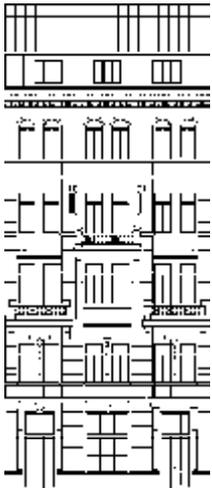




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#### 11th Jan Patocka Memorial Lecture

## Tadeusz Mazowiecki: Politics and Morality in the New Europe

*Only few others are as qualified to reflect upon the political and ethical dilemmas of the transition to democracy in the post-communist countries as Tadeusz Mazowiecki. An intellectual, moral authority and politician, he has contributed considerably to the peaceful handover of power in Poland. The following text is excerpted from his lecture delivered on November 27, 1997 at the Palais Schwarzenberg in Vienna in honour of the Czech philosopher and civil rights activist Jan Patocka.*

The period of systemic change, through which we have been living for eight years, has confronted the countries of East-Central Europe, which had previously been part of the Soviet bloc, with new problems. The questions raised are not only political and economic but also of a moral nature.

The simple fact of the decision to take the path of the free market economy meant that we faced not only an economic choice but also a moral one. I remember what a heavy burden it was for me as head of government to make this choice. I was well aware that the result would be the collapse of many of the state enterprises inherited from the previous system, because they were unable to stand



*Tadeusz Mazowiecki*

up to competition. The paradoxical aspect of this situation was that it had been the workforces of these same large enterprises which in the protest movement of Solidarnosc made a decisive contribution to the end of Communism. Now they had no future.

If we use rational standards then the decision to apply economic "shock therapy" appears obvious and seems to be the only right thing to do. We can convince ourselves of this if we compare the results with the difficulties of such countries as Romania or the Ukraine, where such a measure was delayed. In the face of the consequences of this measure, which gave rise to a sense of threat and uncertainty in the population, it was a very difficult decision from a moral point of view. Its dramatic aspect often became evident later; it came to the surface as a susceptibility to populist slogans and a forgetfulness of what the economic starting point had been.

For many people Communism had been a schooling in dependency, resulting in expectations of the state and in which people were weaned of their own initiative and of making provision for themselves.

Economic reform in itself forcibly altered such attitudes and mentalities. Many people were unprepared for this. It is a development which takes time. Aside from those who benefited from the reform, we must also bear in mind the situation of those people who feel disadvantaged and unable to change their mentality.

Freedom of association and the restoration of genuine local self-government are equally important factors in releasing the human initiative essential to the rebuilding of state and society. The restoration of local government has been one of the most successful reforms we have carried out. At the same time it encourages further determined steps in a decentralisation of the system of national administration.

It is a particularly important problem and I believe that this is also the case in other parts of Europe. Local government is an especially important factor in the functioning of *civil society* in states which are not federal in character but have a unified (central) state structure. By that I mean not only local government at the municipal level, which forms the foundation, but I also refer to levels above the municipal. Moreover, understood in this way, local government causes the state itself to take on a strong civic character and civic activities to be extended on a wider, regional level. Where there are no historical traditions and conditions for the emergence of federal systems, where this would be artificial or even a threat to the unity of the state, the development of local government should play precisely this role.

Two further points must not be left out of any discussion of the great problems of the period *after* the turning point.

There is a need to balance accounts with the Communist past. This is a problem for all the countries in the region and, as is well-known, is dealt with in different ways. Nevertheless it weighs on the atmosphere of public life everywhere, in particular because the Communist parties, without confronting their own past in any very profound way, have all too easily transformed themselves into parties designated as Social Democratic. On the other hand, however, where such a balancing of accounts assumes the extreme and hate-ridden forms promoted by some groupings, then the younger generation, above all, tends to turn away from those who are still talking only about the past and who split up people and groups exclusively in accordance with this past.

We thus face the question as to how a balancing of accounts is possible, which on the one hand clearly calls the evil inheritance of this past by name, but on the other hand does without the hate factor.

Another problem of considerable significance is the Church's encounter with the newly emergent democracy.

In Poland, the relationship between Church and state and the place of the Church in public life is a great problem. The Church has played an enormous role in defence of the rights of the nation and of human rights throughout our history, but especially in the years of Communism.

Today the Church no longer finds itself in a system hostile to religion, but in a democratic one. However, under conditions of democracy and of an opening to the world new and different problems arise for the Church and its mission, problems to which it has not always responded correctly. It is also perceived differently today. Interestingly, its loss of authority is not linked to a diminution in religiosity. The Church's presence and voice in public affairs, however, has become problematic. On the one hand, for many clerics, Liberalism and liberal democracy present just as much a threat to the Church and its mission as did Communism. On the other hand, political statements by priests and bishops led to a situation in which the Church began to be seen as a threat to democracy.

The principles of the separation of Church and state, as well as the confessional neutrality of the state, their mutual autonomy and independence, are the basic formulas of a democratic system of law. The Church's presence in public life, however, can assume various forms, depending on the history, traditions and religious and confessional situation of the particular country. We in Poland are working out this new kind of presence in a very difficult process. It is all the more important to see this complex process and not merely certain manifestations of conflict.

The need to answer the question what 1989 really meant for Europe, and what constitutes the true dimensions of the events of that year, is also related to how we anticipate today the extension of the European Union to our region. For our countries, which will begin discussions on joining the Union in March, this is a decision of prime importance. We regard full membership of the Union as opening a way to overcoming the economic division of Europe and making good the cultural backlog.

Our ideas of what is in store for us have also changed in the course of the eight years which have passed since 1989: A degree of naiveté has given way to realism and we no longer expect a "new Marshall Plan". We know that joining the European Union will not mean admission to an economic paradise. We are aware that membership will also bring in its wake strict duties, which must be respected. In order to be able to respect them we must adapt our legal system as well as our economy to the demands made of us.

Like every state seeking admission, we shall wish to negotiate the conditions of entry and try to ensure that there is an understanding of those economic problems and social conditions, whose adjustment will require a greater length of time.

Just as in every other country at the time of its entry into the European Union public opinion in Poland is

divided between "Eurofans" and "Eurosceptics". In Poland, however, there are particular reasons for these divergent perspectives and a specific shading. A nation which has only recently achieved full sovereignty once more, will have difficulties with the idea of ceding even the tiniest part of this sovereignty to others. As is also partly the case in other countries political demagoguery can easily make progress against this background. Despite such fears, membership of the European Union is generally considered to be the goal of the whole nation. What is and will continue to be the subject of debate is not membership itself but the conditions to be negotiated.

It will be a debate of great consequence. It is, of course, important to get the consciousness of human beings ready for life in a united Europe, in the already common European Union, as well as adapting Poland's legal system and economy to the demands made.

It is understandable that the procedure for admission to the EU takes place separately for each country. And yet the entry of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and other countries, which were formerly cut off by the Iron Curtain implies a different message from the entry of countries which were not artificially separated from Western Europe. The entry of our countries into the EU becomes an act which will finally surmount the threshold between the two parts of Europe.

This will mean more than just an expansion of the European Union. Europe will gain a new dimension through this act.

It will mean the transition from a small Europe to a big one, a necessary step for us — and not only for us.

In the long term this will be of enormous importance for the position of Europe in the new world order which is already coming into existence after the collapse of the bipolar division sealed at Yalta and will presumably develop further. It is therefore a process which is also of decisive importance for the future significance of Europe.

*Translated from German by Esther Kinsky*

Tadeusz Mazowiecki: An engaged dissident already in the 60s and 70s, he became a leading advisor to Solidarity in the 80s and was among the architects of the political compromise at the Round Table in the spring of 1989 which began the erosion of the East Bloc. In September of 1989 he became the first non-communist Prime Minister of post-war Poland. After being defeated in the presidential election of 1990, he founded the liberal, Europe-oriented "Democratic Union," whose Speaker he was until 1995. Since the unification with the "Liberal Democratic Center"

in 1993 the party has been known as "Freedom Union." After the parliamentary elections in September 1997 he has participated in the new Polish government. Mazowiecki is a member of the new parliament.

In 1992 Mazowiecki became a special envoy to former Yugoslavia for the UN Human Rights Commission. After his repeated reports of human rights abuses showed little effect, and finally when the UN protected zone of Srebrenica was taken by Bosnian Serbs in the summer of 1995 without the intervention of UN troops stationed there, he resigned his office in protest.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki has received numerous distinctions, including honorary degrees from several universities.

He is co-founder of the journals *Wież* and *Znak*. His books translated into other languages include *Partei nehmen für die Hoffnung* (Freiburg 1990) and *Un autre visage de l'Europe* (Paris 1989).

#### Previous Speakers

1987 [Hans-Georg Gadamer](#) (Heidelberg)

*Phänomenologie und das Problem der Zeit*

1988 [Leszek Kolakowski](#) (Oxford/Chicago)

*Die Illusionen der Entmythologisierung*

1989 [Zbigniew Brzezinski](#) (New York)

*The General Crisis of Communism*

1990 [Paul Ricoeur](#) (Paris)

*The Person: Its Ethical and Moral Structure*

1991 [Charles Taylor](#) (Montreal)

*Two Theories of Language*

1992 [Jacques Derrida](#) (Paris)

*Le secret - de la réponse et de la responsabilité*

1993 [Mario Vargas Llosa](#) (Lima und London)

*Democracy Today*

1994 [François Furet](#) (Paris)

*Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the French Revolution*

1995 [George Soros](#) (New York)

*A Failed Philosopher Tries Again*

1996 [Albert O. Hirschman](#) (Princeton)

*Between Private and Public Spheres*

The Jan Patocka Memorial Lectures have been published in German by Passagen Verlag, Vienna, since 1993. Available are:

Mario Vargas Llosa, Demokratie heute

François Furet, Jean-Jacques Rousseau und die Französische Revolution

George Soros, Die Macht der Fehlbarkeit

Albert O. Hirschman, Tischgemeinschaft: Zwischen öffentlicher und privater Sphäre

## IWM Lectures in Modern Philosophy

# Martha Nussbaum: Why Practice Needs Ethical Theory

*Martha C. Nussbaum is one of the most prominent philosophers and public intellectuals in the United States. She has taught at Harvard and Oxford Universities. From 1986 to 1993, she was a research advisor at the World Institute for Development Economics Research, Helsinki, a part of the United Nations University. Since 1996 she has been Ernst Freund Professor of Law and Ethics, University of Chicago. On 9, 10, and 11 December she gave the IWM Lectures in Modern Philosophy 1997 in the IWM Library. We quote from the introduction to her talk:*

Ethical theory is under attack. In itself that is nothing new. Attacks on ethical theory began, in the Western tradition, with the subject itself, which alarmed people who saw advantages in the unexamined life. No sooner did Socrates gain a following than he was indicted, convicted, and killed. Aristotle, fleeing a second time into exile, said that he did not want the Athenians "to sin twice against philosophy." The emperor Nero knew Stoic moral theory too well to be content with its defense of liberty. After dispatching his mother, he turned, in 69 A.D., to his philosophical mentor Seneca, who patterned his mandatory suicide closely on the death of Socrates. "Even in his last moments his eloquence did not fail him. He called scribes in and dictated a good deal, which, since it is published in his collected works, I shall not bother to adapt."<sup>1</sup> Marcus Aurelius philosophized with impunity until death, but then he was the Emperor. Other thinkers under the Empire were less fortunate. The fifth century saw the death of the eminent Neoplatonist philosopher Hypatia at the hands of a Christian mob in Alexandria, incited by a local Bishop, who said it was unchaste for women to argue in public. They dragged her from her litter and beat her to death with sticks; the Bishop became St. Cyril. Some time thereafter, again under Christian influence, the schools of philosophy at Athens were closed entirely.

The Middle Ages greeted philosophical theorizing with much skepticism; it was not until Thomas Aquinas that the subject established itself in Church-dominated universities. Renaissance humanists revived Greek ethical theorizing at great personal and political risk. In the seventeenth century Grotius advanced his theory of the just war from exile, smuggled out of Holland in a trunk by his wife and family.

