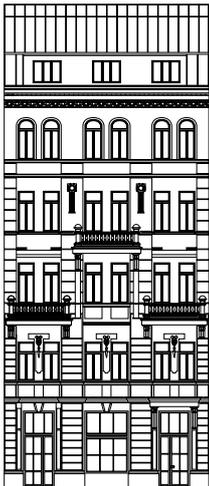




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Conference

Capitalism and Culture

Prominent intellectuals, artists, scholars and politicians met in Vienna April 24 - 26 to discuss the connections between the market, the state and cultural expression. The conference was jointly organized by IWM and Project Syndicate. At the opening ceremony *Leszek Balcerowicz*, Vice Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Poland, *Kurt Biedenkopf*, Prime Minister of Saxony, and *Lord Dahrendorf*, London (chair) discussed the topic of *Market and Justice*. Excerpts from the debate are printed below.

Lord Dahrendorf: The market itself needs certain rules in order to work. If it doesn't have these rules we get the kind of wild capitalism which we can observe in some parts of the world, not least in some parts of the post-Communist world. But once these rules are established, isn't that sufficient? Isn't that the instrument for creating a society which not only makes people prosperous, but also satisfies certain moral and social needs.

But there are certain wider issues which perhaps get us closer to the question of justice. One is, who is in a position to take part in the game? This issue of inclusion is, perhaps, the key question of social cohesion and perhaps of social policy in general.

The other issue is that it's in the nature of games that are played even on level playing fields and with good rules, that there are winners and losers. What needs to be done and what should be said about making sure that those who lose don't drop out altogether, but continue to have a chance to take part.

The key question we are all faced with in the advanced societies of Europe is how do we define a balance between economic forces, social needs and political freedom.

Biedenkopf: Markets do not constitute societies. The market is more of an instrument for organizing society than a form of organization by itself.

Can we expect the market to produce inclusion, or do we have to rely on social institutions that



Balcerowicz, Dahrendorf, Biedenkopf

may be interlinked with the market process, but that have a legitimacy of their own. And do we have to organize processes of inclusion of people that are not successful in the market process? I think we do. No market economy can function, at least in a framework of accepted values, if it doesn't have at its side and interwoven with it a social dimension. That's why in Germany we call the system that developed after the second World War *Soziale Marktwirtschaft*.

This social market economy has been misunderstood to be an instrument for achieving as much equality as possible through redistribution. That was not its original idea. It had basically two objectives: one, to domesticate market power which is always the source of injustice in the market. Whenever real market power comes into existence, the consequence is a disequilibrium of opportunity which may lead to injustices — in as much as the competition in the market place can no longer be used as a justification for the result. A justification is delivered by competition only when you have competition by more or less equals. As soon as the competitive process is disturbed by the development of power, which allows those who have it to influence the economic behavior of those who don't have it, the market process becomes unjust. This is also a political problem. It is destructive to democracy because this market power usually also develops political influence. **Dahrendorf:** What were your main objectives when you first joined the government?



Leszek Balcerowicz

Balcerowicz: I think the choice was pretty simple in Poland in 1989. It was obvious that millions of people wanted a better life, also in economic terms. But the question was how to make a transition from the desperate economic situation which existed in Poland in 1989, to a system which would create rapid and sustained economic growth. There were two questions. First, what would this model be? This was pretty simple. Because the main mistake of the 20th century was not to take Adam Smith seriously enough. The main problems are due to excessive state intervention, i.e. those of some Western countries, such as unemployment. So it is a farce to blame those problems on the nature of the free market.

The second more complicated question was how to make a transition from a very difficult economic situation — hyperinflation, a huge foreign debt, a crumbling economy — to this system. To some extent we were on uncharted waters. We were the first country to introduce convertibility starting from a Socialist economy and had at the same time to deal with hyperinflation. Fortunately, we didn't have a rich uncle like the East Germans had.

Biedenkopf: There were a lot of illusions in West Germany about the possibilities to use the existing infrastructure, the existing capital stock, the existing products, etc. to rebuild East Germany. As it turned out, the same thing that was true in Poland was true in other countries: the development of the industrial structures, the infrastructures, were way behind and non-competitive.

It is true that it may have been beneficial not to have had a rich uncle, but it was unavoidable. The problem was that it was impossible to maintain the GDR as a separate state because West Germany had never recognized East German citizenship. And if we had tried to separate East and West Germany in order to maintain a more insulated condition which would have forced the East Germans to live on their own strengths, as was true in Poland, the Czech Republic and elsewhere, those we would have needed most would simply have left the eastern part of Germany and gone to the western part.

The condition in East Germany was at the same time easier and more difficult than in Poland. It was easier in the sense that a lot of social problems were easier to solve simply by the availability of very substantial transfers. We could speed up the rebuilding of the infrastructure, which is very important, at least at the outset. The real problem in united Germany was the wage differential. We knew from experience in West Germany that wage differentials beyond 40% would start migration processes. In other words, those people who had the highest initiative, who had the best educational background would begin to move. Beyond a certain differential, affinity to a region would be less strong than the desire to share in better income opportunities.

One of the real deficits of the German reunification process was that West Germany didn't grasp the opportunity to reorganize its own institutional set-up. It was not possible, for instance, to get people in West Germany to allow us in East Germany to reconstruct our universities outside of the West German legal framework by developing new ideas for the organization of universities. It was not possible from the very outset for us to decentralize our labor offices. They were centralized, and this was a great handicap.

I think expanding the social welfare state has two "crowding out" effects which themselves have detrimental consequences. First of all, it lulls individual responsibility, and if you allow people to be carried by the state for a long time, they forget how to work. It is extremely difficult then to try and make them work again unless you have an existential condition like a transformation process.

The expanding social welfare state gives power to those who operate the social system, and that power, even in a democracy, is very substantial. It is not only a bureaucratic power, it is also a political power in the sense that a collective centralized social welfare system creates a very substantial number of dependencies which give politicians the opportunity for political influence. So you meet two resisting forces: one is the lack, or the reduced capability to exercise individual responsibility either as an individual or in small groups. And second, you are faced with a power structure which is almost irresistible. Efforts at changing the social system in Germany will lead to the same response from the Social Democrats, the Christian Democrats, the labor unions, the employers associations, etc. This is very remarkable because it is quite detrimental to a functioning democracy.

Balcerowicz: I would like to take up two further points. First, the problem of exclusion. Probably the most painful exclusion is unemployment. Some twenty years ago, unemployment in the West was uniformly low around 5%. Today in many countries of Western Europe unemployment is well above 10%.

I think there is an emerging consensus among economists that policies pursued by some Western European governments, the so-called Social Democratic policies, have brought about a very high level of unemployment especially among younger people. The essence of these policies is high taxation, which is the counterpart of high social spending, overregulation, and rigidity in the labor market.

The second point is that we cannot have a social order without winners and losers because there are certain



Kurt Biedenkopf

positions one can win only if there is a loser. No efficient economy which generates growth and would bring people out of poverty can function without the division into winners and losers. This is the essence of incentives. If you have market competition, you have winners in the sense that some enterprises are advancing, but there are also some bankruptcies. Without bankruptcies there would be no growth. I think one should think about losers, that they should

not go beyond a certain threshold. And then here we come to what is sometimes called the basic social safety net. Two points deserve attention. First, the extent of the social safety net should not be such that it produces unemployment because then you will produce exclusion. And second, one should not assume that the social safety net should continue to be state dominated.

Dahrendorf: We have actually seen, with respect to economic growth and poverty, a rather interesting period in these last twenty-five years. There has been significant economic growth which doesn't particularly affect poverty. You get significant growth, very largely driven by the trade sector but in your domestic situation, you keep a significant number of people, around 20%, in precisely the position in which they were at the beginning. We've had two large pushes of growth of this kind, one in the early 1970s and one in the early 1990s, which have led to new questions. Economic growth and poverty is another way of saying Market and Justice.

Biedenkopf: I think what we are finding here is sort of an erosion of the social welfare state from below. We have erosions in the framework of legality, and we have erosions in the extralegal framework — the latter is the so-called shadow economy. It is very interesting that almost in direct relation to the expansion of state intervention, the shadow economy has also expanded. The shadow economy in Germany in the seventies was considered to be between five and seven percent of GDP. Today it's about 15% of GDP which is roughly 600 billion DM.

Here I agree with what Lord Dahrendorf said about the equation between unemployment and exclusion. We ran a study to find out why in one area in Germany we had very high employment where at the same time we had very low employment in another area for a long time. We found that the socio-cultural conditions in the area with high unemployment led to a totally different behavior. The population looked at unemployment benefits as basic income. They were all engaged in some activities or other. They were not excluded and not ashamed of being

unemployed at all. It was a particular state of social definition, but it was not an exclusion.

As to the comparison with the United States, indeed, you have a job miracle there, but at the same time your average income of the working population in real terms has declined over a longer period of time. This leads to a larger employment per household at low income. And this is of course a very interesting alternative answer to our problem. Have more people work, even in better jobs, with more mobility, more flexibility, more willingness to adapt, more geographical mobility in particular, and the willingness to work for less if necessary.

Balcerowicz: Whenever there is only weak exclusion, you have high unemployment because weak exclusion is probably due to the fact that the ratio of unemployment benefits to salaries is high and there is not much social stigma. And when there is a strong exclusion, you have low unemployment.

Obviously the relationship between growth and poverty differs because there are various modes of growth. One can compare the Latin American mode of growth until the 1980s with its market-oriented reforms, and the type of growth which is happening in Taiwan. What is typical of Latin American economic growth until the reforms? First, there was an unequal distribution of assets, especially of land. And this influenced the distribution of income. Second, there was a protectionist bias, and third, a large public sector. These two factors produced a certain bias in the allocation of factors of production, namely, in the direction of employing more capital than labor. If one employs in a poor country, if one selects capital-intensive investment projects, one generates unemployment. And unemployment is a cause of poverty.

Dahrendorf: In the light of what we've said, what would you do to take the next steps towards a country which is economically dynamic and socially acceptable?

Biedenkopf: If you want to produce change in Germany, you have to convince the population that there is a certain urgency for change. If it's only an intellectual debate it's very difficult to generate the majorities you need to intervene.

So the first thing I would try to do is to define the objectives which would motivate such change. And secondly, I would start a process of bringing about strong decentralization and transparency of the existing systems. It is quite obvious that the German population does not know what the social system costs. One of the most important conditions for its continued existence is the maintenance of this ignorance. Because as soon as people find out what it costs, they will start to discuss whether this cost is necessary.

Balcerowicz: I assume that most people's aspirations are linked to the pace and nature of economic development. Most people want to have better housing, better education, etc. This is possible only if you have rapid, sustained, job-creating, economic development.

How can we achieve this? I think there are two key measures. First, by reducing the budget deficit, you increase the rate of savings and then you can invest more and you can grow more quickly and in a more sustained way — and then you satisfy human aspirations more fully.

Another measure would be to accelerate privatization. It is beyond doubt that privatization is the key to the improvement and development of the enterprise sector.

Dahrendorf: I have only one concluding remark. I am more and more impressed by the different ways in which similar general approaches can actually take shape in our world. And I am less and less impressed by an analysis which uses the same concepts and the same language for all the cultures, economic cultures, political cultures — especially in Europe. There are quite significant differences in the interpretation of market economies, and quite significant differences in what people regard as fair. And it seems to me perfectly possible that many of these different approaches are equally viable. It would seem quite unnecessary to try and impose just one notion of how we can achieve economic growth and social inclusion on all the countries and cultures of Europe.



Antje Vollmer and Lord Dahrendorf

Program

Friday, April 24

Welcome: Krzysztof Michalski, Director, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, and Professor of Philosophy, Boston University
Opening Remarks: Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Austrian State Secretary for Foreign Affairs

Market and Justice: A Debate

Chair: Lord Dahrendorf, London

Leszek Balcerowicz, Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Poland

Kurt Biedenkopf, Prime Minister of Saxony

Saturday, April 25

Opening Remarks: Roman Frydman, Director, Project Syndicate; Professor of Economy, New York University

Patrons of Arts: Should the State Subsidize the Opera?

Chair: Lord Weidenfeld Publisher. His various responsibilities include membership on the English National Opera Board.

Discussants:

Bruce Ackerman Sterling Professor of Law and Political Science, Yale University, New Haven. His *Social Justice in the Liberal State* appeared in 1980 and *The Future of Liberal Revolution* in 1992 (both by Yale University Press.) His contribution to this conference "Subsidize the Opera?" is printed as a Guest Contribution in this Newsletter.

Mary Allen Chief Executive of the Royal Opera House, London until March 1998.

Chairwoman of the Public Arts Development

Trust and member of Greater London Arts Executive Committee.

Ioan Holender Director, Vienna State Opera and owner of the Artistic Agency Alois Starka, Vienna from 1966 to 1990.

Edmund Phelps McVicker Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University, New York. His *Rewarding Work* was published by Harvard University Press in 1997.



Lord Weidenfeld

Antje Vollmer Vice President of the Deutsche Bundestag. Worked as a journalist and cultural activist before joining the faction of the Greens in the German Parliament.

Shaun Woodward
Conservative Member of British Parliament,
Member of the Select Committee on Broadcasting and a Director of the English National Opera.



Taylor, Rapaczynski, Holland

The Universal vs Local Civilization: Is North America a Cultural Threat?

Chair: Andrzej Rapaczynski

Director, Project Syndicate; Professor of Law, Columbia University, New York

Discussants:

Lord Gowrie Chairman, The Arts Council; Chairman of Development Securities, plc., London; British Minister of Arts from 1983-1985.

Agnieszka Holland Film director, Santa Monica/Paris. Her Washington Square just opened at Viennese movie theatres.

Paul Johnson Historian and essayist, London. His *A History of the American People* was published earlier this year by Harper Collins.

Lord Puttnam Film producer and director, London. His film *The Killing Fields* received three Academy awards and *Chariots of Fire* four Academy awards.

Charles Taylor Professor of Philosophy, McGill University, Montreal. His recent publications include *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*, published by Princeton University Press in 1992.

Reinhold Wagnleitner Professor of Modern History, University of Salzburg and University of New Orleans. Author of *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War*, published by University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill in 1994.

Sunday, April 26

Culture After the Fall of Communism: Do Markets Debase Culture?

Chair: Timothy Garton Ash Senior Research Fellow in Contemporary European History, Oxford University. His *The Uses of Adversity: Essays on the Fate of Central Europe* was published by Random House in 1991.

Discussants:

Hubert Burda Publisher and President of the Association of German Journal Publishers (VDZ), Munich.

Elemér Hankiss Director, Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, was President of Magyar Television 1990-92. His *East European Alternatives* was published by Clarendon Press, Oxford in 1990.

Leszek Kolakowski Professor of Philosophy emeritus at the University of Chicago and Fellow at the All Souls College, Oxford. Currently Erasmus of Rotterdam Visiting Professor at Warsaw University. His latest book *God Owes Us Nothing* was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1995.

Katya Krausova A director of arts and drama independent film and television production company, Portobello Pictures, London, which won the 1997 Academy Award for *Kolya*, the Best Foreign Language Film.

Norman Manea Novelist, New York. His recent works include *The Black Envelope* (1995) and *Compulsory Happiness* (1993), both published by Farrar, Strauss & Giroux.

Joanna Wnuk-Nazarowa Composer and Director General of the State Philharmonic in Cracow has been the Polish Minister of Culture and Arts since 1997.

