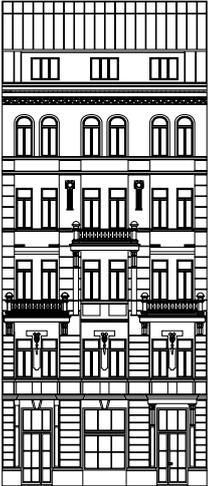




# Newsletter 64

Institut für die  
Wissenschaften  
vom Menschen

Institute for  
Human Sciences



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## Conference

### Club of 3

On February 5 and 6, a meeting on political and economic problems of European enlargement took place in Vienna's Palais Schwarzenberg. The meeting was jointly organized by the Institute for Human Sciences, Charles of Schwarzenberg, and the "Club of 3", an informal group of leading British, French and German entrepreneurs and politicians initiated by Lord Weidenfeld.

The "Club of 3" meeting fostered fruitful discussion of the economic challenges of the enlargement process, with equal consideration given to the perspectives of the member states and to those of the East Central European countries.

Informal discussions were also devoted to the crucial security issues connected with the coming NATO membership of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic — issues which also have important economic repercussions, especially for foreign investment.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the problem of domestic public opinion was addressed, again from the perspectives of inside and outside the EU.

One of the highlights of the event was surely the brilliant speech given by Bronislaw Geremek, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the dinner hosted by Prince Schwarzenberg.



*Lord Weidenfeld*

In concluding, Lord Weidenfeld, founder of the "Club of 3", suggested that a similar meeting should be organized annually to monitor and further the process of enlargement in the coming years.

Following the meeting, on February 6, a Political Discussion on "Politics and Culture," jointly organized by IWM and the Viennese daily Der Standard, took place in the IWM Library. Participants included Michael Naumann, Minister of State for Culture, Bonn; Heide Schmidt, Leader of the Austrian Liberales Forum, Vienna; Peter Marboe, City Council for Culture, Vienna; and Josef Cap, Director of the Zukunftswerkstätte, Vienna. The discussion was moderated by Gerfried Sperl, editor-in-chief, Der Standard.



*Charles of Schwarzenberg*

## Program

Friday, February 5th

Welcome: Charles of Schwarzenberg

Introduction: Lord Weidenfeld

### I. The Economic Challenges of European Integration: East- and West European Perspectives

Chair: David Marsh, Director of Robert Fleming & Co. Ltd., London

Presentation: Klaus Mangold, CEO, Debis; member, Daimler-Benz Executive Board, Berlin

Speakers: Horst Köhler, President of the European Bank for Reconstruction & Development, London

Jean Peyrelevade, President, Crédit Lyonnais, Paris

Josef Tosovsky, President of the Czech National Bank, Prague

### II. Working Dinner

Chair: Charles of Schwarzenberg

Keynote speaker: Bronislaw Geremek, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

*Why Should the European Union Be Expanded to the East?*

Saturday, February 6th

### III. Issues of Defence: European Union, Nato, Western European Union

Chair: Werner Weidenfeld, Member of the Board, Bertelsmann Foundation, Germany

Speakers: Czeslaw Bielecki, Chair of the Committee for Foreign Affairs, Poland

Colin Budd, Deputy Under Secretary, Foreign Office, Great Britain

Joszeif Szajer, Head of Parliamentary Faction of FIDESZ-MPP, Hungary

### IV. The Enlargement Process and Domestic Public Opinion

Chair: Lord Weidenfeld, Chairman, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London

Speakers: Michael Naumann, Minister of State for Culture, Germany

Hanna Suchocka, Minister of Justice, Poland

Marie-Hélène Bérard, Conseiller à la Direction Générale, Crédit Commercial de France, Paris

## Participants

Tamas Bauer, Member of the Hungarian Parliament (Free Democrats), Professor of Economics, University of Frankfurt; Marie-Hélène Bérard, Conseiller à la Direction Générale, Crédit Commercial de France, Paris; Czeslaw Bielecki, Chairman, Committee for Foreign Affairs in the Polish Parliament; Henryka Bochniarz, President, Polish Business Council; Colin Budd, Deputy Under Secretary, Foreign Office, London; Sir Ronald Grierson, International banker & financier (GEC, Fiat, Bank of Liechtenstein), London; Pavel Kavanek, General Manager, Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka, Prague; Horst Köhler, President of the European Bank for Reconstruction & Development, London; Janos M. Kovacs, Permanent Fellow, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna; Professor of Economics, University of Budapest; Hagen Krämer, debis AG, Berlin; Michael Maclay, Director, Hakluyt and Co., London; Georg von Mallinckrodt, President of Schroder plc., London; Klaus Mangold, Chief Executive, debis AG; Member, Daimler-Benz AG Executive Board, Berlin; David Marsh, Director of European Strategy, Robert Fleming & Co., London; Krzysztof Michalski, Director, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna; Chairman, Supervisory Board, Institute for Public Affairs, Warsaw; Michael Naumann, Minister of State for Culture, Bonn; Jiri Pehe, Political Advisor to President Vaclav Havel, Prague; Dirk Rumberg, Director for International Cooperation, Bertelsmann Foundation, Gütersloh; Guido Schmidt-Chiari, Vice President of the Supervisory Board, Constantia Iso Holding AG, Vienna; Charles of Schwarzenberg, Vienna; Aleksander Smolar, President of the Batory Foundation, Warsaw; Hanna Suchocka, Polish Minister of Justice; Jozsef Szajer, Head of the Parliamentary Faction of FIDESZ-MPP, Budapest; György Szapary, Vice President of the Hungarian National Bank, Budapest; Nils Taube, Taube Hodson Stonex Partners, London; Jaroslaw Timofiejuk, Polish Embassy, Vienna; Josef Tosovsky, President of the Czech National Bank, Prague; Lord Whitty, Minister of State, Department of the Environment, former Secretary General of the Labour Party, London; Lord Weidenfeld, Chairman, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London; Werner Weidenfeld, Member of the Board, Bertelsmann Foundation, Gütersloh; Michael Zantovsky, Senator, Czech Republic.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki  
**Politik und Moral  
im neuen Europa**

Mit einem Essay von  
Jan Patocka

Passagen Verlag



## Jan Patocka Memorial Lecture 1997

Tadeusz Mazowiecki  
Politik und Moral im neuen Europa

Jan Patocka  
Der Versuch einer tschechischen National-  
philosophie und sein Scheitern (1977)

Ludger Hagedorn  
Verantwortung für Europa: Jan Patocka und  
Tadeusz Mazowiecki

Vienna 1999  
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## Fellow's Meeting

# Lord Weidenfeld: Identities and Loyalties — Reflections of a European Jew

On March 19, the annual informal meeting of IWM Fellows, staff and friends took place in the IWM Library. This year's guest speaker was the British publisher Lord Weidenfeld.

When Krzysztof Michalski came to me a few weeks ago to ask me to lecture, I was, of course, very flattered. I was to talk about my life and be anecdotal and autobiographical, and I thought no more about it until a week later he rang me up and said, "We've got to go to press and we need a dramatic title." I sort of instinctively, not thinking, said, you know, in my profession I'm used to finding dramatic titles. "Identity, and Loyalty, Reflections of a European Jew," sounded good to me. Hardly had I said that, I shuddered. What have I done? I have offered myself as a case study of political pathology. I have to talk about myself in front of an illustrious audience of critics, many of whom come from the same part of the world. My life experiences are sort of an intellectual Rundreise. I have come back to Vienna in more senses than one, which I hope I can explain to you in the course of my remarks.

Identity and loyalty — I very subjectively defined those two words as follows: identity is something that was an unconscious choice; it doesn't have to be reciprocated. You can feel identical with a country or a tribe or with a group of people even if they don't reciprocate. Loyalty stands necessary for owing a debt, or repaying a debt: feeling obliged. You can be loyal to causes after the great glow of excitement and enthusiasm may have faded. I won't go too much further into definitions, I just want to put these two notions of loyalty and identity as coordinates in a framework in trying to assess one's own experience. And this experience started right here. I was born in this country, in Vienna, immediately after the First World War in 1919. I was born from parents who came from various parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Bukovina, and also Trieste. On my mother's side I come from a very old rabbinical dynasty that can easily be traced to the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century. The reason I say "easily" is because in those families, in every generation there were at least one or two people who wrote treatises on various theological subjects. They were known — there were no surnames given to Jews in those days — by their first names and by the three initial letters of their treatises. For instance, one of my forebears was the Chief Rabbi in Prague who wrote a treatise "The Arks of the Covenant," — in the Hebrew S-H-A-L. He was known as the Shela. The people would say: "Ah! You are the great, great, great grandson of the Shela," which was already a tremendous thing in the eyes of some orthodox people in the Jewish world. Because they were so dispersed, I had a wide variety of European relations, and had traveled and had contact with European Jewry from a very early stage in Wroclaw, Cracow, Trieste, and Prague.

Being brought up in Vienna in the 1920's as a child, and as a teenager in the 1930's, meant something quite different from being ten years older. I spoke with people

like Ernst Gombrich or the late Hilde Spiel who was a great friend of mine in London and who was ten to twelve years older than myself, and they talked about Vienna as a centre of a Bildungsbürgertum of a culture.

In contrast my formative years were quite different. My 1930's were terrible years, politically and psychologically. In the 1930's it was at best a very fragmented cultural and political life. My Archimedean point was my Jewish identity although I come from a family that was no longer very croyant. The Jewish identity was imposed upon one because one felt anti-Semitism very strongly. The political life was such that, with the exception of the socialist party, the other parties were exclusionary with regard to Jewish membership. And so one felt doubly receptive for the ideas of the particular brand of socialism of the Austrian-Viennese Social Democracy which, in my view, was the high-water mark of the whole history of Social Democracy.

The other very important element was the question of Austrian identity. There was no Austrian identity! We all, who had liberal views, socialist views, would have liked to be part of democratic Germany. The idea of the "Anschluß" to democratic Germany was unanimously accepted. An Austrian consciousness existed in small sections of the Austrian People's Party and among the older generation that had an emotional rapport with the monarchy, which of course was part of an empire that no one ever thought could be restored. In those days, when Hitler was still a speck of dust on the canvas of Germany or the European landscape, one did feel German. One's most wonderful experiences were with the German language, German literature, German nursery rhymes, lyric and music. In terms of political allegiances Social Democracy was so inspiring: the first of May, the emblems of the Party, the blue shirt of the youth organization, there was the President of the German Reichstag, the envoys from the great German Bruderpartei. The defining moment for people like myself was the suppression of the Socialist Party in the Dollfuß era. There was the clerical semi-fascist authoritarian regime. Yet it was the lesser evil; the greater evil was, of course, Nazism, and democracy was not an option any more because the geo-political position of Austria being what it was. The country was abandoned on the western powers and dependent on the good graces of Mussolini. On the one hand, it was a semi-fascist society, on the other hand, we were islands of freedom and independence. In fact, from 1933-38, Austria was a refuge for German anti-fascist intellectuals. So, it was sort of a chiaroscuro or twilight — you didn't quite know where you were. It was with the dissolution of the socialist party that something collapsed within me — it was the end of a great dream.

At that particular moment, when I was receptive for some great change, something very important happened to me: I was asked to join a Zionist student corps. Looking back it is quite ludicrous to think that there were Jewish nationalists, who fought duels and who imitated, literally, the procedures and ceremonies of German nationalist students on the principle that you have to fight your opponent with his own weapons for your own self esteem. We also sang their songs but changed the words 'Rhine' to 'Jordan.' For instance, Richard Wagner, who is banned in Israel today, who is seen as a precursor of Nazism, and who is burdened with the guilt for having produced the "sound bites" for the Holocaust in the Ring of the Nibelungen, at that time was not only passionately liked by Jews, but when Theodor Herzl opened the first Zionist congress in 1897, he had a band that played the overture to Tannhäuser. This was fifteen years after Wagner's death, so he must have known of or even read whatever Wagner wrote in his book "Jews in Music". What the Zionist teaching subliminally did, is to create insulation against the encroachments of other influences. In other words, when you are a Zionist activist in the Herzlian sense, you treat the other part of mankind the way an anthropologist treats a foreign tribe. You don't have feelings of being rejected. You treat the enemy in a way to understand him: to find a compassionate point of view. You have the possibility of being very sober and clinical because you know you always have one central motivating purpose. That explains the negotiation between Teddy Kollek and Eichmann getting Jews out of Vienna. When you asked Teddy Kollek, "what did you feel?" he said, "I felt nothing. I didn't want to feel anything, really. But if I would have shown I felt something, I couldn't have got those Jews out of the illegal transports." This attitude is one of the curious benefits of that particular mindset.

