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Fall 2003/No. 4

Newsletter 82

ACCESS |

Since early 2002, the Institute for Human Sciences has been the co-ordinator of eight teams engaged in an interdisciplinary research program on socio-economic cultures in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. The result of the investigations conducted under the direction of Janos Matyas Kovacs, Permanent Fellow at the IWM, will be discussed during a concluding conference in Vienna from December 5-7, 2003 and will subsequently be available at the IWM website www.iwm.at/access.

The “Included” and the “Excluded”: Results of an IWM research program

THE PROJECT STARTED in January 2002 with the assumption that the first round of EU Enlargement is a *fait accompli*, and that the “included” are challenged by a rather lengthy adaptation period after the accession. It can be expected that during this period, these countries will serve as laboratories for the “Balkan” states in the field of economic and social cultures. By organizing and directing four case studies (in Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro) and matching them with similar research endeavours in four accession countries (Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia) the aim of the program is to help the “excluded” prepare for their own process of accession.



The inclusion of East-Central Europe in the European Union will move the frontier of the “West” Eastward and Southward, thereby considerably rearranging the map of Eastern Europe. The “welfare curtain” that has replaced the iron curtain will divide the former Eastern Bloc in two camps, those of the “good” and the “bad” transformers/applicants. Allegedly, the enfranchisement of the former will serve as an incentive for the latter to speed up the preparations for the accession. Thereby the “East” and the “South” will rush to the “Center”.

However, the cleavage between the “included” and the “excluded” can also become deeper, breeding frustration rather than a desire to copy the first entrants. With the latter, the mere fact of inclusion can trigger off positive feedback mechanisms of development while launching negative spiral effects in the case of those asked to wait patiently and “stabilize” themselves. As if in a self-fulfilling prophecy, those declared to be good grow even better and those labelled bad become even worse. The D-day for the first-round accession countries may be followed by a veritable “day after” for the



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left-outs in Eastern Europe. With its modest means, our project will try to contribute to the bridging of this gap.

The overall research program entitled *After the Accession ... The Socio-Economic Cultures of Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union: An Asset or a Liability? (ACCESS)* aimed at making a prognosis about the post-accession cohabitation of “Western” and “Eastern” cultures in the European Union with a special emphasis on the differences between the now “included” and the still “excluded” countries of the former Eastern Bloc. Prediction will be based on current cultural encounters between the two halves of Europe in the economy.

The program focused on the post-accession period: the cohabitation of “Eastern” and “Western” socio-economic cultures in the enlarged EU and the likelihood of their convergence. It examined current cultural encounters between “East” and “West” to predict future patterns of cultural compromise. The research fields – from the shop floor, through business and government administration to social sciences and policy advocacy – were explored by focusing on entrepreneurship and governance, with special attention to the program of informality. Instead of insisting on a simplistic scheme, in which the “strong” culture devours the “weak”, the project examined the emergence of peculiar blends of economic and social behaviour, norms, habits, values etc. In so doing, it went beyond the world of the *acquis communautaire* and discovered forms of cultural coexistence in the enlarged EU which are not, and cannot be, regulated *ex ante* through agreements on institutional/legal system and policies.

In each research field, the national research teams will col-

lected information on the preliminary expectations of the participants of transnational cultural encounters, their first “culture shocks”, the strategies of bridging the cultural gaps and the emerging patterns of compromise.

The program had four research objectives. First, to identify the types and estimate the frequency of cultural conflicts in economic and social matters in the enlarged EU. Second, to predict the patterns of cultural convergence and the extent of remaining diversity within Europe. Third, to map those fields in which the new entrants can contribute to the rejuvenation of socio-economic cultures in the EU. Fourth, to bring the cultural problématique back from populist rhetoric in the socio-economic discourse of Enlargement. Additionally, the project tried to help re-assess the procedures for the ongoing accession process, and enable the European Commission to draw lessons for future accession rounds, in particular, for the one including the South-East European ex-communist countries, which were excluded from the current round.

The work of the teams in South Eastern Europe was supported by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs within the framework of its supporting measures for Eastern Europe (“Ostzusammenarbeit”). The complementary research in the accession countries was organized through a research grant by the Jubilaeumsfonds der Oesterreichischen Nationalbank (Project no. 9434). Both groups of researchers will meet in Vienna from December 5-7 to discuss the project results, working papers and additional materials will be made gradually accessible at the IWM website: www.iwm.at/access.

On 10-11 October 2003 the Viennese Palais Schwarzenberg hosted a second in a series of debates organised as part of the work of the Reflection Group on "The Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe", set up at the initiative of Romano Prodi within a project run by the IWM.