Nor did danger fail to greet his Enlightenment successors. The Scottish Enlightenment was relatively gentle in its restrictions: Hume's alleged atheism did not jeopardize his life or stop the publication of his works. But it did cause him to be denied the chair of philosophy in Edinburgh, a judgment approved by one contemporary opponent of ethical theory, on the grounds that ethical theory should derive its first principles from religious authority. On the continent, philosophers faced sharper opposition.

In France, many works of ethical theory, viewed as anti-clerical, had to be clandestinely circulated along with works of sexual pornography. A common genus, "philosophie," covered both types of writing: Voltaire and Rousseau alongside the scandalous *Therèse philosophe* and the *Histoire du Dom B...* In Germany the book trade was more decorous, but Kant, no friend of the pornographers, still had to fight for philosophy's freedom of speech. In 1795, writing on the conditions of a lasting peace among nations, he cited as "Secret Article of a Perpetual Peace" the freedom of speech of the moral philosophers, without whose aid, he argued, governments cannot succeed in making a productive plan for the containment of aggression. "Kings or sovereign peoples,"



he wrote, "...should not...force the class of philosophers to disappear or to remain silent...This is essential to both in order that light may be thrown on their affairs."<sup>2</sup>

Nor, in our own century, has moral philosophy failed to threaten and be threatened. We have seen the political persecution of moral philosophers such as John Dewey and Bertrand Russell (imprisoned twice for his arguments against war and tossed out of a job at the City University of New York for allegedly obscene writings on marriage, later praised in his Nobel Prize citation); the stocking of Eastern European philosophy departments with drones and sycophants, the virtual impossibility of doing moral

philosophy at all in Cuba, China, and many other parts of the world, even when other parts of the subject, such as logic and the philosophy of science, are permitted to proceed more or less as usual.

It is nothing new, then, that ethical theory should be assailed from outside, by religion, politics, and custom, by power and anti-reason and sheer bad behavior. What is new, however, is that these days it is also under attack from within. During the past decade a number of prominent moral philosophers, including Bernard Williams, Annette Baier, Alasdair MacIntyre, and Cora Diamond, have assailed ethical theorizing, especially in its Enlightenment forms, as both useless and pernicious, as distorting practice and contributing nothing that could not be gained through more informal types of ethical reflection.

It might strike one that the external assault gives some evidence against the "uselessness" part of the internal charge. Any type of intellectual activity that is so vigilantly opposed by power is unlikely to be utterly without practical value. Nor do Williams and Baier, at any rate, want to yield the scene of social and personal decision-making to the conservative and/or authoritarian forces who, in these various cases, opposed the philosophers. One might, then, suppose that the persecution of philosophers would give these thinkers, too, at least some reasons to defend the influence of ethical theory as not altogether pernicious, holding not only that it has a practical impact but also that this impact has done some good.

That they do not support the enterprise is, however, clear. Baier declares: "I want to attack the whole idea of a moral 'theory' which systematizes and extends a body of moral judgments," and inveighs against "that arrogance of solitary intellect which has condemned much moral theory to sustained self-delusions concerning its subject matter, its methods, and its authority."<sup>3</sup> For Williams, the major modern moral theories are "not well adjusted to the modern world," and "governed by a dream of a community of reason that is too far removed...from social and historical reality and from any concrete sense of a particular ethical life — farther removed from those things, in some ways, than the religion it replaced."<sup>4</sup> Diamond's position is more elusive, since she doubts that we can succeed in finding any widely agreed account of what the enterprise of ethical theory is; but insofar as she does propose such an account, she concludes that "we should not take those rules seriously, or the conception of moral philosophy which they determine."<sup>5</sup> There are complexities in all these thinkers' positions; it is not clear that any of them opposes all the prominent ethical theories, or that the grounds of their opposition cannot be met by something that most of us would agree in calling a theory. I shall be pressing these questions in what follows. It is evident, however, that they all take themselves to be showing that on at least some widely shared understandings of what ethical theory involves, it is both unimportant and, so far as it does affect things, mostly damaging, a squeezing and deforming of particular experience that may actually prevent us from making the more valuable types of criticism of our daily lives.

My purpose in this essay will be to state these objections and to contest them. Having enumerated some of the central criteria of ethical theory, as it has been

defined in debates both ancient and modern, I shall introduce a distinction familiar in ancient Greek and Roman Stoicism, but largely absent from the modern debate. The Stoics recognized not two categories, theories and concrete judgments, but three categories: theories, rules, and concrete judgments. I shall argue, with Seneca, that the distinction between theories and rules is an extremely important one, which enables us to avoid a number of confusions. I shall lay out some Stoics arguments for thinking that there is a natural alliance between theory and particular judgment, in that theory enables us to understand the limitations of general rules in ways we could not otherwise, therefore to correct the deficiencies inherent in any system of rules. Thus criticism of systems of rules need not entail criticism of ethical theory, and can in fact give us reasons for turning to an ethical theory.

With all this in place, I shall then identify the most prominent recent objections to ethical theory and argue that there is none that cannot be met by something still recognizably theory — although some of the more telling objections will lead us to reject theories that (unlike all ancient and most interesting modern theories) identify theory with a system of rules. Finally I shall argue that we urgently need theory for the reasons given by Kant and Seneca. In a world in which moral perception is corrupt and judgment likely to be thrown off the track by temptations of all sorts, we need all the explicitness and articulateness we can muster if we are to elicit the best from ourselves, to identify defects in our social world, and to devise appropriate institutional and educational remedies.

<sup>1</sup>See Tacitus, *Annales* XV.63.

<sup>2</sup>Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, in *Kant: Political Writings*, ed. H. Reiss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 115.

<sup>3</sup>Annette Baier, "Doing Without Moral Theory?" in *Anti-Theory in Ethics and Moral Conservatism*, ed. S. Clarke and E. Simpson (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989)

<sup>4</sup>Bernard Williams, *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 197.

<sup>5</sup>Cora Diamond, "Having a Rough Story about What Moral Philosophy Is," *New Literary History* 15 (1983),

Martha Nussbaum has published about a dozen well noted books such as *The Fragility of Goodness* (1986), *Love's Knowledge* (1990), *Poetic Justice* (1996) *For Love of Country* (1996) and *Cultivating Humanity* (1997).

Previous speakers

1991 Peter Winch (London / Illinois)

*Überreden und Argumentieren. Vier Vorlesungen über Wittgenstein*

1992 Bruce A. Ackerman (Yale)

*The Future of Liberal Revolution*

1993 Richard Rorty (Charlottesville)

*Aspects of Pragmatism*

1994 Michael J. Sandel (Harvard)

*Liberalism, Community, and Virtue*

1995 Clifford Geertz (Princeton)

*The World in Pieces: Culture and Politics at the End of the Century*

1996 Bernard Williams (Oxford / Berkeley)

*Truthfulness as a Political Ideal*

Since 1993 the lectures have been published in German by Passagen Verlag, Vienna.

## Workshop

# Supporting Exceptional Students in a Mass University Environment

*This workshop, organized jointly by IWM under the auspices of its TERC Program (Transformation of the National Higher Education and Research Systems of Central Europe) and the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX), Washington, D.C., took place on 12-13 December in the IWM Library.*

### Context

A number of Central and East European (CEE) higher education institutions have developed unique and innovative strategies to overcome the administrative legacies of the pre-1989 period and the conservatism engendered by current budgetary constraints. In others, scholars have created new semi-independent institutions or teaching structures to provide a supportive milieu for young researchers. Many of these institutions, identified through the selection process for the Hannah Arendt Prize (organized by IWM since 1995), are providing the seed-corn of reform in higher education throughout the region. At the same time, Western funders of university reform projects in the CEE are also seeking to identify and support these grass-roots projects to help catalyse change in curricular and administrative structures from within the higher education sector.

As a result of a joint workshop organized in March 1997 by IREX and IWM, "The Development of Social Studies Curricula", IREX and IWM have initiated a workshop series to bring educational leaders from the CEE region together with representatives of Western funding bodies to discuss new strategies for supporting reforms

### Workshop 1: Supporting Exceptional Students in a Mass University Environment

One of the most fundamental dilemmas facing higher education in the 1990s is the concurrent pressures to open higher education to an ever-greater number of students and popular pressure to increase the "relevance" of education, whilst at the same time maintaining (or raising) quality and providing a conducive environment for a new generation of researchers and educators. For Central and East European universities, this situation is compounded by the need to stabilize and re-build their intellectual capital by providing young scholars with viable research and employment opportunities within their own countries. In many Central and Eastern European universities, faculty have set up new institutional units which provide a conducive environment to support exceptional students; in other universities special tutorial programs have been created to give bright students the individual support needed in their early careers. This first workshop examined the problem of identifying and supporting exceptional students, the different ways that CEE scholars have addressed this problem, and how Western agencies and local NGOs working in the field might support such initiatives for young researchers.

### Program

Friday, 12 December

#### Welcome and Opening Remarks:

Nancy Blakestad, IWM  
Daniel Matuszewski, IREX

#### Session I: University Expansion vs. the Pursuit of Quality—the Dilemma and Current Trends

Introduction: Jan Sadlak, UNESCO (Chair): European and U.S. Trends

#### Session II: Central European Strategies since 1989—New Institutions and Programs, Degree Structures, and Curricular Innovations

Introduction: Josef Jarab, Rector, CEU, Budapest (Chair)

#### Discussion Leaders:

Stefan Amsterdamski, GSSR, Warsaw  
Ivan Havel, Center for Theoretical Studies, Prague  
Agnes Erdelyi, Invisible College, Budapest  
Jerzy Axer, OBTA, Warsaw  
Samuel Abraham, Society for Higher Learning, Bratislava

#### Session III: Central European Strategies since 1989 (continued)

#### Assessing the Impact of New Institutions and Programs on the Higher Education Sector

Peter Darvas, Director, Higher Education Support Program, Budapest (Chair)

#### Discussion Leaders:

Adam Kiss, Eötvös Loránd University and Tempus Public Foundation, Budapest  
Jerzy Woznicki, Rector, Warsaw Univ. of Technology and Director, Higher Education Reform Program, Institute for Public Policy, Warsaw  
Kazimierz Frieske, Director, Institute of Sociology, Warsaw Univ.

Saturday, 13 December

#### Session IV: Supporting Exceptional Students in Central Europe—External Perspectives

Laszlo Varadi, Center for Public Affairs Studies, Budapest (Chair)

#### Discussion Leaders:

Barbara Rhode, European Commission DG XII-B2  
Brigitte Hasewend, Academic Cooperation Association, Brussels  
Ian Scott, Wellcome Trust, London  
Josef Leidenfrost, Büro für Europäische Bildungskooperation, Wien

Session V: **Conclusions & Recommendations**

Daniel Matuszewski, President, IREX (Chair)

Jerzy Axer, Director, OBTA, University of Warsaw (Rapporteur)

Nancy Blakestad, IWM

**Participants**

Samuel Abraham, Principal, Society for Higher Learning, Bratislava; Stefan Amsterdamski, Director, Graduate School for Social Research, University of Warsaw (HAP Winner 1995); Jerzy Axer, Director, Center for the Study of the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, University of Warsaw; Nancy Blakestad, Program Associate, IWM; Peter Darvas, Director, Higher Education Support Program, Budapest; Alfred Ebenbauer, Rector, Universität Wien; Agnes Erdelyi, Principal, Invisible College, Budapest (Hannah Arendt Prize Winner 1997); Kazimierz Frieske, Director of the Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw; Janusz L. Grzelak, Professor of Psychology and Pro-Rector, University of Warsaw; Visiting Fellow, IWM; Lubica Habova, Philosopher, Slovak Academy of Sciences; Visiting Fellow, IWM; Brigitte Hasewend, Senior Administrative Officer, Academic Cooperation Association, Brussels; Ivan Havel, Director, Center for Theoretical Study, Prague; Josef Jarab, Rector, Central European University, Budapest; Helga Junkers, Volkswagen-Stiftung, Hannover; Adam Kiss, Pro-Dean and

Professor of Physics, Eötvös Lorand University; President, Tempus Public Foundation, Budapest; Cornelia Klinger, Permanent Fellow, IWM; Jacek Kochanowicz, Professor and Vice-Dean for Research and International Exchange, Department of Economics, University of Warsaw; Chair, Higher Education Support Program, Poland; Janos Matyas Kovacs, Permanent Fellow, IWM; Marcin Krol, Erasmus Chair in Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Warsaw; Professor of the History of Ideas, University of Warsaw; Visiting Fellow, IWM; Josef Leidenfrost, Büro für Europäische Bildungs-köoperation, Vienna; Daniel Matuszewski, President, IREX; Waller Newell, Prof. of Political Science and Classics; Director of the Centre for Liberal Education and Public Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa; Barbara Rhode, European Commission, DG XII-B2; Drago Roksandic, Professor of History, University of Zagreb; Visiting Fellow, IWM; Jan Sadlak, Chief, Unit for Higher Education Policy, UNESCO, Paris; Ian Scott, Programme Manager, Central & Eastern Europe / Former Soviet Union, Wellcome Trust, London; Anna Sosnowska, Graduate School for Social Research; Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM; Laszlo Varadi, Center for Public Affairs Studies, Budapest University of Economic Science; Saulius Vengris, Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs, Vilnius University; Jerzy Woznicki, Rector, Warsaw University of Technology; Andrzej Ziabicki, Polish Academy of Sciences; Vice-President, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; Craig Zelizer, Program Officer for Central and Eastern Europe, IREX, Washington D.C.

