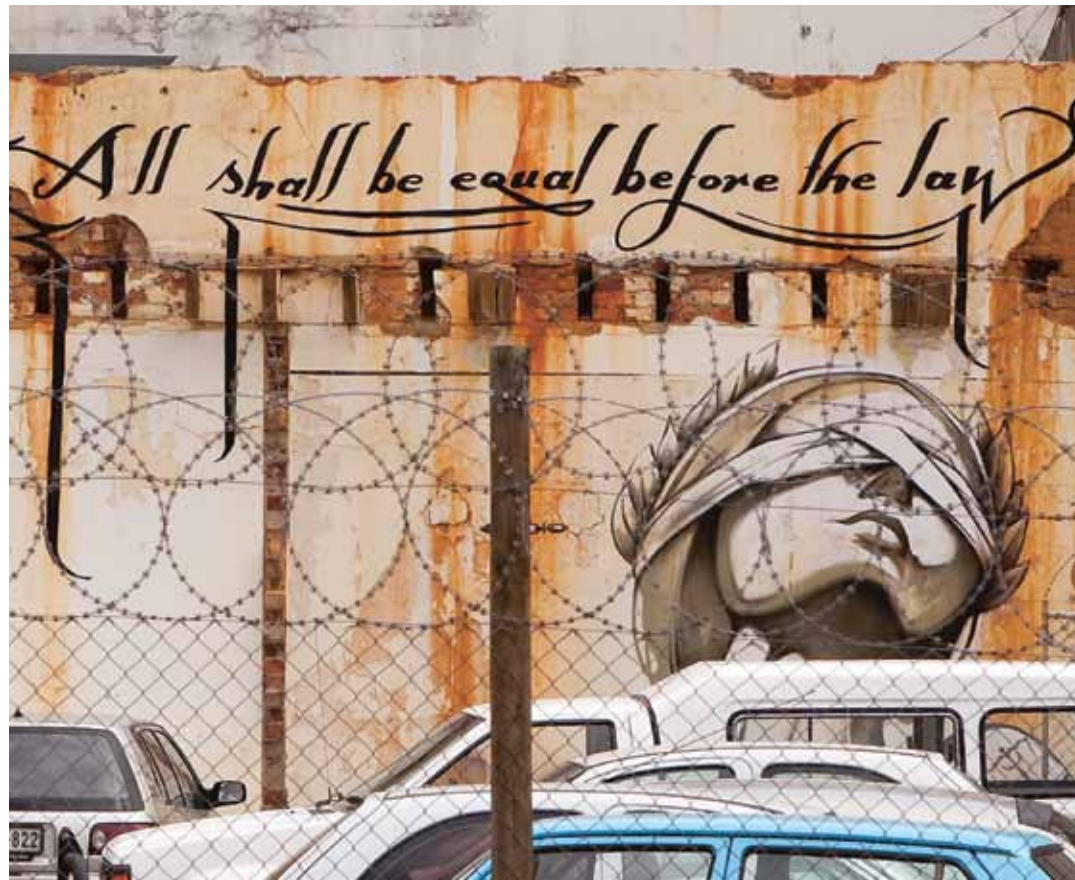


Photo: purplematfish / flickr

## The Pitfalls of Humanitarian Action in a State-Centric Legal System

BY EZGI YILDIZ

The 21<sup>st</sup> century arrived with its unique promises and challenges. The spread of terrorism and non-international armed conflicts, failed states and illiberal democracies became a post-Cold War reality. In this era of uncertainties, as crisis after crisis unfolds, Non-State Armed Groups (NSAG) and the problem they pose to the state-centric system have become more visible than ever.

As a heterogeneous group of actors, NSAGs have not only proliferated but also changed their tactics. Incorporating the tools of the information age and the novelties of globalization, NSAGs have undergone a metamorphosis that has rendered them less hierarchical and more networked. This has coincided with the intensification of non-international armed conflicts—which often take place in the context of fragile or weak states or “ungoverned areas”—and proxy wars that are fuelled by geopolitical interests.

The rise of non-international conflicts has increased demand for humanitarian aid to alleviate the suffering of the affected populations in conflict, post-conflict and non-conflict settings. Humanitarian organizations now often need to engage with NSAGs in order to fulfil their mandates—either to protect vulnerable groups by providing relief aid

or services such as healthcare, education, or demining, or to persuade NSAGs to respect international law in conflict and non-conflict settings.

However, carrying out this task has presented humanitarian actors with a dilemma. Not only are these NSAGs unpredictable and in some cases suspicious of the motives of foreign organizations; there is also no established legal framework that regulates this interaction in detail or bestows rights and obligations on NSAGs. Moreover, counter-terrorism laws passed by several UN member states and sanctions imposed on certain NSAGs by states and inter-governmental organizations mean that activity involving NSAGs can expose humanitarian actors to criminal liability or harm their reputation or flow of resources.

The field of education is one area where NSAGs play an ambiguous role. On the one hand, some carry out attacks on education facilities or children (e.g. Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab or ISIS). On the other hand, there are NSAGs that facilitate the provision of education or even become education providers themselves (e.g. People's Defense Units in Rjova, or Karen National Union in Burma). While the first category clearly violates international humanitarian law, the second acts as primary duty bearers, delivering public

goods and services that are normally offered by states. Often, the negative image of the former taints the latter. Hence, humanitarian actors operating within an international legal framework where states are considered to be the prime providers of public goods and services may be reluctant to assist NSAGs, even in the provision of basic education.<sup>1</sup>

To conclude, humanitarian actors are caught between a rock and a hard place when planning field operations in areas controlled by NSAGs. This dilemma is an excellent example of why the existing international legal framework is not equipped to face the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It makes one ponder whether it is time to create a new legal regime that imposes obligations on states and NSAGs. Those worried that such a move might open a Pandora's box should consider whether that box has not already been opened. ◀

<sup>1</sup> See Protect Education in Insecurity and Conflict (PEIC) and Geneva Call, *Report: Workshop on Education and Armed Non-State Actors: Towards a Comprehensive Agenda*, 23–25 June 2015, Geneva, Switzerland.

**Ezgi Yildiz** is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard Kennedy School. She was a Visiting Fellow at the IWM from September to December 2016.

## Human Rights and Inequality: Where Did We Go Wrong?

BY LEÓN CASTELLANOS-JANKIEWICZ

In his recent book *Age of Anger*, the Indian writer and public intellectual Pankaj Mishra offers a sentimental history of the down-trodden masses from the eighteenth century to the present. Mishra's professed aim is to understand the shocks of Brexit, Trump, and the resurgence of aggressive nationalism from a historical perspective. His central claim is that social resentment is to blame for these seismic events, and that change has been a long time coming: after two world wars, the “unprecedented disorder” inaugurated by industrialist capitalism is now infecting “much vaster regions and bigger populations.”

Resentment and indignation have taken root in liberal societies, Mishra argues, because market capitalism has dashed the dream of prosperity promised by liberal democracy. Premised on egalitarian citizenship, this ideal has been a fixture of the nation-state since the French Revolution. Citizenship, we have been told, endows its holders with an abstract status and creates an original position from where individuals may compete. This formal equality presupposes a level playing field, reducing persons to behavioral patterns interacting in a marketplace where, “all things being equal”, outcomes are justified by the participants' common point of departure. But the subordination of the state to the markets—what Claus Offe has called post-democratic capitalism—offers a head start to the privileged few, fueling the sense of unfairness that is associated with social resentment.

A legitimate question is, then, whether human rights are an effective tool for the promotion of economic and social equality. To the present author, the answer is still largely affirmative as regards individual entitlements. However, the question of whether human rights are designed to achieve social justice on larger scales is subject to debate: just as early liberal citizenship did not entail material equality, so contemporary human rights are not directly concerned with equality of outcomes at the national or global level. This was not a major cause for concern until the perception of a “rigged economy” (to use Bernie Sanders' trope) was created by the last financial crisis.

In light of Mishra's diagnosis, two distinct challenges emerge from the standpoint of human rights. First, individualized notions of rights have stunted the development of equality between social and ethnic groups: international human rights law does not protect collectives in a comprehensive way, and instead focuses on protecting the rights of “persons belonging to” groups. This normative design is color-blind to inequality of income distribution and disparate living standards. Second, the outsourcing to the financial markets of socioeconomic competences that were previously state-based risks leaving economic, social, and cultural rights in abeyance.

Adding insult to injury, banks and financial institutions emerged largely unscathed (indeed, emboldened) from the 2008 crisis, while austerity measures led to the violation of fundamental rights. The Greek sovereign debt crisis is a case in point. In 2012, the European Committee of Social Rights found that, due to the implementation of austerity measures, Greece was responsible for violating pensioners' right to social security under the European Social Charter. In its defense, the Greek government argued that the “restrictive pension measures” were part of a program designed to enhance the country's economic competitiveness as stipulated by the European Commission, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (jointly dubbed the “Troika”). Such state-based attempts to circumvent human rights obligations for the sake of economic growth are only beginning to draw attention and highlight the need to conceptualize international norms and standards in terms of social wellbeing as opposed to individual entitlement.

A revival of the collective dimensions of human rights is therefore necessary. Already in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights underlined that “the free and full development” of human personality is only possible within a community. A global reckoning on socioeconomic equality must begin there. ◀

**León Castellanos-Jankiewicz** is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, University of Cambridge. He was a Visiting Fellow at the IWM from September to December 2016.



# We Need to Talk: Fostering Dialogue Between Russia and the West

BY WALTER KEMP

*Europe is more unstable than it has been for generations. Some say that it has not been this dangerous since the Cold War. But at least during the Cold War the conflict was structured and there was a degree of predictability—even if it was Mutually Assured Destruction. Today the situation is unpredictable and unstructured. The rule of law and the laws of war have been bent or broken. Furthermore, there is almost no dialogue between Russia and the West. To avoid war there must be dialogue.*

To stimulate dialogue, and taking advantage of the fact that Austria is this year chairing the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), IWM together with the Warsaw-based Casimir Pulaski foundation organized a round-table on January 24 entitled “Options for renewing security dialogue in the OSCE area”. Participants from Russia, North America and Western and Central Europe exchanged views on the origins of the current crisis. Several lamented how the dream of a Europe “whole and free”—expressed in the 1990 Charter of Paris—had been dashed. The causes of Europe’s volatile security environment were discussed: not only the polarized relations between Russia and the West, the crisis in and around Ukraine, and dangerous incidents over the Baltic and Black seas; but also the broader context of the crisis in the Middle East, large flows of people on the move, fissiparous tendencies in the European Union, American isolationism, and the spread of populism and illiberal democracy. While opinions on these issues diverged, there was a common understanding on the urgent need for dialogue.

In the past few years there has been little high-level dialogue between Russia and the West, and even less trust. Russia is not part of the G8. The NATO-Russia Council seldom meets. There are few bilateral talks between Russia and the EU or between Russia and the United States. The vacuum is filled by monologues, disinformation, belligerent rhetoric, and the militarization of politics—even the rattling of nukes.

As Mikhail Gorbachev warned in a statement issued on the thirtieth anniversary of his historic meeting with President Reagan on October 11, 1986, we are witnessing “the cult of force”. “We need to resume dialogue. Essentially abandoning it in the last two years was the gravest mistake”, he warned.

## Back to Diplomacy

A similar conclusion was reached by a Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common



Panel discussion with Sergey Markedonov, Ambassador Christian Strohal, Ivan Krastev and Walter Kemp.

Project (which was launched in December 2014). In their final report, entitled *Back to Diplomacy* (November 2015), they said that “this crisis can be resolved only through a robust process of active diplomacy”.

Russia seems to be saying the same thing—at least in words. At the 2017 Munich Security Conference, Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said: “Today, more than ever, we need a dialogue on all complex issues ... actions based on confrontation and the zero-sum-game approach will not cut ice anymore”.

Others have argued that the time is not ripe for dialogue on European security. It would reward Russia’s bad behaviour, particularly the annexation of Crimea. This is no time for “business as usual”.

The counter-argument is that the crisis in and around Ukraine is symptomatic of a bigger malaise, exacerbated by a serious failure in communication. As the Eminent Persons warned in their final report: “in the past many countries have misjudged the implications of their actions and have miscalculated the reactions of others. If they were to do so in the new circumstances this could lead to an even more dangerous confrontation”. As a result, not talking is risk-

ier than the status quo. Indeed, precisely because the situation is so bad, it is important to avoid misperceptions, miscalculations, and mistakes. Talking only to your friends is bad diplomacy.

In such a toxic environment, how can dialogue be stimulated between Russia and the West?

## Structured Dialogue

The OSCE is a suitable forum. It has a comprehensive approach to security including political-military issues, economic and environmental issues, as well as human rights and the rule of law. Decisions are taken by consensus: which makes reaching agreement difficult, but strengthens the sense of common ownership.

Furthermore, the OSCE offers an inclusive environment that involves all stake-holders from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Too often in the past, after major conflicts, deals have been made about countries rather than with them. Concerns have recently been expressed that countries in-between Russia and the West could become subjects of new spheres of influence. As former Latvian President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga put it at the Warsaw Se-

curity Forum in October 2016, “we don’t need another Congress of Vienna or Yalta”. Indeed, while some issues—like nuclear non-proliferation—will have to be discussed bilaterally between Washington and Moscow<sup>1</sup>, some Western European countries fear that a bilateral Putin-Trump deal would be made at their expense. As a result, a structured multi-lateral dialogue within the OSCE suddenly looks like a more attractive option.