Participants

Bruce Ackerman, Professor of Law, Yale Law School, New Haven; Gabriela Adamesteanu, Editor-in-Chief, Revista 22, Bucharest; Michaela Adelberger, Public relations, IWM, Vienna; Nikolai Alexandrov, Editor-in-Chief, Brestski Courier, Brest; Mary Allen, Chief Executive of the Royal Opera House, London; Ljupco Askilov, Editor-in-Chief, Denes, Skopje; Tamas Bacskai, Editor-in-Chief, Figyelo, Budapest; Jonas Bagdanskis, Editor-in-Chief, Litas, Vilnius; Leszek Balcerowicz, Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Poland; Lluis

Bassets, Assistant Editor-in-Chief, El Pais, Barcelona; Kurt Biedenkopf, Prime Minister of Saxony; Jan Bierhoff, Managing Director, European Journalism Center, Brussels; Halina Binczak, Economics Editor, Rzeczpospolita, Warsaw; Ernst-Wolfgang



Leszek Kolakowski, Norman Manea

Böckenförde, Professor of Public Law, University of Freiburg; former Judge of the German Constitutional Court; Chairman of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Hubert Burda, Publisher, Munich; Galina Chebakova, Editor-in-Chief, Business-Vestnik Vostoka, Tashkent; Michal Cichy, Gazeta Wyborcza, Warsaw; Christoph Chorgherr, Chairman, The Green Party of Vienna; Lord Dahrendorf, London; Wayne Dillehay, Executive Director, International Center for Journalism, Washington D.C.; Ondrej Dostal, Editor, Sme, Bratislava; Ekrem Dupanovic, Editor-in-Chief, Business Magazine, Sarajevo; Vedrana Dupanovic, Editor-in-Chief, Business Magazine, Sarajevo; Freimut Duve, Representative on Freedom of the Media, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Vienna; Michael Ehrenreich, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende, Copenhagen; Sarmite Elerte, Editor-in-Chief, Diena, Riga; Peeter Ernits, Editor-in-Chief, Luup, Tallinn; Walter Famlar, Publisher of Wespennest, Vienna; Benita Ferrero-Waldner, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Vienna; Melissa Fleer, Business Manager, Project Syndicate, Prague; Eric Frey, Foreign Editor, Der Standard, Vienna; Roman Frydman, Professor of Economics, New York University; Director, Project Syndicate, New York; Timothy Garton Ash, Senior Research Fellow in Contemporary European History, Oxford University; Dariusz Gawin, Zycie, Warsaw; Paul Gillespie, The Irish Times, Dublin; Ilir Gjoni, International News Editor, Koha Jone, Tirana; Bernhard Görg, Vice Mayor and Executive Counsellor for Planning and Future Development, Vienna; Lord Gowrie, Chairman, The Arts Council, London; Elisabeth Hagen, Advisor on Economic Policy to the Austrian Federal Chancellor, Vienna; Jozef Hajko, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Trend, Bratislava; Elemér Hankiss, Director, Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; and President of MTV 1990-92; Baton Haxhiu, Deputy Editor, Koha Ditore, Prishtina; Jacqueline Hénard, Correspondent of Die Zeit, Paris; Ihar Hermianchuk, Editor-in-Chief, Noviny (Svaboda), Minsk; Ioan Holender, Director, State Opera, Vienna; Agnieszka Holland, Film Director, Santa Monica/Paris; Stefan Hrib, Editor, Domino Forum/Sme, Bratislava; Kari Huhta, Foreign Editor, Helsingin Sanomat, Helsinki; Zelko Ivankovic, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Banka, Zagreb; Harald Jähner, Berliner Zeitung; Paul Johnson, Historian and Essayist, London; Helga Junkers, Volkswagen Foundation, Hannover; Monika Kalista, Director of Section V, Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Vienna; Tessa Keswick, Director, Centre for Policy Studies, London; Leszek Kolakowski, Professor of Philosophy, Oxford University; Martin Komarek, Managing Editor, Mlada Fronta Dnes, Prague; Tatiana Koshkarova, Director of Political Department, Nezavisimaya Gazeta, Moscow; Boris Kosuta, Cultural Editor, Business Magazine, Sarajevo; Veronika Kotkova, Deputy Business Manager, Project Syndicate, Prague; János M. Kovács, Permanent Fellow, IWM; Mark Kranenburg, Opinions Editor, NRC Handelsblad, Rotterdam; Katya Krausova, Film Producer, London; Marcin Król, Professor of the History of Ideas, University of Warsaw; and Editor-in-Chief, Res

Publica Nova; Nina Krushcheva, Researcher, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; Joanna Kurczewska, Professor of Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw; and Visiting Fellow, IWM; Josph Laporte, Programs Officer, Project Syndicate, Prague; Jörg Lau, Die Zeit, Hamburg; Paul Lendvai, Director, Radio Austria International, Vienna; Norman Manea, Novelist, New York; Boris Marte, City Council for Cultural Affairs, Vienna; Irena Matlin, Caroe and Partners, London; Mario Margiocco, Foreign Editor, Il Sole-24 Ore, Milan; Eva Menasse, Journalist, Vienna; Nathan Meron, Israel's Ambassador to Austria, Slovenia, Slovakia and Croatia; Mitja Mersol, Editor-in-Chief, Delo, Ljubljana; Krzysztof Michalski, Director, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna; and Professor of Philosophy, Boston University; Sergei Mishin, Editor-in-Chief, Logos Press, Chisinau, Moldova; Kenneth Murphy, Director, Project Syndicate, New York; Tomas Nagy, Assistant Editor, Project Syndicate, Prague; Joao Baptista Natali, Folha de Sao Paulo, Sao Paulo; Klaus Nellen, Permanent Fellow, IWM; Mark Nelson, Senior Communications Strategist, World Bank, Paris; William Newton-Smith, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford; OSI Board Member, Budapest; Wiktor Osiatynski, Professor of Law, Central European University, Budapest and University of Chicago; and Board Member of the Open Society Institute, New York; Vaclav Pavlas, Protocol Director, Office of the President, Prague; Jiri Pehe, Presidential Advisor, Office of the President, Prague; Edmund Phelps, Professor of Economics, Columbia University, New York; Frances Pinter, Director, OSI Center for Publishing Development, Budapest; Martin Porubjak, Former Deputy Premier, Republic of Slovakia, Bratislava; Mihaela Popescu-Pantea, Deputy Editor, Romania Libera, Bucharest; Lord Puttnam, Film producer and director, London; Gerhard Rainer, Deputy Head of the Department for Cultural Affairs Abroad, Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Vienna; Andrzej Rapaczynski, Professor of Law, Columbia University; Director, Project Syndicate, New York; Tatiana Repkova, Neiman Fellow, Harvard University, Cambridge; Shmuel Rosner, Editorial Editor, Ha'aretz, Tel Aviv; Arne Ruth, Cultural Editor, Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm; Stephan Sattler, Cultural Editor, Focus, Munich; Hermann-Josef Sausen, Cultural Attaché of the Germany Embassy, Vienna; Rebecca Schumann, International Coordinator, Foreign Rights, Alfred A. Knopf Publishers, New York; Petr Sereny, Deputy Editor, Nepszabadsag, Budapest; Milan Simecka, Editor-in-Chief, Domino Forum/Sme, Bratislava; Dieter Simon, President, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences; Director, Max Planck Institute for European Legal History, Frankfurt; and Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Pavel Sinev, Assistant Editor, Project Syndicate, Prague; Jan Skorzynski, Foreign Editor, Rzeczpospolita, Warsaw; Aleksander Smolar, President, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; and Maitre de recherche, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris; Gerfried Sperl, Editor-in-Chief, Der Standard, Vienna; Bazil Stefan, Foreign Editor, Romania Libera, Bucharest; Victor Stefanov, Deputy Editor, Bulgarski Business, Sofia; Rüdiger Stephan, Secretary General, European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam; Paul Starobin, Knight Fellow, National Journal, Washington D.C.; Viljama Sudikiene, Lietuvos Aidas, Vilnius; Hannes Swoboda, Member of the European Parliament; Jerzy Szacki, Professor of Philosophy, University of Warsaw; and Member of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Tomasz Szarota, Professor of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw; and Visiting Fellow at IWM; Victor Tarnavsky, Editor, Finansova Consultatia, Kiev; Charles Taylor, Professor of Philosophy, McGill University, Montreal; and Vice Chair of the Academic Advisory Board of IWM; Marat Tazabekov, Publisher, AKI press, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan; Volker Then, Bertelsmann Science Foundation, Gütersloh; Nils Morten Udgaard, Foreign Editor, Aftenposten, Oslo; Michael Vachon, Communications Director, OSI, New York; Antje Vollmer, Vice President of the Deutsche Bundestag, Bonn; Alexander Volvachev, Foreign Editor, Belaruskaya Gazeta, Minsk; Viktor Vresnik, Editor-in-Chief, Banka, Zagreb; Reinhold Wagnleitner, Professor of Modern History, University of Salzburg and University of New Orleans; Lord Weidenfeld, London; Joanna Wnuk-Nazarowa, Polish Minister of Culture, Warsaw; Shaun Woodward, Member of Parliament, House of Commons, London; Andreas Wörgötter, Director of Economic Studies, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna.



...a very attentive listener...

Fellows Meeting

Robert Menasse: The Story is Short and Eternal. A Project

On the occasion of the Fellow's Meeting on March 20, IWM invited the Austrian writer Robert Menasse to read from his yet unpublished new novel.

The child has many names.

Manoel Dias Soeiro — a respectable Portuguese name. Manoel, like the Portuguese king who persecuted the Jews in a particularly cruel way and forced them to be baptized. The most beloved male first name among the country's old Christian families. To officially christen a child of secret Jewish ancestry with this name was an almost too-clear sign of assimilation, and perhaps also an attempt to exorcise danger in the name of danger. At the same time, an old Jewish name was hidden in or behind this pseudonym, the actual name, the one that was really meant: Not Immanuel, from which Manoel was derived, but which immediately achieved its complete emancipation as an independent Christian name, but rather Samuel, a name from the Old Testament, the last judge of Israel, the visionary and prophet. Spoken so softly, so quickly that someone who happened to overhear it, or even often the child himself, might imagine that he had heard only Moel, a hastily pronounced Manoel.

The child has many names, not only that of the annihilation and the hoped for deliverance. In the caresses of his parents and when playing with other children, they melt into Mané, an ambiguous name, since, in colloquial Portuguese, Mané means something like "little fool," "naive person" — to what child does this not apply? But can a child be naive beneath the double burden of his public and his secret name?

The child has many names. In Mané also echoes the name that this child will receive later, in Amsterdam, in freedom, when the cursed Marranes can discard their pseudonyms and replace them with names that are openly Jewish: Manasseh or Menasse.

Under this name he will finally become famous, as a writer and intellectual, as a rabbi and diplomat.

But however good the public sound of this name was to become as the name of a free and successful man, a name that need mean nothing more than that which its bearer could represent — in his innermost being, Manoel, Samuel and Mané would resound eternally as an echo of a time long past, but also as an echo of the reputation he had achieved. Manoel, the assimilated; Samuel, the visionary; Mané, the naive.

The story is short, the rabbi wrote: We believe we have taken a stick in a relay race and that we can carry it to the goal. In reality we go in a circle, and often go back to take up this stick again, which was already lost. We want things that have been, things that seem to be over, to

be meaningless; we want to consider the sound that continues to roar somewhere to be a fading echo. In reality we run screaming to the place where people have screamed.

In a treatise about the various possibilities for examining a man's life, the rabbi introduced an autobiographical passage. Although he later removed it from the main body of the text, it has remained intact. This autobiographical text begins with the words: The child has many names. An event is narrated that must have taken place during the escape from the Iberian peninsula, before the arrival in Amsterdam. The escape was successful, but they had not yet arrived at their destination. There is no mention of where the following event took place. Only this: There was a large, silent lake, and night was falling. The family settled down by the shore. The rabbi wrote that he was still a child at the beginning of this experience, but that he was a man when it was over. A few minutes lay in between, perhaps a quarter of an hour, but in any case a moment of eternity. His father prayed. When his last words faded away, the child thought he could hear an echo. But how could it have been? How could there be an echo here, in front of this plain of water, blank as a mirror? Maybe it existed only in his head, or maybe it was a wonder of nature. The child told his parents about it. He was immediately excited, and was eager to try it himself. Would his words — what words? — or would only a scream return, clearly recognizable to the others as an echo?

He screamed. Shyly at first, like a croak, then, after taking a few deep breaths, as loud as he could. There was no doubt the scream returned. The initial joy at having produced an echo gave way to fear, and then panic: Why didn't this echo stop? The scream seemed to resound continually from the horizon and over the lake — why didn't it stop? — the sound remained, continuing on and on, how long had it already been going on and how much longer would it continue? The echo remained and was audible even now — for how long? Minutes? In any case, he felt it had lasted much longer than his first scream. Had he released a scream into the world that now belonged to the landscape and the lake and no longer to him? He could not bear it any longer, the sound beat in waves against his heart, duller every time, but without fading; the child threw up his arms, pressed the palms of his hands against his ears, but this only made the scream louder and darker. Why did the scream no longer belong to him? Had it ever belonged to him? Where did it come from? Why didn't it stop? From time to time it seemed to



Robert Menasse

be fading, but this was only so that it could rise up again even more powerfully. Now there was nothing more to see. Had night fallen in the meantime or had he closed his eyes from fear? Now there was nothing but endless listening. He would never scream again, no man should ever scream again — if only this echo would stop. He struck his ears with his hands, as though he could knock the echo out of his head, when suddenly he felt a hard pressure at his mouth, a hand that had been pressed against his mouth. It was his father's hand, and he realized that it was not that the echo had not stopped but rather that he had never stopped screaming. He had been screaming the whole time, on and on, convulsively, throwing himself around; for a short time he continued screaming through his father's hand, but then he finally understood and fell silent. The darkness had been beaten back, the black material of his mother's dress, who sat up, her face as white as a distant moon. Now he and his father lay in each other's arms, crying. What had his father heard? His own, unheard screams in the torture chambers of the Inquisition? But it was the son who had produced the eternal echo.

The rabbi observed that, although his parents had still called him Mané immediately before this event, they never did afterward. From then on he was called Menasse; after all the other names, he finally had the one that he was to keep. But, as the rabbi says at the end of this description, perhaps this is only how it appears in his memory.

Rabbi Menasse ben Israel lived over three hundred fifty years ago. And yet the scream of which he spoke can be heard by everyone who is alive today.

Borders in Europe have been falling constantly. But this has not always made Europe larger, not always — or, more precisely: the migrations of peoples that followed such events were almost never a sign of greater freedom and mobility. When, for example, the border fell between Spain and Portugal, Europe became incredibly small: At that time it was as large as the city of Amsterdam. The wave of refugees had a fixed idea: this Europe. What they expected there was a more or less liberal system of government. What they brought with them was a singular, deeply European experience: The more brutally people behave, the greater is their need for "propriety", and also, to some extent, for the rule of law. Every cross-examination in the torture chambers of the Inquisition was transcribed, and the victim was given a copy of the transcription. The idea of the state founded on the rule of law, the rabbi wrote in Amsterdam, originated in the dungeons, but was immediately doubled there: as the longing of the victim and as the legitimization of the perpetrator. And if this thought does not seem unfamiliar, this is because it is part of our reflections on the Nazi period.

That is why the history of Europe is so complicated: Because everyone who wanted and wants to "determine" what Europe is always runs back screaming to the place where people have screamed.

Europe also became smaller in 1938, with the fall of the border between Germany and Austria, and soon it was no larger than England and Switzerland. In the time of Rabbi Menasse ben Israel, Jews were not allowed to live in England. The rabbi travelled to London in order to negotiate with Oliver Cromwell about the re-admission of Jews into England. Abstractly, in terms of legal history,

the right of my family to flee to England from the Nazi terror goes back to the diplomatic mission of this rabbi, who had to flee from Portugal to Holland when he was a child. Portugal and Holland or Austria and England and on and on — today Europe is the one name in which many names echo and resound.

With regard to the trauma of his family, the Inquisition, the rabbi wrote: What was once real remains eternally possible. This sentence appears again in Theodor W. Adorno's reflections on Auschwitz. Not as a quotation; and what is a sentence that is not a quotation but is the same word for word with something that has already been expressed? It is an echo, an eternal echo, and whoever does not hear this echo does not have his senses about him.

It is simultaneously the echo, of a single scream for freedom, for the freedom from fear, for self-determination and inalienable rights, and this scream is eternal because it is screamed again and again, eternally.

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The Hannah Arendt Prize

The New Europe College, Bucharest

The New Europe College, Bucharest, has been selected as the recipient of the 1998 Hannah Arendt Prize, which is awarded for outstanding self-initiated reform efforts in higher education and research in East Central Europe. The Prize includes a grant of DM 300,000 from the Körber Foundation.

The Institute for Human Sciences and the Körber Foundation have jointly established the Hannah Arendt Prize to promote the development of open, free, and democratic civil societies in East Central European countries by supporting the reform of higher education and research in Eastern and Central Europe. The Prize, which forms part of IWM's broader policy project, "The Transformation of the National Higher Education and Research Systems of Central Europe (TERC)," is named after Hannah Arendt in recognition of her important contribution to our understanding of the principles essential to freedom and the democratic order and of the threats posed by twentieth-century totalitarianism. The first Hannah Arendt Prize was awarded to the Graduate School for Social Research (Warsaw) in February 1995. The 1996 Prize was awarded to Palacky University (Olomouc) and last year's Prize was awarded to the Invisible College, Budapest.