After the Enlargement: The Conditions of European Solidarity

THE EVENT, sponsored by the European Commission and the Federation of Austrian Industry, gathered politicians and scholars from Western and East-Central Europe to reflect on European solidarity and its future development under the impact of a change in the relations between Europe and the United States, on the one hand, and the enlargement to 25 states, on the other. The first session on "European Solidarity and the United States of America" was followed by a working dinner at the invitation of the Chancellor of Austria, Wolfgang Schüssel, with speeches by Danuta Hübner, Noelle Lenoir and Elmar Brok. After the second session on "The Consequences of the Enlargement for European Solidarity" a working lunch was given at the invitation of the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, with speeches by Johannes Kyrle, Petr Pithart, István Szent-Iványi and Kurt Biedenkopf.

Two kinds of solidarity that have been discussed – solidarity between Europe and America and solidarity in Europe after Enlargement – turned out to be intrinsically connected and mutually dependent. A lot of scepticism was voiced with regard to the condition of the European-American partnership. The question asked by Ursula Stenzel – Will the East-West conflict be replaced by a West-West conflict? – added a dramatic note to the deliberations. The West, it was argued, has been busy questioning its own unity in recent years. America has become a new mirror against which Europe is picturing its own identity and even if the attempt to oppose European and American cultures is just a "narcissism of small differences", the controversy itself points to a shift in European-American relations. With the disappearance of the Soviet threat the US has lost strategic interest if not in Europe, then in European integration at least. America has assumed, to use Aleksander Smolar's expression, a "selectively sympathetic" and at the same time a "selectively unsympathetic" attitude towards countries on the other side of the Atlantic. Having lost a direct adversary after the end of the Cold War, the US lacks justification for its position as a world power and is searching for new foreign policy strategies, as well as testing European cohesion by means of pick-the-willing tactics, argued Kurt Biedenkopf.

Aleksander Smolar highlighted the reasons for a persisting sympathy towards America in the accession countries, such as their enthusiasm towards

any democratisation endeavours or America's past support for their strategic interests in countries further to the East. According to Smolar's analysis, the accession countries have played an important role in America's strategy towards the EU and inversely, the US has become a substantial element in the candidate member states' policy towards Western Europe. In their support for the US during the Iraq crisis, the new member states may have contributed to the erosion of the political bond in Europe (J. Rupnik), but the letter of the 8 supporting US intervention in Iraq also made it clear that East-Central Europeans will not accept the idea of Europe uniting against the US (K. Biedenkopf) and that they want to have an independent voice in European politics (A. Smolar). On the other hand, asked József Szájer, isn't America's picking East-Central Europe for partnership a bit like trying to do difficult business in the EU through Europe's back door? Guests from East-Central Europe sounded disappointed and confused: "A fight over our souls is going on between the EU and the US" (J. Szájer). "First East Europeans, then Central Europeans, now we are New Europeans" (A. Vondra). Will history's irony ever stop haunting the region?

The Iraq war was considered an important learning experience for both Europe and America and a telling test of European concord with regard to foreign policy. The debate participants were as divided here as the whole West has been during the Iraq crisis. Wolfgang Nowak argued that the controversy over Iraq was clear evidence that France and Germany have ceased to be the driving force of European integration and are in fact to be held responsible for undermining the unity of Europe. If the European Union continues to deny America solidarity over Iraq, prophesied Nowak, the European integration project will be deemed to failure. Will Hutton expressed an opposite view. The Iraq experience has taught the US and Britain, he argued, that such action cannot be undertaken without support and solidarity from the rest of Europe. Notwithstanding their conflicting opinions regarding US intervention in Iraq, the conclusions drawn by most of the speakers converged. It is neither in America's not in Europe's interest to pursue foreign policy alone, casting aside the legacy of the Transatlantic partnership. For the first time in history, to quote Jacques Rupnik's remark, "the division of Europe has been made a virtue in Transatlantic relations". Both the US and the EU have had their



Krzysztof Michalski, Heather Grabbe, Will Hutton



Hans Rauscher, Peter Mitterbauer, Ursula Stenzel



Hans-Henning Horstmann, Eberhard Sandschneider, Ulrike Lunacek



Wolfgang Nowak, Jacques Rupnik, Lena Kolarska-Bobinska



Antje Vollmer, Wanda Rapaczynski

share in the process and both paid their price. America was left alone to bear the financial burden and moral costs of an intervention lacking international support and credibility. It also turned out that building European identity by means of



opposing America can cost Europe its unity.