Junior Visiting Fellow's Conference**Ideas in Transit**

*On Friday, December 5, the fifth Junior Visiting Fellow's Conference which provides a forum for the presentation and critique of the Junior Fellow's work was held in the IWM library.*

*John K. Glenn III, co-organizer of the conference, reports:*

The first section of the conference, titled *Philosophical Investigations*, contained three papers. Bradley Herling, in his paper "Questioning the youth out of Aristotle, Heidegger, and Hegel's 'Tübingen Essay'," examines conceptions of youth in the three philosophers' works, with reference as well to Milan Kundera's novels. He explores the ambiguity and contradictions of the concept whereby youth, especially for Hegel, is simultaneously at the center and periphery of philosophy. John Symons, in his paper "Imagination, Science, and Modern Subjectivity," critically examines the place of imagination in Descartes' thinking to explore the foundations of modern subjectivity. Drawing on Heidegger and others, Symons finds the imagination to be the basis for conceiving of the mind as separated from the body, placing it central to our understanding of self-reflection. Mariusz Turowski, in his paper "Between Neutrality and Exclusion," asks whether "civic religiosity" is possible in contemporary, multicultural societies. He contrasts the approach of the philosophers Kent Greenawalt and Michael J. Perry in his exploration of whether the religious convictions are destructive for the foundations of democratic life.

The second section, titled *Democracy and Institutions*, contained two papers: John K. Glenn III, in his paper "Sustainable democracy in Eastern Europe and International NGOs: Preliminary considerations of political party formation," asks how we should conceptualize the influence of international non-governmental organizations upon the development of political parties in post-communist societies. By examining the efforts of the National

Endowment for Democracy in the former-Czechoslovakia in 1990-92, he identifies questions and proposes measures by which such assistance might be evaluated. Peter A. Johnson, in his paper "The Democratic Foundations of Central Bank Independence: Some preliminary hypotheses," places the problem of the independence of central banks within the contemporary globalization debate. With reference to the U.S. and Germany, he argues that the principal manner by which central banks secure their independence in the long run is by actively soliciting the support of parliamentary, interest group, and popular constituencies against governments themselves.

The final section, titled *Constructions and Understanding*, contained two papers. Andrea Petö, in her paper "Constructions of Emotions in the Hungarian Underground Communist Movement" analyzes the testimonies of two Hungarian female politicians and the narration of their love stories, both of which relate to a beloved person as well as the illegal communist movement. The paper explores the limits of reconstructing emotions from a historical perspective. Anna Sosnowska, in her paper "Chasing a Theoretical Framework for Eastern Europe," challenges current approaches for understanding contemporary Eastern Europe, especially the "transitions" framework. Drawing on Wallerstein's world system theory, she argues for the adoption of a wider comparative perspective which is open to Third World comparisons, especially to the newly industrialized Asian and Latin American countries.

## Workshop Rethinking Post-War Europe

# Mark Mazower: Prelude to Homogeneity: Ethnic and National Conflicts in the Wake of World War II in Europe

*On January 16-17 the fourth workshop in the framework of IWM's project "Legality and Legitimation: Political Justice in the Aftermath of World War II" took place in Vienna. After two fruitful days of often controversial papers and discussions Mark Mazower, Reader in History at the University of Sussex and Visiting Fellow of IWM in 1997, summed up the conference as follows:*

The basic task that this series of conferences and workshops set itself, it seems to me, was to reconsider the history of the 1940s in the light of the new priorities and concerns which surfaced with the collapse of communism after 1989. The function of this workshop in particular was what we might call exposing the 'cover-up'. Postwar historiography whether national or international in focus had had little to say about the enormous population displacements of the 1940s. They attracted the attention of journalists at the time, and of a few rare scholars such as Kulischer and Schechtman. But in general, historians ignored the subject for decades, much indeed as they ignored the whole subject of postwar social evolution. This they left to social science, for as Carl Pletsch once argued, the consensus was that 1945 marked the break between history and the present, between tradition and modernity, and historians stayed resolutely on the far side of this divide. But seeing contemporary social evolution in terms of a transition from tradition to modernity, and as such as more fitted to the skills of anthropologists and sociologists than of historians, allowed the subject of population movements to drop out of history. When anthropologists described the traditional pastoral communities of postwar mountain Greece, they did so in terms which allowed the recent violence which had passed over that landscape to escape unnoticed; the same trend was visible, on the other side of the Iron Curtain, in sociological treatments of the Polish Western Territories. After 1989, the skeletons started to tumble out of the closet. The interlocking questions which concern many of us are firstly: how are post-communist societies East and West (i.e. Germany and Italy as well as the Czech Republic and Hungary, say) now interpreting these events; and, secondly: how should we — as historians — try to shape that process of interpretation?

It was noticeable that the very stimulating and exciting papers offered at this workshop, which in many ways illuminated the riches lying in the archives and the possibilities ahead for further research, converged in approach and method in some surprising ways. They tended to focus in detail on the years 1944-1950, and with the exception of one discussion of the interwar minorities' policy of the League of Nations offered little in the way of a longer-term contextualisation of wartime demographic policy. They were also focused upon the behaviour of organisations and officials, policy-makers in governments, international bodies, political parties and relief workers.

They offered comprehensive treatments of the policies they adopted, the categories they employed. There was rather little reference to individual histories or personal experiences, the private calculations made by countless Displaced Persons or refugees of their own costs, benefits, hopes, fears and opportunities. Sometimes, relief or immigration authorities were criticised for referring, say, to Jews as Jews; by other historians, they have been criticised for failing to do so. What Jewish DPs themselves demanded — itself, of course, a zone of contention — cannot but shed light on this kind of question.

In general, the authorities came out of the discussion rather badly. Few participants appeared to have much sympathy for the dilemmas government officials found themselves faced with in the war-ravaged Europe of 1945. One might, however, argue that to depict a mass of helpless individuals at the mercy of higher authorities is to miss some important dimensions of the overall political situation of Europe after the end of the war. Was it not also true that after the experience of Nazi occupation, the state in most countries in Europe was struggling as perhaps never before to reassert its power and reestablish its



*T. Judt (standing), I. Scherbakowa, R. Wnuk, T. Snyder, P. Ahonen*

legitimacy in the eyes of its population after its wartime humiliation? In such circumstances, government officials, civil servants and politicians were highly sensitive to popular opinion, as much responding to as initiating population policies. It is perhaps tempting to turn political elites, as well of course as the Great Powers, into scapegoats for developments whose true origins lay in popular interactions between Poles and Germans, Slovaks and Hungarians.

A third striking feature of our discussions was the almost total absence of the issues which lay at the heart of postwar social science — class, industrialisation and urbanisation. It seemed as though issues of population engineering and ethnic relations have become conceptually divorced from other social processes. Yet, as I shall go on to suggest, it may not be possible fully to appreciate changes in the European conception of the nation without bringing such processes into the discussion.

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To this British participant, it looked as though the Great Powers were being roundly criticised for their permissive role in the population transfers of the late 1940s, and in particular for the expulsion of the Germans from eastern Europe. The British and Americans in particular stood accused of hypocrisy, mouthing liberal platitudes while condoning Nazi methods, failing in particular to provide that 'external guidance' which might in other circumstances have established a postwar order on different and more humane principles.



*Detlev Brandes, Hans Mommsen*

And yet, the Great Powers had been aware since the early nineteenth century that the rise of nationalism raised the question of minorities. From 1830 — with the establishment of an independent Belgium and Greece — through 1878 — with the freedom of religion clauses imposed upon Romania as a condition of international recognition, they pursued abroad — as indeed at home — what we might broadly call a policy of liberal assimilation-ism. The Minorities Treaties of 1919 were the culmination of this policy, along with the abortive Treaty of Sevres of 1920. What began as a demand for religious tolerance and freedom of worship evolved into a fully-blown policy of collective minority rights.

If this failed to work, it was ultimately *not* because the Powers failed to enforce it, but because the rulers of the new increasingly democratic nation-states of Central-Eastern Europe had less and less interest in harmonious ethnic coexistence. In other words, the problem was that the Great Powers had too little power, not too much. During the First World War, most British and American diplomats opposed the formation of new nation-states; their wishes, however, were irrelevant to what actually transpired. Similarly after 1919, most would have liked some arrangement of minority rights to work, but their desires were helpless against the determined opposition of local political forces. Modernity brought democracy, and democracy worked against ethnic tolerance, not in favour of it.

How far did the situation differ in the 1940s? Chiefly in this: that the Powers had lost faith in interwar liberal solutions to the ethnic problems of Central-Eastern Europe. Not enough of the inhabitants of the region wanted such a solution — fewer than ever after the bitter experience of German occupation — and their own political representatives pushed hard for expulsion. Just as histori-

ans of the Cold War are coming to appreciate the limits of Superpower control over Europe's postwar history, and are emphasizing the way in which in many areas of life Europeans continued — even after the "end of the European era" — to regulate their own affairs in the way they wished, so too scholars of the continent's ethnic and demographic history may also see the events of the late 1940s as a response to internal rather than externally-imposed desires, fears and feelings.

Such an analysis begs the question of the nature of the nation-state today: does it remain the blood-thirsty, genocidal creature of the first half of the century? Crucial to our answer is the subsequent behaviour of the chief victims of these states, the uprooted and displaced refugees themselves. An interesting paper on the evolution of refugee politics in Adenauer's Germany made the point that large numbers of these people were eventually incorporated into West Germany's political system. After 1950 refugee revanchism was the dog which failed to bark. Of course, the nature of refugee incorporation into political and social life was dependent on a variety of factors: the political and party system of the host country for one, the international environment for another. Nevertheless, the German case confirms the longer experience of Greek politics (in the aftermath of the 1922-23 population exchange with Turkey) that nation-states were in the space of two or three generations capable of absorbing millions of refugees into their life. A persistent nostalgia for the "homeland" was not incompatible with the desire to make a new home in a new "motherland". Irredentism was not generally popular once it was accepted — as it was quite quickly by Greek refugees — as politically impossible.

Refugee incorporation also rests on social and economic factors as well. The economic boom which transformed Europe east and west after 1950 becomes instrumental here in helping explain the peacefulness of this process: growth offered new opportunities, and destroyed older forms of rural life. It made land, and attachment to land, less important than ever before. Above all, it funnelled millions of peasants into the cities where indigenous and refugee populations mixed in new social configurations. Rapid social change and fast social mobility played their part in the integration process. Thus thanks in part to historically unprecedented economic success, but also perhaps to the bitter memories of a war whose outcome demonstrated the futility of seeking national security in territorial expansion, Europe's nations absorbed large numbers of refugees and abandoned their dreams of irredentism. Nation-states, loathe though they might be to admit the fact, employed massive violence in the process of their own creation; the losers for much of this period were those who genuinely believed in coexistence, assimilation or symbiosis. But today we live in a world where the older connotations of the nation — with its links to ideas of blood, land and economic self-sufficiency — have fallen away. For the optimists, this is a world in which Europe's nations may finally feel able to afford liberalism.

