



Newsletter 73

POLITISCHE DISKUSSION |

Die Frage, ob den Grünen der Spagat zwischen alternativem Politikentwurf und Regierungsverantwortung gelingen kann, diskutierten am 22. Mai auf Einladung des IWM und der Grünen Bildungswerkstatt Kerstin Müller, Ralf Fücks, Alexander Van der Bellen und Cornelia Klinger.

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Die Grünen zwischen Macht und Ideologie

WAS IST IN DEUTSCHLAND GEBLIEBEN vom grünen Projekt nach gut zwei Jahren Regierungsbeteiligung? Wie unterscheiden sich die Grünen noch von den anderen Parteien? Kaum mehr durch ihre einst ureigene Domäne, die Umweltpolitik – sie ist inzwischen Bestandteil aller Parteiprogramme. Andererseits scheinen die deutschen Grünen davor zurück zu schrecken, die geschlossen in die Mitte gerückte Sozialdemokratie zu beerben und eine neue Linke zu formieren.

In Österreich haben die Grünen durch den Regierungswechsel im Jahr 2000 unverhofft an Popularität gewonnen. Doch wie lange können sie sich auf ihr Image der unverbrauchten, integren Oppositionspartei stützen? Wie bereiten sie sich darauf vor, eines Tages selbst Regierungsverantwortung zu übernehmen?

Das Schicksal der Grünen in Deutschland scheint ein lehrreiches Beispiel für Österreich zu sein. Auch dort waren die Erwartungen an das grüne Bündnis hoch, als es als kleinerer Partner in die Regierungskoalition eintrat. Nun scheiden sich aber die Geister über das „grüne Projekt“ in Regierungsverantwortung.

Grünsein als Gemeinplatz

Kerstin Müller, Fraktionsvorsitzende von Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen im deutschen Bundestag, sieht die Ursachen der Krise der deutschen Grünen vor allem darin, dass es bisher nicht ausreichend gelungen sei, in der Öffentlichkeit die Grundpfeiler grüner Politik – ökologische Erneuerung der Gesellschaft, soziale Modernisierung, BürgerInnen- und Menschenrechte sowie zivile Konfliktlösungsmodelle in der Sicherheits- und Außenpolitik – und die politische Umsetzung dieser Werte glaubhaft darzustellen.

1998 seien die Grünen bereits geschwächt in die Regierungskoalition eingetreten, da schon in der vorangehenden öffentlichen Auseinandersetzung um das Magdeburger Wahlprogramm 1997 die Visionen und Grundwerte nicht deutlich gemacht werden konnten. Darüber hinaus,



Ralf Fücks, Cornelia Klinger, Alexander Van der Bellen, Kerstin Müller (von links nach rechts).

The tension between power and ideology, between alternative politics and the pragmatic limitations of a governing party was the topic of a public debate between Kerstin Müller, chairwoman of the Green parliamentary party in Germany, Ralf Fücks, chairman of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Alexander van der Bellen, leader of the Austrian Greens, and philosopher Cornelia Klinger, IWM Permanent Fellow.



Kerstin Müller

so Müller weiter, sei vor allem die Forderung nach einem radikalen Ausstieg aus der Atomenergie unrealistisch gewesen. Dass dieser nun langfristig erfolgt, werde von aber keineswegs als Erfolg, sondern vielmehr als Niederlage der Grünen gewertet. Die Betonung ökologischer Anliegen ist heute zum Gemeinplatz der Programme aller Parteien geworden. Müller sieht hier aber nach wie vor eine konkurrenzlose Stärke der Grünen: „Ich halte das bei den anderen für aufgesetzt und realitätsfern, im Grunde sind das nur Lippenbekenntnisse.“

Eine Belastungsprobe stellte die Abstimmung über den NATO-Einsatz im Kosovo dar: „Wenn uns das jemand vorher gesagt hätte, hätten wir gesagt, über ein so unrealistisches Beispiel diskutieren wir doch gar nicht.“ Ihre Pro-Entscheidung wurde den Grünen von vielen als Preisgabe pazifistischer Werte angekreidet, andere wiederum hätten die Professionalität der Entscheidung zu schätzen gewusst. Müllers Fazit: das Glas sei halbvoll, man halte sich angesichts der Herausforderungen recht gut.

Österreichs Grüne sind lernfähig

Im Fall einer grünen Regierungsbeteiligung in Österreich sei man, nicht zuletzt durch die Erfahrungen der deutschen Schwesterpartei, besser gewappnet, ist der grüne Bundessprecher und Fraktionsvorsitzende **Alexander Van der Bellen**



Ralf Fücks

überzeugt. Mittlerweile sei klar, dass die Erwartungen – sowohl die der Parteimitglieder als auch die der SympathisantInnen – bewusst gedämpft werden müssen: „Je unrealistischer die Erwartungshaltung beim Regierungsantritt, desto mehr Probleme hab ich dann. Man muss klar machen, dass die Welt mit einem Regierungsantritt

nicht neu beginnt – von den Gesetzen ganz zu schweigen.“

Ein Wechsel von der Oppositions- zur Regierungspartei wäre zweifellos für alle, die der Partei nahestehen, „ein Kulturschock“. Aufgrund der Neutralität,

hofft Van der Bellen, werde es aber Zerreihsproben wie einen „Fall Kosovo“ hierorts in nächster Zukunft nicht geben.

Van der Bellen betonte schließlich, dass eine Position zwischen Macht und Ideologie nicht möglich sei. Macht verlange vielmehr nach Ideologie, da jede Partei ansonsten bei den WählerInnen an Glaubwürdigkeit einbüße. Die Grünen stünden freilich sowohl rechts – mit ihrem Umweltschutzgedanken als „konservative“, bewahrende Kraft – als auch links, als Kritiker der entfesselten Marktwirtschaft.

Die grüne Metamorphose

Den beiden grünen SpitzenpolitikerInnen aus Österreich und Deutschland widersprach **Ralf Fücks**, Vorstand der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung und ehemaliger grüner Senator in Bremen, in seiner Analyse. Die Metamorphose, die „radikale Häutung“ der Grünen, so Fücks, habe schon lange vor dem Regierungsantritt begonnen, und dennoch: „Jemand wie Petra Kelly würde die Partei heute nicht wiedererkennen.“ Seit die Grünen im Bund regieren, sei Basisdemokratie zu einer reinen Phrase verkommen, tatsächlich

werde grüne Politik von oben nach unten definiert. Parteitage würden zunehmend zu medialen Inszenierungen, was freilich als Professionalisierung wahrgenommen werde.

Die heutige Situation sei natürlich auch Resultat einer veränderten Gesellschaft. Der Ort, von dem aus sich die Grünen definieren, habe sich völlig gewandelt: „Wir definieren uns nicht mehr ‚anti-‘, sondern als Reformkraft mitten in der Gesellschaft.“

Die Herausbildung einer sozial sensiblen und gebildeten derartigen Mittelklasse, die das grüne Projekt jetzt trägt, machte eine Professionalisierung, eine Institutionalisierung und letztendlich eine Regierungsbeteiligung der Grünen überhaupt erst möglich.

Die Selbsttransformation der Grünen bestehe somit nicht in einem Wandel der Grundwerte, sondern in einem Wandel deren programmatischer Umsetzung. Dieser Wandel habe sowohl zu Gewinnen als auch Verlusten geführt, aber immer

noch stehen die Grünen in einem Spannungsverhältnis zum Status quo. Fücks ist sich der Gefahr, dass die Grünen vom Pragmatismus und der medialen Inszenierung aufgefressen werden könnten, bewusst. Zentral für den weiteren Erfolg sei aber die fortwährende kritische Auseinandersetzung mit den eigenen Entwürfen, sind es doch sie, die die Grünen von anderen Parteien unterscheiden.

Die Mütter der Grünen

Cornelia Klinger, Permanent Fellow des IWM, plädierte in Abwandlung von Hegels Diktum, dass der Baum der Freiheit alle zwanzig Jahre mit Blut zu begießen sei, für die permanente Erneuerung der Partei durch die Integration sozialer Bewegungen. Aus ihrer Sicht sind die sozialen Bewegungen die „Mütter“ der Partei. Den

Grünen sei dieses Kunststück bislang ganz gut gelungen.

Klingers theoretisches Interesse an den Grünen begründe sich aus den Veränderungen des Naturbegriffs. Der Machtzuwachs der Gesellschaft über die Natur im 20. Jahrhundert habe ein neues Reflektieren des Spannungsverhältnisses von Natur

und Gesellschaft notwendig gemacht.

Anders als Van der Bellen beurteilt Klinger das Verhältnis von Macht und Ideologie: ideologiefreie Macht sei heute die Regel. Politisch agiert werde heute nach Sachzwängen und Notwendigkeiten. Sowohl die Nationalstaaten als auch die national organisierten Parteien verlören in der globalisierten Welt ihre Bedeutung.

Aus der Position einer Wählerin erkennt Klinger daher die Notwendigkeit, den Politikbegriff im Verhältnis sowohl zur Natur (im weitesten Sinne) als auch zur Globalisierung zu verändern.

Wenn die Grünen diese Positionen aufgaben, verlören sie ihre Einzigartigkeit. Den Spannungsbogen von der Basis der sozialen Bewegungen einerseits und zum Ideenhimmel andererseits, so Klinger müssten die Grünen unbedingt aufrechterhalten.



Alexander Van der Bellen

In collaboration with the Austrian National Committee of the European Cultural Foundation the Institute for Human Sciences hosted a symposium on the politics of memory – as part of a long-term series on politics and culture – on 14 May.

Memory and Politics

BERLIN AND VIENNA both during the last years saw controversial public debates arise as soon as plans to erect memorials for the victims of the Holocaust became known. The Austrian National Committee of the European Cultural Foundation asked (former) politicians and intellectuals to analyze and discuss the recent developments as regards the politics of memory.

Michael Naumann, publisher and editor-in-chief of the German weekly *Die Zeit* and former German Minister for Cultural Affairs, opened the discussion with “Some Remarks on the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin”. **Peter Marboe**, former Viennese City Councillor for Cultural Affairs and **Charles Taylor**, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at McGill University and Chairman of the IWM Academic Advisory Board, were invited to comment. **Lord Weidenfeld** (publisher, London) chaired the event.

The discussion focussed on the controversial arguments surrounding the planned Holocaust memorials in Berlin and Vienna, and went on more generally to consider the importance of historical memory in politics and in the search for identity in Europe. The artistic commemoration of heinous acts committed by a nation in the past – rather than heroic deeds – is a new phenomenon. However, it has quickly become a precondition for peaceful co-existence in multicultural or multiethnic societies in which there is a history of oppression of minorities.

Why not improve existing museums?

Michael Naumann remembered that when he had first been asked about his thoughts on the idea for the Holocaust memorial in Berlin, he had considered the plan an aesthetic gesture which had no precedent and therefore should not be attempted.

Instead Naumann had suggested that the money (DM 27 million) should be used to renovate, update and sponsor existing memorials and museums in East Germany, which had been turned into memorials for their own purposes by the East German régime.

Naumann’s averse position to the Holocaust memorial in Berlin had two reasons. Firstly, he felt the need to improve the museological and didactic situation of the former German concentration camps, especially in the former German Democratic Republic, but also in the West. Secondly, in Naumann’s view, it is not possible for Germans to

properly commemorate the “Kulturbruch” (cultural fracture), the most horrific event that ever happened, by artistic representations or architectural attempts. How should it be possible to commemorate anything on the scale of the Holocaust with an aesthetic gesture?

The capital of regret

The Mayor of Berlin did not want the city to become the “capital of regret”. Naumann’s impression was that the Mayor saw this kind of commemoration as an attempt to relieve the whole nation of the memory of what happened. “The more you think about the Holocaust and its official commemoration, the more it becomes clear that one of the founding truths on which German democratic existence is based is the Holocaust and the attempt to cut with the past. This in itself is a very difficult *raison d’état*. To build and be part of a nation on the memory of this horrible crime is an enormous challenge to the ordinary person, as well as to many politicians,” said Naumann.

Naumann wanted to overcome this problem, agreeing with Musil that the dilemma of every monument is that it becomes invisible with time and therefore loses its purpose. As a consequence, he suggested building a museum underneath the planned monument to teach the story of the Holocaust.

Names, faces, families – all forgotten?

To maintain the delicate balance of commemorating and educating a whole nation fulfills an old platonic demand – the anthropological-philosophical insight that the human being’s consciousness is determined by his or her ability to remember.

However, and this Naumann finds very disturbing, the remembering of events of the Holocaust is done abstractly: individual suffering is lost from sight. Only few memorials point out individual cases – names, faces, families. “The abstractness of politically motivated and supported memory becomes useless. How can one possibly induce in a nation of 80 million people the continuous memory of individual suffering and death? The answer is that one cannot, and history will show this. The next generations of both the perpetrator and victim nations will have to come to terms with this.”

Kann ein Kulturbruch wie der Holocaust überhaupt zum Gegenstand von Denkmälern werden? Die Debatten und Kontroversen in Berlin und Wien zeigten, wie vielschichtig und kontrovers diese Frage ist. Auf Einladung des Österreichischen Nationalkomitees der Europäischen Kulturstiftung und des IWM diskutierten unter der Leitung von Lord Weidenfeld Michael Naumann, Peter Marboe und Charles Taylor – mit Blick auf eigene Erfahrungen und kulturpolitische Positionen.



Peter Marboe



Michael Naumann



Charles Taylor



Lord Weidenfeld

High-flying plans and underground museums

Peter Marboe followed Michael Naumann in commenting on his experiences with the Viennese Holocaust memorial as Viennese Councillor for Culture at the time. The decision to build a memorial on the Judenplatz in Vienna was made soon after Simon Wiesenthal suggested the idea. Although it was immediately controversial, the governing Social Democratic party made the decision to go ahead with the idea of building the memorial on the very location. Nine artists were invited to present their proposals, and a jury unanimously decided on Rachel Whiteread's plan.

Only then did the substantial discussions begin, and a movement which was very much in opposition to the project gained support. In the summer of 1996, only months before the Viennese municipal elections, the same government stopped the project. After the elections in October 1996, Peter Marboe himself called an 11-month 'thinking break'.

There was, however, no alternative to building the memorial on the Judenplatz – even though there was strong opposition from locals and from a large part of the Jewish community. Rachel Whiteread's memorial would either be on the Judenplatz – or nowhere.

A new concept for the project was developed. It consisted of a pedestrian zone, access to the excavations of the medieval synagogue through the Mizrahi House, an information center and a museum. So from a position of strong opposition and fluctuating political will to realize it, the project on the Judenplatz was in the end carried through successfully.

Commemoration of the Negative

Charles Taylor spoke of a turn in history – the commemoration of negative events or deeds in works of art being a new phenomenon, which is nowadays required of a great number of societies. This must be seen in the context of the central role that building a collective memory plays, partly through various means of commemoration and partly through the teaching of history in schools, especially in democratic societies in which a sense of legitimacy and belonging must be constructed.

