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MILENA JESENSKÁ FELLOWSHIP |

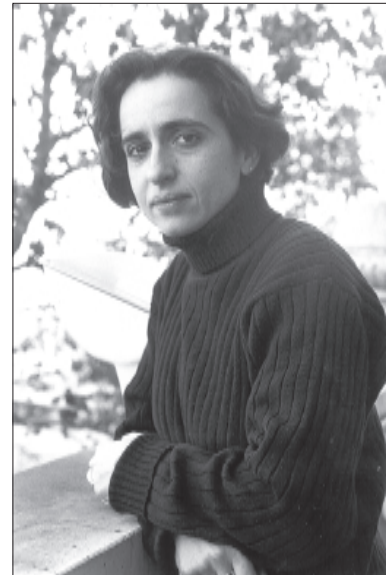
Masha Gessen is chief correspondent at Russia's leading weekly magazine, *Itogi*, and a regular contributor to *The New Republic*. She wrote these reflections at the end of her stay at the IWM (October- December 1999). Her fellowship, named after Milena Jesenská (1896-1944), the Czech-born outstanding journalist and political commentator, enables journalists from Europe to spend three months at the IWM to work on a project of their own choice.

Double-Think

LET ME MAKE SOMETHING CLEAR at the outset. My country – Russia, that is – is going to hell. There is a war on, bloody, ruthless and senseless. The economy, which may or may not be enjoying a brief period of stability, is basically in shambles, with a large part of the population living below the poverty line and most of the rest surviving on the spoils of crime and corruption. The political situation has never been worse: hard-earned democratic freedoms are curtailed more and more every day; the upcoming parliamentary election will be a farce; and the Yeltsin regime, ever more bloody and cynical, is set to continue in perpetuity. And, after almost three months away from home, I cannot wait to get back.

Now allow me to make something else clear. I have been on a fellowship, on leave from my job, and I miss my work, my friends and my apartment – but my urgent desire to return home is an expression of something even more deep-seated than all the good sentimental reasons. Nor am I about to start in on the virtues of patriotism, of being with your people in their hour of need and similar rhetoric for which I have little patience. No, my abiding homesickness is directly related to something we Russians have long referred to as "double-think". I know the country is going to hell if it isn't there already, and I have written about it, but also happen to believe that I don't have to come along.

George Orwell, in the book *1984*, introduced the term "double-speak", the art of saying one thing to mean another. Soviet intellectuals knew that to survive, they needed not only, on occasion, to practice "double-speak" but also constantly to engage in "double-think", the art of thinking on two parallel tracks. To function in the society, to hold a job and perhaps to advance in it, to procure food and a place to live, one had to think the way the regime demanded. This had almost nothing



Masha Gessen ist Chef-reporterin von *Itogi*, Russlands führender Wochenzeitschrift, und schreibt regelmäßig für das amerikanische Magazin *The New Republic*. Sie verfasste diesen Text gegen Ende ihres Aufenthaltes als Milena Jesenská Fellow am IWM.

to do with official ideology but everything to do with the Byzantine mechanisms created by the state. So one thought in terms of queues and allotments and permits that masqueraded as social justice. Then, in one's private universe, one might decry the evils of the outside world, or, more likely, ignore them altogether, opting for a more rational sort of existence. Because if too much of the outside were allowed in the private world, that would be – well, that would be too much. In private our hypothetical individual did not think of herself, really, as living in the Soviet Union. But when she was at work, doing her small part for the Soviet defense industry, or at an obligatory trade union meeting, or just standing in an endless food queue, she could not possibly think the same way if she didn't want to go crazy. As it was, she wasn't crazy; she was coping.

Now let us fast-forward to autumn 1998, the aftermath of the Russian financial crisis. This is when double-think makes its repeat appearance. I must have noticed it when someone called me from America to see how I was doing. "Fine", I said. "I am waiting for the renovations to be finished on my flat, and I'm working on some interesting stories. There are a couple of new clubs in town. Life is grand". My friend, slightly taken aback, probed a bit further: "So things are stabilizing, with the crisis and all?" – "God, no!" I exclaimed. "The country is paralyzed. It looks like we'll have a neo-Communist government. The clocks have been turned back. We can soon forget about economic reform, as well as freedom of the press. We will slowly stagnate. And, of course, the economic situation is horrible. People have lost their savings and are losing more every day. Our salaries have dropped by a factor of three – for the lucky ones who still have jobs and are getting paid for them. And, you know, there is no light at the end of the tunnel". – "But you haven't been affected by this?" – "Of course, I have" I cheerfully acknowledged, but then went on to reassure my friend that things were not just fine but fun. Why was I doing it? Not because I was too proud to admit that I no longer knew how I would make the mortgage, but because I had suddenly become very good at double-think. If I allowed myself, in private, to ponder the hopelessness that had descended on the country, I would inevitably come to the conclusion that my life's work in Russian independent media had been rendered meaningless, and with it, perhaps, my life there. So I relegated the hopelessness to my public-think. In private, instead, I focused on the incontrovertible fact that I was alive and the somewhat more doubtful but still likely proposition that I would somehow manage the mortgage and that, taken together with the few new clubs, rendered life in pretty cheery colors.

I started asking around among my colleagues and acquaintances and found that just about everyone was having a similar experience: our consciousness, which had been gloriously integrated for about seven years,

had suddenly split into two. What did this mean? Not that my friends, who are, for the most part, journalists or activists, had stopped caring about the state of the country and decided to focus just on their private lives to the detriment of their work. No, what it meant was that, like back in Soviet times, they just couldn't bear to live in the country full-time. It meant, in other words, that they, like so many other people, were separating themselves from the state: society was seceding from the state of Russia.

Signs of this were everywhere: after a brief upsurge in news consumption at the time of the financial crisis, newspaper readership and television news viewership dropped. "I can no longer bear to read the news or listen to them", someone recently said to me – someone whom I know to have held some very impassioned political views on everything. Political apathy was evident, and the establishment victory in the recent parliamentary elections is one more bizarre manifestation of it. People feel utterly powerless to influence the country, so they try to act as though the country couldn't influence them. They retreat. Take me, for example. As a journalist, I have been writing about the systematic rolling back of every imaginable freedom in Russia: freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of assembly. If this keeps happening, as I believe it will, making Russia more and more like, say, Milosevic's Serbia, then my ability to work will be impaired, and then the private realm I have staked out for myself will begin to shrink. But privately, I don't believe any of this for a minute, which is why I am so eager to go home and resume my fun-filled life in the Russian capital.

Recently I attended an international conference where Western experts, one after another, detailed the horrors of the current Russian situation to a largely Russian audience. Finally a Russian human rights activist said, "If you keep telling a person how sick he is, he will never get better". More to the point, if you tell a very ill person the whole truth repeatedly, he might just give up hope, curl up and die. Unless, of course, he is skilled in the fine art of double-think.

A German translation of this essay appeared in the Viennese weekly Der Falter, 51-52, 1999.

The Milena Jesenska Fellowships are supported by the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, and organized in cooperation with Project Syndicate, New York/Prague. The journalists' projects typically have European, relevance. The program began in 1998 with Paul Gillespie (Irish Times),

and Eva Menasse (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung). In 1999, the IWM hosted Dragan Bisenic (free-lance journalist, Belgrade), Danuta Beata Pawlak (Gazeta Wyborcza, Warsaw), Szilvia Hamor (Nepszabadsag, Budapest) and Masha Gessen (Itogi, Moscow).

Die Milena Jesenska - Stipendien werden von der Europäischen Kulturstiftung, Amsterdam, finanziert und in Kooperation mit Project Syndicate, New York/Prag ausgeschrieben. Die von den Journalisten und Journalistinnen bearbeiteten Themen sollen von europäischer, nicht bloß lokaler Relevanz sein. Das Programm wurde 1998 begonnen mit Paul Gillespie (Irish Times) und Eva Menasse (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung). StipendiatInnen 1999 waren: Dragan Bisenic (freiberuflicher Journalist, Belgrad), Danuta Beata Pawlak (Gazeta Wyborcza, Warschau), Szilvia Hamor (Nepszabadsag, Budapest) und Masha Gessen (Itogi, Moskau)

Eine deutsche Übersetzung dieses Beitrags erschien in der Wiener Stadtzeitung Der Falter, 51-52, 1999.

Research in both the United States and Western Europe has stressed the degree to which poverty has become "feminized". Gender, thus a crucial variable in the analysis of social policy, is one of the special themes within the SOCO Program in 1999/2000. Don Kalb, SOCO Program Director, summarizes the program's activities in this area as follows

Gender Policies in the Socio-Economic Context

IT IS NOT SURPRISING that gender as a variable for analysis is so important: In the West, some major post World War II social trends have resulted in a growth in married women's labor force participation, as well as in an increase in divorce and single motherhood. These social trends are among the main reasons why Western European welfare systems are under such strain. Post-war social policies have been underpinned by the assumption of full male employment and stable families.

Social policy research over the last two decades has demonstrated how concepts of social policy are inevitably gendered. Citizenship has had a different meaning for men and for women; the financial basis on which women are eligible for benefits – as workers, wives and mothers – differs among countries and over time. The social construction of masculinity and femininity helps to understand complicated social processes, such as persistent gender discrimination within the labor market, segregation within work organizations, and power inequalities within households and in the wider society.

In carrying out social policy research in Central and Eastern Europe, it has become increasingly clear that the outcomes of transition are profoundly gendered. In a region marked by low wage levels (average wages are about 30% of those in the West), female wages are some 25% below male wages, even though women in the aggregate are better educated than men. Women tend to concentrate in lowly skilled occupations, while well-educated women are confronted with ceilings in their careers. Unemployment affects women significantly more than men. Almost two out of three unemployed people in Poland are women. In the Czech Republic, regions with mass unemployment have twice as many jobless women as men.

Depending on benefit levels, poverty rates among women are substantially higher than among men. In the mid-nineties in Poland, where benefits had been maintained on levels higher than actually approved by the World Bank, poverty among women was 10% higher than among men. For Hungary and Slovakia the poverty rate was 29% and 36% respectively. The chances for women in the Visegrad countries to fall below the subsistence level have been calculated to be two to six times higher than for men. This is also caused by the fact that in low wage occupations, particularly outside the booming metropolitan areas, earnings are simply too low to support an individual, let alone a family headed by a single mother.

The typical problems for well-educated women in

entering the labor market are finding a promising job after graduation and returning to work after maternity leave. The increased chance for selection on the part of employers in a context of unemployment has also meant an increased propensity for discrimination on the basis of gender. Employers prefer men over women who might take maternity leave within a few years. Lengthy state sponsored maternity leaves subsequently take away any professional assets women may have had and therefore are a contributing factor in limiting their careers.

As in the United States and Western Europe, one of the major issues is the almost inseparable association between single motherhood and poverty. Given low female wages, labor market discrimination, and generally low benefit levels, single motherhood is one of the strongest factors pushing households below the subsistence minimum. Since the early nineties there has been a substantive increase in the incidence of one-parent families in all CEE countries. Fourteen percent of all Polish children are now growing up in such households. This disproportionately exposes children to the risk of poverty. Research has repeatedly shown that long-term poverty is very likely to occur in the next generation. This presents a serious problem for the strained budgets of the transition countries.