Most of the features that distinguish the European and American ethos, it was argued, are to be found at nation-state rather than at EU level. The Union has to have other goals and a different basis for transnational solidarity, for the creation of which Euro-Atlantic co-operation and EU's stronger involvement in the world are indispensable. After decades spent under American protection, Europe has to "reassume responsibility" (K. Biedenkopf). A revival of the US-European partnership, it was argued, requires a reconsideration of Europe's relations with the external world and the kind of international mission it is willing to pursue. Europe's specific taste for "legality" in international relations was emphasised, which implies a "duty to export its model of peace and reconciliation" (Noelle Lenoir), to share "institutional experience" (Pál Csáky), as well as "working towards democratisation and stability" in difficult regions (Ulrike Lunacek). Both ambitious as well as more modest versions of a common European foreign and security policy were discussed, which, in the latter case, might focus on the challenges of globalisation, world trade, environment, the International Criminal Court and the relations with EU's closest neighbours. The creation of a new Transatlantic free trade zone that would strengthen the eroded Euro-Atlantic bond was also suggested. Will the EU and US need a new "Coal and Steel" type of co-operation-founding formula, just like

the one the Union adopted at the very beginning of its existence? This might well be the case, considering the fact that, as Eberhard Sandschneider argued, solidarity cannot be produced at a heat but is always the result of experience in long-standing co-operation.

The question of the relations between Western and East-Central Europe was discussed against the backdrop of the pre-enlargement period, which, despite the unquestionable achievements, brought many disappointments, mutual forbearances and ill-feelings, creating an atmosphere that may not be conducive to solidarity in the future EU. As János Mátyás Kovács argued, it is not only a problem of a gradual erosion of solidarity between old and new member states but also a conflict of two different understandings of the word "solidarity": "pragmatic" solidarity in the West (pursuit of common interests and mutual benefits) and "romantic" solidarity in the East (assisting the weak, sacrifice for the disadvantaged party). An opportunity was lost, Jacques Rupnik argued, to link the integration process with the existential crisis of 1989, that should



Martin Bartenstein, Alain Catta, Noelle Lenoir

have become the driving force for integration in the same manner as the existential crisis after World War II prompted the creation of The European Coal and Steel Community and gave it moral justification. The pathos of "European Reunification" was soon replaced in Eurospeak by the technocratic jargon of "Eastern Enlargement". The two regions have had different understandings of solidarity and thus diverging pre-accession goals. While the EU would insist on the entrants' necessary effort of preparing for accession and adjusting their economic, political and legal systems to Western standards, the accession countries would expect more support from the EU, mostly in terms of financial aid. From the Easterners' perspective, the EU's function of regulation pre-

vailed over the function of redistribution (J. Rupnik). Moreover, the Easterners' enthusiasm for the Union was undermined by the EU's patronising attitude, as well as a fear of second-class membership. Examples of unfair treatment, which undermined the legitimacy of the process in the eyes of the newcomers, were discussed during the conference, with regard to such issues as minority rights protection, free movement of people or the allocation of cohesion funds. Considering the asym-



Ewald Nowotny, Rudolf Gruber, Jiri Schneider, György Surányi

metrical aspects of the integration process, Kurt Biedenkopf introduced the problem of national dignity and pride as one of the challenges to solidarity in the future Union.

Solidarity in the enlarged EU was discussed in its economic, political and socio-political dimensions. From an economic point of view, two alternative solutions for strengthening solidarity in the enlarged EU were proposed: to reform the European economic and social model and export it Eastwards or to redirect Europe's economic policy towards growth and development, according to the Lisbon agenda. After the Enlargement the Union will start difficult talks over its budget. And yet, it was argued, the nation-state logic still prevails in European politics and the EU often seems to be the same old interest-driven power game, exercised by other means (J. Schneider). Considering the bad reputation that the word "solidarity" has had in the West, more pragmatic arguments for financing at EU level were proposed, referring to common interests, interdependence (particular members' problems affecting the whole Union) or the fact that certain issues can best be solved at EU rather than nation-state level.

An important political dimension that will make solidarity difficult in the enlarged EU is, in Heather Grabbe's view, a lack of permanent alliances, with countries teaming up on particular issues rather

than getting involved in long-term co-operation. New political mechanisms already operating in the Union, such as co-operation flexibility or multi-speed integration may not be conducive to political solidarity in the future, but at the same time they are part of the inevitable logic of enlargement, she argued. Unanimity is not to be expected in the future EU, but mastering the art of dialogue and winning back people's trust in European institutions is one of the most important tasks ahead of us, which may open more space for solidarity in a Union of 25 member states. It was the politicians experienced in EU affairs (D. Hübner, E. Brok, N. Lenoir) that were most optimistic in this respect, emphasising the role of compromise culture as a way of exercising political solidarity in the enlarged Union, as well as depicting political mechanisms introduced by the new Constitution that will increase citizens' participation. The way to create trust in European institutions is to convince the people that in a global order their interests can no longer be protected sufficiently by the nation state and that it is worth giving up a part of national interest to enjoy the benefits of EU membership. "Europe is the only way to bring sovereignty back to European people," argued Elmar Brok. In conditions of peace and stability, Petr Pithart explained, "solidarity needs more space, a broader and longer perspective". The enlarged Union may thus provide an opportunity for creating not only a borderless, but also a more *solidaire* Europe.

