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RESEARCH PROJECT |

The Reflection Group on "The Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe", initiated by Romano Prodi and chaired by Krzysztof Michalski, has taken up its work. In its launch conference, the topical issues for the following meetings were discussed and defined.

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Reflection Group: Setting the Agenda

AS PRESIDENT ROMANO PRODI announced in his introductory remarks at the launch meeting, the Reflection Group has been called to deliberate on the question of European identity and common European values in their relation to the social and political structures of the Union, which is about to take new shape due to the enlargement and the setting up of a common European constitutional order. If we are to build a Europe inspired by a sense of common destiny, the President argued, we need to reflect on the cultural background which allows for the specifically European phenomenon of a unity within diversity.

Two central issues emerged during the discussion: economic inequalities and European solidarity. As Kurt Biedenkopf pointed out, followed by Bronislaw Geremek, the enlarged Union is likely to undergo grave tensions resulting from economic differences between old and new member states, which may seriously undermine the legitimacy of the new order. In view of this major challenge, most if not all of the participants agreed on the need for solidarity, which could serve as the essential unifying force in the future Europe. Some of the speakers argued that in fact it is in its own cultural resources that Europe may find solutions to future problems, since solidarity is a value deeply rooted in European history. Will Hutton pointed out that European countries have a common, successful tradition of coping with inequalities, which embraces ideas such as the social contract, the public realm and fair enterprise and is embodied in a variety of institutions. Simone Veil and Bronislaw Geremek emphasized the role of solidarity and



social rights in the shaping of European cultural specificity.

However, a number of arguments were raised highlighting the complex and problematic nature of the solidarity concept. Alberto Quadrio Curzio distinguished between two major types of solidarity. While what he called 'static' solidarity refers to distribution issues, 'dynamic' solidarity is related to the process of growth and development and requires, as such, a distinct analytical approach. Kurt Biedenkopf, followed by Simone Veil, pointed to the essential distinction between institutional (collective) and personal (individual) solidarity. They argued that excessive collective solidarity may undermine personal solidarity attitudes and that both should be taken into account in their mutual relation. Silvio Ferrari argued along these lines that European solidarity could be strengthened, if Europeans gained a sense of sharing a common cultural project. He also pointed out that the problem under discussion involves a distinction between core and peripheral values. Accordingly, in an attempt to grasp the nature of European solidarity, one should try to elicit the core values underlying it in order to distinguish solidarity in Europe – he was joined by Simone Veil here – from its manifestations in other parts of the world. Michel Rocard claimed, on the other hand, that these core values have always had a universal vocation, which, according to him, makes the very idea of European cultural specificity questionable. And when it comes to ways in which solidarity is institutionalized, he argued, there are significant differences within Europe itself, related to two opposed, predominant models of the state, the British and the French.

The problem of solidarity as a European value reappeared in the context of the discussion about the differences between European and American culture. Will Hutton pictured the main tensions in historical perspective, focusing on two opposed conceptions of the social contract, that had been created by the English and American Puritans. Alberto Quadrio Curzio pointed out that economic differences between America and Europe could be traced back to differences between philosophical premises underlying economic theories of human action reflected in policy. Michel Rocard expressed an opposite view, questioning the existence of any substantial differences between European and American culture. Even if we can witness conflicting foreign policy strategies (multilateralism as opposed to unilateralism), he argued, the official position of the US government should not be considered as representative for the American society.

Besides the question of the differences between Europe and the US, a number of arguments were raised, regarding the relation between Europe

and other cultures. Simone Veil evoked an important aspect of the European tradition – solidarity with the world – reflected in policies of support for poor and distressed nations. Bronislaw Geremek pointed to the need of creating a thoughtful Union strategy towards its closest neighbours. Silvio Ferrari's contribution focused on future challenges that are to result from the enlargement of the EU to countries with orthodox religious background and the migrations of people from Islamic culture. Following his point, Michel Rocard emphasized the need for stressing the secular roots of Europe in intercultural dialogue and warned against the moral costs of European political separatism.

Solidarity emerged as the central problem of the first meeting and was agreed to serve as the main theme for the next session. Other values, that were proposed for further discussion, included: dignity, tolerance, interdependence, subsidiarity, self-doubt.

Summarizing the deliberations, chairman Krzysztof Michalski proposed four topics to be considered by the Reflection Group in its future meetings: culture and religion as a basis for European solidarity and cohesion in the face of upcoming economic and political challenges; ways in which these values are reflected in the socio-economical order; their relation to European foreign policy; and the possible cultural differences between Europe and the US.

Calendar of meetings, first half of 2003

29 January

Launch meeting (Brussels)

5 May

Conditions of European Solidarity (Brussels)

21 May

The Role of Religion in European Integration (Brussels)

29 May

Public debate: The Borders of Europe (Warsaw)

(Report will follow in the next issue of the IWM Newsletter)

Further meetings and public debates are currently being prepared and will be announced after the summer break.

The Reflection Group initiated a series of newspaper commentaries on topics of its interest, written by its members and some invited experts, and disseminated with the help of Project Syndicate, a non-commercial association of newspapers in Europe and beyond. The first commentary by Kurt Biedenkopf, 'Making culture count' (see p. 25), has appeared in a number of countries, including Austria, Germany, Slovakia, Poland, Norway, and Ukraine, and is scheduled for publication in Italy, France, the Netherlands, and Hungary.

Members of the Reflection Group

Kurt Biedenkopf, former Prime Minister of Saxony; professor of law, Germany

Silvio Ferrari, Professor of constitutional law, Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy

Bronislaw Geremek, Professor of European History, College of Europe; former Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Poland

Arpad Göncz, Writer and Translator; former President of Hungary

John Gray, Professor of European Thought, London School of Economics, United Kingdom

Will Hutton, Chief Executive, The Work Foundation, United Kingdom

Jutta Limbach, President of the Goethe Institute; former president of the German Constitutional Court; professor of law, Germany

Krzysztof Michalski, Professor of philosophy at the University of Warsaw and at Boston University; rector, Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna, Austria (Chair)

Ioannis Petrou, Professor of theology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

Alberto Quadrio Curzio, Professor of economics, Università Cattolica di Milano, Italy

Michel Rocard, Chairman of the committee on culture in the European Parliament; former Prime Minister of France

Simone Veil, Member of the French Constitutional Court; former President of the European Parliament, France

The EU-funded research project on "Policy frames and implementation problems: The case of Gender Mainstreaming" (MAGEEQ) was successfully launched in January 2003. The first project meeting was held in Vienna from 21-23 February.

MAGEEQ: Establishing the State of the Art

THE MAGEEQ TEAM met each other and scientific officer Giulia Amaducci (European Commission) for the first time during its Launch workshop at the IWM. Next to clarifying organizational matters such as the contract, the website and intranet, candidates for an advisory board and software to use, the team was lucky enough to find time to engage in a lively and fruitful exchange of ideas on conceptual and theoretical puzzles concerning gender inequality and state intervention.

The first project milestone will be the creation of an overview of current research on the issue at stake. By mid summer, all the involved research teams in Austria, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Hungary, Greece and Spain will have completed their country surveys. In addition, an assessment of parliamentary debates in the selected countries and at EU level and a media analysis will be the basis for identifying salient issues at EU and national levels. As a result, detailed methodological and analytical guidelines will be produced for the next phase.

Gender Mainstreaming as a Research Case

For a long time, policies against gender inequality have been focused mainly on equal rights, or on compensating disadvantages for women in society. Since Beijing 1995, Gender Mainstreaming has heralded the beginning of a renewed effort to address what is seen as one of the roots of gender inequality: the genderedness of systems, procedures and organizations. In the definition of the Council of Europe, Gender Mainstreaming is the (re-)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages. Although all member states of the European Union have started to implement Gender Mainstreaming, this new strategy is still very much "under construction" and as such open to multiple understandings.

As a new strategy for gender equality Gender Mainstreaming in its development relates to a diverse set of pre-existing political understandings of the ambitions of gender equality that can be more or less articulated and that vary according to national cultures and histories. So far, studies show a limited focus, mainly on employment or on technocratic instruments and a lack of attention for Eastern European realities and for other structural inequalities. A clearer articulation of the diverse meanings of gender mainstreaming is seen to facilitate a successful implementation of this revolution-

ary strategy.

Against this backdrop, Gender Mainstreaming has been chosen as the research case for a multidisciplinary, international comparative study on policy framing.

Mieke Verloo

Gender Mainstreaming in Österreich – war da was?

Das Politikfeld Frauen- und Gleichstellungspolitik entwickelte sich in Österreich – verglichen mit anderen europäischen Staaten – erst spät. 1979 wurde zum entscheidenden Jahr österreichischer Frauenpolitik: Das Gleichbehandlungsgesetz trat in Kraft, und erste frauenpolitische Institutionen wurden etabliert, wie die Gleichbehandlungskommission im Sozialministerium. Vor allem aber wurde die Frauenfrage erstmals in den Ministerang erhoben: Die SPÖ-Alleinregierung bildete zwei Staatssekretariate für Frauenfragen, eines im Sozialministerium (Franziska Fast) und eines für generelle Frauenfragen im Bundeskanzleramt (Johanna Dohnal). Im Verlauf der achtziger Jahre entwickelte sich Österreich im europäischen Vergleich geradezu zu einem frauenpolitischen Musterschüler: Eine „Anwältin für Gleichbehandlungsfragen“ wurde Anlaufstelle für Diskriminierung im Arbeitsbereich, das Bundesgleichbehandlungsgesetz legte als Ziel der Frauenförderung im öffentlichen Dienst eine Frauenquote von 40% fest, Grüne und SPÖ einigten sich ebenfalls auf Frauenquoten, um die politische Repräsentation von Frauen zu steigern, und last but not least: Im Jahr 1990 wurde das Staatssekretariat für generelle Frauenbelange zu einem eigenen Frauenministerium aufgewertet. Bis Ende der neunziger Jahre war somit Frauen- und Gleichstellungspolitik auf nationaler Ebene als ein eigenes Politikfeld etabliert.

Nahezu zeitgleich mit den ersten Implementierungsschritten von Gender Mainstreaming durch die EU erlebte die institutionelle Frauenpolitik in Österreich einen backlash: Die neue Regierung von FPÖ und ÖVP löste im Februar 2000 das Frauenministerium auf und transferierte die Frauenagenden ins Ministerium für Soziales, Familien und Generationen. Die Desartikulation von Frauen in der Ministeriumsbezeichnung (und die kurze Zeit später ins Leben gerufene „Männerabteilung“ im selben Ministerium) wurde in den österreichischen Medien mit dem Prinzip des Gender Mainstreamings gerechtfertigt. Dies ist eine (sicher nicht die einzige) Erklärung für die Skepsis, die in der frauenpolitisch engagierten Öff-



Mieke Verloo, Research director



Birgit Sauer, Senior researcher



Karin Tertinegg, Junior researcher

In Ergänzung zu der gedruckten Ausgabe von **Transit – Europäische Revue** finden sich auf der Website des IWM Originalfassungen, ergänzende Texte, Informationen und Links zu den jeweiligen Heftthemen. Tr@nsit online wird fortlaufend ergänzt. www.iwm.at/t-forum.htm

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Romano Prodi

Une éthique pour l'Europe

Aleksander Kwasniewski

Is Honest Politics Possible?
Ehrlichkeit in der Politik?

Robert Cooper

The Morality of Amoralität in
Foreign Policy
Die Moral der Amoral in der
Außenpolitik

John Gray

Populism and the Failure of the
Centre Parties
Der Populismus und das Ver-
sagen der gemäßigten Parteien

Noelle Lenoir

Europe's Response to
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Robert Spaemann

The Dictatorship of Values

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fentlichkeit und Wissenschaft dem Gender Mainstreaming entgegen gebracht wird. Seit dem erneuten Rearrangement der Regierung im Jahr 2003 gibt es wieder ein Ministerium für Frauen und Gesundheit.

Gemäß dem Vertrag von Amsterdam entschloss sich der österreichische Ministerrat im Juli 2000, das Prinzip des Gender Mainstreaming zu einem Leitprinzip von Politik und Verwaltung zu machen. Und man tat, was man in solchen Situationen immer tut: Eine Arbeitsgruppe wurde gebildet, die „Interministerielle Arbeitsgruppe“ Gender Mainstreaming, die die Implementierung von Gender Mainstreaming auf der Ebene der einzelnen Ministerien anleiten, koordinieren und evaluieren soll. Dieser Arbeitsgruppe ist es zu verdanken, dass Schulungen für die ministerielle Führungsebene im Sinne des Top-down-Prinzips angestoßen wurden, dass zumindest alle Ministerien sich verbal zum Prinzip des Gender Mainstreamings bekennen und dass es erste Evaluierungen von Gender Mainstreaming-Maßnahmen gibt. Am aktivsten wird derzeit das Gender Mainstreaming im Bereich der Arbeitsmarktpolitik betrieben: Die österreichische „GeM-Koordinationsstelle“ des Europäischen Sozialfonds hat Instrumente, Maßnahmenpakete – Tools – entwickelt, um Gender Mainstreaming am Arbeitsmarkt und in arbeitsmarktrelevanten Politikbereichen und Organisationen erfolgreich zu implementieren.

Generell kann man feststellen: Jene Ministerien und Verwaltungen, die vor der Einführung von Gender Mainstreaming frauenpolitisch aktiv waren und entsprechende Arbeitsgruppen eingerichtet hatten, sind auch bei der Implementierung und Umsetzung von Gender Mainstreaming erfolgreicher bzw. hartnäckiger. Was freilich bei der bisherigen Durchsicht von Material zu Gender Mainstreaming deutlich wird, ist: Was „mainstreamen“ heißt, was „Gender“ ist, und welche Ziele mit dem neuen Instrument eigentlich verfolgt werden sollen – das scheint nur wenigen in Politik und Verwaltung klar zu sein, von der österreichischen Öffentlichkeit ganz zu schweigen. Doch herauszubekommen, was in Österreich alles unter Gender Mainstreaming verstanden wird – Frauenförderung, Gleichstellung, Gleichheit, Chancengerechtigkeit oder Männerförderung – ist Ziel des Forschungsprojekts MAGEEQ. Im Ländervergleich soll schließlich herausgearbeitet werden, inwiefern dieses Verständnis in anderen europäischen Ländern – den Niederlanden, Griechenland, Spanien, Slowenien und Ungarn – geteilt oder ganz anders diskutiert wird.

