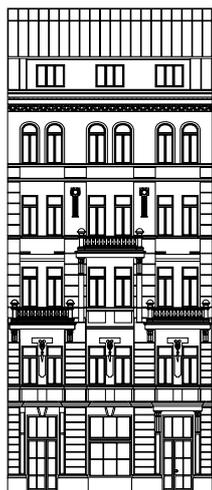




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Contents:

Jan Patocka Memorial
Lecture
[Elie Wiesel: Hasidic Modes](#)

IWM-Lectures in Gender
Studies
[Iris Marion Young: Inclusion
and Democracy](#)

The Hannah Arendt Prize
[Lord Dahrendorf: Laudatio](#)

Workshop
[Universities and the
Requirements of Research](#)

Conference
[On Jan Patocka](#)

Junior Visiting Fellow's
Conference
[Topics in Feminism,
History, Philosophy, and
Literature](#)

IWM-Working Report
[Eva Menasse: At the End of
Europe](#)

Call for Applications
[IWM Junior Visiting
Fellowships](#)

[Andrew W. Mellon
Fellowships](#)

In Addition
[Guests](#)
[Tuesday Lectures](#)
[Travels and Talks](#)
[Publications](#)
[Varia](#)

Guest Contribution
[Bronislaw Geremek: EU
Enlargement to the East](#)

12th Jan Patocka Memorial Lecture

Elie Wiesel: Hasidic Modes

On 11 May, the Nobel Peace Prize Winner and Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities at Boston University, Elie Wiesel, gave the 12th Jan Patocka Memorial Lecture at Vienna's Palais Schwarzenberg. We bring excerpts from his lecture.

Once upon a time there was a king who heard from his concerned astrologists that the next harvest would be cursed. Whosoever would eat from it would go mad. And so he called his closest advisor and told him: "When the time comes you and I shall put the mark of madness on our foreheads so that we shall both know that we are mad."

This hasidic tale by Rabbi Nahman of Bratzlav has another dénouement as well: Having received the sad news from his astrologists, the king ordered an enormous granary to be built and stored there all that remained from

the last crop. He entrusted the key to his friend and told him: "When all my subjects and I will have been struck with madness, you alone will have the right to enter the storehouse and eat uncontaminated food. And you will escape malediction. But in exchange, your mission will be to go from country to country, from one town to another, from one



Elie Wiesel

street to another, and you will shout with all your might: Good people, do not forget that you are mad, what is at stake is your life and your soul, do not forget ..."

At times, I feel sorry for the king and even more so for his friend. To be the only sane man in an insane society, how can one bear such a burden? How can one cope with such knowledge? Sanity itself can move a person to despair.

At this point, let us open parentheses for some preliminary remarks: Hasidism in Vienna today may seem out of place but there were times when it wasn't. Descendants of the celebrated Rizhiner Rabbi lived in pre-war Vienna

and their followers would often come to receive blessings and counsel from them.

Rabbi Nahman's tales — which must have influenced Franz Kafka's — are special for the word Jew is rarely mentioned in them. His fictionalized characters are princes and beggars, and madmen, whose endeavors reflect the human condition.

In the tale we just told, Rabbi Nahman meditates on what could happen to a society that is threatened by inner madness. It happened both in the distant past and in recent decades. The Crusades were sheer madness: they were made to destroy communities and shed the blood of innocent people, all that for the sake of love. The young ones were so cruel that the Pope had to stop them. The Inquisition was madness — and the Church now apologized for it. Indeed, it is possible for madness to erupt into the lives of a nation and help the destroyers to destroy others and themselves — think of 1938-45 and you will admit that not only is it possible but it is also easy, so easy to achieve.

Hasidism has given us other tales. Hasidism could be understood as the sum of its tales. Some contain wisdom, others burst with joy. All address problems of the individual facing life's challenges and obstacles.

To me, Hasidism evokes a vanished world, the world of my childhood. I owe it the chant that animates my words, my love of celebrations, my taste for discovering secret meaning in what is revealed. Hasidism reminds me of my passion for study, prayer and adoration without which everything seems grey, without attraction, void of interest. When I think of my childhood, it's a hasidic song I capture; it's a hasidic tale I hear. And when I tell tales, all kinds of tales, Jewish and not-Jewish alike, they come out hasidic.

But — you may wonder: What is hasidism? We know its defining moments — but can it be defined?

Etymologically, the term derives from hesed. Kindness, charity, grace. Thus a hasid is someone who is charitable in his or her relationship towards another. Towards another only? Towards himself too. Is that all? Of course not. On a higher level, a hasid must be charitable towards Him whose principal virtue is charity, namely God-kavyakhoh himself.

But charity is not enough to define hasidism unless we place it in its broader context. Charity implies another person — and hasidism means a sense of communion, a way of belonging to a community. Hasidism was and is a powerful remedy against solitude, sadness and despair. In fact, the movement was born in solitude, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its founder, Rabbi Israel son of Eliezer and Sarah, the Baal Shem Tov, or the Master of the Good Name, was a solitary man with mystical inclinations. He lived in the Carpathian mountains in near anonymity. He wasn't a rabbi. Nor was he a scholar. He had no title and no fortune. He was a simple tutor — a position that ranks among the lowest in Jewish society.

Legend has it that at the age of thirty-six, he had a dream in which a voice from heaven told him to reveal himself. That's when Hasidism began. In the next twenty-four years, his activity took him to almost three hundred communities. With the help of his circle of friends — all great scholars and respected rabbinic figures — he

changed the physiognomy of Jews all over Eastern Europe. (...)

When he died in 1760, he was succeeded briefly, very briefly, by his son who then abdicated in favor of his father's favorite disciple, Rabbi Dov-Ber, the Maggid (the preacher) of Mezeritch who, actually, organized the structure of the movement. Unlike the Besht (the abbreviation of Baal-Shem), he stayed home most of the time: using crutches, he had troubles with his legs. Thus he dispatched emissaries to bring the word of hasidism where it was needed. And he knew whom to send where: scholars to Lithuania and miracleworkers to Galicia. In a few decades, the movement spread to the most remote corners of eastern and central Europe. Schools were



created and dynasties established, each with its own emblematic characteristic. One was known for its learning, another for its fervor, a third for its solidarity ...

What they all had in common was their emphasis on the idea that God must be not only feared but also loved. And, at times, taken to task. Some masters dared to speak to God in harsh terms: "What do you want from your people? Why is it going through so much suffering?" The celebrated Rebbe Levi-Yitzhak of Berditchev had such immeasurable love for the people of Israel that he dared, on its behalf, to sue the Creator of the universe himself. (...)

Where did he find the courage to question God's will? He found it in his faith. That is why I feel so close to him. For the tragedy of the believer is deeper than that of the non-believer. The non-believer has no problem — at least, no problem with theodicy. Facing other people's pain, the believer stumbles upon two problems: where is the humanity of man and where is justice and the compassion of God? For there are times when something must happen to faith. There are times when "no heart is as whole as a broken heart," said Rabbi Nahman of Bratzlav. Perhaps we might be allowed to paraphrase his words: there are times, when no faith is as whole as a broken faith.

It is from the Rebbe of Berditchev that I learned to raise my voice in protest. But he has learned it from our ancestors. When God prepared himself to destroy the sinful city of Sodom, Abraham pleaded with him: "Is it conceivable that the Judge of all that exists could not do justice?" When Moses had to intercede on behalf of his contemporaries, he almost threatened God: if he would

not forgive them, he, Moses, would withdraw his name from His Book! Take Jeremiah, the most personally involved of all prophets, he was the only one to have foreseen the catastrophe, to have lived it and to have written about it. In his "Lamentations", he uses strong language describing the destruction of Jerusalem and the slaughter of its inhabitants. At one point, he exclaims: "You have killed and had no mercy." Note the words carefully: he does not say "You watched the killers as they killed," but "You yourself killed ..." Who would today repeat his outcry without trembling in fear of having crossed the line of what is permitted and what is not?

Years ago, in 1979, I visited Warsaw. It happened to be the ninth day of the month of Av which marks the annual anniversary of the destruction of our two Temples in Jerusalem. I went to attend the evening office at the only synagogue still open in what used to be the most Jewish city in Europe. There were some twenty or thirty worshippers there. According to custom, we sat on overturned benches, lit candles, ready to recite "Lamentations". As a visitor, I was asked to begin which I did with a heavy heart. I read aloud the first verse — "Oh, how lonely and desolate was the city that had once been filled with people ..." referring to God's city in those times. I stopped, unable to continue. I had been to Jerusalem many times and found it anything but lonely and desolate, anything but in mourning. Quite the contrary, Jerusalem is now a lively city with young boys and girls in the streets, restaurants, cafés and schools. How can I repeat Jeremiah's words that were true then but not now? All of a sudden, a thought struck me: the prophet's vision transcended time. He spoke to us as well as to his contemporaries. Perhaps every generation has similar stories about its own cities. Now it was Warsaw that inherited Jerusalem's destiny — Warsaw without its dozens of synagogues, Houses of study, old-age homes and kindergartens, Warsaw empty of its Jewish children and their teachers, empty of its Jewish melodies and tears ... oh yes, now I could read Jeremiah's lament.

Elie Wiesel was born in 1928 in Sighet (Romania). In 1944 he and his family were deported to Auschwitz, where his mother and his youngest sister perished. His two older sisters survived. His father, with whom he was transported to Buchenwald, died there in 1945.

After the war, Elie Wiesel went to Paris. He studied literature, philosophy and psychology and later became a journalist there, yet he remained silent about what he had endured as an inmate of the death camps. François Mauriac persuaded him to end that silence. In 1958 his book *La Nuit* (Night) was published, since then it has been translated into 25 languages. Wiesel has written over 40 books — many of them written against obliterating and suppressing memories of the Holocaust.

In 1956, Wiesel went to the United States and in 1963 he became an American citizen. He continues to be an unwavering advocate for human rights and oppressed peoples world wide: for the Jews in the Soviet Union, the Miskito Indians in Nicaragua, Argentina's "disappeared", the victims of the Apartheid regime in South Africa, the

Cambodian refugees, the Kurds, and most recently the victims of the war in former Yugoslavia.

Elie Wiesel has received many international public and academic awards and in 1986, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Together with his wife he established the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity. Its mission is to advance the cause of human rights and peace throughout the world by creating a new forum to discuss urgent ethical issues confronting humanity. In 1978, Jimmy Carter appointed Wiesel Chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust; he is also the Founding Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council (1980 - 1986) and the Founding President of the Universal Academy of Cultures in Paris (since 1993).

We can only name but few of his publications: *All Rivers Run to the Sea. Memoirs* (1995), *Et la mer n'est pas remplie... Memoirs Vol. II* (1996). *Ethics and Memory* (1997); *Silences et mémoire d'homme* (1989); *Souls on Fire: Portraits and Legends of the Hasidic Masters* (1972).

Previous Jan Patocka Memorial Lectures:

- 1987 Hans-Georg Gadamer (Heidelberg)
Phänomenologie und das Problem der Zeit
- 1988 Leszek Kolakowski (Oxford/Chicago)
Die Illusionen der Entmythologisierung
- 1989 Zbigniew Brzezinski (New York)
The General Crisis of Communism
- 1990 Paul Ricoeur (Paris)
The Person: Its Ethical and Moral Structure
- 1991 Charles Taylor (Montreal)
Two Theories of Language
- 1992 Jacques Derrida (Paris)
Le secret – de la réponse et de la responsabilité
- 1993 Mario Vargas Llosa (Lima and London)
Democracy Today
- 1994 François Furet (Paris)
Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the French Revolution
- 1995 George Soros (New York)
A Failed Philosopher Tries Again
- 1996 Albert O. Hirschman (Princeton)
Between Private and Public Spheres
- 1997 Tadeusz Mazowiecki (Warsaw)
Politik und Moral im neuen Europa

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

- Mario Vargas Llosa, *Demokratie heute*
Passagen Heft 8, ISBN 3-85165-072-7
- François Furet, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau und die Französische Revolution*
Passagen Heft 12, ISBN 3-85165-151-0
- George Soros, *Die Macht der Fehlbarkeit*
Passagen Heft 13, ISBN 3-85165-192-8
- Albert O. Hirschman, *Tischgemeinschaft: Zwischen öffentlicher und privater Sphäre*
Passagen Forum, ISBN 3-85165-267-3

Wiesel's Lecture will be published in Spring 1999.