Notwithstanding the scepticism and doubts expressed during the conference with regard to future European solidarity, the abundance of issues discussed and suggestions made attested that a united Europe is still a project close to the hearts of both "old" and "new" Europeans. The EU, considered as a common enterprise bridging the Europeans' tragic past with a future of hope and reconciliation, needs a common project, based on shared interests *and* values that allow us to make sense of our goals and support one another in common efforts to achieve them. Such a unifying project may have to do with a responsibility for the world that we share with America and are only able to pursue together.

Samanta Stecko

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During the past two years, the IWM has been coordinating the work of eight interdisciplinary teams involved in the research program *After the Accession ... The Socio-Economic Cultures of Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union: An Asset or a Liability?*

After the Accession: Research Teams

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The successful work of the eight research teams of the ACCESS program will not end with the final deadline in December 2003. A successor project, entitled "Eastern Enlargement – Western Enlargement: Cultural Encounters in the European Economy and Society after the Accession (DIOSCURI)" has been evaluated favourably within the European Commission's 6th framework program.

Not the end: DIOSCURI to follow ACCESS

LET US IMAGINE FOR A MOMENT the eternal *Wessi* and the eternal *Ossi*, typical male figures in contemporary German journalism, talking in a pub at an international airport. For the former, Eastern Enlargement not only covers all civilizational benefits that the "West" generously and light-mindedly offers to the "East" but also refers to the Westward expansion, a sort of "Western Enlargement" of the dangers originating in the former Soviet Empire and in the "East" in general. The *Wessi* is anxious about what will happen to his job, family, savings, etc., if „those over there“ are allowed to enter the EU, either as employers or employees, for more than brief visits. Will you pay taxes properly? – he asks the *Ossi* with deep distrust in his voice. Won't you accept lower wages, less safe working conditions than us? Will you protect *our* environment? Won't your "Wild-East" entrepreneurs ignore the social standards in our country? Will they leave the mafia behind? To put it simply, will you not disrupt the order of our life, or, more pragmatically, will it not cost too much for us to counterbalance the disruption you will cause?

As a mirror image of how populists in Western Europe portray the Eastern “savages” *ante portas*, one witnesses in Eastern European standard political discourse the icon of the “honest”, “creative” and “entrepreneurial-minded” Czech, Hungarian or Romanian worker/businessman who, while matching their Western colleagues in terms of capitalist virtues, are well-educated, firmly rooted in their communities, respect family values, religion and rural bonds. Accordingly, Brussels should feel honoured to receive the new members and be lucky to gain so much „fresh energy and culture” at such a low price.

This pride mingles with the worries of our *Ossi*. For him, Eastern Enlargement seems risky because, as a result of it, he also may lose his job (true, not via wage dumping but high-productivity competition). Similarly, he is also anxious about the lowering of the social standards in his country (which include less safety at the workplace but a more relaxed work ethic) while regretting that modernization damages nature (in the countryside, for example). Moreover, he fears the erosion of his precommunist and – to a lesser extent – communist traditions and the filtering of his new entrepreneurial freedoms, consumption habits, etc. that emerge in a globalizing world, through the *acquis* in the course of the Accession. For instance, as an employer he will have to comply with equal opportunity rules, and as a consumer he may be forced to abandon shopping around the clock. To be sure, his order of life is also at risk – at least this is how

he feels. However, in contrast to his Western partner, he cannot even hope to have sufficient resources for restoring the *status quo ante*. Won't you use us as cheap labourers and buyers of low-quality consumer goods – a poorhouse of the Union? Will you not paralyze our innovative spirit and abuse our talent? Will you accept our quest for informality or will you simply subsume it under the heading of lawlessness? Questions such as these reflect the concerns of our *Ossi* who would prefer to see a kind of Western Enlargement that brings his old and new virtues to the EU.

Assimilation?

Small wonder that these concerns were instrumentalized by populist parties on both sides of the former Iron Curtain. They scare their audiences with the nightmare of cultural contamination and the subsequent decay of European civilization and/or national traditions. At the other extreme, one can detect, especially among economists, a large dose of evolutionary optimism that postulates the homogenization of economic cultures in Europe in the long run. Accordingly, if the entrance examination for the candidate countries is strict enough, then the legal-organizational framework of the market set by the *acquis communautaire* will make the new entrants adjust sooner or later to the EU norms, thereby assimilating (or, at least, neutralizing) their business, work, consumption, etc. cultures.

Good and bad hybrids

DIOSCURI is, however, convinced that it is only by bringing the cultural problematic back in the economic discourse of the Enlargement, and by taking the cultural risks of the Accession seriously, that the populist rhetoric of mutual contamination can be contested. Instead of putting our faith in a “strong Western” culture that devours (civilizes) the “weak Eastern” culture under well-designed market conditions, we expect to find a great variety of lasting cultural hybrids in the economies of the enlarged Union. Part of the hybrids will be “bad”, combining the worst features of the two worlds of culture, while the “good” combinations will also contain elements that the new entrants bring to rejuvenate economic cultures in the Union. Thus, in an unprecedented way, Eastern Enlargement is studied in con-



junction with its neglected counterpart, Western Enlargement.