World public opinion is now so effective that even very powerful states or persons cannot ignore it. The turning point, so Taylor, was the First World War – grand tombs were built for the unknown soldier, heroes were honored, but there was deep disconcertment with war and its glorification. It was impossible to view the War from the national framework alone; after the Second World War this was even clearer.

Taylor remarked that it is therefore not just a matter for the Japanese Prime Minister what Japanese history textbooks say. National traditions of commemoration are irreducibly, irreversibly embedded in a larger space.

Multiculturalism has forced politics in modernity to change – minorities are now more present; the fact that many of these minorities were mistreated in the past can no longer be ignored. Taylor explains that nowadays their position cannot be recognized without a certain amount of negative commemoration – real politics of inclusion in the modern polities of Europe, America and the new democracies is absolutely incompatible with silence or denial of what happened.

The main thrust to negative memorialization comes from a mixture of the broader context of society and the need that everyone has to see oneself positively, which was the reason for positive memorialization in the first place. Seeing oneself as a perpetrator of terrible deeds is paralyzing and cannot be lived with. Taylor considers this one of the reasons that there is some understanding for people who wish to cover up their history.

Negative memorialization can take the form of an attempt to recover a sense of affirmation of oneself, as a nation and society, by building a new identity. One wants to be part of the kind of people for whom this act is absolutely unconscionable, to think that it could not be done by us today. "But you can't become that if you pretend that it never was done by us, because you would not change identities. It must be done through the very painful process, hence the tremendous difficulties concerning Holocaust memorials," explained Taylor.

In the context of formerly authoritarian societies that have gone through the democratization process and have found it impossible to simply forget history, there has been understandable desire to move towards amnesty. What can be seen in all these cases, especially in the case of South Africa, is the attempt to carefully balance the need for amnesty with the need for truth. In no way can a peaceful future be secured if one attempts to deny the suffering and injustices that have been inflicted: the building of a new society would constantly be frustrated. The solution was maximum amnesty (reconciliation) with the maximum revelation of truth.

In his final remarks, Charles Taylor emphasized that negative commemoration is becoming an absolutely dimension of democracies, but it remains unclear to most what its purpose is.

Michael Bugajer

On 18 May, the Erasmus of Rotterdam Chair at Warsaw University and the Institute for Human Sciences jointly organized a symposium in Warsaw to explore the sources of violence. It was held within the framework of the Robert Bosch Network Program.

Adversity and Violence in Liberal and Democratic Society

MANKIND AND VIOLENCE – throughout history human thinking has dealt with this problem extensively but without conclusion. Can we really accept the assumption that what is 'human' is not 'violent' and vice versa? Does human 'progress' mean that there is less violence than in the past, that 'civilized' societies are less violent than those that have remained 'uncivilized'?

Within the framework of IWM's Robert Bosch Partner Network a public symposium on **Liberal and Democratic Concepts of Adversity and Violence** was held in Warsaw on 18 May. The symposium brought together academics from Eastern and Western Europe to discuss this highly topical issue.

Charles Taylor, Professor of Philosophy at McGill University and Chairman of IWM's Academic Advisory Board, began by giving a lecture on the **Sources of Violence, Perennial and Modern**. **James Gilligan**, Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School and Director of the Center for the Study of Violence, spoke about **Shame, Pride and Violence**. Next, **Marcin Krol**, Professor of the History of Ideas and Member of the Erasmus of Rotterdam Chair, University of Warsaw and Editor-in-Chief of *Res Publica Nowa*, lectured on the **Concept of Enemy in a Liberal Society**. Finally **John Gray**, Professor of Philosophy at the London School of Economics, spoke about **Democracy and Anarchy**. **Krzysztof Michalski**, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Warsaw and Boston University and Director of IWM, hosted and moderated the symposium.

Solid historical evidence shows that violence has appeared in many forms throughout human history right up to the present. The concept of 'violence' is not just confined to physical brutality governing relations among people with different aims, values and interests. It also means inflicting intellectual or psychological harm, which can lead to grave cultural and social consequences. Despite numerous theories analyzing its impact and the possibilities of preventing it, violence still performs certain social functions in specific cultures and certain circumstances. It has a stable position in human society and can therefore be seen as an attribute of human nature.

Locating the evil

Violence needs breeding soil (source of violence) for its genesis and further growth, an essential motive (cause of violence) and at least two opposing sides (concept of subject enemy). Charles Taylor pointed out that the problem with categorical violence is the difficulty in explaining its origin. Some people seek explanations in biology: because young men often perpetrate violence, hormones are blamed as the cause. Others see socio-biological explanations: people are aggressive with outsiders and bond with insiders. Supposedly, Taylor said, this had an evolutionary pay-off; such reasoning, however, makes 'meaning' irrelevant.

Scapegoats and outsiders are created because we define ourselves in terms of our beliefs, ideals, orders or way of life and so must place evil outside of ourselves. In Taylor's view, seeing oneself as evil, or in moral chaos, is too disabling and paralyzing: "We can't admit it. So we project the evil onto agents of 'pollution'." To see evil or disorder as external naturally requires a contrast.

Historically, Taylor continued, contrast was often provided by 'barbarians', 'savages', distant peoples mostly beyond contact. The contrast defined evil as external – we're not barbarians. Without contact, so Taylor, this was relatively harmless, although it licensed cruelty when contact did occur. Reversal of fear and purification of human society are modern and perennial sources of violence. The circumstances we live in lead us to identify the problem alongside its source. We thus manage to identify our enemy – someone responsible – so we have a reason to punish. Since we are morally entitled to do so, we are pure and purifying.

Taylor argued that the most terrible violence arises when the outsiders are seen as polluting from within, as the implication of this is that these outsiders need to be purged or expelled: we see this in the terrible history of European anti-Semitism.

In some societies, the rise of modernity even exacerbated this. Jewish emancipation was seen by some as allowing the 'enemy' to infiltrate. This reasoning culminated in Nazism, which fused a warrior ethic with the mythology of expelling evil: holy rage and sacred massacre simultaneously. Taylor emphasized that the dangers of such thinking are extreme: a minority automatically threatens society merely by virtue of its existence.

Gewalt wird oft als 'inhuman' etikettiert. Gleichwohl ist Gewalt auf allen Ebenen, von der Prügelei zwischen Jugendlichen bis hin zum Völkermord, Realität in allen Gesellschaften – demokratischen wie autoritären. Geschichte und Theorie dieser Phänomene diskutierten im Rahmen eines vom Erasmus von Rotterdam-Lehrstuhl an der Universität Warschau und dem IWM im Rahmen des Robert Bosch Netzwerks organisierten Symposium Charles Taylor, James Gilligan, Marcin Krol und John Gray. Moderator war Krzysztof Michalski.

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Charles Taylor, Krzysztof Michalski, Marcin Krol, John Gray (from left to right)



James Gilligan (left) and Charles Taylor

Humiliation generates violence

To insult someone culminates in that person's humiliation. In James Gilligan's words, "the most effective way of making even the most peaceful people react violently is to insult them." Gilligan contended that conceptions of violence have changed. Violence has obtained the role of "social tuberculosis" – nothing sacred or morally justifiable, but an illness damaging the basic functions and substance of society and breaking any social compatibility.

Discrimination and poverty create an environment for feeling inferior (being in an inferior social role), accompanied with the lack of social success and recognition. According to James Gilligan, the only effective way to prevent violence is to implement universal political democracy, guided by the removal of poverty and inequality among different social classes. Strengthening fundamental social certainties reduces social clashes that result in violence.

Political democracy at least offers a chance to be heard and allows the possibility for a movement from the extreme edge of society to come closer to the middle. Nevertheless, the dissemination of a democratic and liberal political order and the establishing of social equality are not possible without a sufficient level of mutual communication within and/or with various more or less interactive social classes of human society.

Enemies as scapegoats

Paradoxically, violence can achieve a certain social cumulative function, namely when the whole society unites against a predefined danger. In such cases, violence takes the position of permitted aggressiveness against a common target – specified enemy – whether initiating such a reaction (deserving enemy) or not (victim of violence, aggrieved person). The enemy is the scapegoat in society, an individual kept out of relevant public discussion and public concern (Marcin Krol).

Reconciliation of society means the elimination of violence. Machiavelli suggests that perhaps (seen within the framework of economic categories) the most effective solution is the total liquidation of enemies. Such an outcome, however, does not adhere to any developed concept of democracy guaranteeing fundamental

human rights to every human being; it neglects the possibility of a mistake or of simple human weakness.

Another solution focuses on the integration of enemies into liberal society, their inclusion into public dialogue and general social concern. Marcin Krol propounded two basic questions in this connection: Is such incorporation actually possible? Does society want to include its enemies?

Human society is perhaps (among others) based on the vital requirement of having enemies whether assigned to a specific purpose or not. Marcin Krol mentioned that there are enemies in all liberal societies. A solution for how they could be removed does not exist.

Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that certain individuals and/or groups of individuals label themselves as the enemies of a certain society, thus disqualifying themselves from being integrated into the society and participating in public dialogue. They make it difficult to achieve social consensus or compromise.

Violence is not an isolated social issue that has no impact on the fundamental operation of democratic society. It brings along a large scope of social changes and sources for later hostility and revenge. Violence lays a footpath for disorder, anarchy and social chaos.

Superpowers becoming enemies of democracy

The growing weakness of modern state sovereignty does not automatically mean that a state loses its power. On the contrary, modern states try to reassert their power of control – John Gray specifies it as control of the movement of people. The most powerful modern states, the world superpowers, are slowly but surely becoming the biggest enemies of liberal democracy.

Institutions warranting liberal values do not have any further sense, and society is continually being replaced by liberal democratic anarchy. According to John Gray, seemingly democratic regimes with a high potential of narrow economic purpose and various forms of corruption, have deeper effects on liberal freedoms and are much more illiberal in their final impact than the most brutal mass violence.

John Gray pointed out the above-listed feature as the first change to take

place in a modern society. The second change should be defined as the overall revolution of the nature of war. Loss of state sovereignty continues alongside a transfer of focus from the state itself to entities and/or organisations existing irrespective of any state structures. Such political, religious or cultural movements initiate and realise contemporary wars, disregarding the general public opinion or the will of states (state representatives). They inflict aggression mostly by means of terrorism or other more or less organised forms of violence, often contrary to the interests of states.

As violence increases worldwide, there are more and more calls for international agreements to suppress violence. The problem is that we need and depend on strong, sovereign and modern states to co-establish, support and attend to supra-national structures and institutions.

However, John Gray argued that strong states do not care enough for such agreements and institutes since these states do not consider them as falling within the range of their political or economic priorities. Such agreements and institutions necessarily interfere with national jurisdiction and control over own interior matters (and foreign issues as well), and thereby restrict national sovereignty.

Violence can cause mass human destruction and therefore it is a matter of vital importance to the entire human race. Human knowledge has disclosed its other side. Enlightenment not only serves as a tool for universal progress and peace but also as necessary knowledge for surveillance, humiliation and mass murder. Modernity itself has made killing and aggression much more available, effective and cheaper than ever before.

Alena Mikudova / Michael Bugajer

Am 18. Juni stellte sich Dieter Simon, Präsident der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und kürzlich neu gewählter Präsident des Instituts für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen, Fellows, Mitarbeitern und Freunden des IWM vor. Mit einer ironischen Ansprache zu Formen und Funktionen des "szientifischen Kryptonetzwerks" eröffnete er sein Einstandsfest.

"Netzwerker" Dieter Simon ist neuer Präsident des IWM



Jyoti Mistry (li) und eine Freundin



Julia Huang (li) und David Theil

Dieter Simon, President of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, succeeded the late Jozef Tischner as President of the Institute for Human Sciences. On June 18, he introduced himself to the fellows, staff and friends of the IWM.



Georg Lennkh, Janos M. Kovacs und John Smith (von links nach rechts)



Klaus Nellen (li) mit Junior Visiting Fellows

DAS INSTITUT FÜR DIE WISSENSCHAFTEN VOM MENSCHEN wird von einem Verein getragen, dessen langjähriger Präsident Jozef Tischner im Vorjahr nach schwerer Krankheit verstorben ist. Der Vereinsvorstand wählte im März dieses Jahres aus seiner Mitte Dieter Simon, Präsident der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der dem IWM bereits seit mehr als einer Dekade verbunden ist, zu Tischners Nachfolger.

Dieter Simon lud nun im Juni zu einem Antrittsfest in die Räume des Instituts, um sich denjenigen vorzustellen, die „ihn nicht gewählt hatten“, den Fellows, Mitarbeitern und Freunden des IWM. Dem kleinen, freundschaftlichen Rahmen entsprechend entschied er sich gegen einen akademischen Vortrag und amüsierte die Zuhörerinnen und Zuhörer stattdessen mit Reflexionen über akademische Netzwerke.

Damit meinte er keineswegs die Netzwerke, von denen man sich heute die Panazee der „Synergie“ erhofft – nichts anderes als der zum Terminus gefrorene Stoßseufzer, dass die anderen die Administration erledigen mögen.

Vielmehr konzentrierte sich Simon auf das *old boys network*, für das er als Alteuropäer und bekennender Humanist den auratischen Begriff eines „szientifischen Kryptonetzwerks“ prägte.

Mit analytischer Präzision lieferte er dann die entscheidenden Merkmale, die die unsichtbaren Fädenzieher im Wissenschaftsbetrieb sichtbar werden lassen. Denn die Identifikation der Akteure erfolge, so Simon, in der Manier der Entlarvung einer Bande von Schmugglern und Terroristen: Kriegt man einen zu fassen, hat man sie alle.

Entlang seines Kriterienkatalogs – soziales Grußverhalten spielt dabei ebenso eine Rolle wie der Umgang mit dem Terminkalender – arbeitete sich Simon zur Vorstellung seiner eigenen Person vor. Es blieb ihm nichts anderes übrig, als sich als Mitglied einer „ausländischen szientifischen Kryptonetzwerk-Organisation“ zu outen. Man hatte so etwas erwartet.



Dieter Simon bei seinem Outing



Christoph Chorherr und Gerhard Rainer (re)



Krzysztof Michalski (li), Dieter Simon und Freunde des Präsidenten

Each term approximately 10 Junior Visiting Fellows from Europe, East and West, and the United States are awarded scholarships to pursue their studies at IWM. At the end of their stay the results of their research are discussed at a conference which for the first term of 2001 took place on June 7th.

Jedes Semester bietet das IWM etwa 10 NachwuchswissenschaftlerInnen die Möglichkeit, ein selbstgewähltes Forschungsvorhaben in Zusammenarbeit mit den Permanent und Visiting Fellows zu verfolgen. Der Aufenthalt wird mit einer Konferenz abgeschlossen, auf der die Resultate zur Diskussion gestellt werden.

Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference



Round-table discussion



Meike Schmidt-Gleim, Mieke Verloo and Abigail Gillman (from left to right)



Andrew Bove, Veronika Wittmann, Michal Kopecek (from left to right)



I. History, Methodology, Politics, Chair: Anita Traninger

Alessandro Barberi

New Methodologies in Historiography: Historical Epistemology and Discourse Analysis

Reviewer: **Georg Kö**

Michal Kopecek

Communism in Central Europe and Intellectual History: Rethinking Marxist Revisionism

Reviewer: **Janos M. Kovacs**

II. Cultural Preconditions and Political Borders.

Chairs: **Anita Traninger, Klaus Nellen**

Kamila Kulik

Daimon – the Citizen (Arendt and Plato's Socrates)

Reviewer: **Abigail Gillman**

Andrew Bove

Hegel's Notion of "Bildung" and the Question of Culture in Politics, Reviewer: **Edwad Findlay**

Meike Schmidt-Gleim

Racism and Democracy, Reviewer: **Cornelia Klinger**

Veronika Wittmann

Protocols of (Planned) Failures and (Unplanned) Enlightenment, Reviewer: **Cornelia Klinger**

Tatiana Zhurzenko

"Language Politics" and Formation of National Identity in Contemporary Ukraine

Reviewer: **Alexei Miller**

Inna V. Naletova

The Orthodox Church in Russia on Relations with the Modern State

Reviewer: **Janos M. Kovacs**

On 28-29 June 2001 the United States Embassy Vienna together with the Diplomatic Academy and the Institute for Human Sciences held an international conference on the question of extremism in democracy.

Testing Democracy at the Margins

THE CONFERENCE brought together 25 panelists from 15 countries in Europe and North America to facilitate a transatlantic dialogue on sensitive questions concerning "extremism" in democracy. In the words of the conference program, the aim of the debate was "to focus on threats to human rights and human dignity within democratic societies, whether those threats emanate from the streets or from the ballots, and on ways to prevent democracies from turning ugly". The conference attracted a large audience throughout the two-day event held at the Diplomatic Academy.

Six panel sessions included a broad range of expertise from academia, government, journalism, business and non-governmental organizations. Contributions were offered from across a wide spectrum of relevant actors, including Richard Thornton, FBI Civil Rights Program, Hate Crimes Unit, Britta Lejon, Swedish Minister for Democratic Issues, and Reverend Toshiki Toma, Pastor for Immigrants in Reykjavik, Iceland. The panel sessions sought to reflect the multi-faceted strategies for coping with the increasing diversity of cultures and minority populations in modern democracies, and the social and political tensions that emerge.

Following an opening speech by the US Ambassador to Austria, Kathryn Hall, a keynote presentation was given by Marcus Mabry of *Newsweek International*. Drawing upon his work as *Newsweek* bureau chief and correspondent in Johannesburg and Paris respectively, and his own personal experience as a black American at home and his living for several years in Europe, he compared his "multi-ethnic experience" on both continents and challenged many conventional wisdoms concerning the progress of ethnic relations and minority rights. His speech highlighted a theme that would run through this transatlantic dialogue i.e. what each continent could learn from their respective histories and experiences of ethnic and racial tensions and political extremism.

The conference sessions addressed six interlocking themes. The first session on "Liberal Democracy and the Tyranny of the Majority" ques-

tioned how much intolerance a democracy should tolerate, with speakers addressing case studies such as the activities of the Anti-Defamation League, and the work of the peace process in Northern Ireland. Next, a session focussed on “Restricting Civil Liberties in the Fight against Extremism” with emphasis on the limits of freedom of speech at various national levels, and the related implications of new technological developments, in particular, the Internet. A third session on “Extremist Parties and the Electoral System” considered how “constitutional engineering” and/or electoral system reform might prevent political extremism. Debate centred on whether electoral systems make a difference, and the merits or not of altering the “rules of the game” to try to exclude fringe political parties.

On the second day, the opening panel session on “Political, Social and Economic Strategies against Extremism” shifted the focus on to the level of the individual at the workplace or in everyday social life. Speakers addressed the need to invest in “diversity training” in business and professional life, and voluntary activities to foster education and awareness aimed at breaking down barriers of prejudice in communities. On the political level, the fifth session considered the issue of “Co-opting and/or Marginalizing the Extremes” through debating in the comparative context of North America and Europe how mainstream political party systems have dealt with extremist/radical platforms. The final session on “Transatlantic Values and Liberal Democracy: Past and Future” posed the question of

whether there could emerge a transatlantic consensus on how to deal with extremism in democracy. The debate focussed on the need to strengthen “values” (whether Transatlantic or European) through the “deepening” of institutions (broadly defined to include national and international governmental bodies, political parties, business enterprises etc.) through policies and actions that gave full recognition to the increasingly multi-cultural nature of modern democracies and the enhanced requirements to protect minority rights.

While the conference provided many examples of achievements, and the challenges facing the work of governments, NGO’s and business, it was agreed that the reduction of intolerance and the engendering of a greater sense of inclusiveness in modern democracies depended largely on political leadership and an active and engaged citizenry. In this complex topic field, shaped by historical and political developments in each country, an understated theme running through all the sessions was that long-term investment in education and awareness-raising which reflected and took account of the cultural diversity of modern democracies, from formal education through to the workplace and life-long learning, provided one of the surest way to tackle intolerance and extremism at its roots.

Wieviel Intoleranz kann eine liberale Demokratie tolerieren? Eine internationaler Workshop der amerikanischen Botschaft in Österreich in Kooperation mit der Diplomatischen Akademie und dem Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen von 28.-29. Juni hatte die Auslotung der Grenzen der Demokratie zum Thema.

Panel session speakers and moderators

José María Beneyto

Pérez, Professor for European Law, International Law, and International Relations, Institute for European Studies, University of San Pablo-CEU, Madrid

Hans-Georg Betz, Professor of Political Science, York University, Toronto

Giancarlo Bosetti, editor of *Reset*, monthly journal, Rome

Erhard Busek, Austrian Special Representative on EU Enlargement, Vienna

Jean-Yves Camus, political scientist, European Center for Research on Racism and Antisemitism, Paris

Hubert Feichtlbauer, freelance contributor to *Die Presse* and *Die Furchen*, Vienna

Andreas Føllesdal, Professor of Philosophy, University of Oslo, and Senior Researcher at ARENA

Lothar Höbelt, Professor of History, University of Vienna

Kenneth Jacobson,

International Director, Anti-Defamation League, New York

Jan Jarab, Czech Human Rights Commissioner, Prague

Lonnie Johnson, Executive Director of the Austrian-American Educational Commission (Fulbright Commission), Vienna

Laszlo Kürti, Professor of Political Science, University of Miskolc

Claus Leggewie, Professor of Political Science, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen

Britta Lejon, Minister for Democratic Issues, Public Administration, and Consumer Policies, Swedish Ministry of Justice, Stockholm

Marcus Mabry, Global Affairs and European Affairs editor, *Newsweek*, New York

Helga Nowotny, Professor of Philosophy and Social Studies of Science, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zurich and member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board

Brendan O’Leary, Professor of Political Science, London School of Economics and

Anton Pelinka, Professor of Political Science, University of Innsbruck and member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board

Hans Rauscher, journalist, *Der Standard*, Vienna

John Smith, Executive Director, IWM

Richard Thornton, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Civil Rights Program, Washington, D.C.

Ingrid Thurnher, ORF journalist, Vienna

Reverend Toshiki Toma, Pastor for Immigrants, Reykjavik

Helen Turnbull, President, Human Facets, Fort Lauderdale

Hans Winkler, Head of the Legal Office and Legal Adviser, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vienna



Laszlo Kurti, Jan Jarab, John Smith, Hans-Georg Betz and Anton Pelinka (from left to right)



Giancarlo Bosetti, Marcus Mabry, Helga Nowotny, Erhard Busek, and Britta Lejon (from left to right)

Within the **Robert Bosch Network Program**, the Institute for Human Sciences collaborates with 6 Partner Institutions

Erasmus of Rotterdam Chair, University of Warsaw

Collegium for Interdepartmental Studies, University of Warsaw

New Europe College, Bucharest

Center for Theoretical Study, Prague

Institute for Contemporary History, Prague

The Society for Higher Learning, Bratislava

“**Liberalism, Democracy, and their Troubled Relationship**” was the theme of IWM’s 9th International Summer School in Political Philosophy, held at Cortona, Italy, July 8-20, 2001. Over 40 students from Europe and North America attended the school, which is organized in cooperation with IWM’s partner institutions in Warsaw, Prague, Bratislava, and Bucharest.

IWM Summer School in Political Philosophy 2001

STUDENTS ATTENDED FOUR COURSES that dealt in different ways with the internal doubts and uncertainties of both old and new liberal democracies. Marcin Król of the University of Warsaw and John Gray of the London School of Economics taught a seminar on contemporary critiques of liberalism that originate from within liberalism. The problem of liberty and utility in the philosophy of John Stuart Mill provided the point of departure. Król then turned to the liberal-communitarian debate, while Gray discussed the conservative liberalism of Isaiah Berlin, Friedrich von Hayek, and Karl Popper.

Pierre Hassner and **Aleksander Smolar**, respectively of the Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales in Paris and the Stefan Batory Foundation in Warsaw, co-taught a course on the recent revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe. Key issues of the course were what, if anything, was novel about these revolutions, and how attention to events in the East might improve the self-understanding of the Western democracies. The concerns and opinions of the many Eastern and Central European students enlivened the classes, and Hassner and Smolar eagerly continued the discussion each day over the lunch and dinner table.

The philosophical approach of Król and Gray and the historical approach of Hassner and Smolar were supplemented by the more sociological approach of Professors **Claus Offe** (Free University of Berlin) and **Ulrich Preuß** (Humboldt University, Berlin), whose topic was liberal democratic constitutionalism. Offe and Preuß enumerated and analyzed the characteristics of constitutionalism as developed over the past two centuries, placing special emphasis on the ways in which rights become effective in the modern state. Throughout the course they built a case for constitutional sociology as a modest alternative to political philosophy in a post-modern era of uncertainty.

The progress and problems of the European Union – especially with respect to its democratic legitimacy – were an important topic both in and outside class in Cortona, and discussion was fueled by the visits of former Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato and Italian politician Filipo

Pandolfi. Both spoke on the challenges and difficulties of ensuring that European integration proceeds democratically. Amato compared his current activities to the efforts of Hamilton and Madison to “sell” the U.S. constitution to the American people in the eighteenth century, and announced his intention to travel through Europe explaining the urgent need for increased political cooperation.

Finally, IWM Director Krzysztof Michalski held four classes on sections of Nietzsche’s *Zarathustra*. The central question was how human societies can face up to the problem of radical otherness following the Nietzschean diagnosis of nihilism in the modern world. The discussion proved lively as several students struggled to find liberal and democratic intimations in Nietzsche’s prescient radicalism.



Marcin Krol, Krzysztof Michalski, Giuliano Amato, Aleksander Smolar, Pierre Hassner (left to right)



5 of the 4r participants

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. An e-mail information service on upcoming events is available on IWM's website www.iwm.at

Jeden Dienstag ist die Bibliothek des IWM Schauplatz eines öffentlichen Vortrags, gefolgt von einer informellen Diskussion. Fellows und Gäste des Instituts sowie internationale Wissenschaftler und Intellektuelle werden eingeladen, ihre aktuellen Forschungsergebnisse zu präsentieren. Einen e-mail-Informationsservice zu bevorstehenden Veranstaltungen bietet die Website des IWM, www.iwm.at

Tuesday Lectures

8 MAY

Alexei Miller Nation-Building Projects in Late Imperial Russia

IN THE 19TH CENTURY all the European and semi-European empires were dealing with the problem of consolidation of their imperial cores into a nation. Also in the Romanov Empire many politicians and ideologists distinguished between the Russian core of the Empire, which had to be transformed into a nation, and the imperial borderlands, which were not considered to be an object for a wholesale Russification within this concept. Those ready to acknowledge the fact that the



Russian nation was less than the Empire inevitably had to answer some pre-carious questions: What is Russian-ness?

Where are the territorial, ethnic and/or cultural borders of the Russian nation in the making? What were the answers and what were the results of the Russian nation-building project?

Alexei Miller is Senior Research Fellow of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow and was an IWM Visiting Fellow from February to June 2001.

15 MAY

Sorin Antohi Ethnic Ontology: The Metaphysical Foundations of Nationalism

SCHOLARS OF NATIONALISM routinely disregarded (for being reactionary, delirious, and potentially or directly murderous) authors and discourses aimed at the indigenization of universal concepts such as

space, time and being. Entangled in speculations about history, language, destiny, and culture, such complex efforts to construct what Antohi terms 'ethnic ontologies' have formed the core of both nationalism and local high-cultural can-



ons. Endowing the ethnies/nations with its own ontology allows for its emancipation from the tyranny of symbolic geography, its rescue from the 'terror of history', and an exclusive protective vertical relationship to a divine or transcendental principle. Based on the analysis of Romanian and German examples, Sorin Antohi's presentation offered a critical introduction to ethnic ontology and to the study of nationalism.

Sorin Antohi is Professor of History at the Central European University in Budapest and was guest of IWM in May.

29 MAY

Werte in der Gesellschaft von heute IV Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde Wieviel Staat braucht die Gesellschaft?

BRAUCHT DIE GESELLSCHAFT überhaupt Staat, kann sie sich nicht selbst und herrschaftsfrei organisieren? Das ist zu verneinen, warum? Wenn die Gesellschaft aber Staat braucht, wie viel Staat braucht sie? Gibt es ein Prinzip, nach dem dies bestimmt und abgegrenzt werden kann?

In seinem Vortrag ging Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde diesen Fragen nach. Er entwickelte das Freiheitsprinzip als

Grundlage für die Begründung und Begrenzung der Staatsmacht und staatlicher Aufgaben und zeigte auf, welche Konsequenzen sich daraus in der Gegenwart, nicht zuletzt für die Diskussion um den Sozialstaat, ergeben.



In Zusammenarbeit mit der Politischen Akademie

Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde ist Professor für öffentliches Recht, Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte und Rechtsphilosophie emeritus an der Universität Freiburg i.B., ehemaliger Richter des Bundesverfassungsgerichts in Karlsruhe und Mitglied des wissenschaftlichen Beirats des IWM.

5 JUNE

Charles Taylor The Sources of Violence, Perennial and Modern

„WHAT ARE THE SOURCES of violence? I mean systematic, organized violence, as in war, civil war, ethnic cleansing. Some of this may be explained ‘rationally’ e.g., certain wars of legitimate defense. But much

contemporary violence seems to go beyond any rational explanation. Even where some forceful action seems rational, the violence inflicted often goes beyond this, killing civilians, bystanders, committing terrible atrocities.

