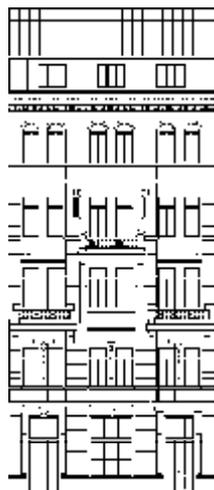




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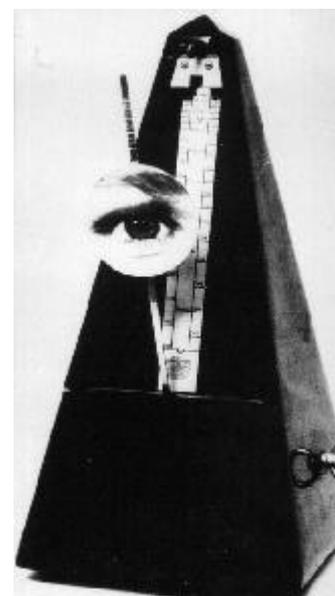
Symposium

The Historicity of the Eye

The eye moving in time, shown in such an exemplary fashion by Man Ray in his work "The Object of Destruction" (1923), was the theme of a conference at IWM from September 12-14. The conference continued a series of art theory projects that in the last years have been organized by IWM under the direction of Gottfried Boehm, Non-Resident Permanent Fellow of IWM. Stefan Majetschak, organizer of the conference, reports.

The conference attempted to plumb the full reach of an idea that was first developed in the middle of the 19th century—i.e., the idea that human seeing is by no means a mere mechanical reflection of the world on the retina of the eye, but is much more so an active event of interpretation—a process of perception that is subject to historical transformations of the prevailing scheme of visual interpretation. Could the idea of a "historicity of seeing," (so ran the leading questions of the conference) be theoretically plausible? And if so, is it possible to differentiate processes, laws, or structures within the interpretive activities of the eye? How are these handed down? With what evidence may the transformation of the ways of seeing be documented? Can we simply conclude from certain visual objects, such as paintings, that a certain way of painting corresponds to a certain way of seeing? And if there really is something like an internal historicity of seeing, how would a historiography record it with all of its epochal transformations? The IWM conference "The Historicity of the Eye" set the goal of ascertaining the state of research on the subject, and to come closer to answering some of the questions that were asked.

With the title of his presentation, "Is There a Historicity of Seeing?" Gottfried Boehm (Basel) asked the



seminal question of the conference with all emphasis, and outlined the entire research field within this context. Stefan Majetschak (Düsseldorf), who organized the conference together with Gottfried Boehm, attempted in his introductory lecture entitled "The Image of the Camera Obscura and the Reality of the View" to show that an exclusively mechanistic understanding of human seeing may be untenable; however, the *historicity* of seeing does not necessarily follow from the *interpretive character* of seeing. This is only probable if one conceives of pictures—whose multiple transformations through (art)history are not to be debated—not as imitations of visible objects, but as recordings of patterns of seeing particular to an epoch. In his presentation entitled "Seeing Differently (Anderssehen)," Bernhard Waldenfels (Bochum) sketched a theoretical framework that could make the proposition of an inner historicity of seeing the only conceivable one. According to this, all perceived visual order already encompasses the possibility of its being different and another.

The skeptic of the idea of a historicity of seeing turned out to be Arthur C. Danto (New York), who adopted the opposing position in his presentation "Seeing and Showing," in which he proposed the traditional-modern conception of seeing as providing a historically invariable depiction of the world, analogous to the camera obscura. The contrast of positions derived from an ambiguity that has always existed within the concept of seeing. Does one think of seeing only as a natural, organic process (like Danto) or does one understand it (like Boehm, Waldenfels and others) as a cognitive, world-apprehending product of human consciousness? As the presentations of Ralf Konersmann (Kiel) and Tilman Borsche (Hildesheim) showed, this ambiguity has, throughout the European history of ideas, always permeated the interpretation of seeing. On the one hand, as Konersmann showed in his presentation "The Changing of Language and the History of Perception," European thought since Plato grew out of a criticism of the potentially deceptive, sensuous nature of seeing. On the other hand, the terminology of intellectual seeing has, from the very beginning, influenced the philosophical description of how we come to know the truth. This account was illustrated by Borsche's impressive explanations of conceptual history in his presentation "Seeing Concepts. The History of Evidence."

Which proof for a historicity of seeing can really be adduced? Might we be enlightened about the concept of seeing by considering a contrary phenomenon - that is, the phenomenon of blindness? Laszló Földényi (Budapest) followed this path in his contribution "Blindness as Theme of Art and Literary History" (Blindheit als Thema der Kunst- und Literaturgeschichte).

The art historians tried to present material to clarify the issue. Michael Podro (Univ. of Essex) asserted in his presentation, "The Concept of Recognition," that one can chart the changes in the way people have contemplated paintings over the course of a century, demonstrating how their way of seeing the paintings was affected by various influences. Raphael Rosenberg (Freiburg i. Br.) supported this assertion in his presentation, "The Historicity of the Human Mediums of Expression and the Constitution of Perception" with an interpretation of artistic depictions after Michelangelo that documented the various ways of perceiving over the course of the centuries. Gerd Blum (Wuppertal) attempted to show how the various ways of perceiving the landscape are expressed in architecture ("Constructed Views. Architectural Evidence of the Historicity of Seeing: Plinius the Younger and Leon Battista Alberti"). Using the example of Rembrandt's "Anatomy of Dr. Tulp," Claus Volkenandt (Basel) interpreted the history of art as a history of the way in which the world has been seen ("The Historicity of the Eye and the Presence of the View. The Relationship of Art and History in View of a History of Seeing"). Finally, Thomas Puttfarken (Univ. of Essex) explained under the title "Ways of Seeing the Panel Painting" how images of different epochs register historically variable ways of contemplation.

The great public interest in the conference indicated that the research theme "History of Seeing" is generally regarded as an important problem in the field of tension between philosophy, art and cultural history. Most of the participants seemed to agree that the subject should be pursued further.

The conference was supported by the Fritz-Thyssen Foundation.

Translated from German by John Leake



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Jan Patocka Memorial Lecture 1996

Albert O. Hirschman
Tischgemeinschaft
Zwischen öffentlicher und privater Sphäre

In this Lecture Albert O. Hirschman traces the genealogy of the public/private dichotomy back to the distinction made in the old testament between lower and higher values ("Man does not live from bread alone") and discovers—with referene to Georg Simmel—in commensality an institution in which both spheres merge.

Fifth Central European Forum

The Politics of Welfare: Between Governmental Policy and Local Initiative

Vienna, October 24-26

Social welfare provided on the local and individual level—by the state, the market and the non-profit sector—is an active arena of social policy innovation in Central and Eastern Europe. People, no longer confident that central governments are capable of securing their interests, are initiating welfare reforms from below. They have created decentralized pension funds, private hospitals, self-help kindergartens, non-profit elderly care centers, drug clinics, homeless shelters, and other such institutions and programs. These programs represent a new mix of voluntarism, state regulation and market forces, which opens up a plethora of uncertainties and questions concerning adequate coverage for the needy, regional equity and social solidarity. The questions are as relevant for social policy reform in the West as they are in the



Christoph Badelt, Christoph Sachße, Annette Zimmer, Martin Potucek

East, even if the points of departure of the two reform processes differ considerably from each other.

At this Forum leading Eastern and Western scholars and policymakers discussed the pros and cons of this process of "grassroots reform" and examined how national social policies and reforms appear on the local level. The experience of the post-communist countries are an extreme case: due to the urgency of change and the acute scarcity of public resources, less interventionist compositions of the welfare mix are out of necessity being devised and the reformers and citizenry, in some

cases, have a surprisingly large amount of space for political maneuver. In Western countries, including Austria, experiments with the welfare mix have been extensive, and observations of the political constraints and the economic and social outcomes are important to discuss in comparative perspective.

The Fifth Central European Forum was opened by the Alternative Nobel Prize winner, András Biró. He gave a keynote speech entitled "Empowering the Roma in Hungary: A Case from Below" which is printed below.



Lena Kolarska-Bobinska, Peter Mihalyi, Krzysztof Herbst

The Forum consisted of three sessions:

- first the three main pillars of welfare were discussed using the example of health care;
- then new social programs were examined by focusing on the pension systems;
- finally, the political mediation of welfare reform was dealt with in the field of unemployment policy.

The Central European Forum series is held within the framework of IWM's long-term research and policy reform program on the Social Costs of Economic Transformation in Central Europe (SOCO), which is carried out in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. This program, initiated in 1992 with the aim of contributing to the limitation of these costs, is supported by grants from the Ford Foundation and the Austrian Federal Chancellery.

Keynote Speech

András Biró: Empowering the Roma in Hungary: A Case from Below

András Biró was born in 1925 in Sofia. He worked as a journalist in Budapest during the 1950s. In 1956 he left Hungary for Paris, Rome, Nairobi, Oxford and Mexico. He was a founding editor of "Ceres", the development review of FAO, and of "Mazingira", the UN environmental development magazine. He returned to Hungary in 1986 and established the "Foundation Autonomía" which supports the development of civil society, in particular among local Roma communities. For his resolute defense of the Roma minority he was awarded the Right Livelihood Award, the so-called "Alternative Nobel Prize" in 1995. Today he is the chair of the board of the European Roma Rights Center in Budapest.

Tonight I shall discuss a specific case of one of the themes of our gathering—that is, the idea of local initiatives, or initiatives "from below." My ingrained anarchistic tendencies have made me, throughout the years, particularly attentive to that kind of social event.

Having had the extraordinary luck to be not only an observer, but also an active participant in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, I witnessed the eruption of an authentic geyser "from below." Don't fear—I do not intend to reminisce about the "glorious days that shook the world." I mention it only because, though it was the outcome of exceptional historical circumstances, it nevertheless provided me with empirical evidence that social energies "from below" can be highly



András Biró

creative and innovative. I refer here to the insufficiently studied and unfairly forgotten spontaneous emergence of the local revolutionary councils throughout the country in the memorable days in October of 1956.

Roma in Hungary

Here I would like to describe an experience with Roma self-help groups as a strategy for initiatives "from below." Please allow me to begin by telling a brief story about the fate of this community.

My country's history, especially during the last three quarters of the century, has had what historians and political scientists call a "democratic deficit." The roots of this deficit go very deep. The infantile state in which adults were held for generations was more prone to induce the self-image of a subject rather than that of a citizen. Nowadays, fortunately, this deficit is losing its institutional causes, but not its psychological ones. The most pervasive effect of the totalitarian welfare state on its subjects has been the development of the habit of expecting the solutions to all problems to come "from above."

If this is true for the average person of the majority, what should one expect from the Roma, who for centuries were denied even the status of subjects? This unique ethnic group—the most European among Europeans, as it is present in all the countries of the continent—has remained at the margin of society despite the policy of forced assimilation, which the Roma have experienced for centuries. Numerically they represent the largest minority in Europe, approximately 8 million, and they are surely the largest minority in Hungary, amounting to 5% of the population.