More than money, it is perhaps ideology that stands in the way of an effective social policy answer. The liberal-conservative coalitions in CEE countries are not conducive to putting gender issues or the problems of single motherhood on the public agenda. The liberals tend to see outcomes of transition as largely individualized, while they understandably make a big point of keeping the state out of private life. The conservatives, on the other hand, are wary of feminist arguments and seek to fortify the traditional family, rather than supporting alternatives to it. While public opinion surveys show that women are well aware of the myriad of ways in which they are disadvantaged, they find it difficult to publicly voice their concerns. The reasons are understandable and are well-known from history and from gender activism elsewhere. In low income regions it is painful for women to attract attention to their own plight because this is often perceived as a gross lack of solidarity in a situation where complaining does not help and where mutual support, certainly within households, is essential.

Throughout the period 1990/2000 SOCO supported and continues to support a range of projects that aim to identify various mutually reinforcing as-



Don Kalb

Armut ist in zunehmendem Maß ein frauenspezifisches Problem. Im Rahmen des Programms Social Consequences of Transformation in East-Central Europe (SOCO), das seit 1993 besteht, wurden daher geschlechterbezogene Analysen zu den Folgen der Übergangsprozesse als ein Schwerpunktthema in das Programm 1999/2000 aufgenommen. Derzeit werden zwölf Forschungsprojekte und Informationsinitiativen zu Fragen von Ungleichheit zwischen Frauen und Männern in den Reformländern Ostmitteleuropas gefördert.

pects of gender subordination and gender inequality in CEE countries. These include: poverty issues, questions of political representation, rural women projects and gender relationships within families. While the primary objective for these projects is analytical, the goal is also to raise public awareness and advocate policies for redress. It is thus important to convince various gatekeepers as well as a wider public to face the issues at stake, no matter how unpleasant or unacceptable this task may be.

The following gender related projects have been initiated in the framework of the SOCO program in 1999/2000:

Vlasta Jalusic (Slovenia)

Perspectives for Gender Equality Politics in Central and Eastern Europe

The goal of this project is to examine the low participation of women within state and party politics throughout five CEE countries. It is an attempt to determine why there seem to be no mechanisms for the promotion of gender equality in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. This project

incorporates comparative analyses of structural, ideological and historical factors. Including the electoral and political systems, feminist and women's groups' attitudes and initiatives, anti-feminist sentiment, and a comparison of newly-emerging perceptions of politics with traditional concepts.

Rumiana Stoilova (Bulgaria)

Bulgarian Women in the Period of Transition: Inequalities, Risks, and Social Costs

The aim of this project is to define and measure gender inequalities under the conditions of political, economic and socio-cultural change in Bulgaria. The basic dimensions of social inequalities are to be analyzed, with particular regard to the economic activities of women, as well as the problems, obstacles, and prospects they face. The project will also investigate which groups of women are disadvantaged and outline the main risks arising from this inequality.

Results available in December 2000

Mieczyslaw Bak (Poland)

Rural Women in Poland: Evaluation of Social and Economic Solutions for Life Improvement

Focusing on the social consequences of the transition for women in rural areas, a particularly sensitive group in Polish society, this project analyzes data on the overall economic and social situation of rural women. Special emphasis is placed on the impact and effectiveness of social and economic support programs directed at rural women which have been carried out in Poland to date. These include the Women's Rural Entrepreneurship Program, family loan programs, agro-tourism, group initiatives and medical care stations. The project will evaluate the impact of these support programs on the opportunities for women in rural areas and further discuss possible lessons for social policymaking.

Results available in July 2000

Stepan Jurajda (Czech Republic)

The Gender Wage Differentials in Late Transition

The project aims to quantify the extent of the gender wage gap, as well as its industrial and regional structure in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It will also explore the relationship between the level of regional unemployment and the extent of gender wage differentials. Further, the total wage differences between men and women are to be decomposed into the effect of productive endowments and the potential discrimination effect. The findings will be compared to the situation in other countries within the region, resulting in a broader assessment of the gender wage gap. In conclusion, findings will be compared with facts from the EU countries.

Results available in July 2000

Marie Cermakova (Czech Republic)

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

The core topic of this project is the social analysis of the reasons for gender differences in society, including the labor market and social groups. The project also investigates the effects that economic and social transformations have on different gender and social groups. Emphasis is placed on the female population, and specific groups within this demographic sector. Social institutions and mechanisms, plus the monitoring of the dynamics and evolution of social changes responsible for the formation of social policy, are investigated.

Results available in December 2000

Mihaela Miroiu (Romania)

Gendering Education in Romania

The project focuses on the documentation and analysis of obvious forms of sexism in teaching methods and materials, as well as the evaluation of the shortcomings in the national curricula. It will identify mechanisms of discrimination in education, focusing on teacher training and interpersonal relations (teacher/pupil/domestic household). Guidelines will be suggested for non-sexist education and new educational policies.

Results available in December 2000

Katalin Levai (Hungary)

Information Center of Gender-Related Research and Policy Analysis

The main purpose of the Information Center is to create a database comprising of information on existing gender-related research programs, women's NGOs and their activities, government institutions involved in gender equality issues, and social policy activities that affect the situation of women. The Information Center also intends to disseminate information in the public domain and among relevant public authorities. The Information Center is an integral part of a broader project which aims to create and develop a resource center for women's NGOs, assists in capacity building and networking among women's NGOs, collects and disseminates gender-related research information and develops a network of education programs.

Results available in July 2000

Maria Anna Knothe (Poland)

Women in the Labor Market: Negative Salary Changes and Opportunities of Entrepreneurship as a Consequence of the Transition

The primary purpose of this project was to explore the changes in the Polish labor market since 1989, with specific focus on the situation of women. The project is comprised of the following: the analysis of (1) socio-demographic data on female entrepreneurs together with general information on female-headed companies, and (2) the motives of women entrepreneurs as well as barriers and obstacles experienced in their activities. In addition, employer's expectations on the Polish labor markets are reviewed.

Results available in June 2000

Krisztina Morvai (Hungary)

"Why doesn't she just leave?" Comprehensive Research for a Strategy for the Prevention of and Response to Domestic Violence in Hungary

This project will contribute to a better understanding of domestic violence, its causes, consequences and the potential strategies to combat this widespread phenomenon. Insights are gathered through interviews with victims and the analysis of case reports by public agencies and support organizations. Combined with an exploration of international standards regarding the prevention of and response to domestic violence, these data are to form the groundwork for a concrete set of reform proposals for changes in legislation and programs for support and advice.

Results available in April 2001

Maria Nemenyi (Hungary)

Anatomy of a Borderline Role: District Nurses on the Intersection of Gender, Ethnic and Professional Identities

Potential interactions between individual, professional and gender identities of district nurses working in ethnically mixed neighborhoods are the primary areas of interest of this project. It aims to identify the basis for the socialization of district nurses and the influence of the individual and professional value systems on nurses' interaction with clients, as well as the impact of these professional interactions on the process of assimilation, marginalization, or segregation of patients from various ethnic backgrounds.

Results available in April 2001

Malgorzata Fuszara (Poland)

Towards a New Gender Contract in Poland

A comprehensive review of the ongoing process of the formation of a new gender contract in Polish society is the main aim of this project. The following aspects are analyzed: modifications in legal regulations influencing discriminatory practices; changes in public opinions concerning various legal provisions; selected aspects of gender relations and shifting role perceptions within the household; and the activities of various social actors involved in shaping gender relations.

Results available in April 2001

Marek Rymsza (Poland)

Social Policy towards Lone Mothers and their Families in Poland during the Transition Period

The project researches the living conditions of single mothers in Poland with regard to their material status, the scope of their social rights, and the effectiveness of support activities undertaken by government institutions, local authorities and NGOs. Further, case studies are conducted into the life situation of particular categories of single mother families. This research will form the basis of social policy recommendations.

Results available in April 2001

Griselda Pollock, Professor of Social and Critical Histories of Art, and Director at the Centre for Cultural Studies at the University of Leeds, visited the IWM for three weeks during October and November 1999. She was invited to give the 1999 IWM Lectures in Gender Studies, an annual series begun in 1994.

Differencing the Canon – Views from the Virtual Feminist Museum and Beyond

6 MY THREE LECTURES, and the responses to them, posed some interesting questions for me about the relations between the field of cultural critique and the analysis of representation on the one hand, and the discourses of political critique and the analysis of social formations on the other. The territory called Gender Studies straddles these simultaneously divergent and convergent analytical practices. This is not so much because feminism incorporates both politics and culture through its now infamous slogan – "the personal is political" – but because feminism resists that modern division of the spheres of the political, the cultural and the moral, to enable the processes of representation and self-representation to function as a form of socially effective epistemology. The question is what has aesthetic practice to do with the deep challenges social and political philosophers currently debate around the very possibility of society in the aftermath of the atrocities and unfinished business of modernity?

Invited to give the annual lectures in Gender Studies, I proposed a series of three topics from my current project that I name "Towards the Virtual Feminist Museum." The virtuality thus invoked was not of the cybernetic kind. It was the old-fashioned sense of something that, because it cannot really come into existence (the powers that be would never allow me in), can only be a wish, a virtual as opposed to a concrete space for an impossible assemblage that might produce a differentiating knowledge. The Museum allegorizes the authorized, canonized knowledge of the past that pre-shapes the present and pre-determines the culturally validated forms of representation of race, class, gender and sexuality. I suggested three kinds of visits to my *musée imaginaire*. There was an exhibition of representations of the sexuality of the feminine body from the 1920s. There was an investigation of a missing archive in terms of high modernist painting in New York in the 1950s and the triangulation of the body of the artist, the feminine body as art's object or matter, and the creative woman's body inscribed through gesture. Finally there was a visit to the museum's cinemateque to review a moment of feminist avant-garde poetics enunciated through independent films that addressed the question of women and work and what I call "the pathos of the political".

Artists' Body and Sexual Difference

The first visit involved an exhibition which was con-

ceived less in terms of the capitalist/modernist site of spectacularisation of art as object veiling its fetishized mediation of social relations, than in terms of a psycho-analytically theorized concept of subjectivity as encounter and artistic practice as the inscription of desire. The virtual exhibition was created by the use of video technology which itself would inscribe a supplementary discourse of transition, overlay, simultaneity, passage, shock and finally difference. This moving visual journey worked with a spoken and separated intellectual discourse to address the question of feminine desire and its struggle for representational embodiment at a historically strategic moment, while it also signified my desire for difference, another site of knowledge within the canon. Modernist aesthetic openings in photography, performance and dance brought women before the camera's eye, an eye that has been identified as historically freighted with a masculine economy of vision. Initial feminist investigations of the scopic regime of western culture that passed into the cinematic via photography defined a phallogocentric habit: while the eye is eroticized as an organ of pleasure through the early formations of the sexual drives, such pleasures are forestalled if the object of the gaze is the image of woman, since, in the phallogocentric ordering of sexed subjectivity effected by the castration paradigm, that seemingly beautified image is inverted to become the very sign of lack and the threat of mutilation. Modes of representation that lure the eye become subject of defensive mechanisms such as fetishization and sadistic voyeurism. Thus seeing images of the American artist Georgia O'Keefe posed nude before the photographic gaze of her elderly lover, Alfred Stieglitz, might invite a despairing recognition of her complicity with her own objectification. Set in the enlarged context of my symptomatic reading of the recurrence of images of the female body and formally erotic flowers, this moment could be read differently as the means of a self-discovery, piggybacking on the so-called masculine gaze to circle back and allow the woman an otherwise censored vision of her own embodied sexuality that could be both for another and for herself in different degrees. (...) The argument concerned the precise and dangerous configurations of modernism's aesthetically radical potentialities and the scandalous inscription of the embodiment of feminine desire. The intensity and dispersion of this alignment of sexuality, creativity and femininity in the 1920s was, however, crushed by the

Die IWM-Vorlesungen zur Geschlechterforschung 1999 hielt **Griselda Pollock**, Professorin für Kunstgeschichte und Direktorin des Centre for Cultural Studies der Universität Leeds. Für den Newsletter hat sie ihre drei Vorlesungen zum Verhältnis von ästhetischen und politischen Aspekten der Repräsentation des weiblichen Körpers in der Kunst und zum Diskurs über Künstlerinnen zusammengefasst.

rise of fascism, itself so adamantly a sexual as well as racist politics, and awaited a resurgence in the bodily politics of the feminism of the 1970s.

