



Institut für  
die Wissenschaften  
vom Menschen

Institute for  
Human Sciences

A-1090 Wien  
Spittelauer Lände 3

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

iwm@iwm.at  
www.iwm.at



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# Newsletter **81**

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## 17. JAN PATOČKA-GEDÄCHTNISVORLESUNG |

The Czech philosopher and co-founder of Charta 77 Jan Patočka died in 1977 following a police interrogation in Prague. In commemoration of the 10th anniversary of this death, the IWM launched a series of annual memorial lectures in 1987. In 2003, in collaboration with the Renner Institute, the IWM invited George Steiner to continue the series.

## George Steiner: The Paradox of Culture

IN HIS LECTURE, George Steiner argued that for the Europeans, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment held out the promise of an end to the torture rack, to the burning of books, to political mass murder. The rapid spread of universal education, the development of cultural institutions, the cultivation of higher values – all would serve to humanize man. Exactly the opposite occurred. In both Russia and Europe the period from 1914 to 1945 became the mass-grave of history. Approximately one-hundred million people were killed during the wars, either through warfare, through displacement, or through hunger and sadistic mistreatment in the Holocaust and the Gulag. Books were destroyed, torture became a commonplace. How can we account for failure on this immense scale? Could it be, Steiner asked, that high culture, the humaniora, does not humanize? Does a fatal paradox inhere in the concept of ‘culture’?

For a broader discussion of these themes, we refer interested readers to George Steiner’s book *In Bluebeard’s Castle: Some Notes Towards the Redefinition of Culture* (deutsch: *In Blaubarts Burg: Anmerkungen zur Neubestimmung der Kultur*). As Steiner argues in this text, “a theory of culture, an analysis of our present circumstance, which do not have at their pivot a consideration of the modes of terror that brought on the death, through war, starvation, and deliberate massacre, of some seventy million human beings in Europe and Russia, between the start of the first World War and the end of the second, seem to me irresponsible.” George Steiner’s numerous books, many of which have been translated into a dozen languages, include *Tolstoy or Dostoevsky* (1958), *The Death of Tragedy* (1961), and a famous work on translation, *After Babel* (1975). He is also the author of a number of works of fiction and a volume of autobiography, *Errata: an Examined Life* (1997).



Writer, scholar and critic George Steiner was born in Paris in 1929 to Austrian parents. Steiner’s distinguished academic career includes professorships at Yale, New York University, the University of Geneva, and Oxford University. He is currently Extraordinary Fellow of Churchill College at Cambridge University. In May 2003, George Steiner was awarded the prestigious Borne Prize.

In seinem Vortrag am 8. Mai 2003 sprach George Steiner vor mehreren hundert Zuhörern über das große Paradox der europäischen Geschichte: während Renaissance und Aufklärung ein Ende der Folter, der Bücherverbrennung, des politischen Massenmords und eine Humanisierung der Menschheit durch Bildung und Kultur versprochen, ist, so Steiner, genau das Gegenteil eingetreten. In Europa, in Russland wurde die Zeit von 1914 bis 1945 zur Mordgrube der Geschichte. Etwa hundert Millionen Menschen wurden im Krieg, in der Verschleppung, im Holocaust und im Gulag durch Hunger und sadistische Misshandlung getötet. Bücher wurden vernichtet, die Folter wurde alltäglich. In weit ausholender Geste und mit einem Durchgang durch eine Vielzahl von literarischen Quellen stellte Steiner die Frage nach den Ursachen dieses unermesslichen Misslingens.

We present here excerpts from an Interview printed after Steiner's lecture in the German daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Die akademische Welt, die Literaturwissenschaft als Fach hat ein gespanntes Verhältnis zu George Steiner. Im günstigsten Fall haben sie einander nichts zu sagen.

Steiner: Die Universität wird mir nie verzeihen, und zwar aus einem prinzipiellen Grund. Seit meiner Jugend sage ich mir dreimal am Tag, mein Lieber, du bist ein Postino, du trägst die Post, das ist sehr wichtig. Du hast das ungeheure Glück, die Briefe zu bekommen, und versuchst, sie in den richtigen Postkasten einzuwerfen. Aber du hast sie nicht geschrieben. Das kommt von Puschkin, der sagt: „Danke an meine Übersetzer, danke an die Kritiker, aber ich habe den Brief geschrieben.“ Und da ich das weiß und da ich weiß, dass es Lichtjahre Distanz gibt zwischen dem Schaffenden und den Leuten, die ihn kommentieren, wird mir die Universität nie verzeihen. Das ist das große Tabu: Diese Bonzen nehmen sich so ernst, so ernst und vergessen, dass wir Flöhe sind im Pelz der Löwen.

Das zentrale Thema Ihres Lebens war immer ihr Glaube an einen „Vertrag“ zwischen den Worten und den Dingen, eine Korrespondenz zwischen Sprache und Welt. Ist das mehr als ein Glauben?

Steiner: Wenn der Herr Derrida mir sagt, es gibt keinen Sinn, wenn der Herr Rorty sagt, anything goes, kann ich das nicht rational widerlegen, ganz unmöglich. Ich kann nur sagen, Sie irren sich, meine Herren. Die Wette, die Pascalsche Wette meines ganzen Lebens, dass es doch eine Beziehung zwischen Sprache und Welt geben muss, obzwar eine komplizierte, verwickelte, indirekte, alles was Sie wollen – aber ohne dies triebe man einfach Unsinn. Der ganze Poststrukturalismus und die Dekonstruktion kommt vom Dadaismus her, von Hugo Ball und seinen Unsinn-Gedichten. Es ist ein dadaistisches Spiel. Ich glaube, es war ein Schüler von Derrida: Während der Vorlesung schreibt er den Namen „Jesus“ auf die Tafel und sagt: Das ist nicht Jesus, das ist die Vergangenheitsform von „ich weiß“: „je sus“. Da bin ich weggegangen, ganz ruhig, hab keinen Lärm gemacht, bin aus dem Saal gegangen, weil diese Art Wortspiele, das ist Bluff.

Previous speakers:

- 2002 **Giuliano Amato** (Rome / Brussels)  
United Europe: What Should It Be?
- 2001 **Edward W. Said** (New York)  
The Public Role of Writers and Intellectuals
- 2000 **Czeslaw Milosz** (Berkeley/Krakow)  
Lesung aus seinen Gedichten
- 1999 **William Julius Wilson** (Harvard)  
Rising Inequality in the United States and the Case for Multiracial Political Coalitions
- 1998 **Elie Wiesel** (Boston)  
Hasidic Modes
- 1997 **Tadeusz Mazowiecki** (Warschau)  
Politik und Moral im neuen Europa
- 1996 **Albert O. Hirschman** (Princeton)  
Between Private and Public Spheres
- 1995 **George Soros** (New York)  
A Failed Philosopher Tries Again
- 1994 **François Furet** (Paris)  
Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the French Revolution
- 1993 **Mario Vargas Llosa** (Lima/London)  
Democracy Today
- 1992 **Jacques Derrida** (Paris)  
Le secret – de la réponse et de la responsabilité
- 1991 **Charles Taylor** (Montreal)  
Two Theories of Language
- 1990 **Paul Ricoeur** (Paris)  
The Person: Its Ethical and Moral Structure
- 1989 **Zbigniew Brzezinski** (New York)  
The General Crisis of Communism
- 1988 **Leszek Kolakowski** (Oxford/Chicago)  
Die Illusionen der Entmythologisierung
- 1987 **Hans-Georg Gadamer** (Heidelberg)  
Phänomenologie und das Problem der Zeit

*Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17. Mai 2003*

*Photos by Petra Spiola, Vienna*



Ute Frevert, Florian Haug (BMAA), Irena Lipowicz, Fürst Schwarzenberg



Karl Duffek (Renner Insitut)



Ewald Nowotny, Brigitte Hamann, Frau Nowotny, Alfred Gusenbauer

The reflection group on the „Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe“, set up at the request of the President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, within a project run by the Institute for Human Sciences, had its second and third working meetings in Brussels in May 2003.

## Solidarity and Religion in Europe: Prospects for European Integration

THE GROUP DELIBERATED on the issues of solidarity and religion in the future enlarged European Union with respect to one of the most difficult tasks ahead of Europe today – the creation of a viable political community in a geographic space marked by growing economic, cultural and religious differences.

“Conditions for European Solidarity” were analysed during the meeting of May 5. The debate was introduced by three invited experts: Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde (former judge at the German Constitutional Court, professor of law, Freiburg), Aleksander Smolar (political scientist, Paris / Warsaw) and Paul Scheffer (sociologist and author, Amsterdam). Three major aspects of a growing solidarity deficit in Europe were analysed. From an economic point of view, it was argued, the crisis of the welfare state reappears on a European level, reflected in a refusal of richer countries to support weaker ones – a problem which will aggravate after the accession of Eastern European countries, already receiving much less economic support than accession states in the previous phases of Enlargement. Second, a lack of political solidarity has been unearthed by the conflict over war in Iraq and the relations with the United States. These tensions can be a major obstacle to the creation of a common foreign and security policy in the Europe of 25. Finally, the problem of solidarity was considered with respect to two phenomena that have shaped the socio-cultural image of today’s Europe: migrations and populism. With regard to this issue, citizens’ rights and duties were discussed, as well as the need to reconcile an openness towards the outside world with citizen protection. Against this background of a solidarity deficit, opportunities and hopes for the future were also stressed during the meeting. If one comes to consider European integration as a dynamic process, solidarity can be seen as a function of the member states’ willingness to participate in a common project, the results of which will be gradually unveiled in the future for those who have joined forces in this project.

The meeting of May 21 was devoted to “The Role of Religion in European Integration”. Three experts, sociologists of religion, provided the theoretical background for the discussion: David Martin (Lancaster), Danièle Hervieu-Léger and Nilüfer Göle (both Paris). Main features of contem-

porary European religiosity have been analysed: religious homogenisation through secularisation; the expansion of non-institutional, subjective forms of religiosity and the interplay between the religious and the secular, where religious pluralism is matched by a variety of secular cultures that had been shaped by religions but have now lost explicit reference to their religious roots.

Practical issues were discussed against this intellectual background. The need to secure both religious tolerance and cultural unity against a growing religious diversity was considered in relation to the future constitutional framework of the Union and the nature of its secular institutions. The place of Islam in the changing map of contemporary European religiosity also received considerable attention. The fact that socially mobile Muslims have entered European public space with a twofold – religious and secular – sense of belonging, it was argued, calls for a re-definition of the European public space, as the traditional concepts of the public and the private, of inclusion and exclusion, are no longer valid.

Finally, the question whether religion could play an integrative role in a culturally pluralistic Europe was posed. Since Europeans have a common history of religious war, it was argued, a reference to religious heritage in today’s Europe should be an active process of memory construction and value production to promote unity instead of conflict. On the other hand, it was claimed, if Europe is to deal effectively with the challenge of multiculturalism, European history should be retold in a story highlighting its constitutive dialectic between the Christian and the Enlightenment traditions, both centred around a fundamentally anthropocentric attitude, which could open a way to a tolerant, pluralistic Europe.

Summaries of all meetings are available on the IWM website: [www.iwm.at](http://www.iwm.at)



Alberto Quadrio Curzio, Bronislaw Geremek, Aleksander Smolar



Krzysztof Michalski, Giulia Amaducci (European Commission), Simone Veil



Silvio Ferrari, Will Hutton, Michel Rocard



Romano Prodi, Sandro Gozi, Béatrice De Furstenberg



In addition to its working meetings, the members of the reflection group are taking part in public debates in European capitals. The first of these took place in Warsaw in May 2003. Similar events are being organized in Vienna (October 2003), Paris, Berlin (both in January 2004) and Rome (March 2004) in order to initiate and stimulate a discussion process about "Europe" as a cultural, moral and spiritual entity. The invitees include politicians, business people, intellectuals, and journalists.

## Debate in Warsaw: The Borders of Europe

MAY WAS a busy month for the reflection group on the „Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe“. In addition to two of its regular meetings in Brussels the group participated in a public debate in Warsaw on "The Borders of Europe". The debate was organised by the Institute for Human Sciences in collaboration with the European Commission and the Warsaw-based Stefan Batory Foundation. It was hosted by the President of the Republic of Poland, Aleksander Kwasniewski, and took place in his residence, the Warsaw Belweder. Participants of the meeting included members of the reflection group, invited experts, guests from Russia, the Ukraine and Turkey, representatives of the European Commission, leading Polish intellectuals and politicians, as well as journalists from major Western and Eastern European newspapers and press agencies.

The main objective of the debate was to reflect on those cultural affinities and differences between the Union of 25 and its Eastern neighbours that could orient future EU international policy. Another purpose of the debate – held on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May – was to foster public discussion on European Enlargement in Poland before the Polish accession referendum.

The debate was divided into two sessions, each aimed at highlighting the problem of the borders of Europe from an "inside" and an "outside" point of view respectively. The first session was introduced by speakers representing current EU member states: Sandro Gozi, political assistant to Commission President Romano Prodi; reflection group member Kurt Biedenkopf; and Timothy Garton Ash, historian, author and member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board. Representatives of countries on the Eastern border of the future enlarged European Union opened the second session: Yaroslav Hrytsak (historian, Lviv), Yasar Yakis (former Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs) and Grigory Yavlinsky (member of

the Russian State Duma). The confrontation of both perspectives allowed for a more comprehensive view on the following topics: the inner cohesion of the future EU; new enlargement prospects, new patterns of cross-border relations, future European foreign and security policy, EU relations with the United States.