The New Europe College, Bucharest

The New Europe College in Bucharest, a small "Institute for Advanced Study" in the humanities and social sciences, is the first of its kind in Romania. The motivating idea was to create an environment in which a group of

young scholars (Fellows of the College), selected annually through an open competition, could pursue their research in conditions similar to those existing in the West. This led to what is now known as the NEC Fellowships program. A second program, Relink, was established in 1996 and was designed to contribute to a more rapid and less painful readjustment of scholars who have completed research or study abroad and who have returned to Romania. The combined result of these two programs is a community consisting of a remarkable group of young scholars who meet regularly for seminars that generate an extraordinarily fruitful interdisciplinary intellectual exchange.

Both fellowship programs managed by the college address specific, context-generated needs such as the halting of the "brain-drain" process, the synchronization of local scientific endeavors with those in more advanced countries, the development of closer contacts between scientific communities, and the stimulation of multidisciplinary dialogue. For every Central and East-European "society in transition," and for Romania in particular, these have been and still are urgent and critical needs.

But the goal of the New Europe College is not only to catch up with Western standards. It also embraces the notion of a Europe in which past European intellectual ideals and traditions, virtually extinguished during the years of communist rule, might be revitalized in the new post-1989 European context. The NEC in fact brings together a research community of striking originality, one whose competence and dynamism may be unsurpassed anywhere on the continent.

The New Europe College is committed to supporting Romanian intellectuals who are motivated by intellectual curiosity and the pursuit of "disinterested" knowledge. While its primary concern is to open a space for the free exercise of investigation and intellectual innovation, the College does not restrict itself to purely academic concerns. It also opens its doors to the discussion of issues of broader social and political import, offering a forum for impartial debate. In a small way, the College thus has some impact on the difficult economic and political transitions underway in Romania.

Another important goal of the NEC, since its inception, has been the fostering of national and international cooperation. To increase communication between the capital and the provinces, special attention is directed to the selection of fellows who are not based in Bucharest. The Relink Fellows in particular are encouraged to hold seminars or colloquia at regional institutions. To promote international contacts, fellows from both programs receive support for travel abroad, while on the other hand, foreign scholars are invited to the College in order to meet Romanian scholars or to pursue their own research related to the region. Foreign scholars and journalists were also invited to international symposia organized by the NEC, "Bucharest — Another Europe" in 1995, and "Kitsch in Periods of Transition" in 1997.

The original idea for the college was developed by its founder, Dr. Andrei Plesu, former Romanian Minister of Culture and current Minister of Foreign Affairs, as a means of addressing a vital need for scholars and scholarship in the highly impoverished intellectual and academic environment of post-Ceausescu Romania. In November 1993, Andrei Plesu received the first "New Europe Prize" for his project proposal; this prize was awarded by six European and American institutes for advanced study to support exemplary initiatives fostering science and research in the former communist countries.

For the 60 Fellows who have thus far been appointed, the New Europe College has provided a much-needed site for the pursuit of intellectual creativity and for open, critical debate. Many of these young scholars who have benefited from NEC fellowships are now part of Romania's post-communist academic elite. Within four short years, the NEC has become a center of intellectual stimulation where intellectual excellence is both "produced" and sustained. The New Europe College is committed to the fostering of this excellence through the revitalization of Romania's rich intellectual traditions and intellectual community in the framework of today's regional and European development and integration.

Selection Process and Criteria

The New Europe College was selected from a field of over 30 candidates through a multi-stage process which includes the nomination of institutions by correspondents throughout the region, the preparation of detailed self-assessments by the finalist candidates, and on-site visits by the Hannah Arendt Prize Jury. Criteria for the Prize, which is awarded to institutions of higher education and research that are active in the field of human sciences, include the following:

- improvement of the quality of research and/or instruction
- a demonstrated commitment to academic excellence
- initiation of structural and organizational innovation
- support for young scholars
- original and innovative ideas and methods
- openness towards other disciplines and/or the development of interdisciplinary programs
- increased sensitivity to social and societal problems
- efforts to establish regional cooperation
- responsiveness to local and industrial needs as well as to the needs of the labour market

The other institutions selected as **finalists** in the 1998 competition were (in alphabetical order):

Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca

With reference to its multi-cultural approach to higher education and to its faculty of European Studies

The Center for the Study of the Classical Tradition in Poland and East Central Europe, University of Warsaw

The Department of Cognitive Science and Psychology, New Bulgarian University, Sofia

The Institute for Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague

The members of the **Hannah Arendt Prize Jury** are:
 Lord Dahrendorf, House of Lords, London, (Chair)
 Colin G. Campbell, President, The Rockefeller Brother's Fund, and President Emeritus of Wesleyan University
 Umberto Colombo, Chair of LEAD Europe, Rome, and former Italian Minister for Higher Education, Science and Technology
 Krzysztof Michalski, Director, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, and Professor of Philosophy, Boston University
 Hans-Ludwig Schreiber, President of the University of Göttingen, and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Volkswagen Foundation
 Ulrich Voswinckel, Chairman of the Managing Board, Körber Foundation, Hamburg.

Discussion

Media and Democracy

Two discussions on the role of the media in democratic societies took place at the IWM-Library: On March 13 the focus was on 'Television: Public Responsibility versus Business Interests', and on March 24 debate centered on 'The Press: Market Constraints versus Freedom of the Press'.

The '89 Revolutions can hardly be imagined without the role played by the media. Meanwhile, the new democracies celebrate the end of censorship, the pluralization and privatization of broadcasting and the press, and the implementation of new constitutional rules granting freedom of speech, as a new era of unprecedented independence of the media actors. Conversely, free and pluralist media constitute a crucial institutional precondition of any democracy.

But at the same time, the majority of the new political elite has not abandoned the practice of interfering with the day-to-day activities of the media actors. Political parties have established newspapers, governments have monopolized public TV channels, parliaments have passed restrictive media laws, and policy-makers have distributed broadcasting licences to businessmen in their own clientele. As a consequence, the media scene has become a crucial battlefield in each of the new democracies.

Sarmite Elerte: The Case of Latvia

If I were asked which of the following poses the most dangerous threat to the freedom of the press and the independence of the media in Latvia — ambitious politicians, ruthless market rules or incompetent and corrupt courts — I would answer: none of these. The greatest threat to the freedom of the press is the unwillingness of journalists and editorial boards to choose freedom and independence

The Latvian mass media (with the exception of the state-run radio and TV stations) can be free and independent despite the fact that our politicians surely are not much better than politicians in other countries, and that our courts are incompetent, and that, although there is a large media competition, purchasing power limits press circulation. Moreover, if a free and independent media is possible in Latvia where less than two million people are Latvian speaking, then it must also be possible elsewhere.

I believe that the most important problem is the experience of a totalitarian past, which has a critical impact on the individual's ability to formulate and maintain his or her own independent opinion.

The rapid changes at the beginning of the 1990s which created the free press also brought with them ethical relativism and corruption in the press. I think that only a small part of the mass media realized then that independence is not only a chance but that the independent information and opinions are the most important foundations for successful and lasting democracy.

Will the inflow of foreign capital and the refining of legal controls moderate political interventionism? Does market domination threaten the freedom of press more than political protectionism? What are the consequences of the growing dominance of the electronic media?

Of course, many of these questions also apply to the West. Moreover, the East European media markets are increasingly interwoven with Western markets and cultures. And as the 1989 starting position represented both backwardness and an exceptional chance for rapid economic and technological development, Eastern Europe paradoxically offers us an opportunity to look into the past and the future of Western media and democracy.

From the second panel we print two of the statements setting out the situation of the press in Latvia, Russia, England and Holland.

The Market

I believe that the market is the least of our problems. The market checks my ability to produce a good newspaper but it does not necessarily influence my opinion. The market conditions and competition make the newspaper dependent on its readership and this dependence seems to me to be perfectly acceptable. It still allows for the publication of a popular newspaper that is also a quality paper.

There are six national Latvian language dailies in Latvia: two of them are successful, two are trying to manage somehow, and two others are subsisting on businessmen and perhaps, politicians' clemency. However, these last two are small and unimportant. Of course, this situation creates corruption — paid articles that are presented as news or editorial opinions.

Certainly, our editorial board has experienced the problem of businessmen threatening to withdraw advertisement from our newspaper because we published critical articles about them. But this is temporary, because they can not survive without customers reached through publishing advertisements in our newspaper.

Another example: three years ago we published a series of critical articles about the criminal activities of the owner of the largest Latvian bank. On the day when the



Sarmite Elerte

first article was published the bank bought \$20,000 worth of advertising space in our newspaper.

One more example: we published two articles disclosing another banker's underhanded dealings. This cost our paper about \$200,000 because he bought the building where our editorial office was located and we had to find new office space within a month. We have had to pay dearly for our independent position, but this was our own choice.

The courts

The courts can limit freedom of expression within the context of libel legislation. In the beginning of the 1990s there was some fear that opinions of journalists might be suppressed through the courts limiting the freedom of press in such a way.

As a result of lasting public debates and pressure from the mass media, the courts are beginning to distinguish between incorrect facts, which are libellous, and opinions. The media argued, if the court is punishing the media for opinions we will return to a totalitarian system.

Relations between politics and the press

No daily in Latvia is owned by a political party. People still remember times when all the newspapers were owned by one party. At this stage, a party-owned newspaper cannot be a successful venture, since it would fail to attract readers. In fact the relation between mass media and political power in Latvia (and perhaps also in Eastern

Europe in general) is a very special one. The media can be very influential, even disproportionately so, if it wishes to be. It can become an influential power remaining outside of party politics but with fundamental and immediate influence on political decisions.

Neither society nor the political powers-that-be assume the responsibilities of power which they must accept in a democracy. Civil society is only now emerging, the NGO sector is weak and political parties often have no consistent political strategy. It is not unusual to hear members of parliament retelling arguments expounded in our editorial columns.

At times it frightens me when I see how easily a few articles will pressure a government and parliament to pass or reject a law. This is because political parties do not have a lasting or consistent strategy for the development of the country, and in any case they lack the will to implement one. Of course, it is very difficult to influence the decisions of politicians in the area of privatization, and particularly for cases in which privatization is connected to some politician's interest.

Finally, I want to repeat that the press in Latvia can be free if it wants to be free, the press can respect ethical standards if it chooses to do so. This implies that it first makes an effort to understand these ethical standards. The press can be influential if it can formulate its own politically independent vision of the country's future. And, of course, a newspaper can be financially successful if its readers come to trust it and depend upon it for information.

Laura Starink: The Case of Russia, England and Holland

I would like to present three examples from three different countries with three different traditions: Russia, England, and Holland.

Working as a correspondent for NRC Handelsblad in Moscow during the Gorbachev years, I witnessed the fall of communism. Within a few years the Russian press became increasingly free, resulting in the abolition of censorship, and newspapers which, for the first time in their existence, were forced to deal with journalistic ethics, competitiveness and entrepreneurship. Subsidies disappeared, money became scarce, and new owners had to be found. Moreover the newly found freedom in journalistic terms all too often was translated into publication of unchecked stories, sensational yellow-press articles or outright lies. In a word, we witnessed the rebirth of a free market economy in its most unpolished, barbaric form.

Step by step, a class of New Russians emerged who aptly used or misused the confusion in the state of law and the economy to accumulate fabulous wealth. So the Russian Robber Barons or the Russian Tycoons were born.

They were called Boris Berczovski, head of Logovaz, a huge automobile plant, Vladimir Gusinski, head of a conglomerate of banks called the Most-Group, and Boris Potanin, leader of Oneximbank. In England, Rupert Murdoch, owner of the Sun and the Times, helped Tony Blair to win the elections. Likewise, these Russian tycoons

played a prominent role in the campaign for the re-election of Boris Yeltsin.

Berezovsky bought the newspaper Nezavisimaya and owns half of the former state television station Ostankino. Gusinski owns the newspaper Segodnya and the independent television station NTV. Both supported Yeltsin out of fear of the return of the communist leader, Gennady Zynganov, who probably would have finished them off. But as soon as Yeltsin was re-elected, in their respective newspapers they started a ferocious campaign against Anatoly Chubais, one of Yeltsin's vice prime ministers — who, by the way, was sacked by the president recently. In their eyes, Chubais, responsible for the highly explosive privatization process, prevented them from purchasing Svyazinvest, the huge state telecom business. Chubais, who fights the new monopolists, privileged his own trustees, they stated. All this is sleazed out in their newspapers in the best Western traditions of the yellow press.

In this respect, the Russians learned quickly. Even relatively independent newspapers like Izvestia were affected by the power struggle, when the newspaper published a critical story about prime minister Chernomyrdin — indeed, sacked recently — the oil company Lukoil, which has a majority stake in Izvestia, sacked its editor-in-chief, Golembiovsky.

In short: heavy fighting is going on in Russia, and not only in the world of the media. Recently Yeltsin, barely

recovered from another illness, stunned the world by firing his entire cabinet, including the almighty prime minister, Chernomyrdin. As far as the media is concerned, there still is relative freedom of expression in the newspapers, as compared to the communist era, but the landscape is far from cloudless, and it will need a far stronger government than Yeltsin's to give the vulnerable free press the protection it will need in the near future.

England

Two weeks ago, the English newspaper The Independent was bought by the Irish businessman Tony O'Reilly, who not only works for Heinz Tomato Ketchup but also owns the Irish Independent Newspapers. O'Reilly, who already possessed 46% of the newspaper, bought the remaining shares of the Independent for 30 million pounds. A new media tycoon was born. O'Reilly challenges Rupert Murdoch, the Australian tycoon, who as mentioned owns the Times and the Sun in England.

Now what is going on? Is the Independent, founded in 1986 as a truly independent newspaper with a strong limit on the size of individual shareholdings, lost for ever? Is the dream of Andrew Whittam Smith, one of the founders of the Independent, shattered? Strangely enough, this is not the conclusion of Whittam Smith himself: in a lengthy commentary in the newspaper he gives a sigh of relief: "The newspaper has been saved."

But this is not all: Andrew Marr, editor-in-chief, who was fired last February because he did not want to make the four million in budget cuts that his owner deemed necessary after the huge losses of the last period, made a victorious come-back. Asked about the role of O'Reilly, Marr says: "I've worked with him as commentator and editor for three or four years and he has never once tried to influence the policy of this paper. He is no Rupert Murdoch. He likes journalists and journalism of quality, and expresses cheerfully earthy contempt for proprietors who try to stifle editorial freedom." We'll see.

Why was the Independent, an incredible success story at the start, going down? In 1993 the English Times and the Independent both had a circulation of about 350,000 copies. Then Rupert Murdoch started his war-of-prices. He cut the price of the Times from 45p to 30p. In the first six months of 1994 the paper's circulation climbed by nearly 40% to over 500,000. The Independent went down by 20% to 275,000. Some called it mere aggressive competition, others spoke about predatory pricing. The crux is that Murdoch has enough money to support a Times that loses money. The Independent can't compete.

Anno 1998 on Mondays the Times sells 1.2 million copies, whereas on Tuesdays it drops to 700,000. Why? Because on Mondays the Times costs only 10p.

Last February, the House of Lords interfered in the media war. It backed an amendment to the so-called

Competition Bill which would prohibit predatory pricing. One of the Lords called Murdoch a "tycoon who is a danger for democracy." Tony Blair's government, courting Murdoch since he decided to support the election campaign of New Labour, argues that a specific clause dealing with newspapers in the new bill is unnecessary. Still, the voice of the Lords was a moral support for the Independent at a moment when the future of the newspaper looked bleaker than ever.

With a new owner and a reinstated editor-in-chief, the newspaper might get a new chance. However, much remains unclear. Is predatory pricing the main cause for the dramatic downfall of subscription? Or does the editorial formula of the Independent play its own role? The case proved once again: the role of Rupert Murdoch in the English media landscape is highly debatable and dangerous, as even the honourable Lords have made clear.

Holland

Compared to these two examples the Dutch picture looks quite rosy. We are a small country with a small market. We have six main daily newspapers. Two are populist, two are relatively small and unimportant, and the remaining two, De Volkskrant and NRC Handelsblad, are competing for the serious, educated reader.