Killing Men and Dying Women: the Metaphorics of Gender

The aftermath of the war against fascism did not leave the victors untouched by an incorporation of a profound anti-feminism that produced a new system of contradictions in the 1950s, and in New York, to which the cultural avant-garde had migrated. This system of contradictions was plotted in the investigation of the half-empty archives of the modernist museum – like the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the institutional arbiter of what would and did form the canon of modern art, and a symbolic representation through its museal script of the grossest and most unembarrassed celebration of creativity as exclusively white and masculine. That Museum and the historical knowledge it authorized as the only story of modern art failed entirely to represent women's participation in the adventure of Abstract Expressionism. While the actual artworks and the artists form a minor if privileged site for ruling class activities and social practices, symbolically the discourse of Art and Artist increasingly disseminates a powerful cultural myth that underwrites "other" more over political ideologies around individualism, private production and American hegemony. A set of binaries sustains this symbolic capital: dividing authentic and masculine creativity from the artificial, feminized realm of commodified popular culture. This division can be paradigmatically represented by the twin stars of American mythology in the 1950s – Marilyn Monroe who graced the first cover of *Playboy* in 1953 and made her stellar appearance in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* that same year, and Jackson Pollock, made widely known through a feature in *Life* magazine, which asked if he was the most famous living American artist, and a series of films made about his remarkable working methods. In this mythic structure, where could artists who were women, ambitious to be part of the great adventure of America's final installation as the center of Modernism, situate themselves? How could the sexually saturated but contradictory positions of masculine art symbol and feminine sex symbol be negotiated without virtual transvestitism or social suicide, if any attribute of the feminine was claimed or performed? The answer lay, as my title suggested, in "Killing Men" and not becoming "Dying Women"(...)

The Forgotten Moment of Feminism's Avant-Garde Poetics

The term "gender" has come to signal for those within feminism and outside/against it an impulse to fix meanings for the terms men and women. My work engages with the relief psychoanalysis offers from either the nightmare of gender fixity or even the dream of

essence. If we ask how subjectivity is formed but never completed in the complex interface of language, sociality and the recalcitrant residues of the corpo-real that leave us split by the unconscious and shaped by impossible desire, we are not proposing a new fixation of gender, but seeking a means to think and then act outside of the current regime of sexed subjectivity that structurally cannot actually think gender at all. The current linguistic/psychological regime is phallic. That does not mean it is of or about men. It signals a logic



Griselda Pollock "Differencing the Canon"

which, based on a binary of on/off that is elaborated into presence/absence, makes masculinized bodies and subjects feel accommodated and supported within its imaginary universe. According to the phallic logic of self/other, presence/absence, one/other, the feminine is nothing but the negative signified by the second, secondary term that serves to guarantee the fictitious positivity of the first term. Nothing of a different difference can be signified if the term of otherness merely stands for the absence that makes for the difference, "o", that forms the One. This is equally true of the process of racialized subjectivities. The racialized other, the stranger, the foreigner, any form of difference, will be located in that place of mystery, otherness and threat producing what we see in orientalism, colonialism and contemporary xenophobia. Here we find the combination a violent rejection coupled with a veiled fascination with a fantasy of exotic, sexualized, animalized otherness whose disturbance to the fiction of the White Self incites the violence of its repudiation. Thus feminist philosophies of sexual difference are not merely a matter of a special interest group whose significance is dispatched the minute we have slightly better job opportunities and reliable contraception for a tiny minority of Western urban professional women. Feminist theorizations of the processes and possibilities of thinking through sexual difference address the underlying logic of western thought and its social arrangements and identify within its governmentality and psycho-symbolic economy a fundamental intolerance of, and fantasy about, the other. Feminist theory is a contribution to the theorization of the West's problematic of difference which it tackles at one of its sites of maximum effect – dealing with half

Previous speakers of the IWM Lectures in Gender Studies:

- 1998 Iris Marion Young (Pittsburgh) *Inclusion and Democracy: Insights from Feminist Theory*
- 1997 Teresa de Lauretis (Santa Cruz) *Basic Instincts: A Feminist Re-reading of Freud*
- 1996 Rosi Braidotti (Utrecht) *Nomadic Subjectivity: A Feminist Perspective*
- 1995 Joan W. Scott (Princeton) *Re-reading the History of Feminism in France (1789-1944)*
- 1994 Cornelia Klinger *Dualismen des abendländischen Denkens in feministischer Perspektive*

Transit

EUROPÄISCHE REVUE

1989 und die Folgen

- Timothy Garton Ash** Zehn Jahre danach
Janos Kis Das Erbe der demokratischen Opposition
Ralf Dahrendorf Braucht Politik Intellektuelle?
Jacques Rupnik Landschaft nach der Schlacht
Vlasta Jalousic Frauen und Politik in den neuen Demokratien
Aleksander Smolar Vergangenheitspolitik nach 1989
Charles S. Maier Politik der Aussöhnung
Claus Offe Demokratie und Vertrauen
Paul Gillespie Irland, Europa und 1989
Ten Years After. Photographien von **Josef Wais**
- Was bleibt von 1989?** Eine Debatte zwischen **Václav Havel, Viktor Klima, Adam Michnik** und **Viktor Orban**
- Wandel des Kommunismus?** Eine Debatte zwischen **Aleksander Kwasniewski** und **Giorgio Napolitano**

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the human population – and at the site of the maximum indifference that masquerades as the general, universal and neutral.

Feminist theory is a long-term historical project that has come to this initial level of intellectual force at the present, because for the first time in history we have a sufficient number and a sufficient concentration of critically self-conscious women intellectuals for whom the hitherto repressed question of sexual difference as a structure has become a complex and multi-faceted political and academic project. The woman question as a major paradigm for research is being posed for the first time in history by and in the name of women, and the project far exceeds its tactically necessary concern with ameliorating professional women's employment prospects. Desire, creativity, the specificity of a difference "in, of and from beyond the phallic feminine" (not of Women, the already known social category and philosophical negative of Man) are significant engines of this vaster process that dares to imagine a non-phallic organization of subjectivity and of socialities not hampered by the impossibility of living with difference. Assimilate or go home, threaten us not with your recalcitrant unknownness – this is the language of fortress Europe, where rabid anti-modernism, anti-feminism, anti-avant-gardism, and stances that are anti-art and anti-foreigner line up as part of one package. Kristeva's logic of the stranger within us is not even itself sufficient to grasp the power and appeal of these rigidified resistances to any co-existence, of co-emergence (the idea is that of Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger) with difference. The emergence of a feminist movement was never merely a desire to assimilate to the masculine norm, although that is what so many people simply want it to be, for this confirms that norm in its natural hegemony. The framework for my work is what I name "a feminist desire for difference". This forms a critical epistemophilia, a desire for knowledge of dimensions and possibilities that the monism of phallogocentric culture and thought has systematically foreclosed – left without the possibility of being signified either at the level of fantasy – the image, or thought. Far from shutting us up in the closed cupboard of gender, a real engagement with the creative inscriptions of artists working from the space of as yet unformulated difference, whose overlooked works form the great unread book of twentieth century culture functioning as a critical dissidence, opens up the dialectic of the human subject and the social world in which our fantasies, desires and myths find forms, supports, enactments.

Every Tuesday evening, the IWM hosts a speaker, often a current fellow or monthly guest, who holds a public lecture related to one of the Institute's projects or research fields. Below, we present summaries of or excerpts from the lectures which took place from November 1999 to January 2000.

Jeden Dienstag lädt das IWM zu einem öffentlichen Vortrag in seine Bibliothek ein. Fellows und Gäste des Instituts sowie Wissenschaftler und Intellektuelle aus Wien und von auswärts referieren zu Themen, die mit Forschungsschwerpunkten und Projekten des Instituts zusammenhängen. Hier bringen wir Zusammenfassungen bzw. Auszüge aus den Vorträgen, die zwischen November 1999 und Januar 2000 gehalten wurden.

Tuesdays in the IWM Library

2 November 1999

Gianni Vattimo Philosophy and a Sense of Reality

VATTIMO PLAYS A LEADING ROLE in the international discussion on postmodernity. Yet he stands out from other postmodern thinkers, because he does not leave behind central concepts of modernity, such as subject, history and language. Some of his other themes include: The Crisis of Humanism, Hermeneutics and Anthropology, Nihilism and Religion.

Giovanni Leghissa and Tatiana Silla interviewed Gianni Vattimo when he held his lecture at the IWM. This interview was published on 5 February 2000 in the Austrian daily *Der Standard* (see www.derstandard.at/archiv)

Gianni Vattimo, Professor of Philosophy at Turin University, is the editor of *Rivista di estetica* and (with Jacques Derrida) of *Annuario Filosofico Europeo*.

Ein deutschsprachiges Interview mit Gianni Vattimo, das Giovanni Leghissa and Tatiana Silla anlässlich dieses Vortrages im IWM mit ihm führten, erschien am 5. Februar 2000 in der österreichischen Tageszeitung *Der Standard*. Es findet sich im Internet unter www.derstandard.at/archiv.

9 November 1999

Lord Wallace The Shape of the Emerging European Order

TEN YEARS AFTER THE COLD WAR, no grand design has emerged for organizing European politics, despite the rhetoric of 1990-92 on "European architecture", leading to a sense of deliberate indirection amongst crises in Europe and American distraction. Yet at least an institutional framework is becoming clear, based around the expansion of the western institutions of the EU and NATO, which will consequently define the rules and structures of a European order. This spells

less a reunification of Europe than the expansion of West Europe, its institutions and practices.

Since 1989, there have been very few keynote speeches concerning strategies towards the former "East" made by West European leaders. The post-socialist regimes, though, were clear in their one intention to "rejoin the West" through joining the EU and NATO. In the West, difficulties and doubts increased with the ever-growing list of applicants, while those hopefuls had little understanding of the implications or capacity to make the transition to membership in the foreseeable future.