Today the half million Roma are regarded as the main losers of the transition; however, during the previous regime they experienced perhaps the most spectacular changes of their long history. In 1945 the remaining few nomadic Roma families were settled in the outskirts of the villages where the traditional trades—i.e., blacksmithing, wood carving, adobe brick laying and seasonal farm labor, insured only a miserable livelihood. The musicians, often urban dwellers and somewhat better off, together with the few wealthy horse traders, were regarded as the elite of the community. Literacy was close to zero. The Holocaust had taken its toll among them, yet compensation was not forthcoming. Neither were they considered eligible to benefit from the radical land reform. During the first years after the war, a traditional, paternalistic, non-violent exclusion characterized the majority's attitude towards the Roma community.

In the early 1960s, once the extensive industrialization had exhausted the supply of unskilled labor from the despoiled peasantry, it was the Roma's turn to be forced into labor. Idleness was then a criminal offence. Their traditional skills wiped out by industrialization, Roma men and women were forced into the main stream of production on the lowest level of income and employment. In addition to state-owned and cooperative agriculture, it was mainly mining, building and infrastructural projects that employed the Roma work force.

Needless to say, this violent change in the life of the community has played a prominent role in its process of acculturation. The various conditions of the modern industrial state dismantled ancient traditions of social and family relations.

The regime viewed the problem of the Roma as exclusively a social problem, ignoring the politically sensitive identity aspect. In the meantime, the population growth of the Roma attained a Third World level, while that of the majority remained negative. The visibility and physical proximity of the Roma in cities and towns created a new social situation. The negative prejudices remained strong among the *gadjos* (the Romany name for the non-Roma)—only the public expression of these prejudices ceased to be “politically correct”. The traditional paternalistic discrimination slowly became more aggressive and frustrated. It is also true that such a radical change in such a short period could not have



András Biró, Krzysztof Michalski, Ulrich Stacher

brought the de-frustration of the repressed feelings among the *gadjo* and simultaneously among the Roma a growing awareness of their separate identity. Unemployment was a great shock to a society that had entirely ignored it for over 40 years. At the first sign of the economic crisis, the Roma, whose employment rate had been similar to that of the majority in the early 1980s, were sent back to the villages as unemployed. Today the overall figure of unemployment reaches 10-12 %. That of the Roma 60-70%. They now are the biggest competitors with the unemployed *gadjo* for the meanest job opportunities.

The shock for the Roma community was considerable. In the course of one generation they were forcefully brought into the main stream of society, even if at its bottom, and then, suddenly, rejected back to square one. At present they are no longer able to pay the mortgage of their houses, and they survive by meager government handouts, enduring more and more physical assaults. Visiting a Hungarian village around 10 a.m. today, one is struck by the sad picture of a group of Roma males loitering outside the local bar, waiting for nothing in particular.

Some years ago I published an article in a local daily paper that opened with the following sentence: “The one and only consensus in Hungarian society today is the negative perception of the Roma.” Unfortunately the situation has, since then, gotten worse. The Roma problem in Hungary should be viewed as a complex form of social exclusion, intimately connected with ethnic discrimination. Unquestionably, the Roma were the biggest losers of the democratic transition.

Recently a new phenomenon can be observed. Whereas two or three years ago the main insults came from the skin heads and the police, a new “democratic” form of abuse is happening today. Entire neighborhoods

are signing petitions requesting the expulsion of Roma from their vicinity. A preemptive petition was even signed some days ago in Edelény, a small town in the north of the country, by locals asking that the Roma be hindered from moving into the vicinity in the future.

The Autonómia Foundation

It was with this desperate situation in view that, since 1990, we have tried to tackle the problem by establishing a foundation called Autonómia Alapítvány (The Hungarian Foundation for Self-reliance). In the spirit of solidarity rather than philanthropy, we defined the mission of the foundation as follows:

To contribute to the development of the global civil society by reducing the democratic and the income deficit among the Roma. This would be achieved by granting the local Romany civil organizations the opportunity to devise income-generating projects, which would be financially supported by the foundation. This strategy would contribute to the integration rather than the forced assimilation of the Roma into the new democracy. It would also foster their awareness of human rights in general by promoting the development of legal defence networks for minorities.

In pursuing these goals, we chose a particular line of action, believing in the beneficial role of the “bottom up” approach. Therefore, our exclusive partners were chosen among the Roma civil organizations, or the independent organizations that came into life in impressive numbers. Close to 100 such organizations were established in the first years of the transition. Today the number of registered Roma organizations amounts to 240.

The income deficit having become the overwhelming feature of the community, our foundation decided that income-generation should be the primary project—the more so as the educational and cultural aspects had till then been seen as the main avenues of intervention even by the new Roma elite. Hence we told the community that only local organizations could apply for interest-free loans for projects reducing unemployment and insuring physical survival. If the idea of market-oriented production had developed in some communities, then we encouraged more ambitious projects as well. This radical bottom up approach was new in the country and provoked some criticism from Roma leaders as well. But our conviction remained unshaken. In a society where dependence on the center was the overwhelming historical experience, the support of self-help and autonomous initiatives in the periphery seemed to be the best means of social instruction in an experimental democracy.

These thoughts underlie the methodology we developed and have employed ever since. Here are some of its constitutive elements:

- No grant has ever been given by our board if the initiative was not genuinely grass roots. Projects planned for others at a desk are prone to become a failure. If there is not enough energy and imagination to look for a change in a community, it is useless to pour money into it, as such funds will invariably be lost.

- By offering loans and not grants the intention is double: on the one hand we intend to induce the organizations to plan ahead. A marginal culture's main characteristic is the *hic et nunc* approach. One spends money when one has it, not knowing what tomorrow may bring. This phenomenon is not specifically Roma; it is discernible among marginal cultures everywhere. The first intention was the encouragement of planning, as the loan has to be reimbursed. Secondly, by being collectively and individually responsible for the reimbursement of loans, the community's sense of solidarity, duty and self-respect is strengthened.

- Introducing the practice of a contractual relationship aims at furthering the consciousness of autonomy. The foundation signs the project contracts with the leaders of local organizations, who in turn sign similar contracts with the participant members of the organization. The first point in these contracts requests that the terms of the contract be read in front of all the members involved. This practice has the objective of further reinforcing the sense of responsibility, as well as that of free individual choice, formalizing rights and duties for both contracting partners. I should mention that this practice has caused some conflict as well. The local leaders chose to include only those members in the project who offered some guarantee that they will actually work and eventually pay back the loan. Being accustomed to socialist egalitarianism, those who were not included made a great deal of trouble.

- By assuming the task not only of a funding, but also that of a developmental agency, we designed a monitoring system of dialogue with the local organizations, to whom would be attributed any future achievements. At the first sign of interest on the part of a local organization to ask for support, a personal contact is immediately established. A monitor is sent to the village, who later on keeps in contact with the group during the whole period of the project. It is on the basis of this dialogue that an idea or wish formulated by the local organizations at the beginning develops into a project with objectives, deadlines, and a budget.

Please allow me a digression at this point. At the beginning we hired older agricultural experts as monitors hoping that they would be able to establish a fruitful dialogue with the Roma. We had to give up working with them, as they were socialized in the traditional way of communicating by giving orders, not only to the Roma but even to the local mayors. As mayeutics are our credo, which presupposes horizontal exchange and the revealing of hidden knowledge, we had to discard these "experts" and to train young Roma and *gadjo* students in sociology or anthropology. Perhaps we overdid it, but we trained them to ask questions most of the time, and to offer advice only in extreme cases. And so for the first time in the life of the Roma, they not only received interest-free loans, but were addressed in a polite and respectful manner by people who wanted to know what they had to say about their own lives and thoughts. Mutual confidence was both the aim and the effect of the dialogue. Mayeutics proved to be the best response to the usual pronouncements about the laziness, irresponsi-

bility and apathy of the Roma. Granting them discretion in all instances of decision making paid off. In the long term this policy fostered the analytical and independent problem-solving skills of Roma partners.

- An important provision of our budget granted only \$10,000 for any particular project. With this we wanted to promote labor-intensive solutions—i.e., to insure the maximum number of participants generating income. Our partners often resisted this provision, as their previous experience as workers in highly mechanized agricultural cooperatives had socialized them otherwise. However, we insisted on this provision, regarding it as a means of instructing our partners in budgetary discipline.

Experience taught us not to stick to pre-conceived principles. At the beginning we only gave loans and were saddened by the fact that the organizations were not able to repay them. We had to realize that these communities were totally de-capitalized and that simultaneously accumulating and reimbursing was impossible. So, depending on the types of projects, we changed our conditions and offered 25-35% of the total sum as gift grants. This change of policy, in conjunction with the above mentioned extension of our monitoring system, resulted in quite positive changes. The repayment ratios grew by 200-300% per year. After 6 years now the level of repayment reaches 76%. The impressive yearly growth rates indicate, however, that at the beginning repayment was close to zero. We are told that in comparison with other international experiences of lending to marginal communities, we are doing exceptionally well. It is often the case that no more than 8-10% repayment has been achieved after 20-30 years of work.

Conclusion

For over seven years the foundation has financed about 350 projects reaching around 35.000 people, equal to 7% of the Roma population. This shows the limited possibilities of a private foundation. Although the government has started its own Roma foundation, inspired by the example of the Foundation Autonomia, both efforts amount to a contribution of \$4 per Roma per year in income-generating investments in the country—far from enough.

In closing I would like to reflect for a moment on the age old question: how to evaluate the long term impact of this "bottom up" experience? In the exposé I did not mention the training activities of our program. Our attitude in this field is that learning by doing is the most effective way to induce change when adults are concerned. The important thing was to make people aware of their deficiencies in terms of organizational, managerial and technical knowledge, thus encouraging them to acquire it either by hiring somebody or by learning individually the necessary skills. We did, however, organize a managerial training program for Roma leaders as far as possible in a mayeutic manner—i.e., next to the basic transfer of information, we insured time and space for self-evaluation and for techniques for the devising of projects. We held the courses during long weekends, but the Roma spent the bulk of the week at home, applying

their newly-learned skills. Additional sessions with Roma intellectuals, artists and political leaders provided for the identity-building aspect of the training program.

The only quantifiable way to evaluate our endeavor was the rate of repayment I mentioned above. The qualitative evaluation must be left to history. Allow me to conclude with a very subjective evaluation. Recently I was asked to analyze the activity of a foreign foundation helping Roma in a northern district of the country. I visited 17 villages. In 13 of them, the leaders chosen by this foundation to manage their local project had participated in one of our training schemes or had been in charge of one of our projects.

This is the story in a nut shell of the process of empowering a marginal people who have suffered from discrimination by using the bottom up approach. Not all of our projects have been as successful as the one I shall now invite you to look at in the video entitled: "To Gypsy or not to Gypsy."