I was very lucky that I only had four or five months under Hitler, and I managed — although my father was in jail for a year — to get my parents out having first come to England. Then I simply lived in an entirely different world. I had come to a different society, a different people, a different mentality. During the war I had a unique opportunity of reforging links with Europe, because I worked in the BBC from the first day to last day of war, and even a year beyond. At first I was in the monitoring service, then with the "Propaganda Analysis", and I finally became a diplomatic correspondent in charge of the reporting about occupied Europe and the Allied governments in exile. The experience of meeting Europeans on English soil, and being involved with the preoccupations of the Europeans' post-war frontiers was extremely interesting. The whole story of allied London has never been told fully. London at the time was the most extraordinary Tower of Babel, and Ark of Noah. Each of those particular exiles had their own jobs, restaurants, and parts of town where they ate and lived. There was the absurd situation where the leader of the most anti-Semitic faction of the Polish government ate everyday in a kosher restaurant because it was the only place where they had food approximating his own Polish food. It was this contact with Europe, and the contact with the headquarters of the Zionist movement which gave me stimulating opportunities to deepen my understanding of these problems and to want to do something after the war

that could make some sort of contribution. So I started my publishing life immediately after the war.

My first visit to Germany — I didn't go to Austria for two years — was particularly interesting because I had lived with Germany and the Germans throughout the war. Through the BBC I was in daily, indeed hourly, contact with Germany, German Moral. I had to do some broadcasting to Germans, or about the Germans to the English speaking world. I was in touch with all kinds of sources coming from Germany, including prisoners of war. I also had the opportunity of going to neutral countries during the war. I lived with the problem of Germany, and therefore it was extraordinarily interesting to see first hand what really happened. As I said before, the fact that I could do it without being emotionally too overwrought, because



of the experience of finding my relatives gone, friends and family killed — I had the sensations that so many others had had. What insulated me, and made it easier for me to overcome it, was this Zionist upbringing, saying whatever I do, it must benefit my central aim to help the creation of a Jewish state and help the interests of the Jewish people.

My involvement with Germany was very great. On the one hand, I tried to get the answer to never-ending questions concerning the Third Reich: questions concerning guilt and complicity, specificity of the Holocaust, and the ultimate meaning and place of that particular period in the totality of German and European History. Of course, what is so interesting is that many facts were pretty much available from the beginning, but the focus on interest shifted from decade to decade. The very first time I was made aware of this question of complicity was when I went to see General Lahusen who was number two to Admiral Canaris, and who was going to write a book on German intelligence. He was an Austrian officer who had joined the German army and who had a relatively good record, he was not a party member. When I met him, he was a broken man. He had been offered a job running the postwar German Intelligence Service. I went to see him in his place in Hall in Tyrol and I asked him candidly: "Tell me, how many people in your environment knew what was happening?" He said, "well, I will tell you a story about that. Don't let anybody tell you that it was not known what was going to happen." Then he tells a story how he and two of his colleagues, Colonel Piekenbrok and Colonel Bentivegna, playing Skat at 3 a.m. one day in the

winter of '40/41, were suddenly interrupted by Canaris who walked into the room and said, "Gentlemen, this is it! Now we have to act." And he threw on the desk a copy of a secret dossier that Heydrich had written to Himmler, in which he suggested in broad outline the final solution. And Canaris said, "this is the sort of situation where we are asked to do something ultra virus and we can now break the oath of allegiance to the Führer. What should we do now? Well, we should go and see Keitel." And they went to see Keitel who was hibernating in some Loire chateau preparing Operation Barbarossa. They went in and said, "Field Marshall, we have come to you unannounced, but here is some very important material." They showed him a copy of the document. Keitel straightened himself, took his glasses out of his pocket, and started to read very carefully. He then turned around, threw it on the table and said, "Gentlemen, you have just made yourselves culpable of an act of high treason, but I will let you go. But, don't you talk about it anymore because this information is strictly confidential, which you are not in any way to have access to." And they left. Lahusen turned to his colleague and said "Today we lost the war." He then went in great detail to tell me that by drawing an organigram of a division or a corps serving in the East it would have been impossible for people beyond a certain rank not to know what was going on in the Hinterland.

In the first decade after the war, the desire to catch up with what happened in the war, was such that people were not particularly interested in the minutiae of the horrible happenings in the Third Reich. In fact, the sources, the important books on the period, were written by foreign historians. Alan Bullock remained for many years the most important biographer of Hitler. Only by and by in the 1960's did a new school of German historiography emerge. They then, of course, started to ask questions and tried to answer them. The first wave of interest dealt with the technology and topography of the death camps and the ultimate solution. It was only later that people began to ask questions about complicity and if there was a master plan that went beyond the final solution. The French, the Dutch, the Swedes, the Swiss, even the British public have become aware of Collaboration, of transgressions against humanity and human rights, of active, and indeed enthusiastic, collaboration with the occupying power! This enormous amount of material that became available all over Europe made it easier for Germans to bear their burden, and to share this burden and not to make it a specific German burden.

My conclusion of dealing with Germany — Austria is a special case, but it is a special case as a variant of the German case — is that the new generation now can truly say that they have no share in what happened. Yet they have a compassionate interest in what happened. The job of all those who form opinion and make decisions today must be to explain all this, to understand as many nuances as possible, in order to understand the Holocaust so that it shouldn't happen again. I don't mean this in a bland, pompous way. The last and most recent layer of research on the Third Reich tends to prevail that the final solution of killing 6 million Jews was but a part of a much wider plan. We neglected the study and the research into Nazi Germany's post-war plans, because historians thought it a waste of time to go into the ratings of people

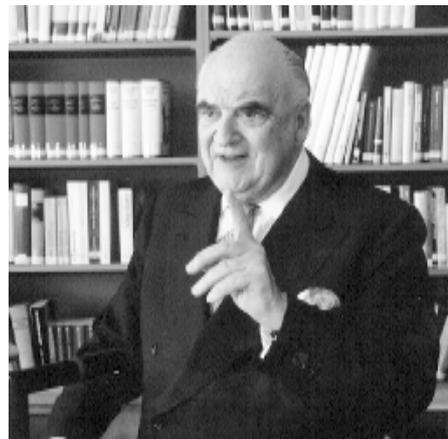
like Rosenberg and the race research institutes of the SS. The Nazis, since the mid '30's had a plan that would have meant the liquidation of 40 million people between the Baltic and the Black Sea in order to colonize the East and to produce a new Europe to satisfy their own ideological aims. It is very important to know that, because when we think of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, its enormous possibilities for a human engineering and destruction of people, we desperately need ethical models and also some new form of deterrents. We are capable of destroying ourselves if we don't have a new sense of ethical value.

And now I will come back to loyalty and identity. I am today much more in sympathy with, and I identify more with my roots, with the people, with the culture of this country (Austria) and of Germany, than I have for a very long time. I am doing so for two reasons. One is because I have come to know the younger generation and find it is second to none in Europe as far as human values and a new pragmatic humanism is concerned. Therefore, I think it is easy to identify with. Secondly, because something very important has happened to the Jews — the Jewish question or call it the Jewish problem. Over the last fifty years, two very important things have happened, and their consequences may not be felt immediately, but certainly within the next ten or fifteen years. The first is the existence and consolidation of a state; the critical mass of 5½ million people. That is an irreversible fact of life. This state can be pauperized, levantinised, weakened, but it cannot

be destroyed.

This state gives a refuge and a chance for Jews, wherever they may be, to have a passport.

Which means that the icon of the wandering Jew, the homeless Jew, the Vaterlandsloser Geselle, no longer exists. At the same time it liberates the



*Lord Weidenfeld*

Jew, because it is no longer necessary for him to live there in order to prove that he has got a state. The critical mass exists. So, Jewishness as a burden is being taken off of you if you felt it is a burden, and it is a source of pride, if you take it as a source of pride. In other words, the Jew can relax. The other important fact is that this Pope, by declaring the Jew as the elder brother of the church, by recanting on the inquisition, on persecution, on the whole question of the Jew in the liturgy or in the general behavior of the catholic world has again removed the second root of anti-Semitism: the complicity in the death of Christ. It may take one, possibly two, generations before this perception percolates down to the level of the village priest in Poland or Ireland or Peru. The fact is, the deep, violent, virulent, mystical, theological anti-Semitism is dead, and so is also the legend of Ahasver. This indeed has meant a sense of release and relief and you can now cultivate and nurse other identities and meld them and mix them and live happily forever.

## The Hannah Arendt Prize

# Institutions in Prague and Warsaw receive 5th Hannah Arendt Prize. 6th Hannah Arendt Prize to be awarded to George Soros

The Jury of the Hannah Arendt Prize selected two institutions to share the 5th Prize: *The Collegium for Interdepartmental Studies, University of Warsaw* and the *Institute for Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague*. The DM 300,000 Prize will be awarded at a public ceremony in Vienna on 21 October.

The 5th Hannah Arendt Prize will be divided equally between the Institute for Contemporary History in Prague, initiated by Vilem Precan, and the Collegium for Interdepartmental Studies based on the Center for the Study of the Classical Tradition at the University of Warsaw, initiated by Jerzy Axer.

The Institute for Contemporary History provides an effective facility for research and the dissemination of research helping to shape the social memory of the troubled 20th century.

The Collegium at the University of Warsaw offers outstanding students from Poland and East Central Europe innovative programs of interdisciplinary study in the humanities. These programs originate from continuing research into the study of the classical tradition.

These two institutions epitomize the range of Hannah Arendt's own endeavors to combine scholarly depth and moral commitment.

The Prize ceremony will include a Laudatio by Lord Dahrendorf, Chair of the Hannah Arendt Prize Jury, and a lecture by Vartan Gregorian, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and former President of Brown University, devoted to the theme, "The Unity of Knowledge — Is It Still Possible?"

### 6th Hannah Arendt Prize to be awarded to George Soros

The 6th and final Prize in the present series will be awarded to Mr. George Soros. Mr. Soros has made a unique contribution to providing opportunities for higher education and research for many individuals in post-communist countries. He has stimulated new initiatives in numerous institutions in the region, including the creation of the Central European University. The prize will be awarded later this year in Berlin.

**The Hannah Arendt Prize:** The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) and the Körber Foundation have jointly established the Hannah Arendt Prize to promote the development of open, free, and democratic civil societies in East Central European countries by supporting the reform of higher education and research in the region. The Prize, which forms part of IWM's broader policy project, "The Transformation of the National Higher Education and Research Systems of Central Europe

(TERC)," is named after Hannah Arendt in recognition of her important contribution to our understanding of the principles essential to freedom and the democratic order and of the threats posed by twentieth-century totalitarianism. The first Hannah Arendt Prize was awarded to the Graduate School for Social Research (Warsaw) in 1995. The 1996 Prize was awarded to the Faculty of Law, Palacky University (Olomuc) and in 1997 it was awarded to the Invisible College, Budapest. Last year's Prize went to the New Europe College, Bucharest.

**Selection Process and Criteria:** The winning institutions were selected from a field of over 90 candidates through a multi-stage process which included the nomination of institutions by correspondents throughout the region and the preparation of detailed self-assessments by the finalist candidates. Criteria for the Prize, which is awarded to institutions of higher education and research active in the field of human sciences, include the following:

- improvement of the quality of research and/or instruction
- a demonstrated commitment to academic excellence
- initiation of structural and organizational innovation
- support for young scholars
- the development of interdisciplinary programs
- increased sensitivity to social problems
- efforts to establish regional cooperation

The members of the **Hannah Arendt Prize Jury** are:

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

## Institutional Profiles

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

Since its founding just after the great changes throughout Eastern Europe almost a decade ago the Institute of Contemporary History can boast having made admirable progress in achieving the goals its founders set for it back in 1990. The Institute has above all established the study of contemporary history as a respected discipline in the Czech Republic, filling a tremendous gap in historiography, which had been left by more than five years of Nazi rule and more than forty years of Communism.

Its original departments — for Jewish studies, the foundation years of Communist totalitarianism, the reforms and crises of the late 1960s, and the anti-totalitarian dissident activity that led to the democratic revolution — were recently joined by a new department for research into the period of Nazi occupation. Each of these research departments has an active program of editing and publishing, thus making documents and new interpretations available to scholars and citizens interested in the recent history of their country.

Working with rather limited finances (from the budget of the Academy of Sciences and in particular with long-term support from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation), the Institute has to date produced almost two hundred publications, many of which are compilations of previously inaccessible archive records with commentary and introductory studies.

The Institute also has its own quarterly, *Soudobé dejiny*, now in its fifth year, which publishes original Czech and Slovak articles, documents, and an ongoing bibliography. A new addition to the Institute's publishing activity is the forthcoming Prague Yearbook of Contemporary History, which will provide English translations of Czech articles, reviews, documents, and other information related to the field.

The Institute has its own archives containing bequests from various institutions, scholars, and politicians, and has a growing library containing virtually all Czech and Slovak books on contemporary history and relevant periodicals published since 1990, as well as key works published abroad and rare Czech and Slovak literature published since the 1930s.

Recent Czech legislation has finally made it possible for the Institute to realize one of its most important aims, namely the establishment of a doctoral program in contemporary history. In this way the Institute of Contemporary History will continue to contribute to making widely available an unbiased and accurate picture of the Czech and Czechoslovak past within the context of Europe and the rest of the world.