With the 1996/1997 NATO-enlargement and commitment to open negotiations by the EU, the governments had firmly embarked upon expansion, without a clear consensus on implications or end-points. Now, an institutionalized Europe of 25 to 30 member states is an unstoppable development, though uncertainties still remain. Wallace warned that the parallel enlargement of NATO and the EU is largely uncoordinated, and may even become competitive, their relationship and role in defining "Europe" remaining unclear.

The status of many ex-Soviet Union states is unclear, as is the resulting vital question of where Europe ends in the east. At the same time, Cyprus still looms as a potential crisis, highlighting the entry problems for Turkey and Greece. Europe's dependent South is seeing little progress, while the US/European relationship in the Mediterranean is a delicate issue. Wallace highlighted the need for a more "strategic" approach, questioning whether the incremental drift and half-commitments employed this decade are enough. West European reluctance to develop a strategy points to the central problem that European states still behave like small countries, awaiting US leadership, though Europe as an institutionalized region will far exceed the population and GNP of the USA.

Wallace underlined the role of intellectuals in forming concepts for commentators and politicians to pick up and exploit – re-examining European history, re-defining "Eastern Europe", thinking about the south, alerting to the threat of disorder spilling into Europe if sub-Saharan Africa remains ne-

glected and developing clear European policies on the Middle East and Asia. Europe as a region will have to define stable and peaceful relations with its new neighbors and its dependent periphery.

Not least, the US/European relationship will need to be redefined, as Europe grows beyond American leadership and defense limits. An equal US/European partnership will have to be developed lest America turns to other regions in anticipation of a European rival rather than partner. The future Europe will have to be able to carry its weight and accept proportional responsibilities in the global order. Wallace stressed that Europe can no longer ignore the impact of its actions on others.

Summary by Nadja Kinsky

William Wallace (Lord Wallace of Saltaire) is Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics, and Liberal Democrat spokesman on defense and foreign affairs in the House of Lords. He is also a member of the Lords Select Committee on the European Communities.

Ein deutschsprachiger Bericht über diesen Vortrag erschien in der Tageszeitung Die Presse am 12.11.1999 (www.diepresse.at/archiv).

16 November 1999

Elena Makarova Art, Commitment and Freedom: Friedl Dicker- Brandeis (1898 – 1944)

THIS LECTURE COINCIDED WITH AN EXHIBITION about the work and life of Viennese-born artist and teacher Friedl Dicker-Brandeis in the Palais Harrach in Vienna. Printed below are extracts of Makarova's reflections upon the influence that Friedl Dicker-Brandeis and her work has had on her personal life.

"In 1997 the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles invited me to be the curator of an International Exhibition of Friedl Dicker-Brandeis. That's how the art of Friedl Dicker-Brandeis returned back to Vienna, where Friedl was born.

During my flight from Jerusalem to Vienna I tried to recollect my story of more than ten years of research. If not for the thousands of Terezin children drawings made dur-

ing Friedl's lessons, if not for the Birkenau tragic finale – would I have endeavored to search the world for her pictures, would I have resolved to decipher for months her obscure, intricately wound letters from the Protectorate?

A person who was able in the Terezin reality to live by categories of beauty, and immerse the children therein – this person must have been really great. Those were my thoughts when I first came to the Prague Jewish Museum. (...)

For many years I worked as an art teacher in Moscow. All of my pupils were more or less depressed by the absurd Soviet reality, and I often felt desperate: the self-confidence and freedom I gave them in my lessons were then taken away by the school and the parents, or else by tranquilizing medicines used to "discipline" the brightest ones. So in Prague I found out about Friedl who managed something where I had failed – to find a way out from the impasse of the children's situation in a totalitarian state. And I got my direction – in the children's works, in Friedl's works, in her letters, in her abstracts on the children's drawings.

To apprehend Friedl's image was not an easy task. I had to plunge deep into the past: into the history, character and human relations. But Friedl turned out to be so elusive, and the epoch so rich in ideas and events, that I hardly got but a glimpse thereof. I studied, during my four visits to Prague, the five thousand drawings left by Terezin children. I was deeply moved by their works, by their simple stories and their abruptly interrupted lives. I felt I was being drawn deeper and deeper into the tragedy, into the whole children's world, its space, lines, and colors, and the influence that Friedl – as a teacher and an art therapist – had had upon it.

My meeting with Friedl gave my life a new course. Moreover, it gradually involved my family, my friends and, through the exhibits and publications in various countries, many more people."

Elena Makarova, artist and writer, left Russia in 1990 and now lives in Jerusalem. She is the curator of the Friedl Dicker-Brandeis travelling exhibition.

23 November 1999

Jacques Rupnik 1989 dix ans après: six hypothèses en quête d'une transition

ZEHN JAHRE NACH dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion ist eine neue politische Geographie entstanden. Mitteleuropa repräsentiert die Erfolgsgeschichte des Übergangs zur Demokratie, der Balkan ist wieder von der Frage der Nationalismen überschattet, und Russland sucht nach einer postimperialen Identität. Wie kann man diese so verschiedenen Entwicklungen erklären? Welche Rolle spielen das kommunistische Erbe, ökonomische Unterschiede und geschichtliche bzw. kulturelle Hintergründe? In seinem Vortrag stellte Jacques Rupnik mehrere Hypothesen zur Erklärung dieser unterschiedlichen Wege der Transformationen zur Diskussion.

Von elementarer Bedeutung ist für Rupnik das Erbe der kommunistischen Ära in den einzelnen Ländern: "Die grossen Krisen in den mitteleuropäischen Ländern – Ungarn 1956, CSSR 1968, Polen 1980 – haben alle eine reformistische Elite hervorgebracht. Bei den Krisen auf dem Balkan – der Bruch Tito-Stalin, die Lossagung Albanien von Russland oder der Bruch Ceausescu mit Moskau – ging es nur um die Errichtung nationaler Kommunismen, die keine Anstrengungen einer zivilen Gesellschaft involvierten."

Christoph Winder schrieb über diese Veranstaltung in der Tageszeitung *Der Standard* vom 23.11.1999: *Ein zweiter Faktor, der die Entwicklung beeinflusst habe, ist für Rupnik die relative nationale Homogenität. Das einzige mitteleuropäische Land, dem zeitweilig – unter Premier Meciar – die Balkanisierung drohte, war charakteristischerweise die Slowakei mit ihrer riesigen ungarischen Minderheit. Außerdem fragt sich Rupnik, ob nicht ein "Habsburg-Effekt" in Rechnung zu stellen sei: "Das Habsburgerreich war sicher keine liberale Demokratie westlichen Zuschnitts, aber es war ein Rechtsstaat. Der Konsens über eine Verfassung war in Ländern, wo eine Erinnerung an diese Rechtskultur vorhanden war, sicher leichter herzustellen."*

Zudem stellte sich für Rupnik – in Analogie zu Max Webers These von der Bedeutung der protestantischen Ethik für den Kapitalismus – die Frage, ob nicht der Katholizismus für die Herausbildung ziviler Gesellschaften förderli-

cher war als die orthodoxen Nationalkirchen. "Das ist eine heikle Frage, aber ich glaube, es wäre falsch, sie aus politischer Korrektheit nicht zu stellen".

Jacques Rupnik ist Directeur de Recherche am Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI). Er war Gast des IWM im November 1999.

Der Vortrag ist in zwischen in Transit 18 (s. S. 8) unter dem Titel "Landschaft nach der Schlacht. Zu einer Typologie der post-kommunistischen Übergänge" erschienen.

30 November 1999

Jane Flax

Can Liberal-Democratic Citizenship Exist Without Race/Gender?: Lessons from the U. S.

IN HER LECTURE, Flax argued that throughout American political history, race, gender, power, sexuality and citizenship have been intertwined. Simultaneously, the legitimacy of American political practices depends upon denying this. When the potential loss of a race/gender "other" threatens a legitimization crisis, a politics of hate emerges to resolve it. She concluded that despite commitments to equality and justice, dominant liberal-democratic political theories and practices contribute to the status quo rather than provide effective alternatives to this cycle.

Jane Flax, Professor of Political Science at Howard University, was Visiting Fellow at the IWM from July to December 1999.

7 December 1999

Arjun Appadurai Sustainable Pluralism and the Future of Belonging

APPADURAI EXPLORED THE TENSIONS in liberal social theory as well as in democratic public policy in regard to the problem of cultural pluralism. Based on the argument that there are certain inherent contradictions between the universalistic principles of liberal

proceduralism and the mono-ethnic assumptions of all nationalisms, Appadurai suggested that the way forward is to recognize the need for a new ecology of sovereignty.

In this new ecology, there will be a strong recognition of the need to link financial citizenship with political citizenship; of the need for cultural pluralism to be recognized as a part of the political sphere; and of the special role to be given to artistic expressions in the formation of popular capabilities to recognize and welcome new cultural differences. In short, sustainable pluralism requires new ways of thinking about citizenship and sovereignty as well as new ways of enriching the popular ability to imagine collective difference.

Arjun Appadurai is Samuel N. Harper Professor of Anthropology and of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, and Director of the Globalization Project at the University of Chicago. He was Guest of the IWM in December.

14 December 1999

Ann Snitow

The Problems of Entry Points for Feminism in East and Central Europe

THIS TALK EXPLORED feminist nightmares about how "the woman question" enters post-communist countries. The current global diaspora of feminist ideas offers elusive models for thought and action, often unmoored from the context and beliefs that once gave them direction. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the current constructions of the idea "women's issues" in the region? Worst case scenarios serve as cautionary tales. And, to end, a more positive fantasy: A feminism that is inclusive, publicly demanding, visionary, and allied to other critical movements now seeking form and direction in the region.

Starting with a reading of several cautionary pieces written by East and Central European feminist theorists (such as Maria Kovacs), and extending to related pieces about other regions, Snitow's talk discussed possible negative entry points for feminism into the post-communist political and social world. These dangers are by no means only regional problems, since all contemporary

women's movements are, for the sake of this argument, "post-communist". In



Ann Snitow waiting to begin her lecture

other words, women activists who relied on Left constructions of future possibilities now need to conceptualize what they want, and how to get it, in terms based on new conditions.

With the breakup of former paradigms and assumptions, bits and pieces of contemporary western feminist ideas are circulating unmoored from the discourses and beliefs that gave them context and direction. Though women's movements have great potential for addressing basic problems facing the new market economies and for configuring strong new ways to demand social justice, economic quality, recognition of difference, etc., there is no reason to assume that a concern for women is automatically a basis for a powerful or useful politics. Feminism is not automatically a vanguard; it must become so by developing a specific analysis of what kind of actions women feminists need to take – and with what kind of allies.

Snitow warned against possible ways that feminism can become a location where new elites collect and hoard power; or where defensive enclaves create private community without public effect; or where racist, nationalist, homophobic or class-bound assumptions can easily flourish, because they receive no critique through contact with other movements. She concluded by strongly calling for a radical feminism that is inclusive, publicly demanding, visionary,

and allied to other progressive activities now taking shape and direction in the region.

Ann Barr Snitow, Professor of Cultural Studies at the New School University in New York, was Visiting Fellow at the IWM from August 1999 to January 2000.

Ein deutschsprachiger Bericht über diesen Vortrag erschien in der Tageszeitung Die Presse vom 17.12. 1999 (www.diepresse.at/archiv).