With the support of the Austrian Ministry of Science and thanks to the generosity of his heir Marek Zaganczyk, the library of Pawel Hertz was transferred to the IWM in early 2003. It was opened on February 25 with a speech by Arpad Göncz, author, translator and former President of Hungary. Due to health reasons, Mr Göncz could not be present. IWM Paul Celan Fellow Edit Király read from Mr Göncz' manuscript.

Opening of the Pawel Hertz Library

Faithfully and Figuratively: On the Translation of Literature is a very personal text by Arpad Göncz on the pleasures and pains of his profession. The full text is available on the IWM website www.iwm.at.

"If you want to translate, first and foremost, you need courage," said my learned friend, when, for the first time in my life I ventured out into the unknown ocean of a foreign text with the firm determination that I would navigate round the earth and arrive back at my point of departure, the shores of my own native language.

"Of course, it is also useful to know the language from which you translate," my friend added as if it were an afterthought.

Today, with some experience behind me, I agree.

Although I never say so, I have doubts that there is an abstract something, a language which in my practice is commonly termed English. Taking a closer look, what is it that I translate from? English or the Cockney dialect of London? American or the language of the South, or the Black English of Chicago, or perhaps the language of the Jewish ghetto? Irish English? Nigerian Yoruba English?

My Gentle Reader, whose Hungarian is, of course, perfect and impeccable, will probably retort impatiently: 'Does that translator know Hungarian or not? That is his job, that is what he is paid for. Why doesn't he look it up in a dictionary if he doesn't understand something?'

In my mind's 'ear', I can hear the English version of the above comment with a minor difference though. The Gentle Reader, say, in New York, who is accustomed to broken English will kindly advise the translator to use the Oxford Dictionary or Webster's. He will probably add, 'If it isn't there, you won't need to know.' And then he will admit that while reading Milton or Faulkner, he has to consult a dictionary every now and then. Finally, he will add, a translator after all does not have to invent anything by himself. The only thing he has to do is translate what is written there. Very precisely, of course. Just look up a dictionary, see what's there, and that's all.

After all, writing is a signal, a message. In the technical sense of the word, the message is transmitted through graphic means. Handwriting through its link to motion is uncontrolled by the will of the

writer, the formal features of the handwriting tell a lot about his character and personality. Their relative value lies in the extent to which they serve the purpose of the writing, how they communicate a message, how they enhance or reduce the readability of the text, how they enrich or simplify the overall image of the writing.

I think what I said above is also true if we examine writing not only in a technical sense. Considering its purpose, every piece of art is a message, so is writing. Its formal properties – both consciously and unconsciously contributed – reveal the personality and character of the author. If we now interpret 'overall image' as a grammatically correctly formulated message, it is easy to distinguish between two basic types of writing: one which enriches, decorates the overall image of the text, and one which strips it, makes it lean. From an aesthetic point of view both types have the same value. What is of importance is whether or not they enhance the readability of the text. Whether they help to grasp, understand, assimilate or relive the message, which is conveyed in the text not only by individual words, but by larger, more complex units of discourse established through the interaction of words. That is what we call a sentence.

A translator's job is to try and decipher and reproduce in his language from sentence to sentence what is hidden in the words, between the words, the message produced by the interaction and interrelationship of words. To reveal what lies in the depth of the text.

The translator reinterprets and tries to reproduce in his own language the equivalent version of every sentence in terms of both meaning and effect. It is not a mirror image! Not an explanation! The purpose is to make sure that the reading of the translated version is identical with the reading of the original.

Let me put it like this: the translator translates the impact of the writing. More modestly: that's what he would like to achieve. But an impact is untranslatable. You cannot grasp it because the impact a piece of art can make varies from reader to reader. After all, the translator can only translate the very impact that the piece of work makes on him. The more you know the linguistic and human environment, the more sensitive you are to the environment in which the original piece of art was con-



The Polish writer, poet and translator Pawel Hertz (1918-2001) translated numerous literary, philosophical and historical works from German, Russian, French and Italian. He was associated with the IWM for many years, both professionally and personally. His collection of books, a valuable source for translators, is now open to the public in Vienna.

Literaturnobelpreisträger Czeslaw Milosz nennt Pawel Hertz in seinem in der aktuellen Ausgabe von *Transit* (Nr. 25) nachzulesenden Nachruf den „Hüter des klassischen Reims“ und stellt ausgewählte Gedichte vor, darunter auch „Zwei philosophische Traktate“ (siehe S. 7).

ceived, the closer you can come in your translation to the imagined, undoubtedly existing but far from homogeneous impact it can exercise on its readers in the original environment.

Of course, every sentence – though to varying degrees – resists translation. Perhaps least so do sentences which are simple messages with impeccable grammatical formulation.

Let us now disregard 'subliterary' sentences although their role may be very important in literature. Let us also disregard fragmentary sentences, which are indispensable means in everyday communication and essential ingredients for playwrights. Let us also disregard the empty sentence clichés of journalese. For the time being, let us just focus on sentences written with demanding literary taste, and see them from the point of view of translatability, how faithfully they can be translated into another language. No doubt, the easiest task is to translate a 'realistic' sentence, a well-shaped, clearly formulated sentence with a clear, well-defined meaning. The meaning of which equals the meanings of the components. Luckily enough, the majority of the prose meant for translation is such because of the traditions and nature of the work of a writer.

The faithfulness of the translation of a realistic sentence can be measured by its 'literal translatability'. The secret of a good translation of modern prose close to poetry is, on the other hand, how successfully you can convey the formal elements, the means of expression, its music and organic structure. To achieve that, you have to make certain sacrifices at the expense of literal translation.

As we proceed from realistic prose to poetic prose, we find that the requirements of faithful translation shift from literal translation to fidelity of form. Of course, in both cases we have to do with the fidelity of meaning. A prose sentence which is close to a poetic sentence differs from a realistic sentence only in that it employs the formal means of expression in a more extensive way to communicate the message effectively. Such means are pleonasm, rhyming notions, ellipted structures, specific prosodic devices whereby the direct role of the word to convey a message is replaced by the indirect role of sentence structures and prosody, thus trying to suggest in a more powerful way

what is unspeakable.

Let me disclose a professional secret. There is yet another important thing that contributes to the liveliness of a text, the liveliness of a translated text, that is. Whether you like or not, whether you want it or not, that is *the charm of half-understood texts*. Would it be mistranslation? Oh, no, not at all. It is something which comes from the fact that there are no two languages, two cultures, or two literatures of the same age. Behind each one there is a different world of experience. Each one expresses a different world outlook. And a translator will always be a translator, and his native language will always be his native language. If he knew the language from which he translates as well as the author of the book, he would write in that language, e.g. in English. But he doesn't. A Hungarian translator with his knowledge of Hungarian tries to 'Hungarianise' a text in a language which is not yet so distant from its original source, it has not eroded enough to become too 'notional'. It is more colourful, it is closer to nature, it is more visualising than English, for example. Yes, the development of languages (I wonder if I should use the term 'development' for this process), the development of every language points towards a trend characterised by an ever expanding vocabulary, a more and more notional vocabulary, a decrease in the variety of linguistic form, fading colours, and the disappearance of specific colours. English is way ahead of Hungarian in this respect. Consequently, anyone who translates from English into Hungarian will see images in words where the author of the original saw only a notion. And mixed or confused images and metaphors where the English author had crystal clear unambiguity and harmony. And where a translator can sense and see an image, he will translate an image. This is how our text becomes more colourful, more picturesque than the English original is to the English reader. But this translated version will be more colourful only to the extent the language of the translation, its present state and relative age, allow.

This 'added value' is what I call the charm of half-understood or over-understood texts. No problem! It is not a mistake! It even helps to interiorise the translated original. There is, however, one harmful consequence. In about twenty or

twenty-five years even the best translation becomes outdated. I feel that this ageing, the speed of linguistic erosion is accelerating. The old peasant way of life conserved the flavours of a language. On the other hand, urban life disrupts them. Global convergence in lifestyles does have an impact on language, too. And it will push our language, too towards 'notionalisation'. We feel Arany's now classical translation of Hamlet to be closer to popular style than the original not because Arany wanted it that way, but because standard Hungarian in his time was closer to the language of the people.

But why does an original Hungarian literary work not become outdated linguistically in a generation? Independent of its literary value? Because it is always adequate, its vocabulary and formal richness do not go beyond – cannot go beyond – what is natural for the author. Thus it always reflects itself, its own age. The translation – even the best translation – goes beyond the natural linguistic horizon of the translator. The translator 'Hungarianises': he creates words, adapts means of expression, but they later become part of our life and language, if they do so, in a different form, perhaps. Language goes its own way. And there is no guarantee that it will accommodate the way the translator meant an advanced expression or form he created in forced anticipation. What a translator writes today, may sound false tomorrow because he had no precedent. An original piece of art, if it can stand the test of time, will be translated into Hungarian the day after tomorrow – into the Hungarian language of that day. But the two – the original and the translation – will never enjoy equality. The translator works for the present not for eternity.

I now realise that although I had wanted to write about the higher levels of faithfulness in prose translation, what I have here is something else: a tricky apology for the translator's unfaithfulness.

Ukrainian author Oksana Zabushko, Czech London correspondent Jana Ciglerova and German journalist Stefanie Peter were awarded the Milena Jesenská fellowships for journalists 2003/2004. They will take up their stipends from October 2003 in successive three-month terms.

Three female European journalists win the competition for the Milena Jesenská fellowships 2003/04

THE MILENA JESENSKÁ FELLOWSHIP program was established in 1998 by the Institute for Human Sciences in collaboration with the European Cultural Foundation in Amsterdam. From its inception, the program has been supported by Project Syndicate, an association of more than 180 quality newspapers worldwide. The 2003 competition was targeted towards cultural journalists working in print, broadcast and electronic journalism to offer them time off from their professional duties in order to pursue in-depth research on a topic of their choice. In addition to the above mentioned sponsors of the program, the Association of Austrian Newspapers (VÖZ) has recently been won as a supporter.

Members of the jury, chaired by Gerfried Sperl (Editor-in-chief, *Der Standard*, Austria), are Helena Luczywo (Managing editor, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Poland), Laura Starink (*NRC-Handelsblad*), Gottfried Wagner (Secretary General, European Cultural Foundation, The Netherlands), and Anita Traninger (Managing Director, IWM).

Oksana Zabushko is the present enfant terrible of the literary world in the Ukraine. In addition to her own work as an author, she also serves as a literary critic and a regular commentator for numerous Ukrainian newspapers and magazines. Her work is best understood as an attempt to deconstruct the deeper mythical structures which continue to leave their imprint on Ukrainian society. Her Milena Jesenská project is devoted to a study of the ideal types which confront the

Ukrainian women of the modern day: on the one side, the commendable Soviet matron, on the other, the target group of the Ukrainian edition of the glossy magazine *Cosmopolitan*. The few women who have been able to escape this categorization, such as Yulia Tymoshenko, for instance, the leader of the opposition in the Ukrainian parliament, sit at the centre of Zabushko's interest. The final result of the project will be a series of magazine articles.

Jana Ciglerova, UK correspondent for the leading Czech daily *Lidove Noviny*, will analyze the identity crisis facing the East European nations presently waiting for entry into the EU. For the younger generation in these lands, the present is an uncertain juncture. Having spent the first half of their lives in a climate of declining communist states, they now find themselves in a world of young democracies struggling for a sense of national understanding and awareness. Now, on the eve of entry into the EU, they find themselves apostrophized as 'new Europe' while still searching for their roots and their identity. Interviews in Poland, the Czech Republic, as well as Germany and Austria, will serve as the basis to a series of articles.

Stefanie Peter, freelance contributor to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, will offer a portrait of the city of Nowa Huta, east of Cracow, one of the model cities of Polish socialism. In a series of reports, Peter will go in search of the new forms of urban culture which have developed in the working-class area of the former steel combine, an area which has now been classified as a historical monument.

Oksana Zabushko gilt als enfant terrible der ukrainischen Gegenwartsliteratur. Ihr Schreiben versteht sie als Beitrag zur Sichtbarmachung der mythischen Strukturen, die die ukrainische Gesellschaft bis heute prägen. Ihr Milena-Projekt ist den Idealtypen gewidmet, mit denen sich ukrainische Frauen heute konfrontiert sehen: den verdienstvollen sowjetischen Matronen auf der einen Seite, der Zielgruppe der ukrainischen Ausgabe des Hochglanzmagazins *Cosmopolitan* auf der anderen. Die wenigen Frauen, die sich diesen Kategorisierungen entziehen, wie z.B. die Oppositionsführerin Yulia Tymoshenko, stehen im Mittelpunkt von Zabushkos Interesse.

Jana Ciglerova, England-Korrespondentin der tschechische Tageszeitung *Lidove Noviny*, thematisiert die Identitätskrisen der osteuropäischen EU-Beitrittskandidatenländer. Die jüngere Generation findet sich dort zwischen zwei Stühlen. Die erste Hälfte ihres Lebens verbrachten sie in zerfallenden kommunistischen Staaten, die zweite in um nationales Selbstbewusstsein und Selbstverständnis ringenden jungen Demokratien. Nun, am Vorabend des Beitritts, sehen sie sich als „neues Europa“ apostrophiert und sind auf der Suche nach ihren Wurzeln und ihrer Identität. Eine Serie von Interviews in Polen und Tschechien, aber auch in Deutschland und Österreich wird Grundlage einer Artikelserie sein.

Stefanie Peter, freie Mitarbeiterin der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung*, wird die sozialistische Musterstadt Nowa Huta östlich von Krakau porträtieren. In einer Reihe von Reportagen will Peter den neuen Formen urbaner Kultur nachspüren, die sich in dem mittlerweile als historisches Denkmal eingestuftem Arbeiterwohnviertel des ehemaligen Stahlkombinats entwickeln.