*For a description of the IWM Project "Legality and Legitimation: Political Justice in the Aftermath of World War II" directed by Tony Judt please see Newsletter 52.*

## Program

Friday, January 16

## Opening Remarks

Tony R. Judt, Director, Remarque Institute, New York University and IWM Permanent Fellow

Gabriella Etmektsoglou, Program Associate, IWM

## I. Session

Chair And Commentator: Irina Scherbakowa, Afanassiew University, Moscow, and Visiting Fellow, IWM

Tim Snyder, Harvard University: *Post-War Ethnic Cleansing and Post-Cold War National Legitimation: The Cases of Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus*

Rafal Wnuk, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, and Visiting Fellow, IWM: *Some Consequences of Ukrainian Transfers and Deportations from Poland to the U.S.S.R, 1944-50*

Pertti Ahonen, Institut für Europäische Geschichte, Mainz, and Yale University: *The Expulsions as a Tool of West German Cold War Politics: On the Use of the Expulsions and the Expellees in the Adenauer Era*

Saturday, January 17

## II. Session

Chair: Oliver Rathkolb, University of Vienna

Natalia Aleksion, University of Warsaw: *Jewish Political Life in Poland, 1944-1950*

Christine Oertel, University of Vienna: *Austrian Policies Toward DPs, 1945-1950*

Daniel Cohen, New York University: *The Allied and National Homogeneity: The DP Camps As a Test-Case, 1945-1958*

Commentator: Thomas Albrich, University of Innsbruck

## III. Session

Chair and Commentator: Bozo Repe, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Detlev Brandes, Heinrich-Heine University, Düsseldorf: *Entscheidungsprozesse bei der Vertreibung und Zwangsaussiedlung der Deutschen aus der Tschechoslowakei*

Benjamin Frommer, Harvard University: *Unmixing Marriage in Postwar Czechoslovakia*

## IV. Session

Chair: Hans Mommsen, University of Bochum, and Visiting Fellow, IWM

Wlodzimierz Borodziej, University of Warsaw: *Die 'Vertreibung' der Deutschen in der polnischen Historiographie*

Marina Zavacka, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, and Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM: *Interpretations of the German Expulsions in Recent Slovak Historiography*

Maria Kovács, Central European University, Budapest: *Reflections on Nationalism in Post-1945 Eastern Europe*

Closing Remarks: Tony R. Judt, New York University  
Mark Mazower, University of Sussex

## Participants

Michaela Adelberger, Publications, IWM; Pertti Ahonen, Visiting Fellow, Institut für Europäische Geschichte, Mainz, and Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, Yale University; Thomas Albrich, Assistant Professor of History, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, University of Innsbruck; Natalia Aleksion, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, University of Warsaw; Thomas Angerer, Assistant Professor, Institut für Geschichte, University of Vienna; Eszter Babarczy, Central European University, Budapest; Burkhard Bischof, Journalist *Die Presse*, Vienna; Alain Blum, Director of Research, Centre d'Etudes du monde russe, soviétique et postsoviétique, EHESS, Paris, and CRHQ-Mémorial, Caen; Wlodzimierz Borodziej, Professor of History, Institute of History, University of Warsaw; Gerhard Botz, Professor of History, Director, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, University of Vienna; Detlev Brandes, Professor of History, Institut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im Östlichen Europa, Heinrich-Heine University, Düsseldorf; Paulina Bren, Prague; Maja Brkljacic, M.A. Candidate, Department of History, University of Zagreb; Daniel Cohen, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History/Institute of French Studies, New York University; Gabriella Etmektsoglou, Visiting Fellow and Project Coordinator, IWM, Post-doctoral Fellow, Princeton University; Jochen Fried, Vienna; Benjamin Frommer, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, Harvard University; Winfried Garscha, Researcher, Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, Vienna, and Visiting Fellow, IWM; Hans Hauptmann, Professor, Director, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Johannes Kepler-Universität, Linz; Oliver Hiller, Vienna; Tony R. Judt, Professor of History; Director, Remarque Institute for European Studies, New York University, and Non-Resident Permanent Fellow, IWM; Dimitar K. Kambourov, Assistant Professor and doctoral candidate in Aesthetics and Literary Theory, Sofia University; Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM; Alexander Karn, Doctoral Candidate, Claremont Graduate University, and M.A. Candidate, Nationalism Studies Program, Central European University, Budapest; Cathérine Klein-Gousseff, Researcher, Centre d'Etudes du monde russe, soviétique et postsoviétique, EHESS, Paris, and CRHQ-Mémorial, Caen; Maria Kovács, Professor of History, Director, Nationalism Studies Program, Central European University, Budapest; Claudia Kuretsidis-Haider, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, University of Vienna, and Researcher, Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, Vienna; Mateja Malnar, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, University of Ljubljana; Walter Manoschek, Associate Professor, Institute for Political Science, Vienna; Predrag Markovic, Ph.D. in History, Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade; Mark Mazower, Reader in History, University of Sussex, Brighton; Richard Mitten, Professor of History, Central European University, Budapest; Hans Mommsen, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Bochum; Guest, IWM; Margareta Mommsen, Professor of Political Science, Geschwister Scholl-Institut, University of Munich; Christine Oertel, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, University of Vienna; Irina L. Ognyanova, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, University of Sofia and Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM; Oliver Rathkolb, Professor of History, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, University of Vienna; Bozo Repe, Professor of History, University of Ljubljana; Dorothy G. Rogers, Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Boston University; Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM; Irina Scherbakowa, Associate Professor of History, State University of Human Sciences, Moscow; Visiting Fellow, IWM; Selma Sevenhuijsen, Professor of Women's Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Utrecht; Visiting Fellow, IWM; Tim Snyder, Post-Doctoral Fellow, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University; Katharina Stourzh, MA, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, University of Vienna; Tomasz Szarota, Professor of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, and Visiting Fellow, IWM; Berthold Unfried, Vienna; Milada Vachuda, Prague; Peter Vodopivec, Professor of History, Department of History, University of Ljubljana; Joshua C. Wheeler, MA candidate in Philosophy and Literature, Boston University, and Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM; Rafal Wnuk, Doctoral Candidate, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, and Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM; Marina Zavacká, Doctoral Candidate, Institute of History, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, and Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM; Agnieszka Zembrzuska, Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, University of Wrocław, and Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM.

## Fellowships

# Milena Jesenská Fellowships for Journalists

*IWM and the Project Syndicate have jointly established the Milena Jesenská Fellowships. These will enable journalists from Europe to work in Vienna on long term projects of their own choice, free of their daily duties and obligations. The Milena Jesenská Fellowships are supported by the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam. In 1998 two fellowships will be awarded.*

Milena Jesenská Fellows are invited to spend three months at IWM in order to complete their projects. Recipients of the fellowships are given a stipend of ATS 90.000 and provided office space, a PC, and access to IWM's in-house research facilities as well as other relevant sources in Vienna. Travel grants of up to ATS 25.000 will be available for research visits to neighboring countries.

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

Members of the Jury are:

Sarmite Elerte, Editor-in-chief of *Diena*, Riga

Ryszard Kapuscinski, Polish journalist and author (starting 1999)

Frank Schirrmacher, Editor-in-chief of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

Gerfried Sperl, Editor-in-chief of *Der Standard*, Vienna

Laura Starink, Deputy Editor-in-chief of the *NRC-Handelsblad*, Rotterdam

Rüdiger Stephan, Secretary General of the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam

The *Project Syndicate* is an international association of newspapers and journals consisting of 45 newspapers in 34 countries. It is devoted to the following objectives:

- Integration of postcommunist newspapers into the world media community;
- Strengthening of the independence of the media in the postcommunist world;
- Upgrading of the journalistic, editorial, and business capacities of newspapers in the postcommunist countries;
- Bringing Eastern European voices to the public in the West;
- Development of an international forum for the broadening of debate and exchange of political and economic ideas across the former Iron Curtain.

*Milena Jesenská* (1896-1944) was an outstanding journalist and mediator between the Czech and the German cultures in Bohemia as well as an astute political commentator. She was detained in the Nazi concentration camp in Ravensbrück for her political involvement and resistance. She is widely known for her famous correspondence with Franz Kafka. An example of her journalistic work is printed below.

## Milena Jesenská: Stranded Persons: On the Fate of German Emigrés

The daily work of a reporter often resembles the activities of a hyena. With notebook in hand, she goes about making notes on human misery for newspaper reports. If she does this without a shred of hope the printed word can help, she is not worth the time of day.

In light of such a hope, I ask that all of those whom I have recently sought out in their quiet corners will forgive me for my curiosity and questions, which must have seemed embarrassing and intrusive. I must have struck them as someone from far away who, with pencil in hand, was calculating the extent of their sorrows. I stood before them ashamed, for I could count on a friendly home, work, and a tomorrow. Should my own home one day be rocked by the devastating explosion that shattered theirs, we will probably stand together against the common enemy — and I hope that we will then see each other once again.

A person can have sympathy for another only to the extent to which he is capable of imagining the other's fate. Thus most poor people give more easily and generously than the rich; the soldier is capable of giving his life for his comrades; the policeman dedicates himself freely hunting

down someone who has shot another policeman; poor rural inhabitants conceal rebels who look to them for shelter; and Jews all over the world support Jewish emigrés.

### People Not Allowed to Work

When 1933 saw the first wave of German emigration, organizations were at a loss. At that time there was an institution that is today called "patronage." Standing before you is a person in his shirtsleeves, with empty hands. He is healthy, but is not allowed to work, and must eat. Working families joined together in the surrounding areas around Kladno, Most, Brünn, and Mährisch Ostrau because of these people. No one was able to give them money, because they themselves had none. But one would offer corn coffee in the morning, a second leftovers from dinner, a third a free roof over one's head. Gradually, patronage was organized. In the beginning the people gave haphazardly, then they committed themselves to give systematically. The entire environs adjusted itself to the refugee. In some places he could borrow newspapers,

in other places he could get some shoes. Hospitality is a laudable form of sympathy and support. A person who has lost his home would like to show some gratitude for his bowl of potato soup by doing some work. He does not deny anyone income by doing this, since the head of the house would never hire anyone for such work. But someone who has lost his home is not permitted to do anything more than say "thank you." He is not even allowed to split some wood.

In time patronage took on fixed forms, and in the majority of instances they are the only support emigrés have. Take the case of Josef B., who was suddenly required to leave the community, where he had 72 confirmed dinners, and move to the district of Iglau. Twenty delegations intervened on his behalf, 210 inhabitants signed a petition for their guest to be left alone — all sufficient proof that a Czech can be a gracious host. Nevertheless the petition was useless. The answer authorities gave to the question how the emigré is supposed to get to Iglau was a shrug of the shoulders. One imagines the refugee, for the second time denied his daily bread, on foot for kilometers, all in order to reach a place he does not know, where he has never been, where he is a stranger to everyone, and where there is a group of German supporters of Henlein who are his enemies as well as ours. Imagine him standing there, without a roof over his head, without food, without the possibility of working, without a tomorrow, and tell me how he can bear all of this and live on? All this even though at the other end of the Republic there are 72 good people who are ready to take turns giving him dinner.

The second case is the shoemaker S., a native Czech. He had lived in Berlin for thirty years. In 1931 he became a German citizen, but in 1934 his citizenship was automatically revoked, and he became a person without a country. He left his wife and children and returned to his home community where he found an uncle who had raised him. Then out of the blue he received a summons ordering him to relocate either to Iglau or Pelhrimov within six weeks; he was given a choice of six districts. He chose Humpolec, only to say something, the poor fellow. Exhausted, he reaches his destination, finds somewhere in the countryside an opportunity for work, and applies for work authorization. Department 16 of the regional authority in Prague grants him work authorization from August 17, 1937 to April of 1938. Afterwards he receives a notice on September 9 from Department 22 of the regional authority in Prague saying that he must immediately vacate this position, "since he is not allowed to accept any paid employment." He now sits in Prague, looking at you like someone who has ceased to understand the world.