18 January 2000

Karina Kellermann

Two sex, one sex, no sex? Geschlecht und Körper in der mittelalterlichen Literatur

DAS MITTELALTER ORIENTIERT SICH zunächst am Schönheitsideal der Antike, der Identität von Schönheit und Güte. Als konkurrierendes bzw. komplementäres Modell tritt die aus dem christlichen Kontext stammende Vorstellung einer verborgenen Schönheit hinzu, die geeignet ist, Phänomene des Hässlichen in der vollkommenen Schöpfung Gottes zu erklären. Beide Modelle, die *Kalokagathia*, die auf einer Kongruenz von innerem Wert und äußerer Schönheit basiert, wie auch die an der äußeren Hässlichkeit Christi in seinem Leiden als Mensch orientierte *formosa deformitas*, in der innere und äußere Schönheit auf Erden auseinanderdriften, um im Jenseits wieder zur schönen Harmonie zu finden, haben den Körper zum zentralen Gegenstand. Was passiert nun, wenn diese Theorie romanhaft ausgekleidet, in das Konzept der mittelalterlichen Liebes- und Abenteuerliteratur eingebunden, auf die Körper von Ritter und höfische Damen appliziert wird?

Ausgehend von den makellos schönen Frauen- und Männerkörpern wandte sich Kellermann in ihrem Vortrag dem Störfall zu, der Verletzung, Verstümmelung und Entstellung der schönen adligen Körper. Sie forschte nach der Bedeutung des Körpers im kommunikativen Prozess, nach geschlechtsspezifischen Differenzen, nach dem Zusammenhang von physischer Verletzung und gesellschaftlicher Wirkung, nach der Orientierung an den beiden ästhetischen Modellen und nach dem Erklärungswert der modernen

Begrifflichkeit *sex* und *gender* für die mittelalterliche Literatur. Dabei fand sie heraus, dass der deformierte wie der schöne, der bekleidete wie auch der nackte Körper in seiner literarischen Inszenierung immer der adlige Körper ist, also unter die Kategorie *gender* zu subsumieren ist. Dieses Ergebnis deckt sich mit anderen Studien vor allem der amerikanischen Mediävistik und gründet darin, dass für den mittelalterlichen Menschen Sein und Bewusstsein noch nicht getrennt sind. Wenn aber, und das ist neu und verblüffend, Körper in ihrer sexuellen Qualität und ihrem Begehren fokussiert werden, sind es ausschließlich männliche. Das ist geradezu die Umkehrung der Vorstellung, dass in patriarchalen Systemen der Mann als Mensch und die Frau als Geschlechtswesen gedacht und markiert wird. Als Hauptresultat aber lässt sich festhalten, dass die literarisch vermittelten Körperkonzepte der höfischen Literatur des Hochmittelalters weniger die Geschlechterdifferenz thematisieren als vielmehr die Relation von physisch-singulär und sozial-repräsentativ, von historisch und symbolisch, von – um es neuzeitlich zu sagen – privat und öffentlich diskutieren.

Karina Kellermann ist Privatdozentin für Ältere Deutsche Philologie an der Technischen Universität Berlin. Sie war Gast des IWM im Januar 2000.

25 January 2000

Wolfgang Schmale

Was heißt "europäische Geschichte"? Eine körper- und geschlechter- geschichtliche Antwort

EUROPA, SEI ES ALS GEGENSTAND wissenschaftlicher oder sonstiger Diskurse, sei es als "Objekt" von Wahrnehmung, hat keine Existenz außerhalb der Konstitution durch Diskurse. Auch das "wahrgenommene" Europa wird im Wahrnehmungsdiskurs selbst konstituiert. Mit Diskurs ist eine Mischung aus Sprachlichkeit und Bildlichkeit gemeint. "Europa" bedeutet insoweit zu allererst einen in Zeit und Raum höchst flexiblen und facettenreichen Prozess diskursiver Konstitutionen. Die Geschichte dieser diskursiven Konstitutionen Europas wäre der Kern der Antwort auf die Frage, was europäische Geschichte heißt. Die Antwort ist, wie jede

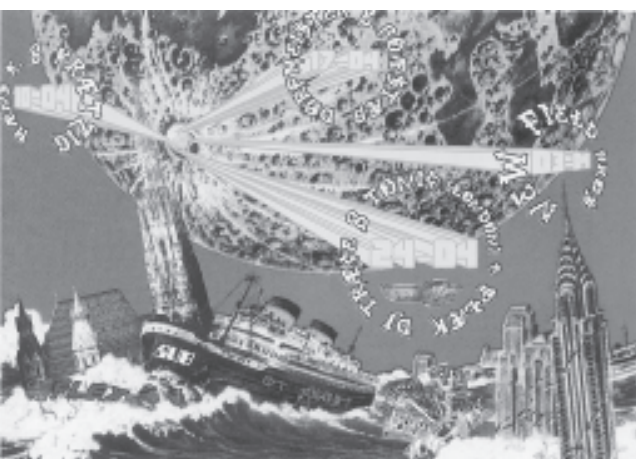
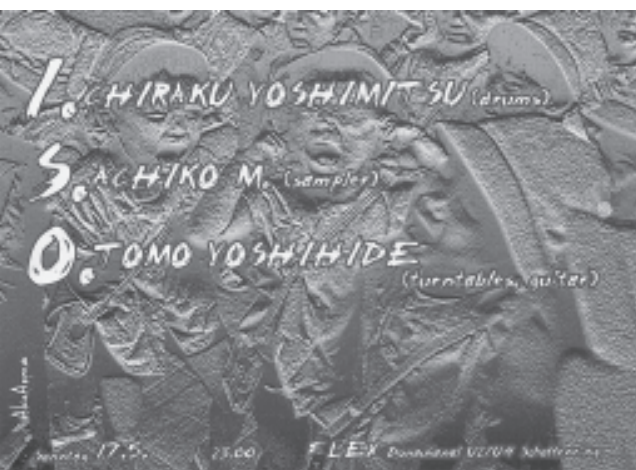
Antwort, standortabhängig. Andere sind möglich und legitim. Von der diskursiven Konstitution Europas auszugehen, hat den Vorteil, dass jederzeit der Raum- und Zeitdimension Rechnung getragen wird, d.h. es wird nicht einfach etwas für "europäisch" erklärt, was zu einer bestimmten Zeit die Menschen nicht für "europäisch" hielten, gleichzeitig werden aber die gegenwärtigen diskursiven Konstitutionen Europas kritisch reflektiert.

Wolfgang Schmale ist Professor für Geschichte der Neuzeit am Institut für Geschichte der Universität Wien.

Flex Relais - Mandana Eibegger

ON 18 NOVEMBER 1999, the artist and designer Mandana Eibegger presented her work at the IWM. She contributed a series of collages to *Transit – Europäische Revue* 17, which discusses the politics of culture in the age of globalisation. Eibegger has worked extensively on the design of flyers, posters and programs for clubs and music events. Using innovative techniques and ideas, she has greatly influenced the aesthetics of the Vienna dance and techno scene. She has been studying Computational Logic at Vienna's Technical University since 1996.

Am 18. November stellte die Künstlerin und Designerin Mandana Eibegger im IWM Ausschnitte aus ihrer Produktion vor. Für Heft 17 von *Transit – Europäische Revue*, mit dem Schwerpunkt "Kultur, Politik, Globalisierung", schuf sie eine Serie von Montagen. Mit ihrem graphischen Design von Flyern, Plakaten und Programmheften für Clubs und Konzerte hat sie wesentlich die Ästhetik der Wiener Techno-Szene mitgeprägt. Sie studiert seit 1996 *Computationale Logik* an der TU Wien.



Ann Snitow, Visiting Fellow at the IWM in the second half of 1999, is a founding member and was until 1999 director of the Network of East-West Women (NEWW). She organized last year's international meeting of the board of NEWW which took place at the IWM on November 19 and 20, 1999. Below we present an overview of the Network and its activities.

The Network of East-West Women

THE NETWORK OF EAST-WEST WOMEN (NEWW) links women across national and regional boundaries to share resources, knowledge and skills. NEWW's mission is to empower women and girls throughout the East (Central and Eastern Europe, NIS and the Russian federation) and the West by dialogue, networking, law and media campaigns, educational and informational exchanges. NEWW supports action and joint projects inspired by feminist principles.

Founded in 1990 by women from across the United States and the Former Yugoslavia, NEWW links over 2000 women's advocates in more than 30 countries who work in partnership. NEWW members are diverse, including writers, students, health care workers, journalists, lawyers, parliamentarians, professors, artists, union organizers and feminist activists.

Goals and Objectives

NEWW's overarching goal is to support the formation of independent women's movements. Its primary objective is to increase the capability of women and women's NGOs to intervene effectively on policy regarding women's lives. Thus, NEWW's members have agreed upon a set of common principles emphasizing the importance of women's full participation in all aspects of public life. "Including the excluded" is the Network's *raison d'être*.

NEWW Statement of Principles

1. Women's full and equal participation in the creation of a just and inclusive civil society.
2. Women's rights to healthcare, reproductive choice and control over decisions of when and under what conditions to give birth.
3. Women's (and men's) right to be free of discrimination of any kind – structural or legal – in employment in both the public and the private sector with no assumption that the essential work in the do-



Mariam Chamberlain (USA), Valentina Uspenskaya (Russia)

- mestic sphere is naturally and exclusively women's responsibility.
4. Women's (and men's) right to economic justice, including an adequate and accessible safety-net for vulnerable members of society.
 5. Women's (and men's) right to be free of violence in the private and the public sphere, to be free of war, state violence and domination in all its forms.
 6. Women's freedom of sexual expression and pleasure, including everyone's right to their sexual orientation.
 7. Women's (and men's) right to be free of racial and ethnic hatred.
 8. Women's (and men's) right to full public expression of ideas – verbal or visual – without censorship of any kind.

While NEWW primarily supports women's projects and activism, its long-range interest is in changing what gender means and how it functions in society.

NEWW webpages are: www.free.ngo.pl/temida (Polish); www.neww.org (English) and www.glasnet.ru/neww/neww_r.htm (Russian).

Ann Snitow, Gründungsmitglied und bis 1999 Direktorin des "Network of East-West Women" (NEWW), war in der zweiten Hälfte 1999 Fellow am IWM. Hier fand auch vom 19.- 20. November 1999 das internationale Treffen des NEWW-Vorstands statt. Nebenstehend bringen wir einen Überblick über die Aktivitäten dieses Netzwerkes.

At the end of each term, the Junior Visiting Fellows present the results of their research stay at a conference. In addition to preparing their papers for this event and organizing it themselves, some of the Junior Visiting Fellows also decided to meet regularly to read and discuss Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*.

Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference: Perspectives on Identity, Politics and Philosophy

THE FALL TERM'S CONFERENCE offered thirteen contributions from Junior Visiting Fellows working in the areas of gender studies and literature, political theory, culture studies, political science and philosophy. David Shikiar, one of the participants, edited the papers, which will soon be published on the website of the IWM.

Section One:

Perspectives on Identity

Judith Bösch

Men, Women, Sword and Pen: Male Representation and Female Self-Representation of Amazons and Femmes Fortes in the French 17th Century

Eimear Wynne

Reflections on Recognition: A Matter of Self-Realization or a Matter of Justice?