In awarding the 1999 Hannah Arendt Prize to the Institute in Prague, the Jury wished to recognize the excellence of this group of highly qualified researchers who have taken on the important task of rewriting the recent, troubled history of their country.

# Collegium for Interdepartmental Individual Studies in the Humanities, at The Centre for the Study of the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, University of Warsaw

The Centre for the Study of the Classical Tradition was founded in 1992 as an independent unit of the University of Warsaw, autonomous as regards the selection of its staff, organisation of research and studies as well as agreements with domestic and foreign partners. Professor Jerzy Axer was the author of the conception of the Centre and is its current director.

The prime tasks of this research Centre are the initiation and co-ordination of studies on the role of Greek, Roman and Byzantine inspiration in the culture of Central and Eastern Europe, from the tenth century up to the present day, and the creation of the broadest possible interdisciplinary scientific milieu in which studies on joint cultural heritage are combined with reflection on its national and regional differentiation. Tracing the routes by which the Mediterranean legacy reached Central and Eastern Europe, and the transformation to which it was subjected upon contact with local cultures, makes it possible to better understand cultural identity. It also

assists the formation of an open society, tolerant of differences and respectful of tradition.

In the 1993-1994 academic year the Centre became a co-ordinator of an experimental form of interdisciplinary humanities studies at the University of Warsaw: tutorial, free-of-charge interdisciplinary MA program studies — the first such interdisciplinary programs in Poland. The Collegium for Interdepartmental Individual Studies in the Humanities allows students to individually select their curricula from the University's catalogue of courses in the humanities, under the steady supervision of mentors. At present (1998/99), the five year-long Collegium courses involve 337 students and 235 mentors.

The 1999 Hannah Arendt Prize is awarded to the Collegium for Interdepartmental Studies in recognition of the significant impact which it has had on higher education reform through its successful implementation of innovative programs in the humanities .

## Workshop

# On the Sources of Toleration

On April 28 and 29, the IWM hosted the second meeting of The Toleration Project (the first was held in Berlin in January of 1998). The Toleration Project, run via Boston University's Institute for the Study of Economic Culture (ISEC) looks to religion itself to provide sources for toleration and pluralist understanding, rather than to the more familiar venues of a liberal politics, separation of public and private realms and a secularized public culture. Report by Adam Seligman (ISEC), organizer of the workshop.

The participants in this year's meeting came from Turkey, Israel, Egypt, Bosnia, Spain, Germany and the USA. They ranged from Koranic scholars (Nasr Abu Zayd) and the former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of Bosnia and Hercegovina (Rusmir Mahmutcehajic) to orthodox Jewish Legal Scholars (Suzanne Last Stone) and Professors of Philosophy (Menachem Fisch), Protestant Theology (Friedrich Wilhelm Graf) and Sociology (Peter Berger). The expertise of all 14 participants straddled the very difficult ground of what might best be termed, reason and revelation. Arguing from within and between the three monotheistic traditions, the participants sought to address the potentialities existing within religion — within a transcendent perspective — that could provide responses to the varied fundamentalism of today's world, not only those of religion, but those of reason as well.

Increasingly political analysts, policy makers and social scientists have been pointing to the renewed salience of religion in the modern world. Not only in the Muslim Middle East, but in South-East Asia, Latin America and the North Atlantic communities as well, religious themes and consciousness have reappeared as organizing ideologies and agendas for both political elites and their followers. This religious "revival" is however too often marginalized analytically and shunted off under the broad and inexact rubric of fundamentalism, with the inherent anti-modern, totalistic, repressive and authoritarian connotations that fundamentalism has to modern, secular, Western ears.

Similar and equally unfortunate is the tendency to see this re-emergence of religion as exemplifying particularistic civilizational visions that stand in essential and necessary contradiction to modern (i.e. Western) values of pluralism and of tolerance rooted in the doctrines of the Enlightenment and the Western humanist tradition. Thus for example the analysis of Samuel Huntington or Bernard Barber's arresting image of Jihad vs. McWorld. In an all too simplified version of the latter, religion is easily assimilated to a host of parochial religious and ethnic allegiances between which no mediation, discourse or rapprochement can be maintained, or even attempted.

As religious dictates are more and more coming to reshape the personal, social and public behavior of men and women throughout the world, so is there increasing concern that these newly emerging (or re-emerging) religious identities will prove barriers to tolerance, understanding and the ability to coexist in mutual respect and recognition.

Within the experience of most Western European and North Atlantic societies the development of pluralism, democracy and toleration has been marked by a retreat of religion from the public arena, its privatization and the general growth of secularization as the defining context of public life. Pluralism, when accepted as a value implies the ability to exist together with other, competing visions of society and of the cosmos. It implies tolerance, not solely the toleration of error (what can perhaps be termed tolerance with a small "t") but tolerance of alternative and competing civilizational visions (tolerance with a capital "T") with their own claims to the public sphere and the organization of communal life.

In Western Europe the development of this form of tolerance has, as noted, taken a very particular form, that of secularization. That is to say, as society secularized, as religion retreated from the public domain, reduced its claims on the public sphere and became more and more a matter of the congregant's internal value disposition there developed concomitantly a growing tolerance of other faiths. In fact, so much is the link between tolerance and secularization the case that we find it almost impossible to conceive of a public religion existing within a pluralistic society. Pluralism and tolerance seem to hold as long as religion is privatized. Any other accommodation seems to us almost inconceivable.

However this is only one historical path. It is the path taken by Western Christianity as it secularized along liberal lines whose hallmarks have been: the principles of privatized religion, the priority of a politics of rights over a politics of the good and, in the broadest of terms a secular, liberal-Protestant vision of selfhood (the sort of Kantian self-actualizing moral agent) together with a secularized public space.

And yet today the essentially liberal vision of community founded on the radical autonomy of the individual moral agent is currently being questioned from a host of sources and perspectives. From family to neighborhood to nation there is a sense that modern society is no longer a "moral community" with shared ideas of justice and of the public good. Rather, received beliefs in the social good and its relation to individual rights, responsibilities and freedoms seem to be unravelling and, in the process, eroding any commonly held beliefs of what a community itself may mean. The search for new models of the Public Good, for new criteria of communal identity and of trust are all expressions of the crises in models of community and of self that we have come to identify with modernity. Within this search religious forms of identity, meaning,

values and commitments have emerged with a surprising consistency.

Given this increasing salience of religious ideas, identities and models of social order in different parts of the world it would seem imperative to explore the potential of the monotheistic religions to reach beyond parochial, ethnic allegiances and exist within and as part of pluralistic societal structures. We question the all too facile identification of religion with fundamentalism and believe that a more nuanced and sophisticated inquiry into the re-emergent religious consciousness may well lead to a broader understanding of what is one of the most important transnational developments of the end of the twentieth century.

The papers from the conference will be published. It is hoped that publication will take place not only in English, but in Hebrew, Bosniac, Arabic and Turkish as well. Further aspects of the Toleration Project will include more public seminars as well as a joint, interfaith curricula project seeking to realize the findings of the seminars in the form of concrete models of curricula in religious schools.

The workshop was concluded by a public discussion on the evening of April 29 in the framework of the IWM Political Discussions series. Discussants on the topic of [Toleration and Tradition](#) were:

Joan Estruch, Department of Sociology, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona,  
Shlomo Fischer, Beit Morasha Center for Advanced Jewish Studies, Jerusalem,  
Rusmir Mahmutcehajic, President, International Forum Bosnia, Sarajevo,  
Adam B. Seligman (chair), ISEC, Boston University.

#### Participants

Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, Rijks University Leiden; Peter Berger, ISEC, Boston University; Joan Estruch, Department of Sociology, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; Menachem Fisch, Cohn Institute for the History of Philosophy of Science, Tel Aviv University; Shlomo Fischer, Beit Morasha Center for Advanced Jewish Studies, Jerusalem; Nilufer Gole, Department of Sociology, Bogazici University Istanbul; Friedrich Wilhelm Graf, Lehrstuhl für Evangelische Theologie, Universität Augsburg; Sohail Hashmi, International Relation Program, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley; Rusmir Mahmutcehajic, President, International Forum Bosnia, Sarajevo; Adam B. Seligman, ISEC, Boston University; Suzanne Stone, Cardozo School for Law, Yeshiva University, New York; Dorothee von Tippelskirch, Theologische Fakultät, Freie Universität Berlin; Claire Wolfteich, School of Theology, Boston University.

## SOCO

# Support for Social Policy Research in East Central Europe 1999

The SOCO program for the period 1998-2000 has been made possible with the support of the Ford Foundation, the Austrian Federal Chancellery, the Stefan Batory Foundation (Warsaw) and the Austrian National Bank. From its start in 1992, the SOCO program at the IWM has been dedicated to providing support to research projects and policy information initiatives dealing with the social impact of the economic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe. Since 1996 it does so via biannual competitions.

The program stands out among other research based programs (Phare, OECD, Worldbank etc.) in that it allows research to be locally conceived and to be executed by researchers and policy-specialists based in the region. Also, its support for small-scale, anthropological, and institutional approaches in contrast to highly aggregated data analysis is unique. The program now extends to Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland and Romania.

In January 1999, Don Kalb (Utrecht University; Program Director), Marianne Obi and Karin Slamanić (Program Managers) joined the program. A deliberate effort is made to reach out even further into the national research communities and the NGO sector of the region. Field visits are being made to selected centers of social policy research and advocacy. These visits are designed to identify potential new applicants, to discuss project

ideas, promote a more thorough understanding of SOCO's basic aims, and offer support well in advance of the competition deadlines. In this way, we are trying to improve the quality of proposals, as well as their relevance to SOCO's purposes.

Three special themes have been introduced to the SOCO program 1998-2000 with the goal to concentrate research and advocacy on a limited and highly relevant, albeit slightly neglected, set of social problems and issues for policy reform. These are 1) Gender and Social Policy, 2) Region and Regional Inequality and 3) Street-Level/Local Social Bureaucracies.

**Gender and Social Policy:** The importance of gender as a variable in the analysis of social policy has increasingly been recognized in international academic and social policy discourse. It has been acknowledged that gender

must take as prominent a place as class in the analysis of social entitlements and social policy systems. Gender is a central structuring category in the institutional architecture of social policy systems and outcomes.

In recent social policy research in CEE countries, it has been shown that some groups of women, such as the rapidly expanding group of lone mothers, are among the most socially vulnerable. The signs of deprivation are numerous: diminished labor market access, decrease of family-oriented social welfare benefits and programs, side-lining into low-paying professions, gender-bias in hiring and firing, nonexistence of legal protection against sexual harassment in the workplace. Nevertheless, well-educated women seem to be amongst the beneficiaries of transition in CEE countries, whilst women in general quite often seem better able to find the means for everyday survival and resistance in the adverse conditions associated with transition.

What is certain is that in the East the transition affects men and women in very different ways. The gender-specific trends and their causes and effects need close monitoring. Also the gender-specific institutional architecture and outcomes of social policy systems need to be observed in detail. Employment policies, housing, health, education and social insurance all are in need of closer scrutiny. In its new phase, SOCO will promote studies and initiatives that draw attention to the pervasive gender-specifics of social structures and policy outcomes.

**Region and Regional Inequality:** Since 1989, under the differential impact of market-oriented reforms, disparities in income, opportunity, security and the quality of life in general between urban and rural areas and between different (micro)regions of the various countries have seriously widened. So, too, has access to forms of social provision. Moreover, this regional inequality is often connected to overlapping ethnic differentiation.

This trend is strongly associated with the rapid decline of major industries, which were centered in certain regions, as well as with agricultural restructuring and the closing of branch plants. With the closing of some heavy industry complexes and of peripheral branch plants and cooperatives — the former providers of many social services — certain parts of the population were not just disproportionately affected by unemployment but also increasingly lost access to important social entitlements. This has given rise to an accumulation of social problems, again often aggravated by ethnic inequalities, tensions and discrimination. In general, social disparities tend to follow an east-west slope, from least to most advantaged, both within countries and across the region as a whole, with capital cities being the most privileged even though strongly socially divided.

Social policy and social policy research does not yet adequately address these regional inequalities and their cumulative effects. Work on social policy tends to lack a historical dimension: the time horizons of most policy studies extend only two or three years. Some recent (SOCO) studies have shown, however, that (micro)regional and local backwardness within Eastern Europe has a much longer pedigree and is not just a product of post-communist marketization policies. Space is even more neglected in social policy research than is

time. Key social policies dealing with the nexus of labor markets and social insurance (against injury, sickness, old age, unemployment) both reflect and reshape social organization as inscribed in time and place. Policies often privilege one or another region, group and sector, intentionally or not, and thus influence the distribution of social chances and life experiences, as well as the access to public administration and public services. Moreover, both by intent and behind people's backs, social policies change regional distributions, either by countervailing market and social trends or by reinforcing them. Other bundles of policies — regional development policies and various kinds of 'affirmative action' — are explicitly designed to counteract regional and urban/rural inequalities, but are often still in a state of infancy, also because of a lack of local administrative capacities that would allow them to become effective.

