



Institut für  
die Wissenschaften  
vom Menschen

Institute for  
Human Sciences

A-1090 Wien  
Spittelauer Lände 3

Tel. (+431) 313 58-0  
Fax (+431) 313 58-30

e-mail: iwmm@iwmm.at  
www.univie.ac.at/iwmm/

## Inhalt

- 1 *14th Jan Patocka Memorial Lecture*  
**Czeslaw Milosz: "Let us not talk philosophy..."**
- 3 *Politische Diskussion*  
**Demokratie in Gefahr?**
- 6 *Hans-Georg Gadamer Lectures in Human Sciences*  
**Charles Taylor: Privatization of Religion?**
- 8 *Staat und Geschlecht*  
**Der "flexible Staat"**
- 9 *Seminar*  
**State and Globalization**
- 10 *SOCO*  
**Recently completed SOCO projects**
- 12 *Symposium*  
**Religion heute**
- 13 *Summer School 2000*  
**Democracy at stake**
- 15 *Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference*  
**Variety at home**
- 16 **Tuesdays in the IWM Library**
- 20 **Fellows and Guests**
- 24 **Publications, Travels and Talks, Varia**
- 27 *Guest Contribution*  
**Lawrence Lessig: Architecting for control**
- 32 *IWM Events*



May – July 2000

# Newsletter 69

## 14TH JAN PATOCKA MEMORIAL LECTURE |

**Jan Patocka, the Czech philosopher and civic activist died in 1977 after a long interrogation at a police station in Prague. Ten years later the IWM, which considers Patocka an intellectual and moral patron, started a series of annual Patocka Memorial Lectures. This year's lecture was given by the 1980 Nobel Prize winning poet Czeslaw Milosz who read on June 14 in the Palais Schwarzenberg in Vienna from his collected poems.**

## "Let us not talk philosophy..."\*

CZESLAW MILOSZ WAS THE FIRST POET to speak in the framework of the Jan Patocka Memorial Lectures. However, his poetic works are noted not only for their classical style but for their preoccupation with philosophical and political issues.

In his introductory speech, Krzysztof Michalski, Director of the IWM, quoted Hobbes to characterize Jan Patocka's motivation for his political philosophy: "the grief for the present calamities of my country". Patocka's thought, he continued, "was not motivated by pure theoretical curiosity, but first of all by indignation, by protest, by a refusal. You would hardly expect such an attitude from this gentle, modest, rather old fashioned person. But it was still true: Patocka refused to accept the world he lived in as it was: his country, Czechoslovakia, together with the rest of Eastern Europe was separated from the West by the Iron Curtain, its social life and its intellectual self-understanding deeply and repeatedly contaminated as a consequence of the German occupation and the communist rule thereafter."

"Patocka's philosophy was therefore first of all a reflection on history as seen from Prague after the Second World War – and it was not an accident, but a continuation of this philosophy by other means, that in the last years of his life he courageously engaged in the Czechoslovak civic resistance and became a founder of Charter 77."

The Patocka Memorial Lecturer of the year 2000 was born in Szetejnie, Lithuania (but then Russia) in 1911. Milosz is a poet, novelist, essayist and translator. He studied in Vilnius and Paris and published his first collection of poetry in 1930. During the war he worked for the Polish underground press and afterwards became a diplomatic attaché for the new government of the People's Republic of Poland. However, in 1951 he sought political asylum in Paris. This began his life in exile.



"In gewissem Sinne kann ich mich als einen typischen Osteuropäer betrachten (...). Seine Vorzüge, das rasche geistige Fassungsvermögen, die Leidenschaftlichkeit bei Diskussionen, der Sinn für Ironie, sind die Kehrseite seines Grundfehlers: Er wird von der plötzlichen Flut oder Ebbe eines inneren Chaos regiert."

**Czeslaw Milosz im Gespräch mit R. Reichensperger (Der Standard)**

While in Paris he wrote *The Captive Mind*, in which he condemned the accommodation of many Polish intellectuals to communism. In 1960 he was invited to the University of California at Berkeley, where he became Professor of Slavic Literature in 1961. In 1980, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. His work has been translated into more than a dozen languages. He holds many honorary doctorates from American and Polish universities.

Milosz returned to Poland for the first time in 1981 and soon afterwards his works were being published for a Polish audience for the first time since they had been banned in the 1950s. However, shortly after they appeared, they were banned once again following the imposition of martial law, and it was only from 1989 that they were freely available in Poland. During the last decade Milosz has resided in both Berkeley and Cracow.

As a novelist, Milosz won renown with *The Seizure of Power* (1953), about the installation of communism in Poland. There are also many personal themes in Milosz's essays, as well as in *The Captive Mind* (1953), a classic of the literature on totalitarianism. *Native Realm* (1959) is still considered one of the best studies of the evolution of the Central European mentality.

Throughout his literary career, Milosz told the audience, he was rebelling against the (literary) 20<sup>th</sup> century, precisely against the "limitation of a poem to a linguistic puzzle". In an interview with *New Perspectives Quarterly* (Spring 99) Milosz had explained the poetological standard which determines his writing: "I believe that reality is the great measure of art. It judges art. Aesthetic value, I believe, depends on the amount of reality a work of art captures." In his attempts at fighting the modernist notion of poetry as an autonomous linguistic structure, he tried to write an epic poem, which is entitled *A Treatise on Poetry* but does not deal with poetry alone. Rather, it is a history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Polish poetry and history at the same time. Although Milosz was certain that the poem was absolutely untranslatable and that it was destined for readers to read it in the original language, it exists in English now and will be published this year as a book in the United States.

During the lecture, Milosz refused to recite poems he had written during the German occupation. While he was a witness of horrors, these poems were morally correct, "but artistically not always", as he expressed it. Instead, he presented a selection of poems dating from all stages on his career.

One of the last pieces he read was *On Angels*, which, in its closing lines might also have been a motto for the poet's long life:

I have heard that voice many a time when asleep  
And, what is strange, I understood more or less  
An order or an appeal in an unearthly tongue:

day draws near  
another one  
do what you can.

Czeslaw Milosz's English publications include: *Roadside Dog* (1998), *Facing the River: New Poems* (1995), *Provinces: Poems* (1991), *Fire* (1987), *After Paradise* (1986), *The Land of Ulro* (1984), *The Witness of Poetry* (1983), *Visions from San Francisco Bay* (1982), *The Issa Valley* (1981), *Bells in Winter* (1978)

Auf deutsch sind u.a. erschienen: *Das Tal der Issa*. Roman (1957), *Geschichten der polnischen Literatur* (1981), *West- und Östliches Gelände* (1961), *Das Gesicht der Zeit* (1953), *Das Land Ulro* (1982), *Verführtes Denken* (1980), *Gedichte* (1992), *Die Straßen von Wilna* (1997).

Previous Jan Patocka Memorial Lectures:

- 1999 **William Julius Wilson** (Harvard)  
Rising Inequality in the U.S. and the Case for Multiracial Political Coalitions
- 1998 **Elie Wiesel** (Boston)  
Hasidic Modes
- 1997 **Tadeusz Mazowiecki** (Warsaw)  
Politik und Moral im neuen Europa
- 1996 **Albert O. Hirschman** (Princeton)  
Between Private and Public Spheres
- 1995 **George Soros** (New York)  
A Failed Philosopher Tries Again
- 1994 **François Furet** (Paris)  
Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the French Revolution
- 1993 **Mario Vargas Llosa** (Lima and London)  
Democracy Today
- 1992 **Jacques Derrida** (Paris)  
Le secret - de la réponse et de la responsabilité
- 1991 **Charles Taylor** (Montreal)  
Two Theories of Language
- 1990 **Paul Ricoeur** (Paris)  
The Person: Its Ethical and Moral Structure
- 1989 **Zbigniew Brzezinski** (New York)  
The General Crisis of Communism
- 1988 **Leszek Kolakowski** (Oxford/Chicago)  
Die Illusionen der Entmythologisierung
- 1987 **Hans-Georg Gadamer** (Heidelberg)  
Phänomenologie und das Problem der Zeit

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



The purpose of poetry is to remind us  
How difficult it is to remain just one person,  
For our house is open,  
there are no keys in the doors,  
And invisible guests come in and out at will.

What I'm saying is not, I agree, poetry,  
As poems should be written rarely and reluctantly,  
Under unbearable duress and only with the hope  
That good spirits, not evil ones, choose us for their instrument.

*From Ars poetica? (1968)*

\*From *Conversation with Jeanne*, 1991

Der Frage, ob die Demokratie durch die allorts aufstrebenden populistischen Bewegungen gefährdet sei, war eine Matinee im Burgtheater am 18. Juni gewidmet. Unter der Leitung von Krzysztof Michalski diskutierten: Lord Dahrendorf (London), Adam Michnik (Warschau), Heide Schmidt (Wien), Gerfried Sperl (Wien) und Roger de Weck (Hamburg).

## Demokratie in Gefahr?

DAS BURGTHEATER ALS „ORT DER SPRACHE“, wie Direktor Klaus Bachler es formulierte, bot am 18. Juni die Bühne für eine politische Diskussion über eines der besorgniserregendsten Phänomene der gegenwärtigen politischen Landschaft im In- und Ausland. Populistische Bewegungen und Parteien gewinnen allorts an Boden, nicht nur in Österreich. Gleichzeitig bereiten aber die Maßnahmen, die die Verteidiger der Demokratie und der europäischen Werte in ihrem Abwehrkampf ergreifen – Stichwort: Sanktionen – vielen Bürgern Sorge. Inwieweit die Demokratie in Europa dadurch erschüttert wird oder sogar gefährdet wird, darüber diskutierten:

Lord Dahrendorf (London), Adam Michnik, der Chefredakteur der *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Warschau), die Gründungssprecherin des Liberalen Forums, Heide Schmidt (Wien), Chefredakteur Gerfried Sperl vom *Standard* (Wien) sowie der Chefredakteur der Wochenzeitung *Die Zeit*, Roger de Weck (Hamburg). Die Moderation übernahm Krzysztof Michalski, der Direktor des IWM.

Wann ist nun Demokratie in Gefahr? Burgtheaterdirektor Klaus Bachler, der sein Haus nun bereits mehrfach für politische Diskussionen geöffnet hat, ist überzeugt: „Die Demokratie ist grundsätzlich und überall in Gefahr“. Krzysztof Michalski dagegen wollte von seinem prominenten Podium doch diskutieren wissen, welche Entwicklungen konkret imstande sind, die Demokratie zu gefährden und was die Bedingungen ihres Entstehens sind: Mit einer Identifikation der „Schurken“ oder „bad guys“ wolle er sich nicht zufrieden geben.

„Dass man sich an diese Vorgabe auch hielt, machte die Qualität dieses ‚Burg-Forums‘ aus. Andere Debatten zur Lage der Nation beschränken sich ja auf das Lamento, wie schlimm alles sei und dass man es schon immer gewusst habe,“ kommentierte Michael Fleischhacker im *Standard*.

### Europäisierung

Der deutsch-britische Soziologe und ehemalige EU-Kommissär Lord Dahrendorf, ein Europäer im eigentlichen Sinn, benannte in seinem Eröffnungsstatement das Hinaufdelegieren von Entscheidungen als einen Faktor, der für den kontinuierlichen Verlust an Demokratie verantwortlich zu machen sei. Die Demokratie sieht Dahrendorf in enger Verflechtung mit dem Nationalstaat. Die Auslagerung von Entscheidungen, die früher lokal bzw. national getroffen wurden, auf die europäische Ebene mache demokratische Mitbestim-

mung durch aktive Bürger nahezu unmöglich. Das Fehlen einer gesamteuropäischen kritischen Öffentlichkeit – die insbesondere durch gemeineuropäische Medien zu etablieren wäre – arbeite eher der Bequemlichkeit als der Bürgergesellschaft zu. Die Europäisierung und Globalisierung habe nicht zuletzt dazu geführt, dass die Wirtschaft der Politik die Vorgaben mache und nicht mehr umgekehrt.

Im Interview mit Hans Rauscher (*Der Standard*) anlässlich seines Wien-Aufenthalts führte Lord Dahrendorf dieses Argument näher aus:

„Es stellt sich doch heraus, dass die Demokratie im strengen Sinn des Begriffs sehr eng zusammenhängt mit dem Nationalstaat. Der Nationalstaat ist streng genommen die letzte Einheit, der letzte politische Raum, in dem die repräsentative Demokratie durch parlamentarische Diskussion, durch Wahlen wirklich funktionieren konnte.“

Ich bin zum Beispiel der Meinung, dass Europa nicht demokratisch ist. Die Tatsache, dass gewählt wird, schafft noch keine Demokratie. Das europäische Parlament schafft keine europäische Demokratie, wir haben keinen effektiven europäischen Raum, in dem ein vernünftiger Diskurs über wichtige Themen auf demokratische Weise geführt und geregelt werden kann. Und in dem Augenblick, in dem Entscheidungen noch weiter weg wandern vom Nationalstaat, wird die Demokratie immer weniger.“

### Populismus

Besonders aufschlussreich, weil hierzulande selten gehört, war die Sicht eines ehemaligen polnischen Dissidenten und nunmehrigen Journalisten auf den auch in Polen keimenden Populismus. Adam Michnik, Chefredakteur der *Gazeta Wyborcza* und eine der Zentralfiguren der Solidarnosc-Bewegung, fand einen „eigenwillig-hellsichtigen“ (*Der Standard*) Zugang zum Thema, der von „wohltuendem Realismus“ (*Die Presse*) geprägt war. Der verfälschende Umgang mit der Vergangenheit, die „Manipulation der Leichen im Keller“ sei die hervorstechendste Fähigkeit des Populisten. Und das sei nicht nur in Österreich der Fall: auch die Polen bauen ihr nationales Selbstverständnis auf den „Mythos des unschuldigen Opfers“ auf. Den Katalog der Eigenschaften des Populisten legte Michnik unter Bezugnahme auf Thomas Manns Essay „Bruder Hitler“ (1939) dar.

Aber auch die Generation der 68er, heute allesamt in einflussreichen Positionen – man denke an Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Joschka Fischer oder Bernard

In cooperation with leading newspapers, and as a joint venture with its journal *Transit – Europäische Revue*, IWM offers a public forum for the debate of current social and political issues. On June 18<sup>th</sup>, one of the most striking phenomena, the occurrence of populist movements and parties taking ground in many countries, not only in Austria, and through democratic means, was discussed at the Burgtheater in Vienna. Co-sponsored by this institution, as well as the newspapers *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Der Standard* and *Die Zeit*, a panel consisting of Lord Dahrendorf (London), Adam Michnik, Chief Editor of *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Warsaw), Heide Schmidt, Founder of the Austrian Liberal Party (Vienna), Gerfried Sperl, Chief Editor of *Der Standard* (Vienna), and Roger de Weck, Chief Editor of *Die Zeit* (Hamburg) discussed the theme “Democracy in Danger?”. The discussion was moderated by Krzysztof Michalski, Director of IWM, and attended by 600 people, as well as extensively covered by the media.



Heide Schmidt, Adam Michnik



Roger de Weck, Lord Dahrendorf



Krzysztof Michalski, Gerfried Sperl, Klaus Bachler



Gerfried Sperl, Roger de Weck, Lord Dahrendorf, Krzysztof Michalski

Kouchner – wollte Michnik nicht aus der Verantwortung für die Aushöhlung der Demokratie entlassen. „Wie ein Bumerang“ kehre deren Verachtung für die Demokratie ihrer Zeit nun in Form populistischer Phänomene zurück.

All das gehöre freilich zur Demokratie an sich. Auch die Demokratie leuchte nicht nur in strahlenden Farben, zu ihr gehöre auch die Dummheit und die Korruption – „Die Demokratie ist grau“.

Jörg Haider freilich wollte Michnik aus drei Gründen „von Herzen“ danken: Die Polen hätten nun einen Anreiz, Politiker nicht zu wählen, die wie Haider reden. Zweitens habe sich erwiesen, dass der gewaltlose Wechsel an der Spitze der Macht besser sei als die Versteinerung langjähriger Koalitionen. Und drittens sei man durch Haider nun wirklich motiviert, die dunklen Aspekte der Vergangenheit durchzuarbeiten.