The Hannah Arendt Prize

Lord Dahrendorf: Laudatio for the New Europe College, Winner of the Hannah Arendt Prize

The fourth Hannah Arendt Prize was awarded to the *New Europe College, Bucharest*, on June 9 during a ceremony at Vienna's Palais Schwarzenberg. The ceremony included a Guest Lecture entitled "Universities in a Time of Change" by the Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, *Anthony Giddens*. The Hannah Arendt Prize was jointly established by IWM and the Körber Foundation (Hamburg) and 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. *Lord Dahrendorf*, Chairman of the Jury, gave the Laudatio which is printed below.

Today we are assembled to celebrate the award of the fourth Hannah Arendt Prize to the New Europe College in Bucharest. For the first time the Jury has left the confines of the "Visegrad" world, or even of the first five countries to negotiate entry into the European Union (though along with Bulgaria, Romania is at least in the "tent" of the "ten plus one" identified as future members). Such political considerations were of course far from our minds when we took our decision. We were impressed, rather, by the sheer excellence which the New Europe College represents in an environment in which civil society had been razed to the ground along with ancient buildings and institutions, and replaced by bombastic edifices and avenues of power. Many of us hope that the President and the new government of Romania will succeed in rebuilding a liberal order. We are encouraged by the fact that the man who created the New Europe College, the courageous public intellectual Andrei Plesu, is a member of that government.

Let me remind you what the Hannah Arendt Prize is about. Established by the Körber Foundation and the Institute of Human Sciences, it is designed to reward "exemplary reform efforts at institutions of higher education and research" in order "to promote the development of open, free and democratic civil societies" in East Central Europe. Once again the Jury of which I have the honour to be the chairman, has been able to rely on nominations by numerous correspondents to whom we owe a great debt of gratitude. We then decided on a short list of five finalists who were invited to present their case in the form of an extensive "self-study". All five were visited by the majority of members of the Jury. The visits were always rewarding, though not always easy. We shall not forget the rickety Antonov turbo prop plane, which took off from Bucharest in a snowstorm in order to bring us to Cluj, though the generous hospitality of the University there made up for all surprises on the way. In the end a decision had to be taken. This is, and was once again, the truly hard part of the Jury's work, especially since we had the self-denying ordinance not to split the Prize five- or even two-ways.

The Babes-Bolyai University

Splendid hospitality apart, we were deeply impressed by the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. It is first of all an institution of higher learning committed to quality in teaching and research in what to many is remote Transylvania. We found students and staff, notably in the Faculty of European Studies, committed to the values of universities and at the same time linked to the community around them. Our attention was focused on the notable, if difficult attempts to integrate the two, indeed three cultures of the region. The Rector, Professor Marga, and a number of his colleagues have tried to create a multicultural academic community by offering courses in Romanian, Hungarian and German and bringing together students and teachers from the communities in an environment



Lord Dahrendorf

which was described to us as one of "ultranationalism". Alas! Professor Marga, the author of an important book on "Academic Reform", has also joined the new government of Romania where he will have a chance, as the Minister of Education, to practise what he preached. One must hope that not only his government but, more relevantly, that of neighbouring Hungary will continue to promote academic unity in the midst of cultural diversity.

The New Bulgarian University

The Hannah Arendt Prize is not awarded to entire universities, or only insofar as they are identified with specific reform activities. Thus it was the unusual Department of Cognitive Science which brought us to the New Bulgarian University in Sofia. However, the whole university was impressive. It is a non-governmental institution born out of the difficulty of reforming institutions from within; "reaction against curricular uniformity". As the Rector,

Professor Ivanka Apostolova, put it nicely: "We do not deny the value of tradition but we would rather have a dialogue with tradition". The Department of Cognitive Science, set up by Academician Gerganov, is dominated by young scholars, notably Professor Boicho Kokinov. It combines scientists, social scientists and scholars in the humanities and thus epitomises the attractions — and perhaps some of the difficulties — of inter-faculty teaching and research. The Department has many links with universities in other countries, and offers a distinguished summer school. The Jury felt that we should like to know more about this work and the New Bulgarian University in general.

Warsaw University

Two other finalists were outstanding individuals, Professor Jerzy Axer has continued his exemplary work in and around the University of Warsaw. Starting from his own interest in the classical tradition in Poland and East Central Europe, he has set up a network of graduate teaching which cuts across all departmental boundaries and now involves many other universities in the region. (Never at a loss for an acronym, he has moved from OBTA to MISH and MASH). With a minimum of funds and a maximum of personal and intellectual commitment, Professor Axer has made a major contribution to what he himself has called, the "dialogue of elites".

The Institute of Contemporary History, Prague

Professor Vilem Prečan in Prague has re-established, under the auspices of what used to be the Czechoslovak (now: Czech) Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Contemporary History of which he is the initiator and leader. While students like to work in the Institute, it is strictly devoted to research, and for that reason though for no other, perhaps a marginal candidate for the Hannah Arendt Prize. However we wanted to note the exemplary case of a scholar returning (in this case from Germany) and bringing an outstanding institute to his home country, thereby stimulating the painful yet all-important study of the history of Czechoslovakia from 1938 to 1992.

The New Europe College, Bucharest

In the end, we awarded the Prize to the New Europe College. It is an institute of advanced study, though one with special features. If one word characterises its work, it is linking. The Relink programme alone deserves high praise. It is designed to facilitate the re-entry of Romanian scholars who have spent time abroad; nearly half the Fellows fall in this category. The New Europe College also links some of the best and most reform-minded teachers in academic institutions all over the country; Fellows come to Bucharest part-time and continue to teach elsewhere. The New Europe College links subjects. It is set up to promote the renewal of the humanities and social sciences in Romania; but this remit covers a wide range of subjects. Seminars at the College are devoted to cultural studies and to economics, but also to architecture. The New Europe College is anything but a closed club; it is wide open for people and institutions outside.

Thus the key effect of this institute is to create a network of individuals who work in a variety of institutions but have the New Europe College as a collegium — a

meeting point as well as a community — to fall back on. It sets standards which inform the wider system of higher education in Romania. It radiates ideas and proposals for change. Andrei Plesu, the founder, has been described as "a merry and melancholy man" by Wolf Lepenies, the Rector of the Berlin Wissenschaftskolleg, who has himself done so much to promote indigenous excellence in East Central Europe. Being "merry and melancholy" are actually quite good qualifications for a foreign minister; in the case of the New Europe College it was Plesu's incorruptibility in all regards, his persistence, and his genial and wise presence which made all the difference. It was also, to be sure,



Ulrich Voswinkel congratulates Anca Oroveanu

the New Europe Prize which he received in 1993 and which provided the wherewithal for the College. Anca Oroveanu who is now the Scientific Director has a different style but is in her own way impressive and quietly effective. She demonstrates that the College can now sustain itself, at least intellectually. With the help of the Hannah Arendt Prize and other major support which may be forthcoming, the physical environment, of the College will, one hopes, move from one of genteel poverty to one of modest prosperity.

The Hannah Arendt Prize, so generously funded by the Körber Foundation, was set up for a period of five years. The Jury, and other friends of the initiative, are now in the process of discussing the future. My own impression is that so far as higher education goes, the core countries of East Central Europe — those in the "tent" — are now well under way towards what in some of them is called normalisation. By that I mean that the problems of Poland or Hungary, at least in the field of higher education, are not so dissimilar from those of Germany or Britain. Even the fact that reforms, new initiatives, are more likely to occur at the fringe of universities than through their normal institutions of governance, is a pan-European experience. Perhaps the enormous expansion of higher education, the consequences of which are one great theme of academic reform in the old West, has not yet quite happened in East Central Europe. But when it does, it will raise issues familiar to many of us.

Some might argue that "normality" is still some way off in the countries at which the Hannah Arendt Jury has looked above all. They are no doubt right. Still, increasingly one feels — at least the chairman of the Jury feels — that we have as much to learn from innovation in East Central Europe as we can teach the universities in the new democracies. Thus there may not be many more Hannah Arendt Prizes, at least in their present form.

In the light of such reflections, it gives me great pleasure to praise an institution which is clearly special. In the name of the Jury, I congratulate the New Europe College, its founder and its present leaders and members, on the award of the 1998 Hannah Arendt Prize.

TERC-Workshop

Universities and the Requirements of Research

Beginning in 1997, IWM and IREX (International Research & Exchanges Board, Washington) have jointly organized a series of workshops dedicated to issues in higher education reform in Central and Eastern Europe. Previous meetings were devoted to the themes of "Developing Social Sciences Curricula" (March 1997) and "Supporting Exceptional Students in a Mass University Environment" (December 1997). The present workshop marks the entry of a new partner into this venture, the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Dieter Simon, President of the Academy, set the agenda:

Dieter Simon: Opening Statement

Beginning in 1991 the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna organized a research program, The Transformation of the National Higher Education and Research Systems in Central Europe (TERC). The goal of this endeavor was to give a preliminary assessment of the state of universities and research institutions in central Europe and to report on the development of the transformation process. The initial result of this program was the presentation of a series of empirical descriptions from Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary, which document the reform process in the higher education and research sector in the first half of the 1990s (please see the ad on the opposite page). Last year IWM began a collaboration with IREX and together they have organized a series of workshops devoted to specific topics within the general area of higher education and research.

As earlier investigations concentrated solely on the core central European countries of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, leaving out Eastern European countries, an expansion of the program's range (to Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania) should be discussed.

The practical goal should continue to be the examination and critical analysis of the scientific landscape in the transformation countries.

The intention of the new campaign is:

- to determine whether and how it is possible to succeed in pursuing a distinct path between the re-establishment of pre-communist structures and the rash adoption of a western model;
- to accompany the process of development now taking place in the transformation countries in an advisory and supportive capacity;
- to examine whether stimuli for coping with the crisis of the knowledge systems of the western world can be found within the measures and precautions undertaken by the transformation countries;
- to improve the conditions for the rapprochement of the scientific systems of the east and the west in order to equip them to take on and deal with common tasks.

The first theme chosen for discussion is the problem complex, "Universities and the Requirements of Research." The theme should be discussed with regard to the following five key ideas, which have been formulated as questions. To the extent that it is possible, a compara-

tive perspective should be assumed, not one focused on western Europe and the United States, but rather on the changing relationship of the transformation countries to one another. In this connection the following considerations may serve as a guide:

- a) to what extent the given society has decided implicitly or explicitly to follow the current western European model;
- b) to what extent the society wants to have recourse to its own traditions, which as a rule date from the late 19th century;
- c) to what extent the society wants to carve out a new path by using the available traditional and modern elements.

I. The Role of Industrial Research in East Central European Countries

Over the course of the 20th century, universities in western European countries have to a large extent forfeited their privilege as research institutions. Of the overall research expenditures of these societies a significant, indeed in most cases by far the greater part of the resources comes from industry.

In the past few years, however, there has been a conspicuous decline in the area of industrial research. There are different reasons for this: laboratories were closed because the industries supporting them turned away from pure research in favor of goals realizable within a short period of time. They were closed because the purchase or state-subsidized acquisition of the necessary know-how is cheaper than producing it oneself, so that the institutions — also in the course of globalization — were transferred to distant, "cheaper" countries. In the transformation countries there was no industrial research of a comparable kind. In cases where the research monopolies of universities were also lost, this was due much more to the strong accentuation of research on the part of academies of science than it was to industrial research. It was however a declared goal of some countries to develop such research. Were they successful? If the answer is yes, are there signs that similar processes are beginning in the west?