In the past few months, meaningful steps have been taken to foster such a process. In an article published on August 26, 2016, the then OSCE Chairman-in-Office Frank-Walter Steinmeier called for “structured dialogue”.<sup>2</sup> In particular, he urged a relaunching of arms control.

At the Hamburg Ministerial Council meeting on December 9, 2016, all 57 OSCE foreign ministers issued a declaration welcoming the “launching of a structured dialogue on the current and future challenges and risks to security in the OSCE area to foster a greater understanding on these issues that could serve as a common solid basis for a way forward”.<sup>3</sup> The Ministers declared that “together, we will work towards creating an environ-

ment conducive to reinvigorating conventional arms control and CS-BMs [confidence and security-building measures] in Europe”.

## Perceptions, Doctrines and Postures

As a follow-up, a number of countries circulated ideas on what subjects should be addressed. Some have called for more effective measures to reduce the risk of military accidents or incidents (although others say that this is a bilateral issue). There is also strong support to modernize the 2011 Vienna Document to enhance risk reduction mechanisms and consultations as regards unusual military activities. Several states have highlighted the need for more military-to-military contacts. There have also been calls for reviewing military doctrines and updating existing arms control regimes to take into account new military capabilities, integrate new weapons systems, and enhance verification.

On February 20, Austrian Foreign Minister Sebastian Kurz, the current OSCE Chairman-in-Office, launched an open-ended Informal Working Group on structured dialogue. The Group, Chaired by Ger-



man Ambassador Eberhard Pohl, has recently begun its work.

In the first few months the process will focus on perceptions of threats and challenges in the OSCE area as well as force posture and military doctrines. OSCE foreign ministers will review progress when they meet informally in Vienna on July 11. It is hoped that momentum can build by the time of the Ministerial Council meeting in Vienna in early December.

Political-military issues are a difficult entry point. But as Frank-Walter Steinmeier pointed out, “arms-control agreements, history has demonstrated, are not the result of existing trust—they are a means to build trust where it has been lost”.<sup>4</sup>

Islands of Cooperation

There should be no illusions: dialogue will not resolve all differences. As William Burns cautioned, the reality is that the US’s relationship with Russia will remain competitive, and often adversarial, for the foreseeable future. “At its core is a fundamental disconnect in outlook and about each other’s role in the world.”<sup>5</sup> That is to be expected.

Yet there may be areas where interests converge. The challenge is to identify such “islands of cooperation”<sup>6</sup> and build on them. Where differences persist, efforts should be made to manage the confrontation rather than to let it fester or turn violent. For example, states may have different perceptions of what the risks are, but they should have a shared interest in risk reduction.

Furthermore, the very process of dialogue can help to restore trust. The key will be to find different formats to break out of the current gridlock. As Albert Einstein warned, doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results is insanity. Something has to change. To that end, several meetings will be convened outside the traditional, formal setting of the Hofburg: perhaps a change in location can contribute to a change of mood.

In addition, to engage academics, civil society, and youth, a number of events—like the one held at IWM—will be convened to hear alternative voices and generate new ideas.

In conclusion, dialogue is essential to reverse the dangerous downward spiral, and the OSCE is the place to have it. The process will be difficult. But as Steinmeier observed, “it would be irresponsible not to try”.<sup>7</sup> <

<sup>1</sup> See Andrew C. Kuchins, *Elevation and Calibration: A New Russia Policy for America*, Center on Global Interests, December 2016.  
<sup>2</sup> Frank-Walter Steinmeier, “Reviving Arms Control in Europe”, *Project Syndicate*, August 26, 2016.  
<sup>3</sup> “From Lisbon to Hamburg: Declaration on the Twentieth Anniversary of the OSCE Framework for Arms Control”, MC.DOC/4/16, December 9, 2016.  
<sup>4</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>5</sup> William Burns, “How We Fool Ourselves on Russia”, op-ed, *New York Times*, January 7, 2017.  
<sup>6</sup> Expression coined by Reinhard Krumm in *Europe’s Security Governance and Transatlantic Relations: The West, Russia and Europe’s Security Order*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, November 2016.  
<sup>7</sup> Frank-Walter Steinmeier, “Reviving Arms Control in Europe”, *Project Syndicate*, August 26, 2016.

**Walter Kemp** is a Visiting Fellow at IWM and a Senior Adviser to Austria’s Chairmanship of the OSCE.

Sphere of Influence

IWM Lectures in Human Sciences by **Stephen Kotkin**, April 5/19/26, 2017

The liberal, rules-based international order did not take shape predominantly as a consequence of high mindedness, but as a sphere of influence. That, moreover, was to a great extent inspired, and sustained, by a comprehensive cold war with the Soviet Union (or Second World, as it was once called). The sphere of influence known as the West played a significant part in European inte-

gration, spurred phenomenal global investments in science and research, gave additional impetus to desegregation and civil rights in the U.S., and more. Above all, the formation, consolidation, and maintenance of a sphere of influence disciplined American power. It even made possible an American grand strategy. Is any of that possible anymore? Will we now see the success-

ful construct of enduring alternative spheres of influence, alongside a permanent decline of the Western one? Or are we overreacting to a misunderstood historical conjuncture? <

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**Stephen Kotkin** is the Birkelund Professor of History and International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University and a Fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.



Photo: IWM

The Affects of Democracy

Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture by **Chantal Mouffe**, May 4, 2017



Photo: Klaus Ränger

Political theorist Chantal Mouffe examined the crucial role played in politics by what she calls ‘passions’ to refer to the common affects that are at stake in the construction of collective identities. Taking her bearings

from Spinoza, Freud and Wittgenstein and from the agonistic model of democracy that she had elaborated in several of her writings she scrutinized the nature of our current ‘post-democratic’ condition and en-

quired about the affects that need to be mobilized in order to create a collective to be able to give a new vigor to the democratic ideals. <

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**Chantal Mouffe** is Professor of Political Theory at the University of Westminster in London. From May to July 2017 she is a Albert O. Hirschman Visiting Fellow at the IWM.

In cooperation with Wien Museum.

IWM Lectures in Human Sciences

Selected lectures of this event series, launched in 2000, are published in English, German and Polish. Previous speakers include: Rosa Brooks, Timothy Snyder, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Jan-Werner Müller, Peter Brown et al.

Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture

Since its foundation in 1982, the IWM has promoted the work of Czech philosopher and human rights activist Jan Patočka (1907–1977). Since 1987, the Institute regularly organizes lectures in his memory. Previous speakers include: Peter L. Berger, Zygmunt Bauman, Jürgen Osterhammel, Nancy Fraser, Martin Walser et al.

Tischner Debates

The Józef Tischner Debates, a series of public debates in Warsaw, were jointly launched by the IWM and Warsaw University in 2005. Previous panelists include: Giuliano Amato, Ralf Dahrendorf, Joschka Fischer, Bronislaw Geremek, Simon Peres, Michael Sandel, Charles Taylor, Adam Zagajewski et al.

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Free Speech

Tischner Debate, October 26, 2016



**Timothy Garton Ash**  
Professor of European Studies, Oxford University; Member, IWM Academic Advisory Board  
**Jan-Werner Müller**  
Professor of Politics, Princeton University; Visiting Fellow, IWM  
**Monika Platek**  
Professor of Law, University of Warsaw; President, Polish Association of Legal Education  
**Maria Poprzącka**  
Professor of History of Arts, University of Warsaw; President, Polish Association of Art Historians  
*Chairs:*  
**Marcin Król**  
Professor of History of Ideas; Dean, Faculty of Applied Sciences, University of Warsaw  
**Shalini Randeria**  
IWM Rector; Professor of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Graduate Institute, Geneva

The 25<sup>th</sup> Tischner Debate was jointly organized by the University of Warsaw, Kultura Liberalna, and the IWM, generously supported by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education. The event was held under the honorable patronage of the Warsaw Mayor Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and with the media support of the Gazeta Wyborcza.

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Events in Retrospect 07–12 2016

JulySeptemberOctober



**July 5**

**Lakonische Verse in der Katastrophe – Zweisprachige Lesung**

Ort: Alte Schmiede, Wien

**Serhiy Zhadan**  
Schriftsteller, Dichter und Übersetzer  
*In Kooperation mit der Alten Schmiede*



**September 1**

**Filmpremiere „Remembering Forgetting“ – In Memoriam Svetlana Boym**

Ort: Jüdisches Museum, Wien

**Zsófia Ban, Kathi Orbán, Janna Kyllästinen, Masha Gessen and Werner Hanak-Lettner**  
*In Kooperation mit dem Jüdischen Museum Wien*



**October 3**

**The Age of Questions—Modern History and the Reign of “Questions”**

**Holly Case**  
Associate Professor of History, Brown University  
Video on [www.iwm.at/video](http://www.iwm.at/video)



**Oktober 11**

**Im Zeit-Raum: Gefahrenzone Populismus**

Ort: ORF Radiokulturhaus, Wien

**Jan-Werner Müller**  
Professor für Politikwissenschaften, Princeton University  
**Ruth Wodak**  
Professorin für Sprachwissenschaften, Universität Wien



**Oktober 25**

**Redefreiheit: Prinzipien für eine vernetzte Welt**

Ort: Wien Museum, Wien

**Timothy Garton Ash**  
Professor für Europäische Studien, Universität Oxford; Mitglied, IWM Vereinsvorstand  
**Isolde Charim**  
Publizistin; wissenschaftliche Kuratorin, Kreisky Forum, Wien  
**Miloš Vec**  
Permanent Fellow, IWM; Professor für Europäische Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte, Universität Wien  
*In Kooperation mit dem Wien Museum und dem Hanser Verlag*



**September 23–25**

**Vienna Humanities Festival „Andernorts / Out of Place“**

Ort: Karlsplatz, Wien

*In cooperation with Wien Museum and Time to Talk*



**October 6**

**“...there is no logical passage.” Or: The Re-Enchantment of the Bridge from Self to World**

**Krzysztof Czyżewski**  
Writer, philosopher, theatre director, editor  
Video on [www.iwm.at/video](http://www.iwm.at/video)



**October 13**

**Citizens in Europe—On Democracy, Constitutionalism and European Integration**

**Claus Offe**  
Non-Resident Permanent Fellow, IWM; Professor of Political Sociology, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin  
**Paweł Marczewski**  
Head of Publications, IWM  
Video on [www.iwm.at/video](http://www.iwm.at/video)



**October 26**

**Free Speech**

Venue: Warsaw University

**Timothy Garton Ash**  
Professor of European Studies, Oxford University; Member, IWM's Academic Advisory Board  
**Jan-Werner Müller**  
Professor of Politics, Princeton University  
**Monika Piatek**  
Professor of Law, University of Warsaw; President, Polish Association of Legal Education  
**Maria Poprzeczka**  
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*Chairs:*  
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**Shalini Randeria**  
IWM Rector; Professor of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva  
*In cooperation with University of Warsaw, Kultura Liberalna and generously supported by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education*



**September 28**

**The Subject and the Square: The Political School of the Kyiv Biennial**

**Vasyl Cherepanyn**  
Head, Visual Culture Research Center, Kyiv; editor, *Political Critique* magazine (Ukrainian edition)



**October 6–7**

**Paradises Lost: Entzauberung, Utopia, and Their Afterlives**

*In cooperation with Warsaw University and Programme of Modern Poland*



**October 19**

**The Kremlin's Game: How to Survive in Times of Decay?**

**Lilia Shevtsova**  
Non-resident Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Program, Brookings; Associate Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Program, Chatham House



**September 30**

**Flüchtlingskrisen. Nichts Neues in Österreich**

Ort: Universität Wien

*In Kooperation mit dem Institut für Neuzeit- und Zeitgeschichtsforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*



**October 10**

**Poland, Ukraine, Russia: Difficult Past, Uncertain Future**

**Adam Daniel Rotfeld**  
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland  
**Paweł Marczewski**  
Head of Publications, IWM  
**Christian Ultsch**  
Head of the Foreign Politics Department, Die Presse (see IWMpost 118)  
Video on [www.iwm.at/video](http://www.iwm.at/video)

Events Colorkey

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

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

**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.

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

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



Events in Retrospect 07–12 2016

November



10<sup>th</sup> Conference ‘On Solidarity’: Mobilizing for the Commons

Venue: European Solidarity Centre (ECS), Gdańsk

*In cooperation with the European network of cultural journals, Eurozine, the European Solidarity Centre in Gdańsk and Res Publica Foundation, in partnership with ERSTE Foundation and the Mayor of Gdańsk (see p. 14)*



Science Speed Dating

Ort: 10er Marie, Wien  
(see IWMpost 118)



Aesthetics of Terror and Terror of Aesthetics

**Evgeny Dobrenko**  
Professor and Head, Department of Russian and Slavonic Studies; Co-Director, Prokhorov Centre, University of Sheffield



New European Orientalism

**Michał Buchowski**  
Director, Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań  
**Anna Durnova**  
Senior Researcher, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna  
**Anna Visvizi**  
Head of Research, Institute of East Central Europe, Lublin  
*In cooperation with the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Vienna*



New Developments in the Kremlin’s Efforts to Control the Internet in Russia

**Irina Borogan**  
Russian investigative Journalist; deputy editor, *agentura.ru*  
**Andrei Soldatov**  
Russian investigative journalist; editor, *agentura.ru*  
(see IWMpost 118)



Escaping the Trap of Radicalism—Reflections on Central Europe

**Lubomír Zaorálek**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic  
*In cooperation with the Austrian newspaper Die Presse and generously supported by EVN.*  
(see IWMpost 118)  
Video on [www.iwm.at/events](http://www.iwm.at/events)



From European to Global Orders: International Law and Normativity in Context—Challenging Narratives

*Generously funded by Fritz Thyssen Foundation (see p. 8)*



Aktionstage: Refugees—Migration—Democracy

Venue: Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, ÖBB Headquarter, Stadtkino at Künstlerhaus

*In cooperation with Initiative Minderheiten, Center for Advanced Studies South Eastern (CAS SEE), ERSTE Stiftung, Asylkoordination Österreich, arge region kultur, GBW Minderheiten, Interkulturelles Zentrum (iz), Karl-Renner-Institut, Time to Talk*



ERC Mentoring Initiative

Venue: Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), Vienna

*In cooperation with Polish Academy of Sciences and generously supported by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Research and Economy*



How to Defeat Populism

**Jan-Werner Müller**  
Professor of Politics, Princeton University



Junior Visiting Fellows’ Workshop

**Andrew Brandel**  
PhD in Anthropology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore  
**León Castellanos-Jankiewicz**  
PhD candidate in International Law, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva  
**Iva Lučić**  
PhD in History, University of Uppsala  
**Ezgi Yildiz**  
PhD in International Relations / International Law, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva



Has Europe Reached Its Limits?