The issue of European borders was considered in its twofold sense, as both "the borders of Europe" and "the borders of the future enlarged European Union". The main criteria for determining the borders of Europe and the respective models of Europe – the geographic Europe, the Europe of Christianity or post-Christendom and the Europe of the Enlightenment – received a comprehensive critical overview. From the point of view of universalistic Enlightenment values, the idea of European borders was depicted as self-contradictory. The central dilemma with respect to the question of the borders of the future European Union, on the other hand, was stated as: "openness *versus* viability"; "diversity *versus* cohesion"; "the logic of unity *versus* the logic of peace". The logic of unity, it was claimed, sets limits on the expansion of the Union for the sake of its workability and homogeneity. The logic of peace, on the other hand, stems from Enlightenment universalism and promotes cultural inclusiveness, as well as the political goal of extending the area of democracy, stability and the rule of law. In the case of European international policy it is best served in the form of successive EU enlargements, since the Union is most influential abroad when it offers membership prospects.

The "diversity *versus* cohesion" dilemma or the problematic relation between "the logic of unity" and "the logic of peace" was elaborated with reference to the main point of interest for the reflection group – the cultural dimension of Europe. On the one hand, it was argued, European values are universal in character

and thus the borders of Europe have to be considered as permanently open and stretching beyond the borders of the European Union. Values constitutive of Europe thus cannot serve as instruments of exclusion from the EU. On the other hand, although the borders of Europe should be open, the borders of the EU as a complex political entity have to be determined through political decision. This does not mean, however, that European values are irrelevant for the European Union. On the one hand, an openness towards others, a universalistic "logic of peace" is a fundamental European value and as such should inspire EU foreign policy. On the other hand, certain values can turn out particularly relevant for the cohesion and homogeneity within the EU. The necessary compromise between openness and workability of the Union has to be determined politically, but it is culture that orients and heartens political decisions.

One of the central topics discussed was a proposal of the European Commission representative, Sandro Gozi, for a new strategy of EU relations with its neighbours that could overcome a simple "in or out" alternative, offering neighbouring countries "more than pure partnership but less than membership". The following discussion focused on new forms of cross-border co-operation and cultural exchange, such as Romano Prodi's "Ring of Friends" initiative or François Mitterrand's idea of a European confederation. Guests from eastern Europe presented their views on future EU borders and its international policy, stressing the universalistic character of European values and – in the case of Turkey and the Ukraine – the importance of membership prospects for the development of their countries. More Union involvement in the inner problems of its eastern neighbours was called for.

A discussion on future EU interna-

tional policy naturally led to the problem of its relations with the United States and to the question which significant differences of opinion had emerged recently. Some of the speakers depicted America as a European superpower and Europe's natural partner; while others perceived it as a threat to European unity, arguing that America may no longer be interested in having an integrated Europe or that the sharpening economic crisis in the US can have dramatic consequences for the EU and even lead to its disintegration. The need for a major reorientation of European foreign policy was strongly emphasised during the debate and a number of practical proposals were put forward.

*Samanta Stecko*

A summary of the minutes of the debate is available at both the IWM's and the European Commission's websites:  
[www.iwm.at/r-reflec.htm](http://www.iwm.at/r-reflec.htm)  
[europa.eu.int/comm/commissioners/prodi/group/michalski\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/commissioners/prodi/group/michalski_en.htm)

## Participants

### **Timothy Garton Ash**

British historian, journalist and writer; Director of the European Studies Centre and Senior Research Fellow in Contemporary History at St. Antony's College

### **Candan Azer**

Turkish Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Poland

### **Kurt Biedenkopf**

Prime Minister of Saxony (1990-2002); former President of the German Bundesrat; professor of Law; member of the Reflection Group on the Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe

### **Leonid Bilousov**

First Secretary at the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Poland

### **Jakub Boratynski**

Director of the International Co-operation Programme at the Stefan Batory Foundation.

### **Stanislaw Ciosek**

Polish politician and diplomat; advisor on foreign affairs to the President of the Republic of Poland

### **Bruno Dethomas**

Head of the Delegation of the European Commission in Poland

### **Bronislaw Geremek**

Professor of European Civilisation, College of Europe, Natolin; co-founder of "Solidarity" and chief advisor to its leader, Lech Walesa; former Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Member of the Reflection Group on the Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe

### **Yaroslav Hrytsak**

Professor of history; Director of the Institute for Historical Research at Lviv National University

### **Will Hutton**

British journalist and author; Chief Executive of The Work Foundation; member of the Reflection Group on the Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe

### **Danuta Hübner**

Secretary of State at the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs; Secretary of the Polish Committee for European Integration

### **Tadeusz Iwinski**

Secretary of State for international affairs in the Polish Prime Minister's Office

### **Jaroslaw Kaczynski**

Member of Polish parliament; co-founder of the "Law and Justice" party and its President since 2003

### **Lena Kolarska-Bobinska**

Director of the Polish Institute of Public Affairs; Professor of Sociology

### **Marcin Król**

Professor of the History of Ideas; Editor-in-Chief of the Polish „Res Publica Nowa” magazine

### **Yuri Levada**

Professor of sociology; director of the All-Russian Centre for the Study of Public Opinion and Market Research (VTSIOM)

### **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**

First Polish democratically elected Prime Minister; former advisor to President Lech Walesa and participant in the "Round Table" negotiations

### **Krzysztof Michalski**

Professor of philosophy at the University of Warsaw and at Boston University; rector of the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna; member of the Reflection Group on the Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe

### **Piotr Nowina-Konopka**

Vice-Rector of the College of Europe, Natolin; deputy Head Negotiator on Poland's accession to the EU (1998-1999)

### **Janusz Onyszkiewicz**

Former Polish Minister of National Defence;

co-founder of "Solidarity"

### **Wiktor Osiatynski**

Professor of Law and Sociology at Central European University in Budapest and at Chicago Law School

### **Wanda Rapaczynski**

President of the Board of Agora S.A.

### **Mykola Riabchuk**

Writer and journalist; research associate at the University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy"; deputy editor-in-chief of "Krytyka" (Kyiv)

### **Adam Daniel Rotfeld**

Under-Secretary of State in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Professor of International Law

### **Jacek Saryusz-Wolski**

Member of the European Integration Committee, President of the European Centre, Natolin; Professor of European Integration at Collegium Civitas, Warsaw

### **Charles of Schwarzenberg**

Former President of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights; former Chairman of the Advisory Board to Czech President Havel and Chancellor of the office to President Havel

### **Jan Skórzyński**

Historian and author; deputy editor-in-chief of the Polish "Rzeczpospolita" daily

### **Aleksander Smolar**

President of the Board of the Stefan Batory Foundation; Senior Research Fellow at the French National Scientific Study Centre (CNRS)

### **Jolanta Szymanek-Deresz**

Head of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland

### **Donald Tusk**

Member of the Polish Parliament; President and co-founder of the Civil Platform party

### **Yasar Yakis**

Member of the Turkish parliament; former Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs

### **Grigory A. Yavlinsky**

Member of the Russian State Duma; co-founder and chairman of the Yabloko Party

## European Commission

### **Giulia Amaducci**

European Commission, DG Research

### **Jean-Claude Eeckhout**

Special Advisor of President Romano Prodi

### **Sandro Gozi**

Member of the Cabinet of Romano Prodi

On June 11, in collaboration with Austria Perspektiv, the IWM organized a discussion between Kurt Biedenkopf (former Prime Minister of Saxony; Professor of Law, Dresden), James Hoge (Editor-in-Chief, *Foreign Affairs*, New York) and Aleksander Smolar (Professor of Political Science, CNRS, Paris; President of the Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw; former chief advisor to the first post-communist Prime Minister of Poland, Tadeusz Mazowiecki) on the deeper sources of the current turbulences between Europe and the United States.

## American Politics and the Unity of Europe



Kurt Biedenkopf



James Hoge



Aleksander Smolar

KRZYSZTOF MICHALSKI pointed out in his introductory remarks that for the last 50 years the major objective of American foreign policy has been the unity, or unification, of Europe, and as a result, the US has contributed to the success of this process. This seems to have changed recently, however, not only in the fact that American political decisions have resulted in serious divisions among European countries, but also in that it seems that the unity of Europe is no longer an important objective of American foreign policy. The question he put up for discussion was thus twofold: is this really the case? And if so, what are the reasons? Is it a superficial change or does it reflect deeper social processes and changes in the perception of the world on both sides of the Atlantic?

James Hoge underlined that the development of the new constitution for the European Union and the project of the EU enlargement coincided with a major break in the transatlantic relationship. In Europe, the long-held French belief that the EU should be a counterweight to American power has gained ground. In reaction, Hoge stressed, only a few American policy makers are questioning the long-held support for a more unified Europe, at least on issues of foreign policy and security. They alone talk of playing off New versus Old Europe, and of lowering the position of the continent as a whole in America's security considerations. But Hoge argued that it is in the mutual interests of the alliance parties to rebuild the relationship: As the cases of Bosnia, Afghanistan, and, recently, Iraq have shown, the United States cannot rely only on Great Britain, a few small countries, and ad-hoc coalitions. Despite its military powers, the US needs Europe's resources, competencies and assistance. But, Hoge warned, America's full support for further EU integration will probably only come about if European leaders cease arguing that American power is the main problem facing the world. Such a posture divides Europe, and it certainly undermines the transatlantic relationship.

### A "world power"

Kurt Biedenkopf began his statement by attempting a definition of what "world power" could mean.

Considering its military strengths, Biedenkopf argued, the US is properly termed a world power. But what about the economic dimension? "We presently transfer, by way of investment, one billion dollars a day from Europe to the United States in order to finance the trade deficit of the United States, and we participate in financing the federal budget deficit", Biedenkopf noted, underpinning his thesis that discussing the question whether the United States was a world power only under military and security aspects is not sufficient. Biedenkopf argued that with the disappearance of the threat from the communist East the US as a world power was left without a counterweight which resulted in "an uncertainty in the United States as to what the *raison d'être* of being a world power was." September 11 and the threat posed by terrorism have delivered, as Biedenkopf put it, a "new rationale" for the United States. Concluding, Kurt Biedenkopf suggested that the relationship between the United States and Europe should be complementary rather competitive. For Biedenkopf the common values and the tremendous interdependence in the field of economics and science between Europe and the US would make a process of uniting Europe *against* the US impossible.

### Narcissism of small differences

Aleksander Smolar indicated that Poland, probably the most pro-American country in Europe, refused to choose between Europe and the US, but tried to maintain good relations with both. He then took up the question whether the problems between Europe and the United States were transitory or whether they were structural and thus much deeper. In his opinion the problem of the Iraq war was not the beginning of the conflict but rather its dramatization. Smolar reminded the audience that with 1989 and the decomposition of the Soviet Union in '91 three major factors that had contributed to the construction of the European Union had disappeared: the US protectorate, the fear of the Soviet Union, and the fear of war. In a way anti-Americanism then became a substitute ideology for Europe, which was deprived of its own identity. Smolar underlined that US foreign policy had changed and that Russia was a much bigger priority

nowadays than Europe, than Germany and France. Europe has been marginalized, but in a way, he claimed, the Balkans saved the relationship for a while, since the US was kept in Europe because Europe was not capable of managing the Balkans conflict. Otherwise, the US would have left Europe earlier. Quoting Freud's notion of a "narcissism of small differences", Smolar held that it was more than possible that the future clash of civilizations would not be between western civilizations and Muslims, but between the US and Europe. Summarizing the first round, Krzysztof Michalski posed the question what had brought about the different perception of differences on both sides of the Atlantic, a change that has been noticeable for about ten years.

### The last nation-state

Kurt Biedenkopf called attention to the fact that the United States is no longer politically homogeneous. The increasing participation of minorities in political decision-making and the fact that many areas are bilingual shows that the US nowadays is not a nation but rather a continent. If the transatlantic community is to have a future, Biedenkopf argued, we should make use of the capabilities within the United States, as well as the historical experience that rests with Europe. This could represent a tremendous foundation of knowledge, of wisdom, and of possible solutions for developments that are in the process of taking place. Talking about the European-wide problem of demographic development, Biedenkopf gave prominence to the deep need of immigration for Europe. Aleksander Smolar hypothesized that the US was not a nation but maybe the last nation-state. In Europe, everybody accepted that above the nation-state there are European law and international institutions in a way which is a contradiction to the democratic principle because it is being imposed from the outside and is quite often not democratically legitimized. The US has been, from its origins, refusing this view, which poses a problem of sovereignty because the US tends to object to limitations imposed from the outside and is not very likely to make compromises.

### A mature partnership

Concluding, James Hoge encouraged Europe to try and find its own identity, but not one that is "opposed" to the US. "In a mature partnership, there is room for differences, and even ones that cannot be resolved after lots of discussion", he said. "Through some dialogue, through some rethinking, through some learning from experience", the transatlantic relationship would see that there is a couple of crystal clear reasons for that alliance.