Jason Kosnoski

Is John Dewey A Communitarian?

Kamila Stullerova

Justice, Globalization and National Sentiments – Slovaks Narrating their Transition

James Boettcher

Rawls and Gaus on the Idea of Public Reason

Section Two:

Perspectives on Politics

Pavlo Kutuev

Post-Leninist Ukraine: Social Transformation or Degeneration?

Andrej Skolkay

Populism in Central Eastern Europe

Stefan Tidow

The Political Objectives of European Employment Policy

Section Three:

Perspectives on Philosophy

David Shikiar

How Does Thinking Begin?

Paul Bruno

The Artist and the Self

Craig Nichols

Primordial Freedom: The Authentic Truth of "Dasein" in Being and Time

Alexander Di Pippo

The Concept of Poiesis in Heidegger's An Introduction to Metaphysics

Vladislav Suvak

The Essence of Truth and the Western Tradition in the Thought of Heidegger and Patocka

Gegen Ende ihres jeweils sechsmoatigen Aufenthalts am IWM präsentieren die Junior Visiting Fellows ihre Forschungsergebnisse auf einer von ihnen selbst organisierten Konferenz. David Shikiar, einer der Teilnehmer der letzten Konferenz im November, gibt die dort diskutierten Beiträge heraus, die dann auf der Webseite des IWM publiziert werden. Nebenstehend stellen wir die drei übergreifenden Themen und die Titel der dreizehn Einzelbeiträge vor.

Hegel Reading Group

THIS PAST TERM at the IWM several Junior Visiting Fellows formed a reading group whose purpose was to undertake a close analysis of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*. This text was chosen not only on the basis of its vast importance for the history of philosophy but also because it incorporates themes which appeal to readers with varied backgrounds and interests. It enabled those participants whose primary interests are metaphysics and epistemology to collaborate with others whose interests are more focused upon ethics and political philosophy. During the meetings of the reading group, its participants examined the structure of Hegel's intricate, and oftentimes forbidding, argumentation, while aiming to situate Hegel within the context of both the past tradition he inherited and the future tradition he shaped. (Alexander Di Pippo)

Einige der Junior Visiting Fellows, die in der zweiten Hälfte 1999 am IWM waren, trafen sich regelmäßig, um gemeinsam Die Phänomenologie des Geistes von Hegel zu lesen und zu diskutieren.

Visiting Fellows

The following Visiting Fellows ended their stay at the IWM:

Die folgenden Wissenschaftlichen Mitglieder beendeten ihren Aufenthalt am IWM:

Jane Flax, *Professor of Political Science, Howard University, Washington, DC.*

- Length of stay July – December 1999
- Specialization Political Theory, Gender Theory and Psychoanalysis.
- IWM Project Citizenship and Race/Gender in the Postmodern West.
- Publications *The American Dream in Black and White*, Ithaca 1999; *Disputed Subjects. Essays on Psychoanalysis, Politics and Philosophy*, New York 1993; *Thinking Fragments: Psychoanalysis, Feminism and Postmodernism in the Contemporary West*, Berkeley 1989.

Egon Gal, *Professor of Philosophy, Director of the Institute of Jewish Studies, Comenius University Bratislava; Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow.*

- Length of stay July – December 1999
- Specialization Philosophy of Mind.
- IWM Project Democracy and Difference
- Publications "Cultures and Philosophers", in: *Romboid* 7/1998; "Aspects of Relativism", in: *Aspekt* 2/1997.

Masha Gessen, *Author and Chief Correspondent for Itogi, Moscow; Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow.*

- Length of stay October – December 1999
- Specialization Researching and writing her book: The Babushkas: Two Jewish Women, Eastern Europe and the Twentieth Century.
- IWM Project Jewish Women, Eastern Europe and the Twentieth Century.
- Publications *Dead Again: The Russian Intelligentsia After Communism*, New York/London 1997; deutsch: *Auf den Erfolg unserer hoffnungslosen Mission. Die russische Intelligenzija*, München 1998.

Szilvia Hámor, *Journalist, Columnist for Népszabadság, Budapest; Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow.*

- Length of stay October – December 1999
- IWM Project Comparative Analysis of Welfare Systems.
- Publications "Zur Zukunft der Sozialpartnerschaft in Ungarn", in: *Zeitschrift des ungarischen Arbeitgeberverbandes* (in Hungarian), August 1999; "Die psychischen Folgen der Kosovo-Krise" und "Die Konsequenzen der Umstrukturierung des Sozialsystems", beide in: *Népszabadság*, September 1999.

Diana M. Mishkova, *Associate Professor of Modern Balkan History, University of Sofia; Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow.*

- Length of stay October – December 1999
- IWM Project Legitimacy through Populism: The "Janus Quality" of Balkan Modernity.
- Publications "Serbian Radicalism: A Chapter from the History of Balkan Populism" (in French), in: *Études Balkaniques*, 4,

1998; "Modernization and Political Elites in the Balkans before the First World War", in: *Eastern European Politics and Societies*, 9, 1995; "Literacy and Nation-building in Bulgaria 1878-1912", in: *East European Quarterly*, 28, 1994.

Gazmend Pula, *Associate Professor of English Literature, University of Pristina, Kosovo; Chairman, Kosova Helsinki Committee; Paul Celan Visiting Fellow.*

- Length of stay September – November 1999
- IWM Project Translating and editing Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* into Albanian.
- Publications "Kosovars Should Stand up for Democracy, Justice and Human Rights for All", in: *Koha Ditore*, 192, August 1999 (Pristina/Basel); "Re-federalization of the FR of Yugoslavia – An Interim Solution", in: *Helsinki Charter, The Dialogue was Possible*, Belgrade, August 1999.

Ann Snitow, *Director of Cultural Studies, Eugene Lang College, New School for Social Research, New York.*

- Length of stay mid October – mid January 2000
- IWM Project Completing a collection of essays, entitled *A Gender Diary*, working on the essays: "How Have I Ended Up Without Children", "Feminist Futures in the Former East Bloc" and a sketch of a political autobiography.
- Publications *The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise* (ed. with Dorothy Dinnerstein et.al.), New York 1999; "Ten Years After the Fall: Post-Communist Reflections", in: *Dissent*, Fall 1999; *The Feminist Memoir Project: Voices of Women's Liberation* (ed. with Rachel Du Plessis), New York 1998; *Desire of Power* (ed.), New York, 1983; deutsch: *Die Politik des Begehrens*, Berlin 1985.

Vladimir Theoharov, *Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Sofia and New Bulgarian University, Sofia; Paul Celan Visiting Fellow.*

- Length of stay July – December 1999
- IWM Project Translating Ernst Cassirer's *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* from German into Bulgarian.
- Publications Several articles on Kant and Nietzsche, published in 1999 with the Kant Society, Bulgaria.

Cezary Wodzinski, *Professor of Philosophy, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw; Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow.*

- Length of stay July – December 1999
- IWM Project A phenomenological contribution to the apophatic anthropology concerning the Jurodivyvj.
- Publications "Streit um Nietzsche", in: *Literature na swiecie*, 9, 1999; "'Jurodivyvj' Postret", in: *Wież*, 10, 1999 (all in Polish).

Visiting Fellows from January 2000
Wissenschaftliche Mitglieder ab Januar 2000

Urs Altermatt, Professor für Zeitgeschichte,
Universität de Fribourg.

- Length of stay** Januar – Juni
- Specialization** Schweizerische und europäische Zeitgeschichte, Mentalitätsgeschichte, Nationalismus und Rassismus, Religion und Gesellschaft.
- Project at IWM** Universitäten als Laboratorien für die Integration von Minderheiten in die europäische Gesellschaft und Politik des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts.
- Publications** "Plädoyer für die Staatsbürger-Nation in einem multikulturellen Europa", in: Ernst-Peter Brezovsky, Arnold Suppan, Elisabeth Vyslonzil (Hg.), *Multikulturalität und Multiethnizität in Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropa*, Frankfurt a.M. 1999; *Das Fanal von Sarajevo. Ethnonationalismus in Europa*, Paderborn 1996; *Nation, Ethnizität und Staat in Mitteleuropa*, Wien 1996.

Rita Felski, Professor of English, University of Virginia

- Length of stay** January – June
- Specialization** Feminist theory, modernity and postmodernity, cultural studies.
- IWM Project** A new book project provisionally entitled *Feminist Criticism: An Assessment*, evaluating feminism's impact on the study of literature.
- Publications** *Doing Time: Feminist Theory and Postmodern Culture*, New York, forthcoming August 2000; "The Invention of Everyday Life", in: *New Formations*, January 2000; *The Gender of Modernity*, New Brunswick 1995; *Beyond Feminist Aesthetics*, Cambridge 1989.

Almis Grybauskas, Writer and translator, Vilnius;
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow.

- Length of stay** January – March.
- IWM Project** Translation of Jan Patočka's *Heretical Essays on the Philosophy of History* from Czech into Lithuanian.
- Publications** Translations from Czech into Lithuanian: Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* and *Immortality*, Jaroslav Hasek's *The Good Soldier*.

Josef Moural, Assistant Professor at the Institute for Philosophy and Religion Studies, Charles University, Prague;
Paul Celan Visiting Fellow.

- Length of stay** January – June
- Specialization** Phenomenology and history of philosophy.
- IWM Project** Translating Ernst Tugendhat's *Vorlesungen über Ethik* into Czech.
- Publications** "Phenomenology, History of Philosophy, and Philosophy of History: The Problem of the Core of Patočka's Work" (in English), in: Vladimir Havlik (ed.), *Mezi jazykem a vedomím* (Between Mind and Language), Prague 1999; "Scientism, the History of a Concept" (in Czech), in: *Kritický Sborník*, 18, 1998/1999.

Jerzy Szacki, Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology, Warsaw University; Member of the IWM Advisory Board; Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow.

- Length of stay** September 1999 – February 2000
- Specialization** History of ideas and sociology.
- IWM Project** Preparing a new edition of his *History of Sociological Thought*.
- Publications** "Individualism and Collectivism: An Introductory Analysis", in: A. Morstin (ed.), *Individualism and Collectivism*, Warsaw 1999 (in Polish); "The Troubles with Defining Nation", in: J. Koziński (ed.), *Human Sciences by the End of the 20th Century*, Poznan 1999 (in Polish); *Liberalism after Communism*, Budapest 1995.

Junior Visiting Fellows

January – July 2000

Gallina Andronova, Ph.D. candidate in Political Science, Central European University, Budapest.

- IWM Project** Political Economy of Financial Transformation in East Central Europe
- Publications** "Path of Investment: Lessons about the Deepening of FDI", in: *Economic Development Quarterly*, forthcoming.

Judith Bösch, Stipendiatin im Rahmen des Doktorandenprogrammes der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Doktorandin der Romanistischen Literaturwissenschaft, Universität Wien

- Specialization** Romanistik, Literaturwissenschaft und Gender Studies
- IWM Project** "Qu'est-ce qu'une autrice?" – Autorschaft, Kanon und Genus im französischen 17. Jahrhundert
- Publications** "Die Konstruktion der Nymphomanie als Figur der Sexualität im 18. Jahrhundert in Frankreich", in: *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 1, 1998.