Is there a socio-biological or a ‘psychological’ explanation for all this? Or do we have also to in-



voke some ‘metaphysical’ dimension? I believe this latter direction of search is indispensable. Following René Girard, I look at the religious sources of violence in human history. I want to argue that in a transformed mode, these are still operative in our day.“

Eine Kurzfassung des Vortrags ist unter dem Titel “Die Alchemie der Gewalt” am 16. August in *Der Standard* erschienen. Der Text ist Teil der Serie “Worldly Philosophers” die Project Syndicate und das IWM gemeinsam konzipieren und betreuen.

Charles Taylor is Professor of Philosophy emeritus at McGill University, Montreal, and Chairman of IWM’s Academic Advisory Board.

12 JUNE

Vladimir Tismaneanu Communism, Fascism and the Lessons of the 20th Century

COMMUNISM (in its radical, Leninist-Stalinist) version, and Fascism (in its extreme, Nazi incarnation) represented the



two main challengers to liberal values, institutions, and practices in the 20th century. In the same vein, anti-Fascism and anti-Communism were significant ideological passions that inspired strong emotions, attachments, and loyalties with enduring effects in contemporary intellectual and moral debates. Vladimir Tismaneanu, in his paper, attempted to define the similarities and differences between these ideology-driven systems by focusing on their origins, intentions, inner dynamics, and affinities with other doctrines.

The lecture explored the legitimacy and implications of the comparisons between the two versions of radical evil in the 20th century.

Vladimir Tismaneanu is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies at the University of Maryland. He was guest of IWM in June.

19 JUNE

Was ist soziale Gerechtigkeit? I John E. Roemer Equality of Opportunity

“WE PROPOSE A THEORY of equality of opportunity that formalizes the idea of *leveling the playing field*. Our theory enables us to compute, given the data, what policy intervention will equalize opportunities, among a constituency, for the achievement of a given objective. We apply the

theory to ask, to what extent does redistributive taxation serve the function of equalizing opportunities among a citizenry for the achievement of income? Absent redistributive taxation, the income a person eventually earns is correlated to the socio-economic status of the family in which he or she grew up. Were opportunities for income to be entirely equalized, a person’s income would be independent of his social background. We can therefore ask, to what extent do fiscal systems in advanced democracies make it the case that the (post-tax and transfer) income of citizens is independent of the social status of the families in which they grew up?“

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem Renner-Institut

John E. Roemer is Elizabeth S. and A. Varick Stout Professor of Political Science and Economics at Yale University.



26 JUNE

Abigail Gillman
Freud's Art of Memory

THE FOCUS OF THE IWM conference *The Memory of the Century* held this past March was the range of political and cultural strategies currently being devised to remember, to commemorate and to work through the events of the past century.

Yet much of our current memory discourse originated in notions about memory which crystallized a century ago, when artists and thinkers responded to a



late nineteenth-century “crisis of memory” by developing new ways of mediating between past and present, between memory and identity. The rhetorical strategies common to Freud’s writings on cultural figures – Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo’s Moses statue, and the Biblical Moses – exemplify how this thinker sought to develop a new idiom of cultural memory; these strategies parallel in striking ways the innovations occurring simultaneously in Viennese modernism.

Abigail Gillman, Assistant Professor of German and Hebrew at Boston University, was completing a book entitled *Inventing Memory in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna* while she was a Visiting Fellow of IWM from April to June 2001.

Visiting Fellows

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

Die folgenden Wissenschaftlichen Mitglieder haben ihren Aufenthalt am IWM angetreten:

Jodi Dean

Associate Professor of Political Science, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva/New York



Length of Stay: July – December 2001

Specialization: Feminist theory, contemporary political theory

IWM Project: Feminist Theory in Global Technoculture

Publications: *Aliens in America*, Cornell University Press 1998; *Feminism and the New Democracy*, Sage 1997 (ed.); *Solidarity of Strangers*, University of California Press 1996

Reinhard Engel

Writer and Journalist, Vienna; Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow



Length of Stay: July – September 2001

Specialization: Foreign direct investment in the Central East European Countries (CEECs); industry and banking

IWM Project: The Economic Chances of Latecomers in the CEECs (Balkans)

Publications: *Schöne neue Wirtschaftswelt. Reportagen über Gewinner und Verlierer*, Wien 2000; *Der harte Weg nach Europa. Reportagen und Analysen aus Polen, Tschechien, der Slowakei, Slowenien und Ungarn*, Wien 1999; *Sklavenarbeit unterm Hakenkreuz* (mit Joana Radzyner), Wien 1999

Edward Findlay

Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Political Science, Boston College; IWM Research Associate



Length of Stay: June – August 2001

Specialization: Political theory and comparative politics

IWM Project: Patocka Project: The Other Way into Modernity

Publications: *Caring for the Soul in a Postmodern Age: Politics and Phenomenology in the Work of Jan Patocka* (forthcoming, SUNY Press); "Classical Ethics and Postmodern Critique: Political Philosophy in Vaclav Havel and Jan Patocka", in: *The Review of Politics*, Summer 1999

Zoltán Halasi

Translator, Poet and Essayist, Budapest; Paul Celan Visiting Fellow

Length of Stay: July – December 2001

IWM Project: Johann Gottfried Herder: *Kleinere Schriften. Vier Studien*, Übersetzung ins Ungarische

Publications: "Heartviolin," (an essay about Robert Walser) in: *Robert Walser: A séta*, Budapest 1998; "Three Facets of Time: A Comparative Study of the Autobiographical Works of Elias Canetti, Witold Gombrowicz and István Vas," in: *2000*, July-August 1995; „Hier kann ich mich fügen“. Kafka in Zürau“, in: *Átváltozások*, Budapest 1991

Filip Karfik

Assistant Professor, Institute of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Charles University, Prague; IWM Research Associate

Length of Stay: July – October 2001

Specialization: Ancient and modern philosophy, especially phenomenology

IWM Project: Patocka Project: The Other Way into Modernity

Publications: „Seelenlehre und Kosmologie in Platons Phaidon“, in: A. Havlíček and F. Karfik (eds.), *The Phaedo of Plato. Proceedings of the 2nd Symposium Platonicum Pragense*, Prague 2001 (forthcoming); "La philosophie de l'histoire et le problème de l'âge technique chez Jan Patocka", in: *Études phénoménologiques*, 23-30, 1999; "Die Welt als das 'non aliud' bei Jan Patocka", in: *Internationale Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 1998/1

Fatos Lubonja

Writer and Journalist, Tirana; Editor-in-chief of the cultural journal Përpjekja ("Endeavor"); Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow



Length of stay: July – September 2001

IWM Project: Research on the collapse of the pyramidal schemes in Albania in 1997

Publications: *Threatened Freedom* (a collection of essays and articles on the transition in Albania 1991-1997), Tirana 1999; *The Second Sentence* (a documentary novel), Tirana 1996; *The Final Slaughter* (a novel), Tirana 1994 (all in Albanian)

Kiril Miladinov

Translator, Zagreb; Paul
Celan Visiting Fellow

Length of Stay: July – December 2001

Specialization: Geschichte der Philosophie;
Systemtheorie

IWM Project: Niklas Luhmann: *Die
Wissenschaft der Gesellschaft –
Übersetzung ins Kroatische*

Publications: Ulrich Beck: *Die Erfindung
des Politischen – Übersetzung ins Kroatische
Pronalazenje politickoga*, Zagreb 2001; Donald
Davidson: *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation –
translation into Croatian: Istrazivanja o istini i
interpretaciji*, Zagreb 2000

**Miglana Nikolchina**

Associate Professor, Depart-
ment of Theory and
Literature, Sofia University;
Andrew W. Mellon
Visiting Fellow

July – September 2001

Length of Stay: Feminist theory; literary
utopianism; Julia Kristeva

Specialization: The Seminar: Mode
d'emploi. Critique and
Utopia in the Light of
Late Totalitarianism

IWM Project: *Meaning and Matricide: Reading Woolf via Kristeva*,
Sofia 1997; "Julia Kristeva: The Polylogic Wager", in:
Tessera, vol. 21-22 (Winter 1996 – Summer 1997);
The Utopian Human Being, Sofia 1992

**Mykola Riabchuk**

Journalist, Kyiv; Deputy
Editor-in-Chief of the
political journal/Krytyka;
Milena Jesenská Visiting
Fellow

Length of Stay: July – September 2001

IWM Project: Not So Free at Last: Mass
Media in Post-Communist
Countries – The Perilous
Way to Freedom

Publications: "Culture and Cultural Politics in Contemporary
Ukraine", in: Taras Kuzio and Paul d'Anieri (eds.),
Nation Building, Identity and Regionalism in Ukraine,
Austin 2001; "Historia najnowsza na lamach
ukrainskiej prasy", in: Piotr Kosiewski and Grzegorz
Motyka (eds.), *Historycy Polscy i Ukraińscy wobec
problemów XX wieku*, Cracow 2000; *From 'Little
Russia' to Ukraine: Paradoxes of Delayed Nation-
Building*, Kyiv 2000 (in Ukrainian)

**Maria Todorova**

Professor of History, University of Illinois at
Urbana-Champaign

Length of Stay: July – December 2001

Specialization: Modern Balkan history

IWM Project: Bones of Contention: The Making and
Meaning of Vasil Levski as National Hero

Publications: *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford 1997;
*Balkan Family Structure and the European
Pattern: Demographic Developments in
Ottoman Bulgaria*, Washington 1993; *England, Russia
and the Tanzimat*, Sofia 1980 / Moscow 1983



The following Visiting Fellows have been continuing their stay at
the IWM:

Die folgenden Wissenschaftlichen Mitglieder setzten ihren
Aufenthalt am IWM fort:

Mieke Verloo

Lecturer in Political Science and Gender Studies at the
University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Length of Stay: January – July 2001

Specialization: Gender equality policies, feminist movements

IWM Project: Gender mainstreaming in Central and Eastern
Europe

Publications: (with Y. Benschop, S. Eyckmans, H. van Roost)
"Gender in Balance: an action research to integrate
gender in the personnel policy of the Flemish
government administration", in: S. Nelen & A.
Hondeghe (eds.), *Equality oriented Personnel Policy
in the Public Sector*, Amsterdam 2000; "Gender
Mainstreaming: Practice and Prospects", *Council of
Europe* 1999; (with C. Roggeband) "Global Sister-
hood and Political Change. The unhappy marriage of
women's movements and national contexts", in: C.
van Kersbergen, R. Lieshout & G. Lock (eds.),
*Expansion and Fragmentation. Internationalization,
Political Change and the Transformation of the Nation
State*, Amsterdam 1999

The following Visiting Fellows ended their stay at the IWM:

Die folgenden Wissenschaftlichen Mitglieder haben ihren
Aufenthalt am IWM beendet:

Catalin Cioaba

Doktorand an der Universität Bukarest; Paul Celan
Visiting Fellow

Length of Stay: January – June 2001

Specialization: Philosophie, Phänomenologie im 20. Jahrhundert

IWM Project: Übersetzung von Heideggers „Prolegomena zur
Geschichte des Zeitbegriffs“ ins Rumänische

Publications: *Timp si temporalitate*, Bukarest 2000; „Die
mannigfache Bedeutung des Begriffs Eigentlichkeit“,
in: *New Europe College Jahrbuch*, Bukarest 2000;
Übersetzung der Monographie *Der Denkweg Martin
Heideggers* von Otto Pöggeler, Bukarest 1998

Abigail Gillman

Assistant Professor of German and Hebrew, Boston University

Length of Stay: March – June 2001

Specialization: Viennese modernism; German-Jewish literature and thought

IWM Project: Inventing Memory in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna
Publications: Between Religion and Culture: Mendelssohn, Buber-Rosenzweig, and the Enterprise of Biblical Translation”, in: *Biblical Translation in Context*, forthcoming 2001; “Ich suche ein Asyl fuer meine Vergangenheit: Arthur Schnitzler’s Poetics of Memory”, in: *Arthur Schnitzler: Contemporenaities/Zeitgenossenschaften*, forthcoming 2001; “Hofmannsthal’s Jewish Pantomime”, in: *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift fuer Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 1997

Alexei Miller

Research Fellow at the Russian Academy of Sciences; Research Fellow at the Russian State Humanitarian University; Guest Professor at Central European University, Budapest

Length of Stay: February – June 2001

Specialization: History of ideas

IWM Project: Nationalism in Eastern and Central Europe in the 19th Century; National and ethnic stereotypes in post-Communist European countries

Publications: *Imperial Authorities, Russian Public Opinion and the Ukrainian Question in the Second Half of the 19th Century* (in Russian), Moscow 2000; *Nation and Nationalism* (ed., in Russian), Moscow 1999

Todorka Mineva-Pramatarova

Lecturer of French at the Sofia University Kliment Ohridski; Paul Celan Visiting Fellow

Length of Stay: January – June 2001

Specialization: Translator of contemporary French philosophy and in the field of the history of religion

IWM Project: Translation of Emmanuel Levinas’ *Autrement qu’être ou au-delà de l’essence* into Bulgarian

Publications: Several translations from French into Bulgarian (Bachelard, Levinas, Derrida, Bergson, Eliade, Lyotard, Sartre, Comte; Perrault, A. Dumas, St. Exupéry, Camus)

Charles Taylor

Professor emeritus of Philosophy, McGill University, Montreal; Chairman of the IWM Academic Advisory Board

Length of Stay: April – June 2001

Specialization: Philosophy of social science, philosophy of language, philosophy of history and epistemology, philosophy of action

IWM Project: The Sources of Violence

Publications (selection): *A Catholic Modernity*, New York 1999; *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton 1994; *Hegel and Modern Society*, New York 1979

Galia I. Valtchinova

Research Fellow Senior at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Thracology; Associate Fellow of the I.S.T.A – University of Franche-Comté, Besançon, Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow

Length of Stay: April – June 2001

IWM Project: Women’s Ways to Religion in the Balkan Context: The Christian-Orthodox Patriarchal Setting

Publications: *Local Religion and Identity in Western Bulgaria* (in Bulgarian, extensive French abstract), Sofia 1999; *Généalogie de l’Europe*, Paris 1994

Junior Visiting Fellows

Junior Visiting Fellows for the second half of 2001 and their research topics:

Die Junior Visiting Fellows der zweiten Hälfte 2001 und ihre Projektthemen:

Dobrochna Maria Bach

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy and Sociology at the Graduate School of Social Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow

Specialization: Public international law, administrative law, Catholic social teaching

IWM Project: Democratic Governance in Public International Law

Publications: “The Holy See as a Subject of International Law”, in: *Przegląd Zachodni*, nr. 300, 2001 (in Polish: “Might and Right in Relations Between the Baltic States (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) and Russia”, in: *Thesaurus Acroasium. Annual Courses of the Institute of International Public Law and International Relations of Thessaloniki*, vol. XXVIII, 1999; “Remarks on the Advisory Opinion of the ICJ in Case Concerning the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons”, in: *Panstwo i Prawo*, nr. 9, 1997 (in Polish)



Colin Heydt

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University

Specialization: *University*

IWM Project: Ethics and political philosophy
 Aesthetic and Moral Education in the Philosophy of John Stuart Mill