What is becoming increasingly clear is that the post-1989 transitions have had massive regional impact — sometimes coinciding and reinforcing ethnic cleavages — but this has rarely been studied well, if at all. SOCO wants to get at the structure of regional/local inequalities, including the social and cultural dynamics that are associated with, and reproduce, the local multiplication of forms of disadvantage. Here is also an increasingly important terrain for social policy advocacy.

The last theme, [street-level/local social bureaucracies](#), is a new development in an attempt to deepen the program's commitment to small scale approaches to large-scale questions. In the context of system-wide institutional change, it becomes of vital importance for societies to analyze and understand the processes operating at the executive, 'street-level' ends of their social policy systems. By directing attention not only to the ways in which local social bureaucracies and bureaucrats perceive, act, categorize and deal with their clients' requests for help, but also to the local organizational structure, professional capacities and problems of welfare agencies, it will help to deepen the democratic and civic attitudes and standards among these professionals who are often the first representatives of the welfare state that people turn to. This should result in fundamental insights for policy advocacy initiatives both at local and central state level.

### Workshop

Next to these three special themes for competition projects, SOCO is planning to organize a series of comprehensive studies of welfare state restructuring in CEE countries. To this end, on March 20, 1999, the Workshop "[Americanization or Europeanization \(or something else\)? — Reforming Welfare Regimes in East Central Europe](#)" took place. In the process of the institutional transformations of the welfare systems of the ex-communist countries a new mix of voluntarism, state regulation and market forces is in the making. The workshop focused on that mix from a perspective which worries scholars and politicians equally in the West and in the East: to what extent are the emerging welfare regimes in East Central Europe compatible with Western European models of social policy?

## Competition 5 / Spring 1999

The following projects have been identified by the Soco Selection Committee and will receive funding in 1999:

### I. Research Projects

1. The Impact of the Social-Economic Transformation on Life Conditions and Activity of the Disabled  
Coordinator: [Antonina Ostrowska](#) (PL)

This is a follow-up project to a large-scale survey on the disabled in Poland in 1993. A selection of the respondents from the previous study will be interviewed again. Existing and newly acquired data will be utilized to assess the development of the quality of life of this group and to analyze how their well being has been affected by recent policies, including the decentralization of policy-making to local communities.

2. Coping Strategies in Regions Affected by Mass Redundancies

Coordinator: [Caataalin Zamfir](#) (RO)

The coping pattern of people laid off in three large-scale industrial restructuring areas in Romania (including the politically important Jiu Valley) is the topic of this research proposal. Changes in coping strategies are seen in the light of strategic learning through previous errors in regions already suffering from high unemployment. An interesting aspect is the examination of the interaction between individual strategies and public support policies.

3. Perspectives For Gender Equality Politics in Central and Eastern Europe

Coordinator: [Vlasta Jalusic](#) (SLO)

This project aims to analyze the reasons for the generally low participation of women within state and party politics throughout the CEE countries. One of the project's strengths lies in its comparative nature, as it incorporates the examination of different aspects, namely, the electoral and political systems, feminist and women's groups' attitudes, anti-feminist sentiment, and the total impact on the representation of women in five of the CEE countries. The ultimate aim of the project is to increase the awareness of the processes that help to cause the under-representation of women. It will also investigate the reasons for a total lack of any corrective mechanisms.

4. Rural Schools and Educational Reform in Poland  
Coordinator: [Włodzimierz Paszynski](#) (PL)

Being the first in a series of three monitoring sessions to be held every three years, this project will assess the direction of change in and the mechanisms accountable for educational inequality between cities and villages. Comprehensive 'portraits' based on expert interviews, surveys, tests and documents of schools in six communities will be created. The identification of changes and differences in the accessibility plus the study of contrasting academic performance of schools are the main aims. A set of recommendations for educational policy is seen as the desired outcome.

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

Deadline for Applications: September 15, 1999

Proposals for research projects and policy information initiatives are welcome for eligibility in the SOCO program's 6th competition for grant support. In this program, support is offered to research projects that analyze the social impact of the transition in East-Central Europe and investigate the effectiveness of social policies introduced since 1989 and to activities that disseminate the findings of scientific analysis in the public domain and advocate ideas for policy reforms to decision makers. The goal of this program is to bring about an improvement in social policies and social conditions in East-Central Europe.

In 1999, priority will be given to projects which address either of three themes as an integral part of the analysis:

- the widening disparities in income, opportunity and security between different regions of the Central and Eastern European countries
- the different impact of the transition and welfare reform on men and women and the social policy implications of this phenomenon
- the interaction between claimants/clients and professional services, such as welfare agencies, social assistance institutions, police

The projects to receive funding will be selected on October 30 with consideration of the program's resource limits and the coherence of topics under the entire program. Applicants will learn of their proposal's status by November 30. Anyone wanting to participate should request application material from the SOCO Program Director: [slamanig@iwm.at](mailto:slamanig@iwm.at) or fax: 43-1-31358-30. Further competitions will take place in 2000.

### The SOCO Selection Committee members are:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Bulgaria after the Social Collapse in 1997 – Search for Hidden Structure of Instability and Mechanisms of their Resolution

Coordinator: [Zhelyu Vladimirov](#) (BG)

Identification of the most typical long-term tensions and latent structures in the potentially most unstable areas concerning the riskiest groups and institutions is to be made. This will illustrate the significant interaction of inequality in the social development of different regions and the almost nonexistence of regional policies in the system of local social government. These 'hidden' structures, made visible, can serve as a practical early warning indicator helping to prevent social conflicts in the future, if they are acted upon now and given the highest priority.

6. Relations and Changes of Gender Differences in Czech Society in the 1990's

Coordinator: [Marie Cermakova](#) (CZ)

The first focus of this project is the social analysis of the reasons for gender differences in society, the labour market and the family. Secondly, the effects that economic and social transformation has on different gender and social groups. Emphasis is laid on the female population, and also specific groups within this sector. Social institutions and mechanisms, plus the monitoring of the dynamics and evolution of social changes responsible for the formation of social policy are further investigated.

7. Social Polarization and Property in Tallinn, Estonia: Strategies for Local Governance

Coordinator: [Merge Feldman](#) (EE)

The examination of the inner city area of Tallinn, capital of Estonia, where both the wealthiest and the poorest neighborhoods are located, illustrate the sharpening social polarization within the city center. Showing the dynamics of social and spatial restructuring looks at the impact of intensive property development with cutbacks on social service provisions on the inner city. Strategies are proposed which aim at reducing social polarization, urban poverty and inequalities through integrating the resources of the local government, private and non-profit sectors into urban planning and social housing.

8. Gendering Education in Romania

Coordinator: [Mihaela Miroiu](#) (RO)

The documentation and analysis of obvious forms of sexism in teaching methods and materials and the evaluation of the shortcomings in the national curricula are the main targets of this project. The determination of the mechanisms of discrimination in education as seen in teacher training and interpersonal relations (teacher/pupil/domestic household) are to be identified drawing attention to the gender dimension in education. This forms a platform for the suggested guidelines for non-sexist education and new educational policies.

9. The Social Effects of the Economic Restructuration of the Mono-Industrial Areas. Strategies and Alternatives of Professional Reconversion of the Unemployed Persons. Regional Study: Jiu Valley, Romania

Coordinator: [Traian Rotariu](#) (RO)

The consequences of redundancies for a local mining area in Romania and the understanding of the social impact of the regional economic restructuring project on different population groups are the two main themes of this proposal. Attempts to evaluate the efficiency and functionality of professional alternatives and suggestions for strategies and solutions in regional and professional long and medium-term development will also be given.

## II. Policy Information Initiatives

10. Connection and Reintegration. Project for Regional Integration of Social and Labour Market Activities in Hungary

Coordinator: [Lilla Garzo](#) (H)

The mapping of the local/regional social and employment problems and the identification of a comprehensive strategy of involved institutions to alleviate and/or solve them are the main objectives in this project. Grass-root initiatives will be achieved by establishing a new information center, which also collects and publishes examples of good practice of existing projects in the field (in a data base) and disseminates methodological proposals to locally-involved social and employment institutions.

11. Dictionary of Social Policy. A Practical Guide for Social Policy Analysis and Evaluation

Coordinator: [Luana Pop](#) (RO)

A practical guide for social policy analysis and evaluation techniques for social programs, with direct reference to the Romanian social protection system in the transition period, will be compiled, published and disseminated in this project. A unitary approach to concepts and required terms is necessary to promote more effective dialogue and cooperation between different actors who are involved in policy analysis, design and evaluation.

12. The Forum on the Health Care System Reform

Coordinator: [Marek Balicki](#) (PL)

The proposal aims to create a forum to exchange experiences and ideas concerning the health care system in Poland. It is to be the continuation of a project launched in 1998 and builds on its achievements. It will facilitate the exchange of opinion and insights between the smaller group of experts, policy-makers and politicians, and the larger group of practitioners and professionals involved in the reform by bringing them together in a series of conferences, workshops and publications. In this way, current changes can be monitored, evaluated and improved upon.

13. Bringing Research Data to Policy Makers: Dissemination of Results of Studies of Estonian Youth in Transition

Coordinator: [Paul Kenkmann](#) (EE)

This policy information initiative proposes to disseminate social data about Estonian youth in the conditions of economic transformation, which has already been collected and made available by a national social science archive collection agency. The data will be retrieved and organized, making the results accessible on the Internet, creating a data base consisting of empirical information, and promoting the printed and electronic results of the situation of youth by public policy discussion.

14. Strategies of Optimizing the Relationships Between NGO's with Social Work Activity and Administrative Institutions. Actions in Favour of People with Special Needs

Coordinator: [Roxana Braga](#) (RO)

The former part of this proposal forms a diagnosis of the relationships between NGOs and local/state administrative institutions dealing with people with special needs. The latter section is designated to creating five steering committees made up of representatives of NGOs, local administration, governmental bodies, the media and other social actors. Their objective is to provide a permanent mechanism for the reciprocity of information, supply various modalities for the support of their activities, and to elaborate on a legislative proposal regarding the social protection of people with special needs.

15. Declaration of Patients' Rights in the Slovak Republic

Coordinator: [Alexandra Kusa](#) (SLO)

The present condition of patients' rights in the Slovak Republic and their comparison to the situation in several other countries will be analyzed. Besides this, the current level of local awareness and perception of this topic will be illustrated by the results of a nationwide inquiry administered to patients and healthcare providers, thus emphasizing the need for the existence of a declaration of patients' rights.

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## IWM-Working Report

# Jacek Kurczewski: Representing the Self, the Electorate, and the Nation. Considerations on the Polish Assembly

Jacek Kurczewski is Professor and Chair, Department of Sociology of Law, University of Warsaw, and Visiting Fellow of IWM.

“Deputies represent the nation.  
They are not bound by the instructions of electors”  
The Constitution of the Polish Republic, Art.104.1.

The topic of representation remains outside of mainstream discussions on the political process in post-communist Europe as if Giovanni Sartori's classical discussion of the issue were the final word on the subject, while the social reality of the two opposing models of democracy — representative and direct — has not changed since Zygmunt Bauman wrote wryly on parliamentarianism at the beginning of this century. Political reality, to the contrary, is full of heated debates on the best ways to represent the interests, values and the common good. The fluidity of political identities which attracted the attention of both outside observers and inside participants has, however, something to do with the unresolved dilemmas of democratic theory. On the one hand, the free unbound mandate is accepted as the cornerstone of modern parliamentarianism since Edmund Burke addressed his Bristol constituency and Jacobins constituted the Nation in the Assembly. On the other, the very thought of the “unrepresentative” representation (unrepresentative because of the unboundedness of the mandate) seems to stand in contrast to the idea of democracy. While Sartori might be right that, put to its logical conclusion, representation means that the representative is not really representing those on whose mandate he entered the assembly, the possibility (and wish) to be re-elected is at least a mechanism that invokes the need to take the electorate into account.

The communist practice had only paid lip service to the election mechanism, compensating this by putting a stress on representation. Quotas were established to secure sociological representation, at least of socio-occupational types (i.e. some miners and some writers), and gender. Parliamentarians were obliged by law to consult their constituency as well as to assist them in mundane claims and complaints. The socialist parliamentarian had a duty to visit his district and to lobby for various local interests. Though the notion of the free mandate was reinforced after 1989, the process was gradual and in fact it ended in Poland only after the new Constitution of 1997 was amended, the changes in legislation pertaining to the parliamentarians. If the law changed only in a stepwise fashion, it should not be surprising that the concept of the relationship between the deputy and the electorate is changing even more slowly. And in this change one may observe the conflicts and tensions that relate to the complexity of the social web of representation to which the Sartorian formula does

not do justice. However, instead of a simple comparison between the purist doctrine of the free mandate and the complicated reality, the concept of representation should be endowed with the principles that are behind the practice.