Venue: The Graduate Insitute, Geneva  
*Organized by IWM, Graduate Institute and generously funded by the Swiss State Secretariat for Education, Research, and Innovation (see p. 14)*



The Transformation of Foreign Policy—Drawing and Managing Boundaries from Antiquity to the Present

**Andreas Fahrmeir**  
Professor of Modern History, Goethe University; principal investigator, ‘Normative Orders’ research cluster  
**Gunther Hellmann**  
Professor of Political Science, Department of Social Sciences; Principal Investigator, Centre of Excellence ‘Formation of Normative Orders’, Goethe University  
**Miloš Vec**  
Permanent Fellow, IWM; Professor of European Legal and Constitutional History, Vienna University  
Video on [www.iwm.at/events](http://www.iwm.at/events)



Partitions Persistent? Lessons from Polish Economic History

**Piotr Koryś**  
Adjunct Professor of Economic Sciences, University of Warsaw

**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.

**Russia in Global Dialogue**  
This series of events aims at intensifying intellectual debate between Russia and Europe.

**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.

**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.

**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.



# Searching for the Commons in Times of New Enclosures

REPORT BY PAWEŁ MARCZEWSKI

When the IWM's conferences series "On Solidarity" began in 2005, it was conceived to serve two purposes. First, to rethink challenges to the traditional model of the welfare state in order to provide some foundation for social solidarity in the contemporary world. Second, to bring together experts and practitioners from both sides of the Atlantic in order to foster dialogue between two different traditions of thinking about social policy. Meetings organized over the course of more than 10 years spanned a broad spectrum of topics, from the cultural and political underpinnings of social models in Europe and the US to problems of distribution and inequality.

The 10<sup>th</sup> conference in the series, jointly organized by IWM, *Eurozine*, the European Solidarity Centre in Gdańsk and Res Publica Foundation, in partnership with Erste Foundation and the Mayor of Gdańsk, took place in November 2016 (see p. 13). On this occasion, participants travelled to Gdańsk, the birthplace of Polish *Solidarność*. The city, synonymous with massive social movement that brought together striking workers and dissident intellectuals, provided the perfect environment for reflecting on the challenges to solidarity today and how European publics can be mobilized to defend common interests. The title "Mobilizing for the Commons" encapsulated the dual purpose of the event—to reflect on what is or should be common nowadays, and how to initiate collective action to defend it from privatization and fragmentation.

In the course of the conference, it soon turned out that the commons are increasingly to be defined in terms of the ways they are threatened. Ugo Mattei, Professor of law at the University of California, San Francisco, and the University of Turin, addressed in his keynote speech what potentially is the biggest challenge when thinking about the commons: the inclusion of the ecological perspective into legal frameworks regulating advanced societies. There is a deep, global inequality in consumption of resources: The Global South consumes far less than more affluent regions of the world, which at the same time develop highly complex legal systems protecting property rights. However, the same systems often fail to protect the common resources without which the survival of mankind will become increasingly problematic. According to Mattei, this calls for a fundamental reformulation of the rule of law in order make the protection of the commons at least as important as the protec-



Conference "On Solidarity", European Solidarity Centre, Gdańsk, November 2016.



Photos: Grzegorz Mehning / Archiwum ECS

tion of the private property.

Those who claim access to certain resources as a human right are fighting what often seems like an uphill battle against corporations or national governments. However this is not the only sense in which "Mobilizing for the Commons" may seem like a perennial quest. Another challenge discussed in detail was the appropriation of the commons by populist mobilizations. As pointed out by IWM Permanent Fellow Ivan Krastev, applying to the commons the analytical tools used to study social movements is often very tricky. People engaging in collective action are disillusioned with the partisanship of political elites and seek a totality of true, hard-working members of the nation or society. This sentiment is captured and used by populist politicians, who claim that their supporters are "a movement" representative of the whole political community. This is exclusionary politics masquerading as the commons, hiding parochialism and exclusion behind the façade of totality. Michel Wieviorka, director of the Centre d'Analyses et d'Interventions Sociologiques at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, called such mobilizations "anti-social movements", since they cement bonds between members of different groups at the expense of social solidarity at large.

"Mobilization for the commons" by political forces that undermine

the principles of social solidarity is not limited to national politics. It also takes place at the global level in reaction to processes of globalization. IWM Rector Shalini Randeria pointed out that a major problem for protecting the commons are the different speeds at which various areas of law are being internationalized. While trade laws securing global property rights for international corporations are being hastily extended in connection with agreements like CETA or TTIP, the internationalization of human rights or labor and immigration laws is being carried out with nothing like the same sense of urgency. As criticism of unlimited free trade by supporters both of Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump showed, this discrepancy provokes reactions both on the Left and on the Right, pointed out Ivan Krastev.

## Has Europe Reached Its Limits?

The discussions at the 10<sup>th</sup> conference "On Solidarity" inevitably gravitated towards the challenges facing Europe posed by ascendant right-wing populism both at home and across the Atlantic. These discussions were continued at another international conference co-organized by the IWM, which took place at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva on December 8–9, 2016.

The two-day event, entitled "Has Europe Reached Its Limits?" and conceived by André Liebich, an Honorary Professor of International History and Politics of at the Graduate Institute and a former visiting fellow at the IWM, brought together scholars from Western and Eastern Europe in the best tradition of the IWM. However, the dialogue also laid bare the continent's divisions. During the Cold War, the overarching East-West separation simplified matters. But as the influx of migrants from less affluent and often war-torn parts of the world cause what once were labeled "core European values" to become controversial, the borders cutting across Europe, as well as the moral and legal justifications for them, start to resemble an entangled web.

Vincent Chetail, Professor of Law at the Graduate Institute in Geneva, and Luiza Bialasiewicz, a former Visiting Fellow at the IWM and Jean Monnet Professor of EU External Relations at the University of Amsterdam, stressed that the EU's response has been found wanting. Instead of seriously reconsidering the instruments with which it upholds its principles, for example the Common Asylum System, the EU prefers "offshoring the line of defense" and "containment by outsourcing" stipulated in Dublin agreement. Responsibility for Europe's problems has therefore been shifted, not shared. Additionally, the response of coun-

tries of the Visegrád Group has been not so much to shift responsibility as to pretend that migrants are not their problem at all.

Contemporary challenges have revived old divisions. As the speakers on the panel "Is the New Europe Different?" argued, attitudes in Central Eastern Europe towards the Western European socioeconomic model oscillate between eagerness to prove and aloof critique. When the CEE countries joined the EU, it seemed as if the first would inevitably prevail. This is no longer the case, just as it is no longer certain that the Western Europe whose political and economic standards Central Eastern European countries were aspiring to will retain its "core values".

In this political climate, it is all the more important to rethink ways of "mobilizing for the commons". The EU's unwillingness to come up with an asylum system worthy of its ideals is yet another example of how human rights lag behind international trade agreements. Outsourcing problems is not an adequate solution. It results not only in refugee camps being hastily built on Greek islands or the outskirts of Balkan cities. It also provides the sad spectacle of the growing enclosure of parts of a continent once on its way to becoming a common political sphere. ◀

Paweł Marczewski is IWM's Head of Publications.



# The Hippies of Soviet Lviv

BY ANDREI KURKOV

*Hippies are well known as a phenomenon of the West. But this counterculture, which inspired an entire generation, flourished also in an unlikely place—the Soviet Union of the 1970s. During his stay at the IWM Ukrainian writer Andrei Kurkov explored one of its most interesting tribes.*

If in the United States the hippie movement was born as a protest against capitalist values, and later also as a protest against the Vietnam War and war in general, on the territory of the Soviet Union ‘capitalist values’ were categorically impossible. Those who spoke out in opposition to, for example, the suppression of the Prague Spring in 1968, were a handful of Soviet dissidents, not local disciples of the American hippies. In fact, the hippie movement in the USSR was quite small in comparison to the analogous movement in the United States, where hippie festivals brought together as many as half a million participants.

American hippies, protesting the capitalist system, created a new market, even if they themselves did not recognize this at first: products for hippies. Clothes, music, accessories. The flexible capitalist system quickly and adeptly reacted to the appearance of a new group of consumers. As a result, or perhaps this was the case from the beginning, the main marker of hippies became their outward appearance, fashion, and the music they listened to, not their ideology or social and political activity. If the market reacted to the existence of hippies, American society remained more or less indifferent to this phenomenon.

‘Soviet’ hippies, in contrast, incurred not only undue attention from the KGB and police, but also a negative reaction from ‘socialist society.’ There could be no freedom of expression in the USSR, and that meant that an outward appearance that was provocative from the point of view of Soviet morality was sufficient for a person to be counted among the enemies of the Soviet system. ‘Soviet’ hippies could not escape pressure or close scrutiny from the society that they placed themselves in opposition to. This pressure, along with their common interests and common fashion, also fostered a desire to unite, to interact more with like-minded people, to seek out and sustain close ties with hippies from other regions.

From time to time, ‘Soviet hippies’ tried to create their own organizations. What was the main factor behind this: mockery, parody, or a subconscious expression of the Soviet ‘collective’ experience? It is likely that every group of hippies that decided to ‘get organized’ had its own reasons and justifications. Perhaps a role was also played by school history lessons, during which teachers explained that all important events were linked to “collective action by like-minded people”: from the 1825 Decembrist Uprising to the Young Guard, an underground Komsomol



Documentary “Soviet Hippies: The Psychedelic Underground of 1970s” directed by Terje Toomistu, Estonia. Guru Mihkel Ram Tamm with his disciples Aare and Julia in the mid-1970s. (Courtesy of Vladimir Wiedemann)

organization active during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine.

## Anarchism and Passive Protest

There were various ways of organizing. In major Soviet cities at that time, instead of forming an ‘organization’ hippies simply chose a meeting place. In Kyiv the hippies and local “bright young things” gathered at the café *Khreshchatyi Iar* on Prorizna Street. In Leningrad the spot was a café commonly referred to as *Saigon*. In Lviv, the hippie meeting place was *Virmenka*, on Virmens’ka Street. But the ‘collective’ history of Lviv hippies begins with the informal association *Republic of the Holy Garden* (*Respublika Sviatoho Sadu*).

“We founded the *Republic of the Holy Garden* on October 12, 1868,” wrote Il’ko Lemko, one of the first Lviv hippies, in his memoirs. “It was

During Soviet times, the trident, today pictured on Ukraine’s crest, was a forbidden symbol, linked to “bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism.” The KGB fought tirelessly against Ukrainian nationalism, and in Lviv, the cradle of the Ukrainian national movement, this was of course something everyone knew about. For the most part, Ukrainian hippies were not nationalists. What’s more, the common language among hippies from various regions of the USSR was Russian. Lviv hippies regularly welcomed their counterparts from the Baltic countries, Moscow, and Leningrad. So depicting the trident on their ‘crest’ was more of a jokey challenge to the Soviet system, which Soviet hippies set themselves in opposition to.

The *Republic of the Holy Garden* was a space of freedom, the size of two soccer fields, protected by the

hippies were simply ‘inscribed’—that is, their presence was verbally approved, and this was enough for them to become part of the group. But for some Lviv hippies, the *Republic of the Holy Garden* and its unofficial rules were not enough. They tried to create their own organizations with stated goals and rules, in which there was sometimes an element of mocking Soviet reality and the Komsomol in particular. But sometimes ‘Soviet collectivism’ showed through in their actions.

## Illegal Hippie Organizations

In the Lviv regional archive you can read reports from the regional Komsomol organization about two attempts to create illegal hippie organizations in Lviv. One was in the first half of 1970. Seven long-haired students began their organizational

result, this group of hippies trying to found their own secret organization was arrested on June 23, 1970. “Preventative meetings” were held with them; several were expelled from university and from the Komsomol.