Pinhas (Piki) Ish-Shalom

Ph.D. candidate in Political Science and International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Specialization: Political science and international relations

IWM Project: Statesmen, Theoreticians and Ideologues: The Theoretic Construction of Democracy in American Foreign Policy, during the Cold War and After

**Slavica Jakelic**

Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Religion, Boston University

Specialization: Sociology of religion

IWM Project: Religion and Collective Identity

Publications: Slavica Jakelic and Lori Pearson (eds.), *The Future of the Study of Religion* (forthcoming, Brill N.V.); "The Public Role of Religious Institutions and the Privacy of Faith" (in Croatian), in: *Svjetlo Rijeci*, February 1999; "Faith and Reason: The Two Faces of Responsible Christianity" (in Croatian), in: *Svjetlo Rijeci*, November 1998

Patrick Kernahan

Ph.D. candidate in Political Philosophy, Boston College

Specialization: Political philosophy and American politics

IWM Project: Plato and the Sophists

**Carla Lovett**

Ph.D. candidate in European History, Boston University

Specialization: Social and religious history of modern Europe

IWM Project: Front Altars and Back Alleys: Religion and Society in Late Nineteenth Century Vienna

**Elissa Mailänder**

Doktorandin (Romanistik, Germanistik), École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris; Stipendiatin im Rahmen des Doktorandenprogrammes der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Specialization: Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus und Geschlechtergeschichte

IWM Project: Der kulturelle Aufbau der Grausamkeit: Die SS-Frauen in den Vernichtungslagern

Darrin McMahon

Postdoctoral research fellow in history, Remarque Institute, New York University

Specialization: European intellectual history (18th century to present); History of European political thought; History of modern France

IWM Project: In Pursuit – A History of Happiness in the West

Publications: *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity*, New York 2001; Florence Lotterie and Darrin McMahon (eds.), *Les Lumières européens dans leurs relations avec les autres grandes cultures et religions du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 2001



The following Junior Visiting Fellow has been continuing her stay at the IWM:

Die folgende Junior Visiting Fellow setzte ihren Aufenthalt am IWM fort:

Meike Schmidt-Gleim

Doktorandin am Institut für Philosophie der Universität Wien; Stipendiatin im Rahmen des Doktorandenprogramms der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Specialization: Political Philosophy

IWM Project: Grenzlogiken und Europa

Publications: „Ich will Teil einer Antirassismusbewegung sein“, in: *Agenda 2000*; „Das Unpolitische am Rassismus“, in: *Kulturrisse 1999*; „Die Demonstration der Demokratie“, in: *Springerin 5*, Heft 4 (1999)

The following Junior Visiting Fellows have ended their stay at the IWM:
Die folgenden Junior Visiting Fellows beendeten ihren Aufenthalt am IWM:

Alessandro Barberi

Doktorand der Geschichtswissenschaften, Stipendiat im Rahmen des Doktorandenprogramms der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Lektor am Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Universität Wien

Specialization: Historische Epistemologie, Diskursanalyse und Mediengeschichte

IWM Project: Nietzsche, Freud, Saussure. Eine historisch-epistemologische Transformation des Historischen rund um 1900

Publications: *Historische Epistemologie & Diskursanalyse. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* (Hg.), 11. Jg. Heft 4/2000; *Clio verwunde(r)t. Hayden White, Carlo Ginzburg und das Sprachproblem in der Geschichte*, Wien 2000

Andrew J. Bove

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

- IWM Project:** How is Universal Education Possible? Hegel's Critique and Reconception of the Idea of Culture
- Publications:** Reviews of *Franco: Hegel's Philosophy of Freedom* and *Pinkard: Hegel. A Biography*, in: *Review of Metaphysics*, March 2001

Chien-yu Julia Huang

Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology, Boston University

- Specialization:** Anthropology of Religion; Gender; Transnationalism and Globalization; Chinese Cultures
- IWM Project:** Gender, Ethnicity, and Globalization in a Taiwanese Transnational Buddhist Movement
- Publications:** "Charitable Women's Movements in 19th-Century Western Societies and 20th-Century Taiwan" (in Chinese), in: H. H. Michael Hsiao and Kuo-ming Lin (eds.), *Taiwan de shehui fuli yundong (Social Welfare Movements in Taiwan)*, Taipei 2000; (with Robert P. Weller), "Merit and Mothering: Women and Social Welfare in Taiwanese Buddhism", in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 2, May 1998

Michal Kopecek

Ph.D. candidate in International Relations, Charles University, Prague; Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow

- Specialization:** Contemporary history of Central Europe; political philosophy
- IWM Project:** "Revisionism" in Marxist Thought and its Political Role in Central Europe in the 1950s and 1960s
- Publications:** Several articles in the Czech historical journals *Soudobé dejiny* (Contemporary History) and *Dejiny a soucasnost* (Past and Present)

Kamila Kulik

Ph.D. candidate at the Graduate School for Social Research, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw; Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow and Jan Patocka Junior Visiting Fellow

- Specialization:** Contemporary philosophy
- IWM Project:** The Problem of Truth in the Philosophy of Hannah Arendt

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 nystory* (USA/SA/A 2000), co-production commissioned by South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC-TV); *paw-paw* (USA/A 1998); *B.E.D.* (USA 1998)

Inna V. Naletova

Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Religious Studies, Boston University

- Specialization:** Religion und Culture in Russia
- IWM Project:** Religion in Contemporary Russia: The Orthodox Church and its Impact on Russia's Political and Cultural Life
- Publications:** *Hermeneutics* (a textbook for graduate students), Novosibirsk 1995; *Changing Values of the Modern World*, Novosibirsk 1995; *Hermeneutics and Rhetoric*, Novosibirsk 1994 (all in Russian)

Tatiana Zhurzenko

Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, V. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine

- Specialization:** Gender studies, Social Theory, Philosophy of Economics
- IWM Project:** Ukrainian Feminism as a Political Project: from Importation to Domestication
- Publications:** "Free Market Ideology and New Women's Identities in Post-Socialist Ukraine", in: *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 8.1, 2001; "Gender and Identity Formation in Post-Socialist Ukraine: the Case of Women in the Shuttle Business", in: R. Anderson, S. Cole, H. Howard-Bobiwash (eds.), *Feminist Fields: Ethnographic Insights*, Broadview Press 1999; "Ukrainian Women in the Transition Economy", in: *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* 60, 1998

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 zimbabwenischer Frauenorganisationen*, Linz 1999; „Kritik am tanzanischen Modell des Ujamaa-Sozialismus“, in: *From Ujamaa to Structural Adjustment*, Linz 1997

Guests

Vladimir Tismaneanu

Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies at the University of Maryland

Month of stay: June 2001

Publications: Vladimir Tismaneanu and Sorin Antohi (eds.), *Between Past and Future: The Revolutions of 1989 and Their Aftermath*, Budapest 2000; *Fantasies of Salvation: Democracy, Nationalism and Myth in Post-Communist Europe*, Princeton 1998; *Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel*, New York 1993

Jan Hartman

Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy and Bioethics, Jagiellonian University Cracow



Month of stay: July 2001

Publications: *Techniques of Metaphilosophy*, Cracow 2001; *Philosophical Heuristics*, Wroclaw 1997 (both in Polish)

Lothar Probst

Direktor, Institut für kulturwissenschaftliche Deutschlandstudien, Universität Bremen

Month of stay: August 2001

Publications: *Von der Staatspartei zur Regierungspartei. Die PDS in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, Hamburg 2000; *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen: Eckpunkte künftiger Politik* (hrsg.), Köln 1994; *Ostdeutsche Bürgerbewegungen und Perspektiven der Demokratie*, Köln 1993

Upcoming events, calls for applications, job openings, ...

... welcome to the IWM Newsroom!



www.iwm.at

Patocka-Project

ON JULY 4 AND 20, 2001, Patocka Research Associates Filip Karfik (Prague / IWM), Edward Findlay (Boston / IWM) and Ludger Hagedorn (Berlin / Prague) met at IWM with James Dodd (Adjunct Professor for Philosophy, Boston College) and Klaus Nellen (Permanent Fellow, IWM) to discuss the interim results of IWM's Patocka-Project "The Other Way into Modernity" and the options for preparing the main texts for editions in German, Czech and English. So far 51 manuscripts have been transcribed and 33 excerpted; 3 key texts have been translated into English.

Publications

Alessandro Barberi (Hg.)
Junior Visiting Fellow, 2001
Historische Epistemologie & Diskursanalyse. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften
11. Jg. Heft 4/2000

Vladimir Malakhov
Junior Visiting Fellow, 1994
The Discrete Charm of Racism. Essays on Racism, Nationalism and Multiculturalism
(in Russian) Moscow 2001

Darrin McMahon
Junior Visiting Fellow, 2001
Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity
New York 2001

Klaus Nellen
Permanent Fellow
„Das Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen. Eine Skizze“,
in: *Solidarnosc / Solidarität: Ein Rück- und Ausblick nach 20 Jahren*, hg. vom Polnischen Institut Wien, 2001.

Anita Traninger
Program Associate
Müheleose Wissenschaft. Lullismus und Rhetorik in den deutschsprachigen Ländern der Frühen Neuzeit
München: Fink 2001 (= Humanistische Bibliothek, Reihe I, Abhandlungen 50)
Siehe Seite 21

Travels and Talks

Julia Huang
Junior Visiting Fellow, 2001
Lecture „Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ciji Transnationalism“ at the Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing-Hua University, Hsin-chu, Taiwan (29 May).

Speech „Crying and Silent Melody: Structure of Emotions in a Buddhist Charismatic Movement“ at the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan (8 June).

Cornelia Klinger
Permanent Fellow
Statement zur Podiumsdiskussion „Feministische Forschung zwischen Main(streaming), Praxis und Peripherie“ am Institut „Peripherie – für praxisorientierte Genderforschung“ in Graz (26. Mai).

Vortrag „Frauenbewegung – neue Fragen, alte Probleme“ in der „Frauenhetz“ Wien (7. Juni).

Kompaktseminar „Themen ästhetischer Theorie im 20. Jahrhundert: Die wiederkehrende These vom Ende der Kunst“ am Philosophischen Seminar der Universität Tübingen (28. bis 30. Juni).

Vortrag „Subjektkonzeptionen in der feministischen Theorie“ beim Workshop „Subjektkonzeptionen im Diskurs“ des Sonderforschungsbereichs „Reflexive Modernisierung“ in München (20. Juli).

Michal Kopecek
Junior Visiting Fellow, 2001
Vortrag „Die tschechische politische Tradition und Visegrad“ im Tschechischen Zentrum in Wien (3. Mai).

Jyoti Mistry
Junior Visiting Fellow, 2000/2001
Paper „Setting the limits: Rape as political crisis in South Africa“ at the conference „Women's Bodies as Battlefields – Sexual Violence against Women in Wartime“, Institut für Sozialforschung, Hamburg.
Paper „Film/TV arm-in-arm“ at a special

panel on South African Television at the „Consoling Passions Conference“ held in July at Bristol University.

Inna Naletova
Junior Visiting Fellow, 2000/2001
Presentation: „The Russian Orthodox Church and its Role in Modern Society“ at the Institut für Recht und Religion, Universität Wien (19 May).

Presentation: „The Theological Foundation of the Russian Church's Social Teaching“, Institut für Ostkirchenkunde, Universität Wien (23 May).

Klaus Nellen
Permanent Fellow
Participated in a meeting of cultural journals, organized by BERG in Genoa (14-16 July).

John H. Smith
Executive Director
Visited the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Central European University, Budapest, on the invitation of Professor György Enyedi (9 May).

Acted as **moderator** of panel session on „Extremist Parties and the Electoral System“ at an international conference on „Testing Democracy at the Margins“ organised by the United States Embassy Vienna in cooperation with the Diplomatic Academy and IWM (28-29 June).

Charles Taylor
Chairman of the IWM Academic Advisory Board
gave the **François Furet Memorial Lecture** in Paris at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (22 May).

Galia V. Valtchinova
Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow, 2001
Vortrag „Une mémoire suspendue entre passé et présent: le vécu d'une communauté à la frontière bulgaro-serbe“ im Rahmen der Tagung „Histoire

Varia

et mémoire. Roumanie et Bulgarie depuis les années '30 : une comparaison“, Centre de Recherches Historiques à L'École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Paris (29 May).

Participation, as a **discussant**, in a conference «Macedonia – Macedonias», at the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies (SSEES), University College London (14-16 June).

Mieke Verloo

Visiting Fellow, 2001

Vortrag „Gender Mainstreaming & Frauenpolitik“, Wiener Interventionsstelle gegen Gewalt in der Familie / GO Frauen-Plattform (9. Mai).

Commented on the OSCE Action Plan for Gender Issues at the Meeting of the Gender Equality Group at the OSCE in Vienna (11 May).

Veronika Wittmann

Junior Visiting Fellow, 2000/01

Presentation “Reflections on Women's Empowerment: Activities in the Townships of Cape Town”, Adult Education Centre, Vienna (9 May).

Talk “Stories from the In- and Outside. Analyzing Societies in so-called Developing Countries”, University of Linz, Institute for Sociology, Department of Political Science and Development Studies (28 June).

Tatiana Zhurzhenko

Paper “Women and Social Reproduction in Ukraine: Nationalism and Politics of Family” at a Workshop on the Role of Women in Transitional Societies, organized by the Kennan Institute, Washington (1 April).

Paper “Ukrainian Feminism(s): Between Nationalist Myth and Anti-Nationalist Critique”, at the Institute for Eastern European History, University of Vienna (18 June).

Mary Ann Glendon (Learned Hand Professor of Law at Harvard Law School), **Claus Offe** (Professor of Sociology and Social Policy at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) and **Ulrich Preuss** (Professor of Political Science at Freie Universität Berlin) joined the IWM Academic Advisory Board.

Lubica Hábová was awarded the Prize of the Slovak Literary Foundation for the translation of Richard Rorty's *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*, which she established as a Paul Celan Fellow in 1997.

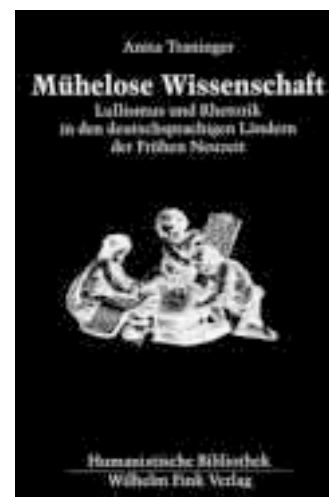
Joan Avery has been working as an editorial assistant at IWM since April. Joan will continue writing her dissertation the poetry of the Bukovina while working part-time at the institute.

Michael Bugajer, who is studying International Relations at the University of Wales, worked as an intern at the IWM in the months of July and August.

Nadja Lobner, die im April ihr Studium der Politikwissenschaft und der Slawistik (Russisch) an der Universität Salzburg abgeschlossen hat, war von Anfang Mai bis Ende Juli 2001 am IWM als Praktikantin im PR-Bereich tätig.