Coudenhove-Kalergi, Zelezny, Sulik

In Holland for the time being we are free of media tycoons. By law newspapers are entitled to an editorial statute that explicitly safeguards the paper from interference by the publisher. Of course, complete independence from the hand that feeds the journalist is impossible. Our newspapers depend as much on the market as any. But up till now the borderline between the journalists and editors and the publisher or owner is clear-cut and effective.

However, there loom some clouds at the horizon. Two years ago Reed Elsevier, the publishing company of NRC Handelsblad and Algemeen Dagblad decided to sell the newspapers.

Becoming independent was virtually impossible. But in a such a small market as the Dutch one there are but few companies strong enough to buy us. In an act of self-defence both newspapers were bought by PCM, publisher of our main competitor. This resulted in a media-concentration of five out of six main Dutch newspapers. This is an unholy and uncomfortable alliance. Competition becomes fairly impossible if one publisher owns practically all the newspapers.

There is another unique phenomenon in the Dutch media landscape. A price war like the one in England is virtually impossible, because the Dutch Publisher's Association has created a mediacartel, forbidding price-dumping.

Holland is cartel-country. Until recently, cartels flourished in many branches. The last government broke the back of this cartel paradise, but made an exception for the media cartel, reasoning that plurality of the press must be guaranteed. However, in 1999, this cartel will also be abolished, in accordance with European law. What will happen after that is unclear. A price war like the English one might not be something to long for. On the other hand, in the specific Dutch situation in which practically all newspapers are in one hand, and given the fact that the market for readers is saturated, it might be a matter of survival to start competition also by making the newspaper cheaper — and better of course — than its main competitors.

Program

March 13: [Television: Public Responsibility versus Business Interests](#)

Colin Campbell, Chairman, Public Broadcasting Service; President, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, New York
Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi, Journalist, ORF, Vienna
Elemér Hankiss, President, Hungarian Television 1990-92; Director, Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Bolesław Sulik, Chairman, Polish National Radio and Television Council KRRiTV; Film Director, Warsaw

Vladimir Zelezny, General Director, TV Nova; President, CME Television Stations Group, Prague

In cooperation with the Collegium Hungaricum, the Czech Center and the Polish Institute

March 24: [The Press: Market Constraints versus Freedom of the Press.](#)

Sarmite Elerte, Editor-in-Chief, Diena, Riga

Helena Luczywo, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Gazeta Wyborcza, Warsaw

Karl-Peter Schwarz, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Die Presse, Vienna

Laura Starink, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, NRC Handelsblad, Rotterdam

In cooperation with the Polish Institute

Discussion

Vienna and the Jews

With the “Anschluß” 60 years ago the mass expulsion of Jews from Austria began — not only a terrible crime but also a cultural and intellectual catastrophe for the country. What had been the Jews’ contribution to Austrian cultural life in the inter-war period? What does the destruction of this cultural life mean to Austrians today, their identity, their place in Europe? This discussion, which took place in the IWM Library on March 26, takes up the controversy started by Sir Ernst Gombrich in 1996 with the thesis “... that the notion of Jewish Culture was, and is, an invention of Hitler and his fore-runners and after-runners.” We print Steven Beller’s statement and an answer to Beller by Ernst Hanisch.

Steven Beller: 1848-1938-1998: What Vienna lost sixty years ago.

Josef Unger, the famous legal authority of Jewish descent, wrote in his memoirs: “I was born in 1828; I saw the light of day, however, only in 1848.” In March of this year the Austrians ‘celebrate’ two anniversaries: the 150th anniversary of the revolution of March 1848, when the light of day first appeared to emancipated Jews, such as the young Josef Unger; and the 60th anniversary of the Anschluss with Hitler’s Germany, when that light was extinguished for their successors. Between these Marches of 1848 and 1938, in a mere 90 years, the Jews of Vienna contributed an enormous amount to the cultural and intellectual world of Vienna and Austria. In the sixty years since then the destruction of this part of Viennese society has weighed very heavily, not only (and increasingly) on the Austrian conscience, but also on the intellectual life of the Austrian capital. There is a consensus that Vienna lost something when its Jews were driven into exile or led into the gas chambers, but there is apparently no agreement on quite what was lost.

Over a year ago, the venerable English art historian and former Austrian, Sir Ernst Gombrich, gave a lecture at a conference in London on the role of Jews in Viennese culture at the turn of the century. This lecture has, in the meantime, appeared in print in English as well as German. In it Gombrich vehemently attacked the idea that the modern culture of ‘Vienna 1900’ had anything at all to do with ‘Jewish culture’. His argument was as follows: first, the contribution of Jews and people of Jewish descent to Viennese culture has been grossly exaggerated; second, that which Jews did contribute did not have anything ‘Jewish’ about it, because they made their contributions as members of Viennese, Austrian, or German culture, in other words as participants in the world of ‘Bildung’, and not as Jews. To connect such cultural and intellectual achievements of modern science and culture to the superstitious and backward ‘Jewish culture’ of East European Jewry is tantamount to continuing the work of Hitler and the Nazis, according to Gombrich. In his opin-

ion, even if one means well, and wants to counter the terrible Nazi myth with its opposite, such a 'counter-myth' is still a myth, and therefore false, untrue, and ultimately dangerous. Gombrich's conclusion seems to be that there was absolutely nothing Jewish about the modern culture of Vienna at the turn of the century and in the inter-war period. The apparent prominence of Jews in this culture is merely the result of the combined effect of a 'social dynamic', which put the Jews in a special position in Viennese society, and of the prejudices of the anti-Semites and philo-Semites, who misinterpreted this special, socially produced, situation. Therefore any interest in a 'Jewish culture' in this subject is mistaken.

Let us imagine for a moment that Gombrich were correct. What then would the cultural life of Vienna have lost in 1938 that it could not have rapidly made up afterwards? If the Viennese culture of before 1938 was only 'Austrian', with no Jewish aspect to it, one would have only had to wait a bit, until everything was the same as before and Vienna was a driving force of intellectual life again. With all respect due to the many Viennese and Austrians, who have tried (and still try) to restore Vienna's status as a 'creative milieu', as a 'center of excellence' — success in this endeavour has remained elusive. Vienna has remained a very beautiful city, with a full, if somewhat backward-looking cultural life, an exemplary transportation system, and very lovely shops and coffeehouses. New York, London, or Paris it is not. The city of music has become rather a city of museums. Vienna does not shape modern thought in the way she once did. The culture which has developed since 1945 appears to me to be a quite different one from that which existed before 1938. Vienna is no longer the centre of culture she once was. Even if one can think of other causes for this cultural and intellectual diminution, such as the Cold War or the priority of economic recovery after 1945, the one reason which stands out is the absence of one group, Viennese Jewry.

Why? Why has the absence of one ethnic group, which comprised less than ten percent of the populace, had such a devastating effect on the cultural life of Vienna? The answer, as is to be expected, is complicated and does have a lot to do with Gombrich's 'social dynamic'. But it also has a lot to do with the traditional values, the 'culture', of Central European Jews, and with the particular way, in which the Jews of Central Europe entered the modern society of the nineteenth century. Among those traditional values was the emphasis that was placed in the Jewish religion (not only in Eastern Europe but also in the Central Europe of the Habsburg Monarchy) on the Word, and on learning; another key aspect was the weight put on the ethical responsibility of every individual to follow God's laws. In a Protestant country such characteristics would have been unexceptional, but here, in the Monarchy, the land of the Baroque Catholicism of the Counter Reformation, where the aesthetic was so important and the Image had priority over the Word, these Jewish traditions were significant.

The integration and assimilation of the Jews of Central Europe was supposed, as Gombrich suggests, to make any Jewish 'peculiarity' disappear. Yet the actual process, through which Jews left their traditional Jewish life and entered the new, non-Jewish modern world, itself contrib-

uted to the creation of a new identity for Jews. The newly emancipated Jews now possessed a set of values, the 'ideology of emancipation', which viewed German 'Bildung' (culture) and liberal politics as identical with the core values of Jewish tradition. That is to say, they understood their 'new' values as a continuation of their tradition, just in a different form. 'Bildung' and 'liberalism' became the twin pillars of their world view, as Gombrich states. What he does not see is that this world view rested on a Jewish foundation. When, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the traditions of the German Enlightenment and of liberalism were spurned by the broad mass of the non-Jewish populace, in favour of an anti-liberal hegemony, strongly linked to anti-Semitism (a constellation well embodied in Vienna by the fabulously successful Karl Lueger), the Jews stuck to their old, new values — for Jewish reasons. That is why the Jews held such a predominant position in the modern, liberal and ultimately 'post-liberal' culture which has made 'Vienna 1900' so famous. This synthesis of Jewish heritage, the ideology of emancipation, and the urge to assimilate, developed yet further in the inter-war period, and expressed itself in many ways, from 'Red Vienna', to the Vienna Circle and the great Austrian literature of the inter-war period. The culture that was its product, and the position of the Jewish intellectuals, who were largely responsible for that culture, was already in trouble from 1933/4 on. However, it was only in 1938 that the fate of this special cultural world was sealed — in Vienna. Later the history of this world was to continue elsewhere. The intellectual world of Britain and America after 1945 is unthinkable without the contributions of the emigrés from Central Europe, in a large majority Jews or people of Jewish descent, including Gombrich.

Whether the huge part played by Jews in the modern culture of Vienna and Central Europe means, that the culture that resulted is to be categorized as a Jewish one or not, is, at the end of the day, a false question. I would even claim that it is precisely the denial of a Jewish dimension to this culture which is the sort of 'counter-myth' against which Gombrich warns us. Certainly, the culture to which Jews between 1848 and 1938 contributed so much, was not only a 'Jewish culture'. It was not only created by Jews, and the contribution by the Jews themselves was in many respects a great distance from the 'Jewish culture' in Eastern Europe. But this does not in the slightest mean that the Jewish heritage of so many creators and thinkers of this culture did not have a large influence on their contributions, and hence on the culture as a whole. One should say, rather, that this culture was both Jewish as well as authentically Austrian, Central European, even European. It was perhaps precisely the plurality of the sources of this culture and the multi-layered quality of especially the Jewish experience of modernity, which gave this culture its particular vitality and strength.

Since the catastrophe began in 1938, Vienna is in many ways a quieter city, in which *Gemütlichkeit* holds sway. There are not so many troublemakers. But something is missing, something which the Jewish citizens once provided. The Jewish community of today tries stoutly to continue the great tradition, but the result can only be a shadow of the life of the former, much, much

larger community. The tradition goes on elsewhere: in New York, Paris, or London, also in Israel. I do not believe that Vienna can ever replace what it lost (or, perhaps better, threw away) in 1938, but it still has the opportunity to cultivate and expand the connections with the heirs of this lost culture. To come to terms with the past, and with the dispossessed, to fully acknowledge the Jewish contribution to Austrian culture, would be a very good start.



Steven Beller

Ernst Hanisch: The world we lost ... but which world?

A thesis is fruitful when it invokes controversies. Following this criteria, Steven Beller's strong thesis that (high) Viennese fin-de-siècle culture was Jewish was beyond a doubt fruitful. I say 'was,' since in the meantime Beller has very much relativized and differentiated his thesis. That too is what controversy is about. There is, in fact, strong agreement that the expulsion and destruction of the Jews was a cultural catastrophe for Austria, extinguishing to a great extent potential for innovation. I also agree with the further thesis that the destruction of Viennese Jewry had narrowed and provincialized Austrian culture. The point of contention is: was this culture up to 1938 'Jewish,' and what could that mean?

I see two problems with Beller's original thesis:

1. It blurs the difference between 'Jewish' and 'Jewish ancestry.' The first has to do with an identity subjectively appropriated and accepted, be it religious, cultural, or ethnic-national. The second has to do with a culture that one can escape through assimilation, 'willingly' choosing a different, new identity. The historical question of the extent to which the old culture continues to have an underground influence is just as difficult as it is important. It was certainly not the devout orthodox Jewry that had been so creative in Vienna, but the assimilated Jews who moved between three



Ernst Hanisch

shifting poles: Jewish — German — Austrian. What is to be explained is: why were people of Jewish ancestry particularly innovative? Along with the factors mentioned by Beller, one can recognize the effect of a particular social dynamic. Outside of both the old Jewish culture as well as the new German-Austrian culture, assimilated Jews did not have recourse to common solutions and accepted conventions. They were compelled to take new paths and conquer new lands of the spirit. This fostered, when combined with a strong desire for social advancement, a particularly creative milieu.

2. To be a Jew meant something different before the Holocaust. After 1938 the subjective decision for another, non-Jewish identity was reversed. All who had Jewish ancestry were — to use an expression of Otto Baur — bound together in a 'community of persecution' and threatened with death. Hans Maier formulated this problem the sharpest, saying of himself as the author Jean Amery: "When I say that I am Jewish, I mean by that all the realities and possibilities encompassed in the number assigned the prisoner at Auschwitz."

The question is whether Auschwitz is relevant to the period before 1938. If one were to answer yes, then Hitler wins at least on the power of the definition. I read the intervention by Ernst Gombrich as a warning against this, which is also a warning about the hermeneutic circle — the historian knows the results of historical processes and the strategies of those who acted and suffered, but lived in the horizon of an open future. It is the task of the historian to analytically construct the open horizon of a past time. We must look carefully to be able to grasp the plurality of identities of the Austrians of Jewish ancestry before 1938. Only by doing this can we also recognize their worth. The culture of that time has been destroyed. We who have come later must also share in the responsibility. Flights into sentimental philo-Semitism cannot help us, only the understanding of the ethos of that culture: tough intellectual honesty.

Participants in the panel discussion were:

Steven Beller, Historian, Washington D. C.
Kurt Rudolf Fischer, Prof. of Philosophy, Vienna
Brigitte Hamann, Historian, Vienna
Ernst Hanisch, Prof. of History, Salzburg; IWM Visiting Fellow 1998

Allan Janik, Prof. of Philosophy, Forschungsinstitut Brenner-Archiv, Innsbruck
Friedrich Stadler, Prof. of the History of Science, ZIIS (Center for International and Interdisciplinary Studies, University of Vienna); Director, Institut Wiener Kreis (Moderation)

Literature:

Ernst Gombrich: *Reflections on the Jewish Catastrophe*, London (Österreichisches Kulturinstitut), London 1997.

In cooperation with ZIIS (Zentrum für internationale und interdisziplinäre Studien Universität Wien) and the *Institut Wiener Kreis* and with support from the *Jewish Welcome Service*.

Discussion

Vienna — Moscow — Vienna

No other culture has attached as much importance to the written word as the Russian. And nowhere else did the literary intelligentsia of this century have a similarly dramatic history — at home and in exile — from the end of czarism via the October Revolution and the Soviet period to Perestroika.

With the collapse of Communism the intelligentsia has gone through yet another metamorphosis. But after only a short sense of euphoria, the battle, it seems, has been won at a price: Intellectuals have lost their moral bonus and today have disintegrated into a bizarre diversity of positions, groups, and trends.

Surely this has been an earthquake for Russian culture. From a Western perspective, is this only belated normality? The fascination with post-soviet Moscow points to the idea that there must be more, as well for us in the West. This discussion series, which will be continued in the second half of the year, tries to give insight into the current cultural scene of the Russian capital. The series is jointly organized by the journals *Transit - Europäische Revue* and *Wespennest*. We print Wolfgang Müller-Funk's commentary on Masha Gessen's book *Dead Again* from the second event.

Wolfgang Müller-Funk: Mystics, Governors, Dissidents: A Comment on Masha Gessen's *Dead Again*

Masha Gessen's book on the history of the Russian intelligentsia, on its ambitions and its failure, is at once melancholy and amusing. It is melancholy because in the end it points to a loss. And it is amusing in its description of the Russian intelligentsia before, and above all after, 1989. The laughter may stick in one's throat as one reads Gessen's book, but it certainly destroys the pathos on which the classic intellectual depended. Russia appears as the country in which the modern cleric is finally buried. At the end of her book there is a sense of helplessness, which is honest and is not in a hurry to find answers: "Isaiah Berlin's description of the Russian intelligentsia as bound by a 'collective sense of guilt' may have been the most apt definition of the intelligentsia as a group — but as people they were better defined by their stubborn and irrational belief in individual agency ... Their descendants, the children without faith, had nothing to shield them. Only constant resonance could keep their fear at bay. Only seeing their own reflections, only perfecting them, the mass media could prove to them that they existed. They had to be heroes — but only of comic strips."