In October 1970 a second, larger group of young Lviv hippies, totaling 21 people, also decided to create their own organization. The leader of this group was Viacheslav Yeres’ko, nicknamed *Sharnir*—a colorful individual, a young and charismatic long-haired invalid, who got around on crutches and wore a long leather trench coat. They didn’t bother hiding in basements, instead gathering outside, often on the steps of the Dominican cathedral. Their founding meeting was held on October 18. At this meeting, the members of the group voted on the text of their Manifesto as proposed by Yeres’ko, and on the organization’s anthem. They approved dues ranging from 50 kopeks to 3 rubles per month. This money would be used for group activities, including going to the movies and visiting cafés. They also elected a president—of course, the initiator himself, Viacheslav Yeres’ko.

The group’s next meeting was set for November 7—on the anniversary of the October Revolution—at Yeres’ko’s house in Briukhovichi, a suburb of Lviv. The young hippies who came to this meeting were greeted at the door by their ‘president,’ dressed in a black shirt with Nazi symbols. Several members of the group immediately left. Others remained and listened to a fiery speech given by Sharnir. Its contents are recapped in a memorandum now held by the Lviv regional archive: Viacheslav Yeres’ko espouses “anti-Soviet views, fostering hatred towards the volunteer public order militia (*druzhinniki*) and the Komsomol, asserting that the Komsomol is made up of drunkards, imposters, hooligans.”

Viacheslav Yeres’ko loved to recount to his young confederates how during the Prague Spring Czech hippies “helped shoot communists.” Another favorite subject of his was the history of the struggle of Ukrainian nationalists from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against the Soviet Union. He was a clear opponent of traditional hippie pacifist views.

The history of this organization came to an end on November 26, 1970, when the police came and searched the house of its ‘president.’ This search revealed a slew of fascist paraphernalia, plus a Walther pistol. Viacheslav Yeres’ko was sentenced to three years in prison. All the group’s members were rounded up; some were expelled from university and sent to the army, and all

*The Republic of the Holy Garden was a space of freedom. It was an ideal place for those who wanted to hide from Soviet reality.*

14–18 boys with a thirst for freedom, even some sort of anarchism and passive protest against the Soviet madhouse, playing at politics. Kazik [Dmytro Kuzovkin, one of the initial members] drew a crest in white paint on a green flag, and the crest represented a Ukrainian trident (*tryzub*) (...). Under the trident there were two crossed walnut tree leaves—the sacred plant of the *Holy Garden*—and between them a soccer ball.”

walls of an old Carmelite monastery. It was an ideal place for those who wanted to hide from Soviet reality. At its peak, it brought together 60–100 Lviv hippies, and the concerts they organized there sometimes drew as many as 300 fans of banned rock music. United not simply by a steady meeting place, but by their ‘own’ territory, it did not occur to the majority of the Republic’s hippies to organize further, to come up with rules, “rights and responsibilities.” New

activity with secret meetings in the basement of a residential building. There, amidst sewer lines and other utility pipes, they built campfires and discussed the future structure of the organization and how high to set the dues each member would have to pay to finance the organization’s activity. The parents of one of the participants in these meetings suspected that their son had fallen in with a bad crowd and went to the police to ask them to “save their child.” As a



Komsomol members were expelled from that organization.

Provocation from the KGB?

The local press wrote a great deal about hippies professing the ideol-



Alik Olisevitch and Andrei Kurkov, 2015.

ogy of bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism and about their attraction to fascist ideas. To combat them, *druzhinniki* of “Komsomol task units” were “deployed,” under the command of KGB officers. These *druzhinniki*—young guys between the ages of 14 and 27—“caught” long-haired men on the streets of Lviv and dragged them to police stations, where they were photographed, their details were taken, and they were fingerprinted. Sometimes the *druzhinniki* took scissors and cut off their long hair.

At the same moment, in various cities across the Soviet Union, the KGB arranged various provocations directed against hippies, as a result of which some of them ended up in prison on charges usually not related to political activity. They were convicted of hooliganism, drug use, and vagrancy. The story of Viacheslav Yeres’ko and his organization could plausibly have been a KGB provocation.

In any case, it was the only court case in which a representative of the hippie movement was accused, at least at the beginning, of bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism. He was not sent to prison on political charges, however, but on criminal ones: for possession of a firearm. And he was sentenced only to three years, which was unbelievably little for that time. This indirectly supports the view that the entire story of the attempt to create an organization of hippie militants was a KGB provocation.

By the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union the hippie fad among young people had already passed, but the first hippies, who had become devotees of the movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, stuck to their ideals and principles; by then, they were seen as political dissidents, activists opposing the Soviet authorities.

This is probably why it now seems logical that when the first representative body of Amnesty International in Ukraine was founded in Lviv in 1993, it was with the participation of both the former dissident and political prisoner Myroslav Marynovych and a group of “first generation” hippies led by Alik Olisevych, one of the founders of the hippie movement in Ukraine. ◀

Andrei Kurkov is a Ukrainian writer and public intellectual whose novels have been translated into many languages. He was a Sheptytsk’kyi Visiting Fellow at the IWM from January to March 2017.

Varia

The IWM is pleased to announce that Austria’s former Federal President **Heinz Fischer** was appointed President of IWM’s Board of Trustees beginning 2017. He succeeds **Helga Nowotny**, Professor emerita of Science and Technology Studies at ETH Zurich and former President of the ERC, who has taken up a teaching position at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. “It is a great honor and pleasure that Dr. Heinz Fischer kindly agreed to take on this honorary position. Well known and appreciated as a passionate politician and European, he is the ideal candidate to further promote the Institute’s internationalization and thematic extension far beyond the national borders”, says IWM’s Rector Shalini Randeria. The Rector and the Board express their sincere appreciation to Prof. Nowotny for her invaluable support through the years.

We also warmly welcome **Ivan Vejvoda**, political scientist and Balkan expert, who joined the IWM as a **Permanent Fellow** in January 2017. He will lead a three-year research project developed with, and supported by, ERSTE Foundation titled “Europe’s Futures”. “Europe is currently at a crucial historical phase and faces challenges that make it more impor-

tant than ever to strengthen democratic structures and promote civil-society engagement,” says Ivan Vejvoda. A long-time member of ERSTE Foundation’s Advisory Board, he is convinced that the strong engagement and experience of both institutions in analyzing and supporting democratic political and social developments provide the ideal foundation for this endeavor. In addition to awarding research fellowships, the aim of the program is to encourage dialogue, research and policy exchange in Europe and beyond. His previous positions include Senior Vice President of the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington, and Head of the GMF’s Balkan Trust Democracy project. He was senior advisor on foreign policy and European integration to Serbian Prime Ministers Zoran Đinđić and Zoran Živković and a key figure in the Yugoslavian opposition movement of the 1990s.

**Timothy Garton Ash**, Professor of European Studies at Oxford University and a member of IWM’s Board of Trustees, received the prestigious Charlemagne Prize for 2017. Pope Francis was last year’s winner of the prize, awarded annually to those who have contributed most to the ideals of post-war Europe. The organizers described Garton Ash as “an extraordinary British academic, who has commented on and accompa-

nied the journey of the European Union with passion and precision, providing the community with thoughtful depth”.

On April 26, **Mieke Verloo**, Professor of Comparative Politics and Inequality Issues at Radboud University and a Non-Resident Permanent Fellow at the IWM, received the royal honor of being named Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau. Every year, royal honors are awarded to those who have been of exceptional service to science or society. At the IWM she has directed two large research projects on gender equality policymaking in Europe (MAGEEQ and QUING).

**Adil Hasan Khan**, Residential Fellow at the Institute of Global Law and Policy at the Harvard Law School in Cambridge and a Visiting Fellow at the IWM from June 2015 to February 2016, was recently awarded the 2017 McKenzie Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Melbourne. We congratulate him not only on this career move but also on his marriage in 2017.

We also wish to congratulate the IWM Visiting Fellow (2016) **Tobias Berger**, who was appointed as a Junior Professor for Political Science with reference to the Transnational Politics of the Global South at the Center for Transnational Relations, Foreign and Security Policy at Freie Universität Berlin.

Furthermore, we are happy to announce that **Andrew Brandel**, who was a Visiting Fellow at the IWM from September 2016 to April 2017, will be joining the Committee on Degrees in Social Studies at Harvard University.

**Christina Pössel**, who worked at the IWM as academic program coordinator for over four years, moved to Germany to take up a similar position in the Leibniz Association’s head office in Berlin. We thank her for her excellent work and wish her all the best for her future career.

As her successor, we warmly welcome **Christian Rogler** as the Institute’s new academic program coordinator as well as **Katharina Hasewend**, who joined the IWM as research assistant. Furthermore, we are happy to welcome **Aref Alemi**, who supports the team as IT assistant.

In 2017, the IWM opened a new photo exhibition by **Ákos Birkás**, who is regarded as one of the most prominent figures of the contemporary Hungarian art scene. The exhibition, entitled “Photo Works 1975–78” and curated

by *Knoll Galerie Wien + Budapest*, shows a selection of Birkás’ early photographs dealing with fine art and its representations in museums.

It is with deep sorrow that we learnt of **Sadik al-Azm’s** death in December 2016. The internationally renowned Syrian philosopher died in exile in Berlin aged 82. In November 2015, he was our guest at the Political Salon on Syria and had accepted our invitation to spend the academic year 2016–17 as the Krzysztof Michalski Visiting Fellow at the Institute—a wish that remained unfulfilled.

The IWM also mourns the death of the well-known Polish-born sociologist **Zygmunt Bauman** who died in England at the age of 91. Regarded as one of the most influential, critical theorists of our times, Bauman delivered the Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture 2015 entitled “Diasporic Terrorism” (see *IWMpost* 116).

IWM’s new President Heinz Fischer; Permanent Fellow Ivan Vejvoda; Award Winners Mieke Verloo and Timothy Garton Ash.



Photos: Matthias Cremer, ERSTE Foundation / Markus Schwarze, IWM, Daniel Mikkelsen



# The Long Shadows of the Free Market

BY ANNEMIEKE HENDRIKS

*Ten years after EU accession, Romania's traditional ways of life are under severe pressure. Even traditional Romanian tomatoes have been all but edged out of the market as western European produce pours into the country. Annemieke Hendriks considers the transformation of Europe's post-Cold War agricultural landscape, in which Romania, once one of the continent's largest producers of veg, now imports fresh tomatoes from one of the world's biggest exporters: the Netherlands.*



Every year, several million tons of fresh tomatoes pass through Europe. They travel from the South to the North and from the East to the West but also, surprisingly, from coastal to inland climates where local tomatoes are grown outside in the summer, as in Romania. They come from all over the place and cross paths somewhere in Europe; yet often these tomatoes are identical. At every link in the supply chain and every intermediate stop along the way, there is money to be made, primarily by the Dutch.

Romania was once one of Europe's largest producers of vegetables. But since the Revolution in 1989 harvests have fallen. Agriculture accounts for just a couple of per cent of the country's GDP. There are rural regions where, in the absence of a local supermarket, fresh vegetables are hard to come by at all. Hardly any land is cultivated in such regions any longer. Yet the production of tomatoes remains significant. It is just that they are primarily grown in countless small backyards during the summer and only for private consumption. Selling domestic tomatoes will scarcely earn you anything nowadays.

The Netherlands, a small country, produces twice as many tomatoes as Romania, in just 1750 hectares of greenhouse space. Dutch tomatoes may only account for five percent of those harvested in Europe. The real giants are Italy and Spain. In terms of financial value though, the Netherlands is the biggest exporter of to-

matoes in the world. It is European market regulations that make this possible. More on this shortly.

A streamlined structure of production was a familiar concept under the now defunct communist system, just as it was, and remains so, under the capitalist one. As such, today's Romanian tomato, a seasonal and highly perishable product, falls between two ideological stools. Up until the Revolution of 1989, the market for tomatoes looked completely different under the country's centrally planned economy. An astonish-

mostly exported to Germany and Romanian ones (mostly in secret) to the Soviet Union. Together with potatoes and butter, the Romanian *kolkhoz* tomato was exchanged for old Soviet fighter aircraft and other defence technology.

But were the tomatoes cultivated in the state farms in fact Romanian?

like a boomerang at some point and that cheap 'Romanian' tomatoes would one day compete with ours."

The outcome was the reverse: as well as greenhouses and seeds, now fresh tomatoes also leave the Netherlands for Romania. And the knowhow travelled with them too. In 1995, Piet Duijndam, then a retired grower but still in demand as a consultant, travelled to the western Romanian city of Arad to advise growers there on cultivation matters. That was in the context of a semi-idealistic, semi-opportunistic proj-

tors of state operations—were still able to achieve with their out-dated glass houses. The greenhouse complex in Arad was privatized after 1989. Around 1995 the yield was minimal. The layout meant that the new machinery could not pass through at all. The heating pipes got in the way everywhere. Boy oh boy, I had never seen something so anachronistic. But somehow these greenhouses still worked."