Milena Jesenská Fellows 2002/2003: Barbara Tóth, Gerhard Gnauck (next to each other on the left) and Nelly Becus-Goncharova (right)

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

11. FEBRUAR

Silvia Kontos Reproduktionstechnologie revisited – die neuen Reproduktionstechniken 15 Jahre nach der ersten Aufregung

WÄHREND DIE ERSTE DEBATTE über die Reproduktionstechniken vor allem von Frauen und Frauengruppen getragen wurde, die Mitte der 80er Jahre die Revision des Geschlechterverhältnisses durch die neue Technik in den Mittelpunkt stellen, geht es heute um die „ethischen Grenzen des Machbaren“, die vor allem von Medizinerinnen, Moralphilosophen und Theologen gesucht werden.

Die Debatte ist damit vom Rand in das Zentrum der Gesellschaft gewandert. Diese scheinbare Überwindung der feministischen Kritik hat jedoch selbst wieder eine geschlechterpolitische Dimension, denn sie nimmt mit der Konstruktion des „menschlichen Lebens“ eine diskursive Enteignung von Frauen vor, die der technischen Reorganisation der Generativität Vorschub leistet, die in der Debatte gerade problematisiert werden soll.



Silvia Kontos ist Professorin für Soziologie und Frauenforschung an der Fachhochschule Wiesbaden und war Gast des IWM im Februar.

18. FEBRUAR

Christiane Lemke Demokratie in Europa: Konzepte, Konstruktionen und Kritik

DIE RASCH FORTSCHRITENDE wirtschaftliche und politische Integration Europas hat in den letzten Jahren wiederholt Diskussionen über eine grundlegende Reform der europäischen Institutionen entfacht. Das Demokratieproblem, das sich



hinsichtlich der Legitimation politischer Entscheidungen, der Transparenz des Entscheidungsprozesses und der Bürgerbeteiligung ergibt, wird durch den bevorstehenden Erweiterungsprozess der EU noch weiter zugespitzt. Demokratietheoretisch basieren die Modelle einer neuen politischen Architektur Europas auf unterschiedlichen Konzepten repräsentativer, direkter und deliberativer Demokratie. Die zivilgesellschaftlichen und bürgerrechtlichen Dimensionen finden allerdings oft nur unzureichende Beachtung. Der Vortrag war insbesondere Fragen der Legitimation und Konzeptionen einer europäischen Rechtskultur gewidmet, die identitätsstiftend für die Integration der Beitrittsländer wirken könnte.

Christiane Lemke ist Professorin für Politische Wissenschaft an der Universität Hannover.

Kommentar:

Eva Lichtenberger, Verkehrssprecherin der Grünen und stellvertretendes Mitglied im EU-Konvent.

In Zusammenarbeit mit der Grünen Bildungswerkstatt



25. FEBRUAR

Arpad Göncz Faithfully and Figuratively: On the Translation of Literature

Siehe Seite 5.

4. MÄRZ

Elemer Hankiss Pax Americana or Bellum Americanum? New Challenges for the European Union



WHILE THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION recently presented a draft for a European constitution, it seems that too much attention is being paid to internal problems and too little to

the global context in which an enlarged Union will have to succeed in the coming decades. In his talk, Elemer Hankiss outlined some of the possible future scenarios and discussed the question of how the Union could and should prepare itself for future challenges. In his lecture, Hankiss analyzed Europe's options in order to survive and fare well in a "New World Order" or even a "New World Disorder", in an emerging "American Empire" or in a "Multipolar World", in a "Multicultural World", or in a "Clash of Civilizations", in an "Age of Globalization", or the "Age of Global Disintegration".

Elemer Hankiss is a senior researcher at the Institute of Sociology at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and is currently Visiting Professor at the Collège de l'Europe in Bruges.

18. MÄRZ

Birgit Sauer Gewaltverhältnisse und Staatlichkeit: Zur historischen Kontinuität maskulinistischer Gewaltoligopole

DERZEIT WIRD UNS wieder vor Augen geführt, dass Gewalt kein „Störfall“ der Moderne, sondern ihr „Normalfall“ ist. Angesichts kriegerischer und terroristischer Gewaltakte boomt zwar die wissenschaftliche Debatte um Gewalt, doch der Geschlechteraspekt wird dabei häufig vernachlässigt. Nicht zuletzt im Kontext neoliberaler Transformation von Staatlichkeit wird der



Zusammenhang von Gewalt und Staat zunehmend evident – ein Zusammenhang, auf den die Frauenforschung schon seit geraumer Zeit hinweist. Die geschlechtsspezifische „Gewaltmächtigkeit“ rechtsstaatlicher Arrangements und wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Institutionalisierungen beruht auf maskulinistischen Gewaltoligopolen jenseits des staatlichen Gewaltmonopols. In ihrem Vortrag stellte Birgit Sauer Überlegungen zu einem geschlechtersensiblen staatsbezogenen Gewaltkonzept vor und machte deutlich, dass neuartige staatliche Unterlassungs-, Vernachlässigungs- und Gewaltstrukturen einen weiten Gewaltbegriff brauchen, der über physische Verletzung hinaus reicht und Gewaltverhältnisse in den Blick nimmt.

Birgit Sauer ist Professorin für Politikwissenschaft an der Universität Wien, Vorsitzende der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Politikwissenschaft und Senior Researcher des IWM-Forschungsprojekts MAGEEQ.

25. MÄRZ

John Gray Al Qaeda and What It Means To Be Modern



IN THE AFTERMATH of the attacks of September 11, 2001, a public perception has developed that

Al Qaeda is a relic of the past – an organisation whose world-view and values are pre-modern. In fact, in terms of its social origins, organisation and its ideology, Al Qaeda is unequivocally modern and must be understood as a by-product of late twentieth century globalisation. The

conception of what it means to be modern that we accept today derives from the early nineteenth century French Positivists, notably Henri Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte – a conception that profoundly influenced Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill. The significance of Al Qaeda is that it compels a revision of this Positivist view. Like some other varieties of fundamentalism, Al Qaeda is a hybrid movement deeply influenced by a distinctively modern European tradition of Counter-Enlightenment thinking.

John Gray is Professor of European Thought at the London School of Economics and a member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board. His book, *Al Qaeda and What It Means To Be Modern*, was published in May 2003.

In Zusammenarbeit mit



1. APRIL

Buchpräsentation Neue philosophische Debatten zu „Demokratie“ und „Religion“

Die Herausgeberinnen und Herausgeber der „Wiener Reihe. Themen der Philosophie“ (Oldenbourg Verlag, Wien-München / Akademie Verlag, Berlin) stellten zwei neue Bände vor.

Band 11

Freiheit, Gleichheit und Autonomie, hg. von Herlinde Pauer-Studer und Herta Nagl-Docekal, sondiert Schlüsselbegriffe der Demokratietheorie im Blick auf die laufenden sozialen und ökonomischen Veränderungen. Beiträge u.a. Jürgen Habermas, Elizabeth Anderson, Wolfgang Kersting, Angelika Krebs und Ulrich Steinvorth.

Band 12

Religion nach der Religionskritik, hg. von Ludwig Nagl, dokumentiert das aktuelle Interesse an einer komplexen Theorie der Religion, die durch die Denkerfahrungen der Aufklärung mitbestimmt ist. Mit Bei-

trägen u.a. von Hilary Putnam, Charles Taylor, Onora O'Neill, Robert Spaemann, Hent de Vries und Nicholas Wolterstorff.

Mit Herta Nagl-Docekal, Ludwig Nagl (beide Institut für Philosophie der Universität Wien), Cornelia Klinger (IWM) und Alexander Somek (Institut für Rechtsphilosophie, Universität Wien).

8. APRIL

Chantal Delsol La question de la transmission des valeurs



« POURQUOI L'ÉDUCATION se révèle-t-elle si difficile aujourd'hui ? Pourquoi est-il si difficile de transmettre ? Peut-être parce que nous ignorons ce qu'il faudrait transmettre. Et ceci pour plusieurs raisons historiques que je me propose d'examiner. Il faudra ensuite se demander s'il est nécessaire de transmettre, et pourquoi, ce qui revient à préciser à quoi sert

l'éducation. Enfin, en ce qui concerne les moyens, les sociétés contemporaines ne peuvent plus transmettre comme autrefois : l'éducation exige des comportements nouveaux. »

Chantal Delsol est professeur de philosophie à l'Université de Marne-la-Vallée.

In Kooperation mit dem

Institut Français
de Vienne

29. APRIL

Tomas Venclova Anna Akhmatova and Joseph Brodsky: A Personal View

"I WAS LUCKY to know personally two great Petersburg poets – Anna Akhmatova and Joseph Brodsky. I don't intend to go into the details of the history of my acquaintance with them, especially as I have already discussed it in several publications. My presentation will be an attempt to

contribute to an understanding of the dialogic relationship between the 'younger' and 'older' poet as well as to analyze this relationship on the basis of Brodsky's poem 'Nunc Dimittis', which Kees

Verheul called 'perhaps the most Akhmatovian [of Brodsky's works].' Moments preserved in my memory and jour-



nals will play some role here, though not an essential one: they may add grains of new material that could be of some use for Akhmatova and Brodsky scholars."

Thomas Venclova is Professor at the Department of Slavic

Languages and Literatures at Yale University. He is one of Lithuania's most important writers, translators, critics and publishers.

Nunc Dimittis

When Mary first came to present the Christ Child to God in his temple, she found – of those few who fasted and prayed there, departing not from it – devout Simeon and the prophetess Anna.

The holy man took the babe up in his arms. The three of them, lost in the grayness of dawn, now stood like a small shifting frame that surrounded the child in the palpable dark of the temple.

The temple enclosed them in forests of stone. Its lofty vaults stooped as though trying to cloak the prophetess Anna, and Simeon, and Mary – to hide them from men and to hide them from heaven.

And only a chance ray of light struck the hair of that sleeping infant, who stirred but as yet was conscious of nothing and blew drowsy bubbles; old Simeon's arms held him like a stout cradle.

It had been revealed to this upright old man that he would not die until his eyes had seen the Son of the Lord. And it thus came to pass. And he said: "Now, O Lord, lettest thou thy poor servant,

according to thy holy word, leave in peace, for mine eyes have witnessed thine offspring: he is thy continuation and also the source of thy light for idolatrous tribes, and the glory

of Israel as well:" Then old Simeon paused. The silence, regaining the temple's clear space, oozed from all its corners and almost engulfed them, and only his echoing words grazed the rafters,

to spin for a moment, with faint rustling sounds; high over their heads in the tall temple's vaults; akin to a bird that can soar, yet that cannot return to the earth, even if it should want to.

I. Polen im neuen Europa

Krzysztof Pomian **Osterweiterung: Vorurteile und Ängste**

Marcin Król **Polen zwischen Ost und West**

Ryszard Kapuscinski **In der Tramway Nr. 15**

Timothy D. Snyder **Ostpolitik – Tradition mit Zukunft**

Alexei Miller **In den Fesseln der Geschichte**

José Casanova **Das katholische Polen im**

säkularisierten Europa

Joanna Tokarska-Bakir **Trauma Jedwabne**

Michał Glowinski **Tatra-Utopie. Kleine Prosa**

Czesław Miłosz **Paweł Hertz – Hüter des**

klassischen Reims

Świat – Polnische Kinder fotografieren ihre Welt

II. Populismus

Alfred Gusenbauer **Strategien gegen den**

Rechtspopulismus in Europa

Mit Kommentaren von **K. Biedenkopf, J. Gray,**

J. M. Kovacs, M. Mertes und C. Offe sowie einer

Replik von **A. Gusenbauer**

Ralf Dahrendorf **Acht Anmerkungen zum Populismus**

Jacqueline Hénard **Rechtspopulismus als Klassenkampf**

Paul Scheffer **Eine offene Gesellschaft braucht Grenzen**

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A strangeness engulfed them. The silence now seemed as strange as the words of old Simeon's speech. And Mary, confused and bewildered, said nothing – so strange had his words been. He added, while turning

directly to Mary: "Behold, in this child, now close to thy breast, is concealed the great fall of many, the great elevation of others, a subject of strife and a source of dissension,

and that very steel which will torture his flesh shall pierce through thine own soul as well. And that wound will show to thee, Mary, as in a new vision what lies hidden, deep in the hearts of all people"

He ended and moved toward the temple's great door. Old Anna, bent down with the weight of her years, and Mary, now stooping, gazed after him, silent. He moved and grew smaller, in size and in meaning,

to these two frail women who stood in the gloom. As though driven on by the force of their looks, he strode through the cold empty space of the temple and moved toward the whitening blur of the doorway.

The stride of his old legs was steady and firm. When Anna's voice sounded behind him, he slowed his step for a moment. But she was not calling to him; she had started to bless God and praise Him.

The door came still closer. The wind stirred his robe and fanned at his forehead; the roar of the street, exploding in life by the door of the temple, beat stubbornly into old Simeon's hearing.

He went forth to die. It was not the loud din of streets that he faced when he flung the door wide, but rather the deaf-and-dumb fields of death's kingdom. He strode through a space that was no longer solid.

The rustle of time ebbed away in his ears. And Simeon's soul held the form of the child – its feathery crown now enveloped in glory – aloft, like a torch, pressing back the black shadows,

to light up the path that leads into death's realm, where never before until this present hour had any man managed to lighten his pathway. The old man's torch glowed and the pathway grew wider

February 16, 1972

Visiting Fellows

January – June 2003

Paul Dragos Aligica

Professor of Economics,
*Scoala Nationala de
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Administrative,
Bucharest; Hudson
Institute, Herman Kahn
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IWM Project: "After the Accession"

Selected "Romania's Economic Policy: Before and After the

Publications: Elections", in: *East European Constitutional Review* 10 (2001); "Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibility of Governance", in: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 2/3 (2001); "Institutions and the Transition Process: an alternative approach to post-Communist social dynamics", in: *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 17 (1999).