Russia and its intelligentsia have completed the journey from early modernity to postmodernity at breathtaking speed. That gives rise to nonsynchronicities. Thus bad-tempered intellectual know-alls from the nineteenth century are face to face with figures who have absorbed the determination of existence through appearance in the course of short stays in the metropolises of the West; figures like the eccentric journalist Yaroslav Mogutin and Alina Vitukhnovskaya, the poetry sensation from the

Moscow underground scene — a combination of Dostoyevski and comic strip. A curious continuation of the traditions of the Russian intelligentsia. At any rate, the postmodern actors are well aware of their comical, that is, inappropriately oblique relationship to what was once called reality and which dissolves into thin air through exaggerated design and exposure. "Make me the hero of your comic strip", the media smart poetess has scrawled in eye-liner on the wall above her bed. No longer a life as in a novel, but an existence as two-dimensional transfer.

The intellectual parents and grandparents of the present generation of intellectuals did not yet know that they were comic figures, to be sure more Don Quixote than Goofy. Indeed the Western cultural archetype created by Cervantes seems to me to be very appropriate to describe what commonly goes by the name of an intellectual. His energy is the result of a misunderstanding, of a mistake, an anachronism and a displacement — both temporally and spatially. And if it is true that the trader and the hero are the configurations which stood opposed at the beginning of modernity, then the intellectual must structurally be the heir to that noble man and his ideals. In contrast to the latter's inclusive character, the intellectual has an elitist self-conception and, insofar as he comes from art and literature, regards himself as a living contradiction of common sense — especially in democratic states.

Hegel reduced the paradoxical constitution of Cervantes' hero to self-misunderstanding when he writes,

In his Don Quixote it is a noble nature, in which knighthood becomes madness, in which his adventurousness finds itself amidst the solid, defined conditions of a reality whose external circumstances are exactly described. This gives rise to the comic conflict between a rational self-ordering world and an isolated disposition, which first wants to create this order and solidity through itself and through knighthood, by which, however, it could only be overthrown ... Don Quixote is a character who in his madness is utterly certain of himself and of his cause, or rather only this is his madness, that he is and remains so certain of his cause. (Hegel, Aesthetics, II)

In their ideals of the 'universal improvement' of the 'existing order and prose of reality,' the members of the Russian intelligentsia, to whom Masha Gessen introduces us, remain certain of their cause: the prophets of doom like Solzhenitsyn and Moysheyev, Igor Shafarevich, the ingenious anti-Semite, 'mathematician and political philosopher', the newly religious and the mystics, the neo-feminists and the businessmen, the politicians in a hurry, the rulers and the former dissidents, who conjure up the pathos of days gone by.

Part of the charm of Masha Gessen's book is that the author makes use of a genre which has almost died out in Gennan: the literary reportage. Gessen, whose parents were dissidents, is able to look at the intellectual situation of her country from two perspectives: that of the stranger and that of the native. She writes in English but is simultaneously at home in Russian culture. She makes use of this tension, neither romanticising nor damning the native intelligentsia. She approaches her interviewees in a manner that is both sensitive and disarming. The reader feels that this journalistic enterprise is informed by a personal commitment: to the emancipation of a generation from an intelligentsia which shaped it. Gessen portrays people, their attitudes and manner. She is also without prejudice towards those intellectuals — as people — who really do propagate unpleasant views; it is because she mistrusts the banal moralism which holds that only bad people preach bad things that she succeeds in drawing such psychologically sensitive portraits. She outlines a typology of male and female intellectuals, by describing their biographies, tricks, turns, and conversions. For all the differences in the intellectual worlds, the usually anti-democratic structure always remains the same: an intellectual universe is revealed, in contrast to which every reality looks shabby and in which one is given the role of melancholy, but noble, hero. This relationship remains hidden from programmatically melancholy figures, from a prophet of doom like Sharvitsky, who blusters on about the downfall of literature, as much as the mystic crackpot Konstantin Kedrov and the religious maniac Olesha Nikolayevna, who expects Russia's salvation to come from the Orthodox Church. Gessen has assembled the whole cast of a great novel of society.

In their Quixotic self-misunderstanding these classic intellectuals fail to notice what is really decisive: that their rigorously advocated ideals, for which they would like to win the people, are interchangeable. The structure remains: that of the noble intellectual leader and hero in the context of the pathos of modernity's narrative — 'nation', 'freedom' and 'progress'. That the intellectual pathos was capable of turning into a religious one is not only a ques-

tion of Russian conditions, the persecution of the Orthodox Church, for example, but also of the circumstance that a religious structure was always present in the classic intellectual, even in those Western sceptical intellectuals who opposed the deceptions and the domination of the priests.

A pièce de résistance of Gessen's book for me is the chapter about the rulers of the mini-state of South Ossetia. Here the pathos of intellectual adventure turns to burlesque. University professors are suddenly transformed into political figures, making history and fighting one another and showing us the world of scholars as bloody farce. The academic paper is exchanged for the Kalashnikov, which the interviewer is encouraged to handle by an intellectual who has mutated into a freedom fighter.



Gessen, Klein, Müller-Funk

Gessen leaves us in a thoughtful mood. What happens when Don Quixote becomes aware of his

madness? That would be a fantastic ending to an epic comic strip. Several variations are conceivable and Masha Gessen also presents some of them: Don Quixote becomes rich and practical, remains poor and melancholy or gets carried away by black 'events'. In every case, the loss of the melancholy, but noble, figure appears almost unavoidable. The hero, who sees through himself, becomes weary and lacks drive, no more than a game within a game, because meanwhile everyone has got used to the fact that there are Don Quixotes.

The reply of the 'bad generation' indicates a brash and fast-moving version of the breaking of the spell of the intellectual. An episode which is, not least, fed by the peculiarities of the Russian situation, that cocktail of primitive capitalism and postmodern glamour.

I would like to argue for remaining loyal to Don Quixote in a very specific sense, and for not forgetting his feeling for lack and for the shortcomings of this world. Aside from that, intellectual hostility to intellectuals (which Gessen does not encourage) is something precarious, especially as the need for intellectual reflection and intellectual discourse does not, after all, 'disappear' — at most its classic proponent. So there remains the old question, whether those cultures, such as the Latin or, at times, the Slav, which possess as many intellectuals as once the Kingdom of Poland possessed noblemen, do not have something of an advantage over those countries in which intellectuals have always led a shadowy existence, politically speaking, such as the Protestant cultures of the Anglo-Saxon, German-speaking, or Scandinavian lands. Today — in postmodern times — it seems as if the poetry of political life, as it was embodied by the figure of the classic Zola-esque (or non-Zola-esque) intellectual, has indeed vanished together with the poetry and that we are

becoming witnesses to a further phase of de-sacralisation, a genuinely Protestant-Catholic one. It is not certain, whether professional organisations are not more efficient when it comes to preserving human rights, than the classic intellectual.

Gessen's book allows us to pose these questions beyond the Russian peculiarities, as well as the question, whether along with feminism, with which the author sympathises, other intellectual configurations will come to bear.

Translated from German by Martin Chalmers
and Esther Kinsky

Program

15 April

[Bewohner zweier Welten \(Inhabitants of Two Worlds\)](#)

Elisabeth Markstein (Vienna) and Solomon Apt (Moscow) in conversation with Peter Huemer (Vienna)

Elisabeth Markstein who in the 1930s lived in Moscow as an emigré, and Salomon Apt belong to the most important mediators between the German and Russian literature of the twentieth century.

About translations — not only between languages but between lifeworlds. About the troubles of translating — under the conditions of a totalitarian regime or under the constraints of the market today.

Elisabeth Markstein, born in 1929 in Vienna, went to school in Moscow, studied Slavic languages in Vienna.

Essays on the Russian language and contemporary Literature. Translated amongst others Dostoyevski, Solzhenitsyn, Grossmann, Schalamow, Gorenstein.

Solomon Apt, born in Moscow, lives there. Gained the Austrian State Prize for Translators in 1988.

Monographies on Thomas Mann and Bertolt Brecht.

Translator of amongst others Brecht, Musil (*Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*), Canetti (*Die Blendung*), Thomas Mann (*Josef und seine Brüder*), and Stifter's *Nachsommer*.

Peter Huemer, born in 1941 in Linz, Austria, lives in Vienna. Journalist and Historian.

22 April,

[Intelligentsia Revisited I: The New Cultural Disorder](#)
Presentation and discussion of Masha Gessen's new book 'Dead Again: The Russian Intelligentsia after Communism'

Masha Gessen (Moscow)

Commentator: Wolfgang Müller-Funk (Vienna)

Moderation: Erich Klein, (Moscow/Vienna)

Mascha Gessen, born in 1967 in Moscow. emigrated in 1981 to the United States where she worked as a journalist. In 1994 she returned to Russia where she works for the weekly magazine *Itogi* and has a column in the journal *Matador*. She is editor of *Lingua Franca* and correspondent for *The New Republic*. Her reportages from the post-communist world appear regularly in *Wired*. Her book

Dead again: The Russian Intelligentsia after Communism, was published by Verso in 1997 and recently appeared in German.

Wolfgang Müller-Funk, born in 1952, lives in Vienna.

Philosopher, literary scholar, and essayist.

Erich Klein, born in 1961 in Altenburg (Lower Austria).

Since 1990 he has worked as a translator and journalist in Moscow and Vienna.

23 April

[Gogols Mantel \(Gogol's Coat\)](#)

Jurij Norstein (Moscow)

Introduction: Aage Hansen-Löve (Munich/Vienna),

Moderation: Erich Klein

At the end of the 1970s the well-known cartoon filmer and director Jurij Norstein began with the realization of the Gogol's classic novel. The film, which today still is only a fragment, is considered by experts one of the great achievements of the Russian cinema. Presentation of the film and discussion with the director.

Jurij Norstein, artist and cartoon filmer, made his debut as film director in 1968. Since then, he has made more than forty films.

Aage Hansen-Löve, born in 1947 in Vienna. Professor for Slavic Literature at the University of Munich. He is editor of the *Wiener Slawistische Almanach*.

29 April

[Intelligentsia Revisited II: Looking Forward in Anger — Russian Intellectuals in Search of Themselves](#)

Irina Prochorova, Literary Scholar; Editor of *NLO - Novoje Literaturnoje Obosrenje (New Literary Review)*, Moscow

Moderation: Walter Famler, Editor-in-Chief, *Wespennest*, Vienna

The journal *NLO - Novoje Literaturnoje Obosrenje*, which was founded after Glasnost and Perestrojka, has within a few years become the leading intellectual journal in Moscow and the major forum for controversial debates. The "thick Journal," declared dead (a Russian peculiarity) celebrates its resurrection. The literary and philosophical discourse in *NLO*, the review of the literary heritage to the most recent past demonstrates a strong intellectual potential beyond the import of Western theory.

Irina Prochorowa, born in 1956 in Moscow. She gained her Ph.D. in 1985 with a thesis on English Modernism.

From 1986 - 1992 she was editor of the journal *Literary Review*. In 1992 she founded the *New Literary Review (NLO - Novoje Literaturnoje Obosrenje)*. She is editor-in-chief of the journal and director of a publishing house of the same name.

Walter Famler, born in 1958 in Bad Hall (Upper Austria), journalist and publisher in Vienna.

SOCO

SOCO Program Grants for Research and Social Policy Dissemination Projects

The objective of the SOCO program is to achieve a better understanding of the social impact of the post-communist transformation and to communicate alternative policy options to political leaders in the new democracies. Projects are selected on the basis of the quality of the proposal and the extent of the plans for disseminating findings and providing recommendations to policymakers. The following projects were chosen for support in 1997 and are presently underway:

[Residential Segregation of Gypsy Population in Hungary: Segregation Patterns, Social Impacts and the Role of Social Policy](#)

A Research Project to be carried out from October 1997 to October 1998

COORDINATOR: Gabor Kertesi (Hungary) Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy Of Sciences, Budapest

TEAM MEMBER: Gabor Kezdi, Research Fellow, Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy Of Sciences

This project will map the changing ethnic segregation patterns of Hungary's Gypsies, a population that has been negatively impacted by the economic and political transition.

In Hungary, Gypsies make up 4.5% of the overall population, by far the largest ethnic minority in Hungary. Since the 1970s they have been moving to cities in large numbers, motivated by a large-scale national social housing program of the 1970s and 1980s and the over demand for low-skilled labor generated by forced socialist industrialization. This movement resulted in the dissolution of traditional Gypsy communities in the outskirts of towns and over the boundaries of villages. Although ethnic segregation was thereby somewhat weakened, it reemerged in new forms after the mid-1980s — in urban ghettos of the downtown areas in big industrial centers and in the inner parts of villages of the most backward areas of the country — as the decline of employment opportunities of uneducated workers since the mid-1980s and the sudden collapse of full employment by the change of the political and economic system at the end of the decade destroyed the livelihood of these low-skilled workers. Even many of those people who had managed to advance to relatively well-paid jobs were driven out of the labor market. This mass unemployment affected Gypsy ghettos more severely than ethnically mixed communities since ethnic segregation aggravates the consequences of poverty. Without opportunities, the segregated downtown areas became hotbeds of urban poverty, the underground economy, crime and prostitution, which in turn create a vicious circle of low education, unemployment, deviant behavior and further poverty. In the new underclass, the Gypsy minority living in segregated neighborhoods became highly overrepresented.

The empirical research will be comprehensive and nation-wide. It will cover the twenty years between 1970 and 1990 and use the smallest possible observation units:

more than 80,000 Census tracts. This will be the first time that such Census tract files are created, with hundreds of new variables generated exactly for the purpose of studying ethnic segregation.

The steps of the research are:

1. Description of ethnic segregation in Hungary in 1990: identification of segregated Gypsy neighborhoods and segregated poor non-Gypsy neighborhoods.
2. Changing patterns of ethnic segregation: identification of segregated Gypsy Census tracts in 1970, and a comparison with a similar typology in 1990.
3. Analysis of the social consequences: separation of the impacts of ethnic and non-ethnic segregation and separation of the effects of segregation and local depression. Measurement of individual and household-level differences between those Gypsies living in segregated or mixed communities. Measurement of the same differences between non-Gypsies living in segregated Gypsy neighborhoods or in other areas. Governmental social programs that can relieve segregation or the consequences of segregation will be evaluated as well.

This research program will shed light on several important aspects of the social impact of transition, namely disparities in the regional distribution of social costs, who is hit most by poverty, and coping strategies of the poor. It is multidisciplinary in that it combines sociological explanations with economic models used for discovering micro-level processes.

[Panel Study on the Monitoring of Household Living Conditions in Poland](#)

A Research Project to be carried out from April 1997 to June 1998

COORDINATOR: Tomasz Panek (Poland), Professor, Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw School of Economics
PERFORMING ORGANIZATION: Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw

TEAM MEMBERS: Irena E. Kotowska, Professor, Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw
Ilona Blaszczyk-Przybycinska, Assistant Professor, Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw
Jaroslaw Podgorski, Assistant Professor, Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw
Adam Szuluc, Assistant Professor, Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw

This project aims to build a system of permanent observation and analysis of change in the living conditions of households under transformation in Poland. The survey maps the income position of households, shifts in household expenditures and households' evaluation of their income situation. The survey provides insight into how households adjust to rapid economic, social and political changes, identifies groups at risk of poverty and permits the assessment of the efficiency of social assistance in terms of its targeting and influence on household welfare. Mapping changes in the household income position over two years provides information on income mobility, considered also in terms of socio-economic characteristics of winners and losers.

The study focuses on the following issues: income mobility, the impact of macroeconomic improvements on living conditions and the effects of changes in social assistance regulations on its efficiency. Two groups of social assistance claimants are of primary interest: the unemployed and the disabled. The results will lead to two types of recommendations: for policy and for the regular panel survey on household living conditions. The second form of recommendations will concern: methods of poverty measurement (objective and subjective), the collection of poverty statistics that ensures inter-country comparability and adequacy to household welfare stratification, and minimal requirements for establishing a system of monitoring living conditions in Poland. The research results will be presented in a seminar.