If the answer is no, is it sensible to continue pursuing plans for boosting industrial research? Are any equivalents emerging?

II. The Reform of Academies of Science

In western countries over the past fifty years, large scale research initiated and supported by the state has established itself along with industrial research in individual areas of particular social relevance. The reason for the concentration of such research outside the university lay in part in the university's traditional tasks (the principle of universality, the requirement that researchers teach, the cultivation of subsequent generations of academics, etc.). Such research makes the university appear ill-suited to dedicate itself to a single theme in the long term and with a considerable investment of finances and personnel. Administrative self-government and scientific autonomy, which runs counter to goal-setting by the state, did their part to encourage the planning of large-scale research institutions.

Large-scale research, which in general has been very successful, has obvious advantages, which are primarily to be found in good material equipment and an entrepreneurial management style characteristic of large concerns. The disadvantages are the dependence of research on government directives, as well as the emergence of official structures with limited flexibility which experience great difficulties in orienting themselves toward new goals.

In the transformation societies, tasks of western large-scale research were met partially by specialized individual institutes, but more often by institutions of the scientific academies. A reform of these institutions therefore became part of the agenda in most of the transformation countries.

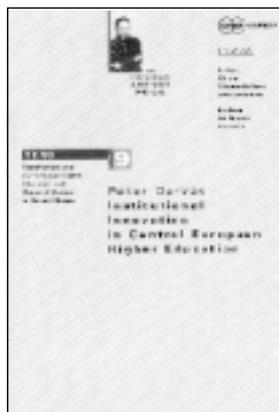
It would be appropriate to ask what the results of this reform have been. Has the determined political involvement of the academies in defining and formulating research goals come to an end? Have the institutes been re-oriented toward "large-scale research" tasks and have they become independent (and if so, with what organizational structure)? What prognosis is made for the future development of big science in the transformation countries?

III. The Possible Role of Large Non-University Research Centers in Eastern Europe

In addition to industrial research and large-scale research, a considerable number of non-university research institutions have come into existence in western countries. In the natural sciences, for as long as the process still attracted attention, one occasionally spoke of a systematic emigration of research from universities. There are many reasons for this development. For some people it was the intention to operate close to the field of application. Others were attracted by the idea of being freed from teaching assignments and growing administrative demands. The emergence of this type of non-university research was also promoted by extreme specialization and the (accurate) conviction that certain scientific tasks are not matters for the university. The organization is diverse: the German Max Planck Society for the Support of Sciences, the Fraunhofer Society for the Support of Applied Research, the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and the CNRS are but a few examples of this movement. Though university research remains highly relevant, it cannot be overlooked that a large amount of research in the natural sciences and a not insignificant amount of research in the humanities are no longer housed in the universities.

TERC Reports

The results of the IWM research project TERC (Transformation of the National Higher Education and Research Systems of Central Europe) are published regularly in this series.



Volume 9
Peter Darvas
Institutional Innovation in Central European Higher Education
Vienna 1997, 88 pp.

Volume 10
Universities and the Challenge of New Technologies
Vienna 1998, 88 pp.

Volume 1
Stefan Amsterdamski and Julita Jablęcka
Higher Education and Research in Poland
The Inherited Situation and the Reforms
Vienna 1993, 60 pp.

Volume 5
Stefan Amsterdamski
Perceptions of Dilemmas
Summary of a Qualitative Study
Vienna 1993, 38 pp.

Volume 2
György Fabri
Higher Education and Research in Hungary during the Period of Social Transformation 1990-1992
Vienna 1993, 54 pp.

Volume 6
Colin G. Campbell and Ralf Dahrendorf (eds.)
Changes in Central Europe
Challenges and Perspectives for Higher Education and Research
Vienna 1994, 78 pp.

Volume 3
Jan Koucky and Jana Hendrichova
Higher Education and Research in the Czech Republic
Major Changes since 1989
Vienna 1993, 60 pp.

Volume 7
Issues in Transition 1994
Vienna 1994, 196 pp.

Volume 4
Eduard Sarmir and Stefan Zajac
Higher Education and Research in the Slovak Republic
Major Changes since 1989
Vienna 1993, 42 pp.

Volume 8
Western Paradigms and Eastern Agenda
A Reassessment
Vienna 1995, 91 pp.

TERC reports can be ordered from IWM.

In the transformation countries, it was — at least initially — explicitly intended to restore the old research and teaching ideal unreservedly. It seems however that this process has encountered difficulties and that non-university research — for whatever reason — plays a significant role today. Is this correct? How should this process be judged with regard to the future development of the university?

IV. Can Eastern European Countries Avoid the Deficiencies of Western Education and Research Systems?

The quantitative decrease of university research in western countries in the second half of the 20th century is also partially explained and legitimized by means of a three-fold qualitative deficiency of university research.

University research is considered to be insufficiently oriented toward application, distant from practice, and uninterested in immediate utilization and products geared to market requirements. The admonition that university research should give greater care to economic and social relevance has accompanied it for some time. With the exception of a few dwindling examples, university research has a disciplinary orientation. Over the course of the past few decades, however, it has been shown that new developments and breakthroughs do not occur in the center of disciplines, but rather at their margins — in places where the fronts of research overlap in an interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary way. The demand that universities take this state of affairs into account in their internal re-organization has long been made in vain.

Essentially, university research, like the university itself, is (in accordance with its romantic heritage) oriented nationally and in terms of the nation-state. This is connected, not insignificantly, with the function of upbringing and instruction, which tends toward a mentality of "native children" and cultural protection. On the other hand, the national orientation of the course of study, which lags far behind the general international character of research questions, is a consequence of university research with an insufficiently international orientation. In general, western universities have not been able to overcome this deficiency in quality. This explains the practically sensational successes some non-university institutes (such as Israel's Weizmann Institute) achieve when they are set up to be transdisciplinary and international, with an orientation toward both pure research and application.

It would be useful to ask to what extent university reforms in the transformation countries, in their widespread attempt to restore pre-communist conditions, have succeeded in avoiding this deficit of western research; have they been able to meet modern requirements within the university itself, rather than by establishing other bodies outside of it?

V. How Can Universities Reconcile their Traditional Role (*Lehre und Forschung*) with the New Tasks demanded of Mass Universities?

The loss of the quantity and quality of research at universities in western countries corresponds to a clearly growing need for teaching. This need, as is not always sufficiently emphasized, also bears a certain responsibility for deficits in research.

With the number of enrolled students rising to one-third of their age group and with predictions that this number will rise to 50 percent, there is a demand for new teachers who are able to deal with large groups of people, as well as for new teaching methods. Increased use of new media cannot alone meet this task.

The "unity of research and teaching" in the sense of Wilhelm von Humboldt, i.e., the idea that teaching flows immediately from research, has become largely an illusion for this reason, and also due to the extreme specialization of research which neither can nor should be taught meaningfully.

More and more often, researchers must confine their research to "teaching" research (required by teaching). The number of part-time students and "returners" is increasing rapidly. Continuing education through the university, already long in existence, seems to be more and more on the way toward a role as the guarantor of the life-long learning demanded by the economic and social developments.

As universities were unprepared for this turn of events, the criticism of the pedagogical achievements of their professors increased. Without real insight into the underlying facts, a public pressure has developed that might be sufficient to transform the universities into strictly teaching institutions. It cannot be ruled out that this pressure is historically correct, as research at universities is largely an outdated model due to the new requirements and has to be transferred to other institutions.

The situation in the transformation countries is also characterized by an increasing number of students. So far, however, the further conditions for the emergence of a learning society have apparently not (yet) appeared. If this assumption is correct, the question arises as to what preliminary measures these countries are taking or planning in order to wed old demands (directed at research and teaching) and new ones (aimed at pedagogical cultivation, cultural training and education).

Participants

Stefan Amsterdamski, Director, Graduate School for Social Research, University of Warsaw; Karin Elizabeth Becker, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Charles Bonner, IWM, TERC Project Coordinator; Umberto Colombo, President, LEAD Europe; former Italian Minister of Science; Encho Gerganov, Dept. of Cognitive Science, New Bulgarian University, Sofia; Mihaly Högye, Center for Public Affairs, Budapest University of Economic Sciences; Josef Jarab, Rector, Central European University, Budapest; Helga Junkers, Volkswagen-Stiftung; Boicho Kokinov, Department of Cognitive Science, New Bulgarian University, Sofia; Mihai Korca, Professor of Economics and Romanian Secretary of State for Higher Education; Fanni Köszeg, Invisible College, Budapest; Karl-Urich Mayer, Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung, Berlin; Member of Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Daniel Matuszewski, President, International Research & Exchanges Board, Washington; Randolf Menzel, Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Neurobiologie; Member, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Krzysztof Michalski, Director, IWM, and Professor of Philosophy, Boston University; Josef Moural, Center for Theoretical Study, Charles University, Prague; Anca Oroveanu, Executive Director, New Europe College, Bucharest; Vilem Precan, Director, Institute for Contemporary History, Prague; Jens Reich, Max Delbrück Centrum für Molekulare Medizin, Berlin; Member of Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Dieter Simon, President, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Ulrich Voswinckel, Chair of the Managing Board, Körber Stiftung, Hamburg; Craig Zelizer, International Research and Exchanges Board, Washington.

IWM-Lectures in Gender Studies

Iris Marion Young: Inclusion and Democracy: Insights from Feminist Theory

The conditions of political equality and democratic inclusion were discussed by Iris Marion Young, Professor of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, on occasion of the annual IWM-Lectures in Gender Studies. In the IWM-Library, Young spoke about "Public Address as a Sign of Political Inclusion," (20 May), "Relational Difference: Class, Gender, Race, Ethnicity," (27 May), and "Feminist Epistemology and Public Engagement" (3 June). We print excerpts of her first lecture which apply her theory of public address on the American welfare reform debate.

Democracy means nothing as a normative ideal if not political equality. A democratic system of political decision making, as opposed to an aristocracy or monarchy, provides all citizens with the equal opportunity to influence outcomes. An important implication of the ideal of political equality is a norm of inclusion. A principle of inclusion says that democratic processes, discussion and decision making ought to include everyone affected by the decisions.

In this essay I elaborate a particular aspect and manifestation of a norm of democratic inclusion. I assume a broadly communicative model of democracy, rather than a model of democracy that describes it merely as a voting process that aggregates preexisting preferences. Within this deliberative or communicative interpretation of democracy, I propose a form of political communication I call greeting, or public address, as a necessary aspect of political inclusion. For persons or social segments to be included in public discussions, they must have been addressed, or greeted.

The American Welfare Reform Debate 1992-96

The uses of a theory of communicative democracy are primarily critical. With the norms and ideals expressed in the theory one can evaluate how most political processes fall short of what is necessary to do justice. Understanding the political function of greeting gives an important criterion for assessing actual political processes. Actual political discussion should be explained not only for what it says, whether the issues are well formulated, the arguments coherent, and so on. We should also ask whether the major contributions to a political debate show discursive signs that they are addressing all those who should be included in the debate. One sign of the absence of such greeting is that a public debate refers to persons or social segments only in the third person, never addressing them in the second person. If a social segment rarely if ever appears as a group to whom deliberators appeal, and if there are few signs that public participants in

deliberation believe themselves accountable to that social segment among others, then that social segment has almost certainly been excluded from discussion.

I suggest that the American welfare reform debate of 1992-1996 fails this test of inclusion, and that public discussions of welfare reform largely remain exclusionary in this sense. Lower income people, and in particular lower income single mothers — the social segment arguably the most directly affected by the reforms — on the whole have not been included as participants in the deliberations. In this debate lower income single mothers have not been treated as equal citizens with opinions and perspectives that deserve to be taken into account to make just and wise decisions about public assistance. Instead, they have been treated almost entirely as the objects of the debate — there has been a great deal of talk about lower income single mothers, especially those on welfare, as a problem, and many experts have analyzed the sources of this problem and made predictions about how policy will produce behavioral change in this problem group. The actual voices, evaluations, and reasons of lower income people have rarely been heard in the public debate; when they have been invited to speak it is usually not to say what they think but to provide an "object lesson" about the difficulty of living, or the possibilities of change, to support one side or another in the debate. Nor have lower income single mothers had very much in the way of representatives or advocates for their points of view on welfare. As the 1996 debate came to a head, the Children's Defense Fund came out as a strong advocate for considering the effects of welfare reform on children, but did not speak for mothers.