The adjustment of economic cultures in the “East” to European norms will be a strategic problem of the era following the Accession. However, won't (shouldn't) adjustment be mutual to a certain degree? Aren't there economic habits, institutions, etc. in the “West”, which the “Easterners” are well-advised not to borrow? And conversely, couldn't the former profit from taking over some of the cultural requisites of the latter?

The mythical twins

The project is named DIOSCURI because the story of the twin sons of Zeus, Castor and Pollux, may provide an allegory for understanding the future cohabitation of “Eastern” and “Western” economic cultures in the enlarged Union. In complementing each other, the Dioscuri never strove in rivalry for leadership – this is the promising (probably too promising) message of Greek mythology. Nevertheless, despite their exemplary relationship, they did not find eternal peace but have to spend alternate days on Olympus (as gods) and in Hades (as deceased mortals). Our research proposal starts with the optimistic assumption that, following the Accession, the two cultures will spend many more days together on the hill of gods than beneath the earth. At the same time, we are concerned about the time that is still to be spent in Hades. One has to reckon with sudden relapses, or even longer periods of deterioration in the relationship of the twins. Ours is the first time



Was bringt Europa zusammen?

Krzysztof Michalski **Editorial**

Bronislaw Geremek **Welche Werte für das neue Europa?
Zur Einführung**

**Die Armen,
die Anderen,
die Neuen**
Osterweiterung als
Herausforderung
für die europäische
Solidarität

Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde **Die Bedingungen der
europäischen Solidarität**

Kurt Biedenkopf **In Vielfalt geeint: Was hält Europa
zusammen?**

Heather Grabbe **Hat Solidarität im erweiterten
Europa noch eine Chance?**

Jacques Rupnik **Erweiterung light?**

Janos Matyas Kovacs **Zwischen Indifferenz und
Ressentiment: Solidaritätsdiskurse im Erweiterungsprozess**

**Europäische
Religionen und
europäische
Solidarität**

Danièle Hervieu-Léger **Religion und sozialer Zusammenhalt**

David Martin **Integration und Fragmentierung.
Religionmuster in Europa**

Bhikhu Parekh **Ist der Islam eine Bedrohung für die
Demokratie in Europa?**

Nilüfer Göle **Islam und europäische Öffentlichkeit**

Charles Taylor **Religion, politische Identität und
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Barbara Tóth **Reifeprüfung 1989. Photographien**

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Herausgegeben am
Institut für die
Wissenschaften vom
Menschen

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in the postwar history of Europe that the two economic cultures meet *en masse* and virtually without constraints. The real probe of brotherly love between Castor and Pollux has only begun some years ago in the course of post-communist transformation and the preparations for Accession.

Excerpt from the project proposal

The project will be jointly co-ordinated by the Center for Policy Studies at the Central European University in Budapest and the IWM in Vienna.

The contract negotiations with the European Commission have been taken up and are supposed to be concluded early next year.



Die erfolgreiche Kooperation der acht vom IWM koordinierten Forschungsteams wird mit dem Projektabschluss Ende 2003 nicht beendet sein. Ein Nachfolgeprojekt mit dem Titel "Eastern Enlargement – Western Encounters in the European Economy and Society after the Accession (DIOSCURI)" wurde im 6. Rahmenprogramm der Europäischen Kommission

eingereicht und positiv bewertet. Die Vertragsverhandlungen wurden bereits aufgenommen und werden voraussichtlich Anfang 2004 abgeschlossen sein. Das Projekttakronym DIOSCURI bezieht sich auf die Zwillingssöhne des Zeus, Kastor und Pollux, die als Allegorien für das Verhältnis zwischen „östlichen“ und „westlichen“ wirtschaftlichen Kulturen in der erweiterten Union stehen.

The research program ACCESS was accompanied by a seminar series, designed to provide a forum for reflection on and discussion of the ongoing research work. Paul Dragos Aligica, member of the Romanian project team, in his presentation made an attempt of summarizing

Lessons and Implications of the Eastern European Economic Reform Experience

THE EAST EUROPEAN revolution of 1989 took social sciences unaware to offer guidance for rapid transition to markets and democracy. Probably the most concise and clear expression of the first reactions of the social scientists involved in the study of social transformation at the beginning of the nineties was articulated by D.C. North in the opening remarks of a conference dedicated to the problem of economic change in Eastern Europe: "We live in an era of un-precedented societal change, but the tool box of the social sciences for modeling the process of this change – economic, politic and social – is almost empty". Mainstream economics lacked a general theory of economic systems and structural change, but as North noted, the box was not totally empty, indeed. The projects of political and economic reform in Eastern Europe at the turn of the decade were predominantly influenced by a series of models articulated around the neoclassical economic theory.