### Xenophobie

Die aktuelle Situation in Österreich legte Heide Schmidt, die Gründerin des Liberalen Forums dar. Insbesondere gebe ihr zu denken, dass in Österreich eine mittlerweile zur Regierungspartei avancierte Gruppierung einen Wahlkampf auf fremdenfeindliche Parolen aufbaue. Knapp dreißig Prozent der FPÖ-Wähler würden die Partei vielleicht nicht *wegen* dieser Äußerungen wählen, sie würden diese aber sehr wohl in Kauf nehmen. Eine offene Gesellschaft, die Österreich unbedingt anstreben müsse, sei nur durch eine offensive Bildungspolitik zu erreichen.

### Druck auf die Medien

*Standard*-Chefredakteur Gerfried Sperl registriert als Vertreter einer österreichischen Qualitätszeitung einen tendenziell repressiven Umgang der ÖVP-FPÖ Regierung mit den Medien. Nachdem Medien aber kritische Öffentlichkeit zu schaffen imstande sind, sei damit direkt auch die Demokratie bedroht. Auf der Ebene der Europäischen Union forderte Sperl eine stärkere Transparenz der Institutionen, vor allem aber eine verstärkte Kontrollfunktion des Europäischen Parlaments. Die Kommission müsse ein stärkeres Gegengewicht erhalten. Auch die direkte Demokratie auf europäischer Ebene müsse verstärkt entwickelt werden – eine Option wäre die Schaffung der Möglichkeit, „europäische Volksbegehren“ zu initiieren.

### Kapital

Roger de Weck, der in der französischen Schweiz geborene Chefredakteur von *Die Zeit*, kennt die Probleme von Minderheiten aus eigener Erfahrung. Den Schweizer Populisten Christoph Blocher und seine Verbündeten, die auf ein zweistelliges Milliarden-Franken-Vermögen zurückgreifen können und dies für die gezielte Politik zugunsten einer kleinen Gruppe von Bürgern einsetzen, hält er für weitaus gefährlicher als Jörg Haider. Beide gehören nach de Weck einem Politikertypus an, der an den Schwachpunkten der De-

mokratie ansetzt und damit letztendlich die politische Kultur ruiniert.

Es seien heute auch die „Verbrauchertugenden“, die eher gefördert würden als die „Bürgertugenden“ – eine gewisse Demokratieverdrossenheit sei angesichts dessen nicht verwunderlich. Nachdem es aber keine offiziellen Feinde der Demokratie mehr gebe, sei die Demokratie wahrscheinlich mehr gefährdet als je zuvor. Auch de Weck forderte – wie Gerfried Sperl – einen „neuen Rahmen für die Demokratie“ in Europa einschließlich einer „europäischen Öffentlichkeit“. Derzeit sei die Europäische Union ein Staatenbund, und es liege in der Natur der Sache, dass Regierungschefs an der Bevölkerung vorbei miteinander verhandeln. Man müsse bei aller Kritik am Mangel an Demokratie freilich bedenken, dass die Europäische Union eben erst der Aufbauphase entwachsen sei und man vieles zugunsten eines schnellen Aufbaus vernachlässigen habe müssen.

#### **Demokratie in Europa?**

Ein recht pessimistisches Schlusswort blieb Lord Dahrendorf im Hinblick auf die Demokratie auf der Ebene der Europäischen Union. Es gebe kein europäisches Volk, keine europäische Öffentlichkeit, einer Demokratisierung der EU fehle daher die Voraussetzungen. Rechtsstaatlichkeit müsse freilich gewährleistet werden, das stehe fest. Dies sei jedoch besser über „rechnungshofartige Einrichtungen“ auf europäischer Ebene als über „scheindemokratische Mechanismen“ zu realisieren. Was Europa mit Gewissheit nicht sein werde, sei ein besserer, „glorifizierter“ Nationalstaat.

---

In this new public lecture series **Charles Taylor**, Professor of Philosophy at McGill University, Montreal, presented on May 10, 17, and 24 lectures on "The Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited After 100 Years". Taylor outlined what exactly William James meant by religious experience, and why he made it the central phenomenon of religion; examined William James' understanding of the religious experience of the "twice-born"; and described certain crucial features of religious life today. Please find the complete English text on IWM's website [www.univie.ac.at/iwm](http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm).

## Privatization of Religion?

WHAT IS THE PLACE OF RELIGION in today's society? People vigorously debate the question, whether religion is "retreating" or "returning". But two impressions seem to have gained wide currency:

1. that our North Atlantic world is and will continue to be more secular and neutral in its public life, that is, that the public sphere is and will have to be more and more "neutral", and religion more and more a "private" affair; and
2. that this world is marked by a more and more pronounced individualism, in all spheres, including the religious; so that large, structured churches will lose members and the gap will be filled by a less structured spirituality. (...)

It is clear that the retreat of religion from the public sphere can't simply be identified with a "privatization" of religion. This was perhaps the fate which a certain anti-religious liberalism foresaw for it, that it should shrink to an unobtrusive private allegiance. But we can see now that the coming of a dominantly post-Durkheimian age doesn't in any way mean that religious or religion-inspired issues will disappear from the public sphere. We need think only of those who identify strongly with a neo-Durkheimian dispensation against the expanding post-Durkheimian climate.

What I am getting at with the term 'Durkheimian' is a situation in which our relation to the spiritual is essentially connected or interwoven to our relation to the political society. "Paleo" and "neo" forms are modalities of this connection; whereas the post-Durkheimian state is one where the connection has been broken. Durkheim for his part posited something stronger than a mere connection between these two relations. For him the sacred *wassociety*; our sense of allegiance to society reflected our relation to the sacred. A "post-Durkheimian" society would have been an impossibility.

But there are many other issues from which people cannot abstract their spiritual commitments. The expanding field of genetic manipulation will obviously throw up more and more of these.

But perhaps the greatest misapprehensions cluster around the meaning of modern individualism. The picture is often that of individuals who make what they

can of their "religious experience", or whatever it is which gives some meaning to their lives, without too much concern for how it all fits together on the level of society, or how it affects the fate of different churches. But we can see how inadequate a picture this is, if we look at three key phenomena today, which we might miss if we fall prey to this too simple notion.

One concerns the significance of the post-Durkheimian world itself. It means that our relation to the spiritual is being more and more unhooked from our relation to our political societies. But that by itself doesn't say anything about whether or how our relation to the sacred will be mediated by collective connections. A thoroughly post-Durkheimian society would be one in which our religious belonging would be unconnected to our national identity. It will almost certainly be one in which the gamut of such religious allegiances will be wide and varied. It will also almost certainly have lots of people who are following a religious life centred on personal experience. But it doesn't follow that everyone, or even that most people will be doing this. Many people will find their spiritual home in churches, for instance, including the Catholic Church. In a post-Durkheimian world, this allegiance will be unhooked from that to a sacralized society (paleo-style), or some national identity (neo-style); but it will still be a collective connection.

These connections, sacramental or through a way of life, are obviously still powerful in the modern world. We have to avoid an easy error here; that of confusing the new place of religion in our personal and social lives, the framework understanding that we should be following our own spiritual sense, from the issue of what paths we will follow. The new framework has a strongly individualist component, but this will not necessarily mean that the content will be individualizing. Many people will find themselves joining extremely powerful religious communities. Because that's where many people's sense of the spiritual will lead them.

Of course, they won't necessarily sit easily in these communities as their forbears did. And in particular, a post-Durkheimian age may mean a much lower rate of inter-generational continuity of religious allegiance. But the strongly collective options will not lose adher-

Welchen Platz nimmt die Religion in der heutigen Gesellschaft ein? Über die Frage, ob die Religion auf dem Rückzug ist oder ein Comeback erlebt, wird heftig gestritten. Zwei Auffassungen scheinen aber von vielen geteilt zu werden: Erstens, dass unsere nordatlantische Welt säkular ist und es künftig in verstärktem Maße sein wird, dass also die öffentliche Sphäre zunehmend neutral ist, während die Religion mehr und mehr zur Privatsache wird. Zweitens, dass diese Welt in allen ihren Sphären, einschließlich der religiösen, von einem wachsenden Individualismus geprägt ist, mit der Folge, dass die großen Kirchen Mitglieder verlieren und die dadurch entstehende Lücke von einer diffusen Spiritualität ausgefüllt wird. In seinem Beitrag diskutiert **Charles Taylor** diese Positionen und spürt gleichzeitig ihre Schwächen auf. Eine vollständige deutsche Übersetzung dieses Aufsatzes, der hier in Auszügen wiedergegeben ist, bietet *Transit – Europäische Revue* 19 (2000)

ents. Perhaps even the contrary trend might declare itself.

This is not to say that there is no connection between a post-Durkheimian dispensation, on one hand, and the tendency to an individualized experience of the spiritual which often slides towards the feel-good and the superficial. For clearly, this kind of undemanding spirituality is what a lot of people will understand as following their own way. Clearly, if one could in some way leap back to some earlier century, the number of self-indulgent seekers would radically decline. But all this is no excuse for repeating their mistake and just identifying the injunction to follow one's own spiritual path with the more flaccid and superficial options.

Some conservative souls feel that it is sufficient to condemn this age to note that it has led great numbers into modes of free floating not very exigent spirituality. But they should ask themselves two questions: First, is it conceivable that one could return to a paleo- or even neo-Durkheimian dispensation? But secondly, and more profoundly, doesn't every dispensation have its own favoured forms of deviation? If ours tends to multiply somewhat shallow and undemanding spiritual options, we shouldn't forget the spiritual costs of various kinds of forced conformity: hypocrisy, spiritual stultification, inner revolt against the Gospel, the confusion of faith and power, and even worse. Even if we had a choice, I'm not sure we wouldn't be wiser to stick with the present dispensation.

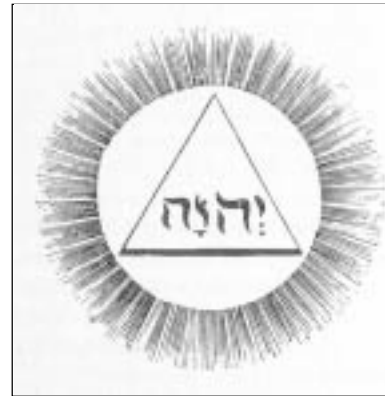
The second point that one might miss is the continuing importance of the neo-Durkheimian identities. In some societies these are in a quasi-agonistic relation to the post-Durkheimian climate. Think for instance of the United States, and certain demands of the Christian Right, for e.g., school prayer. But these identities are perhaps even more in evidence among groups which feel suppressed or threatened (perhaps also the case of the Christian Right?), and often people of a certain ethnic or historical identity will look to some religious marker to gather around. I mentioned, e.g., the Poles and Irish above. These were peoples cast into the modern political form because they were mobilized to attain their independence or establish their integrity, in the context of being ruled from outside and sometimes being very heavily oppressed. They therefore took on the modern language and the modern conceptions of a political entity; they became in a modern sense peoples. And modern peoples, that is collectivities that strive to be agents in history, need some understanding of what they're about, what I'm calling political identity. In the two cases mentioned, being Catholic was an important part of that identity.

This phenomenon remains important in the modern world, although from a faith perspective one might be ambivalent about it. Because there are a gamut of cases, from a deeply felt religious allegiance, all the way to situations in which the religious marker is cynically

manipulated in order to mobilize people. Think of Miloshevic, and the BJP. But whatever one's ethical judgments, this is a powerful reality in today's world, and one that is not about to disappear.

The third important thing that we often under-rate in our talk of contemporary individualism is the way in which our response to our original spiritual intuitions may continue into formal spiritual practices. Here's where the foregrounding of feeling, and the moment of conversion and inspiration, may make us fail to notice the kind of religious life which may start in a moment of blinding insight, but then continues through some, perhaps very demanding spiritual discipline. It can be in meditation; it can be prayer. One develops a religious life. Arguably this kind of path is becoming more and more prominent and widespread in our (largely) post-Durkheimian age. Many people are not satisfied with a momentary sense of wow! They wasn't to take it further, and they're looking for ways of doing so.

The place of religion has certainly changed in our contemporary world, but many of its oldest forms are finding a new place in this altered universe. The danger is that we be so focussed on their previous forms that we fail to see the most important developments of our time.



7



## Pressepreis Osteuropa Eastern Europe Press Award

Der Preis soll das demokratische Pressewesen in den jungen Reformstaaten Osteuropas fördern und zum weiteren Aufbau einer freien Presse-landschaft beitragen.

Ausgezeichnet werden können Zeitungen aus den osteuropäischen »Transformationsstaaten« **Estland, Lettland, Litauen, Rußland** (den europäischen Gebieten), **Weißrußland und Ukraine**. Die Preissumme beträgt jeweils bis zu 50.000 DM.

Einreichfrist: 30.9.2000

Details:  
[www.zeit-stiftung.de/html/f\\_preis\\_java.html](http://www.zeit-stiftung.de/html/f_preis_java.html)

Grundannahme des Kolloquiums "Staat und Geschlecht" ist, dass die Idee des Staates an sich geschlechtlich, und zwar männlich ist. Im Rahmen ihres 6. Zusammentreffens von 3. bis 6. Juni 2000 widmete sich die Arbeitsgruppe neben Fragen des ‚flexiblen Staates‘ auch der aktuellen politischen Situation in Österreich.

## Staat und Geschlecht VI: Der 'flexible Staat'

SEIT DREI JAHREN befasst sich die deutsch-österreichische Arbeitsgruppe „Staat und Geschlecht“ mit dem Problem, wie Staatlichkeit und Geschlecht konzeptuell aufeinander zu beziehen sind bzw. wie sich die Geschlechtlichkeit des Staates kategorial fassen läßt. Dass der Staat ein Geschlecht hat, dass dies *prima vista* männlich ist, ist gleichsam trivial, wissenschaftlich aber noch vergleichsweise ungeklärt. Nur unzureichend diskutiert ist beispielsweise, wie staatliche Politiken geschlechtsspezifische Interessen konturieren und Geschlechtsidentitäten herausbilden bzw. verändern.

Die Intention der in regelmäßiger Folge und im Wechsel zwischen Frankfurt/M. und Wien stattfindenden Workshops ist, die vergleichsweise unverbundenen Wissenschaftsdebatten über Staat und Geschlecht aufeinander zu beziehen und an Beispielen zu debattieren. Ziel soll es perspektivisch sein, ein Begriffsraster zu entwerfen, das so konkret ist, um beispielsweise Politiken wie Gesundheitspolitik, Medienpolitik, aber auch Militärpolitik in ihren geschlechtsspezifischen Ausprägungen zu analysieren, das aber zugleich auch einen solchen Abstraktionsgrad aufweist, dass aktuelle Transformationen von Staatlichkeit (Stichworte: Erosion des Nationalstaates, Globalisierung, Postfordismus, Neoliberalismus) geschlechter-sensibel erklärt werden können.

Am sechsten Workshop der Arbeitsgruppe, der vom 3. bis 4. Juni 2000 am Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen stattfand, nahmen wieder österreichische und deutsche Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler aus sozial- und geisteswissenschaftlichen Disziplinen teil. Wie die bisherigen Veranstaltungen der Arbeitsgruppe hatte auch dieses Treffen Werkstattcharakter mit viel Raum für Diskussion, Querdenken und denkerisches Ausprobieren.

Ausgangspunkt der Debatten war ein umfassendes Papier von Roland Atzmüller (Wien/Manchester) zum Thema „Der 'flexible Staat'. Contracting out of the State“. Am Beispiel der Neuorganisation der beruflichen Bildung in Großbritannien unter der Thatcher-Regierung wird die neoliberale Transformation von Staatlichkeit, die Privatisierung staatlicher Verantwortung deutlich. Mit dieser Flexibilisierung von staatlichen Institutionen ist aber eine Vergeschlechtlichung verbunden: Die neue Ökonomie, auf die die Berufsbildung zielt, setzt auf Effizienz und Effektivität, auf innovative „Zerstörung“, auf Unternehmertum und Führerschaft und mithin auf die Konstruktion und Durchsetzung „hegemonialer Männlichkeit“.