The third case is of another sort. It is characteristic of the fate of those who have emigrated to our country. The hero or victim is the worker K., an old fighter in the German resistance. He married at the beginning of 1933, but his family life ended abruptly in March. The blow to German democracy forced him to separate from his wife, since both were being pursued by the SA. In July the SA succeeded in arresting K's wife. Here began the trail of sorrows. Her pregnancy did not protect her from mistreatment from the SA, who wanted to know where her husband was hiding. She did not betray the secret. She gave birth to the child, which was taken from her. In exchange

she was sentenced to two years in prison. In the meantime, K. was also sentenced in November for two and a half years. During this whole period no one in the family knew anything about what was happening to the others; the husband saw wife and daughter again only in 1936. After some time the investigations began again, with summons and threats to reopen prosecution "in light of new evidence." There was nothing left to do but to flee under the cover of darkness with child in arm. They are now in Czechoslovakia, where they have been taken in by two families in Prague. They are not a burden to anyone, and are not yet fully reunited. Their family life remains, as with almost everyone else, a shell, since the couple must again live apart; but they are thankful that they have at least found shelter. Should they leave again?

Finally there is the case of the Jewish emigré M. M. left Germany two years ago, leaving behind a wife and child. After staying here for two years he went to a place near the border, carrying with him all the papers that an emigré can have: an identity card and a one year residence permit for Czechoslovakia. (Other papers he cannot possess at all, and for this very reason he is a refugee. But when he shows the papers given to him by our authorities, all he hears is that "these are not proper papers!") He went to the border region in order to see his wife and child again after two years; he was worried about their fate. His trip was known and authorized by the Committee on Refugees that he was answerable to. His wife did not receive a passport for Czechoslovakia, but could cross the border with a certificate of passage that was good for three days. For a meeting place the three — husband, wife, and child — had chosen a small guest house. Upon nearing the establishment, the husband believed he recognized at a distance the faces of his loved ones — and then he was promptly arrested. He showed his papers and explained the reason for his visit. He was told that he did not have the proper papers. He was transferred to another city, put in prison, and ignored. On the third day he began a hunger strike in his feverish desire to again see his wife and child, since he knew that on the third day his family must depart. Because of the hunger strike he was expelled from the Republic. ("With this behavior you have become an obstacle to the successful intervention of the police headquarters of town X...") After a few interventions the residence permit was extended another fourteen days, in order to give him the chance to emigrate to America. Apart from the fact that not one of us would be able to secure the travel authorization and money required to go to America in only fourteen days, as the police headquarters could have known, this meant for him that he would be leaving behind wife and child in Germany.

*From: Pritomnost, 27 October  
1937*

*Translated from German by  
James Dodd*



IWM Working Report

## Vlasta Jalusic: A Brief Autobiography of the Project *Connecting Citizenship and Gender: The Possibilities of an Arendtian Perspective*

*Vlasta Jalusic is Senior Research Fellow and Director, Peace Institute, Ljubljana and currently Visiting Fellow of IWM.*

The so-called Velvet revolutions in Eastern Europe have reopened both the question of citizenship and the question of political participation. However, the new democracies were only partially founded on the principle of inclusion of new actors and new agendas into the new political space. The paradox discussed by the controversial critic of democracy from the early twentieth century, Carl Schmitt, that the key principles of the modern state and its political system are inclusion (of some) and exclusion (of others), has lost none of its relevance. Moreover, the impact of this paradox on the 'nature' of the post-socialist systems was crucial from the very beginning. The problem of the (partial or total) exclusion from political participation affected especially all those who are regarded as foreign, other or different. In particular, this exclusion has affected women. As a consequence of "modernization without feminism" (Hana Havelkova) — which, under socialism, enabled women's social participation in the semi-public space of economy and social services — women today, within the new systems, function as socially adaptable but not as politically equal in the sense of active citizenship. It can be argued, therefore, that the transformation of the East-European systems did not involve the real transformation of the political space, that is, it did not open the space for active citizenship. On the contrary, the liberal-democratic model which replaced "anti-political" activities (the dissident civil society movements) of the eighties, has defined the political space merely as a place for institutions without leaving much room for the different and dynamic political agendas capable of continuously including new topics and new actors. In many ways, in Eastern Europe, the dominant principle remains the principle of exclusion and not inclusion of the "new" into politics. As a result, the political transformation in these countries — in so far as it has taken place at all — has created new political agendas which are too narrow to allow active participation of those outside the political institutions. A very restrictive definition of the political has, on the one hand, effectively blocked initiatives for equal political participation of women in post-socialist systems. The demands for introduction of mechanisms ensuring equal participation of women in political life are seen as illegitimate and unacceptable. On the other hand, the uncritical acceptance of a simplistic liberal-democratic agenda with its limited view of the political, rules out the rethinking of the structural relations between public, private and intimate spheres and issues. These problems are almost completely absent from the theories of transition whose repeated invocation of liberal-democratic norms has hegemonized the discussion on post-socialism. This

becomes especially problematic when these theories are transferred uncritically to the conditions in East Europe. As a result, there is almost no questioning of inequality, exclusion or "gender blindness" and no reflection on the consequences this lack of critical approach engenders within the given liberal-democratic model.

These considerations and conclusions framed the initial thinking of my current project. They encouraged me to develop my thoughts about the exclusion of gender as politically relevant in terms of a problematical concept/ notion of politics in East and Central Europe. And this was the point where I saw that the Arendtian perspective, especially her view of politics as a transformative potential that does not need to include violence, her notion of plurality and her critique of social (conformist) pressures, might draw me closer to understand and challenge the exclusiveness of "politics" in post-socialist circumstances. Why did I chose Hannah Arendt's framework?

My interest in Hannah Arendt's thought was raised by a "casual acquaintance" with her work in the second half of the eighties. Almost accidentally, while working on a topic "Women and Revolution" I bought her book, *On Revolution*. Reading it, especially the part on the meaning of revolution and the chapter on the "social question", I discovered, utterly astounded, not only a radically different way of thinking about violence, revolution, and politics, but also an author who confirmed my doubts about the concept of the "social emancipation" of women. While exploring the collective public appearances of women from the French Revolution onwards I was, proceeding from my own social and political experience, particularly interested in the ways of constructing the so-called woman question as a "social question" in political, especially Marxist thought. Its "application" in socialism was dissolved into the "social emancipation" of women, the women question was therefore something which was only to be solved by social means (employment, socialized household). On the other hand, I was searching for connections and disconnections of this (Marxist and socialist) "solution" with neofeminist discourse. From Simone De Beauvoir onward, feminism maintained that gender was a "social construction" and was searching above all for social solutions to put an end to the oppression of women. Yet, my "socialist nose" was suspicious about this "essentialism of the social" and I considered this feminist argument as apolitical and distinctively insufficient, perhaps even perilous. Its categories did not offer a resource powerful enough for rethinking the socialist situation — not to speak about the prospects of its change and the change of the position of women. What should be ex-

plained in my opinion, was the *relationship* between the social and political within the construction of the so called "women question" as a social question. Why did socialism not only tolerate but also create a female social semipublic kingdom as a part of the system? Why was the "social" so welcomed and the "political" suppressed?

Through reading Hannah Arendt's *On Revolution* I discovered many elements of analysis, critique and skepticism regarding the concept of social emancipation, elements which helped me to understand both the necessity and the effects of the "socialized household" within the socialist system as well as the "logic" of women's political marginalization. Some time later, as I found myself translating her book *The Human Condition* into Slovene (published in 1996), my faith was already sealed: it was long since I got used to the Arendtian metaphor of "animal laborans" as the explanation both for reflection of men's and women's positions within socialism and for the socialist concept of "women's emancipation". The more so because since many elements in her thought supported me to understand not only the socialist oppositional's antipolitical sentiments but also the logic of "velvet revolutions", the (relatively nonviolent) rise of the new state/s from the private oppositional circles within the socialist system. Last but not least, especially appealing to me was her critique of traditional western political philosophy and of its notion of "the political": the fact that she included Karl Marx in this tradition, and explained his failed (violent) attempt to revive praxis against theory (philosophy) as a definitive end of tradition. She showed how it ended up (whereas it understood politics and state as internally connected with violence) with the attempt to abolish state and politics. Finally, while working on the relationship between violence and politics in Hannah Arendt's work, I was brought to the conclusion that such a radical challenge to the whole tradition was opening the unimagined possibilities for the reconceptualization of politics. This seemed to me comparable to some feminist actions, views, critiques and the rereading of western political thought. What do feminist reconceptualizations, reconstructions, revisionings of politics or of "the political" have in common with Arendt? That was my first question.

Yet, until now, feminist political theorists did not only reread and challenge a large part of the (male) western political thought but also the work of Arendt herself. There exist already many feminist receptions of Arendt and many receptions of these receptions. Many elements of her thought have been approved as being important for feminism. Especially her notions of plurality (substantiated

with the gender difference) and natality, her notion of action as conditioned by birth, plurality and worldliness, the analysis of authority, her view of power, etc. Though, as it may follow from my introduction above, in spite of my great interest in this topic, my aim in the project is not only to identify the commonalities between Arendtian reconceptualization of politics and feminist analysis but also to rethink both of these from the post-socialist perspective. It seems that, if we want to reconsider the conditions for active citizenship in the post-socialist context, and, if we want to do this with the help of the Arendtian perspective within feminism, especially the question of the social and the notions of privacy and intimacy in Arendt's work should be read and understood anew. The more so because it is obvious that there exists a great deal of uneasiness among feminists in the face of her critique of the social.

Finally, my greatest interest is in a certain "transfer" of the Arendtian "method", or better, of her spirit in research and thinking, to the thinking about the political, women and feminism in the post-socialist context. The aim is twofold: first, understanding politics as a set of phenomena and actions which need explanation and are not immediately comparable or universalizable, and second, the rethinking of some concepts that are related to these phenomena. In this sense, I would like to make a kind of exercise in thinking, indicated by Arendt herself as "thinking without banisters".

The post-socialist East and Central Europe and the situation of women within it cannot be thought if we do not think about it in a way "without banisters": The analysis of women's condition, as we might call it, should be critical towards the mere transfer of concepts. Hana Havelkova, for example, wrote that the analysis of women by means of the concept of 'public' and 'private' does not work through mere transfer of concepts developed in a Western context. What would follow from this might also be the conclusion that the old and new theories the "East" was isolated from, should be read anew from the new context. What benefit would such reading bring? What effects? I do not pretend to be able to answer this within this context, but let me conclude with Arendt herself: "You ask me about the effects of my work on others. If I may wax ironical, that is a masculine question. Men always want to be terribly influential, but I see that as somewhat external. Do I imagine myself being influential? No. I want to understand. And if others understand — in the same sense that I have understood — that gives me a sense of satisfaction, like feeling at home." (H. Arendt in: "What Remains? The Language Remains": A Conversation with Günter Gaus, 1965).



Vlasta Jalusic

## Guests

# Visiting Fellows

**Christine Di Stefano** (July - December 1997)

Professor of Political Science and Women Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, conducted research for an edited volume, *Feminist Interpretations of Marx*, and further research on the concept of autonomy, exploring the troubled status of personal autonomy as a normative political concept for our time.

**Sarah Farmer** (July - December 1997)

Assistant Professor of History, University of Iowa, conducted 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.

**Winfried R. Garscha** (January - June 1998)

Historian, Archives of Austrian Resistance, Vienna, specializes in post-war trials in Europe. During his stay at IWM he will be finalizing the research project "Legality and Legitimation: Political Justice in the Aftermath of World War II" and preparing for a new project in the framework of IWM's field of research "Rethinking Post-War Europe".