Seit dem Frühjahr ist **Martina Pfeifhofer** als Juniorsekretärin im IWM tätig. Nach der HBLA für wirtschaftliche Berufe besuchte sie das ein Kolleg für Kunsthandwerk & Design in Tirol. Vor ihrem Einstieg ins Berufsleben verbrachte sie ein Jahr als Au Pair in den USA.

Susanne Froeschl and **Anita Traninger** have been appointed Managing Directors of the Institute. Susanne is responsible for event management, the fellows program (with Katharina Coudenhove-Kalergi) and the contact with IWM's boards, while Anita is in charge of program coordination and public relations as well as the Institute's finances (with David Theil) and human resources.



Anita Traninger

Müheleose Wissenschaft
Lullismus und Rhetorik in den deutschsprachigen Ländern der Frühen Neuzeit

Humanistische Bibliothek, Bd. 50

Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München 2001

DM 68,00/ATS 496,00, kart.

ISBN 3-7705-3579-0

Gelehrte in den deutschsprachigen Ländern werden im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert von einem regelrechten Lullismus-Fieber erfasst: Die von Ramon Llull im 13. Jahrhundert entwickelte sogenannte *Ars*, eine auf der Kombination bestimmter Begriffe beruhende universale Erkenntnismethode, wurde für neue, rhetorische Zwecke adaptiert. Eine Sehnsucht zieht sich dabei wie ein roter Faden durch die Jahrhunderte: die Ermöglichung der Rede *ex tempore* über jedes erdenkliche Thema. Die Studie nimmt dieses Bemühen um eine Diskurstechnik mit Erfolgsgarantie – anders als die ältere Forschung – ernst und fragt unter Einbeziehung vieler bisher unbeachteter Quellen nach seinen Kontexten. Damit liegt erstmals eine Funktionsgeschichte dieses Phänomens zwischen Enzyklopädie und Polyhistorismus, Topik und Kombinatorik, akademischer Disputationskunst und praxisorientierter Reformrhetorik vor.

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IWM Working Papers



IWM offers its guests the possibility to present their work for discussion on the Internet. Since 1996, IWM Working Papers have been published regularly on IWM's Website www.iwm.at.

Mykola Ryabchuk
Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow 2001, works as a journalist in Kyiv; he is Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the political journal Krytyka.

Another Battlefield
Russia's Cultural Influence in the "Near Abroad": The Ukrainian Case
The Soviet republics represented the inferior, peripheral parts of the imperial culture created in Russia, especially in Moscow. What are the consequences of Russia's prevailing influence for the process of Ukrainian nation building?

Grzegorz Ekiert
IWM Guest in December 2000, is Professor of Government, Harvard University.

The State after State Socialism
Poland in Comparative Perspective
Communism left behind not a powerful bureaucratic Leviathan but a weak and inefficient state. Is there a relationship between the extent of state reforms and successful economic transformations?

Mieke Verloo
IWM Visiting Fellow 2001, is Lecturer in Political Science and Women's Studies, KUN – School of Public Affairs, Nijmegen.

Another Velvet Revolution?
Gender Mainstreaming and the Politics of Implementation
Gender mainstreaming is seen by many as an innovation in gender equality policies. What is different, what is better about this new policy?

Tatiana Zhurhenko
IWM Junior Visiting Fellow 2001, is Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, Kharkiv National University.

Ukrainian Feminism(s)
Between Nationalist Myth and Anti-Nationalist Critique
What is the role of women in the nation-building process in contemporary Ukraine? The paper discusses the ambivalence of the recent shift from imported, western-centered feminism to the invention of a new feminist myth – the myth of the "matriarchal" roots of Ukrainian culture.

PROJEKTBERICHT |

Die weltberühmte Wiener Luxusgüter-Produktion der Jahrhundertwende verdankte sich Zuwanderern aus Osteuropa. Reinhard Engel, derzeit Milena Jesenská Fellow des IWM, gibt in seinem neuen Buch einen historischen Überblick über Glanz und Elend der Branche und stellt die wichtigsten Unternehmen in Einzelporträts vor.

Luxus aus Wien/ Luxury from Vienna

CARTIER, GUCCI, HERMÈS – die großen europäischen Luxusmarken sind mittlerweile global bekannt, ob auf der New Yorker Fifth Avenue oder in den exklusiven Flughafensboutiquen von Dubai und Singapur. Wenige wissen, dass auch Wien einmal ein bedeutendes Zentrum der Produktion luxuriöser Stoffe, Kleider und Accessoires war. Am Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts verdiente jeder fünfte Arbeiter sein Geld in der Seidenfabrikation, ob als Weber, Stoffdrucker oder Posamentierer. Die Meister und Arbeiterinnen, die Gesellen und Lehrlinge brachten aus ihren Heimatorten in anderen Gegenden des Vielvölkerstaates ihr Können und auch ihre Sprachmelodien in die Werkstätten der Kaiserstadt: Ungarisch und Tschechisch, Polnisch, Ruthenisch, Slowenisch und Jiddisch. Der Reichtum des Hofes, das aufstrebende Bürgertum, das diesen imitierte, und auch die Elenden der industrialisierten Vorstädte – sie alle fanden ihr Medium in den blitzenden Auslagen der Hoflieferanten und in den üppi-gen neuen Warenhäusern der Kaiserstadt.

Zwei Katastrophen brachten diese gewerblich-industrielle Stadt-Ökonomie beinahe zum Verschwinden. 1918 zerbrach die Donaumonarchie, das ehemalige Hinterland Wiens war durch rigide Zollschranken abgeschnitten. Der Adel verarmte, die Bürger kämpften ums wirtschaftliche Überleben. 1938 begann die Vertreibung und Vernichtung der österreichischen Juden, die sowohl als Kunden wie auch als Hersteller, Designer und Anbieter der edlen Waren eine riesige Lücke hinterließen. Nach 1945 war Wien wohl noch trister als so manche andere europäische Stadt.

Und doch haben zahlreiche Qualitätsunternehmen überlebt, in Nischen, die sie in langen Jahrzehnten zäh und beharrlich ausweiten konnten – freilich nie zu internationalen Konzernen wie dies in Paris gelang. Aber die Köcherts und Knizes, die Horns und Scheers, die Maternas, Liskas, Reiters,

Lillies und Kayikos spielen heute im wiedererlangten Glanz der europäischen Kulturstadt Wien eine Rolle. Es sind nicht nur die nostalgischen älteren Damen aus Triest, die sich über die zurückhaltende Eleganz der hiesigen Taschner freuen. Auch deutsche Opernbesucher und internationale Manager, die von hier aus ihre Unternehmen Mittel-Osteuropas betreuen, sind zu neuen Kundenschichten der Schuhmacher, Maßschneider und Schmuckdesigner geworden.

„Luxus aus Wien/Luxury from Vienna“ gibt einen historischen Überblick über Glanz und Elend dieser Branchen. Die wichtigsten Unternehmer, die heute noch in Wien Maß nehmen, entwerfen und erzeugen, kommen in 30 Einzelportraits zu Wort. Großformatige Fotos von Johannes Ifkovits zeigen sowohl die Handwerker als auch einzelne Arbeitsschritte und Werkstücke.



Reinhard Engel studierte Politologie, Literaturwissenschaft und Ökonomie und lebt als Wirtschaftsjournalist und Autor in Wien. Er berichtet aus den Ländern Mitteleuropas, zuerst für *trend* und *Euro-Business*, derzeit vor allem für *Newsweek* und das *Industriemagazin*. Engel arbeitet momentan als Milena Jesenská-Stipendiat im IWM an einem Projekt über die ökonomischen Chancen der Balkan-Länder.

Reinhard Engel

**Luxus aus Wien/Luxury from Vienna.
Handgemachtes von heute aus der einstigen
Kaiserstadt**

Mit Fotos von Johannes Ifkovits
Czernin Verlag, Wien 2001

Notes on Books

Memory and National Identity Shlomo Avineri

YO'AV KARNY IS AN ISRAELI JOURNALIST living in the US, who over the last decade has been reporting on the developments in the Caucasus for American publications. He has now combined his experience with historical research to produce a fascinating volume, which is of interest to experts in post-Soviet studies wishing to follow developments in the Caucasus, and to all readers who have been intrigued by the emergence of turbulent forms of nationalism in the post-communist orbit.

Karny's book is multi-faceted, yet two narratives are discernible throughout: on the one hand it is a detailed account – sometimes too detailed – of the complex and convoluted ethnic and religious conflicts in the Caucasus; on the other, it tries to follow the vicissitudes of historical memory after more than seventy years of Soviet rule in the region.

The Chechen revolts against Russian rule, of course, figure prominently in Karny's account. He is totally nonplussed by the Chechens' uncompromising resistance to Russian rule: he acknowledges that it has brought death and destruction to their own people – yet it also has kept their nation and its identity alive. Other smaller Caucasian nations, like the Balkars, have given in to Russian pressure and avoided suicidal heroism because of what benevolent outside observers may call rational considerations – and have virtually disappeared.

Who has ever heard of the Balkars? In a generation or two they will totally disappear, and nobody will ever remember that they were peaceful, moderate and rational. Karny is aware of the dilemma and is far from judgmental. He leaves the reader pondering about the complexities – moral and existential – of the fate of small people. Perhaps his Israeli background makes him even more sensitive to the issues involved.

One can learn more from his book than from many learned tracts, replete with methodological and bibliographical apparatuses. One finds out about the heroism and self-destruction of the Chechens, the depth of enmity between

Armenians and Azeris, the baffling kaleidoscope of Daghestan, or the various trends within resurgent Islam now reappearing on the ruins of the Soviet empire.

The book includes fascinating accounts of the three autonomous Circassian republics within Russia, of the Farsi-speaking "Mountain Jews" (whom the Soviets viewed as a separate nationality, distinct from the Jews, and about whom the Nazis had some doubts whether to include in the "Semitic" race because of their "Aryan" Indo-European dialect). Karny even traces down "Judaising" Russian Orthodox sects (the "Sobotniks"), who managed to survive Soviet rule to find themselves now in a total void.

Karny is obviously ambivalent towards the reawakened nationalism in the post-Soviet Caucasus regions. He is a liberal universalist, and some of the obscure, and in many cases very recently invented, ethno-centric narratives mentioned by him do not sit well with him; but at the same time he cannot help admiring the way even minute ethno-linguistic groups insist on surviving.

He is well aware how pliable and dynamic historical memories are (no primordialism here), yet even transparently constructed memories always have some anchoring in an "objective" historical reality. It is also difficult to dismiss them in the name of some abstract universalism – especially if it is accompanied by the bayonets and massacres of an aggressive imperial drive – be it in Algeria or in Chechnya.

Karny rightly situates the present turmoil in the Caucasus in the context of the centuries' old Russian imperial expansion: what is happening now in Baku, Tbilisi and Grozny is not only post-Soviet, it is also the outcome of centuries of Russian imperial expansion.

Karny also shows, with some amusing examples, how Soviet presence in the region was sometimes even legitimized within the old Russian imperial narrative. Yet it is the late Imam Shamil (who wasn't even a Chechen, but this is beside the point) who is now the icon of Chechen resistance to Russia.

Karny is also good at deflating the self-serving Russian propaganda myth that there is a vast co-ordinated Muslim

Transit

EUROPÄISCHE REVUE

Westerweiterung? Zur symbolischen Geographie Osteuropas

- Janos Matyas Kovacs** Zur Metamorphose des Traums vom Mitteleuropa
- Daniel Chirot** Osteuropa zwischen Kultur und Modernisierung
- Timothy Snyder** Die neuen Mitteleuropäer
- Jacek Kochanowicz** Wie westlich ist Polen?
- Alexei Miller** Osteuropa neu denken. Russland, seine westliche Nachbarn und die Grenzen Europas
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NOTES ON BOOKS

fundamentalist conspiracy in the Caucasus – a myth sometimes too willingly bought by Western observers.

Perhaps one of Karny's most fascinating vignettes is his encounter with the Chechen Diaspora in (of all places) Jordan. In the wake of the Israeli-Jordan Peace Treaty of 1994, Karny got to know the head of the Jordanian delegation to the negotiations with Israel over water resources. His name is Dr Fakhr Eddin Daghestani. Karny learned that he is one of the leaders of the Chechen Diaspora in Jordan: like many Chechens and Circassians, his family fled the Caucasus in the wake of the Russian expansion in the 19th century and found refuge in the Ottoman Empire. As fierce fighters, many of them settled on the south-eastern lines of the Ottoman Empire and thus eventually found themselves in Jordan. Amman today has a sizeable Chechen minority, prominent in the Royal Hashemite Army and bureaucracy, and involved in different ways in helping their brethren in the Caucasus. Meeting in Tel Aviv, Karny and Daghestani could certainly reflect on the vagaries of Diasporas.

This is a highly recommendable book, learned and yet extremely readable, written with verve and rare feeling for people who otherwise only make the headlines if they are being massacred or are themselves being involved in massacring others. They deserve the humane yet sceptical approach offered by Karny.

Yo'av Karny

Highlanders: A Journey to the Caucasus in Quest of Memory

New York, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2000, 436pp.
ISBN 037 42 26 024

Shlomo Avineri is Director of the Institute for European Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board.

The Literary Absolute Reworked Lindsay Waters

THERE ARE MANY SIGNS that students and some professors in the United States are becoming tired with the sort of literary and cultural analysis practised by those who style themselves as progressives and conservatives, that reduces the text to a sequence of words to be interpreted literally in terms of the well being of certain social groups.

Artworks have been made to wear the straight-jacket of textualism. Literary criticism has become no more complex than the children's game of pin the tail on the donkey, but done now as pin the "text" on society. This really isn't as easy as the prac-

tioners of New Historicism make it out to be. The words on a page are not as easy to catch and pin down as literary studies of the last 15 or so years has claimed.

One of the supposedly great achievements of literary scholars such as Terry Eagleton in the 1980s and after was to have shown that the claim that literature was autonomous was just a ruse, a trick of the capitalists to keep the lower classes under control. Therefore all art produced under the regime of the capitalists from Proust and Pound to Hollywood movies was suspect because central to the capitalist plot to manipulate the working classes.

Roberto Calasso ignores the scholarly debates about the complicity of literature with capitalism. When he mentions the vogue for literary theory, it is to pour scorn on it. His book is as eccentric to mainstream scholarship about literature as Walter Benjamin's dissertation, *On the Concept of Criticism in German Romanticism*, was.

But his book is a contribution, if I might so label it. He makes masterful use of the very same body of literature and philosophy that inspired Walter Benjamin and later Paul de Man – the Jena Romantics such as Hölderlin, Friedrich Schlegel – to show that even a literature held in bounds can provide the opportunity for the sort of revelatory experience that disrupts the society of the spectacle that the West has been living in for two hundred years.