*Kerstin Krenn*

# Transit

## Europäische Revue Heft 25

### I. Polen im Krzysztof Pomian Osterweiterung: Vorurteile und Ängste neuen Europa 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

Michal Glowinski Tatra-Utopie. Kleine Prosa

Czeslaw Milosz Pawel Hertz – Hüter des

klassischen Reims

Swiat – 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

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On June 4 the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), the Hungarian Embassy and the Gesellschaft Österreich-Ungarn co-organized a panel discussion on a pressing issue of the future architecture of the European Union. Do ethnic minorities in Europe “deserve” political representation and constitutional protection on the EU level?

## Filling the Representation Gap: Ethnic Minorities in the EU



Fotos von David Stork  
“Die Krönung des Ion Cloaba”,  
Transit 5 – Gute Gesellschaft

JOZSEF SZAJER WHO EXTENDED a proposal in the European Convention for establishing a “Committee of National and Ethnic Minorities” asserted in his introduction that ethnic minorities exist in great numbers in Europe but until now, they have enjoyed no significant legal and institutional protection within the European Union. There is presently a striking contradiction between the practice of the EU enforcing the protection of minority rights in the accession countries on the one hand, and the lack of a legal basis for the adoption of the same kind of measures in the EU as a whole on the other. He called this a hypocrisy, stressed the need for positive discrimination, and suggested to create a “mini-parliament” for the minorities.

While not disputing good intentions behind any proposal for affirmative action in the context of minority protection, the panelists expressed a series of doubts about it. Slawomir Kapralski and Rainer Bauböck spoke about the difficulties in defining the concept of minority (ethnic? national? religious? linguistic?), and in deciding who should protect its members (region? nation-state? kin state? EU?). In Bauböck’s view, regional autonomy, for instance, can transform ethnic minorities into regional majorities. Also, Kapralski contended, one has to be granted the right of not to be protected as a member of a minority. Part of the Romas, for example, would prefer to be recognized as members of a transnational community. He also said that probably the best protection for minorities is the deconstruction of majorities. According to Anton Pelinka, one is simultaneously a member of various minorities and majorities, and any minority protection should be confined to the under-protected minorities, ethnic or other.

János Mátyás Kovács

### Participants:

#### Rainer Bauböck

Senior Researcher, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna; Research Unit on Institutional Change & European Integration

#### Slawomir Kapralski

Associate Professor of Sociology, Central European University, Warsaw



#### Anton Pelinka

Professor of Political Science, University of Innsbruck, and Member of the IWM Academic Advisory Board



#### Jozsef Szajer

Vice Chairman of the Hungarian Parliament, Fidesz; Member of the European Convention



Am 27. Mai lud das IWM in der Reihe der Tuesday Lectures in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Zsolnay Verlag zu einer Podiumsdiskussion anlässlich des Erscheinens von *Die umgefärbte Republik. Anmerkungen zu Österreich* von Gerfried Sperl, Chefredakteur der Tageszeitung *Der Standard*.

## Die umgefärbte Republik. Anmerkungen zu Österreich

SPERLS BUCH, eine Analyse der politischen Situation Österreichs nach den Nationalratswahlen im November 2002, bot den Ausgangspunkt für eine grundsätzliche Diskussion über Aufgaben und Zuständigkeitsbereich des Staates. Auf dem Podium: Lorenz Fritz, Generalsekretär der Industriellenvereinigung, Eva Glawischnig, stellvertretende Bundessprecherin, Die Grünen, Barbara Helige, Präsidentin der österreichischen Richtervereinigung und Reinhold Lopatka Generalsekretär der Österreichischen Volkspartei. Krzysztof Michalski, Rektor des IWM, moderierte die Debatte.

Krzysztof Michalski zitierte in seiner Einführung in das Thema als eine der Hauptthesen Sperls, dass die Politik der Wende Wirtschaftspolitik zur Kernaufgabe des Staates erkläre und folglich Sozialpolitik in eine Funktion der Wirtschaftspolitik umfunktioniert habe. Der Staat entferne sich so zunehmend von seiner Wohlfahrtsfunktion und vernachlässige seine sozialen Aufgaben.

Lorenz Fritz konnte dieser Kritik Sperls nichts abgewinnen. Für ihn strebt der Staat vielmehr eine „vernünftige Arbeitsteilung“ an und gewinnt durch die Fokussierung auf seine wesentlichen Aufgaben an Stärke. Fritz konnte auch den von Sperl in seinem Buch angesprochenen Neoliberalismus in der österreichischen Regierungspolitik nicht entdecken.

Barbara Helige, Repräsentantin der überparteilichen, privaten Vereinigung der österreichischen Richter, sprach für die Gerichtsbarkeit, der man unterstellt hatte, sich allzu schnell an die neue politische Situation angepasst zu haben. Die sogenannte „Spitzelaffäre“ und die Auseinandersetzungen rund um den Verfassungsgerichtshof dienten Barbara Helige zur Illustration des ihrer Ansicht nach fragwürdigen Justizverständnisses der Regierung. Sie zeigte sich besorgt über den Mangel an Respekt gegenüber der dritten Gewalt und forderte eine Stärkung der Autonomie der Gerichtsbarkeit.

Im Gegensatz zu Lorenz Fritz zeigte sich Eva Glawischnig, laut Krzysztof Michalski die „positive Heldin“ von Sperls Buch, großteils mit den Thesen des Autors einverstanden. Ebenso wie Sperl monierte Glawischnig das Fehlen einer Grundsatzdiskussion über die Kernaufgaben des Staates und stellte – ebenso wie Sperl – die Vereinbarkeit der christliche Wertetradition der ÖVP mit der aktuellen Regierungspolitik in Frage. Die stellvertretende Bundessprecherin der Grünen forderte darüber hinaus eine Diskussion über das Phänomen des

Populismus und insbesondere über dessen „Zähbarkeit“ ein.

Der Repräsentant der ÖVP, Generalsekretär Reinhold Lopatka, wollte seine Partei nicht in eine bestimmte Richtung gedrängt sehen und unterstrich, dass das Kabinett Schüssel 1 das Sozialsystem nicht ab-, sondern vielmehr ausgebaut hätte. Dass die Gesellschaft insgesamt ungerechter würde, zog Lopatka in Zweifel.

Gerfried Sperl plädierte in seinem Schlusswort für ein Überdenken der Prioritäten: Für einen Know-How-Staat wie Österreich müsse die Förderung von Bildung und Forschung zentrale Bedeutung haben. Keinesfalls solle der Staat damit verbundene Lenkungsarbeiten aufgeben, aber auch der Sozialbereich solle nicht der Privatisierung anheim gestellt werden. Gerade das Beispiel der Asylantenbetreuung zeige, dass derartige Maßnahmen kontraproduktiv seien. Durch Barbara Heliges Wortmeldung kehrte die Diskussion abschließend nochmals zum Thema des „Law and order-Staates“ zurück, das Krzysztof Michalski bereits bei der Vorstellung des Buchs angeschnitten hatte. Sperl stimmte Helige darin zu, dass die nachhaltige Bedeutung des 11. September nicht zu vernachlässigen sei. Die reale Terrorgefahr habe, auch in Österreich, in Kombination mit überzogenen Bedrohungsphantasien die Tendenz verstärkt, autoritäre Kräfte zu unterstützen. Das daraus resultierende wenig demokratische Staatsverständnis wollte Sperl kritisch beobachtet wissen: Widerstand sei am sinnvollsten über den Ausbau der demokratischen Möglichkeiten zu realisieren.

*Kerstin Krenn*

By taking Gerfried Sperl's (Editor-in-chief, *Der Standard*) book on the political changes in Austria since the federal elections in November 2002 as a starting point, representatives of political and public life engaged in a panel discussion about the duties and responsibilities of the state.



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ISBN 3-552-05218-6



Reinhold Lopatka, Barbara Helige, Eva Glawischnig, Lorenz Fritz

# Körber Fellowships: History and Memory in Europe

Fellowships 2004/2005

**DEADLINE**  
15 November, 2003 **CALL FOR APPLICATIONS**  
Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen Institute for Human Sciences

1  
O b j e c t i v e

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.

10

2  
C o n d i t i o n s

The **Körber Fellows** are invited to spend six months at the IWM during the academic year 2004/2005 to pursue their research project while working in residence at the institute. The fellows will receive a stipend to cover accommodation, living expenses, travel, health insurance and incidentals. The amount of the stipend for the **Visiting Fellow** will be determined according to the "no gain, no loss" principle and seeks to compensate for a loss of income based on the current salary of the recipient. **Junior Visiting Fellows** will receive a stipend in the amount of € 8000 for the six-month term. Furthermore, fellows will be provided an office with personal computer and have access to e-mail and internet, in-house research facilities and other relevant sources in Vienna. The fellowship may be taken up between July 2004 and June 2005.

3  
E l i g i b i l i t y R e q u i r e m e n t s

Candidates for the **Körber Visiting Fellowship**

- must be citizens of any European country or permanently reside in Europe;
- must have obtained a Ph.D. in history or another discipline in the humanities or social sciences with a research focus related to the objective of this programme;
- must hold a senior academic position (equivalent to associate professor level); and
- must substantiate their expertise in the field with their publication record.

Candidates for the **Körber Junior Visiting Fellowships**

- must be citizens of any European country or permanently reside in Europe;
- must currently pursue their doctoral degree OR have recently obtained a Ph.D. in history or another discipline in the humanities or social sciences with a research focus related to the objective of this programme;
- must not be older than 35 years.

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:

**Peter Burke**

Professor of Cultural History, Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge

**Ute Frevert**

Professor of History, Yale University and University of Bielefeld

**Bronislaw Geremek**

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**

Professor of History, European University Institute, Florence

**Wolf Schmidt**

Member of the Executive Board of the Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg

5  
A p p l i c a t i o n P r o c e d u r e

The application consists of the following materials:

1. application form (to be downloaded from the IWM website)
2. a concise research proposal (max. 4 pages) in English, including
  - the scientific problems addressed
  - 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)

Please visit the IWM website for details:  
[www.iwm.at/f-koerb.htm](http://www.iwm.at/f-koerb.htm)



In 2002, the IWM and the Koerber Foundation launched a new fellowship program on history and memory in Europe. While the second call has been published recently (see opposite page), the first group of fellows will arrive at the IWM in early 2004.

## First group of Körber Fellows about to arrive at the IWM

### Autobiographical memory: gendered or not?

**Natalia Pushkareva**, Professor at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology at the Russian Academy of Sciences, was awarded a Research Fellowship within the Körber fellowship program for her research project *History and Gendered Memory. Reading European ego-documents from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century*. Having researched women's history of Russia and Europe for more than 20 years, Pushkareva had to note a complete lack of historian's works on the gender aspects of memory. Regardless the vast number of publications on the history of autobiographies, including those of women, the field of autobiographical memory is still a very young one in psychology and has not had a chance yet to overlap with history.

Pushkareva aims at writing the first chapters of a book on the history of women's autobiographical memory from a psycho-historical point of view during her stay. Dealing with ego-documents – letters, diaries, memoirs, autobiographies – from three centuries she will rely on historiographical approaches and methods, cultural anthropology and introspective psychology. Guiding questions for her research include: What are the gender specific elements of memory? Are there “male” and “female” memories or is the notion of memory beyond gender, with gender differences being much less significant than social, professional, religious, cultural and ethnic ones? How are historical and autobiographical memories related? What are the specific features of the women's and men's *writing* – as a form of self-representation and a creating reliving of the past? What are the main characteristics of male and female *reading* of written texts – since any historian is a representative of her/his gender, how does gender define the selection of the essential and non-essential?

### Opening the archives: Dealing with a non-democratic past

**Muriel Blaive**, who holds a doctorate from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sci-

ences Sociales in Paris and is currently a post-doctoral researcher and lecturer at the Charles University in Prague, was awarded the Körber Fellowship as a Junior Visiting Fellow at the IWM for her research project *Coming to Terms with a Nations' Past: The Czechs and their Archives of Communism*. The aim of this project is to analyze and reflect on the dealing of post-Communist states with their recent past. Blaive's case study will specifically involve the Czech Republic and its policy towards the opening of the former regime's archives. What attitude has the Czech society had on this issue? What have been the legal steps taken so far? How has it affected the local historical work? What are the prospects for the future? What can trans-European comparison tell us about the Czech case?

In her project, Muriel Blaive will not only address the legal background from the 1990 “Rehabilitation law” to the 2002 parliamentary debate over the creation of an Institute for the Documentation of the Totalitarian Regime, but will also concentrate on the reactions to these legal and official steps among the archivists. She will also provide a survey of the Czech historians working on the Communist period. What part have they taken in the legal and ethical debates about the opening of the archives? And, even more importantly, what consequences has the opening of the archives had on the historical research on Communism?

### History's imprint on Polish cityscapes

**Izabella Main**, who received her PhD from the History Department at Central European University in Budapest in June 2002, was awarded the Körber Fellowship as a Junior Visiting Fellow for her research project *Memory and History in the Cityscapes in Poland: the Search for Europe*. The research addresses the problem of how history is imprinted into the cityscape and how buildings, statues and street names materialize the memory of the past. Main poses the question of how the change of the political system affected the

cityscapes – how the making, unmaking and remaking of the symbolic spaces might indicate the problems in regard to thinking of the past. The symbolic space of two Polish cities and its correspondence to memory and history as well as to power relations and ideologies, focusing on the transition period, will be analyzed. Her working hypothesis is that the transformation of city space after 1989 – the renaming of streets and squares, the removal of old and the construction of new monuments, and the relocation of government and power centers – does not necessarily correspond to official discourses, cultural policies, and communities' expectations.