Program

Friday, October 24

Introduction: Ulrich Stacher

Director General, Department of Coordination and European Integration, Austrian Federal Chancellery, Vienna

Keynote address: András Biró (Budapest)

"Empowering the Roma in Hungary. A Case from Below"

Saturday, October 25

Local welfare provision: The state, the market and the non-profit sector
(Health Care)

Chair: Christoph Badelt (University of Economics and Business Administration, Vienna)

Discussants: Jane Lewis (University of Oxford)

Christoph Sachße (University of Kassel)

Papers submitted by

Helmut K. Anheier (Rutgers and Johns Hopkins Universities)

"The Nonprofit Sector and Health Care: A Cross National View"

Martin Bútorá (Institute for Public Affairs, Bratislava)

"The Context and Outcomes of Health Care Reform in Slovakia, 1990 - 1997"

Eva Orosz (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

"Privatization and Decentralization in the Hungarian Health Sector"

Martin Potucek (Charles University, Prague)

"Health Policy Reforms in the Czech and Slovak Republics as a Political Process"

Annette Zimmer (University of Münster)

"Changing the Welfare Mix—Does it Make a Difference? The Case of Germany"

Welfare reform between governmental policy and local individual initiatives: new social programs

(Pension System)

Chair: Lena Kolarska-Bobinska (Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw)

Discussants: Nicholas Barr (London School of Economics)

Claus Offe (Humboldt University, Berlin)

Papers submitted by

Adalbert Evers (University of Gießen)

"Public Financing for Long Term Care: A Good Thing so Difficult to Do"

Zsuzsa Ferge (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

"The Actors of the Hungarian Pension Reform"

Jerzy Hausner (Cracow University of Economics)

"Security Through Diversity - Conditions for the Successful Reform of the Pension System in Poland"

Dalmer D. Hoskins (International Social Security Association, Geneva)

"The Example of Pension Reform"

Alan Walker (University of Sheffield)

"Individualising Pensions"

Sunday, October 26

The role of mediating institutions: social policy "from above" and "from below"

(Unemployment)

Chair: Ira Katznelson (Columbia University, New York)

Discussants: Tamás Bauer (University of Frankfurt)

Antoinette Hetzler (Lund University, Sweden)

Papers submitted by

Michal Boni (Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw)

"Social Partnership in Solving Unemployment Problems on the Local Level"

Günther Chaloupek (Austrian Chamber of Labor, Vienna)

"Employment and Unemployment Policies in Small Countries: Some Observations based on a Comparison of Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden"

David T. Ellwood (JFK School of Government, Harvard)

"Working With Welfare: The Transformation of US Social Policies"

Michael Hill (University of Newcastle upon Tyne)

"Interest Mediation in the Politics of Unemployment in Great Britain"

Participants

Helen J. Addison, Project Coordinator "The Social Costs of Economic Transformation in Central Europe", IWM, Vienna; Helmut K. Anheier, Professor of Sociology, Rutgers University and Johns Hopkins University; Christoph Badelt, Professor of Economics, Social Policy Unit, University of Economics and Business Administration, Vienna; Nicholas Barr, Senior Lecturer in Economics, Department of Economics, London School of Economics; Tamás Bauer, Member of Parliament, Budapest; Professor of Economics, University of Frankfurt; András Biró, Winner of "The Right Livelihood Award" (Alternative Nobel Prize), Founder of Foundation Autonomía, Budapest; Martin Bútorá, Professor of Social Policy; President, Institute for Public Affairs, Bratislava; Günther Chaloupek, Head,

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IWM Working Report

Zsuzsa Berencsi / Endre Sik: Migration, Community and Identity—Ethnic Hungarians in International Migration

Under the direction of Endre Sik and Zsuzsa Berencsi IWM with the support of the European Cultural Foundation hosts a research project on migration. Endre Sik is Professor of Sociology at the Budapest University of Economic Sciences and Visiting Fellow of IWM from July to December 1997. Zsuzsa Berenci is Junior Research Fellow at the Institute for Political Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Science, in the Research Group on Migration and Refugees.

Mass migration on an unprecedented scale has been the big, and so far empty threat of the political transformation of Eastern Europe. The prediction that scores of hungry Easterners looking for work would flood the streets of cities in the West justified a lot of research and many conferences at the beginning of the 1990s. This large scale migration wave never came. However, Hungary did experience something new. Traffic increased greatly in that region, and what used to be a pure "sending country", dispersing immigrants all over the world, became subject to transit migration as well as a target country itself for others coming from farther east. The first thing that springs to mind in thinking about migration in the region during the last few years is the refugee wave induced by the Yugoslav war. Hungary

received its share of ex-Yugoslav refugees. Some of them fit the stereotype (namely Bosnian Muslims, who waited in overcrowded refugee shelters for the end of the war and the chance to return home), a lot of them were, however, ethnic Hungarians from the Vojvodina, Serbia, and from Croatia.

But the Yugoslav refugee wave was only second both in time and magnitude. The largest wave of refugees and immigrants arrived around 1989. Less noticed by Western Europe, masses of ethnic Hungarians arrived from politically turbulent Romania, more precisely from the Hungarian populated region of Transylvania. Tens of thousands sought ways to settle permanently, surrounded at first by a general atmosphere of sympathy, which, later on, gave way to growing anti-immigrant sentiments. As the

borders gradually became more permeable, still others opted not for permanent settlement, but rather for exploiting the demand for cheap temporary labor. These people would stay in Hungary for a period of a few months at a time, taking advantage of the comparatively higher wages on the Hungarian black labor market.

While standard sociological surveys were quite successful in describing the composition of these migration waves, two questions remained unanswered. No explanation was given as to how of all the people that are under pressure only a certain few will actually migrate. To explain this selection process one obviously has to take into account individual characteristics relevant to the labor market such as age, sex and education, but also network factors such as whether or not the would be migrant has relatives or friends to give initial help and support at the target destination. Psychological factors (both individual and social) are also important, and last but not least, the ethnic (national, local) identity of the migrants play a role in their willingness to leave their countries and start a new life in a new place.

The second question was, how identity as a special resource is a factor in the process of adaption, assimilation and/or integration into the new environment. Identity, of course, can be seen on the individual and the community level. In conceptualizing identity as a general social phenomenon we avoid methodological individualism and arrive at a research strategy which covers individual, group and organizational characteristics in a single model.

It is with these considerations in mind that ideas for our research project were conceived.

The target groups of our research are Hungarians in Austria, and ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania in both Hungary and Austria. It has to be added that the research only focuses on Hungarians in Austria of immigrant origin, and not on the local ethnic minority, whose experiences we assumed to be fundamentally different. For reasons of simplicity and budget limitations, as well as because immigrant communities are known to be concentrated, the places of the research were limited to Budapest and Vienna, respectively. Because there is no inventory of immigrants to draw a sample from, the sampling method chosen was snowball sampling which roughly means that we find the people we are interested in by being referred to them by organizations they are in contact with, or by randomly selected persons. With every such referral, the "snowball" grows, hence the name.

More important than methodology, however, is the scope of our probe into the immigrant communities. On the surface we will have to describe the experiences of the immigrants in terms of the communities. How, and to what extent did community building happen? How big is the vitality of the communities? Also to be considered is how the immigrants fared in their new environment. How successful was their adaptation, did they experience deprivation or discrimination? On a deeper level, however, all these factors are very intricately inter-linked with the identities of the individuals. Identities may be very

complex, such as that of a Transylvanian Hungarian in Vienna, different segments of whose identity may coexist peacefully, or may get into conflict, strengthen one part at the expense of another.

As a first step in exploring this delicate topic of identity, before diving any deeper into our investigation, we have conducted a series of focus group discussions with immigrants in both places. Different groups represented different segments of society, such as intellectuals, workers, or students. The discussions unearthed a wide variety of points of view. In a discussion with Transylvanians in Budapest all participants agreed that there is a distinctive Transylvanian Hungarian identity in Hungary. But there were very diverse opinions as to what the basis of the distinct identity was. Was it a history of hundreds of years of distinct Transylvanian Hungarian culture and history? Or a difference in living standards in the last few decades, which left the lifestyles considerably different? Or is it just the rejection and discrimination experienced after migrating to Hungary that caused the people experiencing it to perceive themselves as different?

Our research parallels an Irish project focusing on Irish immigrants in Britain which has some similarities. In both cases there is a history of dependence and of immigration, and a developmental gap between Ireland and Britain, and Hungary and Austria respectively. Secondly, for English-speaking Irish and Hungarian-speaking Transylvanians there is the link of the common language in the place they migrate to. This suggests that the experiences of these immigrants may be closer to each other than to those of other immigrants. Nevertheless, and this remains to be investigated, the differences in the situations might be of greater importance than the similarities.



Endre Sik

There is a Hungarian saying that warns all people not to try to grab too much and end up holding too little. The way, for instance, water runs through between the fingers, or an unfocused research leaves the researcher with only bits and pieces of useful information. It is a threat not to be dismissed lightly. Yet sometimes it is wise to let the subject of a research, in our case the people we are interested in, tell us what to focus on. The participants of our group discussions seemed very much overwhelmed by the issue of identity. A 19th century Hungarian poem—widely regarded as a second anthem—says of the homeland to all Hungarians: whether the hand of fate should bless you or strike down on you, you must live and die here. Or else, besides all identity conflicts, besides all discrimination, foreign accent and other troubles you may suffer from, you will also be the subject of sociological research.

To close, some down-to-earth information about the research. The field work will contain a series of structured in-depth interviews, carefully adjusted between the Irish and the Hungarian teams. At this point the Irish group is also organizing focus groups among Irish immigrants in the UK, and the head of their team (Dr. Nessa Winston) visited IWM in late October. The fieldwork will start in February 1998 and should be finished in the summer. By the Fall we intend to make a first overview of our findings and organize a workshop for the two teams.

Guests

Visiting Fellows

Christine Di Stefano (July - December)

Professor of Political Science and Women Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, is specialized in contemporary political and feminist theory. She has been working on the content design for an edited volume, *Feminist Interpretation of Marx*. She has also been pursuing research on the topic of "Autonomy: The Fate of an Ideal", which explores the troubled status of personal autonomy as a normative political concept for our time.

Recent publications include: *Revisioning the Political: Feminist Reconstructions of Traditional Concepts in Western Political Theory*, co-edited with Nancy J. Hirschman (Boulder, CO, 1996). "Trouble with Autonomy: Some Feminist Considerations" in *Feminism*, ed. Susan Moller Okin and Jane Mansbridge (Cheltenham 1994).

Sarah Farmer (July - December)

Assistant Professor of History, University of Iowa, is conducting research on popular justice (i.e., forms of justice or retribution that took place outside formally or legally constituted courts) at the end of World War II in countries that were occupied by Nazi Germany.

Recent publications include *Oradour: Arrêt sur mémoire*, Paris 1994, English-language version in production; "The Ruins of Oradour-sur-Glane: Material Remains and Memory," in *Parolechiave*, 1996; "Space and Place at Oradour", in *Eikon* 14/15 1995.

Janusz L. Grzelak (July - December)

Professor of Psychology, Institute for Social Studies; Pro-rector, University of Warsaw, is writing a book concluding several years of research on social interdependence. He places a special emphasis on the transformations in post-communist countries since they result in major changes in the structure of social interdependence as there are new social actors, new rules of the game and new outcomes available in both private and public domains of life. He also finished drawing up a questionnaire designed to measure preferences for control and power.

Recent publications include "Attitudes toward public affairs in society in transition" in *Social Dilemmas*, ed. D. Messicka, W. Liebrand, New York 1995; "A Desire for Control and Power" is forthcoming.

Lubica Habova (July-December)

Philosophy; Translator, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava (Translation Program), is translating Richard Rorty's *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* into Slovak.

She is managing editor of the journal *Filozofia*. Her previous translations include: Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, and James M. Buchanan, *Limits of Liberty: Between Anarchy and Leviathan*.