Duijndam had been called in to optimize the business in quantitative terms. "I then prepared two budgets: one for enhancing production capacity for tomatoes and cucumbers in the existing greenhouses and, in addition, I drew up a budget for building a new facility, were the old setup to be demolished". The new facility would generate an incomparably large income. "But the owner lacked the financial means to do it. Unfortunately, the existing complex was suffering as a result of the insane rise in energy costs, which could only be significantly reduced by building a new one."

Many years later, the company applied for European subsidies for new greenhouses, Duijndam adds. The process began after some young employees came to the Netherlands to be trained in modern-day cultivation methods. "However, the EU pot of money for regional development in Romania had already been allocated by then. The company would never be able to take a big step in the direction of modernization. It's a pity, because the demand for to-

*The myth of the "national tomato" is widespread not only in Romania but throughout Europe.*

ing amount of Dutch horticultural technology had penetrated Ceausescu's dictatorship—a story that remains largely untold.

The son of an agricultural engineer who grew up on a large state-owned collectivized farm, where his father was director from 1980 to 1990, recalls the "water bombs" that were intensively cultivated there in real Dutch greenhouses—just as they were in the Netherlands itself. Yet the resident population of both countries hardly had a chance, or were scarcely allowed, to eat these tomatoes since they were largely destined for export. Dutch tomatoes were

This is a somewhat philosophical question. Interestingly, the seed for many of these tomatoes also hailed from the Netherlands. This was another fact gladly concealed during the era of state socialism, explains the son of the *kolkhoz* director. The Dutch grower of greenhouse vegetables Piet Duijndam well remembers that his colleagues built greenhouses "for the communists", while others supplied them with seeds. "We were already worried in the sixties", explains Duijndam, "that the tomatoes from the Eastern Bloc, produced using our technology and our seeds, would come back to the Netherlands

ect that provided Dutch companies with certain opportunities. "There was this kind of greenhouse complex with which I had been familiar since the seventies", he explains at his home in Westland, the North Sea coastal region near Den Haag where such greenhouses are manufactured.

## "Romanians Have to Be Brilliant"

Duijndam tells a story of an infrastructure that has vanished. It's a story that applies to the whole Eastern Bloc. "I was in Arad to see what the owners—principally former direc-



tomatoes in the larger cities like Arad had already grown at the time.” Piet Duijndam concludes from all that he has experienced: “Romanians have to be really brilliant and must have all the luck in the world just to get a foot in the door of the European market for fresh vegetables.”

Furthermore, as a result of “land grabbing”, the land has been sold off from under the feet of Romanian farmers and growers. Just one example of this: the German publicly-traded company Agrarius Gruppe bought 5000 hectares in western Romania alone in 2016—in addition to which it also receives European agricultural subsidies.

Whichever way you look at EU policy on subsidies, they have a bizarre effect. Romanian tomato growers can earn just a couple of hundred euros in subsidies per hectare. That is half of what Dutch or German farmers receive and, given the paperwork involved, scarcely worth the small farmer’s while. In contrast to which, Dutch greenhouse growers negotiated their own terms with Brussels in 1995, since the standard subsidy per hectare would provide hardly any income in this highly intensive sector. Highly organized, highly innovative greenhouse cultivators now receive a special subsidy. Thanks to the EU “market regulations” created with the needs of Dutch growers in mind, Dutch growers of tomatoes, cucumbers and peppers have pocketed almost two billion euros in EU subsidies within the last twenty years: around a quarter of this special fund.

From the Dutch perspective, Romania is a fairly insignificant export destination for its tomatoes. For Romania, the constant supply of tomatoes and other fresh vegetables pouring into the country from Western Europe is rather unsettling. Even in the summer season, this fresh produce is often cheaper than the Romanian equivalent, including the tomatoes sold at market places. It is often fresher as well, despite the distance it has travelled. Five years after Romania’s accession to the European Union, the country already imported seven times more fruit and vegetables than it exported. According to the Romanian state trade institute, even at the time of joining the EU, three quarters of the country’s food was already being imported. There is no visible sign of these trends being reversed.

There is a widespread myth in Romania: that the European Union has forbidden domestic cultivation of tomatoes. People like to talk about the laws that the EU has supposedly passed, which are akin to those guaranteeing the purity of German beer. The Romanian tomato is supposed to have been banned and, as a result, is now confined to illegal backyard sites. This myth of the loss of the nation’s tomato (as well as the loss of its seeds, especially those of the much loved pink tomato) is not so surprising in a state where neither politicians nor the media care all that much about keeping citizens informed.

In reality, a complex melange of post-communist collapse, attempted recovery and capitalistic market powers is shaping affairs. Corrup-

tion and nepotism are hampering effective agriculture, as well as farmers’ unwillingness to cooperate with one another. This unwillingness can be interpreted as a reaction to the enforcement of a cooperative state economy. After 1989, some of the

corner. One gladly pays that much more for this scarce produce—a profitable misunderstanding. According to European regulations, the country of cultivation is valid as the country of origin. But in central Europe, Germany and Austria included, market-

cess of being bought up: Bayer is acquiring Monsanto and ChemChina is purchasing Syngenta.

With all its knowhow concerning seeds and more, the Dutch horticultural sector is able to produce every variety of tomato that Europe-

further away—dumped, for example, in Romania, where most small growers go under too, with their low yields of tomatoes that are unfit for transportation.

“There is only one solution for Romanian tomato production”, says Jörg Werner, native German sales and business development manager for Eastern and Central Europe at Rijk Zwaan, the most innovative Dutch seed producer. “This tomato has to find its way into the supermarket. It must become a high-tech mass product, resistant against diseases and uniform in quality the whole year through. Just like—no, even better than the imported tomatoes. So the first thing to do is to support the building of modern glasshouses in Romania. There are some already, and we try to develop the most wanted Romanian tomatoes in cooperation with them.”

Jörg Werner is based in Berlin and travels all over the continent. For Rijk Zwaan it doesn’t really matter if their tomato seeds grow into Dutch or Japanese or Romanian tomatoes—they grow all over the world. Nonetheless, Werner personally wants to point out the absurdities of European tomato growing. “To the Dutch tomato producers I [...] tell this one story again and again: please, stop growing more and more tomatoes, which are worth less and less. This is madness: transporting tomatoes thousands of kilometres to get rid of them. Please, invest your money and your knowhow in building glasshouses and growing tomatoes in Romania, instead of needing Polish workers to pick tomatoes in your Dutch coast provinces. Really, this is the best solution for everyone.” <

<sup>1)</sup> Italy is Europe’s largest producer of tomatoes but mostly exports industrially processed tomatoes. China too principally exports tomato paste.



The Westland, a unique area in the province of South Holland situated between The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam and the North Sea, is renowned for its greenhouses and is therefore called the “Glass City”.

private property confiscated from their families was returned to farmers under new property restitution laws, or they received new parcels of land as compensation for the work they did on the *kolkhoz*. And what did the farmers do next? They fenced in their plots of land, often simply destroying the irrigation systems of the hated *kolkhoz*. “Every man

able tomatoes are now rarely grown in soil but on mineral wool or coconut fibres in heated Venlo greenhouses (the ones with pointed roofs named after the Dutch town).

Beyond which: “It’s the seed, stupid!” The race of a tomato defines its identity much more than the location of uniform greenhouses (or plastic tunnels). Romania’s state in-

supermarkets and their consumers could wish for: cheap and expensive, water bombs and sugar bombs, exotic tomatoes and tomatoes bred for the German, Romanian or Italian markets, pink or yellow or even San Marzanos.

Everything is for export in this business, where the Dutch state, scientists, the glasshouse sector, EU

## No country can grow, trade and transport tomatoes as cheaply and efficiently as the Netherlands, not even “cheap” Romania.

for himself” became the new rallying cry. Shortly after the fall of the Iron Curtain exactly the same thing happened in Hungary and former East Germany.

Furthermore, the new middle class no longer cultivates tomatoes but just buys them in the supermarket. The less well off buy cheap Dutch tomatoes at the market. It’s certainly true that Romania’s small farmers pay the price for this.

### It’s the Seed!

Even under state socialism Romanian tomatoes were already “European citizens”, as already mentioned. That is, they were at least partly Dutch. However, the myth of the “national tomato” is widespread not only in Romania but throughout Europe. Germans and Austrians are terribly enthusiastic about their tomatoes grown on native soil, especially those from just around the

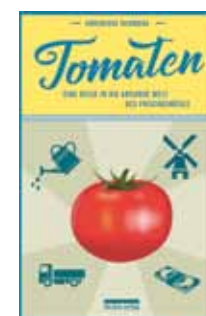
stitute for seed refinement was shut down after the Revolution. In the communist days, it was here that the Dutch races were adapted to regional conditions and native races developed. After the institute’s closure, the market for imported seed was wide open. Piet Duijndam witnessed the Dutch high-tech seed races arrive in Arad around 1995. However, these tomatoes only flourish in a high-tech glasshouse; it’s a vicious circle.

Were the EU to consider the tomato’s country of origin that of the tomato seed, then even more tomatoes would be of Dutch origin. Around a third of the world’s commercial vegetable seed is manufactured in Holland, of which tomato seed accounts for a significant share. Around half of these seeds belong to established Dutch family-owned businesses. The other half has been acquired by Monsanto, Syngenta and other chemical companies—some of which are themselves in the pro-

money and trade all converge. For, in contrast to the Romanians or the Italians, the Dutch eat only moderate quantities of their own tomatoes. Herein lies the solution to the puzzle as to how the Dutch became the world’s leading exporter of fresh tomatoes.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, a quarter of those tomatoes destined for export are in fact imported in the first place!

Thus a Spanish tomato might pass through Rotterdam before reaching Romania. No country can grow, trade and transport tomatoes as cheaply and efficiently as the Netherlands, not even “cheap” Romania. This success story is however highly problematic. On the one hand, the Dutch find themselves in a spiral of churning out increasing quantities of ever cheaper tomatoes; the lower the profit per tomato, the more they must produce. Those growers who can’t keep up go under. And every last leftover generated by this overproduction must be sold further and

**Annemiek Hendriks** is a freelance research journalist based in Amsterdam and Berlin. She was a Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow at the IWM in 2013. Her Dutch literary non-fiction book *De tomaat en de bizarre wereld van vers voedsel* was published by Nieuw Amsterdam Publishers in December 2016. An adapted German version entitled *Tomaten – Eine Reise in die absurde Welt des Frischgemüses* (be.bra verlag Berlin) is due out this autumn. The current article, translated by Benjamin D. Tendler, is an original text.



Mehr als sieben Jahre lang verfolgte die niederländische Journalistin Annemiek Hendriks das Leben der Tomate vom Samen bis zum Supermarkt. Ihre Recherchen führten sie kreuz und quer durch Europa und mitten hinein in die bizarre Welt des globalisierten Frischgemüses. Im Gespräch mit Züchtern und Händlern, Biologen und Lobbyisten, Geschmackstestern und anderen Experten erwiesen sich viele vermeintliche Gewissheiten über unsere Nahrungsmittel als hartnäckige Mythen. Schmecken deutsche Tomaten besser als holländische? Ist regional immer nachhaltiger? Sind Tomaten wirklich gesund? Und gibt es die gefürchteten „Gen-Tomaten“?



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Senior Lecturer in Sociology, School of Social and Policy Studies, Flinders University, Adelaide

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

PhD candidate in Sociology, University of Chicago

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**Gábor Almási**  
*Visiting Fellow (August–October 2016)*

Research assistant, Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies, Innsbruck; MTA Lendület postdoctoral fellow, Eötvös Lorand UniversityBudapest

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**Tobias Berger**  
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Lecturer in Politics, Freie Universität Berlin

**Transnational Law in Translation**

**Chiara Bonfiglioli**  
*EURIAS Junior Visiting Fellow (October 2016–July 2017)*

Newfelpo post-doctoral fellow, Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula

**A Gendered History of Labour in the Post-Yugoslav Region: The Garment Industry Between Socialism and Post-Socialism (1945–2015)**

**Irina Borogan**  
*Guest, Russia in Global Dialogue (November–December 2016)*

Russian Journalist, co-founder and deputy editor, *Agentura.ru*

**The Emerging Chinese Trend in Control of the Internet in Russia**

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PhD in Anthropology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

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**The Age of Questions**

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**Human Rights and the End of Status**

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Head, Visual Culture Research Center (VCRC, Kyiv); editor, *Political Critique* magazine (Ukrainian edition)

**The International Kyiv Biennial 2017**

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Research Fellow, Institute of Philosophy, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

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Adjunct Professor of Economic Sciences, University of Warsaw

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Post-Doc in Theory and History of Literature, New Bulgarian University, Sofia

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PhD candidate in Political Science, European University Institute, San Domenico

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Freelance journalist, Romanian Centre for Investigative Journalism, Bucharest

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Professor of Political Sociology, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin; IWM Non-Resident Permanent Fellow

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

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Research Associate, Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, Ukraine

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Non-resident Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Program, Brookings; Associate Fellow, Russia and Eurasia programme, Chatham House

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Teaching assistant in Political Theory, Sciences Po, Paris

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Co-founder and co-editor, Ukrainian magazine for social critique *Spilne*; political activist, *Free Mumia movement*

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# Structures of Feeling After Yugoslavia

BY CHIARA BONFIGLIOLI

*Gender, class and generation were formative of a ‘structure of feeling’ among textile workers in the former Yugoslavia. Chiara Bonfiglioli asked former workers at the Dalmatinka spinning mill in Sinj, Croatia, about their experiences of post-socialist transition.*



Inside Dalmatinka, 2016.