Roumen Avramov

Program director for economic research at the Center
for Liberal Strategies, Sofia

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Selected *The 20th Century Bulgarian Economy*, Sofia 2001;

publications: *120 Years of the Bulgarian National Bank, an Annotated Chronology*, Sofia 1999; Editor of the five-volume series *Bulgarian National Bank – Archival Documents, 1879-1989* (Sofia 1998-).

Nelly Bekus-Goncharova

Freelance journalist,
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Jesenská Visiting
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IWM Project: The Invisible Wall:
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of Belarusian Reality

Recent *Soviet childhood: The*

Publications: *Land of Golem*, Warsaw, 2001; *Belarus on the Scale of Reality*, Minsk, 2001; *Emigration, Another Paradigm of Existence*, Belarus 2002.

Ivan Chvatik

Director, Patocka Archive at the Center
for Phenomenological Study, Prague;
Research Associate, IWM Patocka
Project



IWM Project: Der andere Weg in die Moderne. Jan
Patockas Beitrag zur Genealogie der
Neuzeit

Recent Jan Patocka, *Péce o duši III* (the sixth volume of

Publication: the *Collected Works of Jan Patocka*), ed. with Pavel
Kouba, Prague 2002.

Gerhard Gnauck

Warsaw correspondent for the German
daily Die Welt; Milena Jesenská
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IWM Project: The Eastern Neighbours and the EU:
The Fate of Backwardness (focussed
on East Central Europe)

Publications: „Die Ukraine am Rande Europas“, in:
Berliner Republik 1/2003; *Parteien und
Nationalismus in Russland*, Frankfurt am Main /
Berlin 1997; „Wolken über Kaliningrad“, in:
Friedemann Kluge (Hg.), *Ein schicklicher Platz?
Königsberg/Kaliningrad in der Sicht von
Bewohnern und Nachbarn*, Osnabrück 1994.

Ludger Hagedorn

Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter,
*Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität,
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Mitarbeiter, IWM Patocka-Projekt



IWM Project: „Der andere Weg in die Moderne.

Jan Patockas Beitrag zur
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und Übersetzung zentraler Studien für eine
deutsche Ausgabe

Recent Hg. von zwei Bänden der „Tschechischen

Publications: Bibliothek“: *Tschechische Philosophen im 20.
Jahrhundert, Tschechische Philosophen von Hus bis
Masaryk*, Stuttgart: dva 2002.

Slawomir Kapralski

Associate Professor of Sociology, Central European University, Warsaw; Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow



IWM Project: The Memory of the Holocaust and the Transformation of Roma Identities in Central/Eastern Europe

Recent Publications: "Rituals of Memory in Constructing Eastern European Roma Identity," in: *The Role of the Romanies. Images and Self-Images of Romanies/ "Gypsies" in European Cultures*, ed. by Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt, Liverpool 2003 (in print); *Democracies, Markets, Institutions: Global Tendencies in Local Contexts*, ed. by Slawomir Kapralski and Paul Vincent Smith, Warsaw 2002.

Edit Király

Übersetzerin und Literaturwissenschaftlerin, Institut für Germanistik, ELTE Budapest; Paul Celan Visiting Fellow



IWM Project: Übersetzung von Hans Blumenberg, *Schriften zur Metaphorologie und zum Mythos vom Deutschen ins Ungarische*

Recent Publications: Libuse Moniková, *A homlokzat* (Übersetzung vom Deutschen ins Ungarische), Budapest 1997; Heimito von Doderer, *A slunji vizesés* (Übersetzung vom Deutschen ins Ungarische), Budapest 2000; Volker Harlan, *Mi a művészet? Beszélgetések Joseph Beuys-szal* (Übersetzung vom Deutschen ins Ungarische), Budapest 2001.

Katalin Kovacs

Senior Research Fellow of Sociology, Head of Department for Regional Development Research at the Centre for Regional Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

IWM Project: "After the Accession"

Recent Publications: "Agricultural Restructuring in Hungary and Its Social Impacts", in: Ieda Osamu (ed.), *Transformation and Diversification of Rural Societies in Eastern Europe and Russia*. Sapporo 2002; (with Zsuzsanna Bihari:) "Concepts, Policies, Programs and Institutions of Rural Development in Hungary", in: Csaba Csáki and Zvi Lerman (eds.), *The Challenge of Rural Development in the EU Accession Countries*, Sofia 2000; (with Monika Mária Váradi:) "Women's life trajectories and class formation in Hungary", in: Susan Gal and Gail

Klingman (eds.), *Reproducing gender. Politics, publics and everyday life after Socialism*, Princeton University Press 2000.

Marius Lazar

Professor of Sociology at the "Babeş-Bolyai" University of Cluj, Director of the Research Center for Inter-ethnic Relations



IWM Project: Conflict denial, ethnic confrontation and symbolic space in a Transylvanian city

Recent Publications: *Paradoxuri ale modernizării. Elemente pentru sociologie a elitelor culturale româneşti*, [Paradoxes of modernization. Elements for a sociology of Romanian cultural elites], Cluj-Napoca 2002; „„Akademisches' und ‚nicht-akademisches' Denken. Die Philosophie in Rumänien zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen“, in: *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 4 (2001); "Identity perceptions and interethnic relations in Szekerland: Elements for a 'deconstruction' followed by a 'reconstruction,'" in: Lucian Nastasa and Levente Salat (eds.), *Interethnic Relations in Post-Communist Romania*, Cluj-Napoca 2000.

Cyril Riha

Research Associate at the Center for Phenomenological Study, Prague; Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, IWM Patocka-Projekt



IWM Project: Erschließung der Handschriften Jan Patockas zu seiner „Philosophie der Geschichte“ (im Rahmen des Projekts „Der andere Weg in die Moderne. Jan Patockas Beitrag zur Genealogie der Neuzeit“)

Recent publication: „Jan Patocka: Renaissance: Ficinus, Pico, Pomponatius“ (mit Filip Karfik), in: *Kritický sborník* 20 (2001).

Victor Shovkun

Autor und Übersetzer; Redakteur der Literaturzeitschrift Vsesvit (Kyiv), Paul Celan Visiting Fellow



IWM Project: Übersetzung von Michel Foucault, *Archéologie du savoir* aus dem Französischen ins Ukrainische

Recent Publications: *Encyclopedia of postmodernism* (Übersetzung aus dem Englischen ins Ukrainische), Kyiv 2003; Marc Bloch, *La Société Feodale* (Übersetzung aus dem Französischen ins Ukrainische), Kyiv 2002; George Bernanos, *Sous le Soleil du Satan* et *Journal d'un curé de campagne* (Übersetzung aus dem Französischen ins Ukrainische), Kyiv 2002.

Barbara Tóth

Redakteurin,
Wochenmagazin
 Format; Milena
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IWM Project: Generation 1989

Forthcoming: Im Frühjahr 2004

Publication: wird ein Buch zum Thema „Generation 1989“ im Wiener Czernin-Verlag erscheinen.

Tamás Ullmann

Senior Lecturer of
 Philosophy, ELTE
 University of Budapest;
 Andrew W. Mellon
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IWM Project: Patocka and Levinas on
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Publications: *phénoménologie génétique de Husserl)*, Paris 2002; “Nietzsche’s Categorical Imperativ (Eternal return as a formal moral principle),” in: *Hungarian Philosophical Congress*, Budapest 2002; “Le temps comme horizon et fondement de la subjectivité,” in: *French-Hungarian Philosophical Conference*, Paris 2002.

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January – June 2003

Julia Chiabudini

Friedrich-Alexander-
 Universität
 Erlangen-Nürnberg;
 Preisträgerin des
 Wettbewerbs “Jugend
 denkt”



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Robert Clewis

Ph.D. candidate in
 Philosophy, Boston
 College



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 Malick’s “The Thin Red Line”, in: *Film and
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 tion,” in: *Kinesis*, forthcoming; “Augustine’s
 Hermeneutics: How to Read the ‘Confessions’”,
 in: *Auslegung* 24 (2001).

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M.A., Humboldt-Universität, Berlin

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*Dokumentation des 27. Kongresses von Frauen in
 Naturwissenschaft und Technik*, Wien 2002;

“Writing the Cyborg: Refigurationen von
 Geschlecht in der feministischen Science Fiction”,
 in: K. Giselbrecht und M. Hafner (Hg.), *Data /
 Body / Sex / Machine. Technoscience und
 Sciencefiction aus feministischer Sicht*, Wien 2001.

Clemens Six

Ph.D. candidate in History, Univer-
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 Österreichischen Akademie der
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Transit – Europäische Revue 20; „Jednakowa
 generacja II: ankieta Kultury“, *Kultura Paris* 10
 (1997); „In Search of Democratic Ethos in a Post-
 Communist Poland“, in: *Confronting New
 Realities: The Impact of Reform. Selected Conference
 Papers*, Budapest 1996.

**Natascha Vittorelli**

Doktorandin (Geschichte), Universität
 Wien; Stipendiatin im Rahmen des
 Doktorandenprogramms der
 Österreichischen Akademie der
 Wissenschaften

IWM Project: Geschichte der ersten Frauen-
 bewegung in den südslawischen
 Gebieten der Habsburger Monarchie –

Recent: Frauenzeitschrift *Slovenka*

Publications: “An ‘Other’ of One’s Own. Pre-WW I South
 Slavic Academic Discourses on the
 zadruga,” in: *Spaces of Identity* 2.3/4 (2002).
 “Marja Borsnik in njena pripoved o ‘Slovenki’
 (Marja Borsnik und ihre Erzählung über die
 ‘Slovenka’),” in: *Zbornik Slavisticnega društva
 Slovenije, posvecenega Marji Borsnik* (Sammelband
 der Slawistischen Gesellschaft Slowenien,
 gewidmet Marja Borsnik), Maribor 2003 (im



Druck); „Wären Sie, mein Freund, auf mich böse, wüssten Sie das?“ Ein Beispiel antisemitischer Stereotype in der südslawischen Literatur,“ in: *Konferenzband zum 1. Österreichischen Osteuropaforum*, Wien 2003 (im Druck).

Guests

Silvia Kontos

Professorin für
Soziologie und
Frauenforschung,
Fachhochschule
Wiesbaden



Month of stay: February

Recent „In den Brüchen

Publication: des Alltags. Die Frauenbewegung und ihre Vorgabe für eine kritische Gesellschaftstheorie“, in: A. Demirovic (Hg.), *Aufgabe und Perspektiven der kritischen Gesellschaftstheorie heute*, erscheint in Kürze.

Ute Frevert

Professorin für Allgemeine
Geschichte, Universität Bielefeld



Month of stay: May

Main Eurovisionen. Ansichten guter
Europäer im 19. und 20.

Publications: Jahrhundert, Frankfurt 2003;
Die kasernierte Nation. Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland, München 2001; (mit A. Assmann): *Geschichtsvergessenheit - Geschichtsversessenheit. Vom Umgang mit deutschen Vergangenheiten nach 1945*, Stuttgart 1999; *Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, München 1991.

George Psathas

Professor of Sociology
emeritus, Boston Univer-
sity



Month of stay: June

Recent *Conversation Analysis:*

Publications: *The Study of Talk-in-Interaction*, Sage Publications 1995; “The Path to Human Studies,” in: *Human Studies* 25 (2002); “The ideal type in Weber and Schutz”, in: G. Psathas, H. Nasu and M. Endress (eds.), *Explorations of the Life-World: Continuing Dialogues with Alfred Schutz*, Dordrecht (forthcoming 2003).

Preview Visiting Fellows

July – December 2003

Robin Archer

Fellow and Tutor in Politics, Corpus Christi College,
Oxford

IWM-Project: The Future of the Left /
Violence and Liberalism

Drago Cengic

Principal Researcher at the
Institute of Social Sciences “Ivo
Pilar”, Zagreb

IWM-Project: “After the Accession”



Krzysztof Gorlach

Associate Professor of Sociology, Jagiellonian Univer-
sity, Krakow; Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow

IWM-Project: The Restructuring of Agriculture in Poland

Heiko Haumann

Ordinarius für Osteuropäische und Neuere
Allgemeine Geschichte, Universität Basel

IWM-Project: Erinnerung und Lebenswelt. Juden und
Nichtjuden in Osteuropa

Pavel Kouba

Professor für Philosophie, Karls-
Universität Prag; Leiter des Zentrums
für Phänomenologische Forschung an
der Tschechischen Akademie der
Wissenschaften; Robert Bosch
Visiting Fellow

IWM-Project: Der Sinn der Endlichkeit



Mladen Lazic

Professor of Sociology, University of Belgrade

IWM-Project: “After the Accession”

Michael Staudigl

Habilitand (Phänomenologie, Politische
Philosophie), Universität Wien; APART-Stipendiat
der Österreichischen Akademie der
Wissenschaften

IWM-Project: Phänomen Gewalt. Perspektiven phänomeno-
logischer Forschung

Marius Turda

Lecturer in the Education Abroad Program, Eötvös Lorand University, Faculty of Humanities, Budapest;
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow



IWM-Project: The Biologisation of National Belonging: Racial Ideologies in Hungary and Romania (1900-1940)

Stefanie Peter

Freelance Journalist, Berlin; Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow

IWM-Project: "Man of Marble" – Revisited. Contemporary Urban Culture and the Future of Nowa Huta, Once Central Europe's Largest Socialist Model City

Junior Visiting Fellows

July – December 2003

Zuzana Búriková

Ph.D. candidate, Academy of Sciences, Bratislava; Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow



IWM-Project: How Holy is the Holy Land: Production, Distribution and Consumption with Special Reference to the Conservative Roman Catholic Environment in Rural Northern Slovakia

Silvia Carli

Ph.D. candidate in Ancient Philosophy, Boston University



IWM-Project: Aristotle and the Nature of the "Who"

Alison Cashin

M.S. candidate in Journalism, Boston University



IWM-Project: Media Criticism, Media Ownership, Narrative Writing

Jakub Jirsa

Ph.D. candidate, Central European University, Budapest; Robert Bosch Junior Visiting Fellow

IWM-Project: Dealing with the Past – A Comparison Between Western and Eastern Social Memory in the Mirror of Political Philosophy

Daria Lucka

Teaching Assistant of Sociology, Jagiellonian University, Krakow; Józef Tischner Junior Visiting Fellow



IWM-Project: Civil Society, Nationality and Religion: Allies or Enemies? The Case of Poland (1989 – 2000)

Mahon O'Brien

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University



IWM-Project: The Development of Heidegger's Political and Ethical Philosophy

Maya Sion

MA in Public Policy, Administration and Law, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Hebrew University Junior Visiting Fellow



IWM-Project: New Political Mechanisms of the EU in the Field of Law and Public Policy

James Wood

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University



IWM-Project: Plato's Philebus: The Dialectical Life

Jozef Tischner

DEADLINE
1 December, 2003
CALL FOR APPLICATIONS
Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen Institute for Human Sciences

Jozef Tischner (1931–2000) was one of the most eminent contemporary Polish philosophers. He was the founder and Dean of the Cracovian Papal Academy of Theology and lectured at the Jagiellonian University and the State High School of Theatre in Cracow. He wrote and published more than 600 articles and books. Jozef Tischner was an exceptional moral authority and at the same time one of the most famous, brilliant and loved figures in Polish public life. He was *Solidarity's* first chaplain. Professor Tischner was founding member, President and non-resident Permanent Fellow of the Institute for Human Sciences.