If lower income single mothers had been considered participants in the welfare reform debate, then a Congressman would not have been able to show a sign saying "Don't Feed the Alligators" on the floor of the House at one point in that debate. Is there any reason to think that the Congressman felt obliged to justify his views to everyone? Could he have used the House floor for the act if he had sensed that a significant number of others there considered the Congressional debate accountable to lower income single mothers, as well as others? Inclusion is thus an important principle of deliberative democracy because it expands the meaning of reciprocity and accountability in public. It is not simply that deliberators should have reasons that others can accept, but they must both explicitly address the others who they aim to persuade, and listen to their claims.



Iris Young

I am not suggesting that if lower income single mothers had been properly included in the welfare reform debate that they would have argued for keeping welfare as we knew it. Far from it. I am saying, however, that it would have been more difficult for some of the things claimed in the debate about the laziness and irresponsibility of poor people to carry weight. The punitive and disciplinary aspects of the current reforms that are premised on such disrespect for fellow citizens would have been less likely to hold the center of the legislation if the people most affected had been publicly acknowledged as party to the discussion and decision and not simply its object.

Since June 1996 public discussion of welfare policy has given some minimal forum to the voices of those mothers whose futures are at stake in these changes. Rarely, however, are these women asked to say what they think the policies should be, what is really needed to make them just. Instead, they are usually treated once again as objects of observation: here's what I used to be doing and here's what I am doing now. In my experience, most low income single mothers need little prodding to express savvy analysis of the System and claims for what would improve it and their lives. To the extent that their subjectivity as citizens is not publicly addressed in deliberations about welfare policy, the outcome of those deliberations cannot be morally legitimate, no matter what that outcome is.

Democratic norms mandate inclusive communication as a criterion of political legitimacy. Laws, policies and decisions are normatively legitimate only if they are the outcome of a transparent process of public debate in which all members of the polity has had an effective chance to participate and influence the outcome.

Conference

The Philosophical Writings of Jan Patočka

Work on the Archives and Publication Projects

30 March, CTS (Center for Theoretical Studies, Prague)

Jan Patočka (1907-1977) alongside T.G. Masaryk is considered one of the most important Czech philosophers of this century. After more than ten years of cooperation, the two Patočka Archives — IWM in Vienna and the CTS in Prague — have jointly begun to catalogue and make accessible those writings and documents which for political reasons have only reappeared after 1989. The goal of this initiative is to ensure that both archives contain a complete set of materials in order to facilitate future research and publication projects. To further this cooperation, a joint workshop was organized in March in Prague.

So far collaboration between the archives has focused on the previously published works of Patočka (including the Samisdat publications) of which everything has now been recorded. There is a database, a bibliography in Czech (1997) and in German (amended with materials which will appear at the end of 1998) and a collection of the original prints (or copies of these). In the course of the last year, several colleagues of the Patočka Archive in Prague have visited IWM for short research stays. In particular Eric Manton, Jan Patočka-Junior Visiting Fellow of IWM, has made considerable contributions towards the completion of these endeavors.

Inclusive public debate increases the chances that the process of arriving at policies has taken account of all interests. Inclusion increases the chances that those who make proposals will transform their positions from an initial self-regarding stance to a more objective appeal to justice, because they listen to others with differing positions to whom they are also answerable. Even when a process of public discussion ends in a majority decision whose justice or wisdom some question, they can regard it as legitimate if they have reason to believe that they had effective voice in making their case. Even if they disagree with an outcome, political actors must accept the legitimacy of a decision if it was arrived at through an inclusive process of public discussion.

Before a deliberation about substantive policy can proceed those deciding must acknowledge one another in their particularity and recognize that they are accountable to one another. Speaking and acting without such acknowledgment of some or many parts of the society is an effective and often unnoticed mode of exclusion even when there are no formal bars to their participation.

Previous IWM Lectures in Gender Studies:

1994 Cornelia Klinger (Wien/Tübingen)

Dualismen des abendländischen Denkens in feministischer Perspektive

1995 Joan W. Scott (Princeton)

Rereading the History of Feminism in France (1789-1944)

1996 Rosi Braidotti (Utrecht)

Nomadic Subjectivity: A Feminist Perspective

1997 Teresa de Lauretis (Santa Cruz)

Basic Instincts: A Feminist Re-reading of Freud

The collaboration of the archives in Vienna and Prague is supported by the Aktion Österreich — Tschechische Republik since 1997 and enables them to continue their work and contribute to the scientific collaboration between the two countries.

Program

Status of the Archive in Prague and Vienna: Chvatik/ Nellen
Plan of Publication of the *Phaenomenologica* in the framework of the Czech edition of Patočka's complete works: Karfik/ Petricek
Patočka-Projects of the Centre de recherche phénoménologique, University of Louvain-la Neuve, and perspectives of a future collaboration: Leonardy
Publication Plans in Czech, German, French, English and Chinese
Coordination of further steps to make accessible the estate Patočka-Bibliography (German version)

Participants

Erika Abrams (Paris), Ivan Chvatik (Prag), Ludger Hagedorn (Wien / Berlin), Ales Havlicek (Prag), Filip Karfik (Prag), Pavel Kouba (Prag), Heinz Leonardy (Louvain-la-Neuve), Valerie Lovith (Paris), Eric E. Manton, (Wien/Prag), Alexandr Matousek (Prag), Josef Moural (Prag), Klaus Nellen (Wien), Karel Novotny (Prag), Miroslav Petricek (Prag), Hans Rainer Sepp, (Freiburg / Prag), David Soucek (Wien), Ladislava Svandova (Prag), Daniel Vojtech (Prag), Wen-Hong Huang (Freiburg / Taiwan).

Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference

Topics in Feminism, History, Philosophy, Literature

On June 4 and 5, the Junior Fellows met in the IWM Library to discuss – in what has become a tradition – the projects they had been working on during their stay in Vienna. The results will be published in the Junior Fellows Conference Series. Dorothy Rogers reports.

Dorothy Rogers, Agnieszka Zembrzuska, and Katharina Pewny opened on Thursday evening, June 4 with papers on feminist theory. In "Hegel and His 'Victims' on Women in the Private Sphere," Rogers introduced the first women idealists in America and discussed their responses to Hegel, pointing out that, though often not explicitly feminist, their understandings of women's role transformed Hegel's ideal of woman. Thus, they were not "victims" of his theory at all, but rather were active interpreters of it. Her respondent, Margit Leuthold, a Visiting Guest of IWM, elaborated that these women's "non-feminist activism" expanded the women's sphere and reconfigured Hegelian notions of individuality.

Zembrzuska presented, "The Socialist Model of Woman in Poland and Its Soviet Prototype," which discussed the radical transformation of the image of woman in post-war socialist propaganda, in which priority was given to the role of woman as worker and traditional family roles were undermined. Her respondent, Vlasta Jalusic, compared socialist to Western feminist models of women, but pointed out that a major difference was that the Soviet model was imposed "from above," by and for the state, while Western ideas came "from below," as initiatives of feminist social movements.

Pewny's paper, "Staging Difference: Representation – Theatre – Politics," focused on gender difference and the function of mimesis in women's experience, both on-stage and off, as portrayed by Elfriede Jelinek in her most recent production, "Ein Sportstück," noting that Jelinek undermines the notion of female subjectivity as a miming of male subjectivity. Her respondent, Miriam Wischer, further suggested that a focus on plurality, rather than universality, is needed to allow for female subjectivity.

The Friday morning session opened with presentations on Eastern European post-war history by Marina Zavacka, Rafal Wnuk, and Irina Ognyanova. Zavacka's paper, "Always Unanimous: Slovak Communists Reflecting on Soviet Foreign Policy (1939-1943)," analyzed the function of Communist propaganda in the development of Slovak political identity and included a discussion of anti-communist responses to that propaganda. Her respondent, Irina Scherbakowa, added that Zavacka's paper provides a good case study that can be useful to other historians in assessing similar political situations.

Wnuk's presentation, "The Anti-Communist Conspiracy in Poland (1944-1956)," outlined the activities of

numerous post-war anti-communist groups, discussed their organizational make-up, and analyzed their role in undermining the communist regime. Tomasz Szarota suggested that the anti-communist movement would be better termed a group of conspiracies, rather than a unified conspiracy.

In her paper, "Nationalism and National Policy in the Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945)," Ognyanova analyzed the destructive nature of Croatia's fight for statehood and discussed the influence of fascist and Nazi ideologies on Croatian nationalists. Her respondent, Winfred Garscha, pointed out that the distinctions between fascist and nationalistic movements are often hard to determine.

The Friday afternoon session featured Joshua Wheeler, Eric Manton, Maureen Finnigan, and Dimitar Kambourov. In his paper, "Moderation as a Political Principle: Montesquieu's Aristotelianism," Wheeler argued for the superiority of the political principle of moderation, in contrast to more revolutionary ideals, such as that of Rousseau or Marx, which by their nature lack mechanisms to control the potential abuses of the new regime. His respondent, John Leake, questioned Montesquieu's distinction between ethical and political virtue in light of Burke's later aphorism that politics is nothing but morality writ large.

Manton's paper, "On Ideology and the Politics of the chorismos: Patocka's Critique of Ideology," described Jan Patocka's assessment of the views of humanity that dominate in political thinking: the Concept of Man, a mechanical view of humanity; the Idea of Man, which allows for human freedom; and Ideology, which makes individuals subservient to its purpose. Sebastian Reinfeldt noted that the Idea of Man signals both maleness specifically and Western notions of the "white man's burden"; thus it may need to be revised in order to serve us adequately today.

Finnigan's presentation, "Nietzsche's Perspective: Beyond Truth as an Ideal," focused on Nietzsche's understanding that truth is not static or systematic, but is an interpretation, from within life, of the reality of the human condition in a world of change and becoming. Respondent Krzysztof Michalski, Director of IWM, noted that Nietzsche believes truth is a claim made by an individual, which at the same time, is an act of self-affirmation.

Kambourov's paper, "Literary Institutions and the Institution of Literature in the Wake of Theory," explored the crisis in literature today, created by the blending of the boundaries between literature and literary studies. Klaus Nellen asked, how it could happen that deconstructivism brought up theories reducing texts to external matters such as class, ethnicity, gender, which means that literary studies are transformed to "cultural studies".



Irina Ognyanova and Agnieszka Zembrzuska

Final Report

Legality and Legitimation: Political Justice in the Aftermath of World War II

The IWM Field of Research, "Rethinking Post-War Europe", directed by Tony Judt, has now been completed. The project was supported by the Volkswagen Foundation. Winfried Garscha who coordinated the second phase of the project, "Legality and Legitimation," during the course of the last half year, sums up the research results.

Until the late eighties the prevailing view of both public opinion and academic historiography was that the period of violent international and domestic conflicts which set in with World War I had come to an end in 1945, making way for a permanent world order based on the division between Eastern Europe under communist rule and Western Europe dominated by a free market ideology. The division of the continent was reflected in the division of historical memory and historiography which, almost as mirror images, presented the respective post-war orders as the logical consequence of the experience of war, Fascism/National Socialism and genocide, thereby vindicating their irreversibility on a historical as well as a political and moral level.

In the light of the events of the past decade this way of looking at history seems obsolete, and not only because its central tenet of the permanence of the post-war division of Europe has been shattered.