[An Investigation of the Provisions of Care and Training Facilities for Disabled People in Poland: Changing Structures and Changing Philosophies](#)

A Research Project to be carried out from December 1997 to January 1999

COORDINATOR: EWA Skrzetuska (Poland) Senior Lecturer, Department of Special Education, Marie Curie Skłodowska University, Lublin

TEAM MEMBERS: Ena Elsey, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, University of Teesside
Anna Wojnarska, Lecturer, Department of Special Education, Marie Curie Skłodowska University, Lublin

The project aims to investigate the current situation regarding the provision of care, training and employment for disabled people in Poland and ascertain the level and extent of the changes that have occurred as a result of the economic transition process since 1990. Initially, the work will concentrate on three regions in central eastern Poland: Lublin, Zamosc and Biala Podlaska, where it is suggested that the level of social welfare provision is lower than elsewhere in Poland, although the results will be discussed in the context of the country as a whole.

Briefly, the research methodology will consist of the compilation and distribution of 'provider' and 'user' surveys to obtain information from these groups about changes in the methods of funding care for the disabled, the organization of care and the extent of its universality. In addition, the need for, and the provision of, special accommodation and adaptation of the working environment will be investigated. The surveys will also seek to ascertain the extent to which institutional changes since

1990 have actually met the expectations of personnel caring for disabled people in both state and private institutions, and whether the real needs of disabled people and of those who deliver care are known and are taken into account.

The results of this project will enable the research team to undertake a needs assessment to identify the future resource requirements necessary to achieve improvements in the standards of care and training for disabled people to the levels of those already established in EU member countries. The team has been asked to make available a detailed written report of its findings to the Ministry of Health in Poland, the UK Foreign Office and the UK Charities Aid Foundation.

[Public Policy Discussion Paper Series](#)

A Policy Information Initiative to be carried out from October 1997 to September 1998

COORDINATOR: István G. Tóth (Hungary) Director, TARKI (Social Research Informatics Center), Budapest

The aim of this project is to improve communication between the academic community, policy analysts and policymakers. First, via a public policy working paper series, the findings of the social research institute TARKI will be made accessible to a non-scientific audience, including policymakers, policy analysts and the public. TARKI has an extensive research agenda covering a wide range of relevant social, economic policy and general public policy issues. Second, the papers will be prepared under the discipline of workshops that include a wide group of participants, providing many actors the opportunity to shape the papers' public policy conclusions.

The series will contribute to the public debates on various social reform issues. Topics to be covered include TARKI's empirical research findings on social phenomena such as poverty, inequalities and labor market developments. Another part of the series will concentrate on policy reforms such as pension, health and tax reforms.

The series will be distributed to policymakers with the help of the Office of the Parliament and to the wider public with the help of a reputable Hungarian daily newspaper. The papers will be approximately 30 pages in length and contain a short summary in Hungarian and English. They will contain policy recommendations.

[Health Care Reform Forum](#)

A Policy Information Initiative to be carried out from December 1997 to August 1998

COORDINATOR: Michał Kornatowski (Poland) President, Institute for Mutual Insurance Support, Warsaw

PERFORMING ORGANIZATION: Institute for Public Affairs, Warsaw

TEAM MEMBER: Witold P. Kalbarczyk, Public Health Research Agency (PHRA), Warsaw

The goals of this project are:

- to create a professional, non-politically biased forum for the exchange of experience and ideas on developing a modern health care system in Poland

- to develop general recommendations on health policy, health care and health delivery systems for local governments, parliament and the central government
- to develop general rules for a model of a future modern health care system in Poland
- to develop a means for the evaluation of state health policy that has been implemented during the transformation.

The premise for this project is that Poland presently lacks a professional discussion, independent of immediate political considerations, on health care policy. Most of the fundamental decisions on health care made by politicians are based not on public opinion, research findings or the experiences of other countries, but on the general social ideologies of the powerful political parties. The project participants intend to prepare professional recommendations based on broad public debate and the ideas many groups involved in health policy and health care delivery. Serious reform has not been attempted so far in Poland because the complete uncertainty about the potential consequences of such reform attempts results in a political risk that is judged unacceptable. In the meantime, health care expenditures remain low, access to health services is limited, difficult or even impossible and people have lower assessments of health safety than in the period under socialism. Poland needs therefore a public and professional discussion that includes the views of many political perspectives on which future modern system of health care should be created.

Some Consequences and Effects of Social Security Transformation in the Czech Republic

A Research Project to be carried out from October 1997 to September 1998

COORDINATOR: Tomáš Sirovátka (Czech Republic) Associate Professor, Department of Public Economics, Faculty of Economics and Administration, Masaryk University, Brno
 TEAM MEMBERS: Osvald Vasicek, Head, Department of Applied Mathematics and Informatics, Faculty of Economics and Administration, Masaryk University, Brno
 Jiri Winkler, Senior Lecturer, Department of Management, Faculty of Economics and Administration, Masaryk University, Brno

Mirka Wildmannova, Junior Lecturer, Department of Public Economics, Section for Social Policy, Faculty of Economics and Administration, Masaryk University, Brno

The objective of this project is to investigate the effects of the newly emerging social security system in the Czech Republic in selected fields of social security: pensions, family support (different kinds of family-related benefits), social assistance benefits and unemployment benefits.

The premise for this project is that the process of transition requires a new social security system that functions as a means of eliminating the existing as well as the newly emerging social risks. Higher income transfers are required to prevent a further widening of incomes. At the same time, the country's fiscal capacity is limited and an economic environment favorable to market conditions must be created. The main aims of the changes in the social security systems in transition countries have

Grants to be Awarded for Social Policy Research and Policy Reform Activities

Deadline for Applications: October 1, 1998

Proposals for research projects and information dissemination activities are welcomed for eligibility in the SOCO program's 4th competition for grant support. In this program, support is offered to research projects that analyze the social impact of the transition in Central Europe and investigate the effectiveness of social policies introduced since 1989 and to activities that disseminate the findings of scientific analysis in the public domain and advocate ideas for policy reforms to decision makers. The goal of this program is to bring about an improvement in social policies and social conditions in Central Europe.

In 1998 successful projects will address either of two themes as an integral part of the analysis:

- the widening disparities in income, opportunity and security between different regions of the Central and Eastern European countries
- the different impact of the transition and welfare reform on men and women and the social policy implications of this phenomenon.

The projects to receive funding will be selected on November 14 with consideration of the program's resource limits and the coherence of topics under the entire program. Applicants will learn of their proposal's status by November 30. Anyone wanting to participate should request application materials from the SOCO Program Coordinator on <iwm@iwu.univie.ac.at> or fax: 43-1-31358-30. Further competitions will take place in 1999 and 2000.

The SOCO Selection Committee members are:

Ira Katznelson, Chair, Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History, Columbia University, New York.

Zsuzsa Ferge, Professor of Sociology; Head of the Dept. of Social Policy, Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, Eötvös Lorand University, Budapest.

Georg Fischer, Head of the Employment Policy Division, Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs (DG V), European Commission, Brussels.

Antoinette Hetzler, Professor of Social Policy, Department of Sociology, Lund University.

Jane Lewis, Professor of Sociology; Fellow of All Souls College and Director, The Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford University.

Jan Litynski, MP, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Social Affairs, Warsaw.

Claus Offe, Professor of Sociology; Chair, Dept. of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humboldt University of Berlin.

Sona Szomolanyi, Professor of Sociology; Department of Political Science, Comenius University, and Member of the Institute for Sociology, Slovak Academy of Science, Bratislava.

Franz Traxler, Professor of Sociology, Institute of Sociology, Center of Business Administration, University of Vienna.

The SOCO program is made possible with the generous support of the Austrian Federal Chancellery's Program for Cooperation with Countries in Central and Eastern Europe, the Ford Foundation and the Stefan Batory Foundation.

therefore been in the direction of more transparency and better targeting. The use of means-testing is prominent. But the effects of targeted schemes are very sensitive to the quality of their design. Therefore the legislative design, expenditures on social security and the various effects of the chosen system should be evaluated in the light of the social needs and risks emerging from the transition process. An evaluation of the complex consequences of the ongoing social security system change on the basis of evidence has so far been lacking.

The following range of effects will be studied:

- re-distributive effects including the marginal tax rate
- unintended effects such as disincentives (and the poverty trap)
- the impact of the schemes (who are eligible and who are recipients in the schemes, and the links of eligibility to subsistence level income and poverty)
- non-take up of benefits and the reasons for non-take up
- the quality of client-social administrator interactions
- public opinion and attitudes towards the social security system.

The effects will be evaluated on the basis of the government's goals for the social security system transformation. The effectiveness of the schemes in alleviating the social risks emerging from the transition process (inequalities, poverty, unemployment, social marginalization) will also be evaluated. Special attention will be paid to low-income households.

The research approach is multidisciplinary. A combination of economic techniques (modeling and statistical analyses) and sociological research techniques will be used. A secondary analysis of macroeconomic, microeconomic and sociological data will be made and will be supplemented with qualitative sociological field research.

This study should contribute to a better understanding of the nature and the functions of social security systems and to a reshaping of the design of the system in the Czech Republic. The results will be published as a monograph and made widely available.

Impact of Social Transfers on Poverty and Income Inequality in Slovenia

A Research Project to be carried out from September 1997 to July 1998

COORDINATOR: Tine Stanovnik (Slovenia) Senior Researcher, Institute for Economic Research, Ljubljana

TEAM MEMBER: Nada Stropnik, Senior Researcher, Institute for Economic Research, Ljubljana

The objective of this project is to find out what would have been the extent of poverty and inequality in Slovenia if there had been no social transfers. The project will result in conclusions concerning the positive impact as well as the limits of social transfers in alleviating poverty and income inequality in Slovenia. The comparison between the pre-transition and post-transition periods will show the impact of the changed social welfare legislation. The research will also try to identify other factors that influ-

enced the change in the socio-economic position of the Slovenian population in the decade 1983-1993.

On the basis of the research results the researchers will make specific proposals on what changes in social policy would lower the extent of poverty in Slovenia and improve the economic position of the population subgroups that suffer most from the consequences of the transition. This would add to a decrease in social costs of transition and to a better understanding of the social impact of political and economic transformation in Slovenia. Without such knowledge, it is hardly possible for social policy to be successful in partly neutralizing the transition's negative consequences and in preventing further deterioration in the socio-economic status of the most vulnerable population groups.

To reach their objectives, the researchers will evaluate poverty status and income inequality on the basis of both the household pre-transfer disposable income and the disposable income minus income transfers. The social transfers to be taken into account are social security transfers, social assistance and family benefits. These include pensions (old-age, disability and survivors), benefits associated with invalidity, unemployment benefits, sickness benefits, social assistance and child allowances. Population groups and household types that gain most from specific social transfers will be identified.

The researchers will estimate poverty rates for the Slovenian population as a whole, for specific subgroups, e.g. children and pensioners, and for specific household types, and will identify the population groups most at risk of poverty. Since changes in income inequality add to the clarification of the impact of social transfers, pre-transfer and post-transfer income inequality will be measured.

Comparisons across time will reveal that if poverty rates are rising, social transfers are less effective in income protection, or if poverty rates are decreasing, social transfers are successful in neutralizing transition-period economic threats to household budgets.

The research team will disseminate its conclusions and proposals widely, trying first of all to influence the current decision-making process concerning social policy. The team intends also to stimulate the debate on current and future social policy in Slovenia.

The SOCO program is made possible with the generous support of the *Austrian Federal Chancellery* via its Program for Cooperation with Countries in Central and Eastern Europe, the *Ford Foundation* and the *Stefan Batory Foundation*.

IWM Working Report

Selma Sevenhuijsen: Trust and Compassion in Current Discussions of Social Cohesion: A Feminist Ethics of Care Perspective

Selma Sevenhuijsen is a political theorist and Professor of Women's Studies at the University of Utrecht and currently Visiting Fellow of IWM

Current discussions of social cohesion

For several years, social policies and citizenship-issues, in many Western countries, have no longer been framed exclusively in terms of rights, duties and interests. The transformation of the welfare state and the privatization of a wide scope of public provisions have occasioned a shift in political discourse and enhanced the political use of new moral concepts like responsibility, trust, compassion, and loyalty. Under Thatcherite policy regimes, the use of these new moral concepts was aimed at constructing a new interplay between 'the' individual and market forces and at minimizing the role of the state and of politics as collective responsibility. Under the influence of, amongst others, the renewal of social-democratic and ecological policies, we are now witnessing a counterbalancing movement: a renewal of the interest in civil society, civic culture and civic virtue. This is joined by a search for new forms of 'welfare mix', new balances between public responsibilities, market provisions, and the responsibilities of individuals and families. Discussions of social inclusion and exclusion and social cohesion have focussed again on the importance of education, social work, and community work, topics that had faded into the background in the eighties under the pressure of budget cuts. There is also a growing trend to use social security provisions in a manner that stimulates the individuals concerned to enter or re-enter the labor market and thus to further their social participation and social integration.

It will be an important question for the near future how these institutions and provisions can be shaped in accordance with democratic principles, i.e. with attention for the needs of the people involved, and optimal amounts of participation and political inclusion of different social groups. This is crucial since it is by no means clear yet how social cohesion can be brought about. Although there is a growing literature on the topic, there is no clarity about the question of what we should understand social cohesion to be, or how to investigate it. Scientific paradigms are often entangled in a complex manner with political strategies. The quest for social cohesion can easily mean a swing backwards to an ideal of a homogeneous society that is explicitly or implicitly based on the exclusion of difference and on traditional gender arrangements and that thrives on extended forms of normalization and social control. But cohesion can also be enhanced by attentiveness to what current democratic theory stresses as crucial for moral and political judgment: striving after inclusive policies that are based on, and enhance respect for, plurality and human flourishing.

The contribution of the feminist ethics of care

It is at this point, I think, that the feminist ethics of care can make considerable contributions to current public discussions and policy making, at least if we see care as a political concept, and manage to integrate it in a fruitful manner into current theories of democratic citizenship. In the first stage of academic scholarship about the ethics of care the discussion was focussed mainly on the question of whether gender differences in moral reasoning exist, and how these might be explained in the context of gendered identities. Recent scholarship focusses more on the content and the effect of moral discourse itself. By



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deconstructing the genderload of traditional moral theories and concepts it has become possible to rethink moral categories from the perspective of care, and to take women's practices as a source of moral reflection. This approach has created the space to see

care as no longer by definition traditional or as a trap for women's self-realization, but rather as a meaningful social and political practice that entails its own specific values and virtues, while at the same time remaining sensitive to moral dilemmas and questions of power and dominance. By arguing that care should no longer be confined to the private sphere, where it is linked to binary constructions of femininity and masculinity, feminist political theorists have developed new approaches to issues of autonomy, justice, authority, equality, and democracy, which can accommodate a relational perspective on human nature and political agency (e.g. Tronto 1993, Hirschmann and DiStefano 1996, Clement 1996, DiQuinzio and Young 1997, Bowden 1997, Young, 1997, Sevenhuijsen 1998).

Placing trust and care in theories of social cohesion

This emergent approach in political philosophy is informed by a thorough critique of the individualistic image of human nature that is at the basis of the knowledge practices of mainstream social and political theory. The idea of the self-contained, self-interested, atomistic and calculating individual has led to manifold puzzles for theories on social cooperation, solidarity, and cohesion, since it tends to depart from a contradiction between the

existence of individual human beings on the one hand and social cooperation, loyalty, and commitment on the other. If theorizing departs from these individualistic assumptions, it is the emergence of social ties and cooperation that have to be explained, as if they were only an addendum to human society. These modes of thinking have also filtered through in the way trust has come to the foreground of current social and political theory. The problem with many contemporary trust theories is that, on the one hand, they see the need for trust as a medium of social cohesion, but on the other they have difficulties in conceptualizing trust in this context because they are, in my view at least, hindered by the assumption that human beings are egoistic, calculating persons in the first place. By implication, the conceptualization of trust is not only caught in the parameters of exchange and rational choice but also in binary modes of thinking, like that between trust and distrust, self and other, egoism and altruism, selfishness and connectedness, autonomy and dependency. This justifies a conception of trust and social cohesion in which the market and paid work that are seen as the exclusive locus of trust-building and cooperation, as is exemplified in the work of Frances Fukuyama (Fukuyama 1995). Care has no place in this mode of thinking, or it is channelled in its conceptual framework, for example by seeing the household as a locus of calculated exchange between equal partners (f.e. Raub 1998).