The Institute for Human Sciences awards one **Jozef Tischner Fellowship** per year to a young Polish researcher. The six-month fellowship is open to all academic disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and will enable a young scholar to work in Vienna on a research project of her/his choice that is related to one of IWM's main research fields. The fellow will participate in the scholarly community and activities of IWM.

The **Jozef Tischner Fellowship** program is generously supported by grants from

Pope John Paul II.
Foundation Open Society Institute (Zug)
Kosciuszko Foundation, Inc., New York



2 C o n d i t i o n s

The **Jozef Tischner Fellow** will be invited to spend a six-month term from July to December 2004 at the IWM to pursue her/his research project while working in residence. The fellow will receive a stipend in the amount of € 8.000 to cover accommodation, living expenses, travel, health insurance and incidentals during the stay at the Institute. Furthermore the IWM will provide the **Jozef Tischner Fellow** an office with personal computer, access to the Internet, in-house research facilities and other relevant sources in Vienna.

3 T h e J u r y

A jury of experts evaluates applications and selects the finalist once a year. Members of the jury are:

Marcin Krol

Professor of History of Ideas, Faculty of Applied Sciences and Social Prevention, Warsaw University; Editor-in-chief, Res Publica Nowa

Krzysztof Michalski

Rector of the IWM, Vienna; Professor of Philosophy, Boston and Warsaw University

Wiktor Osiatynski

Professor of Law and Sociology, Central European University, Budapest; Member of the Board, Open Society Institute

Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek

Rector of the Papal Academy of Theology, Cracow

Fellowships

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A p p l i c a t i o n P r o c e d u r e

- Candidates for the **Jozef Tischner Fellowship**
- must be Polish citizens or permanently reside in Poland. The fellowship is also open to Polish-American scholars
 - must currently pursue their doctoral degree or have recently obtained a Ph.D.
 - must not be older than 35 years.

The application consists of the following materials:

1. the application form (please download from www.iwm.at or request by fax: +43-1-313 58-30 or e-mail: fellowships@iwm.at)
2. a concise research proposal in English (max. 4 pages, double-spaced, A4) including
 - the scientific problem(s) addressed
 - critical consideration of current relevant literature
 - research goals and expected results
 - work and time schedule: if the duration of the project exceeds the six-month term at the IWM, please indicate which part you intend to complete during the fellowship at IWM
3. a curriculum vitae
4. two letters of recommendation by scholars familiar with your academic work.

For details, please visit the IWM website:
<http://www.iwm.at/f-tischn.htm>

5

D e a d l i n e

Deadline for application is

1 December 2003 (date of receipt)

Please send the application by mail to:

Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen
Fellowship Coordinator
Spittelauer Lände 3
A-1090 Wien, Austria

Advance copies by e-mail are eligible:
fellowships@iwm.at
Subject header:
Jozef Tischner Fellowship

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N o t i f i c a t i o n

Applicants will be notified of the jury decision in February 2004; it is not required for the jury to publicly justify its decisions.

Publications

Cornelia Klinger

Permanent Fellow

„Inklusion und Exklusion. Das Konzept Mensch zwischen Universalitätsanspruch und Ausschluss-Strategien,“ in: *Freiburger FrauenStudien* Bd. 12: *Dimensionen von Gender Studies*, 2003.

„Exklusionen: Exkursion in einen dunklen Kontinent. Geschlecht in der Geschichte der Wissenschaft. Eine historisch-systematische Rekonstruktion der Verhältnisse von Wissenschaft, Gesellschaft und Geschlecht,“ Beitrag zum Seminar: *Denkverhältnisse. Ansätze und Strategien feministischer Erkenntnis-kritik. Virtual International Gender Studies (VINGS)*, Verbundprojekt der Universitäten Hannover, Bielefeld, Bochum und der FernUniversität Hagen (auf CD-Rom).

Birgit Sauer

Senior Researcher, *MAGEEQ-Projekt*

„Gender makes the world go around. Globale Restrukturierung und Geschlecht,“ in: Albert Scharenberg / Oliver Schmidtke (Hg.), *Das Ende der Politik? Globalisierung und der Strukturwandel des Politischen*, Münster 2003.

„Transformationen in den neuen Bundesländern Deutschlands. Auswirkungen auf Geschlechterverhältnisse im lokalen politischen Raum,“ in: Alice Pechriggl / Marlen Bidwell-Steiner (Hg.), *Brüche. Geschlecht. Gesellschaft. Gender Studies zwischen Ost und West*, Wien: Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur 2003.

„Den Staat ver/handeln. Zum Zusammenhang von Staat, Demokratie und Herrschaft,“ in: Alex Demirovic (Hg.), *Modelle Kritischer Gesellschaftstheorie. Traditionen und Perspektiven der Kritischen Theorie*, Stuttgart/Weimar 2003.

„Die Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft und ihre Frauen,“ in: Jürgen W. Falter / Felix W. Wurm (Hg.), *Politikwissenschaft in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. 50 Jahre DVPW*, Opladen 2003.

Mieke Verloo

Research director, *MAGEEQ-Projekt*

„Van wie is het feminisme eigenlijk? Documentairemakers over de tweede golf en verder“ (with Judith Franco) in: *LOVER* 2003/1.

„Reflections on the Dutch case on Gender Mainstreaming,“ in: Hannah Steiner / Itta Tetschert (Hg.), *Observatoria. Gender Mainstreaming – eine Strategie zur Verringerung der Einkommensdifferenz zwischen Frauen und Männern? Netzwerk Österreichischer Frauen- und Mädchenberatungsstellen*, Wien 2003.

„On the Bridge between Science and Policy making,“ in: Enikő Magyari-Vincze (Hg.), *Talking feminist institutions. Interviews with leading feminist scholars*, Cluj 2002.

„Principesse. Nog een feministisch manifest van het politieke,“ (with Meike Schmidt-Gleim) in: *LOVER* 2003/2 [Dutch translation of the Manifesto: see IWM Working Papers below].

IWM Working Papers

www.iwm.at/p-iwmwp.htm

Regina Becker-Schmidt

Erkenntniskritik, Wissenschaftskritik, Gesellschaftskritik – Positionen von Donna Haraway und Theodor W. Adorno kontrovers diskutiert

Meike Schmidt-Gleim and Mieke Verloo

One More Feminist Manifesto of the Political

Worldly Philosophers

www.project-syndicate.org

From time to time, IWM fellows, guests and speakers write articles for Project Syndicate, an international association of more than 180 independent newspapers in 91 countries dedicated to a global exchange of ideas. Since 2001 these texts have appeared in a monthly series of commentaries under the title Worldly Philosophers, edited by Krzysztof Michalski. Since early 2003, columns written within the framework of the Reflection Group “The spiritual and cultural dimension of Europe” have also been published in the Worldly Philosophers series.

The Secular and the Sacred in Europe's Constitution

Silvio Ferrari

(June 2003, Reflection Group)

Europe's Secular Mission

Michel Rocard

(May 2003, Reflection Group)

The Death of Death

Robert Spaemann

(April 2003)

Making Culture Count

Kurt Biedenkopf

(March 2003, Reflection Group)

The Morality of Amoralism in Foreign Policy

Robert Cooper

(February 2003)

To Appease or Not to Appease?

Marcin Król

(January 2003)

Travels and Talks

Nelly Bekus-Goncharova

Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow 2003

Paper: "Discourse Code in Belarusian Public Spaces" at the Annual International Cultural Studies Symposium, *Inside – Outside – In: Emotions, Body, and Society* at Ege University, Izmir, Turkey (May 21-23, 2003).

Ludger Hagedorn

Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Patocka-Projekt

Präsentation der „Tschechischen Bibliothek“ in der Tschechischen Botschaft in Wien, zusammen mit Christa Rothmeier. Hagedorn las Auszüge aus den von ihm herausgegebenen Bänden „Tschechische Philosophen“. Beiträge über diese Lesung wurden im ORF und im Schweizer DRS gesendet (20. Februar 2003).

Cornelia Klinger

Permanent Fellow

Podiumsdiskussion gemeinsam mit Christina von Braun und Thomas Meinecke im Schauspielhaus Hannover zum Thema "Das Öffentliche gehört dem Mann" aus Anlass der Aufführung von Elfriede Jelineks Prinzessinnendrama "Rosamunde" (9. Februar 2003).

Kommentar zu Melissa Williams, "Diversifying Democratic Citizenship: Unpatriotic Reflections" bei der Konferenz *Diversity, Justice and Democracy*, veranstaltet vom Europäischen Zentrum Wien (7. April 2003).

Vortrag: „Die Kunst der Grenzziehung und das Mysterium der Macht. Symbolische Grenzen in der Ordnung der Geschlechter,“ *Interdisziplinäres Forschungskolloquium: Grenz-Übergänge. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Geschlechterverhältnisse*, Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung TU Berlin (23. April 2003).

Paul-Celan-Fellow **Edit Király**, Junior Fellow **Natascha Vittorelli** und **Tatiana Zhurzhenko** (Junior Fellow 2001) präsentierten jeweils eigene Beiträge auf der **Konferenz Genderfragen und kollektive Identitäten der Habsburger Monarchie 1867 – 1918**, die Király mitorganisiert hatte (28.-29. März, 2003).

Janos M. Kovacs

Permanent Fellow

Conference on the occasion of the publication of the book *The West as a Guest*, organized by "2000" publishers, Budapest (February 14, 2003).

Lecture: "On the 'New Westernizers' in Eastern Europe" at the Workshop *Joining the Club* at the Collegium Budapest (April 28-29, 2003).

Krzysztof Michalski

Rector, IWM

Participation in the dialogue *The place of Culture and Education within the Constitutional Treaty*, organized by the European Cultural Foundation (Amsterdam) and the European Policy Centre in Brussels (April 3, 2003).

Teilnahme an der **Veranstaltung polen://deutschland@2014**, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Warschau (10. April 2003).

Teilnahme an der Tischner-Konferenz, Jagiellonski Universität, Krakau (10. Mai 2003).

Conference *United Europe and National Heritages*, organized by the Chair of European Civilization, University of Warsaw (May 11, 2003).

Birgit Sauer

Senior Researcher, MAGEEQ-Projekt

„Theorien des institutionellen Wandels“, **Vortrag** auf der Tagung des Instituts für Höhere Studien/Abteilung Politikwissenschaft und des Instituts für Politikwissenschaft der Universität Wien

Institutionenwandel und Gender Mainstreaming. Zur Notwendigkeit von vergleichenden Policy-Analysen in der politikwissenschaftlichen Geschlechterforschung (28.-30. März 2003).

„Veilchen im Moose“. Die (Geschlechter)Politik der Politik(Wissenschaft)“, **Vortrag** auf der *Tagung des Interdisziplinären Frauen-Forschungszentrums an der Universität Bielefeld* (8.-9. Mai 2003).

Anita Traninger took part in the meeting of the National Committees of the European Cultural Foundation in Amsterdam (March 8, 2003).

Mieke Verloo and **Anita Traninger** represented the MAGEEQ project at the European Commission's 5th Framework Programme Kick-off Conference (third call within the key action „Improving the socio-economic knowledge base“), in Brussels (13-14 March, 2003).

Mieke Verloo

Research director, MAGEEQ-Projekt

Seminar on "Gender Mainstreaming for Top Management of the Directorate General Justice and Home Affairs", European Commission, Brussels (with Prof. Suzanne Baer, January 16, 2003).

Lecture: "Reflections on the Dutch Case of Gender Mainstreaming", Final Conference of *Observatoria*, Vienna (January 30, 2003).

Paper presentation: "The Logic of the Dual Agenda. Why Femocrats Need to be Radical When Engaging in Gender Mainstreaming", Conference *National Feminisms in a Transnational Arena: The European Union and the politics of Gender*, Madison, Wisconsin (April 4-5, 2003).

Paper presentation: "Why should Eastern European Feminism be different?", Conference on *Women and Politics*, Dubrovnik (May 20-23, 2003).

Varia

Katharina Coudenhove-Kalergi, Assistentin der *Transit*-Redaktion, und ihr Mann Stepan Seycek freuen sich über die Geburt ihres Sohnes Lukas am 5. Juni. Wir gratulieren herzlich.



Marion Habermann, Praktikantin am IWM im Sommer 2002, wird ab September 2003 als Bildungsbeauftragte für Mazedonien und den Kosovo im Auftrag des österreichischen Bundesministeriums für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur in Skopje tätig sein.

Cornelia Klinger wurde im März 2003 zum Mitglied des von Bundesministerin Elisabeth Gehrler einberufenen „Frauenpolitischen Beirats für Universitäten“ bestellt. Der Beirat soll beratend wirken und die Maßnahmen zur Erhöhung des Frauenanteils kontrollieren.

Im Sommersemester 2003 nimmt **Cornelia Klinger** eine Gastprofessur am Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung an der Technischen Universität Berlin wahr.