Ilija Stojanov Iliev, Assistant Professor at Sofia University, Ph.D. in ethnology from Sofia University, finishing his thesis in social anthropology at EHESS, Paris; Volkswagen Junior Visiting Fellow.

- Specialization** Social anthropology.
- IWM Project** Completing a book on the social construction of the prophet Baba Vanga in socialist and post-socialist Bulgaria.
- Publications** "Grandmother and Child in the Official Ideology of Socialist Bulgaria", in: A. Kiossev (ed.), *Constructing and Deconstructing the Symbolic World of Communism* (in Bulgarian), forthcoming; Bulgarian translation of Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le don", forthcoming; "Consultations with the Poor. National Synthesis Report, Bulgaria", (with P. Kabakchieva and J. Konstantinov), *World Bank*, Sept. 1999.

Katarzyna Leszczynska, *Graduate School for Social Research, Polska Akademia Nauk, Warszawa.*

- Specialization Kulturwissenschaft und Feministische Literaturkritik
- IWM Project Die Hexenprozesse im Dienst der nationalsozialistischen Ideologie.
- Publications "Das Bild der Weiblichkeit im Nationalsozialismus", in: *Res Publica* (in Vorbereitung); "Himmler und Hexen, oder die Methodik des Wahnsinns", in: *Res Publica Nowa*, 12, 1998; "Europa der Scheiterhaufen, oder wie man zu einer Hexe wird", in: *OSKA*, 3, 1998.

Adrienne M. Rubeli, *M.A. candidate in International Relations and Communications, Boston University.*

- Specialization Central Europe with an emphasis on the Balkans.
- IWM Project Macedonian Society and Potential Implications of a Greater Albania on the Sovereignty of Macedonia.

Laurentiu-Mihai Stefan-Scalat, *Ph.D. candidate in Political Science and Political Philosophy, University of Bucharest; Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow.*

- Specialization Social and Political Transformations in Post-Communist Eastern Europe, Romanian Politics and Society in Comparative Perspective.
- IWM Project Us and Them. The Role of Social Dialogue in the Social and Economic Transformations of the Post-Communist Societies.
- Publications Editor of the *Dictionary of Essential Political Writings* (in Romanian), Bucharest, forthcoming.

Nina Vucenik, *M.A. candidate in International Relations and Communications, Boston University.*

- Specialization Gender Studies, Central Europe
- IWM Project The Gender Gap and the Creation of Civil Society in Central Europe.

Natalija Vrecer, *Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Ljubljana; Volkswagen Junior Visiting Fellow.*

- Specialization Anthropology of refugees, gender, psychological anthropology and human rights issues.
- IWM Project Completing her dissertation on *Anthropological Aspects of Refugee Issues in Slovenia after 1991*.
- Publications "Refugees in Slovenia and Human Rights Issues. An Anthropological Perspective", in: *The Bulletin of Amnesty International*, 25, 1999; "Death, Grief and Mourning in Exile: Bosnian Muslims in Slovenia", in: *Ethnologist*, 9, 1999.

Artur Wolek, *Graduate School for Social Research, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw; Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow.*

- Specialization Political Theory and Constitutionalism.
- IWM Project Dissertation project on the philosophical foundations of post-1989 constitutions in Central Europe.
- Publications *Stanislaw Estreicher on Constitution and Politics of the Second Republic*, Warsaw, forthcoming; "Reformers and Politicians. Polish Administration Reform of 1998", in: *The Basis of the Support of Local Democracy*, Warsaw, forthcoming; "Tribalist Liberalism", in: *Znak*, 11, 1999; "The Realist Mr. & Mrs. P. The Right-Wing Voters", in: *Kwartalnik Konserwatywny*, 6, 2000 (all in Polish).

Guests

One month research stays

Gäste mit einmonatigem Forschungsaufenthalt

Jacques Rupnik, *Directeur de recherche, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Paris.*

- Month of stay November
- Specialization Processes of Transformation in Post-Communist Societies
- Publications *Unfinished Peace* (ed.), Washington, 1996; *De Sarajevo à Sarajevo. L'échec yougoslave*, Bruxelles, 1992; *The Rise and Fall of Anti-Americanism: A Century of French Perception* (ed.), New York 1990; *The Other Europe*, London 1988.

Arjun Appadurai, *Samuel N. Harper Professor of Anthropology and of South Asian Languages and Civilizations; Director of the Globalization Project, University of Chicago.*

- Month of stay December
- Specialization Cultural Dimensions of Globalization, Sustainable Pluralism.
- Publications "Globalization and the Research Imagination", in: *International Journal of the Social Sciences*, 160, 1999; *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis 1996; *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (ed.), Cambridge 1986.

Karina Kellermann, *Privatdozentin für Ältere Deutsche Philologie, Technische Universität Berlin.*

- Month of stay January
- Specialization Kulturgeschichte, Historische Anthropologie, Gender-Forschung.
- Publications *Abschied vom "Historischen Volkslied"*, Tübingen, im Druck; "Entstellt, verstümmelt, gezeichnet. Wenn höfische Körper aus der Form geraten", in: *Die Formel und das Unverwechselbare*, Frankfurt/Main 1999; "Verweigerte und gestaltete Autorität: Subversionsstrategien im 'Frauendienst' Ulrichs von Liechtensteins", in: Fohrmann Aisthesis (Hg.), *Neue Medien. Vorträge des Bonner Germanistentages 1997*, Bielefeld 1999; *Frau und Politik im Mittelalter*, Göttingen 1986.

Publications

Cornelia Klinger

Permanent Fellow, IWM

**"O Happiness! Our Being's End and Aim."
Vom Schwierig-Werden der Frage des
Glücks in einer Zeit ohne Sinn und Ziel**

in: L'Homme. Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft, 10/2, 1999.

"Dialektik der Romantik"

in: Urte Helduser und Johannes Weiß (Hg.), Die Modernität der Romantik. Zur Wiederkehr des Ungleichens, Kassel 1999.

"Philosophie und Geschlechter"

in: Hans Jörg Sandkühler (Hg.), Enzyklopädie der Philosophie, Hamburg 1999.

**"On Some Contradictions between
Enlightenment and Modernization"**

in: Elemer Hankiss (ed.), Europe after 1989: A Culture in Crisis?, Washington 1999 (siehe unten).

Elemer Hankiss (ed.)

Europe after 1989: A Culture in Crisis?

Contributors: Alan M. Olson, John D. Caputo, Cornelia Klinger, Stanley Rosen, Arpad Szakolczai, Elemer Hankiss
Washington, DC 1999

Der Band stellt die Ergebnisse einer Konferenz vor, die das IWM vom 5.- 8. Oktober 1995 in Kooperation mit dem Center for German and European Studies in Washington veranstaltet hat.

Mitchell G. Ash

Professor of Modern History at the University of Vienna

**"Scientific Changes in Germany, 1933,
1945 and 1990: Towards a Comparison"**

in: Minerva, 37, 1999

This is the English version of his IWM Tuesday Lecture "Wissenschaftswandlungen in politischen Umbruchzeiten: 1933, 1945 und 1989 im Vergleich", held on 2 February, 1999.

**Publications under the auspices of the
Paul Celan Translation Program:**

Aus dem Paul Celan-Übersetzungsprogramm sind erschienen:

Hannah Arendt

The Human Condition

Litopys Publishing House, Lviv 1999

Translated into Ukrainian by Maria

Zubrytska, Paul Celan Fellow 1998.

Hans-Georg Gadamer

Wahrheit und Methode

Jumava, Riga 1999

Von Igors Suvajevs, Paul Celan Fellow 1998, ins Lettische übersetzt.

Alois Riegl

istoria artei ca istorie a stilurilor

(Kunstgeschichte als Stilgeschichte, Anthologie)

Editura Meridiane, Bucharest 1998

Von Ruxandra Demetrescu, Paul Celan

Fellow 1995, ins Rumänische übersetzt.

IWM Junior Fellows' Conferences

New series published on the IWM homepage www.univie.ac.at/iwm/jconf/

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1987

Travels and Talks

Arjun Appadurai

Guest of the IWM in December

Lecture: "Aspects of Publication and Activism in Transnational Public Spheres" at the Institute of Anthropology, University of Vienna (14 December).

Jerzy Szacki

Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow

Lecture: "Social Philosophy" at the conference "Polish Philosophy in the 20th Century", organized by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Krakow (December).

Lecture: "Nationalism and Religion" at the University of Opole, Poland (7 January).

Laurentiu Stefan-Scalati

Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow

Chair of the workshop: "The State of Romanian Political Science in the Year 2000", co-organized by the Romanian Society for Political Science, New Europe College Bucharest and Civic Education Project Romania, Bucharest (8 January).

Natalja Vrecer

Volkswagen Junior Visiting Fellow

Introductory speech at a round-table discussion on "Governmental and Non-Governmental Institutions Dealing with Refugees and Media" organized by the Peace Institute, Ljubljana (5 January).

Lecture: "Waiting for Godot in Slovenia: Refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo" at the Institute of Ethnology, Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna (14 January).

Varia

Neue Forschungsprojekte am IWM

Das IWM hat in diesem Jahr ein neues Forschungsprojekt zum Thema *Der andere Weg in die Moderne. Jan Patockas Beitrag zur Genealogie der Neuzeit* begonnen. Eine ausführliche Darstellung folgt im nächsten Newsletter. **Ludger Hagedorn** war wesentlich an der Ausarbeitung der Projektthematik beteiligt und betreut als Gastwissenschaftler die erste Phase des Forschungsvorhabens, das wieder vom österreichischen *Fonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung* unterstützt wird. Hagedorn hat Philosophie und Slawistik an der FU und an der TU Berlin studiert und 1995 seinen Magister mit einer Arbeit über *Jan Patockas Entwurf einer asubjektiven Philosophie* erworben. Nach einem Forschungsaufenthalt am CTS (Zentrum für theoretische Studien) in Prag war er 1997 Jan Patocka Junior Fellow am IWM. Gemeinsam mit Hans-Rainer Sepp hat er *Jan Patocka, Texte – Dokumente – Bibliographie* (Freiburg/Prag 1999) herausgegeben. Hagedorn ist außerdem Herausgeber von *Tschechische Philosophen*, einer zweibändigen Auswahl zur Geschichte der tschechischen Philosophie, die im Rahmen der Tschechischen Bibliothek (hg. von P. Demetz und H.D. Zimmermann) erscheinen wird.

Für ihre Übersetzung von Friedrich Nietzsches *Zur Genealogie der Moral* wurde **Vera Koubova** mit dem Förderpreis der Robert Bosch Stiftung für Übersetzungen deutschsprachiger Literatur ins Tschechische ausgezeichnet. Sie verfertigte diese Übersetzung 1998 als Paul Celan Fellow am IWM.

Seit Dezember arbeitet **Katharina Coudenhove-Kalergi** als Teilzeitkraft im Sekretariat. Sie lebte zehn Jahre in Rom, wo sie ein italienisches Übersetzerdiplom für Russisch und Englisch erwarb; darüber hinaus spricht sie Tschechisch. Frau Coudenhove-Kalergi war bisher u.a. bei ENI (AGIP), in der Cinecittá und beim ORF in den Bereichen Sekretariat und Organisation tätig.