The only aspect of representation that has until now received full attention by scholars is representation in terms of political views. It is standard practice to compare the political opinions, beliefs and attitudes of parliamentarians with those of the population. A lot of divergences as well as similarities have been established. Although in theory no correspondence is necessary, too much divergence would be considered detrimental to democracy. The underlying assumption is that however free an individual MP is in voting in the assembly, the collective outcome and distribution should roughly correspond to that in the population at large (meaning the voters). The tensions related to matters of deep faith — like the issue of abortion — undermined the legitimacy of at least one Polish parliament that voted according to its own belief but in contrast to the more permissive mood in the country. Parliamentarians do study the polls carefully, they want to know how close or how far away they are from the public even if they decide to part ways with them. After all, Burke lost in Bristol, but they had had “rotten boroughs” in those days.

Of the 155 deputies I interviewed, the majority support the free mandate. They sometimes do not know the meaning of the term, but they know that they should not be recalled from their office, neither by the voters nor by the party. When the public is questioned, a dramatically different view is manifested. People think they are being represented, though most often in a bad way, and that the representatives should be recalled for a failure in doing so. Only a small percentage of the population accepts the free mandate as such. People think that the representatives are “their” representatives, that they should have access to them and that they have a right to expect their interests to be defended and their passions to be shared. Representatives answer that they serve various circles, above all the nation, where “nation” includes also those not yet born and even the long dead. The representatives with the most sublime awareness put themselves in an intermediary position between the good of all these constituencies — of the alive, the dead and the not yet born. This is a rather Olympic position, and not all are prone to face the reality that they are fully sovereign in deciding on what is right or wrong. It is, nevertheless, titillating in this context to read in what way the parliamentarians filled out (or did not) the Twenty Self Statements-test and to discover that one third exhibit a purely egocentric self-description in terms that are not anchored

in any public role, and only about 40 percent refer to themselves as parliamentarians or politicians in general.

Yet another confirmation of common sense: Representation is representative because it is heterogeneous — also in its self-understanding. If one takes into account that the concept is problematic and the theory controversial, it is hardly surprising that parliamentarians differ with respect to their own view of their obligations to the public. Some feel that, once elected, they may exploit their credit of confidence to the limits, some see themselves as representing their party, however small that party may be, some feel “in a special position” as representatives of a particular minority or social category, such as the handicapped. Some see themselves as representing the district in which they were elected, while yet others are legally deprived of this feeling as they entered parliament from the “national list” that guarantees party leaders a seat outside the trivial struggle of a given district. The very mixture — more visible perhaps in the young democracies where parties have not fully settled yet, where procedures change from one election to the next, and the circle of electoral contestants remains open — makes the assembly representative as a community.

The Sartorian approach does justice to the individual representative but not to a collective of representatives. Parliament is an assembly, and although decisions are made by ballot and count as in any agglomeration of individuals, the cast is usually after the debate — which is in no way a soliloquy. Roughly speaking, parliament means “debate-plus-ballot”, and both parts are significant though different. While the ballot is individual, the debate with all its procedural and stylistic routine is the real exchange on the subject. No wonder that historically censorship was practiced only outside the House, a long time after immunity was granted for the parliamentarians, in order to approximate the ideal free discourse conditions in the House. Our elected representatives are free to persuade the others with arguments and to be persuaded by them (including executives, crowned or not). A binding mandate forbids the use of reason, rational discourse makes sense only amongst those with a free mandate. This is why the representation of political views is of little value unless we may assume, as is increasingly so, that the debate is not limited to the representatives only, but rather goes on everywhere, and that knowledge of the facts of the case is increasingly less likely to be exclusively in the hands of parliament (contrary to what Sartori holds).

Yes, Sartori is right in his interpretation of the free mandate, i.e. that in this case representation means nobody will be represented. The confirmation of the representative's free will means also that he or she will remain in perpetual conflict and tension (and the self is only one side of it). As Hanna Pitkin observed, the parliamentarian is free until a conflict arises between the representative and those represented. The vote against abortion in 1993 triggered such a conflict in Poland of such magnitude that the parliament was prematurely dissolved soon after. Although for different reasons, the anti-parliamentary climate remained and was the context in which the dissolution seemed to be the politically expedient thing to do. This story tells us that conflicts emerge despite the regulated procedures for controlled expression

of confidence on the side of the electorate every four years. If there had not been the extraordinary elections, the price would have been further erosion of the legitimacy of the institution of representation itself. And this institution remains the mythical cornerstone of democracy: we allow others to run our public affairs in our name as if they were representing us. The next election is safeguarded, but what about somebody who is interested in one term only? The party interest in continuity is safeguarded, but what about someone who leaves the party once elected on its ticket? If the assembly were composed of independent one-term-shooters it would be as representative as if identifiable party members served there for life. The point is that the discussion of the concept of representation should be moved from the individual to the collective level — the level of assembly — however, this shift should not be restricted to the sociometrics of the distribution of individual opinions and decisions, but elevated to the level where the distinguishing features of the assembly-democracy emerge. It is obvious that representation is a process, and this is to say something more than that parliamentarians have to plan their game of representation within the four-year-term that separates their election from a possible re-election. In this process parties also play a role, though by no means as “representatives”; the interaction between factions and individuals within the assembly plays a role, and the individuals themselves play various roles within this interaction. Pitkin's test of conflict remains basic, especially if we take into account that avoidance is one of the ways of conflict management. The lowest participation of the Polish electorate in comparison to both Western and Eastern Europe seems to me to be the symptom of conflict avoidance. It seems that the clash of two visions of representation need not be reconciled by focusing on the somewhat artificially isolated relation: representative — electorate, but on the whole democratic process. The need for more civil society in this context means the need for more direct involvement of “non-governmental organizations” in the governance, more political debate amongst the public, and more direct dialogue between the electorate and the representatives of the nation — things that the political class currently undergoing professionalization may not necessarily like but that it must tolerate if it wants to survive. At this stage, one solution is to say that although no representative represents anybody in particular, as an assembly they constitute the representation for which everybody has a legitimate claim to be represented. If this claim is unfulfilled, democracy should provide the mechanisms to improve this condition. The less likely it is that such improvement is needed, the better the political representation of an assembly as polity will be. This way of thinking makes it possible to combine respect for the free will of the representative protected by the reference to the nation with the duty to represent the nation, a collective that may be represented at the collective level only. Looking at the two societies, the assembly and the nation, we realize that both are just part of the hypothetical nation — all dead, alive and unborn. Some inadequacy of perspectives is built in the structure and provokes permanent dialogue between these two representations. And this dialogue is the process of representation as such.

## Guests

# Visiting Fellows

**Csaba Bathori** (January – June)

Essayist and Translator, Budapest (Paul Celan Translation Program) continued working on the translation of Jacob Burckhardt: *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* from German into Hungarian. He completed the translation of R. M. Rilke, *Briefe (1919-1922)* which appeared in May in Budapest.

In addition, his translations of a text by Wagner appeared in the journal 2000 in March and of two poems by Rilke in *Nagyvilag*.

**Tannelie Blom** (January – June)

Associate Professor at the Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, University of Maastricht (Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe), continued his work on the question whether, or to what extent, the fundamental analytical and normative categories of mainstream (liberal democratic) western political thought still hold when confronted with the process of European integration as it has actually developed.

**Adrian-Paul Iliescu** (January – June)

Professor and Head of the Department of Political and Moral Philosophy, Bucharest University (Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow). His research project is a critique of John Rawls' theory of justice which is seen as illustrating an old liberal (and rationalist) strategy of oversimplification based upon the convenient encapsulation of basic social elements ("society", "individual", "justice") in unilateral abstractions. The critique draws upon Wittgenstein's ideas about the nature of concepts and abstractions, Oakeshott's critique of rationalism, and upon communitarianism.

**Gabriella Ilonszki** (January – March)

Associate Professor, Szechenyi Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Economic Sciences, Budapest (Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow) specializes in democratic institutions and politics from a comparative perspective. Her research project is an analysis of the interplay between the political systems in East Central Europe and the integration process. Among other things she was able to finalize a research article on "Parliamentary Elite Circulation" (in Hungarian) during her stay at IWM.

Her paper, "Globalization, Integration and the Nation-State: Concerns and Hopes", presented at the State and Globalization Seminar will be published as an IWM Working Paper on the internet at [www.univie.ac.at/iwm/pub-wp.htm](http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm/pub-wp.htm).

**Martin Kanovsky** (January – June)

Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Comenius University, Bratislava (Paul Celan Translation Program), specializes in social and cultural anthropology and contemporary French philosophy. He continued translating Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Anthropologie Structurale I et II* from French to Slovak.

**Lud'a Klusakova** (April – June)

Associate Professor of Modern European History, Charles University, Prague (Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow), specializes in urban history and early modern and modern history. Her research project is an analysis of the western and northern perception of towns in South Eastern Europe and of their society in the early modern and modern period.

Recent publications include: "The Place of the Balkans on the Urban Map of Modern Europe: Some Reflections on Urban Functions in Peripheral Regions" in *Slovanský Prehled*, 1991 (in Czech); "Urban functions in 'Internal Peripheries' of Central and Eastern Europe: Czech Lands Among the Others in the 18th and 19th centuries" in *Coexistence* 32, 1995; *Criteria and Indicators of Backwardness. Essays on Uneven Development in European History*, edited together with Miroslav Hroch, Prague 1996; "The Paradoxes of Catastrophies: Towns and Water in the Netherlands" in *Documenta Pragensia XVI, The Humiliated and Rejected; Towns versus Catastrophies.*, F. Ledvinka (ed.), Prague 1998.



*Gabriella Ilonszki, Aneta Gawkowska, Adrian-Paul Iliescu, Roseanne Gerin*

**Jacek Kurczewski** (February – July)

Professor and Chair of Sociology of Custom and Law, Institute of Applied Social Sciences, University of Warsaw (Joint Research Fellowship for Scholars from the Netherlands and East Central Europe). His project is concerned with the functioning of civil society in Poland. He is currently working on an analysis of research results on the attitudes and opinions about political corruption among Polish parliamentaries.

Most recently his essay "The Constitutionalization of the Family in Poland" appeared in J. Ekelaar, T. Nhlapo (eds.), *The Changing Family*, Hart 1998.

**Janusz Marganski** (January – June)

Translator, literary scholar and editor, Publishing House "Studio Φ", Bydgoszcz, Poland (Paul Celan Translation

Program) continued translating works by Emmanuel Lévinas: *De l'existence à l'existant*; *Le temps et l'autre*; *Autrement qu'être* ou *Au-delà de l'essence* from French to Polish.



*Szymon Wrobel, D. Dungaciu, P. Korys, Matthew Simpson, Ana-L. Stoicea*

#### Dobrinka Paroucheva (January – March)

Researcher at the Institute for Balkan Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia (Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow), specializes in the history of Southeastern Europe in the 19th and 20th century, and in gender studies. In her research project entitled "War and Peace in the Balkans: The Women's Perspective" she investigated women's attitudes towards war, women in wartime and the substantial changes that have taken place along the road to women's emancipation.

An essay outlining her research will be published as an IWM Working Paper on the IWM Homepage under [www.univie.ac.at/iwm/pub-wp.htm](http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm/pub-wp.htm).

#### Krystyna Romaniszyn (April – June)

Associate Professor at the Department of Social Anthropology, Institute of Sociology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow (Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow), specializes in social anthropology and migration studies. In her research project on "Gender and Migration" she looks into the structure and nature of recent East-West labour migration flows; job opportunities for female workers from Central and Eastern Europe in both the formal and the informal labour markets of the EU countries; and the social and cultural consequences of women's labour migration.

Recent publications include: "Polish and Albanian Migrant Workers in Greece", in *Journal of European Social Policy*, February 1998.

## Junior Visiting Fellows

January - June 1999

#### Paulina Bren

Ph.D. candidate in History, New York University, specializes in 20th Century European History, particularly Czechoslovakia and Hungary. She continued to work on her dissertation, an exploration of the so-called Czech communist "normalization" (1969 to 1989), placing a particular emphasis on questions of everyday life and popular culture.

#### Dan Gheorghe Dungaciu

Assistant Professor, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Bucharest (Volkswagen Junior Visiting Fellow), works in the fields of the the history of sociology and the sociology of nationalism. He continued working on his project entitled "Nationalism and Religion in Western and Eastern Europe. A Comparative Approach." It analyzes the relationship between the European religions (Catholicism, Protestantism and Orthodoxy) and nationalism.

His article "Reflections on Nation and Nationalism" appeared in *Revista de Teorie Sociala*, No. 4, 1999 (in Romanian).

#### Aneta Gawkowska

Ph.D. candidate at the Graduate School for Social Research, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, continued working on her research project in which she analyzes the communitarian critique of liberalism and individualism. She focuses on the work of Amitai Etzioni.

#### Roseanne Gerin

Master of Science in Business & Economics Journalism, College of Communication, Boston University, is working on a project devoted to the practice of journalism in Eastern Europe ten years after the fall of the Iron Curtain.