Das zweite Beispiel für die Transformation von Staatlichkeit und ihre geschlechtsspezifischen Implikationen waren die aktuellen politischen Entwicklungen in Österreich. Insbesondere der Zusammenhang von Staat und Zivilgesellschaft wurde diskutiert: In einem neo-gramscianischen Sinne ist die vieldiskutierte „Zivilgesellschaft“ nicht als vom Staat getrennte politische Sphäre oder gesellschaftliche Gruppierung zu begreifen, in der beispielsweise Geschlechtergleichheit gegen staatliche Politiken zu realisieren wäre. Vielmehr wurde die Entstehung und Transformation von Staatlichkeit und mithin auch von Regierungen aus der zivilgesellschaftlichen Hegemonie heraus erklärt. Aktueller frauenpolitischer Wandel in Österreich entsteht also nicht „gegen“ die Zivilgesellschaft, sondern umgekehrt geht es darum, Geschlechterdemokratie als gegenhegemoniales Projekt zu realisieren.

*Birgit Sauer, Universität Wien*

The colloquium "State and Gender" that took place on June 3-6, 2000 is the sixth in a series of workshops on this topic. All participants of the workshop agreed that the very idea of the state is gendered, and that it is *prima facie* masculine. But yet both concepts – state and gender – are highly complex and their relationship remains relatively unexplored.

**Birgit Sauer**, Department of Political Science, University of Vienna, presents a German summary of the discussion.



*Ars Politica. Die Staats Klugheit*



Since 1994, **Janos Matyas Kovacs**, *Permanent Fellow of the IWM*, has organized seminars focusing on the political and economic transformation in Eastern Europe. The theme of this year's series is „State and Globalization– Eastern Europe's Dual Transformation“.

## State and Globalization

AS THE LAST LECTURE before the summer break in the seminar series *State and Globalization*, Shlomo Avineri discussed at the IWM on June 7 the lessons learned from Theodor Herzl's diary about the emergence of Anti-Semitism and Zionism in the Habsburg Empire.

One of the first questions which poses itself in any attempt to understand the intellectual journey of Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) from high culture German assimilation to the founding of modern Zionism is the following: how did it come about that a highly successful writer and journalist, a pillar of the liberal *Neue Freie Presse* in Vienna, moved from his comfortable integration into German culture to what at that time was the outlandish idea of solving 'the Jewish question' through the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine? One of the ways to attempt an answer is not via his published writings (e.g. *Der Judenstaat* [1896] and *Altneuland* [1802]), but through his diaries.

For the last nine years of his life, he started to involve himself with what he called *Die Judensache*. Herzl kept a detailed diary, in which he noted not only his thoughts, his inner tensions and conflicts, but also his meetings with hundreds of people – from minor Jewish communal leaders to emperor, pope, kings, prime ministers, etc. A careful screening of the diaries gives an interesting answer to the question posed above, and it is one variant on the fin de siècle malaise that gripped so many Viennese intellectuals of his generation. Contrary to what appears in many textbooks, it was not the Dreyfus Affair in France which alerted Herzl to the plight of the Jews in modern society, though he reported from Paris to his newspaper about the first stages of the affair.

What Herzl saw as a major European and Jewish problem was the disintegration of the relatively liberal and tolerant framework of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was in those years that Lueger was elected on a populist and xenophobic platform Mayor of Vienna, that the clashes between German and Czech nationalists virtually paralyzed parliamentary life in the Vienna Reichsrat. To Herzl it became clear that the liberal, though conservative policies followed by the Badeni and Koerber cabinets in Vienna were failing: the Dual Monarchy plunged into the clash of contending nationalisms, and the two million Jews then living in the Monarchy found themselves in the cross-fire of contending nationalist movements which made their integration into general society virtually impossible.

Most liberal Jewish intellectuals in Vienna viewed this as a passing phenomenon: many even joined the pan-German movement, hoping to find a home there.

But the introduction of Aryan clauses into the statutes of many organizations (from *Burschenschaften* to journalist's associations) excluded not only Jews, but also converts. The way into society at large became closed. Herzl was one of the first to realize that the crisis of the Habsburg Monarch was serious – his diaries attest to meetings he had with Austrian statesmen (von Koeber, Foreign Minister Goluchowski, etc.) and for him the crisis of Austrian politics meant that the integrationist dream was over. Another solution had to be found.

Thus the idea of a liberal universalist solution under the aegis of a benevolent imperial umbrella was, according to Herzl, collapsing. The road to Sarajevo, so to speak, was open: for Herzl the election of Lueger by popular vote meant 'a new Bartholomew's Night' descending upon Europe. In such a Europe of contending and virulent nationalisms, the Jews needed a way out, since integration and assimilation were no longer an option.

The political and cultural pessimism – shared by many of his generation – Herzl did not see as being solved by an aesthetic Weltschmerz: it called for political action. Hence his desperate attempt to find a haven for the people – the Jews – who would be homeless when the Empire finally collapsed. Hence Zionism, and Israel, as it eventually emerged from the debris of European culture in World Wars I and II, is in a very paradoxical, but meaningful way also one of the successor states of the Habsburg Empire, just as it is territorially one of the successor states of the Ottoman Empire.

Other speakers in this seminar series included:

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| 31 May     | <b>Don Kalb</b><br>Cracks in the Globalization Paradigm   |
| 17 May     | <b>Peter Gowan</b><br>The Cosmopolitan and the Imperial in the Politics of the Globalization Project                                  |
| 5 April    | <b>Charles Taylor</b><br>The Growth of World Civil Society  |
| 8 March    | <b>Urs Altermatt</b><br>Territoriality, Nation State, Ethnicity: Political Strategies of Multi-Ethnic States Toward Ethnic Minorities |
| 9 February | <b>Elemer Hankiss</b><br>Globalization Scenarios and Civilizational Change  |

Seit 1994 organisiert **Janos Matyas Kovacs**, *Permanent Fellow am IWM*, Seminare zu Fragen der politischen und ökonomischen Transformationsprozesse in Osteuropa. Die Seminarreihe ist in diesem Jahr dem Thema „Staat und Globalisierung: Osteuropas zweifache Transformationen“ gewidmet.

On the following projects,  
SOCO Project Papers will soon  
be available. They will also be  
included in the internet  
depository of SOCO studies on  
the IWM web site. The  
numbers in the list refer to the  
numbers in the series.

Die Abschlußberichte zu den folgenden  
SOCO Forschungsprojekten werden in Kürze  
erhältlich und auch auf der Website des  
IWM [www.univie.ac.at/iwm/](http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm/) verfügbar sein.  
Die angeführten Nummern entsprechen den  
Nummern der Reihe.

10

## Recently completed SOCO projects

No. 74

### Grzegorz Lipiec: The Development of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in Poland

SMALL AND MEDIUM sized businesses are a major source of new jobs in the Polish economy, which can counter-balance job losses in large state-owned and private enterprises undergoing restructuring. In comparison to highly developed economies, there are fewer new enterprises being established in Poland, and the value of this rate of creation varies considerably between different regions. The aim of the research was, therefore, to map the role of small and medium-sized companies in the creation of new jobs in the Polish economy in general as well as at the regional (i.e. provincial) level, and to identify which regional factors display the greatest influence on the creation, survival and development of small and medium-sized enterprises. The analysis shows significant differences in the rates of the establishment of new companies linked to a series of regional variables, such as employment in the agricultural sector, population density, the existence of large state enterprises, and the number of bank branches. The rates of survival on the basis of particular *voivodships* (provinces) are found to display no significant variation, suggesting that companies established in regions with varying degrees of economic development have similar chances for survival. The report concludes with concrete policy recommendations in light of the research findings, stressing the need for stimulating growth and development of new domestic companies, as those play a more significant role in job creation than foreign firms, helping businesses gain easier access to capital, providing greater access to markets, and simplifying access to information and qualifications.

Nos. 77a-c

### Karoly Fazekas, Gabor Kertesi and Janos Köllö: Regional Inequalities in Hungary – Some Aspects of Diagnose and Cure

HUNGARY'S REGIONS have been unequally affected by the elimination of subsidies, the

loss of CMEA-markets, the removal of trade barriers, and other shocks leading to the 'transformational recession'. This project aimed at evaluating different mechanisms potentially reducing regional differences.

No. 77a

### Janos Köllö: The Patterns of Non- Employment in Hungary's Least Developed Regions

IN 1999, RADICAL REFORMS were introduced in Hungary, reducing the level of unemployment insurance benefits and abolishing social assistance benefits for the long-term unemployed. This paper aims to provide evidence with regard to the assumption underlying the reform that low exit rates to employment in certain regions are mainly due to high levels of unemployment benefits together with a high level of activities in the informal sector. To this aim, the paper analyses the flows between employment and unemployment in two of Hungary's high-unemployment macro-regions (the northern region of Hungary and the Northern Plain region). The results suggest that workers in the least developed regions have an average or even higher than average exit rate in both directions. Further, the receipt of unemployment benefits is found to have no significant adverse effect on exit rates, and the existence of a large informal sector is found to have a weak impact only in the Northern Plain region. The author voices strong concerns on the potential adverse effects of these recently introduced reforms for the poorest regions in Hungary.

No. 77b

### Gabor Kertesi: Migration and Commuting: Two Potential Forces Reducing Regional Inequalities in Economic Opportunities

THIS PAPER EXAMINES the extent to which regional disparities in employment opportunities in Hungary can be alleviated by two specific market mechanisms on the labor supply side: migration and commuting. First, the report sets out that the magnitude of migration is, contrary to common belief, far from

negligible in Hungary and that migratory behavior also reacts to economic incentives. However, the potential in reducing unemployment rate differentials is modest. The other potential equalizing mechanism, the problem of daily commuting of the rural population to surrounding towns is also examined. The equalization of regional unemployment rate differentials is found to be strongly limited by the high costs of commuting. Travel cost induced job finding differentials are particularly strong for unskilled workers. In this context, the authors stress the need for improving the accessibility of urban labor markets for low-income workers through public transportation services. Overall, the findings suggest that regional and transport disadvantages may create a 35-50 percent differential in job finding probabilities for people with low education.

No. 77c

**Karoly Fazekas:**  
**The Impact of Foreign Direct Investment Inflows on Regional Labor Markets in Hungary**

THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS PART of the research was to examine the nature and determinants of the regional distribution of foreign direct investment enterprise (FIE) employment in Hungary. Factors explaining the spatial concentration of foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows were investigated and the impact of regional FDI inflow on the performance of regional labor markets is measured. The main conclusion is that the regional distribution of FDI inflows is strongly influenced by the educational level of the local population, by the externalities of urban agglomerations and the geographical location of regions. Additional advantages are identified in the case of those regions adjoining the Western-Slovakian, Austrian and Slovenian borders. A self-reinforcing process can be observed here: FDI is attracted to regions where unemployment is lower due to better educational levels and geographical advantages, while an increase in FDI in turn creates new job opportunities. The authors note, however, that education and geographical location are in large part merely symptomatic of other, underlying factors. Uncovering these underlying factors has obvious policy implications: location as such cannot be changed, for example, but these background variables could be modified by changes in regional policy.

No.78

**Rumiana Stoilova:**  
**Bulgarian Women in Transition: Inequalities, Risks, Social Costs**

THE RESTRUCTURING of the Bulgarian economy has led to a permanent impoverishment of a considerable part of the population. Women, especially certain risk groups, are amongst the most negatively affected. The aim of this project was to define political, economic and socio-cultural change in Bulgaria in terms of the values, group status and participation of women. Drawing on a number of quantitative and qualitative methods, the report sketches a portrait of contemporary Bulgarian women based on a close analysis of their position of social inequality with regard to power, income and education, and considers the strategies and resources available to women for their social realization. The report also seeks a deeper understanding of internal differentiation among women and of the dynamics and perspectives of this differentiation. The study focuses on groups of women whose status has either declined or risen during transition period. The factors determining both directions are discussed and the social costs to disadvantaged groups are emphasized. In conclusion, the authors call for state mechanisms, national programs and new laws designed for the support of specific groups of women, the need for constant monitoring of the situation of women, as well as the introduction of gender specifics in the policy and strategy of social management.

No. 80

**Sorin Ionita et al.:**  
**The Informal Economy and the Survival Strategies of the Unemployed in the Romanian Society**

BASED ON A SURVEY ON the unemployed population in two different regions of Romania (Bucharest, with low unemployment, and Piatra Neamt, a provincial town in an economically depressed region), and secondary analyses of available data, this report (i) describes the overall strategies of the unemployed in the Romanian transitional economy, and offers predictors for each strategy, (ii) outlines the extent to which the informal labor market represents an alterna-

tive for these people, and (iii) provides an evaluation of the dimension of the informal economic sector in Romania, as far as the "gray labor" component is involved. The results of the survey support the view that the gray sector is only to a limited extent a matter of choice for the unemployed, particularly in the regions like Piatra Neamt, where few alternatives exist even for the relatively young, skilled and entrepreneurial people. An overall estimate of the hidden GDP due to the economic activity of the unemployed yields the result of 4-6% on average. The findings also discourage the view that economic growth is prevented by the existence of this type of informal activities. The authors stress that, with informal economic activities being mainly a survival strategy in very poor regions deeply affected by recession, repressive policies will bring little benefit.

Im Rahmen eines von der **Robert Bosch Stiftung** geförderten Kooperationsprojekts fand am 19. Mai 2000 in Warschau ein internationales Symposium zum Thema „Religion heute“ statt. Im Zentrum stand die Frage nach Stellung und Funktion von Religion in der säkularisierten Gesellschaft.

## Religion heute

ANLÄSSLICH DES INTERNATIONAL besetzten philosophischen Symposions „Religion heute“ fanden sich am 19. Mai 2000 über 150 Zuhörer im historischen Senatsaal des Palais Kazimierzowski an der Warschauer Universität ein. Das eintägige Symposium, das vom Erasmus Lehrstuhl an der Warschauer Universität gemeinsam mit dem Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen in Wien mit Förderung durch die Robert-Bosch-Stiftung veranstaltet wurde, versammelte fünf ausgezeichnete Persönlichkeiten der Gegenwartsphilosophie. Behandelt werden sollten die Rolle und die Bedeutung von Religion in der Welt von heute.

**Charles Taylor** (McGill University, Montreal) eröffnete das Symposium mit einem Vortrag über den Platz der Religion heute. Um den Sinn der Religiosität in der Gegenwart erfassen zu können, arbeitete Taylor drei theoretische Typen religiöser Einstellung in der europäischen Tradition heraus und orientierte sie an Durkheims Konzeption der Relation von Heiligem und Profanem: Die unauflösbare Verflechtung von Religion und Gesellschaft, die Durkheim postulierte, differenzierte Taylor zu einem paleo- und einem neo-Durkheimischen Modell und fügte den Modus einer „post-Durkheimischen“ Gesellschaft hinzu, in der diese Verbindung zerbrochen sei.

**Pavel Kouba** (Karls-Universität, Prag) konzentrierte sich in seinem Vortrag auf die Einstellung Nietzsches zum Christentum. Kouba fasste die Argumente zusammen, die Nietzsche gegen die christliche Religion richtet, hob aber vor allem jenes hervor, in dem der Philosoph dem Christentum den Vorwurf macht, es sei im Wesentlichen gegen das Leben gerichtet. Kouba interpretierte den Vorwurf auf die Weise, dass Nietzsche durch seine Kritik am Christentum eine neue Form vitaler Religiosität suchte, die er in der frühen Antike schließlich gefunden zu haben glaubte.

Den Tod und die Furcht vor ihm als eines der wichtigsten Motive der Religiosität des Menschen hatte der Vortrag von **Krzysztof Michalski** (Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen, Wien, und Boston University) zum Thema. Unter dem Titel „Der Sterbende Gott“ behandelte er zwei verschiedene, für die europäische Tradition wesentliche Visionen des Menschen und der Welt. Für beide ist der Tod ein Schlüsselbegriff. Die erste Vision, die der Stoiker analysierte Michalski anhand Platons *Phaidon*, für die zweite, die des Christentums, wählte er die Schilderung der Kreuzigung und des Sterbens Christi, wie sie im Evangelium nach Matthäus überliefert ist.