Oscar Paul Bruno was born in Vienna on November 7, 1999. He is the son of Ann



Oscar Paul Bruno

and Paul Bruno (Junior Visiting Fellow from July to December 1999).

This is the first part of **Lord Skidelsky's** contribution *Is Economic Freedom Sustainable?* presented at the conference *Ten Years After 1989: Politics, Ideology and the International Order* organized by the IWM last year. The author is Professor of Political Economy at Warwick University and Chairman of the Social Market Foundation.

Economic Freedom and Peace

IN MY BOOK, *The World After Communism*, published in 1995, I argued that the ideological and technological props of collectivism had collapsed, and that an era of economic freedom had dawned. Thus far I agreed with Francis Fukuyama and his "end of history" thesis. However, I rejected his basic premise that this outcome was irreversible. First, "technological progress carries costs, and there will always be an issue about how much societies are willing to 'give up' for the sake of material benefits which technology brings". Secondly, "there is no reason to believe that East Asian or Islamic systems will converge on Anglo-Saxon or European forms of 'liberal democracy'..." Thirdly, economic and political liberalism is "highly dependent on a favorable economic context, which is not fully guaranteed by capitalism but has to be secured by policy". Fourthly, "political knowledge is cyclical, unlike scientific knowledge, because we are never sure of what we know". I pointed out that economic prosperity "tames", but does not necessarily abolish, racial and religious conflict.

I want to return to some of these themes in the light of what has happened since 1995. We need to take into account three main developments: first, the NATO action against Yugoslavia; secondly the financial crisis in East Asia; and finally, the swing to the left in the politics of America and Europe, and consider their implications for the future.

The twentieth century has taught us a great deal about the seedbed of collectivism. Collectivism was built on two world wars and the intervening Great Depression. Indeed it is only in the last twenty years that we have fully moved into a "post-war" world. There is another less obvious, but more insidious route to collectivism, which runs through the decay of civic virtue. It is insidious because in this case collectivism creeps up on us unawares, not openly as in war or depression.

Three questions arise: How pacific is the new "international community" created by economics likely to be? How stable is it? And how hospitable is it to human and social values? And following on from this: What is the relationship between economic freedom and peace, stability, and civic morality?

The recent NATO action raises a deep question about whether the next century is likely to be peaceful or warlike, and about the connections between economic freedom and peace.

Our own century has taught us once again that war is good for the state and bad for freedom. As a

direct result of the two world wars, the powers and functions of governments greatly increased. The world was a dangerous place, and nations had to be prepared for combat. More subtly both wars suggested collectivist models of social life. The extreme example was Soviet Russia which, at all times, was a "war economy", patterned on that of Imperial Germany in the First World War. But "war models", sometimes transmitted via Fascism as well as Communism, had great influence on the "developmental" strategies of poor countries, with fainter echoes even in the market-based systems of the West.

Many of the most vexatious interferences with individual liberty arose as a direct result of the two wars. Exchange controls, wage and price controls, import licensing, subsidies to strategic industries all started up during war, and were too convenient to scrap when the wars finished. War has also had a devastating effect on the tax burden. (...) Taxes go up enormously in war. After the war they come down – but not to their previous level. (...) A great deal of this increase was at the expense of the poor, who were called upon to pay income tax for the first time.

The long continuation of peace after 1945, as well as the inability of collectivist systems to mobilize resources efficiently for development, led to their collapse. If war is bad for freedom, peace is good for it. But what is the connection between the two? The dominant view is that economic freedom is good for peace. Free trade is a positive sum-game, so it removes the economic causes of war. Queen Victoria's husband, Prince Albert certainly subscribed to the free trade faith. "Nobody will doubt", he said in opening the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, "that we are living through a period of the most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end, to which indeed all history points – the realization of the unity of mankind". The Exhibition was the "symbol of a new era, when commerce, discovery [and] industry were to bind the nations of the earth together and [make] an end of war after Christianity had tried and failed". Prince Albert was an early prophet of globalization. .

The darker view, which I share, is that economic freedom, while a pearl of inestimable price, is as much the result as the cause of peace. Peaceful conditions encourage the spread of economic and political liberty. There is certainly no straightforward causal relationship from global markets to peaceful politics. If we are to preserve freedom we have to try to make the world



Lord Skidelsky at the conference *Ten Years After 1989*

Im Folgenden bringen wir den ersten Teil des Beitrags von Lord Skidelsky zu der im letzten Jahr vom IWM organisierten Konferenz *Ten Years After 1989: Politics, Ideology and the International Order*. Der Autor ist Professor für Politische Ökonomie an der Universität Warwick und Vorsitzender der Social Market Foundation. Der vollständige Text erscheint im Sommer in *Transit 19*.

peaceful.

This brings me back to the NATO intervention in Serbia. One can take two views of this operation. One can see it as an exceptional event, designed to clear up an intolerable mess in Europe's backyard. On this view of the future, there will always be the odd rogue regime which refuses to recognize that "history has ended", and has to be forcibly reminded of it. Conceivably there may be other "bush fires" which have to be put out by similar methods, notably in Africa. But none of these outliers will threaten the central peace based on a convergence of "norms" of behavior. The suppression of criminal state behavior will require at most the occasional police operation.

The gloomier view, which I have to admit I share, is that most of the non-Western world will see the Nato operation as an assertion of Western Imperialism, and that this will produce a reactive nationalism, which risks spilling over into rearmament, and political and economic nationalism.

Consider the immediate effects of the war on international relations. Russia has been slighted and alienated, the position of its democratic forces weakened. China has said it will withdraw from further nuclear disarmament talks. India has said it will press ahead with a new nuclear disarmament system. Malaysia has threatened to rescind its signature to various declarations of human rights. There is talk of new strategic doctrines, anti-Nato alliances. No doubt much of this is hot air. No one now can challenge the Pax Americana. But there is too much destructive weaponry available at modest cost to make an imposed peace stable. Global rearmament, the break-up of the still fragile global economy, a weakening of the claims of international law – these are not implausible repercussions of the bombing. I cannot put it better than Mark Almond: "NATO's military action has radically changed the rules of the international game. In fact, they were torn up when Nato's cruise missiles and bombers went into action without UN Security Council approval". (Mark Almond, "What have we started?" *The Independent*, 6 June 1999).

Much hinges on what happens to the United Nations. The UN Charter spells out international law as it has been accepted, understood and usually acted on since the Second World War. It is governed by the two principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states and Great Power consensus for military action, except in self-defense. The Charter is the legal codification of all we have learnt about international relations since the Thirty Years War of the 17th century.

The implication of Nato's action, and more explicitly of Mr. Blair's Chicago speech of 22 April of 1999, is that the UN should become an agent of "ethical cleansing". Mr. Blair presses for a substantial qualification of the doctrine of non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states. But if so, what hap-

pens to the UN as a protector of the territorial sovereignty of its members? The UN Charter was a pretty minimalist blueprint for world order. But the UN was founded on prudential, not ethical, rules. It laid down a code of good conduct for states which differed widely in their internal organization, stage of development and value systems. Its aim was to maximize the chance of peaceful co-existence between states – nothing more or less.

International law is not static. With the "end of ideology" three kinds of tensions have surfaced in the United Nations system: between territorial unity and national self-determination, between non-interference and human rights, and between the non-use of force and humanitarian action. In Marc Weller's words, Kosovo crystallizes a struggle over the "core values of the international system". (See his illuminating discussion, "The Rambouillet Conference on Kosovo", *International Affairs*. Vol.75, No.2, April 1999, pp.213-218.) But as this remark suggests, there is far from a consensus about the next step.

I am clear in my own mind that any revision of the Charter and thus the "rules of the international game" has to take place by consensus of the Great Powers. This now means Russia, China, Germany, Japan, India, possibly Brazil as well as the existing permanent Western members of the Security Council. It may be that "genocide" should become an explicit exception to the rule of non-interference, provided it was narrowly defined, and a non *ex parte* method of determining whether it is taking place could be brought into existence. But a purely Western attempt to redefine the rules of the game would, in my view, lead to a damaging split between West and East, which risks putting globalization into reverse.

The truth is that a de-regulated economy requires a de-militarized society. My strong hunch is that if we enter the new century in a bellicose frame of mind, it will turn out to be warlike, not peaceful. Economic freedom can help bind nations together, but only if politics does not point to war. In a world with conflicting values and actual and potential nuclear powers, what we need are agreed principles of international conduct not ethical crusades. Economic freedom requires not an ethical foreign policy, but a pacific one. Any attempt by the United States and its Allies to impose their values on the rest of the world points to the breakup of the world polity, and with it the breakup of the world economy. (...)

The complete text will be published in German in Transit 19 (summer 2000).



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Political discussions

IN RESPONSE TO the current political situation in Austria, the IWM organized two public panel discussions.

On Tuesday, March 7, a panel consisting of **Erhard Busek**, former Vice-Chancellor of the Republic of Austria, Special Representative of the Austrian Government for the Enlargement of the European Union, **Christoph Chorherr**, Chairman of the Green Party in Vienna, **Karl-Peter Schwarz**, Deputy Editor of the Austrian daily *Die Presse*, and **Herbert Tumpel**, President of the Federal Chamber of Labor, discussed **Austria in the New Europe – 1989 and its Consequences**.

A second panel discussion on March 8, titled **What now?** focussed on Austria's current situation in view of the impending international isolation. Discussants were:

Caspar Einem, former Federal Minister, member of the National Council (SPÖ), **Peter Marboe**, Councilor of Cultural Affairs of the City of Vienna (ÖVP), **Hans Rauscher**, Columnist for the Austrian daily *Der Standard* and **Alexander Van der Bellen**, Spokesperson of the Green Party and Chairman of the Parliamentary Group, and Professor of Economics, University of Vienna.

The moderator for both discussions was **Krzysztof Michalski**, Director of the IWM.

Zur aktuellen politischen Situation in Österreich veranstaltete das IWM zwei öffentliche Podiumsdiskussionen. Am 7. März war das Thema Österreich im neuen Europa – 1989 und die Konsequenzen. Gegenstand der Debatte. Am 8. März wurden unter dem Titel Was Nun? Wege aus der österreichischen Krise diskutiert.

From now on, the IWM Newsletter will appear in a new, bilingual format, to replace the two separately published English and German editions. As a rule, the Newsletter will retain the original language of the contributions, which will be complemented with an additional summary in the other language. Whereas previously our readership outside Germany, Austria and Switzerland received only the English language Newsletter, now all our readers will have the opportunity to read the texts in the original language.

Der IWM - Newsletter erscheint ab dieser Nummer in einer neuen Gestalt. Die bisher separat – englisch und deutsch – erschienenen Ausgaben wurden durch eine zweisprachige Version ersetzt, die die jeweilige Originalsprache der Beiträge weitgehend beibehält. Ergänzend bringen wir Kurzinformationen in der jeweils anderen Sprache. Bisher konnten wir aus versandtechnischen Gründen den Leserinnen und Lesern ausserhalb des deutschsprachigen Raums nur die englischsprachige Ausgabe zukommen lassen. Jetzt haben alle die Möglichkeit, die Texte in der Originalsprache zu lesen.

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