The changes of the symbolic landscape during the transition period were hardly followed by a scholarly discussion, although the symbolic struggle for power in the 1970s and 1980s was discussed by a number of scholars. Main's project will concentrate on the cases of Krakow and Lublin. The common feature of these two cities is the process of extracting any reminders of the communist period from the cityscapes, a specific “de-Communization”. Main will describe in which ways scholars, inhabitants and officials have attempted to diminish the visibility of this part of urban heritage. Another goal of this research is to find out how a symbolic “Westernization” and “Europeanizing” is carried out in the two cities.

In 2003, the IWM organized its 10th international Summer School in Philosophy and Politics. The school again took place in Cortona (Tuscany) and was managed in cooperation with the following partner institutions: the Erasmus of Rotterdam Chair and the Collegium for Interdepartmental Studies (both at the University of Warsaw), the New Europe College (Bucharest), the Center for Theoretical Study and the Institute for Contemporary History (both in Prague), and the Society for Higher Learning (Bratislava). The Summer School was generously supported by the Robert Bosch Foundation.

## 10<sup>th</sup> International Summer School: Challenges to Democracy



FOLLOWING AN OPEN COMPETITION with about 450 applications 45 graduate students from Eastern and Western Europe and from the USA participated in the Summer School. We asked three of them to present their personal views on two weeks of academic challenges, heated debates and, of course, Tuscan dolce vita. The full versions are available on the IWM website, [www.iwm.at](http://www.iwm.at).



About 40 students from a dozen different nations had an intellectually challenging, educating, fun and relaxing stay in one of the most beautiful places in Europe. Even though the weather was perfect and the delicious cuisine was trying to seduce the students to the “dolce vita” and spend their time in the garden or at the pool instead of reading Nietzsche, Singer or Walzer, the enthusiasm of the students was extremely promising. The experienced professors and the fascinating and various choice of important texts were able to catch the full attention of the students, and clearly won the contest against the Tuscan beauty.



But besides the academic challenges, the students used the chance to learn and profit from the large variety of nationalities and intellectual backgrounds. We had students from all humanity faculties, academic levels, and political views, from a dozen European states and the US. The scale of cultural and academic exchange was as wide as it could be and started with gossiping about professors in their home universities, teaching national drinking songs and national anthems, defending, explaining and attacking the political daily life, political culture or history of home and foreign nations, and ended in future plans about changing the geopolitical situations when they will have taken over the influential positions in their countries. In short order the students were able to come together and discuss questions and issues they rarely have the chance to raise with such a well chosen pool of people, full of fresh ideas and impressive amounts of knowledge.

In response to a student initiative the professors spoke in a large forum with the participants of the Summer School about the problems of the special relationship of the “new” and “old Europe” and

the United States, including their explanations and possible solutions. This was an extraordinary opportunity to hear the arguments and direct counterarguments of intellectuals who normally are forced to discuss such issues in the media or perhaps not publish their opinions at all. Even though Marcin Król tried to effect a polarisation between two hypothetical antagonists in order to provoke a direct and controversial discussion (with phrases like: “What has Europe done for the USA after they helped to fight in the civil war centuries ago?”), and despite the fact that the Europeans were obviously overrepresented, the discussion was orientated around consensus and productive exchanges of points of view – an unfamiliar approach to political culture for many of the participants. There were Hungarians who said “we” when they talked about the European Union and lots of other small signals of walking in the right direction.

As a result of the later arrival of the two German professors Claus Offe and Ulrich K. Preuß, the schedule in the second week became much tighter for those who wanted to attempt this course as well. But with their German time-management (Offe: “We have three topics today. For each we have 15 minutes. Five for me, five for you (Preuß) and five for your (students’) questions.”) they deeply impressed even the Germans (although they had to admit that the “Tuscan flair” was in many cases stronger than the “teutonian way” of handling complex situations). Discussing de Tocqueville, Mill and Weber with them was more than helpful and opened a lot of new ways of thinking about existing conflicts and questions.

All in all the Summer School 2003 was a big success and a great experience for all participants and had been two weeks of reading, discussing and learning without seeming to be like hard work at all. This was a rare example of a really fruitful time and the use of interdisciplinary and international potential.

**Henry Haaker**, Department of Philosophy, Humboldt University, Berlin



The IWM Summer School was a paradise in Cortona for students interested in exploring issues of liberalism, democracy, justice and related topics in political theory. It offered four courses held by distinguished lecturers from Europe and the US and plenty of opportunities for personal discussions in a beautiful setting. The small hotel, which had been a medieval monastery, was surrounded by a park of pine trees with a wonderful view. The Tuscan landscape provided a shield from the summer heat and ample space for an enjoyable learning experience.

The intent of the Summer School seemed to be to present a broader view on the topics of liberalism, democracy, and justice than does mainstream (Rawlsian) liberal political theory. Challenges to Democracy were explored from the perspective of theory and practical politics (especially, in the case of practical challenges, through consideration of the meaning of the emerging Europe for democratic and liberal governance).

### Student Community

Of course, as in any academic program, it is the participants themselves who must bear the most significant burden of creating an exciting and intellectually rigorous atmosphere. The IWM must have put enormous effort into selecting the participants, for the program consisted of one of the most dynamic, intelligent, and receptive group of students that many of us had ever experienced. There were fifty students from all around Europe, the US, and Russia. They were from different political and academic backgrounds, yet had common interests. They were people who were extremely receptive, interested in listening and learning from one another, deeply engaged in their intellectual projects, and committed to the establishment of political justice in the world (not only larger Europe).

The most exciting aspect of the students was their uncommon receptivity towards one another. For many of us, the most significant part of the program was the hours and hours (and hours) of intense conversation about political and personal experiences in the various countries represented. Some of us will remember the program as an exhilarating rush through late-night talks about Polish solidarity, sharing (and criticism) of national anthems, arguments on the significance of the European Union, stories of the devastation of war, discussion of racism against East Europeans, questions on the meaning of democracy, and inquisitions into the meanings of the readings. It was noticed, with great excitement, that about half of the student participants were women (although none of the professors were). This was the first time many of us had been surrounded by so many female political theorists. Many students discussed our excitement

about this, and the gender balance opened up possibilities for talking about gender in politics and academia, which are subjects rarely raised in either of our home institutions.

### Faculty and Courses

The courses offered very different styles of teaching, most of which were positive in their own way. The faculty were very impressive on paper and, as the weeks went by, more and more impressive personally. Gray's wonderful presentations were engaging even for students who were already familiar with the topics he addressed, as long as their English was strong. Ulrich Preuss' and Claus Offe's very thorough and systematic presentations challenged the shortened attention span of students in the second week, but were extremely rewarding and demonstrated their great dedication. Less systematic in their presentations, Jacques Rupnik and Alexandar Smolar impressed all of us with their wide and detailed knowledge of recent political processes in Europe and with their easy and friendly attitudes towards the students. We finally must mention the extraordinary performances of Michael Sandel and Krzysztof Michalski. Sandel used student participation to great effect, and contributed to the learning atmosphere outside of class through his engagement with students. Michalski's intense passion for Nietzsche was highly contagious, and for some students highly troubling. The variety of approaches used by the professors was a strength of the program, although in general we believe that more student participation would have been good.

### Extracurricular Events

On the weekend, trips were scheduled to areas around Cortona, which was a welcome break from the courses and the intense regime of learning. For those who wanted to sightsee, the trips were a lovely way to visit some of the nicest parts of Tuscany. One day of the weekend was reserved for a visit to Gubbio, an uphill town with its famous basilica where mummified bodies of saints are exhibited and Perugia with its renowned open-air jazz-festival that was taking place at the time. The other trip took us to Siena, the medieval rival of Florence, and Montepulciano, the center of the Montepulciano wine-producing region. For those of us who really just like to talk (and argue) more than anything else, the trips were a good opportunity to get away and continue our discussions in a different atmosphere. The highlight of the trips for some of us was seeing the fresco of Good and Bad Government in Siena.

In the IWM summer school students were constantly reminded that we are fighting a battle with-



out illusions. With tough political and social choices to be made, and no theory to provide a complete formula for those choices, there is never a guarantee that our societies will become or stay decent. This basic idea was echoed throughout the courses. Gray and Krol focused on the idea of value pluralism, undermining the idea of progress in ethics and politics. Rupnik and Smolar reminded us that even the happiest event of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Revolutions of 1989, were not celebrated cheerfully on their 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary, as the main actors almost got into fight about who should take the most credit for the event.

**Ana Matan** is a graduate student at the Department of Political Science at the University of Zagreb (Croatia), and **Mariah Zeisberg** is a graduate student at the Politics Department in Princeton (USA). Apart from becoming dear friends, they have decided to pursue several projects together, in order to continue their mutual exploration of the themes treated at the Summer School.

## Participants

**Ana-Raluca Alecu**, University of Bucharest, Romania  
**Inna Alekseeva**, Novosibirsk State University, Russia  
**Andrei Apostol**, Central European University, Hungary  
**Monika Baar**, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin, Germany  
**Magdalena Baran**, Pontifical Academy of Theology, Krakow, Poland  
**Jan Biba**, Charles University, Czech Republic  
**Robert Clewis**, Boston College, USA  
**Dimitri Constant**, Boston University, USA  
**Magdalena Dabrowska**, University Maria Curie-Sklodowska, Lublin, Poland  
**Istvan Danka**, University of Pecs, Budapest, Hungary  
**Tamas Dombos**, Budapest University of Econ.

**Felix Koch**, Free University of Berlin, Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany  
**Balazs Kovacs**, Budapest University of Econ. Sci. And Pub. Adm., Hungary  
**Helene Landemore**, Harvard University, USA  
**Encarna Llamas**, University of Navarra, Spain  
**Bruno Macaes**, Harvard University, USA  
**Anna Maslon**, University of Warsaw, Poland  
**Ana Matan**, University of Zagreb, Croatia  
**Monika Milewska**, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland  
**Svjetlana Nedimovic**, European University Institute, Italy  
**Gerald Neugschwandner**, University of Vienna, Austria  
**Ana-Maria Pascal**, Petre Andrei University, Iasi, Romania  
**Bogdan Popa**, University of Bucharest, Romania  
**Wojciech Przybylski**, University of Warsaw, Poland  
**Clara Ramirez Barat**, University Carlos III of Madrid, Spain  
**Samanta Stecko**, University of Warsaw, Poland  
**Stefan Szwed**, Robert Bosch Foundation, Berlin, Germany  
**Eunice Tai**, University of Chicago, USA  
**Erik Tajalli**, University of Vienna, Austria  
**Jack Turner**, Princeton University, USA  
**Camil Ungureanu**, European University Institute, Italy  
**Petra Van Brabant**, University of Antwerp, Belgium  
**Mariah Zeisberg**, Princeton University, USA

## The Faculty

**John Gray**, Professor of European Thought at the London School of Economics  
**Marcin Krol**, Professor of the History of Ideas at the University of Warsaw  
**Krzysztof Michalski**, Professor of Philosophy at Boston and Warsaw University, Rector of the Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna  
**Claus Offe**, Professor of Political Science at the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*  
**Ulrich K. Preuß**, Professor of Law and Political Science at the *Freie Universität Berlin*  
**Jacques Rupnik**, Research Director at the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris  
**Michael Sandel**, Professor of Government at Harvard University  
**Aleksander Smolar**, *maitre de recherche* at the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, Paris

## The Courses

Course 1  
**Liberalism and Its Critics I: Liberalism's Critics and Liberalism's Enemies: What is the Difference?**  
**John Gray and Marcin Krol**

Course 2  
**Liberalism and Its Critics II: Does Politics Need a Theology?**  
**Krzysztof Michalski and Michael Sandel**

Course 3  
**Democracy and Its Potential for Self-destruction**  
**Claus Offe and Ulrich Preuss**

Course 4  
**After 1989: Transformations of International Order – European Perspectives**  
**Aleksander Smolar and Jacques Rupnik**



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](http://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](http://www.iwm.at)



## Tuesday Lectures

6. MAI 2003

Reihe: Die Rolle des Staates  
**Ute Frevert**  
**Gute Europäer – und wer sich vor ihnen fürchten könnte**

Kommentar:

**Eva Lichtenberger**, Grüne Abgeordnete im österreichischen Nationalrat und stellvertretendes Mitglied im EU-Konvent

WER ODER WAS SIND „gute Europäer“? Sind es die Träger des Karlspreises, der alljährlich in Aachen verliehen wird? Sind es nomadische Freigeister wie Friedrich Nietzsche, der sich in den 1880er Jahren zum schlechten Deutschen und guten Europäer erklärte? Welche Erwartungen verknüpften sich mit der Vorstellung einer solchen Gemeinschaft? Und welche Befürchtungen lösten sie aus? Der Vortrag stellte verschiedene Repräsentanten eines „europäischen Gesamtbewusstseins“ aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert vor, fragte nach ihren Motiven und Zielen. Aber er beleuchtete auch die Widerstände und Ängste, die sie hervorriefen. „Gute Europäer“, so die These, sind stets auf Ausgrenzungen bedacht, und eben das macht sie, bei aller inneren Überzeugungskraft, gefährlich.

Ute Frevert ist Professorin für Allgemeine Geschichte in Yale und war Gast des IWM im Mai.