Mit der Religion aus der Perspektive der Ideengeschichte befasste sich **Marcin Król** (Universität Warschau). Zentral war für ihn die Frage: Braucht der

Mensch Religion? Für Król ist die Funktion der Religion unmittelbar mit den Vorstellungen von der Natur des Menschen verbunden: Die Menschen brauchen die Religion in erster Linie aufgrund ihrer natürlichen Unvollkommenheit.

Den Abschluss des Symposions bildete der Vortrag von **Leszek Kolakowski** (Oxford) unter dem Titel *Leben wir in einem post-christlichen Zeitalter?* Kolakowski bezweifelte, dass die Frage positiv zu beantworten sei. Er unterstrich jedoch, dass seiner Ansicht nach das Christentum durchaus eine Zukunft hat, weil es mit einer besonderen Empfänglichkeit des Menschen für die Metaphysik verbunden ist. Diese Empfänglichkeit sei im ontologischen Unterschied zwischen dem Guten und dem Bösen verankert – weshalb sie nicht aus unserer Welt verschwinden werde.

*Marek Cichocki, Assistent am Erasmus-Lehrstuhl an der Universität Warschau*

On May 19, 2000, an international symposium on „Religion today“ took place at Warsaw University. The conference, which was part of a cooperation project supported by **Robert Bosch Foundation**, focussed on the role and the function of religion in a secularised society. **Marek Cichocki**, assistant lecturer at the Erasmus Chair at Warsaw University, summarizes the lectures.

### Programm

#### Der Platz der Religion heute

Vortrag in englischer Sprache

**Charles Taylor**, McGill University, Montreal

#### Nietzsche und das Christentum

Vortrag in deutscher Sprache

**Pavel Kouba**, Karls Universität, Prag

#### Der sterbende Gott

Vortrag in polnischer Sprache

**Krzysztof Michalski**, Direktor des IWM, Wien

#### Brauchen die Menschen Religion?

Vortrag in polnischer Sprache

**Marcin Król**, Universität Warschau

#### Leben wir in einem post-christlichen Zeitalter?

Vortrag in polnischer Sprache

**Leszek Kolakowski**, Oxford

Since 1992, the IWM has organized an International Summer School in Political Philosophy, since 1999 in cooperation with the Erasmus of Rotterdam Chair and the Collegium for Interdepartmental Studies, University of Warsaw; the New Europe College, Bucharest; the Center for Theoretical Studies, Charles University, Prague; the Institute for Contemporary History, Prague; the Society for Higher Learning, Bratislava, and funded by the Robert Bosch Foundation. This year's Summer School took place from July 9-22, when fifty graduate students from Eastern and Western Europe and the United States gathered to take courses based on the theme „The Context of Democracy“.

## Democracy at stake: The IWM Summer School

DUE TO THE DIVERSE PARTICIPATION of the students – from several European countries and from the USA and Canada – but also due to the very active commitment of the professors invited to teach at the Summer School, the former cloister where both the formal classes and informal discussions and social events took place, became for two weeks a very intense and lively forum of debate and exchange.

Debates and discussions, arguments and counter-arguments, questions and attempts to answer them went around some of the very fundamental issues of modern political and moral thought. Among them there were the issues of transition in Central and Eastern Europe as a new space for the emergence of democracy in relationship to national identity and religion, the possibility of building cosmopolitan democracy, where the example at stake was the European Union as an emerging democracy beyond the boundaries of the Nation-State, the philosophical foundations of democracy, and the critiques of democracy as an attempt to question the backbone of both democracy and liberalism.

What made for the originality of the Summer School was first of all the attempt to approach the issue of democracy today at the crossroads of both practical and more theoretical issues. As a result, at one of the discussions organized and moderated by the students one of the relevant issues was to what extent and in what sense both political scientists and political theorists can contribute to the transition process in the Central and Eastern European countries.

A second aspect which contributed to the originality and challenging character of the Summer School has to do with the issues which cut across the different classes and which seemed to converge towards some focal points, such as, the relationship between unity and diversity in the way the philosophical foundations of democracy are conceived, the need to re-think the boundaries of the private and the public sphere, and on a more general level, the need to rethink the link between the local and the universal in an ever more shifting world of emerging democratic structures and institutions, the meaning of liberty in connection with what the value pluralism seems to entail in a world

Seit 1992 organisiert das IWM die Internationale Sommerschule zur Politischen Philosophie, seit 1999 in Zusammenarbeit mit seinen osteuropäischen Partner-Instituten und mit Unterstützung durch die Robert Bosch Stiftung. Dieses Jahr nahmen rund 50 Hochschulabsolventen aus West- und Osteuropa und den USA vom 9. bis 22. Juli in Cortona, Italien, an den Kursen zum Thema „The Context of Democracy“, teil.



IWM Summerschool participants 2000

more willing to tolerate and deal with diversity.

A third aspect which definitively fostered the creative character of the Summer School was the very complex and mutually beneficial interaction of so many students from different parts of the world. This aspect gave relevance and meaning, from different experiences and perspectives, to the many issues that were discussed, and the attempt and effort to understand each other within the confines of the scientific community and of its estab-

## Rückkehr der Moderne?

- Cornelia Klinger** Auf dem Weg ins utopielose Jahrhundert  
**Christian Schwaabe** Der gefährdete Primat des Politischen  
**Rita Felski** Von der Postmoderne zur Moderne  
**Ira Katznelson** Isaiah Berlins Moderne  
**Charles Taylor** Religion heute  
**Krzysztof Michalski** Der sterbende Gott

## Triumph des Marktes?

- Alan Wolfe** Wirtschaftliche und moralische Freiheit  
**Robert Skidelsky** Wieviel Politik braucht der Markt?  
**Kurt Biedenkopf** Marktmechanismen und soziale Ordnung  
**Patricia Hewitt** New Economy und gesellschaftlicher Wandel

**Lawrence Lessig** Rettet das Internet!

**Dieter Simon** Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit

**Brueckl / Schmoll** Mein Feld ist die Welt. Photographien

verlag neue kritik 19

- Ich abonniere Transit-Europäische Revue ab Heft \_\_\_\_.  
Ich erhalte 2 Hefte pro Jahr zum Preis von DM 36,-.

Wenn Sie sich bis 31. 12. 2000 für ein Transit-Abo entscheiden,  
erhalten Sie als Prämie

**Clifford Geertz**: Welt in Stücken. Kultur und Politik am Ende  
des 20. Jahrhunderts. *Wien 1996.*

Ich möchte meine Bibliothek ergänzen und bestelle

- die Transit-Grundausrüstung (Nr. 3-10) zum Paketpreis von  
DM 48,- (plus Porto).
- aus dem Grundausrüstungs-Paket die Nr. \_\_\_\_ zum  
Heftpreis von DM 10,- (plus Porto).

Ort, Datum

Unterschrift \_\_\_\_\_

Adresse:

Name  
Straße  
PLZ, Ort

Bestellung über:

Verlag Neue Kritik, Fax: 0049 (69) 72 65 85  
Online: [www.univie.ac.at/iwm/transit](http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm/transit)

Herausgegeben am  
Institut für die  
Wissenschaften  
vom Menschen

Preis: Abo DM 36,- / öS 262,-  
Zwei Hefte pro Jahr  
Einzelheft DM 20,- / öS 146,-  
portofrei (in Dt und Ö)

Verlag **neue kritik**  
Kettenhofweg 53  
D-60325 Frankfurt  
Tel. (069) 72 75 76

lished language brought to the surface even more diversity and even more newly emerging values, attitudes and problems.

The Summer School was thus a lively, challenging, complex and very instructive exercise into democracy, an opportunity to build the meaning of democracy today while facing "the other" in a direct and mutually beneficial way.

*Mihaela Czobor-Lupp, Ph.D., Faculty of Political Science,  
University of Bucharest New Europe College, Bucharest*

Course I

**Basic Problems of Political Philosophy**

**Leszek Kolakowski** and **Krzysztof Michalski**

Course II

**Liberalism and Pluralism**

**John Gray** and **Marcin Krol**

Course III

**Supranational and International Levels of  
Democracy**

**Dario Castiglione** and **Ulrich Preuss**

Course IV

**Democracy Formation, Nationalism and Religion in  
Post-Communist Europe**

**Shlomo Avineri** and **Aleksander Smolar**

The summer school is organized in cooperation with the Centro Incontri e Studi Europei, Rome (special thanks to Ms. Wanda Gawronska) and IWM's six partner institutions in East-Central Europe.

**Students**

**Richard G. Avramenko** (USA), **Volker Balli** (Germany), **Paulina Bednarz** (Poland), **Susanne M. Brauer** (Germany), **Eric Brown** (USA), **Agnieszka Cielén** (Poland), **Stephen Michael Dawson** (USA), **Tatiana Diovcosová** (Slovakia), **Sandra Evans** (Germany), **Glen Feder** (USA), **Abraham R. Georg** (USA), **Petronela Holecková** (Slovakia), **Zuzana Jandejskova** (CZ), **Anna Jassem** (Poland), **Alexander Knipperts** (Germany), **Katarina Kralikova** (Slovakia), **Kamila Kulik** (Poland), **Samantha S. Kwan** (USA), **Kinga Malysa** (Poland), **Andrij Melnyk** (Ukraine), **Andras Miklos** (Hungary), **Vassilka Mireva** (Bulgaria), **Ella Myers** (USA), **Adam Ostolski** (Poland), **Rocha Inma Perez** (Spain), **Dorota Pietrzyk** (Poland), **Luminita-Elena Pungea** (Romania), **Ewa Rybalt** (Ukraine), **Torrey Shanks** (USA), **Anna Siwek** (Poland), **Graham Stack** (G.B.), **Christine Straehle** (Germany), **Milan Svulik** (Slovakia), **Judit Szalai** (Hungary), **Hubert Sperl** (Poland), **Dorota Szymborska** (Poland), **Attila Tanyi** (Hungary), **Rainer H. Thiel** (Germany), **Adrian Tokar** (Slovakia), **Michael D. Thurman** (USA), **Irina Tuuli** (Russia), **Camil Ungureanu** (Romania).

The Junior Fellows Conference provides a forum for junior visiting scholars to present the results of their work at the end of their stay. The event was held on May 25 at IWM library. The conference mirrored the variety of topics and approaches that characterized junior fellows' research interests.

## Variety at home: Junior Fellows Conference

THE MORNING SESSION included two papers devoted to gender studies. They both dealt with the literary construction of gender identities, though in different times and contexts. Katarzyna Leszczynska compared two 1930s authors, Ernst Bergmann and Sophie Rogge-Boerner, and their conflicting ideals of the German national socialist woman, while Judith Bösch focused on authorship, canon and gender in 17<sup>th</sup> century. The second session introduced an anthropological aspect to the conference. Iliia Iliev described the phenomenon of Baba Vanga. Vanga was a popular prophet active in Bulgaria from the 1960s until the early 1990s and her adherents were both common people and the intelligentsia, including members of the Communist Party politburo. The anthropological approach was also evident in the paper by Natalija Vrecer, which showed the consequences of temporary refugee protection for Bosnian and Kosovar refugees in Slovenia, particularly the aspect of prolonged uncertainty.

The afternoon sessions addressed topics in the fields of international relations, political science, and economics. Audi Rubeli described internal and external factors that contributed to the peaceful road of Macedonia's transition from a Yugoslav republic to a sovereign, though still vulnerable, state. Nina Vucenik dealt with international efforts to promote democracy and civil society in Eastern Europe and compared the distribution of US assistance to advocacy and public policy NGOs. The last session analyzed East European countries policy problems from two different perspectives. Gallina Andronova pondered the discrepancy between neoliberal statements of East European politicians and their statist policies in financial sector reforms. Though challenged by the reviewer, Janos Kovacs, Andronova remained firm that neoliberal policy ideas were the blueprint for the reformers and that it was the reality of politics that made them eventually appear unattractive. Another fundamental policy problem of East European democracies is the creation of institutions for social conflict resolution. Laurentiu Stefan-Scalat presented a broad theoretical perspective on the understandings of the place of social conflict in modern democracies and some hints concerning their applicability to East European problems.

An informal and relaxed atmosphere was one of the advantages of the conference. Everyone attending dealt generously with the fellows' work and also offered constructive criticisms. The challenging, yet collegial comments will enable the junior fellows to produce thorough and comprehensive analytical papers.

*Artur Wolek (IWM Junior Visiting Fellow, 2000)*

### Section One:

#### Katarzyna Leszczynska

Pallas Athene oder Wie man die Frau zum Verschwinden bringt

Reviewer: **Cornelia Klinger**

#### Judith Bösch

"What is an Authoress?" Authorship, Canon and Gender in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century France

Reviewer: **Rita Felski**

### Section Two:

#### Iliia S. Iliev

The Social Construction of a Bulgarian Sainly Woman

Reviewer: **Michael Mitterauer**

#### Natalija Vrecer

Human Costs of Temporary Refugee Protection: The Case of Slovenia

Reviewer: **Susanne Binder, University of Vienna**

### Section Three:

#### Audi Rubeli

Threats to Sovereignty: The Case of Macedonia in the 1990s

Reviewer: **Gallina Andronova**

#### Nina Vucenik

USAID's approach to NGO funding in Slovakia and Hungary

Reviewer: **Don Kalb**

### Section Four:

#### Gallina Andronova

The Yo-Yo Game of Development: East European Financial Sector Reform

Reviewer: **Janos Kovacs**

#### Laurentiu Stefan-Scalat

Us and Them: Dialogue and Conflict in Post-Communist Countries

Reviewer: **Peter Gowan**

The IWM Junior Fellows Conference papers are published on CD-ROM and on the IWM Website [www.univie.ac.at/iwm/jconf/](http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm/jconf/)



*Laurentiu Stefan-Scalat, Judith Bösch, Susanne Binder, Artur Wolek*



*Nina Vucenik*



*Audi Rubeli*

Die Junior Fellows-Konferenz bot den jungen GastwissenschaftlerInnen des IWM ein Forum für die Präsentation der Arbeit der letzten sechs Monate. Die Konferenz fand am 25. Mai in der Bibliothek des Instituts statt und spiegelte die Vielfalt der Themen und Methoden, die die Junior Fellows in ihrer Forschung abdecken. Lebhaftige Diskussionen im Anschluß an jeden Vortrag zeigten, dass der interdisziplinäre Austausch nicht nur bereichernd, sondern auch leidenschaftlich sein kann.

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. Detailed accounts of most of the Tuesday Lectures as well as an e-mail information service on upcoming events are available on IWM's website [www.univie.ac.at/iwm](http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm).

Jeden Dienstag ist die Bibliothek des IWM Schauplatz eines öffentlichen Vortrags, gefolgt von einer informellen Diskussion. Fellows und Gäste des Instituts sowie Wissenschaftler und Intellektuelle aus aller Welt werden eingeladen, ihre aktuellen Forschungsergebnisse zu präsentieren. Ausführliche Berichte zu fast allen Dienstagsvorträgen sowie die Möglichkeit, einen e-mail Informationsdienst zu bevorstehenden Veranstaltungen zu abonnieren, bietet die Website des IWM [www.univie.ac.at/iwm](http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm).

16

## Tuesdays in the IWM Library

2 May 2000

**Allan Megill**

### History with Memory, History against Memory

IN HIS LECTURE, Allan Megill took issue with a tendency he detects in recent discussion to think of the past largely in terms of "memory." He argued that if history is to have any sort of critical orientation toward the present it must distinguish itself from "memory." In contemporary discussion, the term memory is used promiscuously, to designate both stories people tell about their own experience of the past and the commemoration of alleged past events. He contended that when history becomes simply



what people remember or commemorate, this amounts to a reduction of history to thoughts thought or actions carried out in the present. Too much in our culture already is either a negation of knowledge of the past, or reduction of things coming from the past to the horizon of the present. Megill identified, for example, an "aesthesis of history" that joyfully contemplates beautiful objects and historical sites, resolutely avoiding any critical reflection on or distance from the present. He suggested that it is dangerous when the self-interested memories of individuals and groups become the final arbiter

of historical truth. Historians play into this tendency when they present their own work as another version of memory.