*“Dalmatinka was the mother of all the inhabitants of the city of Sinj and of its surroundings. She fed us, our children, our grandchildren, and we had a future. However the war came and things did not stay like that. While we worked, there was welfare for all, possibilities, good wages, houses were built and the future of our children was built. (...) Now the factory is so abandoned, so pillaged, so destroyed, that it is terrible and ugly to tell our husbands and children that we once worked there”.*

Last June, I recorded a series of interviews with former workers of the *Dalmatinka* spinning mill, located in the town of Sinj in Dalmatia, some thirty kilometers away from the coastal city of Split.<sup>1</sup> The foundation of the factory in 1951 is attributed to the perseverance of Vice Buljan, a communist from an upper class family who became mayor of Sinj in 1940 during the existence of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and who was later a notable partisan and politician. The factory was originally intended for the nearby town of Livno in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but Buljan managed to redirect the project to Sinj, his hometown.

In 2009, the former workers of the *Dalmatinka* factory, which by then was bankrupt, laid flowers at Buljan’s grave, three decades after his death. The local newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* reported the event under the headline: “You died, the factory died, and we do not feel so good either”. In 2004, the privatized *Dalmatinka* factory, which first went bankrupt in 2001, was bought by two Italian entrepreneurs and brothers. They were supposed to re-launch production, but instead speculated on the company’s remaining stocks and assets and avoided paying workers for months, until bankruptcy was declared again in 2008. The factory then fell into a state of

disrepair. Many of its former workers, who lost their jobs just before retirement age, regret the closing of a company that brought so much

lages was to cycle or to walk. Old women crossed themselves when they saw young female employees on their bikes, while families kept

ly 1970s recalled how she was once scolded for invoking Jesus, and how some workers were privileged and assigned to easier jobs because of their

*Old women crossed themselves when they saw young female employees on their bikes.*

to the town and its surrounding villages. This goes especially for its female workers, who made up 80% of the workforce.

## “That’s Where Prostitutes Work”

In the early 1950s, when the factory opened, women’s work outside the home was unheard of in the villages surrounding Sinj, which belonged to the underdeveloped rural plateau named *Cetinska Krajina* (after the river Cetina). Only very poor village girls went to work there; most of the community rejected women’s work as immoral. The factory was described as a ‘whorehouse’ where girls prostituted themselves.<sup>2</sup> The night shift in particular caused moral panic, especially since at the time there was no bus service to and from the factory. The only way to get to work from the neighboring vil-

their young daughters away from the factory and its workers.

This went on for some years, until families started to welcome women’s additional incomes and gender relations gradually changed. In the early years of *Dalmatinka*, however, women from rural areas often combined work in the factory with work in the fields, falling asleep at the machines. Some workers never got used to wearing trousers and quickly dressed back into their traditional long skirt (*šotana*, from the Italian *sottana*) after factory work. It was also common for women to hand their wages to their husbands or mothers-in-law.<sup>3</sup>

## “I Still Dream of Dalmatinka Today”

Piece-rate work within the factory was hard and rigidly disciplined. One worker who started in the ear-

pro-communist orientation. Yet she described her time at *Dalmatinka* as a time of security and mutual solidarity among fellow workers. *Lipota i druženje*, she said, literally, beauty and socializing. In the 1970s and 1980s, the factory reached its production peak. At that time it employed over 2000 workers and exported yarns all over the world, while supplying 60% of the Yugoslav market. With the expansion of the mill, flats were built for workers in Sinj, together with various sport facilities, such as an Olympic swimming pool—the pride of the local inhabitants. Former workers fondly remember the free meals served at the factory canteen, the subsidized holidays at the seaside, the money they received for schoolbooks and the bathrooms equipped with showers and sanitary products (at a time when many women had no proper bathroom or even running water





A worker at Dalmatinka in the 1950s.



Inside Dalmatinka, 2016.

30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Dalmatinka (1981).

at home). Workers also recall the celebrations on March 8 and May 1, and the different cultural associations that existed at the factory,

that were later challenged by processes of deindustrialization and factory closures. Williams used the term to investigate “a particular quality of so-

deteriorating welfare rights in newly privatized factories. Workers were also dismissed for political reasons. For example, in the early 1990s the

consumption and welfare based on industrialization, and in the 1960s and 1970s had partially succeeded in ameliorating daily life for wide strata of the population. Textile workers who came of age during that period witnessed the sacrifices of the older generation, who had initially experienced hardships in poorly equipped post-war factories before being able to enjoy the relative prosperity of market socialism. Values such as intra-generational solidarity and sacrifice for the future were therefore an integral part of the younger generation's structure of feeling. That is why former workers today have trouble accepting that their sacrifice will be of no value for the next generations. In specific gendered ways, women who worked at *Dalmatinka* worry about their children and grandchildren, who are often unable to find a job after school, or have limited life choices due to lack of housing and job security.

*“We are the generation whose grandmothers provided for our future through the factory. And we thought we would be able to build an even better future for our children and grandchildren.”*

Across the post-Yugoslav region, and across ethnicities and national belongings, former textile workers express a similar industrial structure of feeling, rooted in their gender, class and generation. Against

the devaluation of women's industrial labor in post-socialism, they respond with an attachment to the socialist welfare state and to the work ethics learned within the factory. Their narratives express a reflective nostalgia or, in the words of Mitja Velikonja, a retrospective utopia, “a utopian hope that there must be” — or must have been — “a society that is better than the current one.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank the former workers who kindly agreed to be interviewed and whose names are withheld here for privacy reasons, as well as Jelena Pavlinušić, Silvia Milić and Nikola Krizanac, coordinators of the Dalmatinka Project, for organizing the meetings in Sinj.

<sup>2</sup> Vedrana Premuž Džipalo, “Žene u Doba Socijalizma: Slučaj ‘Dalmatinka’”, in *Ethnologica Dalmatica*, 23, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Rebeka Mesarić Žabčić and Marina Perić Kaselj, “Žene i Industrijska Baština: Primjer ‘Dalmatinke’ Sinj”, in: A. Černelić Krošelj, Ž. Jelavić and H. Rožman, *Kulturna dediščina industrijskih panog i industrijska kulturna baština*, Ljubljana: Slovensko Etnološko Društvo, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Frances Pine, “Retreat to the Household? Gendered domains in postsocialist Poland”, in C.M. Hann: *Postsocialism: ideals, ideologies, and practices in Eurasia*, London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

<sup>6</sup> Mitja Velikonja, “Lost in Transition. Nostalgia for Socialism in Post-socialist Countries” in *East European Politics and Societies*, 23 (4), 2009.

## *If I had stayed in the village, I would have got nothing. So I became my own master at 18 years old.*

such as the volunteer firefighters brigade and the women's basketball team. Thanks to extended maternity leaves and sick leaves, and to the help of their female relatives in the extended household, *Dalmatinka* workers “were able to realize a kind of individual value which transcended, without excluding, the prescriptions of kinship and gender located in the domestic domain”.<sup>4</sup>

### **“You Had a Secure Wage and a Secure Life”**

The factory's role as a community center—which was common throughout Yugoslavia—created a specific industrial ‘structure of feeling’. The concept of the ‘structure of feeling’, developed by cultural theorist Raymond Williams, has been used recently by social scientists and oral historians to discuss how industrialization created specific ways of life

cial experience and relationship, historically distinct from other particular qualities, which give the sense of a generation or of a period”. An alternative definition of ‘structure of feeling’, according to Williams, would be ‘structures of experience’, or ‘practical consciousness of a present kind’.<sup>5</sup>

In post-Yugoslav, post-socialist states, the industrial structure of feeling which emerged during the socialist period is still very much alive among the generation of industrial workers born after 1945 whose working lives ended between 1989 and the present day. Industrial workers' structure of feeling has been directly challenged by the power dynamics of post-socialist transition, which often entailed job losses, unpaid wages, unpaid social contributions, and lost savings deposited in internal factory banks, together with precarious working conditions and

entire management of *Dalmatinka* was replaced with new staff aligned with the Croatian Democratic Party. This led to disorganization and chaos. Workers' longing for pre-existing labor and welfare rights is therefore strengthened by the material losses suffered in the last decades.

### **A Lost Generation?**

Workers' structure of feeling has also been affected by the symbolic shift that occurred in the representation of the industrial working class, which went from political centrality to widespread invisibility and marginalization. The narrative of linear and progressive time propagated during socialism and Fordism—which was tied to the value of industrial work—was also abruptly interrupted. After the Second World War, the socialist regime in Yugoslavia had promised economic growth,

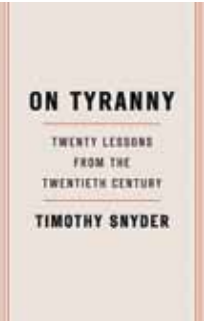
Chiara Bonfiglioli is a Newfelpo post-doctoral fellow at the Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula. Currently, she is a EURIAS Visiting Fellow at the IWM.



Books, Articles and Talks 07–12 2016

Books by Fellows and Alumni

**Timothy Snyder**  
*On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*  
New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2017



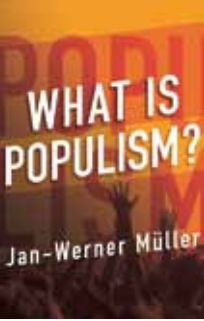
Über Tyrannei: Zwanzig Lektionen für den Widerstand  
München: C.H. Beck, 2017



In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, European democracies collapsed into fascism, Nazism and communism. Today, we are no wiser than the Europeans who saw democracy yield to totalitarianism in the twentieth century. But when the political order seems imperilled, our advantage is that we can learn from their experience to resist the advance of tyranny.

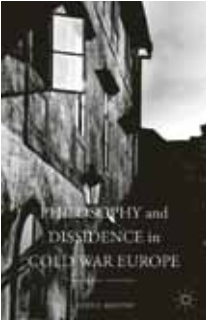
Book presentation on June 27 (see p. 24)

**Jan-Werner Müller**  
*What is Populism?*  
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016 (based on his IWM Lecture in Human Sciences 2013)



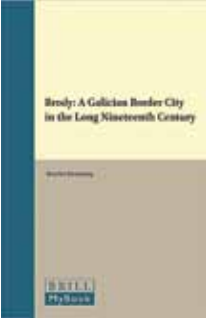
Populists are on the rise across the globe. But what exactly is the populism? What precisely is the difference between right-wing and left-wing populism? Does populism bring government closer to the people or is it a threat to democracy?

**Aspen Brinton**  
*Philosophy and Dissidence in Cold War Europe*  
New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016



The book examines the roots of dissident thought in Central Europe and the continuing relevance of dissident ideas not only for historians but also for political philosophy generally and, more practically, for those engaged in struggles against tyranny.

**Börries Kuzmany**  
*Brody: A Galician Border City in the Long Nineteenth Century*  
Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016



This urban biography reconciles Brody's socio-economic history with its cultural memory. The first comprehensive study of this city under Habsburg-Austrian rule (1772–1914), it includes all ethno-confessional groups—Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians.

**Victor Martinovich Rodina.**  
*Marc Chagall in Vitebsk* [Родина. Марк Шагал в Витебске]  
Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2017



This monograph reconstructs and reflects the relations of Marc Chagall with his native city and describes the personal challenges and disappointments Chagall experienced in his homeland as a returnee. This harsh and complex relationship was something that had a major influence on his visual language and artistic style.

Paul Celan Translation Program\*

**Judith Butler**  
*Gender Trouble* [Vargas dėl lyties. Feminizmas ir tapatybės apvertimas]  
Translated by **Rima Bertašavičiūtė** (English > Lithuanian)  
Vilnius: Kitos Knygos, 2017



Arguing that traditional feminism is wrong to look to a natural, 'essential' notion of the female, or indeed of sex or gender, Butler starts by questioning the category 'woman' and continues in this vein with examinations of 'the masculine' and 'the feminine'. Often misinterpreted, is Butler's concept of gender as a reiterated social performance rather than the expression of a prior reality.

**Martha Rosler**  
*Culture Class* [Clasa Culturală]  
Translated by **Alexandru Polgár** (English > Romanian)  
Cluj-Napoca: Idea Design & Print, 2016



In this collection of essays Martha Rosler embarks on a broad inquiry into the economic and historical precedents for today's soft ideology of creativity, with special focus on its elaborate retooling of class distinctions.

\* The Paul Celan Program is generously supported by ERSTE Foundation.

Selected Articles and Talks by Fellows and Guests

Chiara Bonfiglioli

"The First UN World Conference on Women (1975) as a Cold War Encounter: Recovering Anti-Imperialist, Non-Aligned and Socialist Genealogies", in: *Filozofija i Društvo*, XXVII, 3, 2016.

"Cold War Gendered Imaginaries of Citizenship and Transnational Women's Activism: The Case of the Movie 'Die Windrose' (1957)", in: Anne Epstein, Rachel G. Fuchs (eds.): *Gender and Citizenship in Historical and Transnational Perspective*, London: Palgrave, 2016.