Ausgewählte Publikationen:

*Eurovisionen. Ansichten guter Europäer im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*  
 Frankfurt am Main 2003

*Vertrauen. Historische Annäherungen* (Hg.)  
 Göttingen 2003

*Geschichtsvergessenheit – Geschichtsversessenheit. Vom Umgang mit deutschen Vergangenheiten nach 1945*  
 (mit A. Assmann), Stuttgart 1999

In Zusammenarbeit mit der Grünen Bildungswerkstatt



13. MAI 2003

**Susanne Heine**  
**Islam – zwischen Politik und Religion**

DASS DIE VERBREITUNG DES ISLAM mit Feuer und Schwert zum muslimischen Glaubensbekenntnis zähle, ist bis heute ein verbreitetes Vorurteil, in Österreich besonders verfestigt durch die zweimalige Belagerung Wiens (1529, 1683) durch die Osmanen, und weltweit transportiert durch die Medien. Wie jede Religion hat auch der Islam verschiedene Gesichter je nachdem, in welcher Kultur er zu Hause ist. Wenn sich terroristische Gruppen auf den ‚Heiligen Krieg‘ berufen, verwahren sich die Muslime selbst gegen die pauschale Verknüpfung des Islams mit dem Terrorismus und betonen, dass „Dschihad“ die moralische Anstrengung für ein rechtschaffenes Leben bedeute. Umgekehrt haben auch viele Muslime, besonders außerhalb Europas, keine realistischen Vorstellungen vom Christentum und der westlichen Welt.



Susanne Heine ist Ordinaria für Praktische Theologie und Religionspsychologie an der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien.

Ausgewählte Publikationen:

*Frauenbilder – Menschenrechte. Theologische Beiträge zu einer feministischen Anthropologie*  
 Hannover 2000

„Herrschaft und Liebe“, in: Werner Brändle / Gerhard Wegner (Hg.), *Unverfügbare Gewissheit. Protestantische Wege zum Dialog mit den Religionen*, Hannover 1997

*Islam zwischen Selbstbild und Klischee* (Hg.) Wien / Köln 1995

20. MAI 2003

## Elena Pulcini Transformations of the Self in the Global Age



THE PAPER was based on the idea, shared by many, that globalisation is an essentially *ambivalent* process which on the one hand sees the co-existence of the “global” processes of unification, homogenisation and homologation and on the

other hand the “local” phenomena of fragmentation, heterogenisation and differentiation.

From this starting point, the paper questioned the particular effects that the co-existence of global and local produced on *individual identity* and the types of *social bond*.

The basic hypothesis affirms that the global age is characterised by a sort of polarisation which on the one hand sees the emergence of an *unlimited individualism* (narcissism, atomism, indifference) and on the other the birth of a *tribal communitarianism* (“return to the community” in exclusive and destructive forms).

Finally, the paper attempted to look into the possibility of a global social bond that is sparked off by the individual perception of the Self as a *weak and vulnerable subject*, linked to the Other (to others) by the sharing of a common destiny and a common humanity.

Elena Pulcini is Associate Professor of Social Philosophy at the University of Florence.

Selected Publications:

*L'individuo senza passioni. Individualismo moderno e perdita del legame sociale*  
Torino 2001

German translation: Berlin 2003

*Amour-passion e amore coniugale. Rousseau e l'origine di un conflitto moderno*  
Venezia 1990

French translation: Paris 1998

*Immagini dell'impensabile. Ricerche interdisciplinari sulla guerra nucleare*  
(ed. with P.Messeri, Genova 1991)

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem  
Istituto Italiano di Cultura.



27. MAI 2003

## Buchpräsentation Gerfried Sperl: Die umgefärbte Republik. Anmerkungen zu Österreich

MIT SEINER ANALYSE der politischen Situation Österreichs nach den Nationalratswahlen im November 2002 legt Gerfried Sperl, Chefredakteur der

Tageszeitung *Der Standard*, eine Streitschrift vor; das IWM – ein Ort überparteiischer Diskussion – nahm das zum Anlass, eine Debatte über den Zustand und die Zukunft der Republik zu veranstalten. Siehe Bericht auf S. 9.

Es diskutierten:

**Lorenz Fritz**

Generalsekretär, Industriellenvereinigung

**Eva Glawischnig**

stv. Bundessprecherin, Die Grünen

**Barbara Helige**

Präsidentin der österreichischen Richtervereinigung

**Reinhold Lopatka**

Generalsekretär, Österreichische Volkspartei

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem



## Tzvetan Todorov Les enjeux de la mémoire

LES FAITS DU PASSÉ NOUS sont transmis sous forme de récits, qui attribuent aux protagonistes les rôles de héros ou de bénéficiaire, d'agresseur ou de victime.



L'identification avec l'un ou l'autre de ces rôles conditionne l'attitude morale de celui qui les évoque. Ce dernier est de plus menacé, au cours de cette évocation, par deux dangers symétriques, la sacralisation et la banalisation. Le rappel du passé peut à son tour être mis au service d'un renforcement de notre identité ou encore devenir le point de départ d'une action en faveur des autres. Les commémorations rituelles brouillent habituellement les nécessaires distinctions établies par le travail de mémoire. Ces quelques principes sont illustrés par des exemples tirés de l'histoire du XXe siècle (totalitarismes, Deuxième Guerre mondiale, guerre d'Algérie) et par l'itinéraire de deux individus, David Rousset et Germaine Tillion.

Tzvetan Todorov est Directeur de recherche du Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), Paris.

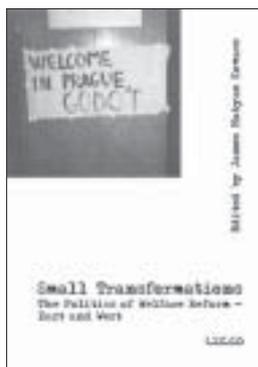
Ausgewählte Publikationen:

*Devoirs et délices*  
Editions du Seuil, 2002

*Mémoire du mal, tentation du bien*  
Robert Laffont, 2000

*Abenteurer des Zusammenlebens*  
Berlin 1996 / Frankfurt 1998

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem *Institut Français de Vienne*



**Janos Matyas Kovacs**  
(ed.)  
**Small Transformations  
The Politics of  
Welfare Reform –  
East and West**  
Münster: LITVerlag, 2003

East-Central Europe is about to bring its welfare reforms to the European Union. Nevertheless, in the course of the Accession, one could hardly fix *the* European standards of social policy or examine to what degree the newcomers may have approached them. Evidently, there has always been a variety of welfare regimes in the EU. Moreover, today's experts in post-communist countries do not find stable policies and institutional arrangements in the West but rather another reform process, the "domestication" of the classical welfare states. True, the general trends are not dissimilar: partial retrenchment, decentralization, marketisation and privatisation of public welfare services, as well as an upsurge of the voluntary sector, are the main characteristic features of regulating welfare on both sides of the former Iron Curtain.

These issues are addressed by the authors of this volume, leading representatives of their professions, in an unprecedented way. In avoiding the convenient cliché of "Western invention" versus "Eastern imitation", they provide original results in abstract and empirical analysis, and engage in sharp discussions on the virtues of the third sector, the privatisation of the pension system or the role of the trade unions. And nothing demonstrates the end of communism better than the fact that the frontlines between them usually intersect the Yalta divide.

The book is based on a long-term cooperative venture of Western and East-European scholars in the framework of IWM's research program on the Social Consequences of Economic Transformation in East-Central Europe (SOCO).

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A Cushion That Suffocates?

Transforming the "Communist Welfare State" in East-Central Europe **János Máttyás Kovács**

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The Non-Profit Sector and Health Care: A Cross-National View  
**Helmut K. Anheier**

The Context and Outcome of Health Care Reform in Slovakia  
**Martin Bútorá et al.**

Privatization and Decentralization in the Hungarian Health Sector  
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As a Political Process **Martin Potucek**

Changing the Welfare Mix – Does It Make a Difference?  
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Part II.

**Between Governmental and Individual Responsibility:  
New Social Programs [The Example of the Pension System]**

Public Financing for Long Term Care Beyond Residualism and Full-Coverage Universalism **Adalbert Evers**

The Actors in Hungarian Pension Reform **Zsuzsa Ferge**

Conditions for a Successful Reform of Poland's Pension System  
**Jerzy Hausner**

The Pension Reform Debate:

The Example of Central and Eastern Europe **Dalmer D. Hoskins**

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Comments **Nicholas Barr, Claus Offe**

Part III.

**The Role of Mediating Institutions:  
Social Policy "from Above" and "from Below"  
[The Example of Unemployment]**

Social Partnership in Solving Unemployment Problems on the Local Level **Michal Boni**

Working With Welfare: The Transformation of US Social Policies  
**David T. Ellwood**

Renegotiating the Dutch Welfare State **Anton Hemerijck**

Interest Mediation in the Politics of Unemployment in Great Britain  
**Michael Hill**

Comments

**Tamás Bauer, Antoinette Hetzler**

# 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  
**Selected** *Why is there no Labor Party in the United States?*, forthcoming 2003; „Another America: Can Sombart's 'Why is there No Socialism' thesis Survive Comparison with Australia?" in: Mark Thompson, ed: *Werner Sombart and American Exceptionalism*, forthcoming 2003; „Ideas of a Nation: Party Politics and Religious Revivalism in Contemporary India", in: Angelika Fitz and Michael Worgotter, eds, *Kapital and Karma*, Kunsthalle, Vienna 2002; *Economic Democracy: The Politics of Feasible Socialism*, Oxford 1995.

## Drago Cengic

*Principal Researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences „Ivo Pilar", Zagreb*

- IWM Project:** „After the Accession"  
**Selected** „Start-up Entrepreneurs in Croatia: Some Determinants of Entry within the Context of Croatian Economy", in: *Fifth International Conference on Enterprise in Transition-Proceedings*, Split-Tucepi, 2003; *Poduzetništvo u Medimurju i novi razvojni izazovi (Entrepreneurship in Medimurje county and new development challenges)*, ed., Zagreb, Institut Ivo Pilar, 2002; *Poduzetništvo, institucije i sociokulturni kapital (Entrepreneurship, institutions and sociocultural capital)*, ed. with M. Vehovec, Zagreb, Institut Ivo Pilar, 2002.

## Nathalie Frogneux

*Dozentin für Anthropologie am Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve; Research Associate, IWM Patocka Projekt*



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

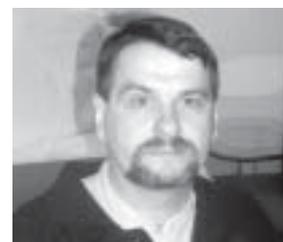
Nathalie Frogneux' Forschungen konzentrieren sich auf die Frage nach der Beziehung zwischen Mensch und Welt im Kontext einer nicht-dualistischen Anthropologie, genauer auf Aspekte der Körperlichkeit und der Leiblichkeit (Jonas, Maine de Biran, Merleau-Ponty), die sie sowohl innerhalb der Geschichte der Philosophie als auch vor dem Hintergrund zeitgenössischer technologischer Entwicklungen untersucht. Jan Patockas Kritik der

Moderne und seine Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Körper und Welt werfen auf diese Fragestellungen ein neues Licht.

- Selected** „Les corps tragiques de l'assistance biologique", in: N. Schiffino; F. Varone (dir.), *Procréation médicale-assistée: régulation publique et enjeux bioéthiques*, Bruxelles, 2003; „Une aventure cosmothéandrique: Hans Jonas et Luigi Pareyson", in: Frogneux (éd.), *Revue philosophique de Louvain consacré à Hans Jonas*, 2002/03; *Hans Jonas où la vie dans le monde*, De Boeck-Universität, 2001.

## Krzysztof Gorlach

*Associate Professor of Sociology, Jagiellonian University, Krakow; Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow*



- IWM Project:** The Restructuring of Agriculture in Poland  
**Selected** *The World in my Backyard: Polish Family Farms in the Face of Globalization*, Krakow, 2001; „Limiting globalization: essay on the integration with European Union", in: Kolarska-Bobinska et.al. (eds.), *The Future of Rural Poland: Visions, Strategies, Concepts*, Warsaw, 2001; *Key Social Rural Questions in Poland at the edge of the XXIst Century* (co-editor: Anna Maria Pyrc), Krakow, 2000.

## Heiko Haumann

*Ordinarius für Osteuropäische und Neuere Allgemeine Geschichte, Universität Basel*  
**IWM Project:** Erinnerung und Lebenswelt. Juden und Nichtjuden in Osteuropa



Im Mittelpunkt des Projektes stehen zahlreiche Selbstzeugnisse von Jüdinnen und Juden aus Osteuropa für die Zeit von 1850 bis 1914, die ich im Hinblick auf Erinnerungsvorgänge auswerten möchte, um zu zeigen, was diese für die Lebensgestaltung und für das Zusammenleben mit Nichtjuden bedeuteten. Kontrastierend sollen Lebenswege und Erinnerungen von nichtjüdischen Bauern in verschiedenen osteuropäischen Regionen verglichen werden. Diese Schicksale werden in Beziehung gesetzt zu Gedächtnismodellen sowie Forschungen zur Erinnerungspolitik und -kultur. Ausgehend von einer lebensweltlichen Orientierung möchte ich auf diese Weise das Verhältnis zwischen individuellen Vorgängen und strukturellen Bedingungen analysieren und herausarbeiten, wie Erinnerung das Handeln steuert und was dies für die Arbeit des Historikers bedeutet.