Lubica Habova

Friederike Hassauer (October 1997 - January 1998) Professor of Romance Philology, University of Vienna, is working in the field of history and theory of Spanish and French literature. She is also interested in gender theory. Her current research deals with the European-wide debate called "Querelle des femmes" which examines and produces systematic knowledge on gender specific intellectual capacities and on the gender specific capability for the sciences as a basic anthropological foundation of human dignity. She here focuses on the widely unknown state of the debate in Spain.

Publications include *Textverluste: Eine Streitschrift*, Munich 1992; *Santiago - Schrift. Körper. Raum. Reise. Eine medienhistorische Rekonstruktion*, Munich 1993; *Homo. Academica. - Geschlechterkontrakte, Institution und Verteilung des Wissens*, Vienna 1994.

Don Kalb (January - December)

Assistant Professor in General Social Sciences, Utrecht University, specializes in anthropology and history as well as in historical sociology. His current research is about the problem of globalization and new inequalities, and, in connection with this, the post-communist restructuring "from below".

Recent articles include: "Zur neuen sozialen Orthodoxie" (Towards a New Social Orthodoxy) in *Transit-Europäische Revue* No. 14 (in German) and in *Focaal* (in English); "Globalization, Identity, and the Nation State", in *Focaal*. His book *Expanding Class: Power and Everyday Politics in Industrial Communities, The Netherlands 1850-1950* will appear in November (Durham and London, Duke University Press).

Marcin Król (July - December)

Professor of the History of Ideas; Dean, Faculty of Applied Social Sciences, University of Warsaw, works on the concept of human nature in liberal and catholic thought from the 19th century to today, with special interest in the changing idea of human nature and its influence on the development of liberalism in the 20th century.

His book *Liberalism of Fear or Liberalism of Courage* appeared in 1996 in Cracow; *A History of Modern Political Thought* is forthcoming in 1997 (both in Polish). In September he published various newspaper articles on the Polish elections.

Drago Rokсандić (July - December)

Professor of History, University of Zagreb, Recurrent Visiting Professor at the Central European University, Budapest, works in the field of modern European History. He is one of the "founding fathers" of the IWM project "Rethinking Post-War Europe". He is currently working on the topic "From Anti-Fascist Coalitions to State-Making: The Case of Yugoslavia 1945-55". He is also working on the religious history of the Habsburg Monarchy, in particular the history of interconfessional (in)tolerance.

His recent publications include *Against the War: A Contribution to the History of Illusions*, Zagreb 1996; "Religious Tolerance and Division in the (Croatian) Krajina", in a volume *Christianity and Islam in South Eastern Europe*, Washington D.C. 1997; he is editor of the series *Homines, tempora, loci*, published by Barbat, Zagreb (please see "publications" in this Newsletter);

and co-editor of the series *History and Past*, published by Napried, Zagreb. An essay "Ideologien, Mentalitäten und Mythen in den Werken Miroslav Krležas" is forthcoming in *Das Bild vom Anderen*, Vienna 1997.

Michael Rudnitzky (July - December)

Literary Scholar and Translator, Moscow (Translation Program) is translating Walter Benjamin's works in literature and aesthetics into Russian.

His translations include Günther Grass, *Hundejahre*; Franz Kafka, *Das Verschollene*, and Heinrich Böll, *Fürsorgliche Belagerung*.

Endre Sik (July - December)

Professor of Sociology, Budapest University of Economic Sciences, specializes in the sociological analysis of the informal and semi-legal markets in contemporary Hungary.

Recent publications include: "From the Multicoloured to the Black-and-White Economy", in *Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1994; and the *Report of the 6th Wave of the Hungarian Household Panel Survey*, TÁRKI, Budapest 1997.

Sona Szomolanyi (July - December)

Professor of Sociology, Institute of Political Science, Comenius University; Senior Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, works on the socio-cultural context of political and economic transformation of the post-communist Slovak society, focusing in particular on problems of structuring the party system and the formation of political elites.

In 1993 her book *Social and Political Transformation of Slovakia at the Beginning of the 1990s and the Scenario of Change* appeared in Bratislava.

Most recently appeared: *Slovakia: Problems of Democratic Consolidation. Struggle for the Rules of the Game*, co-edited with John Gould (Bratislava 1997); "Towards an Historic Compromise for Democracy in Slovakia," co-author John Gould, in: *Transitions* 6/1997.

Reinhold Wagnleitner (March - August)

Associate Professor of Modern History, University of Salzburg, specializes in the cultural relations between the United States and Europe during the Cold War. His research project is entitled "Cultural Changes ("Americanization") of Regional European Cultures, 1945-1960."

Important publications include *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War*, London 1995; *The European Emigrant Experience in the USA*, ed. together with Walter Hölbling, Tübingen 1992. Under the internet address www.ping.at/iwm/wagnleit.htm we have published his IWM-Working Paper entitled "Die Marilyn Monroe-Doktrin oder das Streben nach Glück durch Konsum."

Junior Visiting Fellows

Junior Visiting Fellows from July - December 1997



Boris Buden

Boris Buden

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, University of Ljubljana, is working on an analysis of the way in which the concept of "Ideologiekritik" is affected in societies of transition.

He is editor of the journal *Arkzin* and editor-in-chief of the supplement *Bastard*.

Recent publications include *Barikade*, Zagreb 1996;

"Serbien im westlichen Blick" in *Transit - Europäische Revue* No 13/1997; "L'urbanité comme alibi" in *Transeuropéennes* No 10/1997.

John K. Glenn III

Ph.D. in Sociology, Harvard University (June 1997)/ Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Columbia University (starting January 1998). He is currently working on two projects: the preparation of his dissertation "Framing

Democracy in Eastern Europe" as a book manuscript; and he is doing research on a project concerning international democracy assistance to post-communist Eastern Europe.

While in Vienna he writes regularly for the *Vienna Reporter*. His essay "Citizens in Theaters: Framing Competition and the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, 1989" appeared in the *Working Paper Series*, Columbia University, 1997.



John Glenn III

Bradley L. Herling

Ph.D. candidate, Boston University, specializes in the philosophy of religion. He is currently doing preliminary dissertation research on the introduction and representation of South Asian religious and philosophical systems among European intellectuals around the turn of the 19th century.



Bradley Herling

Peter A. Johnson

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, is specialized in European politics. He is working on the relations between democracy and liberalism and the impact of independent central banks and Constitutional Courts in European states.

His book *The Government of Money: Monetarism in Germany and the United States* is forthcoming at Cornell University Press (1998).

Christina Lammer

Ph.D. candidate in Sociology, University of Vienna, Stipendiary of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. In October she finished her dissertation, "Eine Anatomie des Blicks. Die Puppe im metaphorischen Sinne oder visuelle Erkenntnisstrategien, die den (post)modernen Körper der abendländischen Gesellschaft konstruieren."



Christina Lammer

She is planning to publish the results of the symposium she co-organized in April, "Puppe - Monster - Tod".

Andrea Petö

Assistant Professor in History, Central European University, Budapest, specializes in post-1945 history from a social and gender perspective. She is currently doing research for a project entitled "The Political, the Memory, and the Truth."



Andrea Petö

Most recent publications include "Proper Women in all Meanings: Political Roles of Women and Women's Associations in Interwar Hungary" in *Szerep és alkotás* (Role and Creation), eds. Bea Nagy, Margit S. Sárdi, Debrecen 1997 (in Hungarian); "Memory Unchanged: Redefinition of Identities in Post World War II Hungary" in

CEU History Deptment Yearbook 1996-97, eds. Istvan György Toth, Andrea Petö, Budapest 1997; and "Women in Politics" in *Transitions, Environments, Translations: The Meaning of Feminism in Contemporary Politics*, ed. Joan Scott, Cora Kaplan, New York 1997.

Anna Sosnowska

Ph.D. candidate in sociology, Graduate School for Social Research, Warsaw, works in the field of historical sociology and political theory. At IWM she is doing preparatory work for an analysis of the contemporary political discourse in Poland on the concept of and attitudes towards "Europe" and the "West" and the self-perception of Poland as a country with peripheral status.

Her article "Here, There - Confusion" is forthcoming in *Studia Socjologiczne* 4/1997, and "Theories of Social Change and Development in the Light of the Changes in Eastern Europe: The Need for a Global Approach" in *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* (both in Polish). This last text was awarded first prize in the annual competition for the best term papers by the Graduate School for Social Research (October 1997).



Anna Sosnowska

John F. Symons

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University, works on the philosophy of mind, in particular the problem of explaining consciousness. He is also interested in the relationship between philosophy and the natural sciences.

His article "Wittgenstein's Descriptions" was published in the proceedings of the 20th International Wittgenstein Symposium, July 1997. "Imagining the Thinking Thing: On the Role of Imagination in Descartes' Meditations" was accepted for presentation at the Twentieth World Congress of Philosophy in 1998.

Mariusz Turowski

Ph.D. in Philosophy, Universität Wrocław, works in the field of political theory especially the further consequences of the Liberal-Communitarian debate, i.e. the influence this had on the (post)liberal idea of group and community rights, and the idea that tolerance does not refer to individuals but to communities.

His most recent publications include "Good Life Within Institutions? Communitarian and Liberal Conceptions of Democracy" in *Studies in Philosophy*, Wrocław 1997 (in Polish); and "Theology and Public Vocabulary: Contemporary Philosophical Relativism and Dimensions of Religious Community and Praxis", in *Studies in Science and Theology*, Heidelberg 1997 (in English).

Bettina Zehetner

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, University of Vienna, is working in the field of gender studies. Her dissertation project is entitled "Krankheit als soziale Konstruktion" (Disease as Social Construction) and is concerned with the construction and strategies of visualizing the "other" as "ill" or "crazy" via his/her feminization or hysterization.

Forthcoming in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* is a review of *Körper.Bild.Maschine* ed. by Elizabeth List and Erwin Fiala.

Guests

One month research stays

Lindsay Waters (July)

Executive Editor for the Humanities, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, is specialized in literary theory and in English and Italian Literatures of the Period of Romanticism and Renaissance. During his stay at IWM he worked on an article "In Responses Begins Responsibility: Music and Emotion - On Chapter Three of Edward W. Said's *Musical Elaborations*" which appeared in October in *Boundary 2*.

Recent publications include "On the Idea of Europe" in *Boston Review*, 1997; and "Professa de Man - he dead" in *American Literary History*, 1996.

Alexander Smolar (August)

Maitre de recherche, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris; President, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw. During his stay at IWM he continued his research on antipolitics in modern democracies, and revised his paper on political conflicts around the new constitution in Poland, delivered at the IWM-conference "Democratic Politics: The Agenda of the Future" in June, for publication in *Transit-Europäische Revue*.

An article of his on politics and morality was published in *Rzeczypospolita* on 23./24. August 1997 (in Polish).

Peter Dews (September)

Professor of Philosophy, University of Essex. During his stay he was editing a collection of essays on the work of Jürgen Habermas, which will appear at Blackwell (Oxford) in August 1998 under the title *Habermas: A Critical Reader*. In connection with his Tuesday Lecture he continued to do research on the topic of evil in post-Holocaust philosophy.

In 1992 the second revised and expanded edition of his edited volume *Jürgen Habermas: Autonomy and Solidarity: Interviews* appeared (London, Verso); and in 1997 *Deconstructive Subjectivities* appeared at SUNY Press (edited in collaboration with Simon Critchley). In the IWM-Working Paper Series on our homepage his essay "Disenchantment and the Persistence of Evil" appeared. The address is www.ping.at/iwm/dews.htm.