The initial applications of those "models" faced unanticipated challenges and very soon the actual developments in the countries in transition have shown that their policy relevance was rather limited and that the projections based on them were not so accurate. Moreover, as time went by, it became increasingly clear

that the vision of reforms based solely on a variant or another of the mainstream neoclassical theory lacked methodological and analytical force. (...)

The process of rapid transformation in Eastern Europe challenged the theoretical approaches whose historical basis and source of inspiration were the stable Western political and economic systems. One of the most challenging implications deriving from this resulting combination of theoretical conclusions and conclusions based on the experience and realities of the Eastern European evolutions was that many of the problems raised by the rapid process of social transformation were primarily problems of vision, conceptualization and even intellectual attitude and only then theoretical and technical problems. The most important intellectual barrier to a better understanding of the reform process has been a rigid and poor conceptualization and the compartmentalization of approaches. Thus not only that they lead to a fragmented explanation but also to the neglect of otherwise more than relevant dimensions of the social reality and a hubris regarding what we know about social change. The experience of the reform process not only imposed a rethinking of the intellectual attitude but also opened the way for a more flexible approach undermining the rigid consequences of the intellectual division of labor and social sciences overspecialization.

The profound complexity of social change and an increased awareness of the limits to our understanding and control of it, the importance of time and history, the role of learning, belief systems and mental models, learning in time as a pivotal process and the ubiquitous possibility of error even in the best epistemic circumstances: these are some of the most important lessons emerging out of the reform experience and their significance is not at all minor, indeed.

A full version of Paul Dragos Aligica's paper can be found at www.iwm.at/access

Europe or the Globe: Eastern European Trajectories in Times of Integration and Globalization From the program 2003

May 14

Roumen Avramov

Economics, Sofia

Economic Identities – South-East Europe and "Europe"

May 21

Katalin Kovacs

Regional studies, Budapest

Rural Development in Hungary: Policies, Visions, Interests

June 18

Dragos Aligica

Economics, Bucharest/
Indianapolis

Looking Forward: Notes on Futures Research and its Applications in Eastern Europe

October 15

Mladen Lazic

Sociology, Belgrade

Elite Change in Serbia under Post-Communism

November 5

Mieke Verloo

Political science and women's studies,
Nijmegen

Why Should Eastern European Feminism Be Different?

November 19

Krzysztof Goralach

Sociology, Cracow

EU Enlargement and the Restructuring of Polish Agriculture



On two evenings in September, Abraham B. Yehoshua gave the IWM Lectures in Human Sciences 2003. The series, which had been launched in 2000 in memory of Hans Georg Gadamer, will be continued in 2004 with a series of lectures by Ryszard Kapuscinski.

Abraham B. Yehoshua: The Shaping of Jewish Identity: Three Bible Stories

Nach den IWM-Vorlesungen zur modernen Philosophie (1991-1999) begann das IWM anlässlich des hundertsten Geburtstags von Hans-Georg Gadamer eine neue Reihe öffentlicher Vorlesungen. Die Eröffnungsvorlesung wurde im Mai 2000 von Charles Taylor gehalten, der William James' Reflexionen über die Formen religiöser Erfahrung einer Neulektüre unterzog.

BASED ON A CLOSE READING of three Bible stories, Abraham Yehoshua analysed the story of Cain and Abel in order to understand why the first murderer had not been punished. Which consequences does this have for the claim that all people are equal before God? In his first lecture, Yehoshua focussed on the question whether people are judged according to their inner being or according to their deeds and the implications of the decision for a Jewish notion of the free will.

Taking the story of the sacrifice of Isaac as a starting point, Yehoshua turned to the moral flaws in Abraham's moral principles. He then highlighted the connection between religion and Jewish nationalism, claiming that the latter was a primary element in structuring Jewish identity.

The second evening was dedicated to the scroll of Esther and to the story of the first attempt to annihilate the Jews it presents. Again, Yehoshua was interested in the relation between nationalism and religion, this time analysing it against the backdrop of the interaction with non-Jewish identities. The final deliberations of the evening were dedicated to the complex interactions between Jewish identity and antisemitic responses.

Abraham B. Yehoshua is Professor of Comparative and Hebrew Literature at Haifa University. He has also held visiting professorships at Harvard University, the University of Chicago and at Princeton University. Among the distinctive awards he has received are the Booker Prize, the Koret Prize, and the B'nai B'rith Prize of Europe. His works, including more than ten novels, have been translated into 22 languages. Among his works available in English translation are: *Three Days and a Child* (1971), *A Night in May: a play in three acts* (1974), *Early in the Summer of 1970* (1977), *Between Right and Right* (1981), *Five Seasons* (1989), *A Late Divorce* (1993), *The Continuing Silence of a Poet: the Collected Stories of A.B. Yehoshua* (1991), *The Lover* (1993), *Open Heart* (1996), *A Journey to the End of the Millennium* (1999), *The Terrible Power of a Minor Guilt: Literary Essays* (2000), *The Liberated Bride* (2003).