**Selected** „Geschichte als Waffe. Über die Bedeutung einer Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit Südosteuropas“, in: Dejan Mikic, Erika Sommer: „*Als Serbe warst du plötzlich nichts mehr wert.*“ *Serben und Serbinnen in der Schweiz*, Zürich, 2003; „Kommunikation im Shtetl. Eine Annäherung an jüdisches Leben in Osteuropa zwischen 1850 und 1930“, in: *Wege der Kommunikation in der Geschichte Osteuropas*, hg. von Nada Boskowska u. a., Zürich, 2002; *Geschichte der Ostjuden*, 5. Aufl., München, 1999; *Geschichte Russlands*, München / Zürich, 1996 (Neuausgabe im Druck: Zürich, 2003).

### Pavel Kouba

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

**IWM Project:** Der Sinn der Endlichkeit



Das Ziel des Projekts besteht darin, in einer losen Reihe von Studien den Begriff des Seins in der Welt zu konkretisieren und seine systematische Ausarbeitung vorzubereiten. Die tiefste Schicht der Problematik wird durch das Doppelverhältnis der räumlichen und zeitlichen Seinsbestimmungen umgrenzt, die dem

endlichen Sein den Charakter grundsätzlicher Ambiguität aufprägen. Studien zu den Fragen der Phänomenalität und der Interpretation werden sich auf den Begriff der Urteilskraft konzentrieren, weil gerade diese politische, zwischen dem Erkennen und Handeln vermittelnde Fähigkeit der grundlegenden Doppeldeutigkeit der menschlichen Weltenerfahrung gerecht werden kann, und aus diesem Grund in der heutigen Diskussion eine zentrale, früher von der Rationalität beanspruchte Stellung einzunehmen beginnt. Das Ergebnis des Forschungsaufenthaltes am IWM soll eine auf deutsch geschriebene Publikation unter dem Titel *Der Sinn der Endlichkeit* sein, die ein in Prag begonnenes gleichnamiges Projekt erweitern und zu Ende führen wird.

**Selected** „Kant ohne das Problem der Metaphysik“, in: *Internationales Jahrbuch für Hermeneutik*, 2002; *Die Welt nach Nietzsche*, München, 2001; „The Boundary of Metaphysics. Between Aristotle and Heidegger“, in: *Focus Pragensis. Yearbook for the Philosophy and Phenomenology of Religion 1* (2001); „Le signe du nihilisme“, in: *Nietzsche. Cahier de l'Herne no. 73*, hg. von M. Crépon, Paris, 2000; „Endlichkeit des Friedens“, in: *Politisches Denken. Jahrbuch 2000*, Stuttgart / Weimar, 2000.

### Mladen Lazic

*Professor of Sociology, University of Belgrade*

**IWM Project:** „After the Accession“

**Selected** *Racji hod (Crab-walk: Serbia in the Process of Transition)*, Beograd, 2000; „Resistance to Structural Changes in Yugoslav Society: Post-Socialist Transformation and Social Groups“, in: *The Labyrinths of Crisis: Prerequisites for the Democratic Transformation of the FRY* (L. Basta Fleiner, R. Nakarada et al.), Geneve, 2001; *Protest in Belgrade: Winter in Discontent*, Budapest, 1999.

### 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

Stefanie Peter 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.

**Selected** „Wie der Wind des Geistes, der hineinfährt in das wiederlebte Volk“. Ethnographische Recherchen zum Kolbe-Kult polnischer KZ-Überlebender“, in: *Historische Anthropologie*, forthcoming 2003; „Reliquien des Unauffindbaren. Aufbewahrte Reste und deren Funktion im Kult um Maximilian Kolbe, ‚Heiliger von Auschwitz‘“, in: Dietmar Schmidt (ed.), *KörperTopoi. Sagbarkeit – Sichtbarkeit – Wissen*, Weimar, 2002; „Konserwowac symbole“, in: *Konteksty. Polska Sztuka Ludowa 1-2*, Warschau 1997.

### Michael Staudigl

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

**IWM Project:** Phänomen Gewalt: Perspektiven phänomenologischer Forschung

**Selected** *Die Grenzen der Intentionalität. Zur Kritik der Phänomenalität nach Husserl*, Würzburg, 2003; *Jenseits des Kulturprinzips. Meta-Genealogien* (ed. with Stefan Nowotny), Wien, 2003; „Phänomenologie an der Grenze? Bemerkungen zum Status der Grenze in der Phänomenologie“, in: *Recherches husserliennes* 16 (2001).



**Marius Turda**

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



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

There is no account of how Hungarian and Romanian medical doctors have been influenced by eugenics, in which context, and most importantly, what features of English and German eugenics, if any, they appropriated. This project offers a comparative analysis of a group that played a crucial, if controversial, role in the construction of one of the most radical definitions of the nation. In order to understand the profound political and national transformations Hungary and Romania experienced between 1890-1940, a closer examination of how medical doctors envisioned the modernisation of their countries and of their role in establishing institutions for health and welfare related to population issues is required.

**Selected Publications:** Editor of *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1745-1945)* (first volume forthcoming 2004); „The Magyars: A Ruling Race. Some Reflections on the Idea of National Superiority in Fin de-Siècle Hungary,” in: *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 10 (2003); „Transylvania Revisited: Public Discourse and Historical Representation in Contemporary Romania,” in: *Nation-Building and Contested Identities. Romanian and Hungarian Case Studies*, Budapest-Iasi, 2001; „Deciding the National Capital – Budapest, Vienna, Bucharest and Transylvanian Romanian Culture,” in Kurt W. Treptow, *Tradition and Modernity in Romanian Culture and Civilization*, Iasi Oxford; Portland, 2001.

**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 Conservative

Roman Catholic Environment in Rural Northern Slovakia

During my stay at the IWM I intend to write up my Ph.D. dissertation. Based upon an ethnography of consumption in one Northern Slovak village, my thesis explores the relationship between consumption and Christianity. Looking at the practice of provisioning and conceptualization of commerce, I will examine a mundane practice of the church's aesthetics and morality.

**Publications:** „The Images of Own and Other Ethnic Groups in the Oral History of German Inhabitants of the City of Švedlár.” in: *Slovenský národopis*, 48 (2000); „We and the other.’ The image of in-group and out-group in oral history of the German minority”, Paper at the conference *Ethnic and National Minorities in Central and Eastern Europe*, Krakow, 2000 (in press); „Kalendárne a príležitostné obyčaje”, in: Ivica Bumová (ed.), *Oravská Poruba. Dolný Kubín*, Vrábek, 2000.

**Silvia Carli**

Ph.D. candidate in Ancient Philosophy, Boston University



**IWM Project:** Aristotle and the Nature of the „Who”

The fundamental question of Aristotle's ontology is „what is it?” The answer to this question discloses the essential nature of a thing, that in virtue of which a thing is the determinate thing which it is. But is this kind of inquiry adequate to grasp the nature of persons? In relation to the latter, we do not ask, „what is it?” but rather „who is it?” The very form of our question reveals our intuition that persons are characterized by a peculiar mode of being, which distinguishes them from all other beings. I believe that in Aristotle's work there are elements which support this intuition. The aim of my project is to use the non systematic remarks which the philosopher offers on the subject to understand why persons enjoy this peculiar status, what is their distinctive mode of being, and what kind of *logos* can be used to express it. Our working hypothesis is that, because human nature is to a large extent contingent, and because a person's character reveals itself in the actions which she performs, the being of persons exhibit what we would like to call a „narrative structure”, i.e., a mode of being which unfolds as a story and which requires a story, as opposed to a general theory, to be formulated.

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### Alison Cashin

*M.S. candidate in Journalism, Boston University*

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



Media critics have argued that the type of media globalization and corporatization that has taken place in the 1990s and 2000s is antithetical to the democratizing function of journalism. For Central and Eastern European countries that are still navigating the transition from state-run media to ostensibly democratic media, this phenomenon has special significance. How have media critics in post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe responded to the globalization and corporatization of news media? What types of media NGOs and watchdog organizations have they formed? How do these groups operate and how do they interact?

### 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



My current work – part of my PhD dissertation at Central European University – focuses on the role of forgiveness, resentment and social memory in political philosophy. The framework of the project is formed by the discussion of collective identity and collective remembrance problems after the fall of totalitarian regimes in Europe (after World War II. and revolutions of 1989). The first part of the project are philosophical analyses of forgiveness and resentment; these topics are then interpreted on the basis of works by H.G. Adler, Jean Améry, Václav Havel or Adam Michnik. The thesis of the project questions the model of unconditional forgiveness and argues for the positive role of resentment in the construction of collective identity and within the process of collective remembrance.

**Publications:** “The ethical significance of substance-God difference in Spinoza’s Ethics I”, in: *E-LOGOS* 2003; “Základní přehled ‘disidentské’ politické teorie”, review of Barbara Falk, *Dilemmas of Dissidence in East-Central Europe*, in: *Střední Evropa* 116 (Summer 2003).

### Daria Lucka

*Teaching Assistant of Sociology, Jagiellonian University, Krakow; Józef Tischner Junior Visiting Fellow*  
Civil Society, Nationality and Religion: Allies or Enemies? The Case of Poland (1989-2000)

**IWM Project:**



Since national affiliation and Catholic religion still play important roles in contemporary Poland, I will examine to what extent they create barriers and threats to the development of civil society and to what extent they might become its ally. My analysis will include, for example, the meaning of nationality, the character of the Catholic Church as a community, the role of a parish as a structure of civil society. I will look at empirical data from the perspective of theoretical approaches, namely liberal, conservative, and communitarian models of society.

**Publications:** “The Communitarian Model of Civil Society”, in: *Polish Sociological Review* 4 (2002); „Political Parties and Social Movements: Two Models of their Relations”, in: H. Kubiak, J. Wiatr (eds.), *Between Animosity and Utility. Political Parties and their Matrix*, Warsaw, 2003.

### Mahon O’Brien

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

**IWM Project:** Heidegger’s Worldview?



The various ways in which Heidegger approaches the question concerning the meaning of being are not quite uniform, nevertheless, there is a certain contiguity between the various inquiries. What the *features* of this contiguity are, however, is something which requires further analysis. One of the questions which emerges in such an examination concerns whether or not Heidegger exhibits a *prevailing* attitude toward the world around him, one that remains steadfast. Is the voice we hear in the infamous *Spiegel* interview (where we hear a Heidegger already resigned to a fearful, eschatological outlook) the same voice we hear manifesting an undeniable mistrust of mass society in *Being and Time*? Is the thinker who is concerned, though he stops short of making any normative claims, with the levelling and consumptive power of *Das Man* the same thinker who warns against the dangers of the technological age and its unperceived dominion within mass society in *Introduction to Metaphysics*, “The Question Concerning Technology” or even his much later work?

**DEADLINE**  
1 December, 2003  
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

4

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](http://www.iwm.at) or request by fax: +43-1-313 58-30 or e-mail: [fellowships@iwm.at](mailto: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: [www.iwm.at/f-tischn.htm](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](mailto: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.

**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



Negotiating *opt-outs* (exemptions) from specific European Union treaty provisions and policies went hand in hand with the advancement of the integration process. While some *opt-outs* represent clashes of ideologies regarding the question how far and deep the integration process should advance, other *opt-outs* were negotiated due to domestic political difficulties. It is this latter type of *opt-out* which might eventually lead to *opt-in*, and therefore can be seen as a policy tool for polity management. One British government opted out of the EU social policy, while the next government opted in. At Maastricht both the British and the Danish governments received exemptions from the single European currency. Today both Member States are trying to find their way into the Euro-zone. Those case-studies and others will be examined in order to trace the life-cycle of *opt-outs*, which are used by national governments as a policy tool for polity management in the integration process of the European Union.

**Publications:** *Nice: Checks and Balances on Institutional Decision-Making of EU Leaders*, Working Paper, Jerusalem: The Helmut Kohl Institute for European Studies, 2002.

**Samanta Stecko**

*Ph.D. candidate, University of Warsaw, Institute of Sociology*

**IWM Project:** The Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of an Enlarged Europe



**Publications:** „Ideologie und Erinnerung. Was bleibt von der Solidarnosc?“, in: *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 Frauenbewegung in den südslawischen Gebieten der Habsburger Monarchie – Frauenzeitschrift *Slovenka*



Bis Ende des Jahres sollen zwei Textmanuskripte abgeschlossen werden: das zweite Dissertationskapitel zur Frauenzeitschrift „Slovenka“, die zwischen 1897 und 1902 in Triest erschienen ist, sowie ein Kapitel über den „Wohltätigkeitsverein der Serbinnen Novi Sads“.

**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 drustva 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).

**James Wood**

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

**IWM Project:** Plato’s *Philebus* The Dialectical Life



While at the Institute I am working on my dissertation for the philosophy department at Boston University. It concerns, in brief, the connection between metaphysical and ethical considerations in Plato’s philosophy as these are found specifically in his late dialogue the *Philebus*. Through a close textual reading I attempt to show that for Plato there is no essential separation between “metaphysics” and “ethics” because there is no essential separation between human beings and the world around them, or between the intellectual and sensual sides of human nature. The meaning of the good life for human beings is the central theme of the dialogue, and I argue that for Plato it is also the context in which every philosophical question must both be asked and answered.