Pierre Hassner (October)

Directeur de recherche, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris, works in the field of international relations with special interests in war and peace, totalitarianism and European security.

Recent publications include *Violence and Peace*, CEU Press 1997; "Jenseits von Krieg und Frieden" (Beyond war and peace), in *Internationale Politik*, September 1997; "Ni sang ni sol? Crise de l'Europe et dialectique de la territorialité" (The crisis of Europe and the dialectic of territorialism) in *L'International sans territoire*, eds. B. Badier/ M.S. Smouts.

Tuesday Lectures

September 16

Peter Dews

Professor of Philosophy, University of Essex
Disenchantment and the Persistence of Evil

September 23

Janusz L. Grzelak

Professor of Psychology, Institute for Social Studies; Prorector, University of Warsaw
The Psychology of the Transition: The Individual and the Collective

September 30

Drago Rokсандić

Professor of History, University of Zagreb
Roots of Tolerance and Intolerance: The Impact of Interconfessional Relations in the Habsburg Empire

October 7

Christine Di Stefano

Professor of Political Science and Women Studies, University of Washington, Seattle
Resymbolizing Autonomy: Feminism in Search of a Vanishing Concept

October 14

Pierre Hassner

Directeur de recherche, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris
War and Peace in Modern Political Thought (in Cooperation with the Institut Français de Vienne)

October 21

Eva Kreisky

Professor of Political Science, University of Vienna
Der diskrete Maskulinismus der Politikwissenschaft

October 28

Marcin Król

Professor of the History of Ideas, Faculty of Applied Social Sciences, University of Warsaw
Human Nature and Modern Liberalism

Seminars

IWM's different fields of research are accompanied by regular seminars.

»Populists« and »Westernizers«
(Janos Matyas Kovacs)

August 21

Aleksander Smolar (Paris/Warschau)

Old and New Cleavages in Poland

October 9

Endre Sik (Budapest)

Migration and Welfare Chauvinism: The Case of Hungary

October 15

Pierre Hassner (Paris)

Populists and Westernizers: What People? What West?

October 29

Marcin Król (Warschau)

For Europe and Against the West: Poland in the 1990's

Rethinking Post-War Europe
(Gabriella Etmektsoglou)

October 9

[Tamas Stark](#)

Institut für Geschichte, Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften

Integration or Emigration? The Fate of the Hungarian and Romanian Holocaust Survivors, 1945-1950.

Gender Studies
(Cornelia Klinger)

Oktober 8

[Christina Lammer](#)

Imaginäre "Schnittmuster"
On the artworks of Barbara Graf

Junior Visiting Fellow's Seminar
(Janos Matyas Kovacs)

August 27

[Peter A. Johnson](#)

Authoritarian Liberalism



Peter Johnson

September 3

[John F. Symons](#)

Scientific Explanation: From Social Construction to Technological Realism

October 8

[John K. Glenn](#)

Sustainable democracy and international NGOs: Preliminary considerations of political party formation in Eastern Europe

October 22

[Boris Buden](#)

Recognizing Fascism

Travels and Talks

of IWM Fellows, Guests and Staff

[Michaela Adelberger](#)

Conference: "Kooperation mit Mittel- und Osteuropa: Die Rolle der nichtstaatlichen Organisationen", organized by the Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa, Vienna (October 27-29).

[Boris Buden](#)

Lecture: "Politik und Kitsch", Europahaus Burgenland, Eisenstadt (October 7).

[Gabriella Etmektsoglou](#)

Conference: "Periodization in History and Historiography. An Intercultural Comparison" sponsored by the Commission on the History and Theory of Historiography, the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Europa Institute, Budapest (July 4-6).
Conference: "Compulsory Removals of Populations after the First and the Second World Wars", University of Trieste, Italy (September 15-17).
Conference: "Justiz und Fremdenfeindlichkeit" sponsored jointly by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Geschichte und Gesellschaft and the Austrian Ministry of Justice, Vienna (October 23-24).

[Sarah Farmer](#)

Lecture: "When Memory Fails" at the Conference "To Overcome A Past: A symposium in Honor of Robert Paxton, organized by Paxton's former students and co-workers at Columbia University, New York (September 27).

[Jochen Fried](#)

Conference: "Perspectives on Autonomy: Academic Systems, Goals and Social Responsibilities" held in the framework of the "Universities Project" of Salzburg Seminar, Schloß Leopoldskron, Salzburg (September 21-24).



[Janusz Grzelak](#)

Lecture: "Social Influence: Do we enjoy it?" at the Polish-American Conference "The Practice of Social Influence in Established and Emerging Democracies" organized by the Polish Academy of Sciences and the University of Arizona, Cracow (August 2-6).

[Friederike Hassauer](#)

Lecture: "Stattersatz - Peripherie. Blicke auf die Metropole: 'Berlin 1930' von Jean Giraudoux" at the congress Romania I - Deutscher Romanistentag in Jena (September 28-October 2).
Colloquium: "Das Eigene und das Fremde" organized by the Volkswagen Foundation, Hannover (October 5-7).

[Don Kalb](#)

Lecture: "The Conundrum of Globalization" delivered at the European Sociological Association in Essex, UK (August 30).

Lecture: "Post-1989 Tracks out of and within Historical Materialist Inquiry" at the Social Science History Conference in Washington D.C. (October 17).

Lecture: "Misery of the Microcosm: On the Conjunction of Anthropology and History" delivered at the Institute of History, University of Salzburg (October 29).

[Marcin Król](#)

Lecture: "Liberalism and Democracy" given at the Simeika Foundation in Bratislava (October 21).

Cornelia Klinger

Lecture: "Essentialismus, Universalismus und feministische Politik", in the framework of the lecture series "Erkenntnisprojekt Feminismus" at the University of Bremen (July 1).

Paper delivered at the "Denkwerkstatt: Gesellschaftliche Letztverbindlichkeiten und theologische Neugier" on occasion of the celebration of fifty years *Evangelische Akademie Tutzing* (July 4).

Lecture "Die spätmoderne Wendung zur Kultur" in the series "Reste des Ganzen. Kunst und Kultur in der Gegenwart" organized by the Institut für Sozialforschung at the Internationales Sommertheater Festival; in Hamburg (August 17).

Lecture: "1746 - 1828. Lebenszeit und Epochenwende. Anmerkungen zu einigen kulturellen und ästhetischen Umbrüchen im Zeitalter Goyas" in the Museum Carolino Augusteum, Salzburg (August 19).

Lecture: "Bildung ist nicht das Problem!" delivered at the European Forum Alpbach "Wissen wozu? Erbe und Zukunft der Erziehung" in Alpbach (August 23).

Lecture: "Ästhetik ohne Moral oder: Von der Neuen Mythologie zur totalitären Politik" at a symposium organized by the Evangelische Akademie Arnoldshain: "Zwischen Gut und Böse. Die Grenzen des Ästhetischen", Schmitten (September 19).

Lecture: "Essentialism, Universalism, and Feminist Politics", New School for Social Research, New York (September 29).

Lecture: "Geschlecht und Vorurteil. Der Weg durch die gläserne Wand" at the conference "Phoenix Frau: Chancen, Blockaden und Ressourcen für Frauen in der Wirtschaft" organized by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Wirtschaftsfrauen Wien/ Bank Austria, Vienna (October 22).



Christina Lammer

Lecture: "Imaginäre 'Schnittmuster' über dem geschlechtsprägnanten und sozialen Kontext der Visualisierung des Körpers in Medizin und Kunst", in the framework of the field of research "Feminist Theory and Women's Studies" at the Institut für Wissenschaft und Kunst (IWK), Vienna (October 8).

Krzysztof Michalski

Conference: "11. Deutsch-Jüdischer Dialog", organized by the Bertelsmann Foundation, Königswinter, Germany (October 27-28).

Klaus Nellen

Lecture: "Literature in the Context of Electronic Mass Media" at the 11th Meeting of European Cultural Journals, organized by the Cultural Section of the Swedish Embassy, the Embassy of Lithuania, and the European Commission, in Moscow (September 3-6).

Participant at the Frankfurt Book Fair with *Transit - Europäische Revue* (October 15-18).



Drago Rokсандić

Lecture: "Triplex confinium" at the Plovdiv Summer University "Neighbors and Future in South-Eastern Europe 1997" organized by Transeuropéennes, Paris, the New Bulgarian University and the Open Society Foundation, Sofia (August 19).

Lecture: "Globalization and Intercultural Dialogue in Europe After 2000" given at the International Summer University "Europe 2000" organized by the Europe House Zagreb, in Selce (Croatia), (August 26).

Lecture: "Maréchal-de-Camp Louis (Lujó, Aluise, Alois) Matutinovic (1765-1844): uomo-limino" at the symposium "L'area alto-adriatica dal riformismo veneziano all'età napoleonica", organized by the Istituto per le ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa and the Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, Vicenza, Italy (October 18).

Michael Rudnitzky

Conference: "Das Schicksal des Menschen im Kommunikationszeitalter", The 5th International Colloquium of the ACCE (L'Association des Colloques Culturels Européen), held at Vienna-Heiligenkreuz (September 1-7).

Endre Sik

Moderator of a Session at the Conference: "Markets in the Course of Post-Communist Transformation" organized by I.S.A. RC 21 in Berlin (July 19-22).

Lecture: "Informal Economy and Income Inequality" at the Conference "Poverty in Post-Communism", Cambridge University, York, (July 30 - August 4).

Lecture: "Xenophobia in Hungary" at the Dutch Hungarian Conference on Ethnicity and Migration, organized by NIAS in Wassenaar, The Netherlands (October 23-26).

Sona Szomolanyi

Lecture: "The Role of National Elites in the EU Eastward Enlargement" at the Conference on Eastward Enlargement of the EU at the Robert Schuman Center in Florence (October 3-4).



IWM Junior Visiting Fellowships

July - December 1998

The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) is accepting applications from doctoral and post-doctoral candidates for its Junior Visiting Fellowship Program. IWM is an intellectually and politically independent *institute for advanced study* supported by a community of scholars consisting of Permanent Fellows, Visiting Fellows and Junior Visiting Fellows. The Institute's mission is to offer, in Austria, a place for research and discussion that crosses borders and disciplines with a view to contributing to the formation of a new intellectual geography for Europe. Since its founding in 1982, the Institute has laid a particular emphasis on the resurrection of an open exchange of ideas with academics, intellectuals and politicians from Central and Eastern Europe, an exchange that has increasingly included researchers from North America.

IWM's Junior Visiting Fellowship Program

The program gives promising young scholars in the humanities and social sciences an opportunity to pursue their research in Vienna under the guidance of IWM's Permanent and Visiting Fellows.