Die Welt: Gibt es Hoffnung auf einen Frieden im Nahen Osten?

Yehoshua: Ich glaube nur an einen teilweisen Rückzug Israels, nicht an den aus Jerusalem. Ich glaube auch nicht an einen Frieden heute, weil das Maximum, das Israel zu geben bereit ist, nicht an das Minimum dessen heranreicht, was die Palästinenser akzeptieren werden. Es müsste ein harter Einschnitt erfolgen, etwa 100.000 Israelis wären aus der Westbank zu evakuieren, dann kann man eine feste Grenze bilden. Und wenigstens das Blutvergießen beenden und die Situation beruhigen. Das ist vor allem die Aufgabe Israels. Israel hat es in seiner Macht, wie es das auch im Libanon getan hat. Diese Teil-lösung könnte die Alltagssituation erheblich verbessern.

Abraham Yehoshua im Gespräch mit Ulrich Weizierl,
Die Welt



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Previous speakers

Cornelia Klinger
Wien/Tübingen (2002)

Paul Ricoeur
Paris (2001)

Charles Taylor
Montreal (2000)

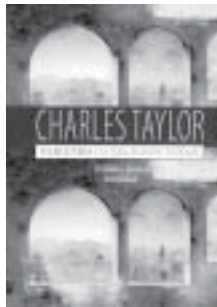
Preview

Ryszard Kapuscinski
Warschau (2004)

Die IWM-Vorlesungen zu den Wissenschaften vom Menschen erscheinen in deutscher, englischer und polnischer Sprache (siehe Anzeige S. 13)

IWM Lectures in Human Sciences

Charles Taylor
The Varieties of Religion Today
 Harvard University Press 2002



Charles Taylor
Die Formen des Religiösen in der Gegenwart
 Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 2002



Charles Taylor
Oblicza religii dzisiaj
 Cracow: Znak 2002



Ausgehend von William James' vor 100 Jahren angestellten Untersuchungen zur religiösen Erfahrung verfolgt Charles Taylor die Verschiebungen im Verhältnis von Religion, Individuum und Gesellschaft, von Spirituellem und Politischem bis in die Gegenwart. Der Rückzug des Religiösen aus der öffentlichen Sphäre hat die Religion nicht ins Private eingeschlossen, vielmehr verbirgt sich hinter diesem Prozess eine Kulturrevolution: Der moderne „expressive“ Individualismus hat eine Vielfalt neuer Religionsformen und -gemeinschaften hervorgebracht, die auf die traditionellen zurückwirken und die Gesellschaft verändern. Der Ort der Religion muss neu bestimmt werden.

IWM Lectures in Human Sciences are jointly published with Harvard University Press, Suhrkamp Verlag (Frankfurt a.M.) and Znak Publishers (Cracow)

Former US foreign minister Madeleine Albright chose the Institute for Human Sciences to be the host for the presentation of her autobiography, *Madam Secretary*, in Austria on October 22, 2003.

Madam Secretary at the IWM

INTRODUCED BY the chairman of the IWM board of trustees, Karl Schwarzenberg, Madeleine Albright addressed an audience of more than 300, gathered in the Marmorsaal of the Palais Schwarzenberg in Vienna. Albright, who described herself as a “firm believer in trans-Atlantic cooperation”, focused in her speech on the American-European relationship. Since leaving office, she has been “very worried by the fissures that have opened between the government of my country and some European governments as well as significant portions of the public.”

“The differences between Europe and America are substantial, but there is also substantial agreement on the truly overriding issues of opposition to terror and weapons proliferation and support for democracy and human rights.

In Aesop's fable, a lion hunts a group of bulls without success, because he always finds them gathered together in a circle. No matter which way the lion approaches, he is met by horns. Then one day, the bulls quarrel and depart angrily to separate pastures. One by one, they are devoured.

Certainly, as we look around the world today, we see no shortage of prowling lions. The question we must answer is whether we will choose to meet them with joined horns, or in separate pastures. In making that choice, we must remember that it is not a piece of paper that binds America and Europe together, nor even a fifty year old promise. It is not decades of toasts and pretty words. The bonds that truly link us go deeper than that to the underlying values we share. A love of peace. A commitment to the rule of law. And support for the rights and dignity of every human being.”