## Publications

### Cornelia Klinger

*Permanent Fellow*

“Ungleichheit in den Verhältnissen von Klasse, Rasse und Geschlecht”, in: Gudrun-Axeli Knapp / Angelika Wetterer (Hg.), *Achsen der Differenz. Gesellschaftstheorie und feministische Kritik*. Bd. 2. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot 2003.

“Die Dialektik der Aufklärung im Geschlechterverhältnis”, in: Sonja Asal / Johannes Rohbeck (Hg.), *Aufklärung und Aufklärungskritik in Frankreich. Selbstdeutungen des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der Zeitgenossen*. Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag 2003.

### Krzysztof Michalski

*Rector, IWM*

“Plomien Wieczności. Metafora Ognia I Nietzsche” (“The Flame of Eternity. The Metaphore of Fire and Nietzsche”), in: *Rzeczpospolita*, no. 31 (August 2003).

### Anita Traninger

*Managing Director*

“Pararhetorik”, in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, hg. von Gert Ueding. Bd. 6. Tübingen: Niemeyer 2003.

### Mieke Verloo

*Research director, MAGEEQ*

**Lecture:** „Kompetenz und/oder Zuständigkeit. Zum Verhältnis von Geschlechtertheorie und Gleichstellungspraxis“, Auftakttagung zum Zusatzstudiengang „Gender-Kompetenz“ an der Freien Universität Berlin (6. Juni 2003).

**Lecture** on Second National Report on the Netherlands for CEDAW.

Belle van Zuijlen Instituut, Universiteit van Amsterdam (25 June 2003).

**Seminar** on Impact Assessment for middle management of DG-JAI (European Commission), with Suzanne Baer, Brussels (27 June 2003).

## Travels and Talks

### János Mátyás Kovács

*Permanent Fellow*

**Paper:** “On the Culture of ‘Academic Remembering’. How Economic Sciences Revisit Communism in Eastern Europe” at the conference *Policies of Memory: Approaches to Communist and Other Legacies in Central Europe after 1989*, Institute for Slavic Studies, University of Aarhus (12 June, 2003).

**Paper:** “America versus Europe: A Choice without Alternatives” at the conference *Possible and Impossible Futures for Europe*, Institute for Social and European Studies, Szombathely (3 July, 2003).

### Krzysztof Michalski

*Rector, IWM*

**Teilnahme** an der Konferenz *Transatlantic Relations at a Crossroads*, Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam (19.-20. Juni 2003).

### Birgit Sauer

*Senior Researcher, MAGEEQ-Projekt*

**Vortrag** auf dem Workshop des Research Networks on Gender Politics and the State, Universität Leiden, “Family Policy in Austria in the nineties”, (12.-15. Juni 2003).

„Gender Studies in den Sozialwissenschaften“. **Workshop** im Rahmen des Tempus/Tacis-Projekts „Gender Studies in der Soziologie“, an der St. Petersburg State University (20.-22. Juni 2003).

**Vortrag** im Interdisziplinären Forschungscolloquium *Grenzen-Übergänge. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Geschlechterverhältnisse* am Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung, TU Berlin: “Politik wird mit dem Kopfe gemacht. Aspekte der Tabuisierung von Gefühlen in der Politikwissenschaft”, Berlin (9. Juli 2003).

### Cornelia Klinger

*Permanent Fellow*

**Vortrag:** “Utopie und/oder Illusion? Eine Erinnerung an den Feminismus und andere ‘dirty words’”. Zur Eröffnung der Tagung *Kompetenz und/oder Zuständigkeit? Zum Verhältnis von Geschlechtertheorie und Gleichstellungspraxis*, Auftakttagung des weiterbildenden postgradualen Zusatzstudiengangs Gender-Kompetenz (GeKo) an der FU Berlin (4. Juni 2003).

## Varia

**Irena Grudzinska Gross** has been appointed Executive Director of the Institute for Human Sciences at Boston University as of October 1, 2003. Dr. Grudzinska Gross studied in Poland, Italy and the United States and received her Ph.D in French and Romance Languages from Columbia University (1982). She has been an Associate Professor at the Graduate Institute of Liberal Studies at Emory University and a Visiting Associate Professor in Comparative Literature at New York University. She is General Editor of the *Society and Culture in East Central Europe* Series of the University of California Press and a member of the Editorial Board of *East European Politics and Societies* and the Polish monthly *Res Publica*. Her books include *The Scar of Revolution: Tocqueville, Custine and the Romantic Imagination* (1991), which had several editions in four languages. She edited several books on literature and the transformation process in Central and Eastern Europe and is the author of over 40 book chapters and articles published on these subjects in the international press. In 1996, Dr. Grudzinska Gross was awarded the Knight's Cross, Order of Merit of the Polish Republic. Between 1998-2003, she was responsible for the East-Central European Program at the Ford Foundation and was Co-Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe.

**Timothy Garton Ash**, Senior Research Fellow in contemporary European history at the European Studies Center of St. Antony's College at Oxford University and senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford, and **Ute Frevert**, until recently professor of history in Bielefeld and now professor of history at Yale University and member of the jury for the Körber fellowships (see p. 10), have joined the IWM Academic Advisory Board. A complete list of members is available at [www.iwm.at/i-board.htm](http://www.iwm.at/i-board.htm).

**Cornelia Klinger** wurde im September 2003 zur außerplanmäßigen Professorin für Philosophie an der Eberhard Karls-Universität Tübingen ernannt.

# Andrew W. Mellon East-Central European Research Visiting Fellowships 2004/2005 in the Humanities and Social Sciences

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

## 1 Objective

The Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC) and the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) jointly award Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellowships in the Humanities and Social Sciences. The three-month fellowships, funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, will enable scholars from Eastern and Central Europe to work in Vienna on research projects of their choice within the framework of the scholarly community and activities of the IWM.

## 2 Conditions

Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellows are invited to spend three months at the IWM to pursue their research projects while working in residence at the institute. The fellows will receive a stipend of EUR 7.630,- (paid in three installments) to cover living expenses, travel, health insurance and incidentals. The IWM will provide Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellows with a guest apartment, an office with personal computer and access to e-mail and internet, in-house research facilities and other relevant sources in Vienna. Fellowship terms are July – September 2004; October – December 2004; January – March 2005; and April – June 2005.

In cooperation with:



Institut für die  
Wissenschaften  
vom Menschen  
Institute for  
Human Sciences



Council of  
American  
Overseas  
Research Centers

## 3 Eligibility

The IWM is accepting applications from scholars from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia for its Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellowships. The candidates

- must permanently reside in one of the countries concerned
- must have obtained a Ph.D. and
- should hold a senior academic position (at least associate professor level).

The fellowships are intended for younger postdoctoral scholars and, although there is no specific age limit, preference will be given to those under 45 years of age.

Research projects must be thematically related to the IWM's research fields. Detailed information can be found under [www.iwm.at](http://www.iwm.at) or is available upon request.

## 4 Jury

A jury of experts will evaluate the applications and select the finalists. Members of the jury are:

### Ira Katznelson

*Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History at Columbia University, New York*

### Krzysztof Michalski

*Professor of Philosophy, Boston University and University of Warsaw; Rector, IWM*

### Charles Taylor

*Professor emeritus of Philosophy, McGill University, Montreal; Professor of Philosophy and Law, Northwestern University, Chicago*

## 5 Application

The application consists of the following materials:

1. the application form (please download from [www.iwm.at/fmellon.htm](http://www.iwm.at/fmellon.htm) or request by fax: +43-1-313 58-30 or e-mail: [fellowships@iwm.at](mailto:fellowships@iwm.at))
2. a concise research proposal in English (max. 4 pages, double spaced, A4)
3. a curriculum vitae and list of publications and
4. names of two referees familiar with the applicant's academic work

Deadline for application is

**December 1, 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](mailto:fellowships@iwm.at)

Subject header: Mellon Fellowships

## 6 Notification

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

Each anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki reminds us that memory is not morally neutral. It leans towards good or evil, and four main perspectives powerfully shape every historical account: the benefactor or his beneficiary, and the malefactor or his victim. Tzvetan Todorov, guest of the IWM in June, ponders the question how memories of malefactors and victims can be balanced.

## The Lunchbox and the Bomb



26 Tzvetan Todorov, Director of research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in Paris, is the author most recently of "Hope and Memory," published by Princeton University Press.

TO BE THE BENEFICIARY of an action is less glorious than to be the benefactor, because it hints at powerlessness and dependence. But to be the victim of a crime is obviously more respectable than being a criminal. And while no one wants to be a victim, many people nowadays want to have *been* a victim: they aspire to victim *status*.

Victimhood confers a right to complain, protest, and demand. It is in your best interest to retain the role of the victim, rather than receive reparation. Instead of a one-time satisfaction, you retain a permanent privilege.

What is true about individuals is even truer of groups. If it can be convincingly shown that a group has been the victim of a past injustice, the group in question obtains a bottomless line of moral credit. The greater the crime in the past, the more compelling the rights in the present – which are gained merely through membership in the wronged group.

Of course, we now recognize more clearly than ever that history has always been written by the victors, which gave rise in recent decades to frequent demands that the history of the victims and the defeated be written, at least next to that of the victors. This is an entirely legitimate demand, because it invites us to become familiar with a previously ignored past. However, speaking in the name of victims doesn't bring additional ethical merit.

Indeed, no moral benefit can be derived from evoking the past if we fail to realize our group's shortcomings or errors. But doing so is problematic. For example, in 1995 the Smithsonian Institution in Washington sought to take a fresh look at the *Enola Gay*, the plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. John Dower, an American historian and specialist of modern Japan, studied the issue at length. He demonstrated how history can be presented and valued in totally different ways: from an American or Japanese point of view, even though no one is making up facts or falsifying sources. Selection and combination of data is enough.

For the Americans, there was „a heroic or triumphant account in which atomic bombs represent the final blow against an aggressive, fanatic, and savage enemy.“ From the Japanese perspective, there was an „account of victimization,“ in which „atomic bombs have become the symbol of a specific type of suffering – rather similar to the Holocaust for the Jews.“

At the Hiroshima museum itself, the victim role has been exploited in ways that similarly distort memory. Neither the Japanese government's responsibility for initiating and continuing the war nor the inhumane treatment that prisoners of war or the subject civilian populations suffered under Japanese rule are adequately acknowledged.

Everyone chooses the point of view that fits him best. Whether we identify with the heroes or the victims, with the pilots of the plane that put an end to WWII or with the passive population subjected to the hell of atomic annihilation, we are always rooting with the „innocents“ and the „good guys.“

At the Smithsonian, the *Enola Gay* was to play a central role in an exhibition meant to depict the Hiroshima bombing in all its complexity. However, due to the pressure of various US patriotic groups, the exhibition was canceled, because it was seen as an offense against memory. By failing to depict the Americans in the role of heroic benefactors, it suggested that they were responsible for a massacre that could not be totally justified.

What would an account about evil be like if the author refused to identify himself with either the hero or the victim? Dower's research into the different ways Americans and Japanese remember Hiroshima provides us with a good example. He could identify with both groups: he belongs to one and his work has made him intimately familiar with the other. The title he gave to his version of the facts, after trying out "Hiroshima as a victimization" (the Japanese point of view) and "Hiroshima as a triumph" (the American point of view), was "Hiroshima as a tragedy."

Tragedy: the word signifies not only suffering and distress, but the impossibility of redemption. Whatever path is chosen, in a tragedy tears and death inevitably follow. The cause of the Allied forces was undoubtedly superior to that of the Nazis or the Japanese, and the war against them was just and necessary. However, even "just" wars provoke tragedies that cannot be dismissed lightly under the pretense that it was the enemy that suffered them.

The 12-year-old child's lunchbox blasted at Hiroshima, preserved by chance, with its rice and peas charred by the atomic explosion, weighs as much on our conscience as the *Enola Gay*. Indeed, it was the display of the box among the artifacts that

the Hiroshima museum lent to the American institution that made the exhibition unacceptable to the former „heroes.“

Only if one musters the courage to envision the bomber and the lunchbox at the same time is it possible to comprehend the tragic vision of history that Hiroshima – like other episodes that have seared our modern conscience – most clearly represents.

This piece appeared in a series of commentaries produced in collaboration with Project Syndicate, an association of 185 newspapers in 94 countries.

[www.project-syndicate.org](http://www.project-syndicate.org)

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One controversy surrounding the draft constitution for the European Union is whether or not to include an explicit reference to Europe's Christian heritage in its preamble. Silvio Ferrari, a noted scholar of Church-State relations and member of the reflection group on "The Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe", dissects the issues.

## The Secular and the Sacred in Europe's Constitution

EUROPE'S CHURCHES may be empty, but religion still incites heated debate, this time about its place in Europe's constitution. Demands that the constitution include some explicit reference to Europe's Christian heritage have prompted Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the chairman of the constitutional convention, to ponder adding one to the constitution's preamble. Others want Europe to affirm its secular nature. What role should the secular and the sacred play in the European Union's fundamental law?

Some time ago, the Convention approved Article 37 of the future European Constitution. Taken together with Article 10 of Europe's Charter of Fundamental Rights, these two articles define the framework of Church-State relations in the EU.