Krzysztof Michalski wurde am 9. April 2003 von der polnischen Botschafterin in Österreich, Irena Lipowicz, das Offizierskreuz des Verdienstordens der Republik Polen (Kryzyz Oficerski Orderu Zaslugi Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) verliehen. Die Laudatio hielt Fürst Schwarzenberg.

Katharina Pewny, Junior Visiting Fellow 1998 und 2002, ist ab September 2003 Stipendiatin im APART Programm der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Den Projektantrag zu einer „Repräsentationstheorie der Ruhe“ hatte sie während ihrer Stipendienzeit am IWM ausgearbeitet.

Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) war einer der geistigen Väter des Instituts für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und stand dem wissenschaftlichen Beirat viele Jahre als Vorsitzender vor. Nach dem Nachruf seines Nachfolgers im Beirat, Charles Taylor (s. Newsletter 76) bringen wir Auszüge aus einer Rede, die Beiratsmitglied Reinhard Koselleck im November 2002 in Heidelberg zu Gadammers Andenken gehalten hat.

Hans-Georg Gadamer: Wahrheit und Geschichte



Reinhard Koselleck

Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) was a patron of the Institute for Human Sciences and chaired, for many years, its Academic Advisory Board. After an obituary by his successor as chairman, Charles Taylor (published in *Newsletter* 46), we present excerpts of a speech given by fellow board member Reinhard Koselleck in Heidelberg in November 2002.

(...) NUN WIRD UNS HANS-GEORG GADAMER FEHLEN, nun fehlt er uns. Und es wäre irrig zu glauben, dass seine Rolle, anders oder neu, wie man so sagt, besetzt werden könne. Der Grund dessen ist klar: Gadamer hat nie eine Rolle übernommen oder gespielt, weder als Lehrer, noch als Philosoph, noch als Bürger. Sein Geheimnis bestand darin, daß er in allen diesen sogenannten Rollen immer nur er selbst war. Er dachte und sprach, er fragte und zweifelte immer und überall in gleicher Weise: in Seminaren oder Vorlesungen, auf Konferenzen oder Kongressen, in Sitzungen oder auf Tagungen. Ob helfend, steuernd, mahnend, beschwichtigend, klärend, immer aber die entscheidenden Argumente suchend oder ganz plötzlich – mit blitzendem Auge – überraschende Fragen stellend, die neue Gedankenwege oder Handlungsspielräume öffneten, – und all das in dem unverwechselbaren Tonfall seiner Redeweise. Er hatte es nicht nötig, in Rollen zu schlüpfen, um gehört zu werden.

Kurz vor seinem Tode erhielt Gadamer von der nunmehr polnischen Universität der Stadt Breslau den Ehrendoktor der Philosophie, unter seinen zahllosen Ehrungen die biographisch vielleicht sinnvollste: sie weist zurück auf einen Anfang, der entschwunden ist. Eine Ehrung, die versöhnlich ist. Dahinter steht die Hochachtung, die Gadamer als Hermeneut und als Phänomenologe auf sich zog: allen offensichtlich, als Wojtila, der polnische Papst, ihm, Gadamer, dem Nicht-Katholiken, wohl auch Nicht-Christen, zumindest im konfessionellen Sinn, in Castel Gandolfo seinen tiefen Dank bezeugte. Auch hier verzichtete Gadamer darauf, eine Rolle zu spielen, schon gar nicht die eines häretischen Gegenpapstes: Das irenische Erbe Breslaus leuchtete auf, und sicherte Gadamer die Freiheit, als Mentor der päpstlichen Konferenz nur er selbst bleiben zu können, so sehr sich auch die welthistorische Szenerie seit 1900 gewandelt hatte.

Die philosophische Unverwechselbarkeit Gadammers lag in dem hermeneutischen Zugriff, mit dem er die weltgeschichtlichen Perioden und Zäsuren im Denken, in den Wissenschaften, in den Handlungen und Techniken sowie in den flankierenden Künsten aufs Neue zum Sprechen brachte. Wenn man so will waren es die nicht hinterfragbaren sprachlichen Voraussetzungen, unter deren Vorgebot er allen Wandel, alle Wiederholungen

und auch alle Wagnisse zu Neuerungen nachvollzog. Das Nachdenken dessen, was bereits vorgedacht war, so dass im Vollzug des Nachdenkens das Vergangene zukünftig wird, wie auch das eigene Vorausfragen, ohne dessen Sogwirkung auch die Vergangenheit nicht gegenwärtig werden kann, zeugen von der zeitlichen Verschränkung, die Vordenken und Nachdenken aufeinander verweist. Es war der überzeitliche hermeneutische Kosmos, dessen empirisch unsichtbarer Zusammenhalt Gadamer stets gegenwärtig war, mit einem schier unvorstellbaren Speicher an geordnetem Wissen. Immer kam es Gadamer darauf an, Wahrheiten aufzudecken, die sich nicht allein auf die Logik der Urteilsfindung zurückführen lassen. Vom sprachlichen Status her kannte er viele Logiken – des Fragens, des Zweifelns, des Wollens, der Furcht, der Liebe, des Hasses kurzum all dessen, was Menschen möglich ist. Und Wahrheiten sind zu finden nicht nur in Aussagesätzen, sondern auch in Mythen und Geschichten, in Gedichten und Bekenntnissen. Sie zu entdecken oder wiederzufinden ist Aufgabe der Hermeneutik, unbeschadet der zeitlichen Tiefe, die uns von vergangenen Texten trennt. Deshalb sagt Gadamer zurecht, dass seine Hermeneutik unhistorisch sei, vielleicht besser gesagt, metahistorisch.

Wer kennt nicht jene Erfahrung der platonischen *anamnesis*, des vermeintlichen Wiedererinnerns, wenn etwas, einmal zur Sprache gebracht spontan so einleuchtet, dass es eigentlich schon immer hätte einleuchten müssen, also nur wiedererkannt werden muss? So sind für Gadamer in allen Lebensbereichen den Menschen eigentümliche Wahrheiten enthalten und zu entbergen; vorausgesetzt freilich, dass der wahrnehmende Betrachter oder Nachdenker die begriffsgeschichtlichen Kontrollfragen zwischenschaltet. Nur durch den begriffsgeschichtlichen Filter hindurch lassen sich früher einmal ausformulierte Wahrheiten in heute noch gültige Wahrheiten übersetzen. Ansonsten verfielen man hilflos dem historischen Relativismus; der jeder Epoche eine nur ihr mögliche Wahrheit zubilligt. Gadamer hingegen ist es möglich gewesen, den in antiken Texten enthaltenen humanistischen Anspruch auf menschliche Gemeinsamkeit immer wieder zur Geltung zu bringen. Die Gleichheit der menschlichen Natur bei den Alten und Modernen erlaubte es ihm, Denkerfahrungen aus

antiker Theorie und Praxis als Korrektive aufzubieten, um dem neuzeitlichen Subjektivismus und vor allem dem Voluntarismus argumentativ entgegenzutreten. Darin unterscheidet er sich von Heidegger, dessen Seinsgeschichte von den Vorsokratikern durchgehend bis heute quasi eschatologisch imprägniert blieb.

In der Theorie wie in der Praxis bezog sich Gadamer auf die Sprachlichkeit, kraft derer er sich zumindest von der Fundamentalontologie in Heideggers *Sein und Zeit* abheben konnte. Die heideggersche Verborgenheit des Seins wird von Gadamer der Sprache abgeläutert. Überhaupt gewinnt die Sprache für Gadamer einen anderen Status. Sie entzieht sich einer restlosen Vergegenständlichung. Denn solange ein Sprechender spricht, kann ihm der je gegenwärtige Sprechakt nicht als solcher thematisch verfügbar werden. Im Verweis auf die Selbstverborgenheit der Sprache im Sprechen verwandelt Gadamer Heideggers ontologische Verborgenheit des Seins in eine anthropologisch lesbare und aussagefähige Kategorie.

So wie man einen Handschuh umstülpt zog Gadamer aus der gepanzerten Faust von Heidegger das geschmeidige sprachliche Innenfutter heraus. Gadamer füllte die ontologische Differenz, die sein Lehrer in immer neuen Anläufen durchdachte, gleichsam sprachlich aus. *Das* das Sein überhaupt da ist und nicht vielmehr nicht einerseits – *und als was* das Sein des Seienden, als dieses oder als jenes erscheint, erkannt, verstanden und begriffen wird – andererseits: diese Spannung zwischen dem *Dass* überhaupt und dem *Was* im Einzelfall, von Heidegger als Hermeneutik der Faktizität entwickelt, wird von Gadamer zurückgeführt auf den für beide Fragen konstitutiven Akt ihres sprachlichen Aufweises. Heideggers Suche, aus der Spannung von Sein und Zeit herauszukommen, das ‚Dasein‘, das ja immer noch der Subjekthaftigkeit oder subjektiver Beliebigkeit geziehen werden konnte, durch ein Sein zu überbieten, das selbst die Zeit sein mochte – die Zeit, die ihre eigene Nichtung vollzieht – diese Suche nach einer Kehre, wie immer unzulänglich sie hier angedeutet wird, hat Gadamer hermeneutisch aufgefangen: Es ist die Sprache, die allen Subjekten vorausliegt (Syntax und Semantik von vornherein, aber auch Pragmatik und Rhetorik sind topologisch vorstrukturiert).

Jetzt wird auch einsichtig, wieso die kritische Phalanx, die sich nach dessen Erscheinen gegen das Hauptwerk *Wahrheit und Methode* aufbaute, ihre Ziele weithin verfehlt hat. Die Theologen, die Philologen, die Juristen, die Historiker; die Sozialwissenschaftler, die Mediziner und auch einige Naturwissenschaftler – die Theologen und Mediziner am wenigsten – haben solche Wahrheitsbeweise eingeklagt, die nur aus ihren jeweiligen Methoden ableitbar sind. Aber Gadamer hat nie eine Methodenlehre geliefert, auch nur liefern wollen, für keine der genannten Wissenschaften. Er wollte den allen Argumenten vorausliegenden Status der Sprache klären, in der Beweise und Argumente überhaupt ermöglicht, vorgetragen und ausgetauscht werden. Wenn Gadamer daher das allem Denken eingestiftete Vorurteil apostrophierte – den Vorgriff in Heideggers Diktion –, oder wenn er die Tradition oder die Herkunft freilegte, aus der heraus jeder Denkkakt beginnt, oder wenn er die Autorität benennt, die den vorausgegangenen Denkern innewohnt, dann sind dies Aussagen, die sich nicht gegen Kritik oder Aufklärung richten, sondern beide erst ermöglichen oder hervorlocken. Gadamers Kritiker nahmen dagegen die Ausdrücke Tradition, Herkunft, Autorität oder Vorurteil zum Nennwert ihres eigenen politischen oder ideologiekritischen Vokabulars. Damit wurde Gadamers genuin hermeneutische Leistung von vornherein missverstanden und ihm unter der Hand eine restaurative oder gar reaktionäre Denkweise unterschoben – wenn man so will, bar jeder hermeneutischen Einsicht.

Gadamer hat freilich, das ist einzuräumen, wenig getan, um die auftauchenden Missdeutungen einzudämmen. Er hat nicht entschieden genug den transzendentalen Anspruch seiner Hermeneutik betont, nämlich den Horizont der Sprache als die Bedingung aller nur denkbaren, empirisch überprüfbaren Aussagen aufzuweisen. Die nach der Relation von Sein und Zeit wird von seiner philosophischen Hermeneutik aufgenommen, um die sprachliche Konstitution auf einer Metaebene der wo immer – in Wissen-

schaft, Philosophie oder Alltag – auftauchenden Aussagesfelder nachzuvollziehen. Daher konnte Gadamer angegriffen werden – als ob seine Positionen nur empirischer Art seien. Umgekehrt wehrte Gadamer zugunsten seiner sprachtheoretischen Grundlegung empirische Argumente ab, wozu gar kein Anlass bestand.

Aber gegen *einen* Vorwurf Gadamer in Schutz zu nehmen sei dem Historiker erlaubt. Vor fünf Jahren wurde ausgerechnet hier in Heidelberg die befremdliche These aufgestellt, dass es 1933-1945 nur drei Typen von Deutschen gegeben habe: die bösen Nazis, die guten Widerstandskämpfer und dazwischen, völlig wertfrei gemeint, die größte Gruppe, die der Opportunisten. Gadamer sei einer ihrer Repräsentanten. Hier halte ich mich lieber an die Maxime eines Historikers: Wissen ist besser als Besserwissen. Der Vorgriff einer dualistischen Typologie von Gut und Böse verhindert die unlösbaren Konflikte zu erfassen, in die alle verstrickt wurden, die damals leben mussten. Zur Menge, den Mittleren, den *mesoi*, ist zu sagen, dass sie *alle* im NS-Regime verfangen waren, ob als Skeptiker oder als Anpasser, als Utopisten oder als Verzögerer. Wer kann oder darf hier nur nach Gut und Böse aussortieren? Das moralische Urteil ist, heute wie

damals, immer nötig, war aber leider nicht konstitutiv für das, was der Fall gewesen war.

Und für Gadamer darf festgehalten werden: Jahrgang 1900 gehörte er zu jener Generationskohorte, aus der sich viele als zu spät oder Nachgeborene begriffen, als verpasste Helden des ersten Weltkriegs. Sie stellten dann mit wachsender Radikalität den brutalen Flügel der SS. Gadamer gehörte nie zu ihnen, weder 1918, als er zu studieren anfang, ohne sich freiwillig an die Front zu melden, noch jemals später. Während die meisten seiner Kollegen – soweit nicht vertrieben – in die Partei eintraten, hat dies Gadamer stets verweigert. Und er hatte es gewagt, durch ein verbrämtes Gutachten Werner Krauss in der Gestapo-Haft vor dem Tod zu retten.