Permanent Fellows are:

Tony Judt, Modern European History
Cornelia Klinger, Gender Studies, Philosophy
Janos Matyas Kovacs, Economics, Political Science
Krzysztof Michalski, Director of IWM, Philosophy
Klaus Nellen, History of Ideas, Patocka Archive

Doctoral and Post-Doctoral Candidates

Applications are especially encouraged from doctoral and post-doctoral candidates who are in the concluding stages of their dissertations or have very recently received their doctorates in Philosophy, Political Science, Modern History, Economics, and International Relations. Preference will be given to research projects which correspond to IWM's fields of research or policy oriented projects, in particular:

- Political Philosophy of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries
- Gender Studies
- Political and Social Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe
- Rethinking Post-War Europe
- Social Costs of Economic Transformation in Central Europe
- Transformation of National Higher Education and Research Systems in Central Europe

Jan Patocka Junior Visiting Fellowships

Two fellowships are awarded annually in honor of the Czech Philosopher Jan Patocka (1907-1977). IWM's Jan Patocka Junior Fellowship is awarded to young scholars working on the philosophy of Jan Patocka, or in fields related to his work, especially Phenomenology, Political Philosophy, Philosophy of History, and Czech History and Culture. Fellows have access to IWM's Patocka Archive which was founded in 1984.

Eligibility Requirements

In order to qualify candidates should:

- be either in the concluding stages of their dissertation or have recently received a doctorate;
- work on a research project that corresponds to IWM's fields of research or policy-oriented projects (see above)
- have a good working knowledge of German and/or English

Application Procedure

There is no application form; the following materials are required to be submitted together by mail:

- a concise research proposal, in German or English, consisting of three to four double spaced pages;
- a curriculum vitae;
- two letters of recommendation from established scholars in the candidate's field of study.

Stipend

For their six-month research stay at IWM, Junior Visiting Fellows receive a stipend of US\$1,500 per month to cover transportation, rent and living expenses. Recipients of the fellowships are provided office space and access to in-house and Viennese research facilities.

Deadline

The deadline for completed applications is **March 1, 1998** for the July-December 1998 term. Applicants will be notified of their status approximately one month after the deadline; the reviewing committee is not required to justify its decisions .

Please address applications to:

Ms. Traude Kastner
Junior Visiting Fellows Program
Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen
Spittelauer Lände 3
A-1090 Vienna

Publications

Albert O. Hirschman

Tischgemeinschaft

Zwischen öffentlicher und privater Sphäre

(Commensality: Between Public and Private Spheres)

Jan Patocka Memorial Lecture 1996

Passagen Verlag, Vienna 1997

80 pp., öS 196,- / DM 28,-

ISBN 3-85165-267-3

In this Lecture Albert O. Hirschman traces the genealogy of the public/private dichotomy back to the distinction made in the old testament between lower and higher values ("Man does not live from bread alone") and discovers—with referene to Georg Simmel—in commensality an institution in which both spheres merge. The social and political function of eating and drinking together is as essential for the community as it is ambivalent: the antique banquet can be regarded as one of the first institutions of civil society and democracy. On the other hand there are forms of social gathering which generate a very different sense of community—as do the ritualized drinking of the Wilhelminian "Männerbünde" or the round of regulars in our day.

Albert O. Hirschman was born in 1915 in Berlin. He left Germany in 1933 and emigrated to the United States in 1941. Since 1974 he is Professor of Social Sciences at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Krzysztof Michalski (ed.)

Aufklärung heute (Enlightenment Today)

VII. Castelgandolfo Colloquia 1996

Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart 1997

260pp., öS 496,- / DM 68,-

What remains of the project of Enlightenment? Do we not have to regard it as failed considering the catastrophes and crises of our century? Or is the project still alive, is Enlightenment a challenge which has lost none of its power even though only few people share its founder's views on reason, religion, morality and society?

This issue was addressed by the Academic Advisory Board of IWM during the seventh Castelgandolfo-Colloquium in the summer of 1996 (cf. *Newsletter* 54). The results of their discussions are collected in this book.

Krzysztof Michalski writes in the introduction:

Sapere aude: dare to think for yourself! What power is contained in the idea! *Sapere aude*: dare to take responsibility for your thoughts, and thereby also for your life; have the courage to reject the tempting paths, straight or winding, visible or concealed, which beckon you to escape that responsibility.

And yet how easy to be swept up on the wave of "nature", to let the "iron laws of historical necessity" and the "objective laws of nature" define and determine one's life; to hide behind one's "given social role"; to vanish

within "God's will". The burden of the "entrenched" and the established—all our habits, customs and institutions, our mechanisms and our algorithms—is so great that it is surely no wonder how easily we accept it as a reality, a reality to which we must adapt our thoughts and our behaviour as we adapt to the rain by opening an umbrella.

And yet: *sapere aude!* It is difficult to measure the power of an idea, but this one, generally known as the idea of the "Enlightenment", has proved at any rate powerful enough to change the world in which we live. Few would deny that the world today is thoroughly suffused with the light of the "Enlightenment". From the end of the eighteenth century, the belief that all men are free (and therefore responsible) in the shaping of their thoughts and their lives has become part of the very air which our culture breathes.

Of course this idea of individual freedom—the belief that we are, each of us, something more than the mere sum of the social, natural and other conditions which determine us, and that it is this very fact of being "something more" which defines a person as a person—goes back further than the eighteenth century. In our culture, the European culture, its roots lie in Christianity. But it was only in the eighteenth century that this idea became central to moral, philosophical and legal thought, as well as to morality and social life. (...)

One of the historical forms which the idea of the "Enlightenment" assumed early on was the opposition between "Reason" on the one hand and "Faith" and "Tradition" on the other. According to this version of the "Enlightenment", the world as it is, comprising both nature and society, is wholly accessible to human reason. The obstacles to understanding it may seem insurmountable, but they are mere illusions, figments of our imagination. Reason frees us from all restraints, including obedience to God or to the authority of tradition; nay, it compels us to this freedom, for reason circumscribed, like freedom that is incomplete,



IWM Library

is a notion no less absurd than the idea of a childless father (this, at least, Hegel should teach us). (...)

But even the Romantics, who in the conflict of "Reason" with "Faith" and "Tradition" sided with the latter, saw that reason left to itself can understand nothing. Reason's self-confidence is like the security felt by a sleepwalker: it comes from not opening one's eyes. If the world lies open to our cognitive powers, to our reason, it is only because it is familiar: we have always known it and been bound up with it. (...) It is true that our faith, our feeling, our language and our habits all restrict the scope of our reason, for they make us partial: and what can be

more partial than feeling, or even language, which after all is just a certain window on the world? But just as it is the blind spot on our retina which enables us to see, so it is these very restrictions that enable us to grasp anything at all. (...)

But if we concede that reason cannot be left to itself, it does not follow that we must also deny it freedom, and in so doing reject the Enlightenment idea of the freedom of the human individual. It is true that the concepts through which reason would have us understand the world would be useless if they were not bound up with the world, a world of which we become a part simply by living in it. And it is true that reason assumes that our lives are collections of traditions. (...)

It is true, then, that the Enlightenment view of reason as the unique provider of a full and true understanding of the world is an illusory one, mired in self-contradiction; but it is also true that reason, although not independent, has no limits. The Enlightenment idea of freedom, insofar as it is persuasive, need not be in conflict with religion, tradition and established custom; nor need religion, tradition and custom conflict with the idea of individual freedom. When we yield to authority or admit that time-honoured custom may be superior to our own wishes, we are also acting freely, and we must assume responsibility for those actions. Freedom does not necessarily conflict with established custom, but it does undermine our propensity to see it as a fact, a given. In its light our habits, traditions, beliefs and models of behaviour lose their "natural" aspect and cease to be facts which one must simply accept, like rain. Instead they become objects of our responsibility and choice, and, like other choices, they can be right or wrong.

It is in this sense that the Enlightenment idea of freedom plays a greater role than that of a mere participant in the modern debate of ideas, for it changes the very nature of that debate: it alters the very space within which the debate takes place.

The effects of this change are very far-reaching. The belief in the limitless freedom of each individual is, for modern European culture, the very air it breathes; it radically changes relations between people, even where people are as yet unaware of it, for in its light all such relations must be justified: they must persuade. In its light all social differences cease to be facts and become, instead, social institutions; in other words, they are subject to social agreement and to change. Inequalities, even those we have not yet discovered, cease to be accepted as self-evident, and give rise to questions: which of them are socially acceptable? Is the difference between rich and poor, for instance, among those that are? And if "poverty" is a social institution, can it not be entirely eradicated, like "slavery"? And is "war", too, not such an institution (as opposed to being a necessary consequence of human nature)? And there are other questions we must ask: what social consequences should arise from the differences between the young and the old, the sick and the healthy, men and women, whites and blacks? In what kind of social divisions should such differences be expressed? These and other, similar questions, previously unasked in this form or with such intensity, now lie at the heart of the debates engaged in by an "enlightened" society.

Drago Roksandic (ed.)

Homines, tempora, loci

Barbat, Zagreb

Drago Roksandic, Visiting Fellow of IWM and closely associated to the Institute for a long time, is editor of this series. For the first time the history of other countries from their own perspective is being made accessible in Croatian—*l'image des autres par eux même*. Furthermore this series offers new approaches to major topics of Croatian History.

Volumes to date:

- Péter Hanák, *The Corvina History of Hungary* (1995)
- Charles Sellars / Henry May / Neil R. McMillen, *A Synopsis of American History* (1996)
- Guiliano Procacci, *Storia degli Italiani* (1996)
- Catherine Wendy Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj. Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic* (1997)
- Erich Zöllner / Therese Schüssel, *Das Werden Österreichs* (1997)
- Mario Strecha, *Catholic Croatia: The Beginnings of Political Catholicism in the Banal Croatia* (1997)

Michaela Adelberger / Maren Lübcke (Hg.)

Rebellinnen

Leben als Aufstand

Bollmann Verlag, Mannheim 1997

240 pp., DM 24.80 / öS 181,-

ISBN 3-927901-93-8

Michaela Adelberger, in charge of the Institute's public relations and—together with Klaus Nellen—its publications continued work in women's studies by editing this book together with the art historian Maren Lübcke (Vienna).

Hans Krämer

Platonovo Utemeljenje Metafizike

(Plato's Grundworks in Metaphysics)

Demetra Publishers, Zagreb 1997

Translated into Croatian by Borislav Mikulic, Junior Visiting Fellow of IWM in 1995.

Essays:

Cornelia Klinger

A revue of: *Das Ende. Figuren einer Denkform. Poetik und Hermeneutik* Bd. XVI, ed. Karlheinz Stierle/ Rainer Warning, was published in *arcadia. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft*, Bd. 32/2 1997.

"Über Freiheit und Glück", in *Die Philosophie und die Frage nach dem Glück*, ed. Emil Angehrn/ Bernard Baertschi, *Studia Philosophica* 56/1997.

From the Translation Program:

Max Weber

Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie, I-III
(Collected Essays on the Sociology of Religion)
Izdavacka Knjizarnica Zorana Stojanovica
Novi Sad 1997

Translated into Serbian by Olga Kostresevic.

Varia

Leszek Balcerowicz

Professor of Economics, Warsaw School of Economics, and Member of IWM's Academic Advisory Board has become Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Poland.

Bronislaw Geremek

Professor of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw and one of the Patrons of IWM has become Foreign Minister of Poland.

Krzysztof Michalski

Director of IWM, has been nominated member of the jury of the Pirelli/INTERNETional Award. This prize is awarded for the dissemination of science on the internet. For more information about the prize please see under <http://www.pirelliaaward.it/ing002.htm>.

In September Professor Michalski has taken up his teaching at Boston University as he does every year. He is giving a seminar on Nietzsche and another on Pascal.