Recent publications include *Die Nachkriegsjustiz als nicht-bürokratische Form der Entnazifizierung: Österreichische Justizakten im europäischen Vergleich*, together with Claudia Kuretsidis-Haider, Vienna 1995; "Die Richter der Volksgerichte nach 1945" in *Richter und Gesellschaftspolitik*, Weinzierl / Rathkolb / Mattl / Ardelt (eds.), Vienna 1997.

**Janusz L. Grzelak** (July - December 1997)

Professor of Psychology, Institute for Social Studies; Professor, University of Warsaw, was working on a book on social interdependence placing a special emphasis on the transformations in post-communist countries with their new social actors, new rules of the game and new outcomes available in both private and public domains of life.

**Lubica Habova** (July - December 1997)

Philosophy; Translator, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava (Translation Program), completed her translation of Richard Rorty's *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* into Slovak. It will be published in May 1998 at the Slovak publishing house Archa. She also translated two pieces by Judith Butler and Seyla Benhabib for the feminist journal *Aspekt*.

**Friederike Hassauer** (October 1997 - January 1998)

Professor of Romance Philology, University of Vienna, works 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.

**Vlasta Jalusic** (January - June 1998)

Senior Research Fellow and Direktor, The Peace Institute, Ljubljana, works in the field of political theory and gender studies. Her current research project explores the potential for active citizenship as conceptually developed by Hannah Arendt and attempts to find the common points of the Arendtian reconceptualization of politics and feminist analysis of the conditions for active citizenship and gender equality. (Please note her IWM Working Report in this *Newsletter*.)

She is editor and translator of Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition* into Slovene. Further publications include: "Confusion in the Question of Violence. Violence and Power in the Work of Hannah Arendt", in *Casopis za kritiko znanosti* Nr. 22/1996 (in Slovene); "Geschlecht und die Blockade des Politischen in Ostmitteleuropa: Kann das Geschlechterparadigma zur Transformation des Politischen beitragen?" in *Die Transformation des Politischen und die Politik der Geschlechterverhältnisse*, eds. Eva Kreisky and Birgit Sauer, Opladen 1998. Forthcoming is "Socially Adapted, Politically Marginalized: Women in Post-Socialist Slovenia" in *Gender Politics in Western Balkans: Women and Politics in Yugoslavia*, Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), Pennsylvania State UP. In the IWM Working Paper Series her essay "Freedom versus Equality? Some Thoughts about the Attitudes Towards Gender Equality Politics in East and Central Europe" will appear (see the advertisement in this *Newsletter*).

**Don Kalb** (January 1997 - June 1998)

Associate 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".

**Marcin Król** (July - December 1997)

Professor of the History of Ideas; Dean, Faculty of Applied Social Sciences, University of Warsaw, was working on a book on the influence of the idea of human nature on liberal thought from the 18th century to today. The aim is to explain why liberal tradition has changed its basic position from a somewhat moderate optimism in view of human nature to the post-war pessimism which can be seen in the works of American scholars such as Judith Shklar and John Rawls. The book was commissioned by the publishing house Znak in Cracow.

**Martin Potucek** (January - June 1998)

Associate Professor of Sociology and Director, Institute of Sociological Studies, Charles University, Prague, works in the field of social policy, public policy and administration, and future studies. His current research project is concerned with how the specific conditions of post-communist societies influence the interplay between the market, the government and the civic sectors in comparison to the problems that the affluent Western capitalist societies are currently facing.

Recent publications include: "Not only the Market. The Role of the Market, the Government and the Civic Sector in the Transformation of Czech Society", in *Sociologické nakladatelství*, Prague 1997 (to be published in English in

1998); "Markets, States and Social Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe" in J. Klausen / L. A. Tilly (eds.), *Processes of European Integration, 1880-1995: States, Markets and Citizenship*, Boulder 1997.

**Drago Rokсандic** (July - December 1997)

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". At IWM he was working on the topic "From Anti-Fascist Coalitions to State-Making: The Case of Yugoslavia 1945-55".

**Michael Rudnitzky** (July - December 1997)

Literary Scholar and Translator, Moscow (Translation Program) was translating a selection of Walter Benjamin's works on literature and aesthetics into Russian.

**Irina Scherbakowa** (January - June 1998)

Associate Professor of History, State University of Human Sciences, Moscow, works in the field of oral history and anthropology with a special emphasis on the social history of the Soviet period of Russian history. Her current research deals with the legal and illegal prosecution of Soviet citizens, prisoners of war and survivors of the Holocaust in the post-war Soviet Union.

Recent publications include *Moskauer Küchensprache*, together with Susanne Scholl, Vienna 1997; "Die Denunziation im Gedächtnis und in den Archivdokumenten", in *Historische, juristische und ideologische Aspekte*, Tübingen 1997; "Erinnerungen an die Strategie des kollektiven und individuellen Überlebens im Gulag", in R. Streibel / H. Schafranek (eds.), *Strategie des Überlebens*, Vienna 1996.



*Selma at work*

**Selma Sevenhuijsen**

(January - June 1998)

Professor of Women's Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Utrecht, works in the field of feminist political theory in particular on the politics and ethics of care. Her current research deals with the contribution of a feminist ethics of care

towards current discussions on the social and political meaning of trust, compassion and commitment and in connection with this, the best way to position these discussions in theories of social cohesion, civil society and citizenship.

Recent publications include: "Feministische Überlegungen zum Thema Care und Staatsbürgerschaft", in H. Brand / D. Jung (eds.) *Globale Gerechtigkeit? Feministische Debatte zur Krise des Sozialstaats*, Hamburg 1997; "Feminist Ethics and Public Health Care Politics: A Case Study on the Netherlands", in P. DiQuinzio / I. Young (eds.), *Feminist Ethics and Social Policy*, Indiana UP 1997. Forthcoming in 1998 is her book *Citizenship and the Ethics of Care: Feminist Considerations on Justice, Morality and Politics*, Routledge 1998.

**Endre Sik** (July - December 1997)

Professor of Sociology, Budapest University of Economic Sciences, specializes in the sociological analysis of the informal and semi-legal markets in contemporary Hungary. During his stay at IWM he was also doing preparatory work for a joint research on the migration of Hungarians to Vienna which aims at understanding the impact of Hungarian labour forces on the Viennese labour market and, secondly, on the identity of ethnic Hungarians in Vienna (please see his working report in *Newsletter* 58).

**Igors Suvajevs** (January - June 1998)

Associate Professor of Philosophy and Translator, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Latvia, Riga (Translation Program), is translating H. G. Gadamer's *Wahrheit und Methode* into Latvian. He has translated works by Sigmund Freud, C. G. Jung, W. Schmid, H. Böhrringer, Elias Canetti and Max Weber, among others.

Recent publications include *Psychoanalysis and the Art of Living*, Riga 1996; forthcoming are *Preludes: Philosophical and Cultural Studies*, and *The Case of Freud* (all in Latvian).

**Tomasz Szarota** (January - June 1998)

Professor of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, works on Polish history of the 19th and 20th century, on national stereotypes and on Europe under German occupation. His current research is a comparative study on occupation and collaboration, ethnic cleansing and the fate of the collaborators after World War II in east and west Europe.

Publications include *'Der deutsche Michel': The History of a National Symbol*, Warsaw 1988; *Everyday Life under Occupation in European Capitals*, Warsaw 1995; *Germans and Poles: Mutual Perception and Stereotypes*, Warsaw 1996 (all in Polish).

**Sona Szomolanyi** (July - December 1997)

Professor of Sociology, Institute of Political Science, Comenius University; Senior Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, has been working 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. The aim is an attempt to explain why Slovakia has become a deviant case among the East Central European Countries with respect to its current Euro-Atlantic integration failure.

**Maria Zubrytska** (January - June 1998)

Associate Professor of Ukrainian Literature and Literary Theory; Director of the Center for Humanities, Lviv State University (Translation Program), is translating Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition* into Ukrainian. Previous translations include *Interpretation and Overinterpretation* with contributions by Umberto Eco, Richard Rorty, J. Culler and others (forthcoming in 1998).

She is the editor of *An Anthology of Western Literary Criticism of the 20th Century*, Lviv 1996; and of *New Ukraine and New Europe: A Time of Rapprochement*, Lviv 1997 (all publications in Ukrainian).

# Junior Visiting Fellows

Junior Visiting Fellows from July - December 1997

## Boris Buden

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, University of Ljubljana.

## John K. Glenn III

Ph.D. in Sociology, Harvard University (June 1997)/  
Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Columbia University  
(starting January 1998).

## Bradley L. Herling

Ph.D. candidate, Boston University.

## Peter A. Johnson

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Columbia  
University.

## Christina Lammer

Ph.D. candidate in Sociology, University of Vienna,  
Stipendiary of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

## Andrea Petö

Assistant Professor in History, Central European  
University, Budapest.

## Anna Sosnowska

Ph.D. candidate in sociology, Graduate School for  
Social Research, Warsaw.

## John F. Symons

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University.

## Mariusz Turowski

Ph.D. in Philosophy, Universität Wrocław.

## Bettina Zehetner

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, University of Vienna.



*Bradley Herling, Peter Johnson, John Glenn, and Andrea Petö at the farewell party at IWM dining room*

Junior Visiting Fellows from January - June 1998

## Maureen Finnigan

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Boston University, is beginning to write her thesis on creativity focusing on Nietzsche, Foucault and Kristeva. She hopes to show that the fundamental differentiating characteristic of humanity is creativity which itself is significant in providing meaning and sense to life.

## Dimitar K. Kambourov

Assistant Professor and doctoral candidate in Aesthetics and Literary Theory, Sofia University. His dissertation is entitled "Aesthetic Ideology and Art Politics in the Post-Communist Era: The Case of Literature Vanishing and the Dead-End of Political Romanticism."



*Dimitar Kambourov*

Recent publications (in Bulgarian) include "Post-Theory as an East European Case" in *Literaturna Misal Magazine*, November 1997; "Atlantis and Titanic: Literature's Sinking and the Future of the Humanities" in *Seasons Magazine*, December 1997 (translated into English); and "The End of Literature and the Lot of the Humanities," an interview given to *Literaturen Vestnik Weekly*, October 1997.

## Eric E. Manton

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Charles University Prague, and Center for Theoretical Studies, Prague; Jan Patočka Junior Visiting Fellow. His dissertation topic is an attempt to make out a specific philosophy of dissidence. For this endeavor he is studying the philosophies of Czech dissidents, other Central and Eastern European and various international (non-European) dissidents.

He has translated two articles of Jan Patočka from Czech to English: "Platonism and Politics", and "Ideology and Life in the Idea", Working Papers CTS-96-09, Center for Theoretical Study, Prague.

## Irina L. Ognyanova

Doctoral candidate in History, Sofia University, specializes in the History of the Balkan Nations, especially Yugoslavia and Croatia. Her dissertation "The Catholic Church and Croatian Nationalism During the Second World War and the First Post-War Years", which covers the time between 1941 and 1953, reveals the relationship between the catholic church and the Ustasha and Communist power.

Her article "Ustasha Nationalism: Ideology and Actions" appeared in *Epohi* No. 2/1996 (in Bulgarian).

## Katharina Pewny

Doctoral candidate in Theater Studies, Lecturer, University of Vienna, is specialized in theories of gender difference with special reference to aesthetics, theater, education and politics. The central aspect of her dissertation is the political contextualization of thought and the mediation of modes of representation in theater.

Pewny is an active member of the feminist center for education and culture "Frauenhertz" in Vienna. She is co-editor and one of the authors of *Differenz/en und Vermittlung. Feminismus-Bildung-Politik*, Vienna 1995; co-author of "Feministische Apostrophe zum weiblichen Begehren" in *Que(e)r denken*, Innsbruck 1997; and author of "Theorie-Sozietät-Körper" in *Dokumentation der Internationalen Tagung 'Frauen(w)orte'*, Warsaw, forthcoming.

## Dorothy G. Rogers

Ph.D. in Philosophy, Boston University, works in the field of philosophy and jurisprudence as well as women's studies.

Publications include: "Philosophy in Education: The Case of America's First Women Idealists", in *Conference Proceedings, Philosophy of Education Society*, December 1997; "Feminism, Sophism and the Boundary between Theory and Description", in *Papers on Theory and Description*, Boston University 1995.