"AFŽ Activists' Biographies: An Intersectional Reading of Women's Agency" [in Croatian], in: Andreja Dugandić, Tihana Okić (eds.): *The Lost Revolution: the Antifascist Women's Front of Yugoslavia between Myth and Oblivion* [in Croatian], Rosa Luxemburg Foundation/CRVENA, Sarajevo, 2016.

\*

"The Middle Wave: Gender History and Cold War in Global Perspective" [in Italian], Conference "Storia Globale e Storia di Genere" (*Global History and Gender History*), Istituto Gramsci, Rome, December 15–16, 2016.

\*

"Women Workers and the Double Burden in Socialist Yugoslavia", Centre for South East European Studies (CSEES), University of Graz, November 24, 2016.

\*

"Workshop Reconnecting Work and Distribution: Entanglements of Labour, Finance and Welfare after Yugoslav Socialism, UCL SEES, London, December 20–21, 2016.

Final presentation of students' projects, *Fashions and Styles*, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, January 23, 2017.

Tobias Berger

„Säkularismus und Islam in Bangladesch“, in: *Transit – Europäische Revue*, 49, Frankfurt: Verlag Neue Kritik, 2016.

Aspen Brinton

"Evaluating Discourses of Dissent: Questions of Moralität and Sittlichkeit", in: *Journal of International Political Theory*, Vol. 12, Issue 3, October 2016.

\*

"Existential Recognition and the Politics of Climate Change Activism," Annual Meeting of the *American Political Science Association*, September 2016.

Andrew Brandel

"The Art of Conviviality", in: *HAU—Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, Vol. 6 (2), 2016.

Holly Case

Columns for *3 Quarks Daily*:

"A Tale for Our Time," December 16, 2016.  
"Madder than you Think," October 24, 2016.  
"Vladimir Židovec Overshares," September 26, 2016.  
"Mountain Echoes," August 1, 2016.  
"Wide Awake with Isabel Hull," August 29, 2016.  
"A Matter of Interpretation," July 4, 2016.

\*

"Ironies of East-Central European (Anti-)Refugee Policy," Conference *Aktionstage: Refugees—Migration—Democracy*, Vienna, November 29–30, 2016.

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

"Solving Questions: Math, Medicine, and Equilibrium in the Age of Questions," Panel *Thinking Through Science in Nineteenth-Century Central and Eastern Europe*, ASEES, Washington, DC., November 17–20, 2016.

"The Age of Questions: The Emergence and Trajectory of Questions over the Extremely Long 19<sup>th</sup> Century," *Oberseminar zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte*, LMU, Munich, October 31, 2016.

"The Age of Questions Meets the Totalitarian Age," Conference *The Allure of Totalitarianism: The Roots, Meanings, and Political Cycles of a Concept in Central and Eastern Europe*, Jena, October 6–8, 2016.

Hana Fořtová

"Montesquieu a Rousseau", *Week of Science*, Scientific library, Hradec Kralove, November 3, 2016.

Ludger Hagedorn

"Europe's 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

"Why is it that Heidegger's thought had—and still has—such fascinating force? Reading Heidegger in Communist Poland in

the mid 1970's" (together with Piotr Kubasiak), in: Jeff Love (ed.): *Heidegger in Russia and Eastern Europe*, London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.

\*

*Tun, was getan werden muss. Jan Patočka und die Charta 77*, Lesung und Diskussion zum 40. Jahrestag der Charta 77, (gemeinsam mit Ivan Chvatík), Tschechisches Kulturzentrum Wien, 22. Februar 2017.

„Der Intellektuelle passt von seinem Wesen her nirgendwohin. Gespräch mit Ludger Hagedorn und Marketa Goetz-Stankiewicz zu Václav Havel als Autor und Denker“, Philosophicum Basel in Kooperation mit dem Slavischen Seminar der Universität Basel, 28. November 2016.

Kevin Fredy Hinterberger

„Das österreichische Asylgesetzänderungsgesetz 2016“, in: Bungenberg, Giegerich, Stein (eds.): *ZEuS-Sonderband: Asyl und Migration in Europa – rechtliche Herausforderungen und Perspektiven*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2016.

\*

Co-organization *10. Jahrestagung des Netzwerks Migrationsrecht: Dynamiken in Einwanderungsgesellschaften*, Stuttgart-Hohenheim, 11.–13. November 2016.

Piotr Korys

"Asian Financial Crisis" [in Polish], in: Marek Cichocki, Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse (eds.): *Oblicza kryzysu. Analiza zarządzania kryzysowego z perspektywy ekonomicznej i politycznej* [Faces of Crisis. Political and Economic Analysis of Crisis Management], Warsaw: Centrum Europejskie Natolin, 2016.

"On the Peripheries of Industrial Revolution. Structural Conditions of Development of Polish Regions in 20<sup>th</sup> Century" [in Polish], in: Tomasz Zarycki, *Polska jako peryferie* [Poland as a Periphery], Warsaw: Scholar, 2016.

\*

"Dealing with Famines on Peripheries: China and Central Eastern Europe Compared" (with Maciej Tymiński, Meimei Wang), Conference *Societal responses to drops in food supply*, Utrecht, November 4–5, 2016.

\*

"Discontinuity and Economic Development: New Approach to Modern Economic History of Polish Lands", Tadeusz-Mazowiecki-Ringvorlesung

*Geschichte der Visegrád-Staaten*, Universität Wien, November 14, 2016.

Ivan Krastev

Several articles in the *New York Times*, *Deutschlandfunk*, *Foreign Policy*, *Green European Journal*, *Journal of Democracy*

\*

*The Imitation Imperative*, Europa-Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder, November 9, 2016.

The Imitation Games, National University "Kyiv Polytechnic Institut", September 17, 2016.

\*

"Debate with Herman van Rompuy", Presentation of the book *After the Storm*, Brussels, November 25, 2016.

Debate *Ukraine's Reform: Glass Half Full*, Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, November 21, 2016.

Keynote "Europe at the Crossroads", ERSTE conference 2016 Europe unsettled. *Migration—Integration—Segregation*, House of Europe, Vienna, November 11, 2016.

"A Soul for Europe Conference 2016: Cultural Identities on the Move", *Allianz Forum*, Berlin, November 8–9, 2016.

*'The New Populism' Battle of Ideas 2016*, Barbican, London, October 22–23, 2016.

"Brexit, Refugees, Populism—Is the EU Coming Apart?", *13<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of Yalta European Strategy (YES)*, Kyiv, September 15–17, 2016.

*Does the End of the Soviet Union Need to be Reappraised?*, Körber History Forum, Berlin, September 9–10, 2016.

"The EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy: Can It Deliver?", *Alpbach Political Symposium*, Forum Alpbach, August 27–29, 2016.

"Europe after Brexit: a New Start or a Dead End?", *Aspen Brainstorming Conference*, Rome, July 7–8, 2016.

Piotr Kubasiak

„Gegen die Torheit der Scholastiker. Luthers Schriften zwischen 1517–1520“, Summer School *Deutungen der Reformation. Theologische, kulturelle und gesellschaftlichen Wirkungen in 500 Jahren*, Guardini Stiftung, Erfurt, 28. Juli 2016.

\*

„Die grenzenlose Macht wagen. Zur christlichen Interpretation des nietzscheanischen ‚Willens zur Macht‘“, 6. Forum Junge Theologie *Macht. Tabu, Todsünde, Faszinosum*,



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Tanzenberg/Klagenfurt, 10. September 2016.

\*, „Kultur der Compassion. Versuch einer theologischen Antwort auf die Reflexionsgruppe ‚Die geistige und kulturelle Dimension Europas‘“, Europäische Gesellschaft für Katholische Theologie *Religiöse Pluralisierung – gesellschaftliche Polarisierung – politische Desintegration. Die Krise Europas als Herausforderung für die Theologie*, Stuttgart/Hohenheim, 3. November 2016.

\*, Summer School „Deutungen der Reformation. Theologische, kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Wirkungen in 500 Jahren“, Guardini Stiftung, Erfurt, 18.–30. Juli 2016.

Börries Kuzmany

“Brody Always on My Mind”, in: *The Galitzianer*, 23/3, September 2016.

“Brody: Physical Places of Memory”, in: *The Galitzianer*, 23/4, December 2016.

\*, Organisation der Konferenz *Flüchtlingskrisen. Nichts Neues in Österreich*, Wien, 30. September 2016.

„Jüdische Pogromflüchtlinge in Österreich 1881/82 und die Professionalisierung der internationalen Hilfe“, Konferenz *Flüchtlingskrisen. Nichts Neues in Österreich*, Wien, 30. September 2016.

“Refugees and Nation States”, Conference *Refugees and Citizens. New Nation States as Places of Asylum (1914–1941)*, Vienna, July 16–17, 2016.

“The Eastern Borderlands”, Workshop *Grenzüme der Habsburgermonarchie*, Vienna, November 22, 2016.

Iva Lučić

Buchbesprechung *Im Namen der Nation*, Zentrum für Südosteuropastudien, Karl Franzens Universität, Graz, 11. November 2016.

*Der politische Aufwertungsprozess der Muslime im sozialistischen Jugoslawien*, Ludwig Maximilian Universität, München, 23. November 2016.

“From Religion to Nation. The Political Elevation Process of Muslims in Socialist Yugoslavia”, Workshop in Memory of Alexandre Popovic (1931–2014) *Research Perspectives 30 Years after l’Islam Balkanique*, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, December 15–16, 2016.

Vladimir Malakhov

“Migration Crisis: International Cooperation and National Strategies”, in: *Policy Brief*, No. 10, 2016.

\*, “The Phenomenon of New Immigration Countries: Russia’s Case in European Context”, in: Marya S. Rosanova (ed.): *Labour Migration and Migrant Integration Policy in Germany and Russia*, Saint-Petersburg State University, Skythia-print, 2016.

Jan-Werner Müller

“What is Populism?”, *International Author’s Night*, Royal Library, Copenhagen, October 2016.

“Is there a Populist Politics of Memory?”, Wiententhal Institute, Vienna, September 28, 2016.

\*, “What the Dictum Really Meant”, Conference *Ernst Wolfgang Böckenförde’s Contributions to Theorizing the Relation between Law and Religion*, ZiF, Bielefeld University, September 30, 2016.

Claus Offe

*Citizens in Europe. Essays on Democracy, Constitutionalism and European Integration*, with Ulrich K. Preuß, Colchester: ECPR Press, 2016.

\*, “Five Problems of Europe” Interview with Kübra Par, in: *Haberturk*, Istanbul, July 2016.

\*, “The EU in 2016: Overwhelming Challenges, Deficient Governing Capacity”, Berlin, Juli 2016.

„Europe Entrapped?“, Symposium *Schuld und Schulden: Zur Modernisierung der Ökonomie*, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, 17. Juli 2016.

“Referendum vs. Institutionalised Deliberation: The Brexit Lessons”, Conference *Democracy in Post-Brexit Europe*, Cardiff, November 29, 2016.

„Beheimatung in der offenen Gesellschaft“, *Grüne Sommerakademie – Liberale Demokratie unter Druck*, Potsdam, 9.–10. November, 2016.

\*, Chair of the Panel “Quality of Democracy”, *IPSA Congress*, Poznan, July 24–28, 2016.

*The Future of Europe*, Istanbul, September 20, 2016.

„Krise der Arbeitsgesellschaft?“, *DGS Kongress*, Universität Bamberg, 27. September, 2016.

*Utopias of Our Times*, Leuven, September 29–30, 2016.

“Basic Income: A Utopia for Our Times?”, Conference *Basic Income European Network*, Leuven, October 10, 2016.

„Leben ohne Zins und Wachstum – Ausblick auf eine neue Ära“, Konferenz *Denkwerk Zukunft*, Berlin, 2. Oktober 2016.

*Streit ums Politische: Europa in der Falle – Heinz Bude im Gespräch mit Claus Offe*, Berlin, 10. Oktober 2016.

Shalini Randeria

“Solidarity in an Interconnected World”, *Workshop Ethics of Solidarity*, European Solidarity Center, Gdansk, August 31, 2016.

“(Il)legality and the Cunning State—Notes from the Margins in India”, Summer School *Governance at the Edge of the State*, University of Ghent, Zurich, September 13, 2016.

“Space and Place—Mobility and Frontiers in 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, IAS CEU 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary *Advanced Research*, Budapest, October 27–28, 2016.

*Social Science Knowledge Production and Its Publics*, University of Bern, November 3, 2016.

“Entangled Modernities and Academic Knowledge Production”, Conference *Reconceptualizing Modernity: Counter-Hegemonic Perspectives from the Postcolonial World*, Paris, November 18, 2016.

„Grenzenlose (Un-)Ordnungen – Mobilität und Grenzen im Wandel?“, Gorki Theater, Berlin, 4. Dezember 2016.

\*

“Worlding Europe: Outlines for a Prospective Research Programme”, EASA Conference 2016 *Anthropological Legacies and Human Futures*, University of Milano-Bicocca, Milano, July 20, 2016.

*Social Progress—Is Social Progress Around the Corner?*, Graduate Institute, Geneva, September 7, 2016.

Adam Daniel Rotfeld

“Rafal Lemkin’s Concept of Genocide Crime”, in: Andrzej Łokajowski, Andrzej Mencwel et al. (eds): *Among people, Artifacts and Signs*, Warsaw: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016.