Patocka Archive

Thanks to the support of the "AKTION Österreich - Tschechische Republik" the cooperation for 1997 between the Patocka Archives in Vienna (IWM) and in Prague (CTS) can be intensified. In the framework of the project "Das philosophische Erbe Jan Patockas. Ein Gemeinschaftsprojekt der Patocke-Archive Prag und Wien" (The Philosophical Heritage of Jan Patocka) in particular the archive holdings acquired after 1989 will be made accessible.

The "AKTION" is a fund to support collaboration between Austria and the Czech Republic in the field of higher education and research.

Charles Taylor

Professor of Philosophy and Political Science, McGill University, Montreal, and a Vice-Chair of IWM's Academic Advisory Board was awarded the Hegel Prize which is given annually by the city of Stuttgart.

Taylor was born in 1931 in Quebec. For many years he was Professor of social philosophy at Oxford; he holds his position at Montreal since 1962. He is internationally regarded as representative of the new Hegel research as he has contributed considerably to making Hegel's works more widely known. Taylor belongs to the pioneers of a generation of philosophers who, in the Anglo-Saxon world, take up the continental European tradition of the Romantic and its revaluation of an "expressive self-articulation".



Krzysztof Michalski (Hg.)

Aufklärung heute

Castelgandolfo-Gespräche Bd. VII

Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart 1997

260 S., Geb., DM 68,- / öS 496,-

ISBN 3-608-91856-6

Krzysztof Michalski

Zur Einführung

Stanley Rosen

Die Aufklärung neu denken

Paul Ricoeur

Das Paradox der Autorität

Charles Taylor

Die immanente Gegenaufklärung;

Hans Maier

Die Freiheitsidee der Aufklärung
und die katholische Tradition

Hans-Ludwig Schreiber

Menschenrechte nach der Aufklärung;

Jozef Tischner

Die Nation und ihre Rechte

Jean Bethke Elshtain

Individuelle Rechte und soziale Pflichten

Gertrude Himmelfarb

Armut und zweierlei Aufklärung

Ira Katznelson

Vom Bettelstand zur Armut. Gesellschaftliches
Wissen und die soziale Frage

Robert Spaemann

Der innere Widerspruch der Aufklärung

Claus Leggewie

Zwischen Kulturkampf und Kapitalismuskritik. Der
politische Katholizismus in den USA am Scheide-
weg

Johannes Paul II.

Ein neuer Blick auf das Phänomen der Aufklärung

IWM Translation Program 1999

January-June and July-December

The Institute for Human Sciences (Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen or IWM) is an independent, international, and interdisciplinary center for advanced study. IWM regularly invites academics to translate important works in the humanities or the social sciences from an Eastern into a Western European language, or vice versa, or from one Eastern European language into another.

The purpose of the IWM Translation Program is to help fill the gaps in the relevant literature in these fields, thus promoting an exchange of ideas between the East and the West or within Central and Eastern Europe.

Authors translated under the auspices of this program include: Walter Benjamin, Istvan Bibo, Martin Buber, Jakob Burckhardt, Edmund Burke, Elias Canetti, Ernst Robert Curtius, Jacques Derrida, Umberto Eco, Michel Foucault, Sigmund Freud, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Jürgen Habermas, G.W.F. Hegel, Edmund Husserl, Ladislav Klima, Leszek Kolakowski, Alasdair MacIntyre, Golo Mann, Friedrich Nietzsche, Jan Patocka, Karl Popper, Paul Ricoeur, Richard Rorty, Franz Rosenzweig, Georg Simmel, Max Weber, and Ludwig Wittgenstein.

As a rule, finalists are invited to spend six months — January-June or July-December — at IWM as Visiting Fellows in order to complete their projects. IWM places a stipend of ATS 160,000 at their disposal which covers the expenses of their stay in Vienna and provides them with an office, a PC, and access to IWM's in-house as well as other relevant Viennese research facilities.

Applications in English or in German should be addressed to the IWM Translation Program, attn: Ms. Rosemarie Winkler. They should include the following materials:

- a curriculum vitae which includes a bibliography of translations and other publications, if applicable,
- the author and work to be translated (from the original language) and an explanation for the choice thereof,
- exact number of pages,
- a contract with a publisher for the publication of the translation or a letter of intent from a publisher; proof that the translator/publisher holds the rights to the translation and its publication (or has an option for them); planned date of publication.

Works which are thematically related to IWM's fields of research and ongoing projects will receive preferential treatment:

- Political Philosophy of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries
- Gender Studies in Philosophy
- The Philosophy of Jan Patocka
- History of Political and Economic Ideas in Central and Eastern Europe

A jury of experts meets once a year to evaluate applications and select finalists.

Applications for the IWM Translation Program 1998 must be submitted before **January 31, 1998**. Applicants will be notified on the status of their applications by the end of April 1998.

Guest Contribution

Ernest Gellner: Religion and the Profane

This article is based on the transcription of a lecture Gellner gave in October 1995 in Heidelberg at a conference organized by the Deutsch-Amerikanisches Institut on "Religion als Kultur und Antikultur" (Religion as Culture and Anti-Culture). This was most probably Gellner's last lecture as he died early November 1995 in Prague. The eminent anthropologist and philosopher had been an active participant in many events of IWM. In the framework of the TERC-Program he served as the first European Chair in Social Sciences and Humanities at Warsaw University, and he was a contributor to Transit.

Tonight I will try to explain a few of the major striking events of our century—some very surprising, some a little less surprising. Very surprising is the tremendous success of Islam in maintaining and strengthening itself. Most social scientists accepted the secularization-thesis, which argued that in modern or industrial societies the hold of religion over society and over the hearts and minds of men declines. This seems more or less true with one striking exception: the world of Islam where the hold of religion over society and over men in the past hundred years has certainly not diminished and seems to have increased.

The other equally surprising event of the century is the unexpected and total collapse of Marxism. Marxism is often and correctly compared to religion, sometimes even described as secular religion, as it had many of its features—i.e., total vision, the promise of righteousness on earth, etc. It did, however, lack one prominent feature or religion—that is, when religions are established, they retain a hold on the hearts and minds of men, and do not collapse easily. When they do collapse there is some resistance and struggle; some people remain loyal to it. Marxism succeeded in retaining the loyalty of a remarkably small number (perhaps none at all). In the post-communist world, there is, of course, the frequently noted return of the ex-communists. But these merely stand for the maintenance of their own position, less radical change, the keeping the welfare provisions, etc.—they are basically conservatives. The really interesting thing about them is that none of them have returned under the "banner of Marxism". In those societies that were under Marxist domination for forty to seventy years, the Bolsheviks utterly failed to emulate the Jesuits and other representatives of the counter reformation in leaving deep marks in the souls and the societies of their adherents. This is also an interesting and important fact that is worth trying to understand.

Then there are some facts that are just slightly less surprising, though they were not properly anticipated: the strength of nationalism in this century (which is no longer surprising). But of course, for a long time the decline of nationalism was confidently predicted. The syllogism that entails the demise of nationalism has two features. First of all, it is shared by Marxists and liberals, and secondly, it is absolutely cogent. The premises are correct, the conclusion follows from the premises; the

only thing that is wrong with the conclusion is that it does not correspond to the real world. The argument is very simple: Nationalism depends on ethnic, cultural, national differences, which it turns into principles of political membership and loyalty. This is unquestionably true. Secondly, the conditions of the industrial world, with the tendency towards mobility, dissolution of local communities, instability, standardization of communication etc., erode cultural, linguistic and ethnic differences. Thus one can conclude that nationalism ultimately collapses in the modern world because the foundations upon which it is built are gradually eroded.

Unfortunately, as I said, the conclusion does not correspond to the facts. Thus there must be some additional factors that are working; I shall try to point them out. The proposition that nationalism would ultimately collapse was, on the whole, shared by Marxists and Liberals. These two camps disagreed only about the precise causes of its collapse. For the liberals it was the international division of labour and the advantages thereof, and for the Marxists it was the terrible melting pot of the pauperized international proletariat, which through its pauperization and alienation would be separated from its erstwhile ethnic roots and would have loyalty only to that terrible melting pot. In their cultural nakedness there would be something like a pure essence of humanity that would reassert itself in the proletariat.

The fourth feature of our century is the relative success of semi-secular, pluralist, liberal "democracies" which have won the wars in which they were involved. They won the military war that ended in 1945 (which was a close run thing) as well as the economic war that ended in 1989. This was one of the most conclusive conflicts in the history of mankind. Perhaps the fifth feature, the right-wing alternative vision of how to run an industrial society (which was eliminated in 1945) also deserves some comment.

Islam

Let us now examine Islam. Why is Islam so astonishingly successful? Why is it resistant to secularization? I shall begin by offering a model of what traditional Islam was like (without going into the early History of Islam). To put it simply, Islam, at least that of the arid zone between the Hindu Kush and the Atlantic and the Niger bend, was divided between a high culture and a low culture—a high

Islam and a low Islam—and these two coexisted in an unstable way. Most of the time they were peaceful, but nevertheless had conflicts at fairly regular intervals. The chief difference between the two is that high Islam does not permit mediators (it has a special name for the sin of mediation: *Shirk*), while the world of low Islam is full of them. High Islam encourages a direct relationship between a unique deity and the individual believer; it is not attached to ritual, contains little magic and supernatural belief, and is heavily moralistic, scripturalist, puritan, monotheistic and individualistic. It is the Islam of the scholars—the high Islam recognized as valid by the believers but not practiced by them. It is not practiced because it does not correspond to the needs of the lower classes and above all the rural Muslims, who for obvious reasons require a much more Durkheimian religion—i.e., a religion in which the sacred has its mediators, its incarnation, and which mirrors the social structure. Most of the rural Muslims were *encadrés*, incorporated in rural autonomous or semi-autonomous congregations, village lineages, tribes, clans and the like. For their internal organization and life they had a Durkheimian religion where the sacred is incarnated in periodic rituals, in sacred objects, sacred practices, sacred persons. One can say that an upper-class, urban, individualistic, puritan, “protestant” Islam (which is strangely united by the theologians and jurists who are its main carriers, despite the lack of a central organization and any kind of central secretariats and hierarchy) coexisted with a fragmented, “catholic” Islam which had the “catholic” characteristics of hierarchy, ritualization, employment of the sensuous forms of religion, of mystical exercises etc. One can see how this fits well with Durkheim’s theories of religion having the function of underwriting, rendering visible, and legitimating the communal organization in which Muslims lived. During periodic attempts of self-reformation these two forms came into conflict, but most of the time they coexisted harmoniously. On this issue I agree with the theory best formulated by David Hume about the oscillation in the religious life of mankind between protestant-type and catholic-type religions. In periodic outbursts of zeal and self-reformation the puritans would temporarily prevail, but the exigence and the demands of social life would again lead to a swing-back to a personalized, hierarchical, ritualized, non-scriptural religion with an ethic of loyalty rather than an ethic of rules. Thus Islam existed in a permanent oscillation between unsuccessful reformations and reversions to the old cultural habits. And, of course, there is a specific difference between Islam and West-European Christianity in this matter: in Western Europe the hierarchical, ritualized loyalty-ethics is at the center and carried by an institution rather than by abstract doctrine, while the individualist, scripturalist, puritan version is fragmented and relatively marginal. In Islam it is the other way around; the central tradition is individualist and scriptural, and the fragmented deviationists are hierarchical, ritualistic, etc.—a kind of mirror image.