A prerequisite for the reassessment of European post-war history was that the myths about the period before 1945 be called into question, since they provided the basis on which the stability of the post-war societies rested. This "rediscovery" of history, and in particular of crimes, started, for obvious reasons, in the Federal Republic of Germany, where the amnesia that had marked the fifties — an amnesia which had seen itself as future oriented — was already challenged in the sixties. Controversies around historical memory reached France in the seventies, Italy and Austria in the eighties and Eastern Europe after 1989.

The research conducted within the framework of the project, "Legality and Legitimation: Political Justice in the Aftermath of World War II," provided impressive evidence of the extent to which the myths constructed by the post-war states contributed to the misinterpretation of events in the wartime years and in the immediate post-war period. The investigation of various national experiences made it clear that by perpetuating the myths of the immediate post-war years historiography has some responsibility to bear for the fact that the "burning questions" were not broached until the sixties (in some countries not until much later). Austria is not the only case here. Another example is the myth of the victimhood of the German expellees and the role it played in West Germany's Ostpolitik -- in this respect for instance the results of the studies within the project (Pertti Aho) cast doubt on the earlier interpretation of Hans Peter Schwarz. There were several significant developments in research into "ethnic cleansing" at the end of the war — hitherto dominated by the aftereffects of the Holocaust on the one hand and the fate of the expelled Germans on the other:

Tim Snyder studied the mutual expulsions of Poles and Ukrainians (at the IV Workshop in January 1998 this was debated extensively and supported by further research reports). Gabriella Etmektsoglou, coordinator of the project in 1997, investigated the treatment of members of the Communist resistance in Greece, who belonged to Slav minorities.

The most extensive research was carried out in the actual core area of the project which is post-war judiciary, in particular the comparison of the ways of dealing with government crimes after 1945 and 1989, provoked innovative reflections and produced interesting results.

However different the specific ways of "coming to terms" with the Communist past in Eastern Europe are, almost all of them are confronted with the problem that the past was, to a large extent, "homemade". Thus they contradict the widespread myth — promoted by anti-communist underground movements — of the "double occupation" (first by the Germans, then by the Soviet Union) and of Communism as exclusively a Soviet export, and address the tensions within national populations. This creates a new split in society which complicates atonement and punishment.

The most powerful myth of World War II, in judicial and ethical terms, was the classification of crimes against humanity as war crimes and the definition of collaboration as individual cases of treason and not as the result of internal fragmentations of the pre-war societies. The regimes which the collaborators had served were branded as "traitorous" which was in several cases an evident judicial construct. But it offered the possibility of punishing domestic political adversaries as "traitors" without splitting the population into hostile camps.

The association of the crimes committed with the war had another consequence, providing an explanation for the relatively low status of the Holocaust in post-war jurisdiction. The categories of war crime and treason were not applicable to the specifically Jewish experience in World War II. Recognising the Jewish people as the prime victims of the war would have required a redefinition of the categories of collaboration/resistance, treason/loyalty, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The fact that the Jewish people had no state, formed no class, represented no actual or alleged ideology and were not part of a pre-war project (with the exception of the "Russian" exterminatory anti-semitism of the Nazi Party) meant that in the context of the terminology which was common or suggested from above in 1945, the experience of the Jewish people — i. e. their extermination — did not make sense as a moral or judicial problem and could therefore

not be accommodated in public discourse — with or without anti-semitism.

Finally, the project attempted an explanation of the changes in the national narratives. While during and immediately after the war the focus was on what the "others" did to "us", attention later shifted to what "we" did to the "others". The workshop on Holocaust Memorials in January 1997 (Stein des Anstosses – The stumbling block), which was organized by Isolde Charim, project coordinator in 1996, dealt with these changes in the forms of collective memory. The last chapter of Mark Mazower's

recent publication "Dark Continent: Europe's 20th Century" which he completed, in part, during his research stay at the IWM, contains a number of generalisations which are illustrated by the research on detailed issues carried out by participants of the "Legality and Legitimation" Project. There are, for example, the results of Andrzej Paczkowski's study on the first post-war elections in Poland, which present Poland's transition to Communism in a new light. A summary of Mazower's considerations will appear in German translation in issue 15 (autumn 1998) of *Transit. Europäische Revue*.

IWM-Working Report

Eva Menasse: At the End of Europe

Eva Menasse was the first Journalist working at IWM in the framework of the Milena Jesenská Fellowships for Journalists which were established this year by the Project Syndicate, IWM and the European Cultural Foundation.

In the Hungarian town of Győr, 33 miles from the walls of Fortress Europe, the stream of refugees to Schengen-Land comes to a halt. A small reception camp symbolises the pitfalls of big politics.

Dismay is no criterion for journalists, they say. But in Győr, Hungary, 33 miles from the Austrian border, any professional conceits are abruptly suspended because this is the end of Europe.

Győr is where the Austrians come to do their grocery shopping at weekends, to pay a cheap visit to the dentist and the hairdresser and to indulge at the inns and restaurants. For this, as if in mockery, they put up with endless tailbacks at the borders. But, almost incidentally, Győr is also the place of the ultimate failure of any idea of a European community, be it in terms of morality, ethics or civilisation. In this pretty little town not only the Austrians save money but the whole European Union.

A desolate, disused barracks accommodates a scandalous reception camp for all those refugees who slipped off the Eastern Schengen border like swimmers slip off the side of a tanker.

Bars, behind them a narrow corridor. Since January, refugees from forty-two nations have passed through this entrance. Currently the camp houses one hundred and fourteen adults and thirteen children. 50 percent overcrowding in a camp intended for only 60 people. A handful of dormitories full of bunkbeds, no space between them. The upper and lower levels form two long narrow surfaces to lie on, every room a two-level box where men, women and children crawl around, separation by gender or age is not possible, one is told. Three people have to share two mattresses, one of them has to lie on the gap. The worn covers hang in tatters from the brittle foam rubber mattresses. All the windows are open, no unwashed window pane obscures a view of the bars. Yet the smell is indescribable. What the winter is like doesn't bear thinking about.

The state of the sanitary facilities is in keeping with the smell. They don't just take your breath away but also rob you of any confidence in the existence of common stand-

ards of civilisation. Right behind the door there is a heap of refuse, waist-high. The urinals are blocked, the doors can't be locked. When women want to take a shower, a soldier stands guard by the door, the director of the camp assures us.

The plumbers of Győr who used to work here regularly, have recently refused to come. They won't return until the place has been cleaned. One can't blame them. Things used to be much better, the director says, when there were recruits available who could just be ordered to clean the toilets. Now the refugees are expected to do the cleaning, but they won't do it. He shrugs his shoulders. One can't help wondering — would 114 central European bankers, academics and politicians, crammed into an overcrowded place and left to their own devices, manage to keep themselves cleaner?

It is in the nature of things that refugee camps are never homely places. The Traiskirchen camp and its Hungarian equivalent in Bicske are also places of aggression and violence and the inmates suffer great social and psychological stress. All this is part of refugee life. But conditions like those in Győr, where 114 adults and 13 children are kept, still triggered a storm of indignation in 1990 when Romanian orphanages first opened their doors to the gaze of the West.

At the time, the general outrage was directed at the communist dictatorships and their legacy. Today we would have to blame our own system, the all-European migration policies or rather their total failure.

Because the overcrowding in Győr, the principal cause of the disastrous conditions, is a direct result of the establishment of an external Schengen border. Since April 1, 1998 the agreement has also been in force in Austria. A previous agreement between Austria and the government in Budapest sets out when and why Austria is entitled to send people back to Hungary. Since January, 1716 people have been brought to this camp, around 700 of them were sent back by the Austrians. For the director of the camp, a Hungarian lieutenant, the question whether the Schengen Agreement has exacerbated the situation is clearly superfluous. Yet he confirms it, patiently.

We Austrians have reason to be pleased, therefore. Our agreement with Hungary and the reinforced border patrols have been effective. We are reliable Europeans, the poor and the foreign remain outside our borders. In Hungary, however, the stream of refugees resembles a spring tide which happens to be most turbulent where it meets with an obstacle. Some are inside, the others are outside. This is presumably the reason why the Hungarians have granted access to this camp which is more like a cattle shed. Why should they be the ones to put things in order? Why should they take responsibility for the consequences of EU policies?

A delegation of Austrian refugee relief workers has arrived. The people crowd around the individual interpreters. Most of the refugees are still in a state of disbelief and shock, having arrived only a few days or weeks ago. But some already look back on years in the camp.

Muslims relate that sometimes they can't eat anything for days because all they get is pork. The director confirms this, regretfully. They do what they can within the bounds of possibility, he says — a telling statement. The same applies to the state of the buildings, in fact, for everything here. Just a few days ago he complained to the relevant authority that families with children have to stay for so long.

The camp is unpleasant. People surround you, almost pester you, simply for lack of space. Everybody wants help. Some have become resigned, and it is the ultimate possible resignation after a flight through many countries: they want to go back home. And they're almost going crazy because even that is not immediately possible.

The inmates have no information whatsoever. They don't know what is happening to them. Some have applied for asylum, others haven't, many have no documents. The stories are always the same — missing passports or war and anarchy in their home countries make their deportation impossible.

The representation of nationalities is predictable. Many Kosovo-Albanians, most of them young men. Many Algerians, many of them young women. Many men from Black Africa, Burundi, Ruanda, Sierra Leone. Afghans, Chechens, Iranians.

The destinations are always the same: Germany, Austria. They think that's where paradise is. Once they get there everything else will take care of itself. Here, in these circumstances, it would be obscene to tell them the truth: you have the wrong idea and hardly a chance. But, as a matter of fact, it is irrelevant how many of them will be admitted on which grounds, how many we think we can accommodate. Even if we wanted or had to turn down all of them, we still have to make sure that they are not kept as in Győr, not for one more day.

But they go on waiting, for a change or for a chance to escape. It is not difficult to escape, that's the only comfort in this camp. Those whose behaviour doesn't arouse suspicion get permission to go out, an expression of helplessness on the part of the Hungarian authorities. Every one who doesn't return means one problem less. Either they will be picked up somewhere else and taken to another camp. Or they make it to Austria, to Germany, until they are caught there and sent back — to Hungary. Maybe. Maybe it will be different. In any case, it is a cynical game with people and not a solution.

That's why the Hungarians, Czechs and Poles are so keen to join the EU, so that they can get rid of the problem, so they can push it further East. No one knows where it is supposed to end. Wealthy Europe shuts its borders and doesn't give the matter another thought.

"Marry me," a young Algerian says to me out of the darkness of his shameful bed. "Marry me and take me with you to Austria." Then he laughs hysterically.

Translated from German by Esther Kinsky

Guests

Visiting Fellows



Jack Burgers (July - December) Associate Professor of Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam, is working at IWM in the framework of the "Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe". His area of specialization is urban studies and he is currently finishing a book on illegal migration in the Netherlands.

Recent publications include:

"No Polarisation in Dutch Cities?"

Inequality in a Corporatist Country," in *Urban Studies* No. 33/1996; "Globalization, Immigration, and Undocumented Immigrants" (together with G. Engbersen) in *New Community*, 1996; and "In the Margin of the Welfare State: Labour Market Position and Housing Condition of Undocumented Immigrants in Rotterdam," in *Urban Studies* No. 35/1998.

Winfried R. Garscha (January - June)

Historian, Archives of Austrian Resistance, Vienna, specializes in post-war trials in Europe. During his stay at IWM he was finalizing the research project "Legality and Legitimation: Political Justice in the Aftermath of World War II." Please see his final report on p. 12

Ernst Hanisch (February - July)

Professor of History, University of Salzburg, was finishing a larger project on the political currents in the Habsburg Monarchy which will appear in the publication series *Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918* edited by the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Further he started a new project on the history of masculinity in 20th century Austria. A pilot study entitled "Die Männlichkeit des Kriegers. Das österreichische Militärstrafrecht im Ersten Weltkrieg" will appear in 1999.

His essay, "Wien Heldenplatz" will appear in *Transit* 15/1998. In the framework of the workshop "Dialogue for

Austria," organized by the Austrian Bishop's Conference, he gave five lectures (cf. Travels and Talks) which will appear in the volume *Parteien und Katholische Kirche im Gespräch* in the autumn of 1998.