Allan Megill, Professor of History at the University of Virginia, was guest of IWM from January to June.

9 May 2000

**Peter J. Gowan**

### The Relationship Between Social Change, Social Policy, and Alternative Pan-European Programmes

PETER GOWAN EXPLORED the dynamics of social change in Europe as a whole in the 1990s. He argued that the East Central European dynamics, once the regional links within the Comecon area had disintegrated, were strongly dependent on Western developments and policies and it was important to focus on these. While most Western accounts of social change in Western Europe tend to focus on economic and technological processes, Gowan argued that international and domestic public policy and public institutional change has also been crucial in broad macro-social change in Europe over the last 15 years. Especially important has been the transformation of the shape of the European Union's institutional and policy structures. This EU transformation has been central to the major changes in social structure and social dynamics of European capitalism. We are in the midst of changes in Western Europe which can be summarised as a shift to the dominance of the financial sector over everyday social outcomes for other sectors of business and other social groups. Ever wider areas of everyday life from the labour market and conditions at work through education, health and pensions are tending to fall under the sway of this sector which is itself tending to be refocused in securities markets rather than large, often state-owned, commercial banks. This process, which is far from complete, has been linked with a withdrawal on the part of European states from obligations towards citizens in these areas. Both processes have been driven by the policies of West European state executives as much as, if not more than by market forces. And the main arena of such





public policy change has been within the EU. West European policy towards East Central European transformations has been heavily shaped by considerations linked to these domestic changes within the EU states as well as to wider changes in the whole Atlantic area.

Peter J. Gowan is *Principal Lecturer in European Politics and Scheme Director for European Studies, University of North London, and was guest of IWM in May.*

16 May 2000

**Rita Felski**

### **New Modernities: Gender, Race and Sexuality in the Light of Cultural Studies**

MANY OF OUR ASSUMPTIONS about modernity have come from sociology (theories of modernization) and aesthetics (discussions of modernist and avant-garde works of art). In her lecture, Rita Felski argued that recent scholarship is changing the way we think about the modern. The works she discussed included Arjun Appadurai's *Modernity at Large*, Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic*,

Henning Bech's *When Men Meet: Homosexuality and Modernity*, Janet Lyon's *Manifestoes: Provocations of the Modern* and her own *The Gender of Modernity*. These authors share an

interest in using insights and methods from cultural studies to look afresh at the history of women, people of color and other marginal groups. Rather than subsuming such groups within a single narrative of modern

development or else dismissing the modern as a patriarchal and imperialist concept, these scholars argue that we need to attend to the profound differences within modernity. To think seriously about the role of women, people of color and gays and lesbians in the making of the modern world is to challenge many of the conventional ways in which scholars define the modern.

Rita Felski is *Professor of English at the University of Virginia, and was Visiting Fellow at the IWM from January to June 2000.*

Eine deutsche Übersetzung des Vortrags erscheint in *Transit* 19.

23 May 2000

**Urs Allematt**

### **Balkanisierung oder Helvetisierung Europas?**

STEHT EUROPA – wie Karl Jasper meinte – vor der Wahl, sich zu balkanisieren oder zu helvetisieren? Während die Schweiz im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in der Publizistik als multikulturelles Modell häufig Erwähnung findet, wird der Balkan als Negativbeispiel betrachtet. Das Schlagwort „Balkanisierung“ wurde zum Synonym für die Zerstückelung einer Region in eine Vielzahl kleiner, miteinander in Konflikt stehender Staaten. Zu Beginn der 20er Jahre zählte ein amerikanischer Journalist Österreich, Ungarn, Bulgarien, die Tschechoslowakei, Polen, Rumänien, Jugoslawien und Griechenland zu dieser Staatengruppe. Doch die Vorstellung, dass Südosteuropa einen völlig anderen Weg in der Nationalstaatenbildung einschlug, ist ein Irrtum. In ganz Europa brachte die Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts Nationalstaaten hervor, die sich in der Regel durch eine einzige oder vorherrschende Sprache definieren. Ausnahmen bildeten lange Zeit nur die Schweiz und Belgien. Während die Schweiz schon 1848 bei der Gründung des modernen Bundesstaates Deutsch, Französisch und Italienisch als gleichberechtigte Landessprachen anerkannte und die Kulturautonomie der Kantone durch eine föderalistische Staatsordnung verankerte, erlangte das Flämische in Belgien erst Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts die gleichberechtigte Anerkennung. Im letzten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts führten regionale Autonomiebewegungen zur Anerkennung von Minderheitssprachen (z.B. Südtirol, Katalonien). Diese



Entwicklung zeigt, dass die politische Staatsbürgerschaft – wie Michael Walzer und Jürgen Habermas schreiben – von der kulturellen Identität (Sprache, Religion usw.) entkoppelt werden muss, um die Existenz multikultureller Gesellschaften in einem politischen Gemeinwesen zu sichern. Insofern stellt die Schweiz in gewissen (nicht in allen) Belangen ein Modell dar.

Urs Allematt, *Professor für Zeitgeschichte an der Universität Freiburg/Schweiz, war Visiting Fellow des IWM von Januar bis Juni 2000.*

30 May 2000

**Cornelia Klinger**

### **Von der Politik der Interessen zur Politik der Identität**

IN DEN LETZTEN JAHRZEHNEN hat sich eine Verschiebung von den klassisch-modernen politischen Akteuren wie Parteien und Gewerkschaften zu neuen sozialen, kulturellen und politischen Bewegungen vollzogen. Diese Veränderung lässt sich als Übergang von einer Politik der Interessen zu einer Politik der Identität beschreiben. In erster Linie



knüpft eine Politik der Identität an der kollektiven Identität einer Gruppe an. Im letzten Jahrzehnt hat sich jedoch eine weitere Akzentverschiebung im Konzept von Identität bemerkbar gemacht, ein Übergang von der Wir-Politik einer Gruppe zur Ich-Politik des Individuums. Diese Entwicklung ist keine Überraschung, sondern liegt in der Konsequenz des Prozesses der Moderne, der seit seinen Anfängen als ein gleichzeitiges und gegenläufiges Fortschreiten von Objektivierungs- und Subjektivierungsprozessen charakterisiert worden ist. Die sich aktuell verstärkende Tendenz der Individualisierung muss somit vor dem Hintergrund von sich aktuell ebenfalls intensivierenden Rationalisierungs- und Globalisierungsprozessen gesehen werden. Der Vortrag hatte das Ziel, die damit verbundenen Chancen und Risiken vor allem in Hinblick auf damit einhergehende Veränderungen im Konzept des Politischen zu reflektieren.

Cornelia Klinger ist Permanent Fellow am IWM und Privatdozentin an der Universität Tübingen.

18

6 June 2000

### John Gray The Very Idea of a Global Regime of Rights

A GLOBAL REGIME OF HUMAN RIGHTS is a legitimate enterprise but it should not be identified with the projection of a liberal regime throughout the world. Human rights exist to protect human interests against the worst injuries. They can be respected and violated



in both liberal and nonliberal regimes. We should understand human rights as framing minimal requirements of legitimacy that can be met in a variety of political systems, not as prescribing for an ideal regime. Where a regime depends for its existence on systematic violation of human rights international intervention against it may be warranted. But legal considerations are never sufficient to justify such action. A moral and political judgment of the likely consequences of intervention and of a decision not to intervene is also required. An international regime of human rights creates enforceable claims against sovereign states. But it does not remove the necessity for hazardous moral and political judgments. That necessity arises from conflicts of interests and ideals that are endemic in moral and political life.

John Gray is Professor of European Thought at the London School of Economics.

13 June 2000

### D. Mario Nuti Making Sense of the Third Way: Western and Eastern Approaches

THE "NEW" THIRD WAY put forward by Tony Blair's New Labour, Gerhard Schroeder's Neue Mitte and other European leaders, as well as the Clinton Administration, is basically a social-democratic model modified to include three basic elements: 1) the acceptance of the supremacy of markets, both domestic and global; 2) the rejection of state ownership and enterprise as a policy instrument; 3) the recognition of the need for "affordable" policies, i.e. for monetary and fiscal restraint. To some extent these policies have over-shot, though, while not going far enough in other respects. In the East - from China and Vietnam to Belarus and Uzbekistan - discussions of the Third Way are still searching for a mythical "socially oriented market socialism" while still implementing strict state control over the economy and political authoritarianism.

Official statistics do not tell the whole truth about improvements in the quality of life in Central and Eastern Europe. They record the fact that the queues have vanished, and that the shops always have well-stocked shelves. But even so, the reality must be faced: unemployment is high and set to remain high, and an increasing number of



people are falling below the poverty line. In this lecture, Mario Nuti presented the "Third Way" in the context of its origins in the West, and discussed its relevance for transformations in Eastern Europe.

D. Mario Nuti is Professor of Comparative Economic Systems at the University of Rome "La Sapienza", and Visiting Professor at the London Business School. He is also Economic Advisor to the Polish Government and consultant to various international organizations on Central Eastern Europe.

20 June 2000

### Shlomo Avineri State, Religion and Nation: The Debate about the Public Sphere and Politics in Israel

IN DISCUSSING the issues of state, religion and nation in Israel one has always to bear in mind that the Christian, and post-Christian dichotomies, going back to the Gelasian theory of the "Two Swords" between the secular and the religious, and consequently between the private and the public, which are central to the Western discourse about the role of religion in the public space, have a different connotation in societies which come, like Israel as well as Islamic societies, from a different tradition. The legal-constitutional structure of Israel is not an outcome of one political decision or defining moment, but a patchwork made up of a number of facets: firstly, the legacy of the Ottoman Empire, which developed the 'millet' (community) system, under which each religious/ethnic community had jurisdiction over its members in matters of personal status (mainly marriage, divorce and inheritance).

This system was left intact by the British (1917-1948), and when Israel was established in 1948 it remained in force. The second facet is that Israel is viewed by the vast majority of its Jewish population as an outcome of the Zionist project, i.e. as a Jewish state. While there is no agreement what this exactly means (is it religious or ethnic-cultural?), there are some visible consequences:



the flag, the state emblem, the national emblems as well as the Law of Return, which privileges Jewish immigrants, are all consciously and clearly Jewish and do create problems of identification for Israel's Arab population. The third facet is the 17% Arab minority in the country, which is obviously torn between its cultural

identification with the Arab world and its citizenship in the Israeli state which has been for decades at war with its Arab neighbours. The fourth facet is that four Jewish religious parties are active in Israeli parliamentary life, and the standoff between left (Labour) and right (Likud) gives these parties disproportionate power which they used, smartly yet sometimes quite aggressively, to maintain their specific interests in terms of funding for their schools, opposing any curtailment of rabbinical power over matters of personal status, sabbatarian legislation etc. The fifth facet is the input of the one million immigrants who arrived in the last decade from the former Soviet Union and now make up almost a fifth of the Jewish population. Their contribution to the scientific, industrial and cultural life has been enormous. This multi-faceted system is, on one hand, full of internal tensions and sometimes baffling contradictions, yet it has over the years proved to be quite resilient and open to change. It is a rather uneasy amalgam of multi-culturalism and solidarity, and by working through trial and error has eschewed some of the difficulties other societies with more 'streamlined' arrangements were not able to avoid.

Shlomo Avineri, **Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute for European Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is a member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board and was guest of IWM in June.**

C a m e r a A u s t r i a

international 71

DAS JAN ADEI JAN VERVOERT YAYOI KUSAMA REIKE MÜNDEI  
DEAN SAMESHIMA MAITHI PRINCKERN  
HARUNKEW GURAM KUSTELLINGSKI SEIKO KACHIKOTO SAKUYOYUEN  
ÖSTERREICH 2000

HANS PETER FELDMANN GERALD VAN DER SAEP JACOB EERT  
THOMAS RAFF BERN LÖTTCKEN DEAN SHYDER KRISTIAN PRINCKI  
REINHOLDEN PERAN KUSTELLINGSKI KICHA KACHIKOTO KUSTELLINGSKI  
ÖSTERREICH 2000

Issue No. 71: 112 pages 120 colour-plates 67 b/w-plates cover: Christopher Williams  
In your bookshop and at  
**CAMERA AUSTRIA**  
Seirakassplatz 2, A-80110 Graz  
phone: +430351691 55 50-13 fax: +430351691 55 50-9  
e-mail: camera.austria@tiscali.com  
Subscriptions for 4 issues: DM 06,- / ABS 880,-  
postage included  
Sample copy 50% discount  
ISSN 1015-1915

## Visiting Fellows

The following Visiting Fellows have begun their stay at the IWM:

Die folgenden Wissenschaftler haben ihren Aufenthalt am IWM angetreten:

### Lindita Arapi

*Correspondent for Radio Deutsche Welle, Köln; Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow*

**Length of stay:** June – September

**Specialization:** Radio Journalism / Albanian Culture and Politics

**IWM Project:** Prospects for the Co-existence between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo

### Marek Drwiega

*Lecturer at the Department of Philosophy, Jagiellonian University, Cracow; Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow*

**Length of stay:** July – September

**Specialization:** Philosophical Anthropology

**IWM Project:** The Philosophy of the Human Body

**Publications:** *Paul Ricoeur gibt zu denken*, Bydgoszcz 1998; "From Axiology to Agathology. Some Remarks on Jozef Tischner's Philosophy", in: *Kwartalnik Filozoficzny*, 2, 1999; "In Search of Human Subjectivity", in: *Kwartalnik Filozoficzny*, 4, 2000 (all in Polish).

### Dusan Janic

*Freischaffender Übersetzer, Belgrad; Paul Celan Visiting Fellow*

**Length of stay:** Juli – Dezember

**IWM Project:** Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*; Übersetzung vom Deutschen ins Serbische

**Publications:** Zahlreiche Übersetzungen vom Französischen und Deutschen ins Serbische (u.a. Jean Piaget, Mircea Eliade, Friedrich Nietzsche, Max Weber).

### Julia Kalinina

*Moskovskij, Komsomolets, Moscow; Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow*

**Length of stay:** July – September

**Specialization:** Issues connected with the Russian Army, National Conflicts the War in Chechnia and Chechen Terrorism

**IWM Project:** Journalism and War in Russia

### Richard Kulis

*Professor für Philosophie und Inhaber des Lehrstuhls für Geschichte der Philosophie, Lettische Universität, Riga; Paul Celan Visiting Fellow*

**Length of stay:** Juli – Dezember

**Specialization:** Phänomenologie

**IWM Project:** Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus; Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*; Übersetzung ausgewählter Kapitel vom Deutschen ins Lettische

**Publications:** (Mit M. Kule), *Philosophy* (in Latvian and Russian), Riga 1999; „Postmodernism and the Philosophy of Human Solidarity“ (in Latvian), in: *Kentaurs XXI*, Riga 1998;

„National Identity and the Possibility of Intercultural Dialogue“, in: *Humanities and Social Sciences Latvia*, Riga 1994; sowie zahlreiche Übersetzungen aus dem Deutschen ins Lettische (u.a. Immanuel Kant, Martin Heidegger).

### Eva Orosz

*Associate Professor in the Department of Social Policy, Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest*

**Length of stay:** July – December

**Specialization:** Inequalities in Health and Health Care, Comparative Studies of Health Care Systems

**IWM Project:** A Study of the Views concerning the Role of the State and the Market in Health Care

**Publications:** (co-author Andrew Burns) "The Health Care System in Hungary", in: *OECD Economics Department Working Papers*, 241, 2000; "Hungary", in: N. Johnson (ed.), *Private Markets in Health and Welfare. An International Perspective*, Oxford 1995; *Health Systems and Reform Endeavours*, Budapest 1992, (in Hungarian); "Inequalities in Health and Health Care in Hungary", in: *Social Science and Medicine*, 8, 1990.