#### Joshua C. Wheeler

MA candidate in Philosophy and Literature, Boston University, is specialized in modern literature, especially F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Kantian philosophy.



Rafal Wnuk

#### Rafal Wnuk

Doctoral candidate in Modern History, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw. His research focuses on the social, cultural and political relations between Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian citizens of the Wolyn region and Eastern Galicia during World War II and until 1947.

Publications include: *The Anti-Communist Movement in the Zamosc Region, 1944-56*, Lublin 1994; "Dilemmas of Anti-Communist Partisans", in *Polska 1944/45-1989*, Warsaw 1996; *Lords and Butchers. The Collaboration of the Polish Home Army and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1945-47*, Warsaw 1997 (in Polish).

#### Marina Zavacka

Doctoral candidate at the Institute for Historical Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, specializes in the use and the function of propaganda and, secondly, on the socio-cultural impact of political changes in the USSR on Slovak communists. Her current research project, "The Postponed Settling of Accounts", is an examination of the political processes in post-war Czechoslovakia with special emphasis on the Slovak bourgeois nationalists (1945-54).

Her translation of three wartime reports of G. Kennan are forthcoming in *Historicky Casopis* no 3 1998.

#### Agnieszka Zembrzuska

Doctoral candidate in Political Sciences, University of Wrocław, works in the field of social and political theory with special emphasis on feminist theory. Her research deals with the relations between women's issues and democracy in Poland after 1989.

Recent publications include: "Polish Traditions of Feminism", in *Odra* no. 7/8 1997; a review of Kinga Durin's *The Tao of a Housewife*, in *Odra* no. 3/ 1997; forthcoming is "Postcommunism and Pop-music: Annihilation or Restoration of Memory in Disco-Polo", together with Leszek Koczanowicz, in *Memory of Politics/Politics of Memory*, ed. by J. Goldfarb and E. Matynia.



Agnieszka

## Guests

One month research stays

#### Bozena Choluj (November)

Researcher, Department of German Philology, University of Warsaw, Head of the Section Gender Studies, works in the area of gender in the humanities in German and Polish literature and culture.

Publications include *Deutsche Schriftsteller im Banne der Novemberrevolution 1918. Bernhard Kellermann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Erich Mühsam, Ernst Toller, Franz Jung*, Wiesbaden 1991; "Das Exil geht uns alle an. Horst Bieneks Beitrag zum kulturellen und politischen Dialog", in *Konflikt. Grenze. Dialog. Festschrift für Horst Turk*, 1997; "Gibt es eine weibliche Ästhetik literarischer Auseinandersetzung mit dem Krieg?", in *Krieg/War. Eine philosophische Auseinandersetzung aus feministischer Sicht*, Munich 1997.

#### Istvan Deak (November)

Seth Low Professor of History, Columbia University, specializes in World War II in Europe. During his stay at IWM he was continuing research on a program on collaboration, resistance and retribution in Europe during World War II and its immediate aftermath.

Publications include: *Beyond Nationalism: The Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918*, Oxford 1991. He is the author of many essays in the *New York Review of Books*, the *New Republic*, and in various books on such subjects as political justice in Europe during and after World War II, the Holocaust, and problems of freedom and democracy in Central Europe in the 19th century.

#### Milan Znoj (December)

Researcher, Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, works in the field of contemporary political philosophy. While at IWM he was doing research on the role of liberalism in the building of a free society in post-communist countries.

Recent publications: *Czech Liberalism*, Prague 1995; "Difficult Times for Liberalism in the Czech Republic", in *Listy* no. 4/1997; "The Ways of Tolerance as Types of Democracy", in *Filosoficky casopis* no. 3/1997 (all in Czech).

#### Hans Mommsen (January)

Professor Emeritus of Modern European History, University of Bochum, is noted for his work in the history of the workers movement, the political and social development of Germany and Austria in the interwar period, the problem of nationalism, and the political system and structure of national socialism. (Please note his Guest Contribution in this Newsletter.)

Publications include: *Widerstand und politische Kultur in Deutschland und Österreich*, Vienna 1994; *Die verspielte Freiheit. Der Weg der Republik von Weimar in den Untergang, 1918-1933*, Berlin 1989; *Herrschaftsalltag im Dritten Reich. Studien und Texte*, ed. together with Susanne Willems, Düsseldorf 1988.

## Tuesday Lectures

November 4

joint lecture:

[Endre Sik / Claire Wallace](#)

Sik: Professor of Sociology, Budapest University of Economic Sciences

The Socio-Economics of the Informal Market in Contemporary Hungary

Wallace: Researcher, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Professor of Social Research, University of Derby  
Mobility, Cross Border Trading and Labour Migration in Central Europe

November 11

[Sona Szomolanyi](#)

Professor of Sociology, Institute of Political Science, Comenius University; Senior Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava  
Parallels and Differences in the Transition Paths of East-Central European Countries

November 18

[Bozena Choluj](#)

Researcher, Department of German Philology, University of Warsaw

Die Präsenz der Mutter in der polnischen und deutschen Literatur von Frauen

November 25

[Friederike Hassauer](#)

Professor of Romance Philology, University of Vienna  
"Seelen ohne Körper, Geist ohne Geschlecht" - Zur Theoriegeschichte der Konstruktion weiblichen Intellekts in Spanien

December 2

[Sarah Farmer](#)

Assistant Professor of History, University of Iowa  
Commemorative Landscapes in Post-War Europe

December 16

[Don Kalb](#)

Assistant Professor in General Social Sciences, Utrecht University

Globalization: One Concept Too Many?

January 13

[Hans Mommsen](#)

Professor Emeritus of Modern European History, University of Bochum

Die innere Auflösung des Dritten Reiches: Von Stalingrad bis zur bedingungslosen Kapitulation

January 27

[Martin Potucek](#)

Associate Professor and Director, Institute of Sociological Studies, Charles University, Prague

Public Policy Making in the Czech Republic: Developmental Threats and Opportunities

## Travels and Talks

of IWM Fellows, Guests and Staff

[Boris Buden](#)

Lecture: "Im Schein des Außerirdischen" at the symposium "Faszination und Verwerfung", organized by the Europäische Dokumentarfilm Institut Mülheim an der Ruhr in collaboration with Synema (Gesellschaft für Film und Medien, Wien), Vienna (23 November).

Lecture: "Europäische Netzwerke zu Minderheitenfragen" at the conference: "Minorities and Culture: Intercultural Management in Europa" organized by Kulturkontakt Austria, Vienna (28 November).

Conference "Populärkultur und Medien", organized by Attack-Kulturprojekt/Zagreb, in Zagreb (12 December).

[Bozena Choluj](#)

Participant at the Partnership Meeting of the Universities of Warsaw and Vienna, Vienna (7 November).

[John K. Glenn III](#)

Conference: "The Theoretical Debates in Contentious Politics" organized by Mellon/CASBS at the Center for Advanced Study, Stanford University/Palo Alto, California (6-9 November).

Lecture: "Agenda setting and the Round Table Negotiations in Poland and Czechoslovakia: Linking mass and elite theories of democratization" at the Department of Political Science, Central European University in Budapest (25 November).

[Janusz L. Grzelak](#)

Participant at the Partnership Meeting of the Universities of Warsaw and Vienna, Vienna (7 November).

[Friederike Hassauer](#)

Participant of a discussion on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Austrian Academy of Sciences on the topic "Wissenschaft und Macht. Wer bestimmt, was geforscht wird und wem nützt es?" in Vienna. This event was broadcasted live by the *Österreichischer Rundfunk* Ö1 in the feature "Dimensionen: Die Welt der Wissenschaft" (5 November).

Lecture: "Lieber Gott, mach mich fromm. Zur Geschichte des Gefühls der Frömmigkeit" in the lecture series "Gemischte Gefühle", organized by the *Evangelische Akademie* in Vienna (20 November).

Lecture: "Sor Juana en el contexto de la 'querrela de las mujeres' española" at the Spanish Cultural Institute / Instituto Cervantes in Vienna (4 December).

Introduction and moderation of the reading of the Spanish author Cristina Fernández Cúbas at the Instituto Cervantes in Vienna (5 December).

[Peter Johnson](#)

Lecture: "Authoritarian Liberalism: The Risk of Independent Institutions" in the lecture series "Democracy Seminar" organized by the Milan Simecka Foundation in Bratislava, (25 November).

### Cornelia Klinger

Lecture: "Für den Staat ist das Weib die Nacht. Geschlechterverhältnis, Politik und Demokratie" at the annual Conference of the *Förderprogramm Frauenforschung* at the University of Greifswald, Berlin (11 November).

Lecture: "Der Traum von der Vereinigung von Kunst und Leben zwischen Romantik und Avantgarde" at the Symposium "Die verlorene Einheit in den Künsten: Reflexionen und Kunst seit der Romantik" organized by the Institute of Arthistory at the University of Cologne (28 November).  
Seminar: "Ästhetische Politik / Politische Ästhetik" at the Institute for Philosophy, Tübingen University (18 - 21 December).

### Marcin Król

Lecture: "Modernity" at the Academia Istropolitana in Bratislava (4 November).

### Krzysztof Michalski

Conference: "Germany and its Neighbours" organized by the Duitsland Instituut, Amsterdam, and the Institute for Public Affairs, Warsaw, at the University of Amsterdam (28 - 29 November).

### Klaus Nellen

Participant at the Partnership Meeting of the Universities of Warsaw and Vienna, Vienna (7 November).

### Katharina Pewny

Lecture: "Female Genealogy and the Symbolic Order" at a seminar at the Department of German Literature, University of Vienna.

### Martin Potucek

Participant at the Session of the Steering Committee, the Network of Schools and Institutes of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe, organized by the Verwaltungsakademie des Bundes at Schloß Laudon, Vienna (28 - 30 January)

### Endre Sik

Conference "Time-Budget Analysis" organized by the Bureau of Labour Statistics in Washington D.C. (20 - 22 November).

Lecture: "Black Labour in Hungary" at the Conference "Migration in Post Communist Societies" organized by the Fritz Ebert Foundation in Warsaw (11 - 13 December).

### John Symons

Lecture: "Wittgenstein's Descriptions" at the "20th International Wittgenstein Symposium" organized by the Österreichische Wittgensteingesellschaft, Kirchberg am Wechsel (8 November).

Lecture: "Neuroscientific Explanations of Consciousness" at the Centre for Theoretical Studies at the Charles University, Prague (11 November).



## Publications

### Transit 14

#### Demokratische Politik: Die Agenda der Zukunft

In January the 14th issue of *Transit - Europäische Revue* appeared discussing problems of democratic politics.

#### Contents:

Charles S. Maier

Territorialisten und Globalisten

Die beiden neuen »Parteien« in den heutigen Demokratien

Claus Leggewie

What's Next? oder

Neokapitalismus und Neue Linke

Andrzej Rapaczynski

Wie effizient ist die Demokratie?

Cornelia Klinger

Die Politik der Bewegung zwischen Gesellschaft und Natur  
Über alte und neue Herausforderungen an den Begriff des Politischen

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## Guest Contribution

# Hans Mommsen: The Repercussions of the Exhibition "War of Extermination. Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941-1944"

*Hans Mommsen is Professor Emeritus of Modern European History, University of Bochum, and was Guest of IWM in January.*

The touring exhibition "War of Extermination. Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941-1944", which was designed and organised by the Hamburg Institut für Sozialforschung and opened in March 1995, has met with a very ambivalent response in Germany and Austria. There was vociferous protest but also great acclaim. The debate in parliament was symptomatic, beginning with polemical noises but eventually leading to the consensus that one should not pass judgment. It was the deliberately provocative emphasis on the Wehrmacht's complicity in the crimes of the Third Reich that sparked the controversy.

The authors of the exhibition, Hannes Heer, Bernd Boll, Hans Safrian and Walter Manoschek were concerned to counter the tendency, still prevalent in much German public opinion, to deny complicity of the Wehrmacht in the criminal policies of the Third Reich or to concede at most that it played the role of the executor under duress of the terrorist policies pursued by Hitler and Himmler.