Vlasta Jalusic (January - June)

Senior Research Fellow and Director, The Peace Institute, Ljubljana, at IWM in the framework of the "Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe," works in the field of political theory and gender studies. During her stay she was working on a project exploring the potential for active citizenship as conceptually developed by Hannah Arendt.

She reworked these topics in several papers: "The Possibilities for Feminist Reinterpretation of Hannah Arendt's Elements of Politics," to be published in *Slovene in Casopis za kritiko znanosti*; she is still working on her essay "Distorted Communication: Arendt, Feminists and the Problem of the Social"; and her review of Seyla Benhabib's *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt* (London 1996) will appear in the Viennese journal *Die Philosophin*.

Elzbieta Kaczynska (July - December)

Professor of Sociology, Department of Applied Social Sciences, University of Warsaw. Her stay at IWM is under the auspices of the "Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe". She works in the field of social and economic history of the 19th and 20th centuries, looking at Poland in a comparative perspective. Her current research project is concerned with the process of modernization and the social conflicts connected with this. Furthermore she is working on a history of criminality.

Publications include: *Das größte Gefängnis der Welt. Sibirien als Strafkolonie zur Zarenzeit*, Frankfurt / New York 1994; *Okhrana – the Political Police in the Time of the Tsars*, Warsaw 1996; *Punished People. The Prisons and Penal System in the Kingdom of Poland, 1815-1914*, Warsaw 1989.

Don Kalb (January - December)

Associate Professor in General Social Sciences, Utrecht University, also part of the "Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe," 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'.

In January, his book *Expanding Class: Power and Everyday Politics in Industrial Communities, North Brabant Illustrations, 1859-1950* was published by Duke University Press.

Vera Koubova (July - December)

Translator and Interpreter, Prague (Translation Program), is translating Nietzsche's *Zur Genealogie der Moral* (On the Genealogy of Morals) into Czech.

She has translated Friedrich Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (Beyond Good and Evil, Prague 1997), Franz Kafka, *Tagebücher II* (Diary, Prague 1998), and Friedrich Nietzsche, *Dionysos-Dithyramben* (Dionysian Dithyrambs, Prague 1998).

Eva Menasse (May - July)

Journalist, Vienna, (Milena Jesenská Fellow), was working on a Report on the Schengen Borders. Please note her very instructive Working Report in this Newsletter (p. 13).

She published the results of her investigations in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* ("An Europas Staustufe," 30.5.98; "Aufruhr im Gasthof," 6.6.98; "Nachtwache," 30.6.98), *Der Standard* ("Die Schande von Györ," 27.5.98) and in the French weekly *Courrier International* ("A Györ, les refoulés de Schengen sont parqués dans une caserne," 18.6.98).

Martin Potucek (January - June)

Associate Professor of Sociology and Director, Institute of Sociological Studies, Charles University, Prague, at IWM in the framework of the "Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe," at IWM in the framework of the "Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe," works in the field of social policy, public policy and administration, and future studies. His research project was 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.

The results of his research will be published in his books *Disputes on Czech Social Reform*, Prague 1998 (in Czech); *Not only the Market*, the enriched translation of Nejen trh, (Prague 1997), to be published by CEU Press Budapest; *Czech Society at the End of the Millennium*, Prague 1998 (ed.); *Reform of Public Administration and Social Policy in Central and Eastern Europe*, (co-ed.), Proceedings from the 6th Annual NISPAcee Conference.

Kazimierz Poznanski (July - December)

Professor of International Studies, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, specializes on institutional economics, economics of transformation, Austrian political economy and the economics of technological change. In his research project he links the economic crisis in Eastern Europe to the damage to the state agency caused by the radical marketization and/or inadequate political reforms.

Recent publications include: *Poland's Protracted Transition: Institutional Change and Economic Growth in 1970-1994*, Cambridge 1997; *The Evolutionary Transition to Capitalism: In Search of a Paradigm*, Boulder, Co. 1995; his essay "From Organizational Simplicity to Institutional Complexity" was published in *EEPS* No. 1/1998.

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. During her stay in Vienna she worked on her book entitled *In Search of the Lost Life*,



IWM JUNIOR VISITING FELLOWSHIPS

JULY - DECEMBER 1999 / JANUARY - JUNE 2000

The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) is accepting applications from doctoral and post-doctoral candidates from Central, Eastern and Western 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.

THE 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, Sociology, 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 FELLOWSHIPS

Each term 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 cover letter describing the reasons for applying for an IWM fellowship, and stating the preferred research term (this preference will be accommodated, if possible);
- a concise research proposal, in German or English, consisting of three to four double spaced pages;
- a curriculum vitae (including date of birth and citizenship);
- 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 February 20, 1999. 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 fuer die Wissenschaften vom Menschen
Spittelauer Laende 3
A-1090 Vienna

in which she traces the fate of individuals during the Stalinist period.

She wrote a scientific expert account of "Prisons and Camps in the Soviet Period" for the Enquête-Commission of the German Bundestag, "Überwindung der Folgen der SED-Diktatur im Prozeß der deutschen Einheit". Her essay, "Die Sondermappe des Genossen Stalin" appeared in the catalogue to the exhibition "Work and Culture" of the Archmedia Research Institute, Linz. On 5 May, an article of hers appeared in the Russian journal Itogi on the topic of Soviet occupational policy in Germany after 1945.

Selma Sevenhuijsen (January - June)

Professor of Women's Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Utrecht, worked at IWM under the auspices of the "Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe." Her research is in the field of feminist political theory, in particular on the politics and ethics of care. During her stay she worked on a project concerning the contribution a feminist ethics of care can add to current discussions of the social and political meaning of trust, compassion, and commitment.

Her essay, "Too Good to be True? Feminist considerations about trust and social cohesion," appeared on the IWM Homepage as Working Paper No. 3/98 (cf. the ad on p. 21).

Igors Suvajevs (January - June)

Associate Professor of Philosophy and Translator, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Latvia, Riga (Translation Program), was translating H. G. Gadamer's *Wahrheit und Methode* (Truth and Method) into Latvian. Furthermore he was able to work on a screenplay about "Herder and Riga". He was also continuing work on his own book *Freida lieta* (Freud's Case).

Tomasz Szarota (January - June)

Professor of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw was working on a research project entitled, "Political Cleansing in Europe after World War II," comparing the fate of collaborators in Western Europe with that of collaborators in Central and Eastern European countries.

His lecture "Kollaboration mit den deutschen und sowjetischen Besatzern in den Augen der Polen – damals, gestern und heute," on which he worked during his stay in Vienna, will appear in the Polish journal *Dzieje Najnowsze* (Contemporary History) as well as in an Italian publication. Furthermore he was stimulated to think about a further publication on the topic of "Antisemitic Pogroms in Europe under Occupation."

Maria Zubrytska (January - June)

Associate Professor of Ukrainian Literature and Literary Theory; Director of the Center for Humanities, Lviv State University (Translation Program), was translating Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition* into Ukrainian. In addition she was preparing an interdisciplinary program on European Studies for students of Lviv State University which will be starting in the fall of this year.

She wrote the introduction to the Ukraine edition of Denis de Rougemont's *Les Chances de l'Europe*, which will be published this year by Litopys Press (Lviv).

Junior Visiting Fellows

Junior Visiting Fellows who finished their six month stay in June

Maureen Finnigan

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Boston University

Dimitar K. Kambourov

Assistant Professor and doctoral candidate in Aesthetics and Literary Theory, Sofia University

Eric E. Manton

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Charles University Prague, and Center for Theoretical Studies, Prague; Jan Patocka Junior Visiting Fellow

Irina L. Ognyanova

Doctoral candidate in History, Sofia University

Katharina Pewny

Doctoral candidate in Theater Studies; Lecturer, University of Vienna

Dorothy G. Rogers

Ph.D. in Philosophy, Boston University

Joshua C. Wheeler

M.A. candidate in Philosophy and Literature, Boston University

Rafal Wnuk

Doctoral candidate in Modern History, Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

Marina Zavacka

Doctoral candidate at the Institute for Historical Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava

Agnieszka Zembrzuska

Doctoral candidate in Political Sciences, University of Wrocław

Junior Visiting Fellows from June - December 1998

Franco Cirulli

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, works in the area of German Idealism focusing on Hegel's notion of a category. In his project he is trying to relate Hegel's answer to ancient logic.

Maria Gomez

Doctoral candidate in Political Science, New School for Social Research, New York, works in the field of political theory and gender studies. Her research project explores the tension between political and psychological recognition, proposing the social construction and the legal treatment of the women's body as a third term in this tension.

Publications: "Feminismo: Ante todo un locus para la sospecha" (Feminism: A Place of Suspicion), in *Ética y Conflicto*, ed. C. Motta, Bogota 1995; "La Mirada Pornográfica" (The Pornographic Gaze), in *Pornografía y Derecho*, ed. Siglo del Hombre, Bogota 1997; "Investigación sobre el estado del arte del debate feminista en los Estados Unidos" (Research on Current Feminist Debate in the United States), in: *Estados Unidos: Potencia y Prepotencia*, Bogota 1998.

Piotr Graczyk

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, School for Social Research, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, is work-

Andrew W. Mellon East-Central European Research Visiting Fellowships 1999/2000 in the Humanities and Social Sciences at IWM

I Objective

The Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC) and The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) will jointly award Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellowships in the Humanities and Social Sciences. These three-month fellowships will enable young scholars from Eastern and Central Europe to work in Vienna on research projects of their choice with the scholarly support of the IWM.

II Conditions

Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellows are invited to spend three months at IWM to pursue their research projects. Recipients of the fellowships are given a stipend of US\$ 8,500,— (approximately ATS 105,000, paid in four installments) which will cover all costs of living and travel expenses. Furthermore, IWM will provide Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellows with a guest apartment, office space, and access to in-house research facilities as well as other relevant sources in Vienna.

III The Jury

A jury composed of IWM Permanent Fellows and Members of the IWM Academic Advisory Board will evaluate the applications and select finalists.

IV Eligibility Requirements

IWM is now accepting applications from young scholars from Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia for its Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellowships. The candidates must have already obtained a Ph.D. and should have a senior academic position or record (equivalent to associate professor level).

Research projects which are thematically related to IWM's fields of research and ongoing programs will receive preferential treatment. These are:

- 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 the National Higher Education and Research Systems of Central Europe

V Application Procedure and Deadline

Application forms, detailed instructions, and additional information are available from IWM's Fellows Office.

Please send inquiries and applications by post or e-mail to:

Ms. Traude Kastner
Institute for Human Sciences
Spittelauer Laende 3
A - 1090 Vienna
E-mail: Kastner@iwm.univie.ac.at

All materials should be sent together, either by post or e-mail, before the deadline of November 15, 1998.

VI Notification

Applicants will be notified of the decision of the jury in January 1999; it is not required for the jury to publicly justify its decisions.

ing on his dissertation entitled "Christianity, Nietzscheanism, and Scepticism" referring to the anti-philosophical currents in modern philosophy and their relation to Christianity.

He is preparing a translation of Martin Heidegger's Nietzsche into Polish as well as working on a contribution to a book "Dostoievskij and the Evil" (in Polish and in German).

Ann Christine Guthmiller

M.A. candidate in Political Theory, New School for Social Research, New York, works in the field of political philosophy and aesthetics. In her thesis she will be focusing on the different appraisals of women's deliberative and ethical capacities as presented in Greek tragic plays and philosophy.

Michal Ivantysyn

Doctoral candidate in Political Sciences, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, specializes in political sociology. His research project is a system analysis of the political life in Slovakia focusing on the decision making process.

Recent publications include a Global Report on Slovakia, (together with Martin Butora), published by the Institute for Public Affairs, Bratislava 1998; his article "First Time Ballot Boxes: The Political Background of Young People", together with M. Velsicin, appeared in SME, 14 January 1998.