Aber nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg hat er einige Sätze verändert, die er 1941, nach dem Sieg über Frankreich, in Paris, zunächst vor gefangenen französischen



Hans-Georg Gadamer

Offizieren, vorgetragen hatte. Es ist sein gutes Recht, als Autor, Wendungen aus dem Verkehr zu ziehen, die *post festum* zu Missverständnissen verleiten. Als Historiker darf ich dies bedauern, denn Gadamer konfrontierte hier den anfangs unpolitischen Volksbegriff Herderscher Herkunft mit dem älteren und vorausgegangenen französischen Nations- und Demokratiebegriff, der mit der Niederlage Frankreichs 1940 ins Hintertreffen geraten sei. Wer in Frankreich hätte das damals, nach dem Zusammenbruch der dritten Republik, bestritten? Oder gar in Deutschland? Hier lohnt sich, Leibniz' Unterscheidung zwischen Tatsachenwahrheiten und Vernunftwahrheiten in Erinnerung zu rufen. Tatsachenwahrheiten erlauben es, sie als zufällig, mithin ihr Gegenteil als möglich zu denken. Vernunftwahrheiten dagegen schließen ihr Gegenteil zwingend aus. Tatsachenwahrheiten sind so wirklich wie überholbar, Vernunftwahrheiten unwiderlegbar. Es ist fruchtlos, einmal eingetretene geschichtliche Befunde leugnen zu wollen, weil sie sich gegen eine – spätere – Einsicht zu sperren scheinen.

Gadamer freilich hätte sich gegen den *ex post* erhobenen Vorwurf schon auf seine Leipziger Antrittsvorlesung von 1939 berufen können: Mit Hegel gesehen bedeutet „keiner [...] eben das vor der Geschichte, als was er sich selbst meint“ (ZS für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft 1940, Band 100, 5.30). Und wenig später war seinen Hörern in Leipzig klar, was gemeint war, wenn er den logischen Obersatz prägte: „Alle Esel sind braun.“ Wer hätte es wagen dürfen, ihn aufzufordern; offen zu bekennen: „Alle Braunen sind Esel“? Da fragt sich nur noch, wer diese Wendung überlebt hätte.

Und 1942 wusste jeder Leser zu lesen, wenn Gadamer die These zurückwies, der Platonische Staat gründe in der Alternative von Freundschaft und Feindschaft. Nur die gemeinsame Gerechtigkeit für jedermann begründe ein Gemeinwesen. Und wenn Gadamer fortfuhr, Tyrannen hätten keine Freunde, so verstanden das alle – bis auf die, die sich als Freunde dessen wussten, der nicht Tyrann genannt werden durfte.

Aber die Kunst zwischen den Zeilen zu lesen, eine alte hermeneutische Kunst, hat sich inzwischen offenbar verlernt. Wer Gadamer als Opportunisten – *wertfrei* – einordnet, der kommt mir vor wie jemand, der den Soldaten Schweijk im Nachhinein auffordert, doch lieber kein Soldat geworden zu sein. Wir haben also allen Anlass, auch von solchen Texten Gadamer zu lernen, die in anderen Kontexten entstanden und geschrieben worden sind. Denn wer entrinnt der alltäglichen Erfahrung, von Späteren überholt zu werden? Hermeneutisch aber kommt es darauf an, Einsichten zu retten, die nicht überholt werden dürfen. Das hat uns Hans-Georg Gadamer gelehrt und dafür bleiben wir ihm dankbar verpflichtet.

Kurt Biedenkopf, member of the Reflection Group charged with identifying the long-term spiritual and cultural perspectives of the enlarged Europe, recently opened a series of commentaries produced in collaboration with Project Syndicate. Columns by other group members and invited experts will follow.

Making Culture Count

CONSTITUTIONS EXPRESS a political community's history, culture, values, and political convictions. The Constitution for Europe now being written is no different. It cannot create the common bonds that define Europe and hold it together. It can only reflect and be animated by them.

Today, however, the cohesive forces that held Europe together for two generations have lost some (if not all) of their strength. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, peace and liberty are more or less taken for granted. Economic integration has advanced so far that a return to the national rivalries that twice led the continent into suicidal warfare is unthinkable.

The postwar search for affluence, too, has lost much of its allure. In Germany and other member states, economic growth no longer seems certain. Citizens are increasingly wary of the idea of economic and social progress. Public debate instead highlights the need for restricting government activities and reducing social transfers.

Enlargement of the European Union from 15 to 25 members will mean that for decades Europeans will need to live with greater material inequalities. To be sure, lower standards of living have always existed between Europe's east and west. During Europe's Cold War division, that gap widened considerably. With enlargement, those differences can no longer be hidden.

German reunification provides a sobering ex-

ample in dealing with this problem. If the enlarged EU were to attempt on a Europe-wide scale what Germany did for its eastern lands, current EU members would need to transfer roughly 4% of their combined GDP to the new member states for at least a decade. Politics will make such transfers impossible, but even if that were not the case, the new members lack the political, economic, social, and administrative infrastructure to absorb them. Thus, the time needed to narrow the gap between Europe's east and west will be measured in generations, not years.

If the ties that have bound Europe together for two generations are fraying, what alternative bonds can be found? Late in his life Jean Monnet said that, were he to begin European integration again, he would start with culture. But secularization, rationalization, and atomization of civil and social life, and the steady expansion of government into every social sphere, have led to a privatization of culture and religion, reducing their potential to stimulate feelings of community, identity, and solidarity.

If the EU is to be durable, it must place greater emphasis on its cultural heritage. Because of Europe's multiplicity of languages, no one language can serve as a strong element of identity. Of course, English is developing into a lingua franca. But as a lingua franca it is limited to serving as a technical or professional language, not the language of a community.



Kurt Biedenkopfs Kommentar ist die erste in einer Reihe von Kolumnen, die in Zusammenarbeit mit Project Syndicate, einer Vereinigung von über 180 Qualitätszeitungen weltweit, organisiert wird. Mitglieder der Reflexionsgruppe „Die geistige Dimension Europas“ und ausgewählte Experten wurden eingeladen, zu Themen der Reflexionsgruppe Stellung zu nehmen.

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Nationale Identität, nationaler Gegensatz und die Geschlechterdifferenz am Beispiel von Fichtes „Reden an die deutsche Nation“

When it comes to real cultural identity, Europe's true "common language" is composed of its musical, literary, artistic, and architectural traditions—the cultural substance perceived by all as European. The cultivation, constant renewal, development, and protection of this cultural identity must be a key common European task.

This common cultural substance is the foundation on which European nations and states are built. Yet it is not produced by state action. The state can support its development, preservation, and renewal, but cannot compel its existence. People primarily determine the extent to which culture flourishes. So cultural cohesion in Europe will have to grow from the bottom up.

But European individuals and civil societies find it hard to assert their autonomy in the face of the state. The great European experiment will succeed only if Europe's citizens limit the scope of the state's claims on society and its resources, thus redefining those areas of self-government and autonomy where responsible community life and cultural activities flourish. It is in these areas, however, that the constitutional drafts emerging in Brussels are wanting.

Consider the EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights. Rather than limiting itself to basic human rights, the Charter dilutes them by engaging in detailed regulation of labor standards, social laws, and pronouncements that reflect industrial-age experience rather than address the future. To promote such "rights" as fundamental will more likely perpetuate the status quo than help shape Europe's future.

In this sense, the Charter is reactionary: if it is included in the constitution, it will impede the development of rights and responsibilities appropriate to the future.

Europe's new constitution will be accepted as a guarantee of freedom and lawful government only if it results from a broad public dialogue reflecting the common cultural and moral assumptions that bind Europeans together. If it is to last, it will not be enough for it to be conceived in the light only of today's experience. If the Constitution is to guide Europeans through periods of change and yet unknown threats, its roots must reach the foundations of European history and identity as they are embodied in the shared culture that Europe's citizens freely acknowledge as their own.

Körber Fellowships: History and Memory in Europe

Fellowships 2004/2005

DEADLINE | **CALL FOR APPLICATIONS**
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1
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The Körber Foundation and the Institute for Human Sciences jointly award **one Visiting Fellowship** and **two Junior Visiting Fellowships** on "**History and Memory in Europe**".

The objective is to support projects that contribute to a transnational perspective on modern European history. They should not consider Europe as a given territorial entity but as a historical experience, a cultural imagination, and/or a political point of reference. By focussing on the discursive construction of Europe, projects are particularly invited to reflect on the role of historiography as well as the position and significance of memory. This includes in particular analyses of the different ways how history, historiography and memory are used and abused for political purposes and discourses of exclusiveness in the European context. Interdisciplinary approaches are highly welcome.

The six-month fellowships will enable junior and senior scholars to work in Vienna on a research project of their choice within the framework of the objective. The fellows will participate in the scholarly community and activities of the IWM.

2
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3
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4
J u r y

A jury of experts meets once a year to evaluate the applications and select the finalists. Members of the jury are:

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Ute Frevert

Professor of History, Yale University and University of Bielefeld

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Professor and Chair of European Civilization, College of Europe, Natolin; former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland

Cornelia Klinger

Lecturer of Philosophy, Eberhard-Karls-University Tübingen; Permanent Fellow of the IWM

Reinhard Koselleck

Professor emeritus of History, University of Bielefeld

Luisa Passerini

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 - critical consideration of current relevant literature
 - research goals and expected results
 - work and time schedule
 - a curriculum vitae and list of publications
 - names of two referees (applicants for Junior Visiting Fellowships only)

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In his essay, José Casanova challenges the stereotype that Western Europe represents *the* paradigm of secularization as an unavoidable implication of modernization. In fact, he argues, if we look at the rest of the modern world, Europe is the exception. You can read the long version of this text at the *Tr@nsit* Online pages at the IWM website: www.iwm.at/t-forum.htm.

Catholic Poland in Post-Christian Europe



In seinem Essay stellt José Casanova die weithin akzeptierte These in Frage, dass Säkularisierung eine Implikation des Modernisierungsprozesses und Europa sein prominentestes Beispiel sei. Vielmehr, so Casanova, stellt Europa – verglichen mit den übrigen Teilen der westlichen Welt – die Ausnahme dar. Am Beispiel Polens argumentiert Casanova, dass der Niedergang der Religion in Europa kein notwendig mit Modernisierung verknüpfter, teleologischer Prozess, sondern Resultat einer historischen Entscheidung der Europäer ist.

Der Beitrag ist in deutscher Übersetzung in voller Länge in *Transit 25: Polen im neuen Europa*, nachzulesen.

ALTHOUGH WE ARE ACCUSTOMED to think of European Christianity as a 2000 year old civilization, it was only around the year 1000 that the map of European Christendom became more or less crystallized. Sociologically speaking the core institutions and social forms of Western European Christendom are 1000 years old: the first 500 years as Medieval Latin Christendom and the next 500 years as modern Western Christianity in its post-Reformation multi-denominational and in its expanded Western colonial and post-colonial forms.

As we are entering the third millennium, however, we are witnessing the end of hegemonic European Christianity due to a dual process of advanced secularization in post-Christian Europe and of the increasing globalization of a de-territorialized and de-centered Christianity. Thus, the thousand-year-old association between Christianity and Western European civilization is coming to an end. Western Europe is less and less the core of Christian civilization and Christianity in its most dynamic forms today is less and less European.

The fact that Catholic Poland is “re-joining Europe” at a time when Western Europe is forsaking its Christian civilizational identity offers an opportunity to re-examine the place of Poland in Europe, particularly the patterns of convergence and divergence between Polish and Western European religious developments in their thousand year old common history. (...)

The divergence of Post-World War II Polish and Western European religious developments.

At the very same time when Western European societies were undergoing a drastic, continuous and seemingly permanent process of secularization so that one may speak of an emerging post-Christian Europe, Polish Catholicism underwent an extraordinary revival. All attempts by the communist regime to sever the links between Catholic Church and Polish nation ended in failure. All the strategies of forced secularization from above, used relatively successfully first in the Soviet Union and then throughout Eastern Europe, were also variously tried in Poland albeit with little success. Caesarpapist control, coercion, socialist re-socialization, the marginalization of religion to a private sphere, all were tried and failed.

Secularist planning through economic development also failed to bring the anticipated results. The expressed hopes of the Gierek era that economic development would have in Poland the same secularizing effects it apparently had in the West were also disappointed. Marxist sociologists of religion had been collecting every promising sign indicating that the laws of secularization were operating also in Poland. But at the end of the Gierek administration most indicators seemed to point rather to a reverse process of de-secularization.

The Integration of Catholic Poland in Post-Christian Europe

According to Bishop Pieronek, “Europe should be accepted as a wonderful opportunity, a difficult challenge and a great apostolic assignment for the Church.”¹ It should be obvious that European integration offers Poland “the wonderful opportunity” to share in the privileged benefits of advanced Western European societies, among them, international security and political stability, economic development and high standards of living, liberties and cultural freedom. After two centuries of partitions, foreign occupation, totalitarian terror and captivity, the opportunity to join the exclusive club of advanced capitalist, liberal democratic countries with all the relative guarantees that sharing their fate implies, is indeed wonderful.

It is important to recognize that integration into the EU presents also a “difficult challenge” particularly for many sectors of the Polish economy and society. In the short term at least, the process of adjustment will entail heavy social and economic costs.

My concern in this paper is with the “europhobes”, with those who are against European integration in principle because of what Europe represents. One could distinguish at least four different types of “europhobes”: those on the communist left who are not against European integration per se, but only against integration into capitalist Europe, and who would therefore be ready for integration after a European social revolution; those who on nationalist grounds are against any type of multinational integration because it limits national sovereignty and is dangerous for national identity and Polish national values; those who are still afraid of German expansionism and view the EU as a front

for such expansionism, and may therefore be regarded as a particular variant of the nationalist “europhobes”; finally, there are the Catholic “europhobes”, those who are against European integration because today’s Europe has lost its Christian identity and therefore its secular, materialist, hedonist values represent a threat to Poland’s Catholic identity and values. This is the view held by integralist sectors of Polish Catholicism, such as Radio Maryja, father Tadeusz Rydzyk or Bishop Stanislaw Stefanek. What Catholic “europhobes” fear is the threat of secularization implied by European integration.

A Secularization Threat or a Great Apostolic Assignment?

The fear of secularization is not fully unjustified since after all it is one of the fundamental premises of the theory of secularization that the more modern a society the more secular it becomes. Modernization is supposed to be structurally correlated with secularization, used here in the straightforward sense of progressive decline of religious beliefs and practices among the population. Since modernization, in the sense of catching up with the European levels of political, economic, social and cultural development, is one of the goals of European integration, one can anticipate that such a modernization will lead to secularization.