It is also striking that in the leading literature trust is easily equated with other phenomena like cooperation, friendship, promising, solidarity, and order. It is overwhelmingly seen as a system characteristic, instead of a dimension of human agency. Too often still it is conceptualized in a functionalist mode, that not only derives the meaning of trust from these phenomena, but also tends to underrate the special nature of politics, in the sense of collective agency and judgment. It is my contention that an approach from care can overcome these difficulties. While mainstream theories of trust have difficulties in placing trust in an interactional and relational model and in thinking in terms of dependency, vulnerability, and power, the feminist ethics of care places these phenomena in the centre of thinking about human life. The American philosopher Annette Baier, who is one of the few authors who writes about trust as a topic in itself, has proposed to think about trust as entrusting, and thus as an activity, that is enacted both consciously and subconsciously. She says that trust is "letting other persons (or institutions, like firms and nations) take care of something the truster cares about, where such 'caring for' involves some kind of discretionary powers" (Baier 1994: 105). In this manner, the moral dimensions of trust come to the foreground of thinking on this topic, which is also underlined by Baier's statement that "trust is reliance on another's competence and willingness to look after, rather than harm things one cares about which are entrusted to the carer" (id. 128).

Trust and the values of caring: towards an approach in terms of citizenship

Because Baier conceptualizes trust in a manner which implicates care, it becomes possible to articulate in a more reflexive manner the values and virtues that can enable thinking about the moral dimensions of trust as an interactional practice. Here the values of the ethics of care as formulated by Berenice Fisher and Joan Tronto are a fruitful starting point for thinking (Tronto 1993). They have stated that attentiveness, responsibility, competence, and responsiveness are the core values of an ethic of care. These values can indeed support open forms of communication between trusting and trusted actors. They are more valuable in this respect than liberal norms of non-interference and utilitarian norms of the maximization of utility and minimalization of damage. An attitude of caring implies after all deliberate forms of deliberate acting in order to fulfill needs. Entrusting and being trusted can be seen in this respect as important 'chains' in caring processes. Care can only proceed in a qualitative good manner when the actors involved in caring processes can handle the moral dilemmas of trust and distrust, dependency, vulnerability, and power. The aforementioned four values may then be extended and refined by adding, as Baier does, other values like forgiveness, but also compassion, self-reflexivity, modesty, promising, and truthfulness. These are helpful in seeing trust as a communicative process. Here we have indeed entered the domain of virtue ethics, which is implied by the proposal to see both care and trust as a social practice.

It will be a challenge for social theory in the near future to investigate if and how these perspectives can be integrated in new models of social policy and citizenship. Care-oriented modes of understanding trust underline the need for taking responsibility as a core concept of citizenship practices, and to engage in situated discussions of how responsibility can be elaborated in different contexts and positions of political judgment and collective action. This approach also has the potential to integrate perspectives of justice and care, moral vocabularies that have frequently been positioned as opposite and mutually exclusive. This supposes, however, that the rights and duties of citizenship are framed in a needs-oriented manner, and that the agency-dimension of citizenship is underlined. The other contribution of the care ethic is, then, that it may break through the fixation on labour market participation as a sole manner of social participation and integration that is still ingrained in many policy conceptions. Not only do we live in an area of substantive transformation of the structures of labor, like flexibilization and new forms of expertise, transformations that pose the need for new bases of entitlements, but there is also a need for acknowledging and valuing caring practices which have traditionally been seen as private concerns, and have thus been kept outside the scope of politics, and thus outside of discussions on for example income policies, social security law, and family law. It is in this respect an open question how future policies will



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accommodate the care for children and the elderly, but also care between adults, in a manner that meets both standards of justice between men and women and criteria for the quality of human life and social cohesion.

Many observers see trust as a crucial medium of social cohesion. I think this is only a realistic expectation when we undo trust from its dimensions of social homogeneity, that are encapsulated in the deeply seated common sense ideas and discourses that 'we' can only trust what is familiar to 'us', while at the same time acknowledging the value of recognition, security, and belonging. When trust is equated with familiarity in a simple manner it thrives on a drive to control the unknown and keep the unfamiliar at bay. These conceptions have the inherent tendency to feed constructions of 'otherness', and thus to create their own strangers and enemies. In this manner they contribute more to processes of exclusion than to solidarity and inclusion. Equally dissatisfying are conceptions of trust that are built on the idea of human individuals who calculate the risk of dealing with unknown and opaque strangers when handling questions of solidarity and cooperation. If we continue thinking about trust within these conceptual parameters, it is hard to discuss the moral dilemmas that come to the foreground when we conceptualize trust as entrusting: how humans can handle dependency, vulnerability, and power in an open manner in concrete situations of human agency. In my view, this is the main reason why trust should be seen in the context of democratic citizenship practices, and why we should take the handling of issues of difference and plurality as a challenge for political communication and political action.

Different contexts, different applications

With these remarks I have only outlined the contours of how issues of care and trust could be integrated into discussions of social cohesion and citizenship. They are formulated against the background of both Dutch policy discussions and international discussions about the politics of care — perspectives which I try to integrate in my writing on these topics. But I also have the hope that these approaches can be further discussed, refined, revised, and implemented in socio-political contexts that have to face different social problems than that of West European welfare states and their current transformations. It is indeed the great variety of cultural and political practices of care that can feed the future discussions of care and trust as democratic practices. During my stay at the Institute for Human Sciences I have had the opportunity to enhance my insights in the complex political situation in Central and Eastern European countries in this respect. The trend in many post-communist societies is now to reconstruct society only in neo-liberal terms of markets and individuals. This happens paradoxically under a program to restore civil society. The resulting minimalization of politics, social justice, and collective responsibility is troubling from both the perspective of

gender politics and from the perspective of care as a social and political practice. But there are also voices who argue for a renewal of civil society and civic spirit and for a conception of politics and citizenship as the responsibility to 'make new things' (e.g. Jalusic 1997). The ethics of care could in this respect contribute to discussions about political values that can shape social policies, civil society, and public spheres in a democratic and inclusive manner.

During my period at the IWM I have also visited South Africa, where I had the chance of observing and discussing the complex social problems with which the new democratic government is faced in the post-apartheid era, of which poverty, violence and the huge inequalities in social, educational and spacial infrastructures, and thus in social capital, seem to me the most urgent ones. The legacy of apartheid policies is deeply felt in the caring practices in this society, where ethnic, gender, and class divisions are entangled in complicated manners. This points to the need for building political relations of cooperation and solidarity, in which both care and trust can have a place. Since Utrecht University is engaged in the UNITWIN treaty with several universities in the South African region I will have the chance to give a postgraduate course in Cape Town next academic year about gender, care, and democracy. I see such forms of disseminating ideas as one of the products of my stay at IWM, where the international dimension of discussions on new forms of democratic practices and social policies provide a supportive environment for the elaboration of concrete forms of working with these ideas. It is indeed the combination of supporting reflective research and organizing political discussions that makes IWM a unique place for doing practically engaged academic work that is thoroughly philosophically informed at the same time.

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Guests

Visiting Fellows

Winfried R. Garscha (January - June)

Historian, Archives of Austrian Resistance, Vienna, specializes in post-war trials in Europe. During his stay at IWM he is finalizing the research project "Legality and Legitimation: Political Justice in the Aftermath of World War II."

Ernst Hanisch (February - July)

Professor of History, University of Salzburg, is focusing his research on the history of masculinity in Austria in the 20th century. The first part of his project on which he is currently working, is entitled "Die Männlichkeit des Kriegers: Vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis in die Zweite Republik" (The Masculinity of the Warrior: From World War One to the Second Republic).

Important publications include: *Der lange Schatten des Staates. Österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1994; *Gau der guten Nerven. NS-Herrschaft in Salzburg*, Salzburg 1997. Recently his article "Regressive Modernisierung des Nationalsozialismus in Österreich und die Funktion der Kunst" was published in *Macht Literatur Krieg*, Uwe Baur (ed.), Vienna 1998.

Vlasta Jalusic (January - June)

Senior Research Fellow and Director, The Peace Institute, Ljubljana, works in the field of political theory and gender studies. She continued to work on her project exploring the potential for active citizenship as conceptually developed by Hannah Arendt. She does not only explore the commonalities between the Arendtian reconceptualization of politics and feminist analysis but also attempts to rethink both from the post-socialist perspective.

Her essay "Freedom versus Equality? Some Thoughts about the Attitudes Towards Gender Equality Politics in East and Central Europe" appeared in the Working Paper Series on the IWM Home page in the internet under <http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm/pub-wp.htm>.

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. He is continuing research on the problem of globalization and new inequalities, and, in connection with this, the post-communist restructuring 'from below'.

Martin Potucek (January - June)

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: "Will the Czech Republic Perform better?", in *Esprit*, No 2/1998; "A View of Czech Politics from Vienna" in *Slovo*, 17.4.1998; "The Czech

State Urgently Needs a Strategic Vision" in *Lidove Noviny*, 20.3.1998.

Irina Scherbakowa (January - June)

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.



Irina Scherbakowa

Her essay, "Sowjetische

Staatsangehörige und sonstige Ausländer in den Speziallagern der NKWD in Deutschland" appeared in *Sowjetische Speziallager in Deutschland 1945-1950. Vol. I, Studien und Berichte*, Alexander von Plato (ed.), Berlin 1998.

Selma Sevenhuijsen (January - June)

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 of 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. Please note her IWM Working Report in this Newsletter.

Her book, *Citizenship and the Ethics of Care: Feminist Considerations on Justice, Morality and Politics*, Routledge 1998, has just appeared, as well as her article "De vos, de leeuw en de nachtegaal. Over de rol van compassie in de politiek" (On the Role of Compassion in Politics) in *De Wereld in Therapie*, A. Meulenbelt (ed.), Amsterdam 1998.



Igors Suvajevs

Igors Suvajevs (January - June)

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.

Recently the following translations of his have appeared: N. Berdjajew: *Christianity, Communism and Eros*, (together with A. Zunde) Riga 1998; R. Simon-Schäfer: *A Small Philosophy for Berenice*, Aezkraokle 1998; S. Freud, "Einführung in die Psychoanalyse, 15. Lecture", in *Kentaurs XXI*. No. 15; two essays of his, "The Dreamer Freud" and "Ludwig Binswanger" also appeared in *Kentaurs XXI*. No.15/1998.

Tomasz Szarota (January - June)

Professor of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw. His current research is a comparative study of occupation and collaboration, ethnic cleansing, and the fate of the collaborators after World War II in East and West Europe.

Recent publications: "Der Pole in der deutschen Karikatur, 1914-1944. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung

nationaler Stereotypen," in Nachbarn sind der Rede Wert. Bilder der Deutschen von Polen und von Polen der Deutschen in der Neuzeit. Johannes Hoffmann (ed.), Dortmund 1997; "Karikatur und Feindbild als Kampfmittel des antideutschen Widerstandes im Zweiten Weltkrieg," in *Ridiculous* No 4/1997 (in an edition entitled: Tyranny, Dictatorship and Caricature).

Maria Zubrytska (January - June)

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.

Junior Visiting Fellows

Junior Visiting Fellows from January - June 1998



Dorothy and Maureen

Maureen Finnigan

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Boston University, is continuing to work on her thesis on creativity focusing on Nietzsche, Foucault, and Kristeva. She is currently focusing on Nietzsche's perspective of the possibility for creativity by moving beyond the conceptualization of truth as an ideal and beyond the oppositions of subjectivity and objectivity.

ability for creativity by moving beyond the conceptualization of truth as an ideal and beyond the oppositions of subjectivity and objectivity.

Dimitar K. Kambourov

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

Recent publications (in Bulgarian) include "The (Ab)Uses of Femininity in Jovorov's 'Violets'" in *Violets (Viola Odovata L.): A Theoretical Novel*. Collected Interpretations, *Literaturen Vestnik* Publishing House, 1998; "Poland Around Christmas. Travelling Notes" in *Kultura Weekly*, February 1998; and "On Communities as Divisions" in *Literaturen Vestnik*, April 1998. Furthermore he has translated four pieces by Johnson, Felman, Butler, and Derrida for the first Bulgarian feminist reader published by Sofia University Publishing House in March.

Eric E. Manton

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Charles University Prague, and Center for Theoretical Studies, Prague; Jan Patocka Junior Visiting Fellow, continued to work on his dissertation which is an attempt to make out a specific philosophy of dissidence.

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 World War II and the First Post-War Years, 1941-1953," deals with the issues of Ustasha Catholicism and its connection with nationalism; the role of the Catholic church in Croatia during World War II; the official relations between the Ustasha authorities and the Vatican in 1941-1945; and church-state relations in the first post-war years.

Katharina Pewny

Doctoral candidate in Theater Studies; Lecturer, University of Vienna, continued to work on her dissertation in which she is linking theories of gender difference with theater studies. She is currently working on a critique of representation as a political strategy.



Katharina

Her article "Frauen zu Kapital schlagen oder die Gewalt medialer Bedeutungsproduktion" appeared in *AUF, Eine Frauenzeitschrift*, in March 1998.

Dorothy G. Rogers

Ph.D. in Philosophy, Boston University, works in the field of philosophy and jurisprudence as well as women's studies. She has been preparing two articles for publication: "Private Virtue in Public Life: Marietta Kies' Transformation of Hegel"; and "Hegel, Women, and Hegelian Women on Matters of Public and Private."

Joshua C. Wheeler

M.A. candidate in Philosophy and Literature, Boston University, specializes in modern literature, especially F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Kantian philosophy.



Josh

Rafal Wnuk

Doctoral candidate in Modern History, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, continued working on his dissertation, which 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.

Marina Zavacka

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

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. She continued her research on the relations between women's issues and democracy in Poland after 1989.

IWM Junior Visiting Fellowships

JANUARY - JUNE 1999

The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) is accepting applications from doctoral and post-doctoral candidates from Europe and the United States for its Junior Visiting Fellowship Program. IWM is an intellectually and politically independent institute for advanced study supported by a community of scholars consisting of Permanent Fellows, Visiting Fellows and Junior Visiting Fellows.

The Institute's mission is to offer a place for research and discussion that crosses borders and disciplines. Since its founding in 1982, the Institute has laid a particular emphasis on the resurrection of an open exchange of ideas with academics, intellectuals and politicians from Central and Eastern Europe, an exchange that has increasingly included researchers from North America.

IWM'S JUNIOR VISITING FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The program gives promising young scholars in the humanities and social sciences an opportunity to pursue their research in Vienna under the guidance of IWM's Permanent and Visiting Fellows. It is expected that the Junior Fellows will re-invest their newly acquired knowledge in their home institutions in order to further intellectual and educational activities there.

Permanent Fellows are:

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

DOCTORAL AND POST-DOCTORAL CANDIDATES

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

- Political Philosophy of the 19th and 20th Centuries
- Gender Studies
- Political and Social Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe
- Social Costs of Economic Transformation in Central Europe
- Transformation of National Higher Education and Research Systems of Central Europe

JAN PATOCKA JUNIOR VISITING FELLOWSHIP

One fellowship is awarded in honor of the Czech philosopher Jan Patocka (1907-1977) to a young scholar working on the philosophy of Jan Patocka or in fields related to his work, especially Phenomenology, Political Philosophy, Philosophy of History, and Czech History and Culture. Fellows have access to IWM's Patocka Archive which was founded in 1984.

ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS

In order to qualify candidates should:

- be either in the concluding stages of their dissertation or have recently received a doctorate;
- work on a research project that corresponds to IWM's fields of research or policy-oriented projects (see above);
- have a good working knowledge of German and/or English;
- not be older than 35 years of age at the commencement of the research term.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

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

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

STIPEND

For their six-month research stay at IWM, Junior Visiting Fellows receive a stipend of US\$ 9.000,- to cover transportation, rent and living expenses. Recipients of the fellowships are provided office space and access to in-house and Viennese research facilities.

DEADLINE

Applications should be sent before the closing date of September 1, 1998. Applicants are notified of the competition results roughly six weeks after the closing date; the reviewing committee is not required to justify its decisions.

Please address applications to:

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

Guests

One month research stays

Günter Bischof (February)

Associate Professor of History and Associate Director, Center for Austrian Culture and Commerce, University of New Orleans specializes in post-war history of Austria.

Together with Anton Pelinka he is editor of the series Contemporary Austrian Studies. So far have appeared: Austria in the New Europe (1993), The Kreisky Era in Austria (1994), Austria in the Nineteen Fifties (1995), Austro-Corporatism: past — present — future (1996), Austrian Historical Memory & National Identity (1997), Women in Austria (1998).

Joanna Kurczewska (April)

Professor of Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw was working on the relationship between nationalism and the women's question.