Unsurprisingly, religious freedom is given prominence. Every European citizen has the right to practice the religion of his or her choice, to adopt another religion, or to practice no religion. Underlying this notion is the paramount position of individual conscience, which carries with it the right of every person to make his or her own decisions on religious matters, without that choice resulting in negative legal consequences. Whether Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox, believer or atheist, civil and political rights must be equally apportioned regardless of a citizen's choice of religion or conscience.

The second guiding principle concerns the autonomy of religious communities. The EU recognizes the "identity and specific contribution" of churches to European life. That language is, of course, a little vague, but it means that religious communities have characteristics that distinguish them from other associations and institutions – and that Europe is prepared to respect these distinctions.

The third principle Article 37 establishes is that a "regular dialogue" will be maintained between the Union and Europe's religious communities (as well as philosophical and non-confessional organizations). Separation of church and state

does not mean mutual ignorance. The common good benefits more from open, transparent dialogue than by turning a deaf ear to religion – that is, provided that the borders between religion and politics are clearly defined. The state's *laïcité* – fundamental in most European countries – does not require isolating churches in political ghettos.

Finally, the EU undertakes to respect and not prejudice "the status under national law of churches and religious associations or communities in the Member States." In other words, the boundaries of religious autonomy and cooperation with churches are matters that should primarily be framed in law by the EU's members.

This means that the EU will not interfere with the national systems of church-state relations that now exist, and will refrain from imposing a common model of church-state relations. Poland and Italy can maintain their concordats with the Catholic Church, France will not be compelled to abandon its century-long separation of church and state, and Queen Elizabeth II can continue to head the Church of England. Defining the church-state system and its principal features is a right of the citizens of each EU member state.

In essence, Article 10 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Article 37 of the draft Constitution constitute a coherent model, reflecting characteristics that are largely part of a common European heritage: religious liberty, autonomy of religious communities, church-state cooperation, and respect for the specific differences in various member states.

Of course, improvements are possible. Equal treatment of religious communities is not mentioned in the text prepared by the European Convention. Although granting equal treatment is primarily a task of EU states, omitting this principle from the Constitution endangers not only the principle of equality, but that of religious liberty as well. If there is no equality, religious liberty is at risk.

Moreover, the nature of church-state cooperation could, perhaps, be defined more explicitly by drawing clear distinctions between what constitutes the spiritual and the secular. Regular dialogue with religious communities, though a good thing, should not be extended to purely secular areas.

It is here that efforts to include a reference to Europe's Judeo-Christian heritage in the preamble of the Constitution must be considered dispassionately. Of course, European civilization arises from a synthesis of religious and humanistic values. The Judeo-Christian tradition, the legacies of Greece and Rome, and the Enlightenment are all at the root of the way many Europeans regard their lives, although a long process of secularization has made it more difficult to discern this relationship.

But mentioning a specific religious tradition in Europe's Constitution is dubious. It would be largely symbolic and, although symbols are important and help to foster unity, they are dangerous when they exclude and divide. A considerable part of Europe's Muslim community would certainly feel marginalized if such a reference were included in the future European Constitution, which will also be *their* Constitution. This would be a bonanza for Muslim fundamentalists, and could be exploited by all who want to prevent the development of a moderate, modern European Islam.

Silvio Ferrari is Professor of Church and State Relations at the Università degli Studi di Milano. Silvio Ferrari is Professor of Church and State Relations at the Università degli Studi di Milano. He is currently a member of the Comitato Nazionale di Bioetica, an advisory body to the Italian Prime Minister. Professor Ferrari published over 160 articles as well as a number of books, including most recently *Ebraismo, cristianesimo e islam a confronto* (Bologna, 2002).

Is the European Union's solidarity fracturing? After bruising enlargement negotiations and internal differences over Iraq, and with similar divisions surrounding the new EU constitution and the common European foreign and defense policy, one might well think just that. Aleksander Smolar was invited by the reflection group to give a presentation on the consequences of Enlargement for a European solidarity.

## Europe's Solidarity under Siege

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS show a dramatic decline in support for enlargement within the current EU member states. Whether or not the crisis of European solidarity is real is a fundamental question, because the EU will not survive without solidarity, at least not as we know it.

The sense of equality and solidarity is a necessary foundation of any democratic community. In the 1950's the British sociologist T. S. Marshall wrote about the progress of rights, from civil rights in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, to political (democratic) rights in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to social rights in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These three dimensions – liberal, democratic and social – describe the modern European nation state.

Solidarity played the most central role in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, it was the driving force behind the development of the European countries in the wake of World War II, and led to their transformation into "social states" emphasizing social security and a variety of welfare programs. We can measure this "institutionalized solidarity" in a nation state by the share of redistribution in its GDP.

There is also another level of solidarity, which we can call universal or global solidarity. Its importance – reflected in various forms of international aid – has been very limited until now. Its objective is not to ensure the equality of citizens' rights, but to guarantee minimum life conditions. Humanitarian interventions – much discussed in the 1990's – are another manifestation of this global solidarity.

Between citizen solidarity at the nation-state level and humanitarian solidarity on the global level lies a third level of solidarity which is most interesting for Europeans – the EU level. In its early years the European Community was mainly concerned with peace, stability and democracy. But institutionalized solidarity has become increasingly important in European consolidation and intra-European redistribution played a key role in the modernization of Ireland, Spain, Portugal, and Greece.

At the same time, the *Zeitgeist* has turned against the ideals of solidarity since the 1970's. Solidarity has lost ground against new demands of individual freedom, and even more against the imperative of economic efficiency, which became ever more pressing as a result of globalization. A "revolt of the middle classes" that increasingly refuse to pay for society's "underdogs" is accompanied by bud-

getary constraints that can also make solidarity seem a luxury.

The demands of solidarity are even more difficult to sustain when they require inter-state redistribution. A refusal to carry the transfer costs associated with multinational states contributed to the "velvet divorce" between the Czech Republic and Slovakia and the dramatic breakdown of ex-Yugoslavia. Similar tensions exist in some West European countries (Belgium, Spain, Italy) as well.

EU enlargement, with the prospect of increased cross-national redistribution, thus exposes particularly thorny issues of European solidarity. The promised annual EU payments to the candidate members are far below those made to current members. Poland, for example, will get about 67 euros per year per capita during 2004-2006, Hungary will receive 49 euros, and the Czech Republic will get just 29 euros. By contrast, Greece received 437 euros per capita in 2000, Ireland got 418 euros, and Portugal was paid 211 euros.

To be sure, Europe, with its sluggish growth, feels less rich than in the past, when the earlier accession deals were negotiated. But the difference in treatment of the current candidate countries does not just reflect budgetary problems. The changing attitudes of citizens of the more developed member states and the weakening of the sense of obligation entailed by solidarity are also responsible (probably primarily so).

The sense of solidarity between the candidate countries and current EU members is further weakened by the problem of external security. The accession states only recently regained their independence, and so retain a feeling of uncertainty as to their security. These jitters contributed to the support they gave to the US position on Iraq, which in turn provoked the irritation of some Western European leaders and the decline of public support in the member states for EU enlargement.

Yet another potentially important source of fraying European solidarity is the changing architecture of the EU. Status differentiation is progressively replacing the model of equal rights and obligations of all member states. Ten years ago, Wolfgang Schäuble and Karl Lamers suggested the formation of a "core Europe," a group of countries that would speed up integration among themselves. Similar ideas, especially concerning security



Aleksander Smolar is President of the Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw, and Senior Researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris.

and foreign policy have proliferated ever since. Such a tendency can contribute to a further weakening of solidarity and deepening of intra-European divisions.

The process of differentiation – inevitable to some extent, given the number and the diversity of member states – is also reinforced by the attitude of the new entrants. “Return to Europe” is no longer the battle cry of the new post-communist democracies. Public debates now focus on financial support from the EU and the status of individual nation states, rather than European destiny and common European projects.

There are fears on both sides. This is understandable, given the scope of enlargement and the need for an internal transformation of the Union. But these fears and the atmosphere of suspicion must be overcome. Mutual trust must be reinforced. The constitutional debate in the next several months should focus on these major questions: why and how Europe’s peoples want to live together. The concept of solidarity should obviously be central to this debate.

The members of the reflection group have been invited to write commentaries to be

published in cooperation with the newspaper association Project Syndicate. During spring and summer 2003, the columns written so far by group members and invited experts have been published more than 60 times (including newspapers in Germany, Austria, Poland, Slovakia, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, the USA, Ukraine, Cyprus, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Serbia, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Luxemburg, Finland, Nicaragua, Argentina, Uruguay, India, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Congo, Pakistan, Taiwan, Paraguay, Nepal, Niger, Bangladesh, Ecuador, South Korea, and Thailand). The texts can be found on the IWM website at [www.iwm.at/r-reflec.htm](http://www.iwm.at/r-reflec.htm).

# Upcoming Events

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

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: Rethinking the Foundations of the Sciences**

Wednesday, October 22

**Madeleine K. Albright**

präsentiert ihre **Autobiographie**  
**18:30 Uhr**

**Palais Schwarzenberg**, Marmorsaal  
1030 Wien, Schwarzenbergplatz 9

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

Reihe: **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**

Die folgenden Veranstaltungen finden um 18:00 Uhr in der Bibliothek des IWM statt, wenn nicht anders angegeben.

November 18

**Fanny Cosandey**

*Professeur d'Histoire, Université de Nantes*

**La reine de France, un personnage essentiel du fonctionnement monarchique (XIV<sup>e</sup> – XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)**

In Zusammenarbeit mit 

Thursday, November 20

**Géza Horváth**

*Budapest/Szeged; Paul Celan Visiting Fellow 2002*

**Nietzsches *Ecce homo* ungarisch**

**19 Uhr s.t**

**Collegium Hungaricum**

1020 Wien, Hollandstraße 4,  
In Zusammenarbeit mit der  
Österreichischen Nietzsche-Gesellschaft  
und dem Collegium Hungaricum

November 25

Reihe: **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 Sozialstaatsphilosophie und der Multikulturalismuskussion**

In Zusammenarbeit mit



December 2

**Jan Sokol**

*Dekan der Fakultät für Humanwissenschaften, Karls-Universität Prag*  
**Wie natürlich sind die Menschenrechte?**

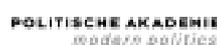
December 9

**David Willets**

*Member of Parliament, London; Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary*

**Conservatism in Britain, Europe and America**

In Zusammenarbeit mit



## Current Exhibition at the IWM

Herr Kowalski – Wienarium 2003

Photos by Tomasz Ganko in association with  
Sergiusz Zembrzski

[www.footage.pl](http://www.footage.pl)



the  
**Quest for Common Moral Ground**  
 and the  
**Public Role of the Media**

International Symposium

8–9 November 2003  
 MuseumsQuartier Wien  
 7., Museumsplatz 1

Saturday, **November 8, 18:30**

Opening of the conference

**Benita Ferrero-Waldner**

Austrian Foreign Minister

**Roswaida Al-Maaitah**

Jordanian Minister for Social Development

Keynote speech

**Charles Taylor**

Professor for Philosophy and Law, Northwestern University, Chicago; chairman of the IWM Academic Advisory Board

Sunday, **November 9, 10:30 – 17:30**

Session I:

**Is There a Common Moral Basis for Inter-Cultural Understanding?**

Session II:

**The Public Role of the Media in a Culturally Diverse World**

Participants include:

**Arjun Appadurai**

William K. Lanman Jr. Professor of International Studies; Director, Initiative on "Cities and Globalization", Yale University, New Haven

**Michael Grabner**

Deputy Chairman of the Executive Board „Verlagsgruppe Georg von Holtzbrinck GmbH“, Stuttgart

**Daoud Kuttab**

Director, Institute of Modern Media at Al Quds University in Ramallah, Palestine

**Adam Michnik**

Editor-in-chief, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Warsaw

**Alan Rusbridger**

Editor, *Guardian*, London

**Abduljalil Sajid**

Imam; Chair of the Muslim Council of Religious and Racial Harmony in Great Britain

**Lord Weidenfeld**

Orion Publishing Group, London

**Elizabeth Weymouth-Graham**

Columnist, *Washington Post*; Member of the Board, Washington-Post Company, New York

and others

How far the world we live in extends depends to a great extent on the knowledge we receive through the media. To an ever increasing degree the media decides what will appear within the horizons of our interest and solidarity and what will remain in the shadows of our ignorance. These are often major issues, touching on decisions about wealth and poverty, health and disease, life and death.

The media also influences how we perceive 'the other': people with different traditions, religious beliefs, or cultures. This can have an effect on our own self-understanding, thus influencing decisions about war and peace or the way we organize our society.

Is there common moral ground that can provide a framework, a point of reference for debate, for the resolution of conflicts, for communication and understanding between the different cultures co-existing in the world today? A basis that would encourage us to overcome our ignorance and to limit the strangeness of 'the other'? Could the media define its public role in the context of such a common basis by moving beyond the rules of power and the market?

**Bundesministerium**  
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**Editor**

Anita Traninger

**Editorial Assistance**

Kerstin Krenn

**Production Manager, Layout**

Iris Strohschein

**Photos**

IWM, Petra Spiola, David Stork (Transit 5)

**Design**

Gerri Zotter

**Address**

IWM  
 Spittelauer Lände 3  
 A - 1090 Wien  
 Tel. (+431) 31358-0  
 Fax. (+431) 31358-30  
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