Her article "Building a Cleaner Future for the Baltic" appeared in the April issue of *Nordicum – Scandinavian Business Magazine* and simultaneously in *Nordicum's "Baltic Sea Environmental Report 1999"*, a special international edition for industry professionals.

#### Petra Jedlickova

Project Manager, Consultant, National Training Fund, Prague (Volkswagen Junior Visiting Fellow), specializes in information science, feminism and media theory. She continued her work on the media and information industry as powerful elements in the transformation process.

Her article "Women Without Head in the World of Communication?" was published in *Cosmopolitan*, Prague, no.3/1999. Several articles were published in *Ikaros*, an electronic magazine on the information society: "Electronic Publishing. Periodicals on the Internet"; "eCity: When Technocracy Beats Cyber(demo)cracy"; "Virtual War: The Role of the Medialized Conflict in the Information Society"; "Digital Rape"; and "Sexual Harrassment in Cyberspace". All five articles can be

found under <http://ikaros.ff.cuni.cz/ikaros/1999/> on the internet.

#### Piotr Korys

Ph.D. candidate, Department of Economics at Warsaw University (Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow), works in the field of economic history, history of economic thought, and history of ideas. He continued working on his dissertation entitled "Conservatism as an Economic and Political Ideology. State and Economy in Polish Conservative Ideology in the 20th Century."

#### Matthew Simpson

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University, works in the field of political philosophy. He continued his research on 18th century political philosophers, in particular Montesquieu's theory of democracy.

#### Ana-Luana Stoicea

Teaching Assistant at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Political and Administrative Sciences (Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow), works in the field of political sociology and discourse analysis. She continued working on her research project which focuses on the concept of the nation as it is used in the French social sciences discourse since the mid 1980s.

Most recently her article "People in Foisor District: A Profile in the Mirror" appeared in *Analize. Revista de studii feministi*, 1/99 Bucharest.

#### Iulia Voina-Motoc

Ph.D. in Law, Aix-Marseille III; Ph.D. in Philosophy, University of Bucharest, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest (Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow), works in the field of legal philosophy and political science. Her project aims at an understanding of the role of legal equality in the political writings of Eastern and Central Europe in the inter-war period and the post-communist era.

Recent publications include: "Karl Popper and the Responsibility of Intellectuals in Post-Communism" in K. Popper, *La lezione di questo secolo* (commentated edition), Bucharest 1998 (in Romanian).

#### Daniel Vojtech

Research Fellow at the Institute for Czech Literature, Czech Academy of Sciences, and Doctoral candidate, Charles University, Prague (Jan Patočka Junior Visiting Fellow; Volkswagen Junior Visiting Fellow), works in the field of the history of Czech literature, in particular the period of early modernism and the history of literary criticism. He continued working on the forthcoming edition of Jan Patočka's writings on art, literature and culture, editing the two volumes *Art and Time*.

#### Karin Wetschanow

Ph.D. candidate in Linguistics, University of Vienna specializes in feminist linguistics, gender studies and discourse analysis. Her research project analyzes German language TV talk shows which thematize rape. She examines the concepts of rape that lie behind these media discourses and the stereotypes and myths that are reproduced with this form of broadcasting.

#### Szymon Wrobel

Ph.D., Pedagogical-Artistic Institute, Kalisz (Poland), works in the field of philosophy of mind. He continued working on his research project, "Power, the Subject and the Concept of Rational Action" in which he argues that rationality is a context-dependent concept, its context being power which not only blurs the dividing line between rationality and rationalization but also establishes essential limits to the expression of one's rationality.

His recent essay "Are the Requirements of Individual Autocreation and Oversingular Solidarity Both Equally Justifiable and Equally Inconsistent?" appeared in the journal *Archives for the History of Philosophy and Social Thought* (in Polish), Warsaw 1999.

#### Melita Zaic (April – June)

Ph.D., Center for Media Studies, ISH; Ljubljana Graduate School of Humanities, specializes in the anthropology of the new technologies and media philosophy. Her current research project deals with Lacan's conception of social reality as a structure of the imaginary and symbolic orders and of the real. In particular she focuses on the notion of the mirror stage in relation to the sex-gender distinction, from the perspective of the feminist debate on equality vs. difference.

Recent publications include "Human Body in the Realm of Technology" in K. Gerber, P. Weibel (eds.): *Welcome to the Wired World*, Ars Electronica 1995. New York and Vienna; reprinted 1999 in T. Druckrey (ed.): *Ars Electronica: Facing the Future*, MIT Press; "Fast Cars, Hard Sounds" in B. Borcic, V. Cvahte (eds.): *Media In Media*, Ljubljana 1997; "The Apparatus of National TV; The Beginnings of Television in Slovenija" in *Zeitgeschichte*, No. 7/8, 1997, "TV Time, Konzepte zur Fernsehgeschichte", Monika Bernold (ed.), Wien.

## Guests

One month research stays

#### Alan S. Milward (February)

Professor of Contemporary History, European University Institute, Florence; Professor Emeritus of Economic History, London School of Economics and Political Science, specializes in the history of European integration. He is working on a complete history from all official British government records of the relationship between The United Kingdom and the European Communities between 1945 and 1986 which should be the first documented history of the Communities for the period after 1963.

His publications include: *The European Rescue of the Nation State*, London 1994; *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-1952*, London 1984.

#### Malgorzata Fuszara (March)

Professor of Law and Director of the Institute of Applied Social Sciences, University of Warsaw, specializes in gender studies and the sociology of law. During her stay

# Andrew W. Mellon East-Central European Research Visiting Fellowships 2000/2001 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 Consequences 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.at

All materials should be sent together, either by post or e-mail, before the deadline of November 15, 1999.

## 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.

she was preparing a reader in sociology of law for gender studies.

### Jane E. Lewis (April)

Professor of Social Policy, University of Nottingham, specializes in gender and social policy, the history of social policy, social care and the voluntary. She is currently working on a Nuffield Trust funded study on "The Boundary Between Health and Social Care in Britain, 1945-1990", investigating the particular history of care for the elderly in the public sector in Britain in the post-war period.

She is the author of *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian Britain*, Aldershot 1991; *Women in Britain since 1945*, Oxford 1992; *The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work since the late Nineteenth Century*, Aldershot 1995; with H. Glennerster, *Implementing the New Community Care*, Buckingham 1996; with K. Kiernan and H. Land, *Lone Mothers in Twentieth Century Britain*, Oxford 1998; she is editor of *Lone Mothers and European Welfare Regimes*, London/Philadelphia 1998; and *Gender, Social Care and Welfare State Restructuring in Europe*, Ashgate 1999.

# Visiting Fellows as of July 1999

IWM will host the following Visiting Fellows from July to December 1999

**Dragan Bisenic**, Foreign Policy Editor of *Nasa Borba*, Belgrade; Milena Jesenská Fellow (July – September)  
Research Project: "The Failure of the Intellectuals in the Democratic Transformation of Former Yugoslavia".

**Jane Flax**, Professor of Political Science, Howard University, Washington, D.C; Gender Studies  
Research Project: "Citizenship and Race / Gender in the Postmodern West".

**Egon Gal**, Director of the Institute of Jewish Studies, Comenius University Bratislava; Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow  
Research Project: "Democracy and Difference".

**Masha Gessen**, Author, Journalist, and Chief Reporter at *Itogi*, Moscow; Milena Jesenská Fellow (October – December)  
Research Project: "The Babuskas: Two Jewish Women, Eastern Europe and the Twentieth Century".

**Szilvia Hamor**, Journalist, Columnist for *Nepszabadsag*, Budapest; Milena Jesenská Fellow (October – December)  
Research Project: "Analysis of the Welfare Systems".

**Andras Körösenyi**, Associate Professor of Political Science, Faculty of Law and Government, Eötvös Lorand University Budapest; Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow (July – September)  
Research Project: "Political Decisionism and the Rule of Law. The Hans Kelsen vs. Carl Schmitt Debate and its Theoretical Implications for Post-Communist Constitution-Building and Political Thinking".

**Diana M. Mishkova**, Associate Professor of Modern Balkan History, University of Sofia; Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow (October – December)  
Research Project: "Legitimacy through Populism: The 'Janus Quality' of Balkan Modernity".

**Danuta Beata Pawlak**, Journalist at *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Warsaw; Milena Jesenská Fellow (July – September)  
Research Project: "Moslem Women in Europe".

**Gazmend Pula**, Associate Professor of English Literature, University of Pristina, Kosovo; Translator; Paul Celan Translation Fellowship (July – September)  
Translation of Ernest Gellner's "Nations and Nationalism" into Albanian.

**Ann Snitow**, Director of Cultural Studies, Eugene Lang College, New School University; Gender Studies (mid October – mid January 2000)  
Book Project: "A Gender Diary", chapters: How did it happen that I have no children? & Feminist Futures in the former East Block.

**Vladimir Theoharov**, Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Sofia and New Bulgarian University, Sofia; Paul Celan Translation Fellowship  
Translation of Ernst Cassirer's "Philosophie der symbolischen Formen" from German into Bulgarian.

**Jerzy Szacki**, Professor of Sociology, Warsaw University; Member of the IWM Advisory Board; Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow (September – February 2000)  
Project: Revision of his book "History of Sociological Thought".

**Cezary Wodzinski**, Professor of Philosophy, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw; Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow  
Research Project: "Jurodiwyj – Ein phänomenologischer Beitrag zur apophantischen Anthropologie".

## Junior Visiting Fellows from July to December 1999

**James W. Boettcher**, Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston College  
Research Project: "Habermas, Liberalism and the Law: Justification of Rights and Democratic Legitimacy".

**Judith Bösch**, Ph.D. candidate in Romance Literature, University of Vienna; Stipendiary in the framework of the doctoral program of the Austrian Academy of Sciences; (August – January 2000)  
Dissertation: "Die strukturelle Position von Autorinnen im literarischen Feld des französischen 17. Jahrhunderts".

**Paul Bruno**  
Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston College  
Research Project: "Kant and the Concept of Genius in the Third Critique."

**Alexander Di Pippo**, Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University  
Dissertation proposal to examine the place of art work in Heidegger's fundamental ontology.

**Jason Kosnoski**, Ph.D. candidate in Political Science, New School University, New York  
Research Project: Dissertation on the democratic theory of John Dewey.

**Pavlo Kutuev**, Ph.D. in Sociology; Associate Professor of Sociology and Politics, University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy"; Volkswagen Junior Visiting Fellow  
Research Project: Political Culture of Administrative Elites in Societal Transformation: Post-Leninist Ukraine and Austria in Comparative Perspective.

**Craig Nichols**, Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University

Research Project: A study of the specifically Catholic underpinnings of Heidegger's critique of Hegel's Protestant philosophy.

**David Shikiar**, Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University

Dissertation study of Aristotle's work with a view towards working out his (sketch of a) metaphysics in a manner which would ultimately take into account the history of the subject since his time.

**Andrej Skolkay**, Ph.D. candidate in Political Science; Lecturer in Political Communication/Media Culture in Slovakia at the Academia Istropolitana Nova, Institute for Graduate Studies, Bratislava, Volkswagen Junior Visiting Fellow

Research Project: "The Role of the Media, Journalists and Political Communication in Postcommunist Transformation".

**Kamila Stullerová**

M.A. candidate in English and American Language Studies, Comenius University, and student in the Humanities at the Society of Higher Learning, Bratislava, Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow

Research Project: "Culture, Collective Identity and Globalization".

**Vladislav Suvak**, Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Comenius University, Bratislava; Lecturer at Presov University; Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow & Jan Patocka Junior Visiting Fellow

Research Project: "Patocka and Heidegger's Interpretations of Ancient Thought and Asubjective Phenomenology".

**Stefan Tidow**

Ph.D. candidate in Political Science, University of Marburg

Research Project: "Zur Programmatik einer Europäischen Beschäftigungspolitik".

**Eimear Wynne**

Ph.D. candidate in Political Science, New School University, New York

Research Project: "The Hermeneutics of Human Rights".