Literature may be autonomous, but it is now powerless. It has now in these secular times, uniquely, the power to awaken us from our dogmatic slumbers. Calasso has written a book that could make the reader much more familiar with the tradition of dissenting critics and artists who have complained, bitterly perhaps, but then resigned themselves to living in a world where art makes nothing happen. The heroes of this book are Hölderlin, Baudelaire, Lautremont (who sounds like the Johnny Rotten of the 19th century), Proust, Nabokov.

The world may have been disenchanting by the hard sciences and the social sciences, but revelations that the world could be otherwise than the way humans have made it happen in our interaction with literature (defined broadly to include all human artefacts). Calasso has reworked the German Romantic idea of the literary

absolute to make it a force in our times. Calasso's book links up with new voices of young scholars trying to reinvigorate literary studies.

Roberto Calasso
Literature And The Gods,
translated by Tim Parks
New York: Knopf, 2001
ISBN 037 54 11 380

La Letteratura e gli dei
Milan: Adelphi Edizioni, 2001

Lindsay Waters is Executive Editor for the Humanities with Harvard University Press.

Zwei Neuerscheinungen zur Frage der sozialen Gerechtigkeit Herlinde Pauer-Studer

KENNERN DER zeitgenössischen politischen Philosophie ist G. A. Cohen durch scharfsinnige Analysen des politischen Liberalismus, insbesondere der Theorien von Rawls und Dworkin, bekannt. Cohens Schriften sind nicht zuletzt deshalb so anregend, da Cohen die intellektuelle Verbindung zweier Welten verkörpert, die nicht gut miteinander verträglich sind: Marxismus und analytische politische Philosophie. Cohen versteht sich als Marxist (mit mittlerweile unvermeidlichen Transformationen), aufgewachsenen im jüdisch-kommunistischen Milieu im Montreal der Nachkriegszeit. Cohen ist aber auch analytischer Philosoph, ausgebildet in Oxford während der Hochblüte der *ordinary-language philosophy* und bestens geschult in der analytischen Problemanalyse.

An Cohens Denken sind auch interessante Verschiebungen der neueren politischen Philosophie zu beobachten. Nach dem üblichen Rechts-Links-Schematismus gilt der egalitäre Liberalismus von Rawls, Dworkin oder Nagel als *links* oder *linksliberal*, der radikale Liberalismus von Hayek und Nozick hingegen als *rechts*. Sowohl Hayek und Nozick betrachten Umverteilungen zur Herstellung sozial gerechter Verhältnisse als unzulässig. Wenn Güter auf legalem und rechtem Weg erworben wurden, d.h. infolge eines Prozedere, dessen Regeln nicht als ungerecht zurückweisbar sind, dann haben Individuen nach Nozick klar einen Anspruch auf diese Güter.

Egalitäre Liberale sehen in Nozick, abgesehen von einer Wertschätzung seiner philosophischen Scharfsinnigkeit, einen rechtslastigen Ideologen, der die moralischen Grundlagen des Liberalismus nicht hinreichend reflektiert. Cohen nimmt (ähnlich wie J. Roemer und Ph. Van Parijs) die Herausforderung durch Nozick wesentlich ernster, da er Nozicks Argumentation als normativ relevant liest.

Hinter Nozicks anspruchsbegründeter Gerechtigkeitstheorie steht das seit Locke bekannte Recht an der eigenen Person (*self-ownership*), das auch das Recht auf die infolge eigener Arbeit und Leistung erworbenen Erträge einschließt.

Nozick verdeutlicht das Konzept des *self-ownership* mit seinem berühmten Wilt Chamberlain-Beispiel, dem Fall eines Basketballspielers, der ein beachtliches Vermögen erwirbt, da die Zuseher sein Spiel so lieben, dass sie zusätzlich zum Eintrittspreis freiwillig einen Beitrag in die Privatkasse Wilt Chamberlains entrichten. Nach Nozick hat Chamberlain einen Anspruch auf dieses Geld, denn die Zuschauer akzeptieren mit ihrem Besuch des Spiels auch diese speziellen Bedingungen, um ihn spielen zu sehen.

Für Cohen ist das Konzept des *self-ownership* bedeutsam, da es eine normative Grundlage der marxistischen Ausbeutungstheorie darstellt. Wenn arbeitende Menschen ein Recht auf die Erträge ihrer Arbeit haben, dann ist es geboten, ökonomische Strukturen und Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse so zu gestalten, dass Menschen für ihre Arbeit angemessen entlohnt werden. Cohen teilt aber nicht die Konklusionen Nozicks und verknüpft den Begriff des *self-ownership* mit einem anderen Freiheitskonzept als der Sicht von Freiheit als „Abwesenheit von Einschränkungen“ (siehe dazu vor allem G.A. Cohen, *Self-Ownership, Freedom and Equality*, Cambridge UP, 1995).

Das nun vorliegende Buch *If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're So Rich?* versammelt die Gifford Lectures, die G.A. Cohen 1996 an der Universität Edinburgh hielt. Ein ganzes Kapitel ist seiner Kindheit und Jugend in Montreal gewidmet. Wenngleich dieser biographische Rückblick für ein Philosophiebuch ungewöhnlich ist, so gelingt es Cohen, über Persönliches das Politische zu vermitteln. In den politischen Debatten seiner Jugend findet Cohen etwa die Spannungen

zwischen der historisierenden Denkweise des Marxismus und der ahistorischen Perspektive der analytischen Philosophie vorweggenommen. Cohen verdeutlicht anhand von Gesprächen mit Freunden die reflexhafte Ablehnung ethischer Argumente durch die Linke.

Mit ironischem Seitenblick auf seine eigene intellektuelle Entwicklung legt Cohen die Schwächen einer plakativen „Entlarvung“ aller normativen Argumente als klassenbezogener Moraliserungsstrategie im Dienste bürgerlicher Klasseninteressen bloß und zeigt auf, inwiefern bestimmte soziale Anliegen mit Argumenten vertreten werden müssen, die über den Rahmen der marxistischen Philosophie weit hinausgehen und letztlich von den Ressourcen der neueren analytischen politischen Philosophie zehren.

Die Qualität der einzelnen *Lectures* ist unterschiedlich. Die Ausführungen zu Marx und Hegel, insbesondere die Diskussion von Marx' Religionskritik sind lesenswert, doch Cohens Analysen sind dann beeindruckend, wenn es um die Auseinandersetzung mit den Grundthesen des politischen Liberalismus geht, wobei sich seine Kritik vorgeblich gegen Rawls richtet.

Gerechtigkeit ist für Rawls bekanntlich die „erste Tugend sozialer Institutionen“. Gegenstand der Gerechtigkeit sind die grundlegenden Institutionen der Gesellschaft, also jene sozialen Zusammenhänge und Lebensverhältnisse, die rechtlich erfasst und strukturiert sind. Rawls versteht die Prinzipien der Gerechtigkeit als Maßstab zur gesetzlichen Gestaltung gesellschaftlicher Verhältnisse.

Cohen macht geltend, dass diese Theorie eine Reihe von weitreichenden Ungerechtigkeiten übergeht, etwa die Arbeitsteilung innerhalb der Familie. Damit greift Cohen den bekannten Einwand feministischer Philosophinnen auf, dass etwa Phänomene wie Sexismus nicht ausschließlich über eine auf Rechte bezogene Theorie erfasst und thematisiert werden können.

Für Cohen ist Gerechtigkeit nicht nur eine Tugend sozialer Institutionen, sondern auch eine Frage der Haltung von Individuen. Aus diesen Gründen weist Cohen auch Susan Moller Okins Vorschlag einer *gender*-spezifischen Nachbesserung der Rawlsschen Theorie zurück, der schlicht dahin geht, auch die Familie

zu den grundlegenden Institutionen der Gesellschaft zu zählen.

Okins Strategie verkennt aber die Tiefendimension der feministischen Kritik. Denn eine Familien-Gesetzgebung kann im Einklang mit Prinzipien der Gerechtigkeit stehen, und doch lässt der rechtliche Rahmen genügend Raum für die konkrete Abwertung von Frauen, für männliche Macht und weibliche Abhängigkeit. Die Idee, dass hier eine immer konkretere Gesetzgebung diesen Problemen begegnen kann, ist schlicht illusorisch, denn andere gewichtige Prinzipien liberaler Demokratien setzen solchen Ambitionen harte, aber nicht unbegründete Grenzen: nämlich das Recht auf Privatheit und persönliche Freiheit.

Für Cohen ist in dem Kontext ein Ethos gefordert – ein Bewusstsein der eigenen Verpflichtung zur angemessenen Behandlung anderer Menschen. Cohen betont zwar, dass ein Ethos einen sozial-öffentlichen Aspekt hat und sich nicht in einer Gesinnungsethik erschöpft. Denn erst ein öffentliches Bewusstsein dessen, dass bestimmte Verhaltensformen moralische Missstände reflektieren, trägt zum Verschwinden dieser Haltungen bei. Doch letztlich bleibt Cohens Verständnis dieses Begriffs vage. Viel spricht dafür, „Ethos“ auf die Summe relevanter moralischer Prinzipien zu beziehen. Doch gerade in einem *gender*-sensiblen Bereich müssen diese Prinzipien so formuliert sein, dass sie Aspekten wie einer weiten Auslegung des Begriffs personaler Anerkennung gerecht werden.

Interessant sind auch Cohens Ausführungen zur Frage der distributiven Gleichheit. Die liberale politische Theorie der Gegenwart betrachtet Ungleichheiten als zulässig, als unvermeidliches Nebenprodukt einer an Effizienz und Leistungskriterien orientierten Marktgesellschaft. Eine Antwort darauf, wann Vermögensakkumulationen einzelner so groß sind, dass die Ungleichheiten zu anderen Menschen moralisch skandalös werden, findet diese Theorie nicht mehr. Für Cohen ist in dem Kontext eine am Ideal der Gleichverteilung orientierte Ausgangsnorm unverzichtbar.

Cohen analysiert in einer höchst subtilen Weise die Gründe, die reiche Menschen dagegen anführen können, warum ihnen nicht zugemutet werden kann, freiwillig einen Teil ihres Vermögens zur Ver-

fügung zu stellen, um armen Menschen zu helfen. Cohen vernachlässigt bewusst die Komplexität des Ineinandergreifens von Steuergesetzgebung und wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Regelungen, um den normativen Kern der einschlägigen Argumente als solchen zu isolieren und zu bewerten. Er widerlegt einen Gutteil der Gründe gegen die freiwillige Unterstützung armer Menschen (zu hohe Anforderungen an die Willensanstrengungen einzelner, moralische Übererfüllung, mangelnde Sicherstellung einer gängigen Praxis etc.).

Doch mit der Erkenntnis, dass eine moralische Pflicht zur Unterstützung benachteiligter Menschen besteht, die im Wohlstand leben, ist weder ein starkes Ideal distributiver Gleichheit noch eine politische Philosophie zu begründen. Die Tatsache, dass eine abstrakte moralische Pflicht besteht, die eklatanten materiellen Ungleichheiten dieser Welt zu korrigieren, wirkt angesichts des schwer auflösbaren Zusammenspiels von kapitalistischer Effizienzlogik und starken liberalen Rechten auf Freiheit und Eigentum wie eine blasse Erinnerung an eine moralische Schuld der reichen Menschen und Länder dieser Erde.

Die Forderung zum freiwilligen Verzicht mag ein normativ begründetes Ansinnen sein. Doch – und Cohens Buch verdeutlicht dies – die politische Philosophie der Gegenwart ist relativ ratlos, wie dieses Ansinnen jenseits der Ebenen der Ebenen von *charity* und privater Gönnerhaftigkeit umzusetzen ist.

Wenngleich die praktische Philosophie seit geraumer Zeit eine höchst interessante Phase durchlebt, scheint ein Gutteil ihrer normativ-begrifflichen Voraussetzungen zunehmend fraglich.

So beruft sich die neuere politische Philosophie in einer Art und Weise auf Kategorien des Moralischen, die mitunter sowohl die Trennung der Sphären von Moral und Politik als auch die Unterschiede zwischen der auf Gerechtigkeitsprinzipien konzentrierten Sozialmoral und der auf subjektive Maximen und Haltungen gerichteten Individualethik nicht genügend berücksichtigt.

Die Versuche einer genaueren Bestimmung der Relationen zwischen politischer Interessenartikulation, institutioneller Überformung und normativer Gewichtung verkomplizieren sich mittlerweile auch durch Verschiebungen der

gängigen normativen Parameter.

So scheint der lange Zeit dominante Standard der distributiven Gerechtigkeit von der Idee der Anerkennung verdrängt. Der Maßstab gleicher Anerkennung motiviert jene sozialen Bewegungen, die eine gleichwertige Präsenz unterschiedlicher kultureller Identitäten fordern. Die Integration dieser Entwicklungen verlangt nach einer Bestimmung des Begriffs der Anerkennung, die mehrere Dimensionen von Anerkennungsverhältnissen berücksichtigt – nämlich jene der Verteilung von Chancen und Gütern, jene der sozialen Wertschätzung im öffentlichen und privaten Raum und jene der Situierung der Individuen als Rechtssubjekte.

Die genaue Bestimmung der Idee der Anerkennung ist nicht zuletzt Thema von Nancy Frasers Aufsatzsammlung *Die halbierte Gerechtigkeit*. Fraser greift insbesondere die Frage eines möglichen Paradigmenwechsels der politischen Philosophie auf. Würden die Anliegen einer Umverteilung gesellschaftlicher Güter mittlerweile von einer Politik der Anerkennung abgelöst? Fragen der Güterverteilung scheinen viele andere Formen der Diskriminierung zu verdecken, die mit dem ungehinderten Ausleben der eigenen sozialen und kulturellen Identität und Zugehörigkeit zusammenhängen.

Fraser hält die Dichotomie *Umverteilung versus Anerkennung* für einen unhaltbaren Gegensatz. Fehlende Anerkennung in Form einer mangelhaften Wertschätzung spezifischer kultureller Identitäten drücke sich auch in einem beschränkten Zugang zu gesellschaftlichen Chancen und ökonomischen Gütern aus. Und ökonomische Marginalisierung kann auch für fehlende Wertschätzung und Anerkennung verantwortlich sein.

Fraser analysiert die unergiebige Polarisierung von distributiver Ebene und von Ansprüchen auf Anerkennung auch mit Blick auf die feministische Theorie-Debatte. Den Dualismus von Gleichheit und Differenz kritisiert sie als hinlänglich überholt, und die Konzentration weiterer Bereiche der feministischen Theoriebildung auf die Analyse der symbolischen Muster der Identitätsbildung und der Subjektformation scheint ihr die politische Aussagekraft der feministischen Theorie zu unterlaufen.