Stefan Kalt

Doctoral candidate in Philosophy, Boston University, is studying David Hume's moral psychology as well as topics in Hegel's Science of Logic.

Ulrike Krampfl

Doctoral candidate in History, Vienna University / Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (Stipendiary in the framework of the doctoral program of the Austrian Academy of Sciences) works in the field of social and gender history focusing on 18th century France. Her dissertation is entitled "Belief and Gullibility in 18th century Paris: Magic, False Witchcraft, Deception".

Publications include: "Geheimnisvolle Texte: Überlegungen zu Schrift und Magie in der frühen Neuzeit," in Beiträge zur historischen Sozialkunde, Nr. 28/2/1998; "Les faux sorciers parisiens au début du XVIIIe siècle. Quelques remarques sur le couple séducteurs – crédules," in Actes de la Journée d'études des Centre des recherches sur les civilisations et mentalités due XVIIIe siècle, is forthcoming.

Jarmila Maresova

Research Associate, is working at IWM in the framework of the "Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe." She specializes in demographics and international migration. The main objective of her project is to enrich information about labour migration of Czech and Slovak nationals to Austria.

Publications include: "Former Czechoslovakia," together with Z. Pavlik, in: The Politics of East-West Migration, ed. Solon Ardittis, London 1994; "Migration, Europe's Integration and the Labour Force 'Brain Drain'," (together with D. Drbholav, V. Lhotska), Faculty of Science, Charles University, Prague 1996.

Philipp Steger

Doctoral candidate in Law, University of Innsbruck / Jagellonian University Cracow (Stipendiary in the framework of the doctoral program of the Austrian Academy of Sciences) is working on a doctoral thesis analyzing the political style of the Roman-Catholic Church in a pluralistic and democratic society.

His essay, "Beyond the Quarrel 'Church and Democracy': Democracy in the Church Itself," appeared in September in Miesiecznik Znak (in Polish).

Violetta Zentai

Associate Professor at Janus Pannonius University, Pecs, and doctoral candidate at Rutgers University, works in the field of cultural anthropology. Her dissertation investigates current social discourses on wealth and forms of money in the Hungarian transition. The inquiry covers how discourses suggest and legitimate moral subjectivity in different social situations and serve to endorse or challenge political ideologies.

She is the editor of Political Anthropology, Budapest 1997 (in Hungarian); and Men and Women in East European Transition, Cluj 1997.



Ulrike Krampfl, Violetta Zentai

Guests

One month research stays

Istvan Deak (May)

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

Among his publications are: Beyond Nationalism: The Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918, Oxford 1994. He is the author of many essays in the New York Review of Books, the New Republic and in various books on such subjects as political justice in Europe during and after World War II, the Holocaust, and problems of freedom and democracy in Central Europe in the 19th century.

Peter Demetz (May)

Sterling Professor Emeritus of German and Comparative Literature, Yale University, is working on the relationship of language and nationalism. He was Jury member of the Ingeborg-Bachmann-Prize 1986-1996. In May he was rewarded the Jubiläums-Medaille of Charles University, Prague.

Most recent publications include Böhmisches Sonne, Mährischer Mond. Essays und Erinnerungen, Vienna 1996; Prague in Black and Gold. Scenes from the Life of a European City, New York 1997.

Iris M. Young (May)

Professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, gave the IWM-Lectures in Gender Studies (cf. p. 4).

Publications include: Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy and Policy, Princeton University Press 1997; Justice and the Politics of Difference, Princeton University Press 1990; Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory, Indiana University Press 1990. Translations into German include "Stadtleben und Differenz," in Transit 5, 1992.

Hans-Georg Betz (June)

Associate Professor of European Studies, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. was working on the political implications of globalization and wrote an essay on the radical Right in Western Europe.

Publications include: Postmodern Politics in Germany: The Politics of Resentment, New York 1991; Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe, Macmillan 1994. He is editor of New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies, New York 1998.

Hugh Silverman (June)

Professor of Philosophy and Comparative Literature, Department of Philosophy, State University of New York at Stony Brook. His areas of specialization include continental philosophy, contemporary European thought, Postmodernism and cultural studies, aesthetics, art criticism and history of the arts.

Recent publications include: *Inscriptions: After Phenomenology and Structuralism*, 2nd edition New York / London 1997; *Textualities: Between Hermeneutics and Deconstruction*, New York / London 1994; *Textualität der Philosophie – Philosophie und Literatur*, Wiener Reihe 7, ed. together with Ludwig Nagl, Vienna / Munich 1994.

J. Rogers Hollingsworth (July)

Professor of Sociology, History and Industrial Relations, University of Wisconsin, specializes in the political economy of health care. During his stay he continued work on a project in this area which is supported by the Nobel Prize Committee in Medicine or Physiology.

He is editor of *Contemporary Capitalism: The Embeddedness of Institutions*, Cambridge 1997; *Governing Capitalist Economies: Performance and Control of Economic Sectors*, New York 1994; and author of (amongst others) *A Political Economy of Medicine: Great Britain and the United States*, Baltimore 1986.

Tuesday Lectures

5 May

Peter Demetz

Sterling Professor Emeritus of German and Comparative Literature, Yale University

Noch einmal: Patocka, Jungmann, Bolzano.
Sprachphilosophie im Nationalitätenkonflikt

12 May

Istvan Deak

Seth Low Professor of History, Columbia University
War Crimes and Political Justice in Hungary (1919, 1944, 1956)

19 May

Pierre Rosanvallon

Directeur d'Études, EHESS, and Director of the Raymond Aron Center for Political Research, Paris; President, Fondation Saint-Simon

L'avenir de l'État-providence

In cooperation with the Institut Français de Vienne

26 May

Political Ecology I

Alain Lipietz

Directeur de recherche, CNRS; Speaker of the French Green Party

The Future of Political Ecology

In cooperation with the Political Academy of the Austrian Green Party and with ProMedia Publishers

2 June

Hugh Silverman

Professor of Philosophy and Comparative Literature, Department of Philosophy, State University of New York at Stony Brook

Postmodern Communities

10 June

Laura Balbo

Professor of Sociology and Dean, Department of Humanities, University of Ferrara

On Patterns of Reflexivity and Lifelong Learning: Adult Women in Modern Society

In cooperation with the Italian Cultural Institute

16 June

Political Discussions

Bronislaw Geremek

Historian, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs

Why should the European Union be Expanded to the East?

23 June

Hans-Georg Betz

Associate Professor of European Studies, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.

The Politics of Globalization

Travels and Talks

Ernst Hanisch

Lecture: "Der Verlust der Bärte. Zur politischen Kultur der Wendehälse," at the conference of the Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft in Vienna, 23 May.

Lecture: "Österreicher als Soldaten in der Deutschen Wehrmacht," Waldviertel Akademie, 26 June.

Five lectures in the framework of the workshop "Dialog für Österreich," organized by the Austrian Bishop's Conference, Salzburg, (30 May - 24 June).

Vlasta Jalusic

Lecture: "Velvet Revolutions and the Vanishing of Politics in Post-Socialism," in the framework of the lecture series on revolutions, The Peace Institute, Ljubljana, 19 May.

Dimitar Kambourov

Participant at the conference/workshop: "The Second Sense," Amsterdam, in May.

Cornelia Klinger

Lecture: "Die Dialektik der Aufklärung im Geschlechterverhältnis," at the symposium "Transmissions-Kultur der Aufklärung" of the Project "Enlightenment and Critique of Enlightenment" of the Deutsche Forschungsgesellschaft, Potsdam, 22 May.

Lecture: "Das Geschlechterverhältnis und das Zeitalter der westlichen Moderne," in the framework of the lecture series "Zwischen Frauenbewegung und Geschlechterkonstruktion," organized by the Faculty of Theology, University of Frankfurt, 26 May.

Lecture: "Die Epoche der Moderne und ihr mögliches Ende," on occasion of the Café Philosophique in the Café Prückl, Vienna, 12 June.

Lecture: "Recht und Macht" and direction of two work-

shops at the 7th Swiss Lawyers Conference, Paulus Akademie, Zürich, 19/20 June.

Krzysztof Michalski

Lecture: "Kurze Geschichte der Apokalypse und ihrer Verweltlichung" at the scientific symposium on occasion of the 65th birthday of Hans-Ludwig Schreiber, President of the University of Göttingen, Göttingen, 9 May.

Discussion with Leszek Kolakowski on Nietzsche, at the Goethe-Institut, Warsaw, 28 April; published in the Gazeta Wyborcza of 6/7 June.

Participant: 4th German-Czech Symposium organized by the Körber Stiftung in Petersberg, 26-28 June.

Katharina Pewny

Lecture: "Ware – Wissen – Weiblichkeit. Feministische Bildung und 'freie' Wissenschaft zwischen Markt und Subvention", together with Birge Krondorfer, at the VIPER-Congress, Luzern, 20/21 May.

Martin Potucek

Participant at a panel discussion on "Enlargement of the EU and Social Policies in Accession Countries," organized by the Austrian Institute for Collaboration with South-Eastern Europe, Vienna, in May.

Violetta Zentai

Co-director of a summer course "Forms of Inclusions and Exclusions in the New Europe," at the Central European University, Budapest, 20-31 July.

Lecture: "The Rhetoric of Victimization in Post-Socialist Social Criticism," at CEU, Budapest, 24 July.

Publications

TERC Report No. 10

[Universities and the Challenge of New Technologies](#)
Vienna 1998, 88 Pages

The TERC Report Series is part of IWM's TERC project (The Transformation of the National Higher Education and Research Systems of Central Europe) and provides reports and analyses of higher education reform as a means of invigorating public discussion of the dilemmas facing higher education in Europe and how they relate to the Central European context. The reports can be ordered from IWM.

IWM and the Technical University, Dresden, jointly organized a Public Forum devoted to a discussion of the impact of new (information) technologies on the university as such, and on higher education generally. Participants included rectors and presidents of universities as well as leading scholars and younger specialists in new media and technologies — not all of whom were enthusiastic about the effects of "digitalization" on scholarship and education. The Forum was held at the Technical University, Dresden on 11 January 1997, and received generous financial support from the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Transport and Art. Most of the articles in this volume stem from contributions to this Public Forum in Dresden.

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IWM Working Papers

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Contributors include: Claus Leggewie (New York), Alexander Etkind (Petersburg), Don Kalb (Utrecht), Rastko Mocnik (Ljubljana), Reinhold Wagnleitner (Salzburg), Dimiter Denkov (Sofia), Zsuzsa Ferge (Budapest), Peter Dewes (Essex), Ton Nijhuis (Amsterdam/Maastricht), Christine Di Stefano (Seattle), Vlasta Jalusic (Ljubljana), Selma Sevenhuijsen (Utrecht).

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Essays

Cornelia Klinger

"Liberalismus – Marxismus – Postmoderne. Der Feminismus und seine glücklichen oder unglücklichen 'Ehen' mit verschiedenen Theorieströmungen im 20. Jahrhundert," in *Geschlechterverhältnisse im Kontext politischer Transformation. Politische Vierteljahresschrift. Sonderheft 28/1997*, ed. by Eva Kreisky/ Birgit Sauer.

"Das Buch der Natur wird unlesbar. Zur Trennung von wissenschaftlichem und ästhetischem Naturbegriff in der Moderne", in Gian Franco Frigo / Paola Giacomoni / Wolfgang Müller-Funk (eds.): *Pensare la natura. Dal Romanticismo all'ecologia*, Milan 1998.

Janos Matyas Kovacs

"Legacy, Imitation, Invention. Economic Thought in Hungary after 1989", *Közgazdasági Szemle 1996/4* (in Hungarian).

Paradigmaty transformacji gospodarczej, *Transit Polski 1996/2*.

"The Image of Sovereignty. Austria's Changing Identity," in Gombar et. al. (ed.), *A suverenitas kaprazata*, Budapest 1996 (in Hungarian).