## Proceedings of the Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences



Vol. I Jack Russel Weinstein (ed.)  
**Academic Inquiry: in Progress**  
Vienna (IWM) 1995

Contributions by: Philip Cafaro, Lucie Cviklova, Antke Engel, Marcus Kreuzer, Balasz Mezei, Borislav Mikulic, Judith Nagy-Darvas, Alexey Verizhnikov, Jack Russel Weinstein

Vol. II Lawrence P. King and Barry Gilbert (eds.)  
**Justice and the Transition**  
Vienna (IWM) 1997

Contributions by: Alexandr Altunjan, Eszter Babarczy, Maja Brkljacic, Gabriella Etmektsoglou, Dariusz Gawin, Barry Gilbert, Lawrence P. King, Joe McCoy, Gabriele Neuhäuser, Piotr Nowak, Ognjen Pribicevic, Alejandro A. Vallega

Vol. III Charles W. Lowney (ed.)  
**Identities: Theoretical Considerations & Case Studies**  
Vienna (IWM) 1998

Contributions by: Pertti Ahonen, Anna I. Artemczuk, David S. Dornisch, Iouliia Gradszkova, Brano Hronec, John S. Leake, Charles W. Lowney, Sinisa Malesevic, Tomasz Merta, Sayres Rudy, Tim Snyder, Katalin Tardos, Alina Zvinkliene

Vol. IV Jonathan Hanen (ed.)  
**The Dialectic of the Universal and the Particular**  
Vienna (IWM) forthcoming

Contributions by: Csaba Dupcsik, Barry Gilbert, Ludger Hagedorn, Jonathan Hanen, Maciej Janowski, Christina Lammer, Katharina Pühl, Stefanie Rocknack, Mateusz Werner, Sergei Zhrebkin

Vol. V John K. Glenn III and Andrea Petö (eds.)  
**Ideas in Transit**  
Vienna (IWM) 1998

Contributions by: John K. Glenn III, Bradley Herling, Peter A. Johnson, Andrea Petö, Anna Sosnowska, John Symons, Mariusz Turowski, Bettina Zehetner

These volumes can be ordered from IWM

# Publications

Transit 16

## Über die Quellen des Hasses

Bernard Lewis Der widerspenstige Andere  
 Shlomo Avineri Die zwei Gesichter der Religion  
 Charles Taylor Glaube und Gewalt  
 Robert Spaemann Der Haß des Sarastro  
 Steven Shapin Wissenschaft und Vorurteil  
 Glenn C. Loury Wissenschaft im Dienste des Rassismus?  
 Anton Pelinka Demokratie und Menschenrechte  
 Eva Horn Die Mobilmachung der Körper  
 Ernst Hanisch Die Rückkehr des Kriegers

## Europas Grenzen

Timothy Garton Ash Mitteleuropa? Aber wo liegt es?  
 Eva Menasse Böhmisches Rhapsodie  
 Michail Ryklin Rußland hinter den Spiegeln  
 Aage A. Hansen-Löve Kritik der Vorurteilskraft:  
 Rußlandbilder  
 Helmut & Johanna Kandl Besuch in der Ukraine.  
 Photographien  
 Zbigniew Brzezinski Globale Dilemmata der Demokratie

## Tadeusz Mazowiecki

Politik und Moral im neuen Europa  
 (Politics and Morality in the New Europe)  
 Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture 1997  
 Passagen Verlag, Vienna 1999  
 88 pp., DM 28,- / öS 196,-  
 ISBN 3-85165-308-4

Contents:

Tadeusz Mazowiecki  
 Politik und Moral im neuen Europa  
 Jan Patočka  
 Der Versuch einer tschechischen Nationalphilosophie  
 und sein Scheitern (1977)  
 Ludger Hagedorn  
 Verantwortung für Europa: Jan Patočka und Tadeusz  
 Mazowiecki

## Common Knowledge

Winter 1998 Vol. 7, No.3  
 This edition of Common Knowledge contains several  
 articles from the [Castelgandolfo Colloquia 1983-1996](#)  
 published in German in the Castelgandolfo-Gespräche,  
 Klett-Cotta, and an Introduction by Jean Bethke Elshtain

Contributors:

Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker  
 Time, Physics, Metaphysics  
 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie  
 Our Cliophile Era: Scientized History, Historicized  
 Science  
 Franz Cardinal König  
 The Spiritual Foundations of Europe

Wilhelm Halbfass

India and the „Europaization of the Earth“  
 Roger Cardinal Etchegary  
 The Catholic Church vis-à-vis Liberal Society  
 Bernard Lewis  
 Islam and Liberal Democracy  
 Stanley Rosen  
 Rethinking the Enlightenment  
 Jean Bethke Elshtain  
 Individual Rights and Social Obligation

V. S. Malachov / V. P. Philatov (eds.)

Encyclopedia of 20th Century Western Philosophy  
 Moscow 1998

457 articles introducing the most important ideas, think-  
 ers, and schools in modern and post-modern Western  
 philosophy to a Russian readership.

In collaboration with Günter Figal, Charles Taylor,  
 Cornelia Klinger, Stephen Toulmin, Edith Seifert, Wilhelm  
 Schmid.

Vladimir Malachov, Researcher at the Institute of Philoso-  
 phy, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, was a Junior  
 Fellow of IWM in 1994.

Essays

Ernest Gellner

“Religion and the Profane“ from IWM-Newsletter 58  
 has been reprinted in Commentaire No. 85 / Spring 1999.

Cornelia Klinger

“Zwischen sinnlichem Symbol und reiner Materie. Das  
 Kunstwerk in einer nachmetaphysischen Welt“ in Im  
 Rausch der Sinne. Kunst zwischen Animation und Askese,  
 Konrad Paul Liessmann (Hg.), Wien 1999.

“Essentialismus, Universalismus und feministische  
 Politik“ in Frauenforschung, feministische Forschung,  
 Gender Studies: Entwicklungen und Perspektiven, Christ-  
 ina Lutter / Elisabeth Menasse-Wiesbauer (Hg.), Wien 1999.

“‘Für den Staat ist das Weib die Nacht.’ Die Ordnung  
 der Geschlechter und ihr Verhältnis zur Politik“ in Zeit-  
 schrift für Frauenforschung, Sonderheft 2/99: Philosophie,  
 Politik und Geschlecht. Probleme feministischer Theorie-  
 bildung.

Krzysztof Michalski

“Kurze Geschichte der Apokalypse und ihrer  
 Verweltlichung – Wissenschaft und Apokalypse“ in Kultur,  
 Wissenschaft und Politik am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts.  
 Erwartungen, Visionen – Ängste? Vorträge auf dem  
 Symposium zum 65. Geburtstag von Hans-Ludwig  
 Schreiber, Göttingen 1999.

Kazimierz Poznanski

“Recounting Transition“ in East European Politics and  
 Societies, Vol. 13, No. 2, Spring 1999. (Tuesday Lecture  
 delivered at IWM in 1998.)

## Tuesday Lectures

2 February

[Mitchell G. Ash](#)

Professor für Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte an der Universität Wien

Wissenschaftswandlungen in politischen Umbruchszeiten: 1933, 1945 und 1989 im Vergleich

9 February

[Alan S. Milward](#)

Professor of Contemporary History at the European University Institute; Professor Emeritus of Economic History at the London School of Economics and Political Science

Europe, America, and The Marshall Plan: The Limits of History and the Social Sciences

16 February

[Janos M. Kovacs](#)

Permanent Fellow of IWM; Member of the Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest  
The Story of the Prodigal Son: Economic Thought in Eastern Europe. Before and After 1989

23 February

[György Dalos](#)

Schriftsteller und Publizist, Leiter des Hauses Ungarn in Berlin

Geheimes aus den Akten zweier Dienste

2 March

Europäische Identität im Zeichen der Globalisierung I

[Lord Thomas](#)

University Professor and Professor of History at Boston University

Europe Between Unity and Diversity: The Example of Spain

In cooperation with the Liberales Bildungsforum

9 March

[Jaakko Hintikka](#)

Professor of Philosophy, Boston University

What Distinguishes Phenomenology from Analytic Philosophy?

16 March

[Aage Hansen-Löve](#)

Professor für Slavische Philologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Zur Kritik der Vorurteilskraft: Rußlandbilder

23 March

[Ira Katznelson](#)

Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History, Columbia University, New York; Member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board

Isaiah Berlin's Modernity

13 April

[Jane E. Lewis](#)

Professor of Social Policy, University of Nottingham

Rethinking Social Policy: Gender and Welfare Regimes

20 April

Die Zukunft der europäischen Integration I

[Ulrich K. Preuss](#)

Professor für Öffentliches Recht und Politik, Freie Universität Berlin

Ist Europa verfaßbar? Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Integration durch Verfassung

In cooperation with the Grüne Bildungswerkstatt

27 April

[Charles L. Griswold](#)

Professor of Philosophy and Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Boston University

Constructed Morality: The "Adam Smith Problem" and the Self-Undermining of the Enlightenment

### Seminars

## State and Globalization Eastern Europe's Two Transformations

In the course of 1994-1997, IWM organized a series of seminars in the framework of its "Transformation Program" on the past and present conflicts between the "populists" and "westernizers" in Central and Eastern Europe. We continued the seminar in 1998 with another pressing issue, the changing role of the state during the post-communist transition. In this year the transformation of the state will be examined in the context of global challenges.

The new democracies in Eastern Europe launched their internal transformation processes in a turbulent phase of the evolution of world economy and politics. While changing their own systems, they are bound to adjust to the transformation of the international/global environment. The coincidence of these two transformations may result in a slowdown of change but may also provide opportunities for acceleration.

To some extent, the sovereignty of the new democracies in Eastern Europe, which has been regained following the collapse of the Soviet empire, is being taken over by new kinds of international organizations and multinational firms. Frequently, under the heading of "globalization" quite different (and contradictory) processes of internationalization take place such as Europeanization or regionalization. The speed of global change may vary across the economic, political and cultural spheres.

Eastern Europe is looking for new patterns of government in an era of growing uncertainties in the West caused by the declining performance of the nation state in

global competition. Hence, in the ex-communist countries, the imitation of Western models should be replaced or supplemented by simultaneous experimentation. The seminar will examine the parallel searches for new forms of government in the East and the West in a comparative and interdisciplinary way.

The seminar is linked with the "Cultural Globalization" project directed by Peter Berger and Samuel Huntington.

### Program

March 17

**Gabriella Ilonszki** (Budapest University of Economics) Globalization and Integration. Realities, Hopes and Concerns. A Hungarian Perspective

March 31

**Don Kalb** (IWM and University of Utrecht) Complexities of Globalization. Marking Out the Field

April 15

**Alan Milward** (European University Institute, Florence) Interdependence and Globalization

April 21

**Jane Lewis** (University of Nottingham) On the Possibilities of Convergence for European Social Policy

May 5

**Adrian Iliescu** (University of Bucharest) Minimizing the State: the Conventional Wisdom and Its (East European) Discontents

May 12

**Jacek Kurczewski** (University of Warsaw) The Re-Construction of Democratic Representation by the Polish Political Class After 1989

May 26

**Tannelie Blom** (University of Maastricht) Denationalization and the Nation State

June 9

**Endre Sik** (University of Budapest) Hungarian Workers in the Austrian Labor Market

June 9

**Kazimierz Poznanski** (University of Seattle) George Soros on the Crisis of Global Capitalism

June 16

**Lud'a Klusakowa** (Charles University Prague) Creating 'Public Opinion' on 'Global Issues' of Early Modern Europe: Artists, Travel Experience and the Ottoman Empire

### Extra Seminars

10 June

**Gazmend Pula** (University of Pristina) The Kosovo War: Its Causes and its Consequences for the European Order

16 June

**Michal P. Markowski** (Jagiellonian University, Cracow) The Deconstructive Desire. Readings and Misreadings of Nietzsche and Derrida

## Gender Studies

IWM fellows have been meeting since 1993 to discuss new texts in feminist theory and literature or to present their own research. The working group, which meets once or twice per month, is open to all interested women in Vienna.

In the first half of 1999 the following program was carried out:

**Susanne Moser**, University of Vienna, presented her paper "Transzendenz und Freiheit in Simone de Beauvoirs 'Das Andere Geschlecht'" (January).

**Nancy Fraser**, Professor of Political Science, Graduate Faculty of the New School University, New York, Guest of IWM in January, lectured on "Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, Participation" (19 January).

**Rie Ueda**, presented a chapter from her master's thesis on Rosa Mayreder on the topic "Feministische Diskurse über die Prostitution in Wien um 1900" and her article, "Nocheinmal Rosa Mayreders 'Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit,'" published in die gezeit (February).

**Dobrinka Paroucheva**, Researcher at the Institute of Balkan Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow of IWM (January – March), reported on the situation of women in Bulgaria in the present and the past referring to her texts "Emancipation between Feminism and Socialism" and "The Challenges of Change: Bulgarian Women in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century" (March).

**Julia Scheffer**, presented her research on the theme "Section IV: Krankheit oder moderne Frauen: Emily's Lesbian Phallus" (March).

**Karin Wetschanow**, IWM Junior Visiting Fellow, presented her work on rape as an issue in German daytime talk shows taking as a starting point the video "I was raped. The lifelong trauma of women." (April).

**Katja Wiederspahn** presented the chapter „Am Leitfaden der Liebe" from the Frankfurt film theorist Heide Schlüpmann's new book „Abendröthe der Subjektphilosophie. Eine Ästhetik des Kinos" (May).

[Ruth Noack](#) led the group through the Martha Rosler exhibition in the Generali Foundation (May).

[Petra Jedlickova](#), National Training Fund, Prague, Junior Visiting Fellow of IWM, presented her work on feminism and media theory (June).

## Junior Visiting Fellow's Seminar

In the framework of its Junior Visiting Fellowship Program IWM organizes a working seminar for the Junior Fellows. At each session one of the Junior Fellows makes a presentation on his/her research project. The seminar ends with the [Junior Fellows' Conference](#), at which the final results of the projects are discussed.