### Pawel Spiewak

*Associate Professor of Sociology at the Institute of Sociology, Warsaw University, and at the Higher School of Social Psychology, Warsaw*

**Length of stay:** July – December

**Specialization:** History of Contemporary Political Ideas, Sociology

**IWM Project:** The Political Discourse in Poland after 1989: Conflict of Elites or Conflict of Cultures?

**Publications:** *The Idea of Common Good in Contemporary Political Thought*, Warsaw, 1988; *Polish Controversies*, (ed.) Warsaw 2000; *The Communitarian Perspectives*, (ed.) Warsaw 2000; *The Broken Promises of Contemporary Democracy*, Warsaw, 2000 (all in Polish).

## Junior Visiting Fellows

July – December 2000

### Jeremy D. Bailey

*Ph.D. candidate in Political Science, Boston College*

**Specialization:** 19<sup>th</sup> Century American Thought and American Political Institutions

**IWM Project:** The Modern Executive: Jefferson's Constitutional Thought



**David W. Bollert**

*Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston College*

**Specialization:** 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Continental Philosophy (Heidegger, Kant, Nietzsche)

**IWM Project:** The Theme of Wonder in Heidegger's Thought



**Stephen M. Dawson**

*Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Department of Religious Studies, Boston University*

**Specialization:** Early American History, Political Philosophy  
**IWM Project:** The Sacred Order of Liberty: Protestant Millennialism and Republican Utopianism in American Political Thought 1750-1805

**Publications:** *Intercultural Philosophy* (eds. Stephen M. Dawson and Tomoko Iwasawa), Vol. 12 of *Proceedings of the Twentieth World Congress of Philosophy*, 2000.

**Urte Helduser**

*Doktorandin an der Universität-Gesamthochschule Kassel und Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin am Wissenschaftlichen Zentrum für Kulturforschung der UGH Kassel*

**Specialization:** Literatur und Geschlechterdiskurs

**IWM Project:** Weiblichkeit und Moderne um 1900

**Publications:** (Hg. mit Johannes Weiß), *Die Modernität der Romantik. Zur Wiederkehr des Ungleichen* (= Intervalle. Schriften zur Kulturforschung, Bd. 4), Kassel 1999;



“‘Oh Dirnenstimme, die geschminkt gelacht!’ – Weiblichkeit, Großstadt und Moderne in der Literatur des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts”, in: Helmut Scheuer /

Michael Grisko (Hg.): *Liebe, Lust und Leid. Zur Gefühlskultur um 1900* (= Intervalle Bd. 3), Kassel 1999.

**Jaroslav Kiliás**

*Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Warsaw*

**Specialization:** Sociology of the Nation, History of Czech Social & Political Thought, History of Sociology

**IWM Project:** Central European Nations as Abstract Political Communities: Towards a Pluralistic, Processual Theoretical Approach

**Publications:** *Nation and the National Idea: T.G. Masaryk's Nationalism*, Warsaw 1998; *Nationality as a Sociological Problem. Nation as a Subject of the Czech Sociology of the Interwar*



*Period*, Warsaw 2000; “Renan's Concept of the Nation and a Contemporary Sociology”, in: *Sociologický Casopis*, 4, 1999 (all in Polish).

**Jyoti Mistry**

*Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Cinema Studies, New York University*

**Specialization:** Cinema Studies and Film Policy

**IWM Project:** The Use of Cinema in Imagining a New National Identity in a Post-Apartheid South Africa

**Filmography:** “anOther ny story” (USA/ SA/A 2000), co-production commissioned by South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC-TV); “paw-paw” (USA/A 1998), “B.E.D.” (USA 1998).



**Karel Novotný**

*Doktorand der Philosophie, Karls-Universität, Prag; Mitarbeiter am J. Patočka-Archiv am CTS Prag; Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow & Jan Patočka Junior Visiting Fellow*

**Specialization:** Phänomenologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Hermeneutik

**IWM Project:** Das Problem der Freiheit in der Philosophie von Jan Patočka; Mitarbeit am Forschungs- und Editionsprojekt „Der andere Weg in die Moderne“

**Publications:** „Geschichtlichkeit und Freiheit. Heidegger und Jan Patočkas frühe Geschichtsphilosophie“, in: *Reflexe*, 14, 1995; „L'Esprit et la subjectivité. Sur le status de l'époché dans les premiers écrits de Jan Patočka“, in: *Études Phénoménologiques*, 29-30, 1999; H. Blaschek-Hahn u. K. Novotný (Hg.), *Jan Patočka, Vom Erscheinen als solchem. Texte aus dem Nachlass*, München 2000.



### Thomas Schramme

*Dr. phil., Wissenschaftlicher Assistent am philosophischen Seminar der Universität Mannheim*

**Length of stay:** August - Oktober

**Specialization:** Ethik, Politische Philosophie, Medizinphilosophie / Bioethik

**IWM Project:** Humanitäre Intervention als moralphilosophisches Problem

**Publications:** *Patienten und Personen. Zum Begriff der psychischen Krankheit*, Frankfurt a.M. 2000; „Verteilungsgerechtigkeit ohne Verteilungsgerechtigkeit“, in: *Analyse und Kritik*, 21, 1999.

### Michael D. Thurman

*Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, Boston University*

**Specialization:** Comparative Politics and National Identity

**IWM Project:** The Impact of Politics: Dutch and Czech Responses to Nineteenth Century German Nationalism

**Publications:** Regular Contributor to *NIS Observed: an Analytical Review*, on-line journal of contemporary affairs of the countries of the former Soviet

Union prepared by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology and Policy - Boston University (<http://www.bu.edu/ISCIP>).



### Adrian Tokar

*Ph.D. candidate at the State and Law Department, Slovakian Academy of Sciences; Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow*

**Specialization:** Central Europe / Theory of the State

**IWM Project:** Problems of Sovereignty in the Process of European Integration

**Publications:** "The Relations of Church and State in Central European Theory of State" (in Slovakian), in: *Pravny Obzor*, 2, 2000.



### Veronika Wittmann

*Doktorandin der Soziologie, Universität Linz; Stipendiatin im Rahmen des Doktorandenprogramms der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

**Specialization:** Gender Studies und Politik in Afrika

**IWM Project:** Gender Empowerment im Transformationsprozess der Post-Apartheidgesellschaft Südafrikas

**Publications:** *Nehandas widerspenstige Töchter. Eine Analyse zimbabwenscher Frauenorganisationen*, Linz 1999; „Kritik am tanzanischen Modell des Ujamaa-Sozialismus“, in: *From Ujamaa to Structural Adjustment*, Linz 1997.

## Guests

One month stays

Gäste mit einmonatigem Forschungsaufenthalt

### Peter Gowan

*Principal Lecturer in European Politics and Scheme Director for European Studies, University of North London*

**Month of stay:** May

**Specialization:** West-East Relations in Europe (political-military and political-economic); Europe and the Changing International Order; Marxism and International Relations Theory

**Publications:** *The Global Challenge*, London 1999; "Placing Serbia into Context", in: *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 1, 1999; *The Question of Europe* (eds. Peter Gowan and Parry Anderson), London 1997.

### Shlomo Avineri

*Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute for European Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Member of the IWM Advisory Board*

**Month of stay:** June

**Publications:** *Profile des Zionismus. Die geistigen Ursprünge des Staates Israels*, Gütersloh 1998; *Communitarism and Individualism* (ed. with Avber de-Shalit), Oxford 1992; *Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, Cambridge 1970.

### Lord Dahrendorf

*London, Member of the IWM Board of Trustees*

**Month of stay:** June

**Publications:** *After 1989: Morals, Revolution and Civil Society*, New York 1997; zus. m. Francois Furet und Bronislaw Geremek: *Wohin steuert Europa? Ein Streitgespräch* (hg. Lucio Caracciolo), Frankfurt a.M. / New York 1993; *The Modern Social Conflict*, Berkeley 1988.

**Detlef Horster**

*Professor für Sozialphilosophie, Universität Hannover*

Month of stay: August

Specialization: Sozial-, Moral- und Rechtsphilosophie

Publications: *Politik als Pflicht. Studien zur politischen Philosophie*, Frankfurt a.M. 1993; *Weibliche Moral - ein Mythos?* Frankfurt a.M. 1998; *Postchristliche Moral. Eine sozialphilosophische Begründung*, Hamburg 1999.

Guests in the following months

Gäste in den kommenden Monaten

**Katherine Verdery**

*Eric R. Wolf Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan*

Month of stay: September

Specialization: Anthropology and Eastern Europe

Publications: *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, Berkeley 1999; *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Former Socialist World* (eds. Katherine Verdery and Michael Burawoy), Boulder 1999; *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?*, Princeton 1996.

**James Dodd**

*Adjunct Professor of Philosophy, Boston College; currently Alexander von Humboldt Research Fellow at the Husserl Archives, University of Cologne*

Month of stay: September – October

Specialization: Phenomenology

Publications: *Body, Community, Language, World* (eds. James Dodd), Chicago 1998; *Idealism and Corporeity: An Essay on the Problem of the Body in Husserl's Phenomenology*, Dordrecht 1997; *Heretical Essays in the Philosophy of History* (ed. James Dodd), Chicago 1996.

## CALL FOR APPLICATIONS

### Andrew W. Mellon East-Central European Research Visiting Fellowships 2001/2002 in the Humanities and Social Sciences

The Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC) and The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) will jointly award *Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellowships in the Humanities and Social Sciences*. These three-month fellowships, funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation of the United States, will enable young scholars from Eastern and Central Europe to work in Vienna on research projects which are thematically related to IWM's fields of research.

**Eligibility**

IWM is accepting applications from young scholars from **Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia** for its *Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellowships*. The candidates should not be permanently resident outside the countries concerned and must have obtained a doctorate.

**Terms and Deadline**

Fellowship terms are: July - September 2001; October - December 2001; January - March 2002; and April - June 2002. Applications should be sent before the deadline of **November 10, 2000**.

Application forms, detailed instructions, and additional information are available from IWM's Internet Homepage <http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm/> and the Fellows Office at:

Institute for Human Sciences  
Attn: Mellon Fellowship Program  
Spittelauer Laende 3  
A - 1090 Vienna  
E-mail: [iwm@iwm.at](mailto:iwm@iwm.at)

# IWM-Vorlesungen zur modernen Philosophie



## Martha Nussbaum Vom Nutzen der Moraltheorie für das Leben

Passagen Verlag,  
Wien 2000  
104 S., ÖS 178  
ISBN 3-85165-412-9

Martha Nussbaum behandelt in ihrer Wiener Vorlesung die Frage, warum die Beschäftigung mit Moraltheorie seit Sokrates immer wieder auf erbitterte Ablehnung stößt. Das Aufstellen ethischer Theorien sei, so wird bis heute behauptet, nutzlos, oft sogar schädlich, weil es die Praxis - die Partikularität von Person und Situation, kurz: das Leben - missachte. Nussbaum zeigt, daß diese Kritik oft von Machtinteressen, eingefleischten

Gewohnheiten und allgemeiner Vernunftfeindlichkeit motiviert ist. Angesichts dessen greift sie auf klassische Moraltheorien zurück, die sich als überaus nützlich für die Gegenwart erweisen.

*Martha Nussbaum, Ernst Freund Professor of Law and Ethics at the University of Chicago, zählt zu den prominentesten PhilosophInnen und Intellektuellen der Vereinigten Staaten.*

Die englische Originalfassung erscheint im Sommer unter dem Titel „Why Practice Needs Ethical Theory“ in: Steven J. Burton (ed.), **The Path of Law and Its Influence: The Legacy of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr** bei Cambridge University Press. Wir danken dem Verlag für die freundliche Überlassung der Übersetzungsrechte.

Aus dieser Reihe bisher erschienen bisher im Passagen Verlag:

**Richard Rorty**  
**Hoffnung statt Erkenntnis**, 1994

**Michael J. Sandel**  
**Liberalismus oder Republikanismus**  
Von der Notwendigkeit der Bürgertugend, 1995

**Clifford Geertz**  
**Welt in Stücken**  
Kultur und Politik am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts, 1996

**Bernard Williams**  
**Der Wert der Wahrheit**, 1998

# Publications

**Pavlo Kutuev**

1999 IWM Junior Visiting Fellow

**“Democracy, State and Development: The Case of the Post Leninist Ukraine”**

in: Naukovi Zapysky (Scientific News), Kiev 1999.

**Krzysztof Michalski**

Director of IWM

Ed., introduction and partial translation:

**H.-G. Gadamer, Rozum, Slowo, Dzieje. Szkice wybrane (“Reason, Word, Event. Selected Essays”)**,

2nd ed., Warsaw 2000.

**Sebastian Reinfeldt**

1995 IWM Junior Visiting Fellow

**“Etwas ist zerbrochen”**

in: Silvia Stoller, Elisabeth Nemeth, and Gerhard Unterthurner (Hg.) Philosophie in Aktion: Demokratie- Rassismus- Österreich, Wien 2000.

**IWM Junior Fellows’ Conferences**

New series published on the IWM homepage  
[www.univie.ac.at/iwm/jconf/](http://www.univie.ac.at/iwm/jconf/)

Vol. VI

**Dorothy Rogers, Joshua Wheeler, Marina Zavacká and Shawna Casebier** (eds.)

**Topics in Feminism, History and Philosophy**  
IWM 2000.

Vol. IX

**David Shikar** (ed.)

**Thinking Fundamentals**  
IWM 2000.



# Travels and Talks

## Shlomo Avineri

*Guest of the IWM in June 2000 and member of the academic advisory board*

**Lecture:** "Taking 'Never Again' Seriously", presented in Budapest at the conference On Human Dignity held under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Central European University and the Law Faculty of ELTE University in honour of the retiring President of the Republic of Hungary, Arpad Göncz (23-24 July)

## Ludger Hagedorn

*Research Associate, IWM Patocka Project*

**Lecture:** "Nomos - Mythos - Krisis. Jan Patockas existentialistische Deutung der Antigone", Universität Wien (June 16)

## Don Kalb

*SOCO Program Director, IWM*

**Lecture:** "Social Exclusion and Social Policy in East Central Europe" Institut für Wissenschaft und Kunst, Wien (May 26)

## Cornelia Klinger

*Permanent Fellow, IWM*

**Lecture:** „Endlichkeit, Ordnung und Herrschaft. Anmerkungen zur Struktur und Funktion der großen Dualismenbildungen des abendländischen Denkens“ im Rahmen der Universitätsvorlesung Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung der Freien Universität Berlin (May 2)

**Speech:** „Die reine Kunst und der Gebrauchswert in der Architektur“ als Festrede anlässlich der Verleihung des Niedersächsischen Staatspreises für Architektur in Hannover (May 17)

## Janos Matyas Kovacs

*Permanent Fellow, IWM*

**Conference:** Cultural Globalization, Institute for the Study of Economic Culture, Boston University (June 13-14); Paper: Rival Temptations — Passive Resistance. Cultural Globalization in Hungary.

**Conference:** Invisible Corporate Citizenship, INSEAD, Fontainebleau (June 28-29); Paper: Between Informality and Invisibility. Corporate Citizenship in Hungary before and after 1989.

## Jyoti Mistry

*Junior Visiting Fellow, IWM*

**Presentation:** "anOther ny story" at the URBAN FUTURES conference, organised by the University of the Witwatersrand, Museum Afrika and the Johannesburg City Council, Johannesburg, South Africa (July 15th 2000)

## Eva Orosz

*Visiting Fellow, IWM*

**Lecture:** "Reform-Illusions and Reality: Transformation of the Hungarian Health Care System" at the Conference of Hungarian Local Governments, Budapest (August 29-31).

## Anita Traninger

*Program Coordinator, IWM*

**Lecture:** "Contrived Spontaneity. Rhetoric, memory and the *ars lulliana*", University of London, Warburg Institute (June 14)

# Varia

**Klaudia Krueger**, Assistant to the Director, gave birth to a baby boy, Kristopher, on August 1, 2000.



*Kristopher Krueger*

She has been replaced by **Susanne Fröschl**, who studied Political Science and Communications in Salzburg and Ohio where she received her M.A. in 1992. After returning to Austria in 1995 she started working for BIT (Bureau for International Research and Technology Cooperation) in Vienna. There she managed the international secretariat of a European research network for the preservation of cultural heritage, from 1996 to the end of the Austrian presidency. After that she worked in the policy department of a political organisation.