This attitude has its roots in the early Adenauer era when the Cold War brought about the rearmament of Germany which, in turn, required some kind of arrangement with the former officer corps, excepting those of its members who had too openly declared their support for the Nazi regime. Consequently the official interpretation gained the upper hand, according to which the Wehrmacht and the officer corps in particular did not bear responsibility for the crimes of the regime and had only been indirectly associated with them.

Since the sixties, historical research has gradually dismantled this version. Distancing themselves from the memoirs of former officers, researchers have worked on a number of areas, with the clear conclusion that the Wehrmacht as an institution, though not necessarily in the entirety of its members, did indeed partly carry out and cover the criminal policies of the regime. This concerns in the first instance the so called "complex of criminal orders," secondly, the treatment of Soviet prisoners of war in German hands, thirdly, the direct and indirect participation in the genocide carried out against the Jewish population in the Soviet Union and in Western and South East Europe as well as, fourthly, crimes against the civilian population which were partly connected with the racist clearance of territory.

On March 31, 1941, the dictator presented the leading Wehrmacht officers with the details of the program of the "racial war of extermination", and this initiation of the army leadership forms the backdrop to the "criminal orders". Hitler demanded that the Russian campaign be conducted with "unprecedented rigour" and that it must lead to the complete destruction of the Red Army and the

Soviet state. Bolshevism was equivalent to, in his words, "degenerate criminality".

For the majority of the troop commanders, the equation of Bolshevism and Jewry as referred to by Hitler, corresponded to the anti communist attitudes familiar from the early days of the Weimar Republic and to the antisemitic prejudices widespread in the Prussian-German élite. That may explain why they showed so little opposition to the concept of a war of racial extermination.

The "criminal orders", i.e. the commissar order, the martial law decree and the disciplinary decree which translated the concept of the racial war of extermination into concrete instructions, were essentially formulated by the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht itself. No pressure from Himmler nor from the Party was required to achieve the willing execution of Hitler's wishes. The "martial law decree" dated May 13, 1941 states explicitly that the judgement of offences committed by members of the Wehrmacht against the indigenous population would have to take into consideration that "Bolshevist influence was largely responsible for the collapse in 1918, the subsequent suffering of the German people and the fight against National Socialism with countless blood sacrifices of the movement."

The objections raised by individual army commanders in connection with the commissar order and the martial law decree mainly referred to a concern for male discipline and order among the troops which might be harmed and undermined by the liberation of the soldiers from those restraints. These arguments disguised the basic violation of law constituted by these orders. They were presented without much conviction and led to only minor amendments. Thus the path was paved for violent action against the "hostile civilian population." At the same time it was decreed that the supplies for the Wehrmacht had to be provided by the occupied Soviet territory. This meant the starvation of millions of people — a fact which was talked about quite openly.

The vocabulary of the racial war of extermination was adopted in numerous army and troop orders. General Field Marshal Walter von Reichenau and Colonel General Hermann Hoth were particularly prominent in this respect, the latter talking of German superiority over Asian barbarism and declaring that any compassion or softness in relation to the population was "out of place". (Army Order of the Commander in Chief of the 17th Army of November 17, 1941.) Even if not all officers and men embraced these ideas, and in spite of the efforts of some commanders to keep the attacks on civilians, lootings and arbitrary shootings within certain bounds, the extent of the violence and

terror against the civilian population and enemy soldiers was nevertheless incredible.

The first step was the treatment of Soviet prisoners of war, of which Christian Streit gave a detailed account in his book "Keine Kameraden!", published in 1978. He uncovered the reasons for the mass deaths among Soviet prisoners of war from the autumn of 1941 and demonstrated that the Wehrmacht, in particular the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht, was responsible. Recent studies suggest that initially there had been plans to transport a large proportion of the expected Soviet prisoners of war to designated camps on the Munsterlager military training area. These plans, however, were abandoned because the NS leadership feared that the accommodation of prisoners of war in the "Altreich" and potential contacts with Germans might pose a racial danger for the German people. Accordingly, no measures were taken to prevent the prisoners freezing and starving to death in reception camps behind the front line. As a result of this policy, out of the 5.7 million Soviet prisoners of war in German hands, 3.3 million died.

Moreover, it is undeniable that the Wehrmacht eagerly aided the Gestapo in carrying out a selection of the prisoners of war brought into the territory of the Reich, and willingly condoned the concentration camp killings of those prisoners deemed racially or politically unacceptable. In addition to the execution of the commissar order in the camps, the Wehrmacht also acted as auxiliary to Himmler's "racial restructuring program", which deprived millions of the basis of survival by supporting the deportation of the indigenous population to forced labor in the Reich as well as other measures. In clear defiance of international law, the aim of these measures was the total subjection of Soviet territory as far as the Urals and the Germanisation of large parts of the Soviet Union, as envisaged by the Reichsführer SS (Himmler) in his "General Plan East."

The extent of the Wehrmacht's participation in carrying out the Holocaust is still disputed. While, unlike in Greece and Yugoslavia, the army was, as a rule, not involved in the systematic extermination of Soviet Jews in the death camps, they did in fact participate indirectly by providing security units in areas behind the front line under military control. Without this support, the comprehensive killing of the local Jewish population by SS task forces, SS brigades and police battalions would have been inconceivable.

In the course of the fight against partisan groups, it did, however, become common practice for the German army on Soviet territory to take retaliatory or preventive action which was primarily directed against the Jewish population. So the killings were by no means restricted to those units which were not under Wehrmacht command. In Greece and Yugoslavia the troops took action against the Jewish population, usually in connection with reprisals and shootings of hostages, without any SS support. The navy, too, did not refuse their services and became more than passively involved by providing transport space on ships in Greece and in the Aegean.

The fight against the partisans constituted the preparation for the systematic Holocaust, commonly defined by the name of Auschwitz, and of the activities of the task forces which from September 1941 passed on to the

murder of Jewish women and children as well. The partisan war was waged with extreme brutality on both sides. One must, however, bear in mind that the partisan war only escalated as a result of the brutal treatment which the Russian and Ukrainian civilian population suffered at the hands of the front line troops as well as the army units in the rear.

In the area of Army Group Centre, which later became the main territory of operation of Soviet partisan units, only sporadic partisan activities were reported following the advance of German troops in the early summer of 1941. Incidents usually involved scattered groups of Soviet soldiers or escaped prisoners of war rather than a defensive struggle waged by the population. At least initially, however, the German side was unable to destroy the partisan units operating under cover. To compensate for this failure, violent action was taken against the civilian population, primarily against Jews, who were generally equated with the Bolsheviks and hence with the partisans. The German reprisals took on exorbitant proportions to the extent of creating death zones, so that with their villages burnt down, their farms looted and their cattle stolen, the civilian population had no other choice but to join forces with the partisans in order to survive. Executions were not, however, restricted to the Jewish or to the male population, more and more frequently the entire population of individual villages including women and children, was massacred.

The increasing brutality of the war in the East did not only derive from the logistic and ideological premises which the "criminal orders" had clothed in an appearance of legality. Conditions after the first retreat outside Moscow in the winter of 1941 were hopeless, the troops were insufficiently supplied, bitterness was growing, losses were extremely high, the homogeneity of individual units dissolved as a consequence of the loss of long serving officers and their random replacement — all this, too, found its outlet in the increasing ruthlessness and use of violence against defenceless prisoners of war and civilians.

After the defeat at Stalingrad in early 1943, if not earlier, the common soldier had no other aim except to survive fighting front line action. Of the 6,200,000 soldiers originally sent into action on the Eastern army, only 1,840,000 men were still available in November 1944. Losses on the eastern front amounted to four fifths of overall losses, which amounted to 6,172,000 men in March 1945. (Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army*, Oxford 1991, p 45). Many units had been almost completely wiped out, and the casualties could no longer be replaced. This experience brutalised the soldiers and deprived them of any sense of morality.

Omer Bartov's assumption that in the earlier years, in particular, the army had been indoctrinated with the Nazi ideology is not entirely correct. On the contrary, to the soldiers it soon became clear that the Russian enemy had to be taken seriously and could not be regarded as "sub-human". There remained a minority, though, which continued to be blinded by the racist slogans of the regime and against which there were no sanctions. Nevertheless Goebbels was forced to replace the cliché of the "subhuman" in official propaganda.

The commanders of the army groups accepted the involvement of the Wehrmacht in the mass murders in the war in the east as inevitable. Major General Henning von Treskow, who took a stand against it, experienced this depressing truth more than once. He decided to act on his own and set up a more or less conspiratorial organisation which was initially restricted to his own army group. In 1942, after the failed assassination attempt, Treskow conceived the plan for an uprising within the framework of Operation Walküre, which was originally designed to suppress a feared uprising of forced laborers in Germany itself. Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg succeeded him in this task.

The fact that the Wehrmacht shared responsibility for an increasingly criminal policy, in particular for the means of the racial war of extermination, was an important motive for the oppositional group in Army Group Centre to plan a coup with the aim of eliminating Hitler. Treskow received, in line of duty, information about the policy of genocide, which to the outside world was passed off as anti-partisan warfare. After the defeat before Moscow it had become increasingly clear to him that the war against the Soviet Union must end in disaster if it continued to be waged as a war against the Russian people. This belief was shared by Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg. It is no coincidence that at the time Stauffenberg was in the process of setting up the Vlassov army which, for the same reason, was for a long time rejected by Hitler.

Considering that the Resistance in Army Group Centre, which generated the plans for the 20 July 1944 coup d'état, originated not only in the desire to save an army threatened in its very existence, but also, to a large part, in the knowledge of the Wehrmacht's involvement in the crimes of the regime, a rejection of the central thesis of the Hamburg exhibition on the "War of extermination" on the basis of resistance in the army is highly questionable. What makes it all the more questionable is the fact that some members of the military resistance had been involved in the drawing up of the "criminal orders" or had openly supported the activities of the SS task force units and the extermination of the Jewish population.

At any rate, it was no more than a tiny handful of officers who, at the risk of their own lives, decided to actively commit high treason, even though there was a danger, as Treskow pointed out, that the patriotic core of this decision would not even be perceived by a nation under the spell of National Socialist propaganda. The vast majority of German soldiers grew accustomed to the unrestrained use of force against prisoners of war, alleged partisans, Jews and non-combatant civilians. Once such behaviour had been established in Russia and Yugoslavia, it also spread to the western combat zones, for instance Northern Italy.

It is understandable that even today, there are groups in Germany and Austria who refuse to accept the reality of the criminal conduct of the war by the Nazi regime, and who dismiss the presentation of the facts as pacifist propaganda. This certainly applies to the NPD and the "Republikaner" as well as to a part of Haider's "Freedom Party" in Austria, who exploit the protests against the Hamburg exhibition to promote themselves. But it is mainly among the older generation that the myth of the army "that stayed clean" continues to live on and gives

rise to emotional protests. This, in turn, invites attempts at political instrumentalisation as by the CSU and by the CDU in Frankfurt.

On the other hand, the facts which the exhibition seeks to communicate have long since been familiar to historians, as has the well known photographic material. But the dismantling of taboos with regard to contemporary history lags behind the insights of academic research by more than a generation.

There is considerable evidence that, small right wing minorities excepted, the complicity of the Wehrmacht in the crimes of the NS regime and the fact that it condoned or cooperated in the systematic violation of the Hague Convention and of basic principles of humanity are becoming generally accepted truths and that the apologetic tendency to weigh them up against the undeniable crimes of Stalinism, is receding. The Hamburg exhibition, designed to counteract the suppression of these aspects of World War II and to promote critical debate, sparked a public controversy which demonstrated the continuing effect of cherished taboos.

With all this, however, one has to bear in mind that not every single soldier had an equally extensive knowledge of the crimes, and that there did exist a minority which tried to thwart the carrying out of "criminal orders" and proved to be immune to antibolshevist and antisemitic indoctrination. But that precisely does not concern the Wehrmacht as an institution and the military leadership which in fact gave their more or less unqualified support to Hitler's "racial war of extermination".

*Translated from German by Esther Kinsky*

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