First semester 1999:

3 February

[Matthew C. Simpson](#)

Montesquieu on Democracy

10 February

[Paulina Bren](#)

A History of Czech Normalization, 1969-1989

17 February

[Roseanne Gerin](#)

An Overview of the Press in Central and Eastern Europe

24 February

[Ana-Luana Stoicea](#)

Who is Talking about Nation? A French Case Study

3 March.

[Daniel Vojtech](#)

Jan Patočka's Writings on Art and Philosophy

10 March

[Szymon Wrobel](#)

The Relationship between Power and Rational Action

17 March

[Aneta Gawkowska](#)

Communitarian Critique of Liberalism

24 March

[Petra Jedlickova](#)

Building the Information Society in the Czech Republic: EU Objections, Equal Re-Presentation

31 March

[Piotr Korys](#)

Conservatism as Ideology

14 April

[Karin Wetschanow](#)

The Representation of Rape in German Daytime Talkshows

21 April

[Dan Dungaciu](#)

Nationalism and Religion in Western and Eastern Europe

5 May

[Iulia Motoc](#)

Raison d'Etat and Rule of Law in Democratic Transition and Consolidation

## Travels and Talks

of IWM Fellows, Guests and Staff

[Dan Dungaciu](#)

Participant at the conference "Rumänien und die EU-Erweiterung" jointly organized by the Diplomatische Akademie, the Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa, the Österreichische Gesellschaft für Außenpolitik und Internationale Beziehungen and the Österreichische Liga für die Vereinten Nationen in Vienna (12 April).

[Aneta Gawkowska](#)

Paper: "Modern Ethos Under Fire: Alisdair MacIntyre's Critique of Individualistic Liberalism" presented at the Communitarian Summit organized by the Communitarian Network in Washington, D.C. (27-28 February).

[Gabriella Ilonszki](#)

Co-convenor of a workshop organized within the framework of the yearly conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, chair of the session "European Parliaments: Rediscovering, Refocusing or Reinventing", Mannheim, Germany (26-31 March).

[Petra Jedlickova](#)

Lecture: "Cyberfeminism Confronts the Information Society", Womens Career Network, Vienna (15 March).

[Martin Kanovsky](#)

Lecture: "Cultural Transmission and Evolution" at the 2nd Conference of Cognitive Sciences organized by the Department of Mathematics, Slovak Technical University, Bratislava (26 February).

Lecture: "The Cognitive Theory of Religion" at the Department of Ethnology, Charles University, Prague (19 April).

[Janos Matyas Kovacs](#)

Symposium: "Österreichische Forschungsstrategie 1999+" organized by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Science and Transport, Vienna (2 March).

**Jacek Kurczewski**

Lecture: "NGO's Legislation in Europe" at the conference "Legal and Regulatory Environment of NGO's in Turkmenistan" organized by the US Aid Counterpart and the Institute for Democracy in Ashgabad (16-17 March).

Lecture: "Civic Ethos" at a workshop run together with Jan Litynski on Civil Society organized by the Democracy Club in Warsaw (21 March).

Panelist and Rapporteur: "Preventing Corruption" at the conference "Preventing Organized Crime and Corruption" organized by the Council of Europe and the Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw (25-26 March).

Milan Simecka Lecture: "What Democracy After Communism" organized by the Milan Simecka Foundation in Bratislava (30 March).

**Krzysztof Michalski**

Meeting of the Associated Institutions and Centres, European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam (16 February).  
Jury Meeting of the "Pirelli InterNETional Award", Rome (16 March).

Meeting of the Reflection Group on the Long-Term Implications of the EU-Enlargement, organized by the European Commission, Forward Studies Unit, Florence (19 April).

**Klaus Nellen**

Symposium: "Österreichische Forschungsstrategie 1999+" organized by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Science and Transport, Vienna (2 March).

**Ana-Luana Stoicea**

Seminar: "Feminism and Political Science" at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Bucharest (5-8 April).

**Iulia Voina-Motoc**

Participant as Member of the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of Minorities, 4th Meeting, organized by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg (22-25 March).

## Varia

**Tadej Praprotnik**

Ph.D. candidate and Junior Researcher at the Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis (ISH), spent two weeks in April at IWM doing research on his doctoral thesis entitled "Community, Identity and Communication in the Virtual Internet Communities."

**Fritz Stern**

University Professor and Professor of History, Columbia University, New York, and Vice-Chair of the IWM Academic Advisory Board has been awarded the "Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels" which will be presented to him at the Frankfurt Book Fair on October 17.

### Guest Contribution

## Jane E. Lewis: Gender and Welfare Regimes: The Case of Lone Mothers

Jane Lewis is Professor of Social Policy, University of Nottingham, an Member of the SOCO Selection Committee. The following contribution is an excerpt from her Tuesday Lecture delivered at IWM in April. The complete text is published as an IWM Working Paper on our homepage.

Women's position as clients in the British welfare regime has been determined in large measure by the extent to which assumptions regarding the existence of a male breadwinner model family have underpinned both charitable and state social provision. In its pure form, the male breadwinner model predicts that married women will not engage in paid work, but rather will undertake the work of caring for children and other dependants at home without public support, and that they will be subordinated to their husbands for the purposes of social security entitlements and tax. In reality, such a model never existed. Charles Booth's social survey of London in 1889 showed that 30 per cent of the population was unable to rely on a man's wage, while the estimate in 1921 was that only 41 per cent of working class families were dependent on a man's wage alone. Nevertheless, it was broadly accepted that the male breadwinner model 'ought' to characterise the way in which families organised themselves because it was

considered the best means of socialising children and the best way of securing male work incentives. Functionalist family sociologists of the 1950s continued to put forward these sorts of ideas. However, when policy makers used the idea of the male breadwinner model family to underpin their legislative proposals they translated an 'ought' into an 'is' with adverse effects for women.

The Beveridge Report of 1942 (Cmd. 6404, 1942), which provided the blueprint for the post-war social settlement in Britain and was also influential in other European countries, assumed female dependence on the male wage. As a result, married women paid less by way of contributions and received less by way of benefits than did men. This was not changed until the passing of the equality legislation of the 1970s, which in turn was prompted by EC law. The depth of assumptions regarding women's proper role may be gauged by two pieces of legislation that were passed at the very same time as the

equality legislation (centring on the equal pay and sex discrimination Acts) of the mid-1970s. The housewife's non-contributory invalidity pension defined women's incapacity as an inability to do housework; and the invalid care allowance was denied to married women because such unpaid caring work was deemed part of their 'natural' responsibilities. The latter was overturned by the European Court in 1986.

During the 1980s and 1990s, successive governments in Britain and in the United States attacked what was called 'the culture of dependency'. In so far that women are a majority of those relying on state benefits and that poverty has become 'feminised', women were disproportionately targeted in these campaigns. The case of lone mother families is particularly instructive. It illustrates not only the tensions experienced by women as clients of the welfare state, but the difficulties they have in becoming fully participative members of society. In Britain and the US, unlike other European countries, these women have moved from being seen merely as 'social problems' to being perceived as a 'social threat'. Lone mothers become a problem in the first instance because they are women with children, but without men. In other words, their definition as a social problem can only be understood in relation to assumptions about the male breadwinner model and how the family should work. They have become a threat because politicians fear that the socialization of children will suffer; that the behaviour of young men detached from family life will become increasingly hard to control; and that the burden on public expenditure will become intolerable. Lone mother families are said to be breeding grounds for crime and welfare dependency in the next generation.

Very broadly, late nineteenth century social policy said 'treat these women as workers'; the mother, usually a widow, was expected to go to work to support one or two children and the rest would be taken into the workhouse. There was no hesitation in splitting up families. The mid-twentieth century state said 'treat these women as mothers'. In the post-war settlement, lone mothers were permitted to receive benefits under the national assistance scheme without making themselves available for work until their children were sixteen years old. This remained the case in Britain until 1997. In acting like this, government was persuaded that it was cheaper to provide benefits than to take children into the care of the state, and it was much influenced by Bowlby's theory of maternal deprivation that circulated in the late 1940s and 1950s. Now in the late twentieth century the pendulum has swung again towards treating these women as 'citizen workers'. In the USA 'workfare' schemes have been introduced in a majority of states whereby women must accept paid work or training, putting even very young children in day care in return for benefit. The 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act has provided an additional stick by withdrawing benefits to lone mothers after five years.

Such legislation has been supported in part by a rhetoric of 'formal equality', that is, the injunction to treat men and women the same, notwithstanding the substantive inequality that is caused by the gendered access to jobs and the division of caring work in society. The difficulties of lone mothers revolve around the need for one

person to provide cash and care. Whereas policy has tended to swing between perceived alternatives: treating lone mothers as mothers or as paid workers (within Europe, this is especially true of Britain and the Netherlands), the reality is that these are not feasible alternatives. While a majority of lone mothers want to work, in Britain it is above all the lack of affordable child care that prevents them from so doing. In any case, most only wish to work part-time. While lone mothers are materially better off in a country like Sweden, where most work full-time, it is not clear that British or Dutch lone mothers would wish to opt for full-time employment even if child care were available and affordable. As Jane Millar has pointed out, many lone mothers believe that it is important to spend a significant portion of their time with their children and this might result in their not choosing to maximise their earning power. Just as large numbers of women give up paid work to care for dependent relatives, so lone mothers see their work as carers of children as having great importance. Many feminists have highlighted the female imperative to care. It is also a moral imperative and as such constitutes a powerful alternative rationality to the incentives provided by paid work.

The position of lone mothers in respect of paid and unpaid work is intimately related to the nature of particular welfare regimes. The labour market participation rates of lone mothers differ widely and are often significantly different from those of married mothers. In the USA, state provision for lone mothers has been stigmatised as a categorical assistance benefit and is mean in terms of amount. Provision of child care is also poor. As a result, lone mothers are pushed into the labour market. In Germany, where the state benefit system is insurance based, lone mothers who have to resort to state support must rely on second class social assistance benefits, the rates for which are set locally. There too there is a substantial incentive for lone mothers to work, notwithstanding the fact that child care provision is only moderate. German lone mothers' labour market participation rates are in fact much higher than those of married mothers.

In the Scandinavian countries, where all adults, male and female are conceptualised as paid workers, lone mothers are not seen as a particular category requiring state aid and attitudes towards them are more relaxed. Rather than singling out lone mothers for special attention their needs in terms of child care and cash benefits have been met as part and parcel of universal welfare provision for mothers with children. As Sainsbury has stressed, mothers' entitlements to benefits and to care services have been universalised in Sweden (and indeed in Denmark), which has proved enormously important for the welfare of lone mothers. Swedish lone mothers receive only slightly more income in the form of wages than they do from the state, despite their high labour market participation. In France too, generous benefits are available to all mothers with children under three years old. French lone mothers rely less on benefits than two parent families in which the mother is out of the labour market, which is a reflection of the extent to which French social policy has historically redistributed income towards families with children.

In the Netherlands and in Britain the position is different again. Lone mothers draw social assistance, but this has been a nationally determined benefit in the post-

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war period and is drawn by men as well as women. The stigma attaching to such benefits has lessened substantially since the 1970s, as lone mothers have become increasingly autonomous and visible. The Netherlands has historically paid generous benefits, sufficient to replace a male breadwinner's earnings. In these countries lone mothers have not been forced into the labour market, until recent legislation changed the pattern of incentives. In the early 1990s, the British government moved first towards trying to secure maintenance for lone mothers and their children from the biological fathers. The amount included in the formula for the support of the mother proved one of the most controversial parts of the new legislation because of the dependency relationship that it perpetuated. The legislation failed to shift a significant proportion of the cost of support of lone mothers onto fathers and in the mid-1990s government began to stress the only remaining alternative to state benefits as a source of income for lone mothers: earnings. In 1996, a new incentive to assist lone mothers into paid employment was announced and the new Labour Government continued this strategy in the form of its 'welfare to work' strategy. At the same time, it announced that after April 1998 no new claims for one-parent benefit would be accepted and those newly claiming social assistance would no longer qualify for the special one-parent premium. Thus in the UK as in the US, lone mothers are again to be treated as workers rather than mothers, but such dichotomous treatment ignores the reality of their position as paid and unpaid workers.

The position of lone mothers provides interesting evidence as to the difficulty of combining paid and unpaid work and the importance of social policies in influencing behaviour vis a vis the labour market. The vast majority of lone mothers must 'package' income from different sources — men, the labour market and the state — because of their responsibility for paid and unpaid work, but the way in which they do so differs considerably from one country to another. It should be noted that married mothers also package income, using in the main the labour market and husbands. There is nothing liberating about being trapped on state benefits, but dependency on the labour market under unequal conditions is not necessarily going to provide more genuine choice and opportunities. Dependency on individual men may be more confining still. Many feminists have suggested that dependence on an individual man is more dis-empowering than dependence on the state; 'individual patriarchy' is worse than 'state patriarchy', and may be more dis-empowering in respect of both social and political participation.

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