Unsichere Geister. Populisten und Liberale im postkommunistischen Ungarn, in Peter Berger (ed.), *Die Grenzen der Gemeinschaft*, Gütersloh 1997.

"The Story of the Prodigal Son. On the Value of Eastern European Economic Thought (and of Its History)", in *Közgazdasági Szemle 1997/4* (in Hungarian).

"Boxing the Shadow? 'Neoliberals' and Social Quality After Communism", in Wolfgang Beck / Laurent van der Maesen / Alan Walker (ed.), *The Social Quality of Europe*, Amsterdam 1997.

"Uncertain Ghosts. Populists and Urbans in Post-Communist Hungary," in Peter Berger (ed.), *Limits of Social Cohesion*, Boulder, Co. 1998.

"Sound Interventionism? Challenges of the Transformation in Eastern European Economics," in: Martin Bull / Mike Ingham (ed.): *Reform of the Socialist System in Central and Eastern Europe. Progress and Prognosis*, London 1998.

From the IWM Translation Program:

Arthur C. Danto

Hogyan semmizte ki a filozófia a művészetet? *The Philosophical Disenfranchisement of Art* (New York 1988)

Beyond the Brillo Box (New York 1992)

Atlantisz Publishers, Budapest 1997

translated into Hungarian by Eszter Babarczy

G.S. Kirk, J.E. Raven, M. Schofield

A preszókratikus filozófusok
The Presocratic Philosophers (Cambridge 1957/21983)

Atlantisz Publishers, Budapest 1998

translated into Hungarian by Kalman Ciszter and Kornel Steiger

Jan Patočka

Kim sa czeši?

What are the Czechs?

Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, Krakau 1997

translated into Polish by Jacek Baluch

Varia**Dimiter Denkov**

Visiting Fellow of IWM under the auspices of the Translation Program in 1997 was awarded two prizes for his translation of H.G. Gadamer's *Wahrheit und Methode* on which he had been working during his stay in Vienna. On 24 May he was awarded the Prize of the Bulgarian Translators Association 1997, and on 21 May he was awarded the Translation Prize of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sofia.

Bronislaw Geremek

Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Professor of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, and one of the Patrons of IWM has been awarded the Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen. The prize is awarded for outstanding accomplishments and international cooperation within Europe.

Pierre Rosanvallon

Directeur d'Etudes, EHESS, and Director of the Centre de Recherches Politiques Raymond Aron, Paris; President of the Fondation Saint-Simon has accepted the invitation into the Academic Advisory Board of IWM.

Aleksander Smolar

President of the Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; Maitre de recherche, CNRS, Paris, who has been connected with the Institute for a long time, now is so also officially in two ways: In July he accepted the invitation to become a member of IWM's Academic Advisory Board as well as a member of the editorial board of IWM's journal *Transit - Europäische Revue*.

SOCO Database

The IWM launched its Social Consequences of Transition Database project within the SOCO in 1994 to help remedy the lack and unreliability of social policy data on Central Europe. The database project involves creating a comparative base of indicators that reflect the social impact of the transition in middle-east-european countries and the new German Bundesländer. The aim of the database is to further the understanding of how individuals and families cope with the difficulties of economic transformation and to identify the winners and losers of this process. It will make possible the systematic comparison of countries in transition and will generate valuable insights on the impact of policy reforms.

The database is distributed by a Hungarian data provider, TARKI (Social Research Informatics Center) and is available via: Ms. Ildiko Merkl, TARKI Data Archive, Victor Hugo ut. 18-22, H - 1132 Budapest, Fax: +36 1 1290 470, E-mail: merkl@tarki.hu

Guest Contribution

Bronislaw Geremek: Why should the EU be expanded to the East?

Poland's Foreign Minister, the historian Bronislaw Geremek discussed the topic of EU Enlargement on June 16 in the framework of the "Political Discussions" series. He was commented by Heide Schmidt, Leader of the Austrian Liberales Forum, and Ewald Nowotny, Member of the Austrian Nationalrat (SPÖ). We bring Geremek's statement below.

I would like to begin by saying that I think the enlargement is in the very nature of the European Union and I hope that it will involve not only the first group of countries brought into the discussion some months ago, but that after this enlargement to the East some further enlargement to the East and to the North-East will follow. Today presents a good opportunity to ask some questions right to the point.

Why does Poland want to become a member of the European Union? One possible answer is that membership of our country in the EU will, first of all, strengthen the transformation process. This process in Poland during the last nine years has been quite successful. In 1989 we started from a socialist economy, the heavy apparatus of command economy and an inflation of 800 per cent a year. In the last five years, Poland has been a country with a high growth rate of between 6 and 7 per cent per annum. Transformation first of all means the abandoning of socialist structures of power and economy. But it also means the process of modernization. At the end of the century Poland is in the midst of the process of modernization. Becoming a member of the EU we hope that this process will gain strength. Beyond that we hope that EU-membership will limit or diminish the social costs of transformation as this would entail obtaining assistance from the West.

Secondly, we hope that membership in the EU will mean being included in the space of stable economic development — or, as it were, not to be excluded from this space of stability. Exclusion still seems a possible danger for countries such as Poland, Lithuania or Hungary.

Finally, the EU means a higher level of security for an independent, democratic and sovereign country. Together with Hungary and the Czech Republic we hope to become soon members of the NATO in some months and believe that the NATO will give us the feeling of security we need. The European Union however seems to offer a special kind of security. At the end of the century we should envision the security issue not only as a question of defense, of military structures, but also as something which includes democracy, the rule of law, and prosperity. This is the lesson of the European experience in the 19th and especially in the 20th centuries. Our feeling is that the EU can provide this sense of security because it combines prosperity, security and democracy.

It was Solidarity which first formulated Poland's aspiration to become a member of NATO and to join the EU. I'm saying this not to make a remark about the past, but for political reasons. For Poland's future it matters very much whether the political elite is able to keep its promises or not. For the Polish society, to see that Poland is a member of NATO and the EU will mean that promises

of 1989 have been fulfilled. If this is not the case, however, it could have a social and psychological effect which can take on a political dimension.

On the other hand, the question, why the EU should want countries such as Poland to become member states, also has to be answered from our side, (by Poles, Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs and Estonians). In the first act of joining Poland with the EU — I mean the association agreement of December 1991 — in the text of the agreement we were able to obtain a declaration that the status of association will be changed into a normal and full membership. After a long discussion at the end of 1991, however, the only formulation of this issue which was generally accepted stated that Poland merely assumes that the association will be transformed into a full membership.

In June 1993, at the European Council meeting in Copenhagen the answer came as a clue: there will be an enlargement and post-communist East and Central European countries may, if they want to, become members of the EU — under certain conditions. In Copenhagen these conditions were formulated as follows: Firstly, there are political conditions, i.e. democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and particularly of national minority rights. Secondly, countries seeking membership have to give proof that their economy is well prepared for participation in the European integration and in the European competition.

Finally, the Luxembourg meeting of the European Council in December 1997 made a decision in favor of the enlargement. I remember the day of the declaration. I had the feeling that it was received with much emotion not only by us — the representatives of ten or eleven countries asking for the membership — but that it was historic moment also for the 15 countries that were already members of the EU. It now seems that public opinion in the EU member countries does not understand the question of enlargement very well.

The strategic decision in Luxembourg showed that the EU refuses to accept the kind of egoistic approach defending the happiness and prosperity of the member countries against the non-members. But the countries outside understood the Luxembourg agreement as a final act in a long process.

For an external observer the primary philosophy of the EU is not centered on the market, but on peace — which is the very problem of the EU. If one asks what the European Union is all about, the answer will be: about peace and prosperity. From this position, enlargement to the East could be the European Union's answer to the question of how we can assure peace in Europe. This means that it is in the European Union's interest to be enlarged by the

Central European countries. Whenever I go through an airport entrance I can see who counts as European: the Schengen community — while we are the others.

Europeans from the EU always felt that it is extremely important to reduce the harsh inequalities in wealth and prosperity among people as these differences can generate conflict. This is a very wise attitude and a long term philosophy. To build a space of stability and peace was exactly the sense of the Luxembourg decision. What is important also is to see this process of enlargement in concrete economic terms. Is this enlargement to the East a danger for countries like Germany, Austria and France in the sense that cheap foreign labor will come and will increase unemployment in these developed countries? In fact, and all to the contrary, I am of the opinion that the enlargement will create jobs first of all in countries in which unemployment rates are high — that means, in the majority of EU countries.

Some weeks ago I read a study prepared by the Bertelsmann Foundation which concludes that major European countries, members of the EU including Austria but also France and Germany, will profit from the enlargement in terms of economic growth. The growth in these countries will increase by a factor of 1.5. This is quite a high rate and it means job creation and the reduction of unemployment. If this is true, one can ask why the societies in the European Union do not accept this truth? Public opinion in the member countries is first of all preoccupied with the dangers of the enlargement. This gap between public opinion and the reality of enlargement is dramatic. A French statesman once said that the EU is like Tarzan: a strong man with muscles but with some difficulties in communication with others. I think that this is a basic problem of the EU: the political elites are not able to explain the European idea and its strengths. And this is a very important problem both for the members of the EU and for the candidate countries.

My third question is, will a country like Poland be the same after joining the EU? And will the EU be the same when Poland and other countries have joined? As far as the EU is concerned, the European leaders decided that in Vienna in October 1998 two central issues should be discussed. First, the budget of the EU should be rebalanced so that an equilibrium can be found. This includes the reform of the agricultural policy and the redistribution of the structural funds. And secondly, that institutional reforms which were not expressed in the Amsterdam treaty should be implemented before the enlargement.

Poland, as the European Commission in a very positive assessment of the economy and the country in general declared, should carry out reforms in five fields. These reforms should concern state enterprises, agriculture, transportation, and environmental policy. The Polish government is trying to introduce four or five big reforms this year. First of all we are working on the decentralization of the state: instead of 49 voivodships we want to establish between 12 and 17 regions. Moreover, we want to propose a pension reform, the reform of the health service and a very important reform of education. This means a process of thorough and costly reforms which we are implementing not because the EU is asking us to, but

because we have to do it for our own sake. And this means that the enlargement will concern both sides: An EU enlarged to the East will be different from what it is now, and countries such as Poland will also be different after joining.

I have the feeling that the debate which is going on now is somewhat misguided. One cannot say that the enlargement cannot be implemented because of the lack of reforms inside the EU. One could say that Czechs, Hungarians or Poles should not be punished for the failure of some debate in Amsterdam. If Amsterdam was unable to initiate these reforms, we think that the enlargement will provide new arguments for an institutional reform of the EU, because a union of 20, 25 or 28 countries cannot be organized in the same way as with 6, 12 or 15 members. We have the feeling that after Luxembourg the agenda is there. We can say that from 1989 on we made a tremendous effort to adapt ourselves to the goal of European integration. This took nine years. We hope that with one year of screening, with two years of negotiations, and — let's say — with one year wasted, hence all in all after 13 years, at the beginning of the year 2003, countries like Poland could become members of the EU. One cannot say that it's a question of a lack of preparation from one side or the other. I think that the EU can and should prepare itself for the enlargement, and that our countries can and should prepare themselves for joining the EU. However, the question is what kind of negotiations we will have. Will the negotiations be technical in the sense that we should discuss concrete problems of the European Law, questions concerning the mining industry in a country like Poland or agricultural issues, or should the enlargement be discussed only in terms of political interest. My answer obviously is that we need both. Technical negotiations without political ones don't make sense and political negotiations without these difficult technical negotiations would also be impossible.

My conclusion is that the EU enlargement is a question of political will on both sides — because in the countries waiting for a decision one can observe a growing disappointment about the long time of waiting. One should also understand that the public opinion in the EU member countries should be better informed about the reasons why the EU should be enlarged. The enlargement is in the interest of the EU, and it is in the interest of East and Central European peoples who lived under dictatorship for decades. We should all remember our reaction to the very happy year of 1989 and we should never forget the happiness of freedom it brought. The problem today is, how to implement it into real life.

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