Recent publications include Technocrats and Their Social World, 1997; "Multiculturalism and Systemic Ideologies," in Multikulturalizm i społeczna rzeczywistość, ed. by M. Kempny et.al., 1998 (both in Polish).

Tadej Praprotnik

Post-graduate student of the Anthropology of Everyday Life at the Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis, Ljubljana (Ljubljana Graduate School of the Humanities) spent a month from mid-April to mid-May at IWM in order to complete his master's thesis entitled "Ideological Mechanisms in the Production of Identities."

Tuesday Lectures

3 February

Tomasz Szarota

Professor of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw Besatzungsalltag. Europäische Hauptstädte unter nationalsozialistischer Okkupation

10 February

Günter Bischof

Professor of History and Associate Director, Center for Austrian Culture and Commerce, University of New Orleans The Making and Selling of Austria as Victim, 1945-1947

24 February

Siegfried Mattl

Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for History and Society; Associate Professor, Institute for History, University of Vienna
Repräsentation von Modernität im österreichischen Nachkriegsfilm: Das Beispiel Hans Moser

3 March

Irina Scherbakowa

Associate Professor of History, State University of Human Sciences, Moscow
Archiv und Erinnerung. Die Arbeit am Mythos des "Vaterländischen Krieges"

10 March

Hayden White

University Professor Emeritus of the History of Consciousness, University of California at Santa Cruz; currently Professor of Comparative Literature, Stanford University Textualism and the Human Sciences

17 March

Selma Sevenhuijsen

Professor of Women's Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Utrecht
Trust as an Element of Social Cohesion: A Perspective from Gender and Care

31 March

Ernst Hanisch

Professor of History, University of Salzburg
Die verlorene Unschuld. 1945 in Österreich: Fragen – Strukturen – Mentalitäten

28 April

Bruce Mazlish

Professor of History, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA
The Human-All-Too Human Sciences

Travels and Talks

of IWM Fellows, Guests and Staff

Winfried Garscha

Lecture: "Postwar Justice as a Contribution to Avoid Impunity" at the conference "Fighting Against Impunity - the International Criminal Court," organized by the "European Law Students Association," International Centre, Vienna (22 April).

Ernst Hanisch

Lecture: "Die Diskurse der Revolution 1918" at the "Wiener Vorlesungen," organized by the Council of Vienna - Rathaus, Vienna (12 March).

Lecture: "Selbsthaß versus Selbstlob. Verwerfungen zwischen der Literatur und Gesellschaft in Österreich" at the conference "Kreative Erinnerungen" organized by the Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaft (IFK), Vienna (25 March).
Vortrag "FPÖ und Katholizismus" auf der Österreichischen Bischofskonferenz zum Thema "Parteien und Katholische Kirche," Salzburg (30. April).

Don Kalb

Lecture: "Norbert Elias and Labor History" at the Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, Elte-University in Budapest (28 April).

Dimitar Kambourov

Lecture "Aesthetic Ideology and Art Politics in the Wake of Deconstruction" at the Methoikoi Seminar organized by CTS (Center for Theoretical Studies), Prague (26 March).
Lecture: "Literature and Mass-media here and abroad" at the Seminar "Media and Myths" organized by the Faculty of Journalism at the University of Sofia, Sofia (14 April).

Cornelia Klinger

Statement: "Akademie als Schnittstelle zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik" at a Workshop discussion organized by the Grüne Akademie, Berlin (13 February).
Lecture: "Weibliche Ästhetik oder feministische Ästhetik-Kritik?" at the conference "Feministische Philosophie," Sofia (23 April).
Workshop "Geschlecht — Recht — Politik" organized by the Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa Institut and the Frauenallianz für Entwicklung, Sofia (23 - 25 April).

Eric Manton

Conference: "The Philosopher in the Post-Totalitarian World," organized by the Liberty Fund, Prague (16-19 April).

Krzysztof Michalski

Participant at the Jury Meeting for the "Pirelli IINTERNET-ional Award" organized by Pirelli, Rome (16 March).

Katharina Pewny

Lecture: "Autonomie und finanzielle Absicherung — ein Widerspruch?" at the symposium "Gesellschaftspolitische Leistung und ihre Bewertung" organized by the "Vernetzung der Wiener Frauenprojekte," Vienna (3 April).
Lecture and participant in a panel-discussion at the seminar "Frauen, Sprache, Macht" organized by the Grüne Akademie, Graz (13/14 March).

Martin Potucek

Lecture: "Developments of Czech Social Policy" at the conference "The Fate of the Czech Society, 1918-1998" organized by the "Masaryk Czech Sociological Association," Prague (19/20 February).
Introductory speech and lecture: "The Vision for the Czech State" and "The Nature of the Czech State and Future Challenges" at the conference "Czech Society at the End of the Millenium" organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague (12-14 March).
Lecture "The Czech Tripartism — Big Hopes, Modest Outcomes" at the conference "Economic and Social Developments in CEE and the Enlargement of the EU" organized by the European Trade Union Institute Brussels, Düsseldorf (26/27 March).
Lecture "Czech Civil Society and its Enemies" at the "Democracy Seminar Slovakia" organized by the Milan Simecka Foundation and the Czech Cultural Centre, Bratislava (31 March).
Lecture: "Havel versus Klaus" at the "16th Evening Discussion" in the Czech Salon, Vienna (22 April).
Participant at the conference "At the Crossroads of Europe" organized by the British Council, Prague (24-26 April).

Irina Scherbakowa

Lecture: "Die Generation der 60-er in Rußland damals und heute" in the framework of the lecture series "'68' als Schwerpunkt in der Lebensgeschichte," organized by the Institute of History and Biography, Fernuniversität Hagen, Lüdenscheid (8 February).

Selma Sevenhuijsen

Lecture "Social Cohesion and the State of Care" at the conference "Care, Citizenship and Social Cohesion", organized by Utrecht University, Utrecht (2 March).

Lecture "Feminist Theories on Care and Citizenship" at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town (16 April).
Lecture "Too Good to be True? Feminist Considerations about Trust and Social Cohesion" at the Milan Simecka Foundation, Bratislava (28 April).

Igors Suvajevs

Lecture "Herausforderung der Kyniker" at the conference "Einbruch der Zeit," jointly organized by the Latvian State University, and Pro Helvetia, Riga (14-18 April).

Tomasz Szarota

Lecture: "Kollaboration mit den deutschen und sowjetischen Besatzern in den Augen der Polen — damals, gestern und heute" at the conference "Fascismo e antifascismo: rimozioni, revisioni, negazioni", Istituto nazionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione in Italia, Rome (22 April)

Agnieszka Zembrzuska

Lecture "On the Double Margin. Women in the Totalitarian State in Post-War Poland" at the "Second European Social Science History Conference" organized by the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam (5-7 March).

Maria Zubrytska

Lecture: "Publishing and the Challenge of the Market: The Case of Ukraine" at the "OSI Network Publishing Conference" organized by the Open Society Institute, Center for Publishing Development in Budapest (6-10 March).
Presentation of the project "The M.A. Program in the Humanities, Lviv State University (Ukraine)" on occasion of the Executive Board Members Meeting of the Soros Foundation in Kiev (26/27 March).

Varia

Nancy Blakestad

TERC-Project Coordinator from January 1995 to January 1998 returned to the United States to continue her career there.

Charles Bonner

TERC-Project Coordinator since February, studied philosophy in Boston. He gained his Ph.D. in 1995 with a phenomenological approach to environmental ethics.

Gabriella Etmektsoglou

1997/98 researcher, and 1997 coordinator of the IWM-Project "Legality and Legitimation: Political Justice in the Aftermath of World War II" is Mary Seeger O'Boyle Fellow at Princeton University since January.

Jochen Fried

IWM's Head of Programs for five years, left the Institute last December.

Leszek Kolakowski

Professor of Philosophy in Chicago and Oxford, Member of IWM's Academic Advisory Board, has been awarded the "Medal of the White Eagle", Poland's highest decoration.

Guest Contribution

Bruce Ackerman: Subsidize the Opera?

Bruce Ackerman is Professor of Law at Yale University. He presented this essay at the IWM Conference "Capitalism and Culture" in April

Begin by considering a thing of indisputable beauty and spiritual depth: the High Mass of the Roman Catholic Church. Does its obvious grandeur mean that the state should subsidize it?

For those who say yes, I guess the case for a subsidy to the opera may seem straightforward, almost inevitable: if it is appropriate to subsidize the great cultural achievements of medieval European civilization, surely one is equally appropriate for the high cultural achievements of more recent centuries among which opera is certainly to be numbered.

But for liberals like myself, the case for state-supported opera is a lot more complicated. Whatever else liberalism may or may not be about, it has always stood for the separation of church and state. Given this commitment, state subsidy for the opera raises an obvious question: Since liberals are opposed to the establishment of religion, how can they justify supporting the establishment of secular humanism, in the form of a massive subsidy for one of its great totemic objects — the operas of Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner, and other lesser saints in the secular canon?

This question, in turn, reveals a split within the liberal tradition. On the one hand, there is the aggressive anticlericalism of the French Enlightenment, best represented by the cultural policies of the French Republic since 1870. On this militant view, there is an easy distinction between the Catholic Mass and *The Magic Flute*. The Mass seeks to sustain the future of an illusion, in Freud's famous phrase, while *The Magic Flute* is a triumphant demonstration of the spiritual grandeur of secular humanism. What, then, could be a more suitable task for militant liberalism than to subsidize the latter, while separating itself from the former?

We can begin to see why heavy subsidies for the opera seem so uncontroversial amongst such a broad range of civilized Europeans. Not only is it rooted in a rich tradition of royal and princely patronage, but it commands exceptionally broad ideological support in these more liberal democratic days. On the right, civilized religionists support the opera to demonstrate a broad-minded concern with subsidizing all the great cultural achievements of European civilization, and not merely the transparently

sectarian ones. On the left, civilized Jacobins support the opera as one of the ways of conducting Voltaire's war against the church by other means. While militant liberals may no longer wish literally to "écraser l'infame," they may hope to seduce her devotees by an ongoing celebration of the glories of the humanist spirit.

But there is another liberalism — and it is fair to say that Americans like myself have been its principal exponents recently.¹ This aims for a more thoroughgoing kind of disestablishment between the state and a specially privileged culture — whether this high culture be defined by the texts and celebrations of the Roman or Secular Canon. As much as possible, the liberal state should be neutral on such matters, leaving it to each citizen freely to determine whether he should give his financial support to the Church of Rome or the one at Bayreuth. In contrast to the militant liberalism of the French tradition, this Neutralist liberalism of modern American philosophy strives to prevent either side in the ongoing culture war from using the state's coercive powers of taxation as a weapon in the struggle for men's souls.

In advocating this wider ranging disestablishment of both religious and secular orthodoxies, my aim is hardly to trivialize the ultimate importance of their ongoing contest over the meaning of life. To the contrary, it is precisely because of the infinite importance of this great debate that the state should strive to be neutral in the contest. After all, if the state self-consciously, and ostentatiously, takes sides in this conversation, it cannot avoid denigrating the ultimate convictions of many of its dissenting citizens. If, for example, a devout religionist protests at the state sponsorship of the glorification of the Masonic order in *The Magic Flute*, how precisely are the partisans of state subsidy supposed to respond? Surely we cannot deny the patent ideological content of this or other great works by Mozart or Beethoven or Wagner. Nor should we deny the deeper commitment to the ethos of secular humanism involved in supporting these and other operatic works with less blatant ideological content. Haven't we only changed establishments from the old days when it was the partisans of the Enlightenment who were protesting at the state sponsored glorification of the Mass rather than Mozart?

In raising this question, I do not for a moment wish to question the ultimate value of secular humanism. To the contrary, I am proud to cast my lot with modernity, and believe that Freud was onto something very deep in his dismissive treatment of religion. But there is something to which I am even more committed — and that is the error involved in supposing that the state should be in the business of saving souls by monumentalizing my own views of personal salvation in great granite monuments to high culture. To be sure, this rule of abstinence will deprive me of the joys of moral triumphalism on those



Bruce Ackerman

happy occasions when I come out on top of the political circus. But, even then, I will get something more precious out of a rigorous policy of state disestablishment — and that is the construction of a political system in which, as much as possible, no citizen disparages the ultimate convictions held by others. After all, although my religious fellow citizens may be making a profound blunder in perpetuating a metaphysical illusion, they are my fellow citizens nonetheless — and what profit is there in disparaging their conscientious convictions by subsidizing my creed while denying funds to theirs?

To be sure, I can imagine cases in which selective cultural subsidies might well be justified without disparaging the ultimate concerns of others. Consider, for example, the case of a subordinated minority, which has been condemned for generations to crushing injustice and cultural suppression. In such a case, there is everything to be said for a special state fund aimed at restoring grievously damaged cultural institutions. Rather than offending the cultural equality of equal citizens, such a fund reaffirms this core commitment of the liberal state. Similarly, I can fully endorse a broad-ranging commitment to musical performance and appreciation as part of the state's program of liberal education.

But, to put it gently, it is hard to invoke either of these rationales in the case of the grand opera houses of Europe and America. We are not dealing here with the Gypsies of Eastern Europe or even the French of Canada, but with an especially obvious case of gratuitous state establishment of a privileged culture — in several senses of the word of "privileged". Most obviously, the people who go to the opera are, by and large, privileged. A generous state subsidy simply means that they only have to pay \$20 or \$75 a ticket, rather than \$50 or \$200. For many — perhaps most — of the ticketholders, the event is treated as a secularized religious rite. For a magical evening, they are reenacting a holy sacrament connecting them up with the grand bourgeois of nineteenth century Paris or Vienna, establishing a mystical bond that transcends the mundanities of everyday life. This is, of course, why these audiences are so remorselessly conservative — demanding, to the chagrin of musical directors everywhere, the endless repetition of a ritual cycle. A few facts speak eloquently here: in 1911, the average age of an opera performed in German speaking countries was 53 years; a half century later, in 1965, it was 108 years! At that time, the top ten "modern" composers were Orff, Gershwin, Berg, Hindemith, Weill, Britten, Bartok, Stravinsky, Ekk, Menotti and Henze. If all the performances of these top ten were added together, they added up to only one-third of those devoted to Verdi.² While these figures are limited to the German-speaking world, I do not think that they would be much different elsewhere. While the remorseless monotony satisfies the ritualistic desire of the upper class to connect with the grand bourgeoisie of the past, it almost crushes the creative spirit of the artistic souls who are called upon to officiate these rites.

Almost, but not quite. Hopes spring eternal in the hearts of the grand impresarios — if the subsidies were only multiplied yet further, perhaps the artists might finally liberate themselves from their devout audiences and offer up the prospect of a great operatic renaissance! But happily, our politics are sufficiently democratic to

prevent quite this level of cultural establishment. We are fated instead to continue the ritual cycle of Mozart, Verdi, and Wagner endlessly — perhaps providing the artistic avant garde with enough resources to shock the bourgeoisie with modernistic variations on the ritual Ring, but never with enough resources to enable a truly vibrant and innovative culture. We are, in short, left with the worst kind of state establishment the ritual reenactment of an increasingly closed canon increasingly alienated from the anxieties and ultimate concerns of most citizens.

But even if I were wrong about this, even if the liberal democratic state of the twenty-first century found its Mad Max of Bavaria, my objection in principle would remain: it is wrong for the state to glorify any totalizing creed, even my own.

I emphasize this political principle of liberal legitimacy, because it is easy for it to get lost in our round-table discussion, in which questions of economics will understandably bulk large.

To be sure, issues of

market organization, and market failure, should play a role in our overall assessment. But it would be wrong to allow them to dominate. We should not address the question as if we were discussing the merits of privatization of the opera — as if the problems were basically similar to the ones raised by the privatization of an electrical utility company. We should speak instead of the disestablishment of the opera from special state privilege, and its treatment in a way that is befitting a liberal republic of free and equal citizens.

¹ See Bruce Ackerman, *Social Justice in the Liberal State* (1980); John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (1993). I discuss the differences between these two approaches in Ackerman, "Political Liberalisms," *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 91, pp. 364-86 (1994)

² Frye & Pommerehne, *Muses and Markets*, pp. 26-7 (1989). The most 'successful' modern opera was Orff's *Die Kluge*, which ranked 49th in overall number of performances in 1965, followed by Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* (59th). I am unaware of any more recent quantitative work of a comprehensive kind that seeks to update these figures.



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