## Philosophie in Aktion

**Demokratie - Rassismus - Österreich**

**Elisabeth Nemeth, Silvia Stoller, Gerhard Unterthurner** (Hg.)

*Turia + Kant*

160 S., öS 140.-/DM 20.-

ISBN 3-85132-275-4

Die Texte dieses Buches gehen zum größten Teil auf eine Aktionswoche am Institut für Philosophie der Universität Wien zurück, die vom 23. bis 29. März 2000 während einer von Studierenden initiierten Streik- und Protestwoche an der Universität Wien stattfand. Der Anlass für diese Aktion und damit für die meisten Texte war die Beteiligung der FPÖ an der österreichischen Bundesregierung im Februar 2000, die im In- und Ausland zu heftiger Kritik und zu den „Sanktionen“ der 14 EU-Partner geführt hatte. Die Beiträge sind Analysen und Stellungnahmen, die von verschiedenen Perspektiven her die Gegenwart beleuchten. Es werden grundsätzliche Fragen und Kontexte erörtert, keine Sedativa für "Normalisierungen", „Schulterschlüsse“ oder „Konsense in Rotweißrot“; keine oberflächlichen Fragen des Images, sondern Eingriffe in die Gegenwart und Infragestellungen ihrer Selbstverständlichkeiten. Mit einem Wort: Diagnose und Kritik.

Mit Beiträgen von Ingvild Birkhan, Pierre Bourdieu, Isolde Charim, Hakan Gürses, Klaus Hamberger, Günter Hefler, Oliver Marchart, Chantal Mouffe, Elisabeth Nemeth, Stefan Nowotny, Wolfgang Pircher, Robert Pfaller, Hans Pühretmayer, Gerald Raunig, Sebastian Reinfeldt, Josef Rhemann, Silvia Stoller, Gerhard Unterthurner und Slavoj Žižek.

**Christiane Hartnack**, Director of Public Relations, left the IWM on July 31. She is now Residence Director of the Vienna Program of Wellesley College (an American women's college) where she also teaches "Intercultural Communication" and other courses in Global Studies.

**Anita Traninger** has joined the IWM in May and is responsible for Program Coordination and Public Relations. She has studied German Literature and Japanese Studies at the University of Vienna, where she received her Ph.D. in 1999. Anita Traninger specialises in Early Modern history of ideas and has published several articles on rhetoric, memory and the history of scientific systematization. Previously she was head of communications with the Austrian Chamber of Public Chartered Accountants and Tax Consultants.

**John Smith** joined the IWM staff as Executive Director on 16 August. He comes to IWM from the European Science Founda-

tion, Strasbourg, France where he was Head of Unit for the Social Sciences. Previously, he worked at the Economic and Social Research Council in the United Kingdom. Trained as a political scientist, his Phd studies were in the field of United States Politics focussing on the US Congress.

Von Juli bis September 2000 ist **Cyril Riha** wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter des IWM-Projekts "Der andere Weg in die Moderne". Sein Hauptaufgabenbereich ist die Bearbeitung der Schriften Patockas aus dem Nachlass, die der Epoche der Renaissance gewidmet sind. Seit 1999 ist Riha Mitarbeiter des Jan Patocka Archivs am CTS (Zentrum für theoretische Studien) in Prag und dort an der Edition von Patockas Schriften (Bände II, III. "Sorge für die Seele") beteiligt. Er hat im Mai 2000 sein Philosophiestudium an der Karlsuniversität in Prag abgeschlossen und ist seitdem dort Doktorand. Das Thema seiner Dissertation lautet: "Visualität versus Diskursivität".

**Shawna Casebier** has finished her internship in the IWM Publications Department and has left Vienna to return to Berkeley, California, where she will continue working on her B.A. in Political Economy of Industrial Societies. She has been replaced by **Robert Merten**, who studies Comparative Literature at Bonn University. He will be at the IWM until October.

Lawrence Lessig, Berkman Professor of Law at Harvard Law School and advisor to judge Thomas Penfield Jackson in the Microsoft antitrust case, was invited in cooperation with the American Embassy in Vienna. In his lecture on May 29, which took place in the framework of IWM's "Internet & Politics" series, Lessig shed light on the – apparently – gloomy future of the cyberspace.

## Architecting for control

WE GET TRAINED IN WAYS OF SEEING THINGS, and then we see in only those ways. We see just what those ways reveal — nothing more, nothing inconsistent. Our world is carved up according to these formulae. Beyond this vision, we see nothing.

We are a long way into this history of our future; it has been a decade since notions of a World Wide Web were first explored; five years since the dominant OS manufacturer built the Web into its OS. The Internet has millions of users — ordinary users — who spend large chunks of their lives in cyberspace. Commerce has found cyberspace and has spent billions to understand how cyberspace might fit into real space economies.

Yet, we are not far into understanding how this future will work. We still look at these questions of power and international influence with the same lens that our fathers used; we ask the same types of questions about sovereignty and international policy; the same actors have the same significance; nothing has changed in the story we tell, save the calendar and the government.

My aim is to sketch a different view. It is to offer a way of understanding how cyberspace has changed things, and hence a way of speaking about the "Internet and Power." There is a revolution in Internet relations; it is a revolution in the things being related as power is exercised. And theorists of power and its place in constituting justice need to come to see this revolution and the character of the difference it brings.

Governments think about regulation. They think, in part, about their power to bring about behaviors they like, and their power to stop behavior they don't like. They think about this power exercised first through law: through the self-conscious exercise of a threat of force as an inducement to carry into effect a certain set of behaviors.

But, obviously many things regulate behavior — law is just one. We might think about how norms, as well as law, regulate behavior. I spent three glorious years in Cambridge; these were three years learning about how different English norms might be, and how severely one might be punished for tripping across different norms. Norms regulate in a way that is similar to law — they punish deviations *ex post*; but norms are nonetheless different from law — their punishment is imposed by a community, not a state.

So too can we think about how markets regulate. Markets regulate through price. The market conditions access to a resource upon the offering of some-

thing of value in exchange. Wages for labor; a quid for a quo. The constraint is simultaneous; it is enforced through a community; deviations from the constraint get remedied through appeals to law and norms.

But, the regulator on which we must focus to understand what is different about cyberspace is what I will call *Architecture*. The regulation affected by how the physical world is, whether how it is, how it was made, or how it is found. Architecture regulates behavior; its constraints are simultaneous; but its constraints get enforced not through the will of the state, or through the will of a community. Its constraints get enforced through the physical power of a context, or environment.

The idea that architecture might regulate is nothing new. It is certainly not new with cyberspace.

David Hackett Fisher describes the founders of New England meticulously laying out the towns they would found so that the relationship of the buildings to each other, and to the town square, would assure that behavior within the town would be properly regulated.

Bentham famously described the design of a prison so that all cells would be viewable from one central position, so that prisoners would never know whether they were being watched, but that they always could be being watched, and so, they would be properly regulated.

Napoleon III had Paris rebuilt so that the boulevards would be broad, making it hard for revolutionaries to blockade the city, so that Parisians would be properly regulated.

In all these cases, the constraints of a context are changing or regulating behavior. In each, these constraints are relied upon to regulate this behavior, as much as, if differently than, law. Architecture, law, norms and markets together regulate behavior. Together, they set the terms on which one is free to act or not; together, they set the constraints that affect what is and is not possible. They are four modalities of regulation; they together determine how individuals and states within their scope are regulated.

Now it is important to think about these modalities together because these modalities together compete; one can enable the other; the other might undermine the one. A market might be strengthened by a set of business norms; a set of social norms might be undermined by a market.

Cyberspace presents a particularly virulent interaction. Its architecture, that is, interacts strongly with



Kreativität und Meinungsfreiheit, die ursprünglichen Charakteristika des Internet, sind massiv bedroht – aber nicht in erster Linie von den Regulierungsbestrebungen der Regierungen, wie viele behaupten, sondern von den neuen Technologien, die die Wirtschaft einsetzt, um ihre Kunden identifizieren zu können. Im Gegensatz zur öffentlichen Meinung fordert Lawrence Lessig gesetzliche Maßnahmen zum Schutz der ursprünglichen Freiheit des Cyberspace. Eine deutsche Übersetzung des vollständigen Vortrags – der erste längere Artikel Lessigs auf deutsch – wird in *Transit – Europäische Revue* Nr. 19 (2000) erscheinen.

these other modalities. Depending upon its design, cyberspace can enable the power of social norms; or depending upon its design, it can disable that power. Depending upon its design, cyberspace can enable a market; or depending upon its design, it can make market functions too costly. And depending upon its design, cyberspace can enable state regulation; or depending upon its design, it can make behavior in cyberspace “unregulable.”

Depending upon its design.

For here is the feature on which those of us who want to understand power in this space must focus. Cyberspace is an architecture first. It is a platform that gets designed. It is constituted by a set of code – by software and hardware that makes cyberspace as it is. This code imbeds certain values; it enables certain practices; it sets the terms on which life in cyberspace is lived, as crucially as the laws of nature set the terms on which life in real space is lived.

Now most think about this architecture —this code that defines cyberspace — as given. Most think about this code as if it is simply defined. As if it has a nature, and that nature can't change. As if god gave us cyberspace, and we must simply learn how it is. Most think this, and hence they then spout truths about cyberspace. Slogans that are said to reflect its nature. Cyberspace, it is said, can't be regulated; behavior there can't be controlled. Governments are disabled by the nature of that space.

But the first point to see is that this view about cyberspace's nature is not a view about nature. If anything is socially constructed, cyberspace is. This view about cyberspace's nature is simply a report about a particular design. A report, that is, about the design that cyberspace had at just the time that cyberspace was coming into the public's view.

This initial design disabled control. In particular, this initial design disabled two kinds of control. This initial design disabled control by governments — thereby creating a certain kind of liberty in the space. And this initial design disabled control by other actors, or competitors —thereby creating a certain kind of competition and innovation in cyberspace.

The original Net, for example, protected free speech. Its architecture protected free speech. It protected free speech because one was able easily to say what one wanted, without that speech being controlled by others. China could not censor criticisms of China; news of terror in Bosnia could flow freely outside state borders.

The original Net also protected privacy. One could surf on the Net without others knowing who you were. One could live life relatively anonymously. The protocols supported relaying technologies; these technologies made it easy to hide who one was. One could therefore be whomever one wanted, or no one at all.

The original Net also protected the free flow of

content. Perfect copies of text, images, and music could be made for free. These copies could be distributed anywhere on the Net. Content flowed freely.

And finally, the original Net protected individuals from local regulation. Governments could not condition life on the Net upon conforming to any rule. Governments couldn't distinguish local from non-local activity. So, behavior here was outside the reach of local government regulation. It was free of control, in this way as well.

But what if this feature of the original Net changed? What if it became easier to identify someone? What if it became easier to know where someone came from? What if content became more easily identifiable? What would happen to the original liberty of the Net if these features changed?

Well, clearly, if it were easier to identify who someone was, or where they came from; if it were easier to identify content on the Net, and from where it originated, then each of these liberties would become vulnerable.

Speech would be less free since dissenters could be tracked. Privacy would less secure since identities could be known. Content would flow less freely since control could be imposed. Behavior would be more regulated, since local states could condition access upon conforming to certain behavior.

That's how things could be — and how things could be is how they are becoming. For the single most important change in the character of cyberspace over the past five years is the erosion of the conditions that made this initial liberty possible.

Technologies are being layered onto the original architecture of the web that change this original design. Architectures that make it easier to identify who someone is; architectures that make it easier to know from where they come from; architectures that make it simpler to control the content that they use.

These technologies are essentially private right now. They are tools that Commerce is building to make it easier to know who the customer is; and to make it easier to control what the customer does with the content she is given. But the same technologies of identification and tracking would also make it easier for governments to regulate. The same technologies would make it easier for governments to control.

You've heard about these technologies in many different contexts. At their most crude, they are the cookie technologies that make it easy for web sites to track you; in a more sophisticated case, they are digital certificates, that will collect personal information about you, and make it possible for you to certify this information to others; and just around the corner, there are biometric technologies that will make it possible to certify who you are without any real risk. These technologies will make identification possible. And this identification will, in turn, make regulation possible. And this regulation, in turn, will change the char-

```
<html><head>
<title>The
Institute for
Human
Sciences</
title><meta
name="description"
content=
"Homepage of
the Institute
for Human
Sciences,
Vienna"><meta
name="keywords"
content="iwm,
institute for
human sciences,
institut für
diewissenschaften vom
menschen,
vienna, wien">
</head>
<frameset
framespacing="0"
border="false"
frameborder="0"
cols="630,*">
<frameset
rows="65,*">
<frame
name="Head"
scrolling="no"
noresize
target="Inhalt"
src="head-
e.htm"
marginwidth="0"
marginheight="0">
<frame
name="Inner"
src="inner.htm"
scrolling="auto">
</frameset>
<frame
src="credits.htm"
scrolling="no"
name="Rechts"
marginwidth="0"
marginheight="0"
noresize>
</noframes><body>
<p>iwm,institute
for human
sciences,
institut für
diewissenschaften vom
menschen,
vienna, wien</
p></body>
</noframes>
</frameset>
</html>
```

acter of the original Net from liberty to something else.

The future will be different from the past; it will be a future that enables control that the past has not seen; it will be a future of regulation, imposed locally, by local governments. These regulations will be carried into effect by rules, built into technologies, built into the architecture of the space. The character of the original space — its liberty — will change. But, it is a second kind of control that I want to focus on here. Not the control by government over behavior in cyberspace. That story is becoming fairly well known. Instead, I want to focus on the control the space allows by actors within the space on other actors within the space.

Much of the original Net was open source; open source software is software that leaves its source code available for others to take and use and develop as they wish. That means two things: that the resources are available for others to use towards innovation; and that the system — since open, and not in the control of any one company — can't discriminate against new uses. Like the principle of e2e, the platform of an open source system remains neutral. It is a neutral platform that invites innovation elsewhere.

A neutral platform. A type of commons that all can draw upon. A common resource that produces a common good. A heritage of neutrality that has produced the greatest innovation and creativity that the world has seen.

This neutrality, this commons, gets built — by a certain design of technology that governs the Net, and a certain way that the code of the Net lives. This neutrality is a principle, chosen. This principle of neutrality is changing. We are changing it. As the network moves from narrowband to broadband, it is being built in a way that gives the network owners power over the uses of the network that will be allowed. It is being constructed to give the owners of conduit — cable, and wireless access — the power to say what kinds of content flow on the Net. It is being built to empower strategic action by network owners; built to undermine the neutrality of the original regime.

In the United States, this is happening in the context of broadband cable. The principle players are AT&T, which is buying up all the cable monopolies it can, and now AOL, which has purchased Time-Warner. Both companies were, at one time, in favor of an open and neutral platform on the Net. But once each became the owner of cable lines themselves, each was interested in being able to control what went across those cable lines.