As far as I can see there is nothing to stop Islam oscillating between these two forms. The oscillation was noted by the superb Muslim sociologist Ibn Khaldun around 1400, and echoed by Friedrich Engels in a passage where he obviously uses Ibn Khaldun without actually

quoting him. He says—contradicting the main thesis of Marxism—that all classes and class-societies are inherently unstable and due for internal destruction through their internal contradictions. In this passage the dreadful ethnocentrism of the two founding fathers of Marxism comes out as he specifies that the instability of classes and class-societies applies to “us” Europeans, whereas “those” Orientals, especially Arabs and Muslims, are locked in a kind of cyclical world which never manages to break out. And, admittedly, our social conflicts are distorted through the prism of religious language, but at least when the religious conflict is over something new emerges and we reach a higher level. All the orientals do is go around in a circle.

My theory of why Muslim fundamentalism has the astonishing strength that it does is the following: modern conditions unhinged the pendulum of this unstable oscillation and permanently and definitively shifted the center of gravity away from the pluralistic, hierarchical, organizational, Durkheimian style to that of high Islam. Of course, the reason why this happened is that the process of modernization, the political and economic centralization employed by the colonial and post-colonial states destroyed those communities that had provided the basis for the Durkheimian or low culture style of Islam. By turning clansmen, lineage members, villagers, and tribesmen into labor migrants and shantytown dwellers, it atomized the population and prompted them to find their identity in a high religion, in a high culture, that provides an identity shared by all Muslims, uniting them against the outsiders. Previously there did not exist a national identity in Muslim countries. Most people were first and foremost members of a local community under a local authority. Modern Muslim nations, especially in ex-colonial countries, are simply the summation of Muslims in a given territory. But this does mean that Islam provided the identification against the other.

It provided a ratification of their transition from a rural to an urban world, and it provided an idiom for expressing their change of status from that of rustic ignoramuses to people aspiring to urban sophistication. It also provided them—as is presently visible in the bitter and tragic conflict in Algeria—with a means of criticising their current rulers. It provided an idiom for those non-westernized people who take their Islam seriously, as against the technocrat Mamlukes who govern them in virtue of their access to western technology. I think it is in these terms—the reaction of recently urbanized, disoriented Muslims who are separated from their previous saint cults and local structures but who need to define themselves against an exploitative, semi-westernized upper class—that the wave of Muslim fundamentalism should be understood.

Nationalism

In my opinion, the emergence of nationalism in Europe should not be understood in its own terms. The self-image of nationalism and the reality of nationalism are inversely related. Nationalism is a phenomenon of *Gesellschaft* that speaks the idiom of *Gemeinschaft*. It is the byproduct of a new situation, not dissimilar from what I said about Islam. The main role of culture in an agrarian society is to underwrite, express and internalize

people's status in a stable world structure—i.e., that of an extremely hierarchical society. People's identity is closely linked to their position in society. Culture reinforces this and provides an external expression, making it visible and therefore less frictional. It also helps the members of society to internalize it and to accept it as an absolute part of the human condition. A stable, hierarchical society has been replaced by the agents of industrialism and the accompanying science and technology, by a mobile, anonymous society without an accepted hierarchy, and above all, in which work has ceased to be physical and has become semantic (i.e., work is communication) and therefore culturally homogeneous. In advanced societies there is no longer a division between a high culture and a low culture, rather, the high culture is the culture of the entire society.

I do not mean "high culture" in an evaluative sense, but as indicating a culture linked to writing and transmitted by formal education—and not at the mother's knee. It has to be standardized over large areas so that people can communicate in a context-free manner because their work situation consists of communicating with people whom they do not know and whom generally they do not even see. So the message has to carry its own meaning independent of context. For the first time in history formal education permeates the entire society rather than being the privilege of a small specialized stratum of scholastics, talmudists, bureaucrats or jurists. This is a unique situation. But the consequence is that social participation and effective economic, political and cultural citizenship is a condition of the mastery of a given high culture. The perpetuation of that high culture is a very expensive business which has to be undertaken either by the state or at least protected by the state. All this leads to the link between state and culture, which is the essence of nationalism. This imposes nationalism on modern man. (I vehemently repudiate the conventional theory of nationalism, which claims it is an expression of something inherent in the human psyche and society). Nationalism is inherent to the conditions of modern industrial life, but it is not inherent in all societies. Of course, the nationalists accept the fact that nationalism—although, according to them, universal and ever present—was for some bizarre reason asleep in the past and needed to be awakened in order to be politically effective (the most frequent expression in Central and Eastern Europe is the notion of awakening—*Deutschland erwache!*). In reality it could not be awakened because it did not exist. It was engendered by modern conditions.

Why did the same process of a shift from incorporation in local communities with their hierarchical expressions of the sacred, into a mobile, anonymous and semantically standardized society express itself as nationalism in Europe, and as fundamentalism in the world of Islam? I have no clear answer to this. The early history of nationalism in Europe does, of course, have its links with protestantism. It looks as if the two were aligned. Bernard Shaw expressed the argument very well in his Preface to *St. Joan*, where he says that the English burned *St. Joan* as a nationalist, while the church condemned her as a Protestant, and that she was both. This link between Protestant or Proto-Protestant

movements and national consciousness and the stress on the vernacular was particularly visible in the Hussite movement in Bohemia in the fifteenth century. But as nationalism progressed it divorced itself from religion or only used it in a somewhat opportunistic spirit. Poles used Catholicism because their enemies and neighbors on either side were non-catholic, therefore being catholic was an excellent definition of being Polish, and of course provided an admirable rival counter-state and counter-organization during the days of Communist rule. In the long run, nationalism and religious doctrine have parted.

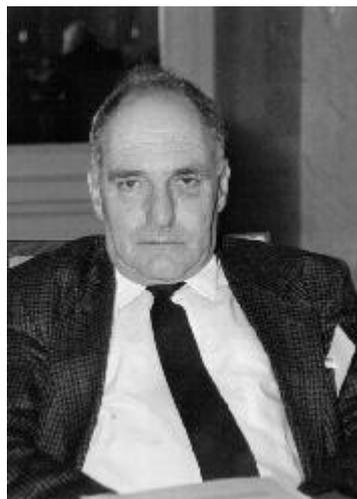
Not so in Islam. For a time it was not clear whether fundamentalism or Arab nationalism was dominant and which was being used in the service of the other. But by now it is fairly clear that fundamentalism is much stronger than nationalism. It is not clear to me why the link between a universalized individualist high culture and the doctrine which inspired it should have been preserved in Islam and severed in Europe. It is, maybe, a historical accident. My diagnosis of the two movements is similar, but I have no good explanation as to why they took such radically different forms in their respective societies.

Marxism

The strength of Islam is one surprise of this century, and the astonishing collapse of Communism—virtually the entire body of Sovietologists and Soviet scholars failed to foresee it—is the surprise in the other direction. What explanation is there?

Of course I do not know the answer. There are Ex-Communists, but nobody sticks to the ideology. People cling to continuity and to their privileges, but nobody is clinging to the doctrine. Why is that so? I have a theory of this and I am happy to try it out on you. What undid Marxism is not its secularism, but on the contrary, its pantheism that it inherited from Spinoza through Hegel. The basic Messianic ideal of Marxism—which had a particular appeal for the Russian soul—was to abolish the

separation of the sacred from the profane in human life. The idea that the world was bound to be soiled and miserable, while fulfillment was to be found in another realm, was merely a reflection of a divided society. The future lay in a unitary world of total consummation. Of course, Spinoza's image, historicized by Hegel, was taken over by Marx. One conventional theory is that man cannot do without religion. The theory I bring forward is that he cannot do without the profane. The failure of



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Marxism to keep a hold on the hearts and minds of the people who were subjected systematically to its exclusive monopolistic propaganda was due to its abolition of the profane. The striking fact seems to be that the Marxist faith was not destroyed by the massive and random murdering of the Stalinist period, but rather by the

relatively mild and on the whole acceptable period of stagnation. You only have to read Andrej Sakharov's memoirs, one of the best accounts of the Soviet world. Sakharov was a supremely intelligent man who felt deep contempt for most of the individual theses of Marxism. Nevertheless, as he says in his memoirs, he accepted the overall vision. Here there was a radical transformation of the human condition, and if it exacted the price it exacted—massive murder, suppression of liberty, use of slave labor (he knew all about it, because when he was working on the bomb he used slave labor himself)—this was regrettable but necessary. One cannot expect a radical transformation of the human condition to be unaccompanied by a bit of blood. The squalor and sleaziness of the Breshnev period of stagnation, when the comrades stopped murdering and merely started bribing each other lead to a total erosion of faith, so that when Gorbachev took off the lid, they suddenly realized that their ideology was truly a case of the Emperor's New Clothes.

As far as I can see, the difference between the success of Islam and the failure of Marxism is that Marxism was precisely unitarian, pantheist and wanted a total consummation in this world. It sacralized the real world and spurned the old habit of finding consolation in the sky. This goes to the heart of Marx's personality; he was the ultimate bourgeois. His vision of the world was a generalization of the bourgeois vision that the essence of man is work—not aggressiveness, not virility, not status. Fulfillment is through work and work is its own reward. The bourgeois are people who work not only because they are paid for it. This stands in opposition to an aristocrat or a working man—the aristocrat does not work at all and the working man works in order to get his salary. The bourgeoisie has always hoped that there would be a world in which the rule of thugs and humbugs, of the red and the black, would be replaced by the rule of the people who really work.

So Marx merely stated that for which the bourgeoisie has always hoped. The real secret of history is the transformation of work relationships. The relationship of men to their tools and to production is what determines events. Violence is merely a servant for radical change. It tells the thugs: you may wave your swords about, but you have not produced the changes, you are of no importance. Marxism is a bourgeois fantasy that work is the essence of man, work relations determine history, work is a fulfillment.

Islam has its merits. It is acceptable to the modern world because of its unitarian, puritanical denial of magic. At the same time it regulates life. However, it never claimed that work is sacred. During periods of diminished zeal and enthusiasm the Muslim can indulge in business without thinking it sacred. And if business life is not everything, so what? Nobody ever said it was meant to be.

What are the lessons of the century to be drawn by looking at Islam, nationalism, and Marxism? Presently the success stories are the plural, liberal societies—what I call the unholy alliance of consumerist unbelievers. That may sound pejorative, but in fact I approve of those societies that order themselves in the name of consumption, the expectation of general prosperity, and the

privatization of salvation and virtue. The essence of Marxism was that it provided a secular counter-answer to the earlier theological absolutism, to total salvation—that is, a social order which is meant to be an implementation of an absolute morality. The plural societies refrain from this; they live in a kind of ambiguous shadow world with a compromise between inherited beliefs which are not taken seriously, and pragmatic consumerist considerations which have their authority but of course do not have any kind of absolute aura to them. Whether that kind of society can continue, whether it can survive the saturation of consumerism, I cannot say. One should not underestimate the value of technological innovation, but in my view there is a point of diminishing returns. Large parts of the world are still very hungry for material improvement, and the differences between the haves and the have nots are still powerful. I do not think this can go on indefinitely.

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