Allerdings bleiben die Umriss von Frasers eigener politischer Theorie offen. Eine oberflächliche Kritik des Liberalismus, das Bewusstsein für distributive Un-

gleichgewichte und ein gegenüber kommunikativen Prozessen offener Pragmatismus summieren sich schlicht nicht zu einer politischen Philosophie. Fraser bewegt sich durchaus eloquent und kenntnisreich durch die politischen Theoriediskurse der Gegenwart. Doch im Detail unterliegt ihren Ausführungen weder eine präzise Theorie der Privatheit noch eine genaue Aufschlüsselung der normativen Voraussetzungen einer kommunikativen politischen Theorie, die über den gängigen Rahmen deliberativer Demokratietheorie liberaler Prägung hinausginge. So wird ein Alternativmodell der politischen Theorie, das die Ziele kritischer Theorie und feministischer Philosophie versöhnt, zwar wortreich beschworen, doch wegen der mangelhaften analytischen Ausarbeitung bleibt diese Konzeption letztlich ein Projekt mit unklaren Konturen.

Gerald A. Cohen

If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're So Rich?

Cambridge, Mass. und London: Harvard University Press 2000, S. 233
ISBN 0674 00 218 0

Nancy Fraser

Die halbierte Gerechtigkeit. Schlüsselbegriffe des postindustriellen Sozialstaates

Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2001 (edition suhrkamp - Gender studies), 337 S.
ISBN 351 811 74 32

Herlinde Pauer-Studer ist Professorin für Philosophie an der Universität Wien. *Ihr Buch* *Autonom leben. Reflexionen über Freiheit und Gleichheit* ist 2000 beim Suhrkamp-Verlag erschienen.

Am 6. November spricht Gerald A. Cohen am IWM in der Reihe „Was ist soziale Gerechtigkeit?“ zum Thema „Why not Socialism?“

Der Dienstagsvortrag ist eine gemeinsame Veranstaltung des IWM und des Renner-Instituts.

Am 5. November findet mit G.A. Cohen eine Diskussion zu Kapitel 8 und 9 des hier besprochenen Buches statt. Ort: Institut für Philosophie, NIG, 3. Stock. HS 3B. Zeit: 5. November, 17 bis 19 Uhr.

Ukrainian journalist Mykola

Riabchuk is currently a Milena

Jesenská Visiting Fellow at the

IWM. This article is part of a

larger project on media and

freedom of speech in

contemporary Ukraine.

Ukrainian media and society: still “not so free”

DESPITE THE REALLY IMPRESSIVE CHANGES that shook and rapidly reconfigured the post-Soviet world in 1991, some basic features of the Soviet system remained unchanged. In time, they proved to be the main hindrance to further development and the main source of these countries' subsequent stagnation and social ambivalence.

To make sense of what happened in the USSR in 1991 and afterwards, one should probably look at the process of *perestroika* as a manifold struggle between the degrading but still strong totalitarian state subverted by Gorbachov, and a nascent civil society striving for emancipation from the state. In the Baltic republics, where civil society proved to be strong enough, the revolution succeeded and much needed systemic reforms were implemented. In Central Asia, where civil society was too weak or virtually non-existent, no substantial changes have happened. In Russia, Ukraine and other republics of the European part of the USSR civil society proved strong enough to challenge the state but failed to change essentially its institutions and to establish new, democratic rules of the game.

From this point of view, one may claim that Gorbachov's *perestroika* – as a painful multifaceted process of emancipation of civil society from the totalitarian-cum-authoritarian state – did not end in 1991 but rather, continued in the successor states throughout the 1990s and seems far from being over today, even though authoritarian tendencies apparently prevail everywhere. In a sense we are still in a situation of “cold civil war,” and

the mass media still have to take care of this battleground.

At first glance, the Ukrainian media seem technically to be as free (at last) as their Western counterparts. Anybody can found a newspaper, a journal, a radio or TV company; no censorship is permitted; no media can be shut down other than by a court decision. There are plenty of TV channels in the capital city Kyiv, and only one of them, owned by the state, seems to be hyper-loyal to the President. Different opinions flourish in the Ukrainian mass media, and some of them are very critical of the authorities.

Ukraine is apparently not a totalitarian state, and Ukrainian rulers never tire of emphasizing Ukraine's "European choice" and their commitment to democratic values. I dare to call this regime "authoritarianism with a human face". Such a regime never applies excessive violence; it pretends to be democratic and usually follows democratic procedures – to the extent that these do not threaten its political and economic dominance.

The informal "party of power" that rules Ukraine pursues a rather subtle and sophisticated policy towards the mass media. First of all, being ideologically free, the party of power need not care about ideological purity or about dogma, thus making virtually any topic and any approach to it permissible. The only undesirable thing is investigative reporting, focused on very concrete affairs and touching on real names and details.

Secondly, the party of power is smart enough to neglect those marginal publications with a low circulation, and to focus primarily on daily newspapers with a national circulation of 100,000 or more, and especially on a few radio stations and TV channels which have nation-wide transmission.

Thirdly, the party of power has learned to effectively apply a wide range of sticks and carrots to promote an obedient species and to punch out the disobedient.

Handling the media without censorship proved to be unexpectedly easy in a country where civil society has a very weak economic and social base and even weaker legal ground to stand on. The post-Soviet economies, despite broadly trumpeted privatization and the emergence of seemingly free market institutions and market-style relations, still have much more in common with the Soviet administrative system ruled by the "telephone law" than with a really free market. Like in medieval Europe, power is still the major source of income in the post-Soviet republics – and this is why nobody cares about production, their first and foremost concern being to get into power or to make appropriate contacts with the appropriate people.

Such a perverse economic situation has a destructive impact on both the society and the mass

Call for Applications

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media. Since virtually all economic activity is controlled and, if necessary, manipulated by the state, no citizen can feel free and economically independent vis-à-vis the authorities. This dramatically hampers the development of civil society anywhere beyond the capital city and some other large urban centers, where the economic scene seems to be more competitive and pluralistic. Yet even here people's right to inform and to be informed is being vio-

lated in a great variety of ways – from journalists, editors and publishers being directly threatened and blackmailed, to false libel suits and fantastic multi-million fines imposed by the courts on the authors and periodicals; from stepping up “tax checks” and “hygiene inspections” to freezing bank accounts, asking the fire brigade to inspect offices, and even organizing power cuts to obstruct journalists in their work.

Every year half a dozen Ukrainian journalists are killed or are said to have committed suicide under very dubious circumstances, or merely disappear – as happened to the opposition journalist Heorhiy Gongadze whose affair has triggered the greatest political scandal in Ukrainian history. The eavesdropped conversations between the President and his aids, that strongly implicate them in masterminding this and many other



Paideia – Die Zukunft der humanistischen Bildung

Hat die klassische Idee der **paideia** (Bildung), der ganzheitlichen Erziehung zum mündigen Bürger, noch Geltung für die Gegenwart?


Aspekte der Diskussion:

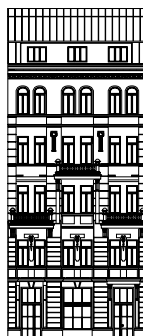
- Paideia: Anachronismus oder Notwendigkeit?
- Demokratisierung, Multikulturalismus und paideia
- Technologie und paideia
- Wirtschaft und paideia

Tagungsprogramm: www.iwm.at

Datum: **22.-23. September 2001**
Zeit: jeweils von **10-18.30 Uhr**
Ort: **Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen**
Spittelauer Lände 3, 1090 Wien

Konferenzsprachen: Englisch und Russisch
Um Anmeldung unter Tel. 313 58-0 oder via e-mail: iwm@iwm.at **wird gebeten.**

Internationale Konferenz des 
in Zusammenarbeit mit dem *Paideia Project*
an der Boston University



GUEST CONTRIBUTION

crimes, have neither been proved nor disproved yet. But the way in which Ukrainian authorities carry out (or rather, sabotage) the investigation, as well as the general context of the events, leaves little doubt that this regime is able to mastermind whatever it likes.

Yet paradoxically, I remain rather optimistic about Ukraine's future in the long run, even though I do not expect any significant changes for the better in the near future – at least until a new generation comes to power. There are a number of reasons why Ukrainian authoritarianism cannot be as strong and rough as in neighboring Belarus or Russia.

First, civil society in Ukraine, apart from the capital city of Kyiv and some other urban centers, has a very important stronghold in the western part of the country, which was not exposed to Russification/Sovietization until 1945.

And second, Ukrainian leaders, as long as they want to be independent from Moscow (and they do want that), have no choice but to emphasize their commitment to Europe and to accept, *nolens-volens*, European rules. It does not mean that one should take their words at face value and sweep their tricks under the carpet. It only means that the European Community has a powerful lever to influence Ukrainian politics – a lever that so far is largely underestimated or even misused since Ukraine is still treated as a Russian appendage and is not considered a prospective candidate – in however remote a future – to the European community.

Mykola Riabchuk

Mykola Riabchuk ist Journalist, Mitbegründer und stellvertretender Chefredakteur des ukrainischen Magazins *Krytyka*, das nach dem Vorbild der *New York Review of Books* gestaltet ist. Derzeit arbeitet er als Milena Jesenská Fellow am Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen an einem Projekt zur Rede- und Pressefreiheit in der Ukraine.

IWM Lectures in Human Sciences 2001

Paul Ricoeur: The Process of Recognition

Under the general title of recognition I want to proceed from the stage of the problem when someone recognizes an object as being the same to the stage when somebody claims to be recognized by some-one else. At the same time the stress will be laid on the opposite side of recognition, from factual mistake to social humiliation.



Monday, 1 October, 6 p.m.
Recognition and Identification

To recognize an object – a thing or a person – means to grasp it as a whole by connecting together a variety of presentations in space and time. As recognized in this way, an object is identified. It is the same, and not something different. – Applications: in the theoretical field, the judgment of perception (Kant's concept of "Rekognition"), the logical identity of a meaningful topic. In the practical field, acknowledgment of a debt, a guilt, an authority. – Failures and limits.

Tuesday, 2 October, 6 p.m.
Recognition and Selfhood

The problem of self identity – Memory as the medium of personal identity (Augustin, Locke) – Recognition and recollection (Bergson) – Recognition of the other – The challenge of time – From memory to history

Wednesday, 3 October, 6 p.m.
Social and Political Recognition

That self recognition and recognition by the other proceeds at the same pace – Dialogical dimension of the preceding stages – The claim to make oneself directly recognised: success (Ulysses's return to Ithaca) and failure (King Lear and Cordelia) – The institutional mediations: recognition as political enterprise: from Hobbes's Leviathan (the war of each one against the other) through the tradition of Jus Naturale to Hegel's "fight for recognition" (Jenenser Realphilosophie)

Paul Ricoeur is Professor emeritus at the Universities of Paris and Chicago and a member of IWM's Academic Advisory Board.


The IWM Lectures in Human Sciences

Last year, on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Hans-Georg Gadamer, spiritual adviser to the Institute since its inception, IWM started its new public lecture series "IWM Lectures in Human Sciences". The inaugural lecture was held in May 2000 by Charles Taylor who spoke on "The Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited after 100 Years".

The new series is carried out in collaboration with Harvard University Press, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a.M., and ZNAK Publishers, Krakow. Taylor's lecture will be published simultaneously in English, German and Polish in spring 2002.

15th Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture Edward Said

Since its founding, IWM has promoted the work of the Czech philosopher and human rights activist Jan Patočka (1907 – 1977). The annual Jan Patočka Memorial Lectures have been held since 1987.

Wednesday, 24 October, 7 p.m.
Vienna, Palais Schwarzenberg
In cooperation with the  RennerInstitut

Edward W. Said, Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, is known both for his groundbreaking research in the field of comparative literature and his incisive political commentary.

His writing, translated into 14 languages, includes 10 books, among them, *Orientalism* (1978), *The World, the Text and the Critic* (1983), *Blaming the Victims* (1988), *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) and *Peace and Its Discontents: Essays on Palestine in the Middle East Peace Process* (1995).



Upcoming Events

The following events will take place at the IWM at 6 p.m.
Die folgenden Veranstaltungen finden um 18:00 Uhr
in der Bibliothek des IWM statt.

18. September

Was ist soziale Gerechtigkeit? II

Stephen Holmes

*Professor at the New York University School of Law and
Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for Inter-
national Peace*

When Do the Rich Care About the Poor?

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem  **Renner** Institut

22.-23. September, jeweils von 10-18.30 Uhr

Paideia - Die Zukunft der humanistischen Bildung

Internationale Konferenz in Zusammenarbeit mit

dem *Paideia Project* an der Boston University
Nähere Informationen entnehmen Sie bitte dem
Blattinneren (Seite 30).

25. September

Maria Todorova

*Professor of History at the University of Illinois at
Urbana Champaign and IWM Visiting Fellow*

**Are National Heroes Secular Saints? The Case of
Vasil Levski in Bulgaria**

1.- 3. Oktober, jeweils 18.00 Uhr

**IWM - Vorlesungen zu den Wissenschaften vom
Menschen 2001**

Paul Ricoeur

*Paul Ricoeur is Professor emeritus at the Universities of
Paris and Chicago and a member of IWM's Academic
Advisory Board.*

The Process of Recognition

Nähere Informationen entnehmen Sie bitte dem
Blattinneren (Seite 31).

9. Oktober

**Europapolitik vor der Herausforderung der
Osterweiterung I**

David Simon

*(Lord Simon), former Prime Minister's Advisor on
Europe, London*

**Economic and Institutional Reform – How Far Can
We Go?**

Commentator: **Monika Vana**, *Spokesperson for
European Affairs of the Vienna Green Party*

In Zusammenarbeit mit der Grünen
Bildungswerkstatt



16. Oktober

Sidonia Blättler

*Wissenschaftliche Assistentin am Institut für Philosophie
an der Freien Universität Berlin und Gast des IWM im
Oktober*

**Identitätspolitik: Nation und Geschlecht im
philosophischen Diskurs der Moderne**

19. – 20. Oktober

Workshop in Prag

Memory of Communism

23. Oktober

**Europapolitik vor der Herausforderung der
Osterweiterung II**

William Wallace

*(Lord Wallace of Saltaire), Professor of International
Relations at the London School of Economics*

After Enlargement: Rethinking European Order

Commentator: **Ulrike Lunacek**, *Spokesperson for
Foreign Affairs of the Austrian Green Party*

In Zusammenarbeit mit der Grünen
Bildungswerkstatt




24. Oktober

15th Jan Patocka Memorial Lecture

Edward Said

19:00 Uhr, Palais Schwarzenberg

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem  **Renner** Institut
Nähere Informationen entnehmen Sie bitte dem
Blattinneren (Seite 31).

30. Oktober

**Europapolitik vor der Herausforderung der
Osterweiterung III**

Jean-Louis Bourlanges

*Member of the European Parliament for the Union pour
la démocratie française (UDF) and has been, together
with Daniel-Cohn-Bendit and others, a founding
member of SOS-EUROPA*

**Le traité de Nice et la gouvernance d'une Europe
élargie**

Commentator: **Johannes Voggenhuber**, *Member of
the European Parliament for the Austrian Green Party*

In Zusammenarbeit mit der Grünen
Bildungswerkstatt



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