In both liberty and innovation, cyberspace is changing. In both contexts, an initial freedom and opportunity is being given up. Principles from the original Net are being eroded. The future will not be as the past. These changes are occurring because the architecture of the Net is changing. And we are changing that architecture. The architecture is developing to

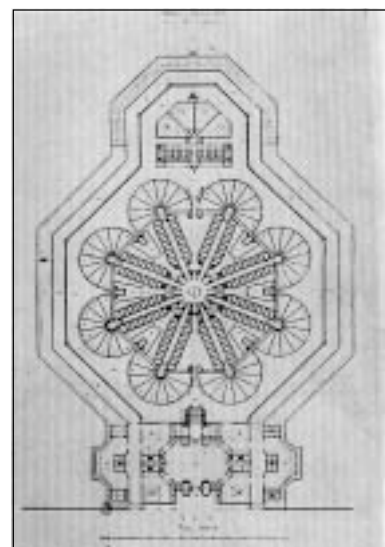
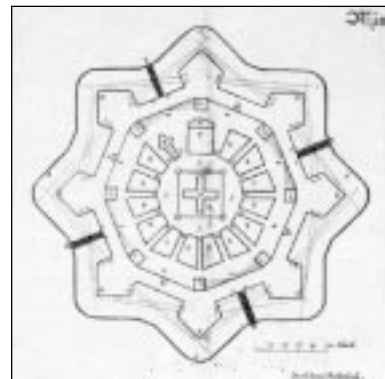
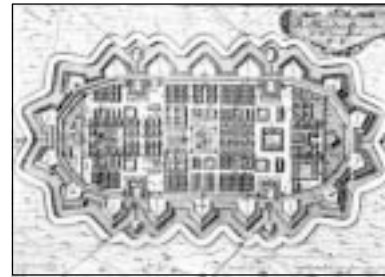
reduce the liberty and reduce the innovation. It is developing to make cyberspace like real space — regulated and concentrated; controlled and bland.

In both cases, the source of this change is commerce. The source is an influence that resists the unregulated, and seeks protected monopoly power. This source is having its effect. But we, as we think about power and its effect; as we think about the state using power to have a different effect; as we think about policy, internationally and locally — we must have a different focus.

Rather than focusing exclusively on the shifts of power among nations, or the shifts of power between some nations in particular, our focus should first be upon the shift in power that the rise of this architecture called cyberspace creates. How it now represents a source of power, and how the character of that power gets determined by its design. And then second, we should focus on how the particular character of its original power is now changing. How we are allowing it to change as commerce alters its code.

Struggles of power get played out upon this stage set by the architecture of the space. Whether states have power, and how much; whether competitors have power over other competitors and how much. An account of international relations that ignored this stage would be as incomplete an account as one that ignored China.

But when we come to see its place, its role in regulating these relations, its potential for regulating differently, we will then see how its original regulation is changing. How we are allowing it to change. How we stand back and watch as this ecology of innovation gets remade, undermined, killed, by changes to the architecture that defined a free space, a commons, that has built the greatest revolution in creativity we have seen.



## Christine Huterer



*Verwaltungsleiterin des IWM*

★ 14. Jänner 1949 † 17. August 2000

Liebe Christine,

Wien, im August 2000

so schwer vorstellbar, dass Du nicht wieder zu uns zurückkommen wirst. Als Du das letzte Mal zur Tür des IWM hinausgegangen bist, war es, um für ein paar Tage Urlaub zu machen in Tirol. Natürlich wusstest Du, wussten wir alle, um Deine schwere Krankheit. Aber wir wussten auch, mit welcher Entschlossenheit und Disziplin Du dieser Krankheit entgegengetreten bist. Mit derselben Tatkraft, mit der Du Dein Leben gemeistert und unseren gemeinsamen beruflichen Alltag gestaltet hast.

Seit fast bis auf den Tag genau fünfzehn Jahren, seit dem 1. August 1985, hast Du die Verwaltung des Instituts geleitet. Wenn ich das so schreibe, ist das zwar eine korrekte Bezeichnung Deines Tätigkeitsbereichs, aber es bringt nicht einmal annähernd zum Ausdruck, was das eigentlich bedeutet hat. Tatsächlich bedeutet es, dass Du diesem Institut beinahe so lange wie es existiert, Deinen ganzen Einsatz, Deine Energie und Phantasie, Deine Arbeits- und Gestaltungskraft gewidmet hast. In diesen Jahren ist das Institut entstanden und zu dem gewachsen, was es jetzt ist. Im Verlauf dieser langen Zeit sind Deine Aufgaben gewachsen; Du bist ihnen nicht nur immer gewachsen gewesen, sondern regelrecht mit ihnen mitgewachsen und zugleich mit uns anderen, die an diesem Entstehungsprozess beteiligt waren, zusammengewachsen.

Wenn wir in diesen Tagen von Dir sprechen, so fällt mir auf, dass es immer wieder dieselben Worte sind, die den Kolleginnen und Kollegen, den Gästen, Freunden und Bekannten des Instituts, in den Sinn kommen: die Säule, die Stütze, das Herz, die Seele des IWM nennen sie Dich und haben zweifellos recht damit. Du selbst hast Deine Rolle viel prosaischer gesehen und nicht selten – halb im Scherz, halb im Ernst – von Dir als der „niederösterreichischen Hausfrau“ gesprochen. Wenn ich jetzt so darüber nachdenke, dann ist dieses Bild zwar recht nüchtern, aber gar nicht einmal so unpassend, um das, was Deine Arbeit ausgemacht hat, in seiner ganzen Vielfältigkeit zu erfassen. Darin sind auf der einen Seite die praktischen und pragmatischen Züge enthalten, die Genauigkeit und Sparsamkeit der Budgetführung, die Menschenkenntnis, der unbestechliche Sinn für Qualität, die Resoluteit, ebenso wie die Vorsicht und Voraussicht, die für die Leitung einer Verwaltung notwendig sind. Darin sind auf der anderen Seite aber auch die über die Professionalität weit hinausgehenden, gewissermaßen 'überschüssigen' Eigenschaften gemeint, die Herzlichkeit und Gastlichkeit, die Großzügigkeit und die Menschlichkeit – von den großen Gefühlen bis zu den kleinen Schwächen. Und schließlich betrifft die Hausfraulichkeit die schwer in Worte fassbare und materiell

nicht abgeltbare ständige Verantwortung und Sorge für das Ganze, das immer und für alle Da-Sein – jenseits von Dienstpflicht und Arbeitszeit. Kurz gesagt: Du hast nicht nur die Verwaltung geleitet, Du hast das Haus gehalten.

Wenn ich in diesen Tagen an Dich denke, so beklage ich jedoch nicht nur, was wir mit Dir verloren haben, ich bedaure ungleich mehr noch Deine eigenen unerfüllten Hoffnungen, Wünsche und Pläne, die im alltäglichen Leben oft genug zurückgestanden haben. Dass am Ende keine Zeit mehr blieb für die Reise in die Provence, über die wir noch im Frühjahr sprachen; dass die Kapellen in den Weinbergen des Friaul und der Toskana vergeblich auf ihre kunsthistorische Erforschung warten, die Du Dir für die Zeit des Ruhestands vorgenommen hattest; dass Deine Familie, Deine Freundinnen und Freunde Dich vermissen werden, erfüllt uns alle mit großer Trauer.

Bevor ich weiter klage, will ich Dir lieber von einer merkwürdigen Sinnestäuschung erzählen, die ich neulich mehrfach erlebt habe. Während der letzten Monate, in denen Du krankheitsbedingt länger abwesend warst, habe ich in dieser Zeit oft gemeint, Dich reden zu hören, Dein Lachen oder auch Schimpfen zu vernehmen irgendwo im Treppenhaus, am Ende des Korridors zu Deinem Büro, im Sekretariat, am Lift. Natürlich habe ich gewusst, dass Du nicht da bist, und ich habe mich über meine Fehlwahrnehmung gewundert. Nun, da Du nicht zurückkehren wirst, wird mir klar, dass ich mich gar nicht getäuscht habe. Du warst in diesem Haus mit solcher Intensität präsent, dass diese Präsenz in unseren Ohren, Köpfen und Herzen ihren Widerhall findet und bewahren wird.

Hab Dank!

*Cornelia*

## Jozef Tischner



*Founding member, President and non-resident Permanent Fellow of IWM, Professor of Philosophy at the Pontifical Theological Academy, Krakow*

★ 12 March 1931      † 28 June 2000

EACH DEATH IS A SCANDAL, wrote Emmanuel Levinas. How true, how painfully true are these words I understand only now, when Józek is no more, when he has gone, suddenly although after a long illness, and unexpectedly although we all expected it sooner or later. Since that moment, that Wednesday when he died, a new time began, radically different to what had been before – expectations, hopes, fears and everyday concerns, all that which filled every moment of our life with him, was brutally broken, torn up and thrown away. The world has changed. And it hurts, with a burning pain which spreads to the furthest corners of our consciousness and the newly formed memory.

How I wish I could make him come alive for those of you who haven't met him. His presence changed the space he'd entered, adding to his arguments a new cohesion, new rhetorical power. It took a lot of ill will and a very dull soul not to feel that power emanating from Józek, a soul-warming power that opened eyes and hearts and sought the better in us.

How often, working in the same building, I used to visit him in his room, just to sit with him and restore my spent will to live, to discover a human side in some idiot who had just driven me mad, to warm my heart.

How often an encounter with that priest from Podhale, always immersed in affairs which normally hold no interest to anyone but us Poles, left a deep impression on French, German or American intellectuals, even those who had never met a Catholic priest, seen the Tatra mountains and had no understanding for the suffering of the Polish nation. Never mind intellectuals. When Tischner visited the Institute for Human Sciences it was a holiday for everyone. He won over my secretary, who also did some work for him, asking her never to wake him from his afternoon nap, "unless, that is, they abolish celibacy – then straight away".

Tischner was a kind, entertaining and wise man. But that was not the most important thing about him. His presence – no matter whether he was talking about the "Phenomenology of Spirit" or about his imaginary neighbour Franz Wurm (reducing in the process his listeners to uncontrollable laughter) – meant much more. It gave us, those lucky ones who have met him, a chance to rediscover life's beauty, the sweet taste of the world, to see a ray of sunshine where we only expected to see dust, mud and dirt, and to feel a touch of goodness where none was expected. Tischner helped us open ourselves onto the world, which means first of all to understand the other person. He mobilised us to break the mould of old ideas, to break the fetters of years-long habits and deeply seated prejudices. He helped us to be free.

This, I think, is also the core of his philosophical ideas; that words, ideas, habits, traditions or institutions acquire a meaning, and thus become good or bad, only in the course of an encounter with another human being, in the course of people's relations with each other. As Tischner used to say, the presence of another human being is a continuous challenge – infinite, that is undetermined by any set in advance conditions or given meanings. It is there, in that presence, in the face of another person hides God, he used to say. And if so, each of us is infinitely free, to do good and evil. And if so, each encounter with another human being exposes me to an infinite risk and gives me a unique chance – a chance for everything.

Tischner helped – with his presence which carried and cohered his words – to seek God in the only place where He could be found – in a man's face and in his deeds, those little ones and the big ones. Not in proclamations, theorems, dogmas or institutions. Not that they are not needed, they may be even indispensable. But God comes to us in a human form. Tischner was helping us to recognise Him, hiding in the cries of the Pharisee, in the seemingly complex conceptions of the philosophers, in the funny and strangely beautiful stories about neighbours in his native village.

The natural consequence of his ability to move human hearts was a mistrust from his fellow philosophers, who in the fervour (or should I say – routine) of splitting the transcendent from the transcendental, and sifting through the hundred-and-five meanings of "to be" forgot that philosophical terms are like withered leaves which come to life only when planted in the soil of people's relations with each other. The liberating force of Tischner's presence often brought out animosity in fellow priests desperately holding on to the formulae and institutions, as if afraid to stand up naked, without the protection of words or their office, face to face with another human being. Tischner was not afraid. His infinite, unattainable for so many of us deep trust in God gave him imperturbable serenity and courage to go out into the world, beyond the front garden of the safe and familiar, to all children, drunks, to the godless and the infected with the Cartesian doubt, to the post-modern philosophers, to the tax collectors. No, he was not trying to herd us back into the pen of the orthodox opinions and good behaviour. Even here, in the wilderness, among us, with us, in our faces, in our sorrows, he was looking for his God, for our God.

Tischner was a deep breath of fresh air, an open window, a sweet breeze, both at a dinner table and during a seminar, both for people he encountered and the institutions he worked for.

Let us try not to lose him.

*Krzysztof Michalski*

## Upcoming events

The following events will all take place at the IWM at 6 p.m, if not stated otherwise.

Die folgenden Veranstaltungen finden (wenn nicht anders vermerkt) um 18:00 Uhr in der Bibliothek des IWM statt.

Tuesday, September 19

### Katherine Verdery

*Eric R. Wolf Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan*

**Ghosts on the Landscape: Reconstituting Private Property in Eastern Europe**

Tuesday, September 26

### Birgit Mahnkopf

*Professorin für Europäische Gesellschaftspolitik, Fachhochschule für Wirtschaft, Berlin*

**Ende des Politischen? Herausforderungen für eine künftige Demokratie I**

**Wo und wie kann Politik globale Transformationen beeinflussen?**

In Kooperation mit der *Grünen Bildungswerkstatt*

Tuesday, October 3

### Luc Ferry

*Professeur de philosophie et Président du Conseil national des programmes, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de la Recherche et de la Technologie, Paris*

**Le sens du beau**

In Kooperation mit dem *Institut Français de Vienne*

Tuesday, October 10

### Andrew C. Janos

*Professor of Political Science, University of California at Berkeley*

**Hegemony in East Central Europe. Franco-British, German, Soviet and EU Design.**

Tuesday, October 17

### Ruth Wodak

*Professorin für Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Wien*

**„Wir“ und die „Anderen“: Diskurs in/der Politik**

Friday, October 20

Palais Schwarzenberg, 5 p.m.

**From Class to Culture: On the Changing Social Divisions in Society**

With **Zygmunt Bauman, Lord Dahrendorf, Cornelia Klinger**

Public Symposium in cooperation with the *National Committee of the European Cultural Foundation*

Saturday, October 21

IWM Library, 11.00 a.m.

**Buchpräsentation / Podiumsdiskussion**

**Ralf Dahrendorf:**

**Universities after Communism.**

The Hannah Arendt Prize and the Reform of Higher Education in East-Central Europe. Hamburg: edition Körber-Stiftung 2000

Mit dem Autor diskutieren:

**Andrei Plesu**, *Direktor des New Europe College, Bukarest, Ehemaliger Kultur-, später Außenminister Rumäniens;*

**Dieter Simon**, *Präsident der Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

In Zusammenarbeit mit der *Körber-Stiftung*, Hamburg

Tuesday, October 24

### Richard B. Freeman

*Herbert S. Ascherman Professor of Economics, Harvard University*

**Shared Capitalism and the Great American Job Machine**

Bucharest, October 27-29, 2000

Joint Workshop

New Europe College, Bucharest & Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna

**Recomposing Eastern Europe?**

**Inner Frontiers: Real and Imagined**

Include:

**Daniel Chirot, Jacek Kochanowicz, Janos Matyas Kovacs, György Konrad, Ivan Krastev, Attila Melegh, Josef Moural, Anca Oroveanu, Andrei Plesu, Peter Ucen, Peter Vodopivec**

Supported by *Robert Bosch Stiftung*, Stuttgart

Tuesday, October 31

### Nira Yuval-Davis

*Professor in Gender and Ethnic Studies, University of Greenwich, London*

**Ende des Politischen? Herausforderungen für eine künftige Demokratie II**

**Multi-layered Citizenship and the Struggle Against Racism**

In Kooperation mit der *Grünen Bildungswerkstatt*

Thursday, November 9, Siemens Forum, Vienna

Friday - Sunday, November 10 - 12, Bratislava

**14th European Meeting of Cultural Journals**

Participants:

**Lothar Baier, Martin Bauer, Boris Buden, Beqe Cufaj, György Dalos, Slavenka Drakulic, António Ribeiro, Arne Ruth, Pawel Spiewak, Katarina Vesovic** and others.

### Impressum

Responsible for the contents:

Institute for Human Sciences

© IWM 2000

### Editors

Christiane Hartnack,

Anita Traninger

### Editorial Assistance

Robert Merten

### Production Manager, Layout

Iris Strohschein

### Photos

Anna und Krzysztof Milanowski, Burgtheater, Fourier Verlag GmbH, Dover Publications Inc., Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Editions Gallimard

### Design

Gerri Zotter

### Address

IWM

Spittelauer Lände 3

A - 1090 Wien

Tel. (+431) 31358-0

Fax. (+431) 31358-30

www.univie.ac.at/iwm

The IWM Newsletter is published four times a year. Current circulation: 6200. Printed by Rema Print.