The progressive, though highly uneven, secularization of Europe is an undeniable social fact.² An increasing majority of the European population has ceased participating in traditional religious practices, at least on a regular basis, even though they may still maintain relatively high levels of private individual religious beliefs.³ Moreover, the rates of religiosity vary significantly across Europe. East Germany is by far the least religious country of Europe by any measure, followed at a long distance by the Czech Republic and the Scandinavian countries. At the other extreme, Ireland and Poland are by far the most religious countries of Europe with rates comparable to those of the United States. In general, with the significant exception of France and the Czech Republic, Catholic countries still tend to be more religious than Protestant or mixed countries, such as West Germany and The Netherlands.

But in general, leaving aside the ex-

ceptional cases of oversecularization (East Germany, Czech Republic) or undersecularization (Ireland, Poland), for which one could offer ad hoc historicist explanations, the theory would seem to hold well against the European evidence. The core European countries – Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Germany –, the ones which have led the processes of European modernization, fit well the model of secularization. Yet, even though the drastic secularization of post-World War II Western Europe may be an incontrovertible fact, the standard explanations of the phenomenon in terms of general processes of modernization, by reference to either increasing institutional differentiation, increasing rationality, or increasing individualism, are not persuasive since similar processes of modernization elsewhere (in the United States, or in the cultural areas of other world religions) are not accompanied by the same secularizing results.

We need to entertain seriously the proposition that secularization became a self-fulfilling prophecy in Europe, once large sectors of the population of Western European societies, including the Christian churches, accepted the basic premises of the theory of secularization: that secularization is a teleological process of modern social change; that the more modern a society the more secular it becomes; that “secularity” is “a *sign of the times*.” If such proposition is correct, then the secularization of Western European societies can be explained better in terms of the triumph of the knowledge regime of secularism, than in terms of structural processes of socio-economic development such as urbanization, education, rationalization, etc.

It is time to abandon the euro-centric view that modern Western European developments, including the secularization of Western Christianity, are general universal processes. The more one adopts a global perspective, the more it becomes obvious that the drastic secularization of Western European societies is a rather exceptional phenomenon, with few parallels elsewhere other than in European settler societies such as New Zealand, Quebec or Uruguay. Such an exceptional phenomenon demands therefore a more particular historical explanation. The collapse of the plausibility structures of European Christianity is so extraordinary that we need a better explanation than simply referring

to general processes of modernization. Holding onto the traditional theory of secularization, by contrast, reassures us modern secular Europeans that this collapse was natural, teleological, and quasi-providential. Such a view of secularization tends to make the phenomenon of secularization into something practically inevitable and irreversible. It turns into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

What makes the European situation so unique and exceptional when compared with the rest of the world is precisely the triumph of secularism as a teleological theory of religious development. The ideological critique of religion developed by the Enlightenment and carried out by a series of social movements throughout Europe from the 18th to the 20th century has informed European theories of secularization in such a way that those theories came to function not only as descriptive theories of social processes, but also and more significantly as critical-genealogical theories of religion and as normative-teleological theories of religious development that presupposed religious decline as the telos of history.

In this respect, theories of secularization in Europe have functioned as self-fulfilling prophecies to the extent to which a majority of the population in Europe came to accept the premises of those theories as a depiction of the normal state of affairs and as a projection of future developments. The premise that the more modern and progressive a society becomes the more religion tends to decline, has assumed in Europe the character of a taken-for-granted belief widely shared not only by sociologists of religion but by a majority of the population. The postulate of progressive religious decline has become part of the European definition of the modern situation with real consequences for church religiosity. It is the assumed normality of this state of affairs, that points to the exceptional character of the European situation, a situation which tends to self-reproduce itself and to appear increasingly irreversible, in the absence of either a general religious revival or a radical change in the European *Zeitgeist*.

It is here where “the great apostolic assignment” proposed by Bishop Pieronek could play a role. Despite some initial ambivalence, at least since the 1996 visit by a delegation of the Polish Bishops to

Brussels, the Polish Catholic Church has maintained officially an unambiguous position of support for European integration. Such a position is fully in line with the vision of European unity repeatedly stressed by the Polish Pope. In his 1999 visit to Poland, the Pope stated explicitly his support for Poland's integration into the European Union in his speech to parliament, as well as in his message to the Polish Bishop's Conference. According to a February 1998 survey, 84% of the Polish clergy were in favor of accession to the EU, while the corresponding figure among the general population was 64%.⁴

One of the reasons for this positive attitude may be connected with the apostolic assignment that the Polish pope has reserved for the Polish church. As the first Slavic pope in history John Paul II felt a special mission to liberate the Slavic peoples from the communist yoke and to further ecumenical dialogue with the Eastern churches. The fall of the Berlin Wall confirmed him in his mission, now redefined as the reunification and spiritual regeneration of Christian Europe. But his vision had to confront the presence of a stubbornly materialist capitalist Western Europe, the traditional core of Western Christendom, that he came to perceive as increasingly pagan, hedonist and unresponsive to his revivalist message. Frustrated, he turned to Eastern Europe particularly to Catholic Poland, still untouched by capitalist materialism, urging them to serve as the "spiritual reservoir" of Christian Europe, only to find out that Western material goods and materialist values were flooding the Eastern spiritual reservoir.

The Polish Episcopate, however, has accepted the assignment and has repeatedly stressed that one of the goals, which the Catholic Church sees for itself in a united Europe, is the revival of Christianity or "to restore Europe for Christianity." Such a message can no doubt find resonance in the tradition of Polish messianism. Pragmatically speaking, the conviction that the secularization of Europe is reversible and that therefore the restoration of Christianity is not an anachronistic Quixotic endeavor against the march of history, is the minimal condition of possibility for the evangelistic effort. But sociologically speaking such an evangelistic effort has little chance of success, without

a change in the *Zeitgeist*. Given the loss of demand for religion in Western Europe, the supply of surplus Polish pastoral resources for a European-wide evangelizing effort is unlikely to prove effective. The at best lukewarm, if not outright hostile, European response to John Paul II's revivalist preaching points to the difficulty of the assignment.

A less ambitious apostolic assignment, however, could have remarkable effects. Let Poland prove the secularization prophecy wrong. Let Poland be Poland. Let *Polonia semper fidelis* keep faith with its Catholic identity and tradition while succeeding in its European integration, becoming in the process a "normal" European country. In doing so, it could prove that the decline of religion in Europe is not a teleological process necessarily linked with modernization but a historical choice that Europeans have made. A modern religious Poland could perhaps force secular Europeans to rethink their secularist assumptions and realize that it is not so much Poland which is out of sync with Europe, but rather secular Europe which is out of sync with the rest of the world and with global trends. Granted, all of these are merely hypothetical conjectures meant to break the spell which dominant secularism holds over the European mind.

Moreover, even this more modest apostolic assignment of keeping faith with the Polish Catholic tradition may prove too lofty a task. To maintain a tradition under modern conditions demands a constant renewal of this tradition and creative responses to the changing challenges, rather than just a traditionalist defense of the faith against the threats of liberalism, hedonism, and relativism. Religious trends in post-Communist Poland are not encouraging. The Polish Church has squandered much of its authority with its protectionist defense of its institutional power, with its heavy-handed interventions in parliamentary proceedings, in electoral processes and in public debates, with its clerical resistance to give greater autonomy to the laity, and with its mistrust of modern individual freedoms, freedom of conscience as well as intellectual and artistic freedoms. So far, the guidance and charisma of the Polish Pope and the collective effervescence generated by his frequent visits has compensated for some of these deficiencies.

Obviously, only the future will tell whether Polish Catholicism will be up to the opportunity, the challenge, and the task presented by European integration. But, the repeatedly demonstrated power of renewal of Polish Catholicism, a capacity that should not be confused simply with the preservation of a residual and recessive tradition, has confounded skeptics and critics before. It could happen again.

¹ Elzbieta Stadtmüller, "Polish Perceptions of the European Union in the 1990s" in Karl Cordell, ed., *Poland and the European Union* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 36.

² José Casanova, "Beyond European and American Exceptionalisms: Towards a Global Perspective," in G. Davie, P. Helas and Linda Woodhead, eds., *Predicting Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2002).

³ Grace Davie, *Religion in Modern Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁴ Stadtmüller, "Polish Perceptions."

José Casanova is Associate Professor of Sociology at New School University, New York. He is the author of *Public Religions in the Modern World* (1994) and *The Opus Dei and the Modernization of Spain* (forthcoming).

Upcoming Events

The following events will take place at the IWM library at 6 p.m.

Die folgenden Veranstaltungen finden um 18:00 Uhr in der Bibliothek des IWM statt.

September 15 & 16

IWM – Vorlesungen zu den Wissenschaften vom Menschen 2003

Abraham B. Yehoshua

Professor of Comparative and Hebrew Literature, Haifa University

The Shaping of Jewish Identity: Three Bible Stories

Nähere Informationen siehe Seite 32

In Zusammenarbeit mit



September 23

Alessandro Ferrara

Professor of Political Philosophy, University of Rome "Tor Vergata"

The Relevance of Kant's Critique of Judgement for Political Theory

In Zusammenarbeit mit



September 30

Pavel Kouba

Professor für Philosophie, Karls-Universität Prag; Leiter des Zentrums für Phänomenologische Forschung an der Tschechischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Freiheit, Politik, Geschichte: Jan

Patockas Philosophie der Existenz

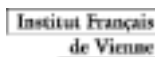
October 7

Thierry de Montbrial

Directeur de l'Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris

Title to be announced

In Zusammenarbeit mit



October 14

Alberto Quadrio Curzio

Professor of Political Economics, Università Cattolica, Milano; Member of the Reflection Group on "The Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe"

The European Union: Growth, Institutions, Constitution

In Zusammenarbeit mit



October 21

Yehuda Elkana

President of the Central European University, Budapest

The Education of a "Caring" Scientist

October 28

Peter Demetz

Sterling Professor emeritus of German and Comparative Literature, Yale University, New Haven

Die Prager Filmproduktion in den Jahren der Okkupation: Gedächtnis und Vergessen

November 4

Die Rolle des Staates

Yasemin Soysal

Professor of Sociology, University of Essex

Locating Europe

In Zusammenarbeit mit der Grünen Bildungswerkstatt

November 11

Heiko Haumann

Ordinarius für Osteuropäische und Neuere Allgemeine Geschichte, Universität Basel

Dracula. Von Vampiren in Osteuropa

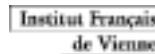
November 18

Fanny Cosandey

Professeur d'Histoire, Université de Nantes

La reine de France, un personnage essentiel du fonctionnement monarchique (XIVe – XVIIIe siècle)

In Zusammenarbeit mit



November 25

Bruchlinien der Ungleichheit

Wolfgang Kersting

Ordinarius für Philosophie und Direktor am Philosophischen Seminar, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel

Notwendige Gleichheiten, berechnete Ungleichheiten. Das Gleichheitsproblem in der Sozialstaats-philosophie und der Multikulturalismuskussion

In Zusammenarbeit mit



December 2

Jan Sokol

Dekan der Fakultät für Humanwissenschaften, Karls-Universität Prag

Wie natürlich sind die Menschenrechte?

December 9

David Willets

Member of Parliament, London; Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary

Conservatism in Britain, Europe and America

In Zusammenarbeit mit



The next issue of the IWM Newsletter (Nr. 81, Sept. 2003) will cover, among others, the following topics:

Jan Patocka Lecture 2003 by George Steiner

Reflection Group members engage in public debate in Warsaw

Panel discussions:

- American Politics and the Unity of Europe
- Filling the Representation Gap: Ethnic Minorities in the EU
- Die umgefärbte Republik - Anlässlich der Präsentation von Gerfried Sperls neuem Buch



Abraham B. Yehoshua

Abraham B. Yehoshua is Professor of Comparative and Hebrew Literature at Haifa University. He has also held visiting professorships at Harvard University, the University of Chicago and at Princeton University. Among the distinctive awards he has received are the Booker Prize, the Koret Prize, and the B'nai B'rith Prize of Europe.

His works, including more than ten novels, have been translated into 22 languages. Among his works available in English translation are:

- Between Right and Right** (1981)
- The Continuing Silence of a Poet : the Collected Stories of A.B. Yehoshua** (1991)
- The Lover** (1993)
- A Journey to the End of the Millennium** (1999)
- The Terrible Power of a Minor Guilt: Literary Essays** (2000)
- The Liberated Bride** (2003)

- Auf Deutsch sind u.a. erhältlich:
- Exil der Juden: Eine neurotische Lösung** (Essays, 1986)
- Späte Scheidung** (Roman, 1988)
- Der Liebhaber** (Roman, 1999)
- Die Manis** (Roman, 2001)
- Die Reise ins Jahr Tausend** (Roman, 2001)
- Die befreite Braut** (erscheint September 2003)



POLITISCHE AKADEMIE
modern politics

IWM Lectures in
Human Sciences
IWM-Vorlesungen zu den
Wissenschaften
vom Menschen

September 15 & 16, IWM

The Shaping of Jewish Identity: Three Bible Stories

Monday, September 15
6 p.m., IWM Library

Lecture I:
**In the Tangle of
Divine Choice**

An analysis of the story of Cain and Abel and an attempt to understand the moral justification for the non-punishment of the first murderer
-Are all people equal before God?
-Are people judged according to their inner being, or according to their deeds?
-What is the significance of all this regarding Jewish Free Will?

Tuesday, September 16
6 p.m., IWM Library

Lecture II:
**An Attempt to
Understand the
Root Structure
of Antisemitism**

An analysis of the Sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham and an exposure of the moral flaws in his principles
-An attempt at the moral rescue of the story by means of secular commentary
-The significance of the connection between religion and Jewish nationalism, a primary element in structuring Jewish identity.

How does the connection between religion and nationalism affect the in-depth structure of Jewish identity in constant interaction with non-Jewish identities?
-The virtual element in Jewish identity and its significance with regard to antisemitic responses.

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