“Poland-Russia: Difficult Relations and Inter-Confessional Dialogue” [in Polish], in: Ks. Tomasz Adamczyk (ed.): *Wolność ocalona. Chrześcijańskie światło na ludzkich drogach* [Freedom Salvaged. Christian Light on Paths of Human Life], Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL Jana Pawła II, 2016.

*Der Begriff des Friedens und des Krieges im zeitgenössischen Europa* [in

Polish], Opole: Państwowy Instytut Naukowy/Instytut Śląski, 2016.

“The International Order: Values vs. Interests and Potentials”, in: Jerzy Hausner (ed.): *Open Eyes Book*, Krakow: Fundacja Administracji I Gospodarki Publicznej, Vol. 1, 2016.

\*

*Der Hitler-Stalin-Pakt 1939 und seine Folgen*, Center of Historical Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Topography of Terror Documentation Center, Berlin, 13.–14. September, 2016.

“Process of Transformation of the Global Security Order”, 23<sup>rd</sup> *Lviv International Book Fair and Literature Festival*, September 14–16, 2016.

“Historical Memory and Amnesia”, 75<sup>th</sup> *Anniversary of the Slaughter at Babi Yar*, Kiev, September 28–29, 2016.

*Values, Reconciliation and Shaping a New European Order*, Geneva, October 6–7, 2016.

“Paths of Human Life”, International Congress *Christian Culture: Freedom Salvaged. Christian Light on Lublin*, Lublin, October 14–17, 2016.

“Back to Diplomacy”, *Warsaw Security Forum*, October 26–28, 2016.

“Partners or Adversaries? Europe and Russia: Future of Relationship”, Permanent Mission of Poland at the UN, OSCE and other International Organizations, Vienna, November 21, 2016.

Anton Shekhovtsov

“On the Rise: Europe’s Fringe Right,” (together with Alina Polyakova), in: *World Affairs*, Vol. 179, No. 1, 2016.

“The No Longer Silent Counter-Revolution,” in: *Religion & Society in East and West*, Vol. 44, No. 9–10, 2016.

“Pro-Kremlin ‘Re-Information’ Efforts: Structural Relations Between The Russian Media And The European Far Right,” in: *Integrity Initiative*, September, 2016.

“Europeiske lærdommer etter Trump,” in: *Verdens Gang*, November 28, 2016.

„Moskau und die Rechten: Wie radikale Gruppierungen Unterstützung von Moskau erhalten“, in: Die Politische Meinung, Nr. 539, 2016.

“Psykologisk krig på Krim?,” in: *Verdens Gang*, August 16, 2016.

“The Alleged Terrorist Plot In Crimea May Be A Russian Psyop,” in: *The Interpreter*, August 17, 2016.

“Tit for Tat: Illiberal Tendencies and the Far Right in the Visegrad,” in: *Aspen Review*, No. 2, 2016.

“Välkommen till den illiberala demokratin,” (together with Peter Pomerantsev), in: *Glänta*, No. 1, 2016.

\*

“The Rise of Populism as an Answer to the Socioeconomic Crisis”, Conference *Populists and Demagogues: What Attracts People to Them?*, Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw, September 29, 2016.

*Democracy as a Challenge of Our Times*, Gdansk, October 9, 2016.

“liberal Trends in Central and Eastern Europe: A Failing Democratic Transition?”, International Workshop *Illiberal and Authoritarian Tendencies in Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe*, Munich, October 13–15, 2016.

*STRATCOM Summit*, Prague, October 19–21, 2016.

*The Riga Conference*, Riga, October 27–29, 2016.

*Illiberal Tendencies and the Far Right in the Visegrad*, Graduate School for East and Southeast European Studies, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, December 13, 2016.

Timothy Snyder

“Babi Yar a Tragedy for all Ukrainians”, in: *RFERL*, September 29, 2016.

*What Can European History Teach Us About Trump’s America?*, Yale University, December 5, 2016.

\*

*On the Issues with Mike Gousha: Interview*, Milwaukee PBS, November 28, 2016.

“The History of Fascism and Its Relevance to U.S. Politics Today,” at *The Diane Rehm Show*, December 13, 2016.

“Timothy Snyder on Historic U.S. Presidential Election, Exclusive Interview.” *Громадське Телебачення*, November 5, 2016.

Charles Taylor

“Can Secularism Travel?” and “A Secular Age Outside Latin Christendom: Charles Taylor Responds”, in: Akeel Bilgrami (ed.): *Beyond the Secular West*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

“We can’t Delay: Homa Hoodfar must be Freed”, in: *Globe and Mail*, September 2, 2016.

Miloš Vec

*The Transformation of Foreign Policy: Drawing and Managing Boundaries from Antiquity to the Present*, (edited together with Andreas Fahrmeir, Gunther Hellmann), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

\*

„Porträt des Künstlers als Global Player. Marke werden: Wolfgang Ullrich verteidigt in Wien sein Siegerkunst-Buch“, in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17. August 2016.

„Mit Spitzhacken, Schaufeln und Bulldozern entweiht. Kulturgutzerstörung als Kriegsverbrechen: Ein Haager Urteil schreibt Völkerrechtsgeschichte“, in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28. September 2016.

Rezension von: Uwe Wesel, *Geschichte des Rechts. Von den Frühformen bis zur Gegenwart*, 4., in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung* 133, 2016.

„The Project of Anti-Positivism in International Law“, Rezension von: Mónica García-Salmones Rovira, in: *Rechtsgeschichte*, Zeitschrift des Max-Planck-Instituts für europäische Rechtsgeschichte 24, 2016.

\*

„Beccarias Imperativ der ‚Gerichtsöffentlichkeit‘“, *Cesare Beccarias „Dei delitti e delle pene“ und das moderne Strafrecht Europas*, Centro Italo-Tedesco, 30. September, 2016.

“The Sources of 19<sup>th</sup> Century International Law: The Myth of Positivism”, Institute of Legal and Constitutional Research, St. Andrews University, Scotland, October 10, 2016.

*The ‘Family of Nations’. A Rhetoric Figure and its Ideology*, Sydney Centre for International Law, November 1, 2016.

“The Sources of 19<sup>th</sup> Century International Law: The Myth of Positivism”, University of Tasmania, Law School, November 2, 2016.

“The Limits of the Limitations. Juridification of War Technologies and its Revocation by Military Necessity”, Workshop *Who do the Laws of War Protect? Civility, Barbarity and IHL*, University of Tasmania, November 3–4, 2016.

“Which Narratives for which Histories? The contested Story of 19<sup>th</sup> Century International Law”, Conference *International Law in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Faculty of Law, University of Leuven, November 25–26, 2016.

\*

„Anziehend militärisch? Camouflage, Uniform und Parka in der Mode“, Podiumsgespräch mit Ingeborg Harms, Mahret Kupka, Ausstellung *Unter Waffen*, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Frankfurt, 20. September 2016.

Tatiana Zhurzhenko

*Democratic Transformation in Post-Conflict Societies: Path to Ensured Success?*, Prague, September 26–27, 2016.

*Contested Memories of the Difficult Past. Eastern Europe and Its History of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Kyiv, September 30–October 2, 2016.

Ein Zeitalter wird besichtigt

Die erste Ausgabe von *Transit* erschien kurz nach 1989, in einem historischen Moment, der das Ende des Kalten Krieges markierte, Europa wiedervereinigte und für seinen östlichen Teil eine Wende zu Demokratie und Marktwirtschaft versprach. Seitdem hat *Transit* die Transformationsprozesse, die ganz Europa erfassten, kritisch begleitet.

Die neue Weltordnung, die sich mit der Wende herausbildete, scheint sich heute aufzulösen – eine Epoche geht zu Ende. *Transit*, ein Kind und Spiegel dieser Epoche, hat seine AutorInnen anlässlich des fünfzigsten (und letzten) Heftes eingeladen zurückzublicken: Was waren ihre Visionen, Hoffnungen und Zweifel? Was ist falsch gelaufen? Und: Was tun?

Beiträge von u.a. Pavel Barša, Slavenka Drakulić, Timothy Garton Ash, Piotr Koryś, János Mátyás Kovács, Ivan Krastev, Claus Leggewie, Mark Lilla, Paweł Marczewski, Claus Offe, Jiří Příbáš, Andrii Portnov, Jacques Rupnik, Karl Schlögel, Marci Shore, Elitza Stanoeva, Balázs Trencsényi, Maxim Trudolyubov; Photoessay von Chris Niedenthal.

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# Upcoming Events 06–09 2017

## June

June 13



Photo: MFA Bulgaria / flickr

### The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

**Nickolay Mladenov**

UN Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process

**Ivan Krastev**

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

**Christian Ultsch**

Head of the Foreign Politics Department, *Die Presse*

June 21



Photo: Kristopher\_K / Stock

### The Socialist University: Postwar Modernization, Upward Mobility and Higher Education in Postwar Poland

**Agata Zysiak**

Post-Doc, Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw

In Eastern Europe postwar changes paved the way for the building of a socialistic university, something seen as one of many possible solutions to a rising need for university reform and education for the working classes.

June 22



Photo: IWM

### Truth in Times of War—and the New War on Truth

**Peter Pomerantsev**

Publicist, nonfiction writer and TV producer; former IWM Visiting Fellow

**Ivan Krastev**

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

**Chair:**

**Angelina Kariakina**

Editor-in-chief, *Hromadske TV*, Kyiv; IWM Guest, *Ukraine in European Dialogue*

It has become a commonplace that we live in a “post-truth” era. Is “post-truth” just another chapter in the long history of propaganda, or does it represent a new phenomenon? The panel discussion is part of the workshop “Truth in Times of War—and the New War on Truth: What Can the West Learn from the East?” organized by IWM’s *Ukraine in European Dialogue* program and its *Patočka Archive* from June 22–23.

June 27



Photo: Klaus Ränger

### Über Tyrannei – Zwanzig Lektionen für den Widerstand

Ort: Wien Museum

**Timothy Snyder**

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

**Martin Pollack**

Schriftsteller und Übersetzer

Wir sind nicht klüger als die Menschen, die erlebt haben, wie überall in Europa die Demokratie unterging und Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus und Kommunismus kamen. Aber einen Vorteil haben wir. Wir können aus ihren Erfahrungen lernen. Timothy Snyder diskutiert sein neuestes Buch mit Martin Pollack.

In Kooperation mit Wien Museum und C.H. Beck Verlag

June 29



Photo: Klaus Ränger

### A Future for Europe? Politics and Democracy in Times of Uncertainty

**Ivan Vejvoda**

Former Senior Vice President for Programs, German Marshall Fund of the United States; IWM Permanent Fellow

In this Monthly Lecture, IWM Permanent Fellow Ivan Vejvoda will present the substantive issues related to his newly established three-year research project “Europe’s Futures”, which is developed with, and supported by, ERSTE Foundation.

## September

September 22–24



Photo: Simon Brügner

### Vienna Humanities Festival: Revolution!

Mit rund 3.000 BesucherInnen bei 40 Veranstaltungen war das erste Vienna Humanities Festival im Herbst 2016 ein beeindruckender Erfolg. Dank der Unterstützung durch Sponsoren kann das vom Wien Museum und dem Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen (IWM) initiierte Festival in Kooperation mit TTT – Time To Talk auch heuer wieder am Karlsplatz stattfinden. Dieses Mal lautet das Motto „Revolution!“. Ausgangspunkt ist das 100-Jahr-Jubiläum der Russischen Revolution 1917, welche die Geschichte Europas und der Welt von Grund auf verändert hat. Es folgten zahlreiche revolutionäre Ereignisse, die sich im Programm des Festivals ebenfalls widerspiegeln: Von den gesellschaftlichen Umbrüchen um 1968 über das „Wendejahr“ 1989 bis hin zu den jüngsten Umwälzungen in den arabischen Ländern und der Ukraine. Dazu kommen Rückblenden auf die Französische und die Amerikanische Revolution. Das Thema erstreckt sich jedoch nicht nur auf den Bereich des Politisch-Historischen. Es geht auch um die industrielle Revolution im 19. Jahrhundert, die digitale Revolution der Gegenwart, die Neuordnung der Arbeitswelt und den fundamentalen Wandel unserer Gesellschaft heute.

## Events Colorkey

### 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.

### 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.

### Books in Perspective

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

### Monthly Lectures

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

*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](http://www.iwm.at/events)*



# The IWM Celebrates Its 35<sup>th</sup> Anniversary!

**35** years ago, a group of young scientists founded the IWM as an Institute for Advanced Study in Vienna, wishing to foster the intellectual discourse between East and West in the Humanities

and Social Sciences. What, in the beginning, seemed to be a crazy idea turned out as a success story. During the years, the IWM became a vibrant center of intellectual life in Vienna. Since its inception,

the Institute hosted about 1,500 scholars, journalists and translators from all over the world and organized a large number of public debates, lectures and conferences.

We want to thank all fellows, guests, friends, supporters, cooperation and media partners, who joined us on this exciting journey, and look forward to good, cooperative partnerships as well as inspiring

and stimulating discussions in the future.

To share your thoughts and memories, we invite you to leave a birthday message on our website: [www.iwm.at](http://www.iwm.at)

# 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](http://www.iwm.at/fellowship-programs)

**EURIAS Fellowships → Deadline: June 7, 2017**

**CEU Junior Fellowships → Coming soon**