Im Interview mit dem STANDARD nannte Madeleine Albright drei Motivationen für ihre Autobiographie:

„Ich fühlte eine Verpflichtung dazu, damit die Geschichte, wie ich sie erlebt habe, zugänglich wird und man versteht, wie sehr es auf die Nuancen und die Dynamik zwischen den Akteuren der internationalen Diplomatie ankommt. Ich dachte auch, dass meine persönliche Geschichte – eine Immigrantin, eine Frau einer bestimmten ‚Zwischengeneration‘ ohne festes Ziel, die Scheidung – es wert war, erzählt zu werden. Drittens spiegelt mein Leben in gewisser Weise das 20. Jahrhundert zwischen Europa und Amerika wider: eine Zeit, die nach meiner Überzeugung gezeigt hat, dass sich die USA international engagieren müssen.“

Every Tuesday evening the IWM hosts a speaker, often a current fellow or monthly guest, who holds a public lecture related to one of the Institute's projects or research fields. An e-mail information service on upcoming events is available on IWM's website

www.iwm.at

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



Alessandro Ferrara is Professor of Political Philosophy at the University of Rome "Tor Vergata".

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem



30. SEPTEMBER

Pavel Kouba Freiheit, Politik, Geschichte: Jan Patockas Philosophie der Existenz

JAN PATOCKAS (1907-1977) Auffassung der politischen und geschichtlichen Freiheit gründet philosophisch im Konzept der Existenz als Bewegung, das sich in seinen Arbeiten seit der Mitte der sechziger Jahre herauskristallisierte. Von Heidegger inspiriert, durch ihn aber auch irritiert, transformierte Patocka damals seinen Begriff der „natürlichen Welt“ in die von ihm so genannte „Lehre von den drei Bewegungen“. Die Schlüsselrolle kommt in

Tuesday Lectures

23. SEPTEMBER

Alessandro Ferrara The Relevance of Kant's Critique of the Power of Judgment for Contemporary Political Theory

IN THE FIRST PART of the lecture, a broad appraisal of the current philosophical context was outlined, against which the relevance of the model of normativity without principles as articulated in Kant's *Third Critique* were illustrated. Particular emphasis was placed on the notion of exemplary validity. In the second part of the lecture, drawing on the work of Rawls, Dworkin, Habermas, and Ackerman, a number of junctures of current liberal political theory were examined, which can be best made sense of in terms of this model of normative validity. In particular, the relation of the Rawlsian notions of public reason and 'the reasonable' to judgment and exemplarity were addressed.

diesem Entwurf der dritten Existenzbewegung zu, die dem Menschen die Möglichkeit gewährt, Selbstverlust und Selbstentfremdung handelnd zu überwinden und dadurch der Existenz im ganzen einen Sinn zu geben. Gerade nach der philosophischen Tragfähigkeit dieses Bewegungsbegriffs gilt es heute zu fragen.

Pavel Kouba ist Professor für Philosophie an der Karls-Universität Prag und Leiter des Zentrums für Phänomenologische Forschung an der Tschechischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Derzeit ist er Robert Bosch Visiting Fellow des IWM.

7. OKTOBER

Thierry de Montbrial Les relations internationales: la théorie et la pratique

ENTRE L'ANNÉE 1989, année de la chute des régimes communistes de ce qu'on appelait alors l'Europe de l'Est, et 2003, dominée par la guerre américano-britannique pour renverser le régime de Saddam Hussein, le monde s'est profondément transformé, même si les traces du passé restent profondes. Pour comprendre ce monde complexe où s'inscrivent toutes les actions de notre vie, il faut savoir saisir les événements et les relier entre eux. A cette fin, la connaissance des „faits“ ne suffit pas. Dans les sciences humaines, en particulier dans le domaine des relations internationales, il en est comme pour les sciences de la nature: théorie et pratique sont indissociablement liées.

Thierry de Montbrial is the Founder and has been President of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI) since 1979. He has



been Professor at the Ecole Polytechnique since 1974 and chaired its Department of Economics in 1974-92. He has also been Professor of Economics and International Relations at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers since 1995.

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem

*Institut Français
de Vienne*

14. OKTOBER

Alberto Quadrio Curzio The European Union: Growth, Institutions, Constitution



From the point of view of institutional economics, the European Union is characterized by at least three elements: growth, institutions, and a constitution. From the beginning, *growth* has been considered fundamental for creating a common economic area, and the

success has been enormous: in 1951, the GDP of ECCS was 48.5% of the GDP of the USA, while in 2000 the GDP of the EU was 88.2% of the USA's GDP. The common market and the Euro are two fundamental *institutional events* which have also had political consequences. Given the economic results, it is impossible for the EU to come back to a free trade area. A future *constitution* is the most ambitious challenge of all. It will only be successful if it combines the principles of subsidiarity, solidarity, and development. These are at the same time values, principles, and programmes.

Alberto Quadrio Curzio is Professor of Political Economics at the Università Cattolica di Milano and a member of the reflection group "The spiritual and cultural dimension of Europe", initiated by Romano Prodi and chaired by Krzysztof Michalski.

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem



21. OKTOBER

Yehuda Elkana The Education of a "Caring" Scientist: Rethinking the Foundations of the Sciences

EVER SINCE MAX WEBER formulated his theories of value-free scholarship and science, with the emphasis on independent values of disciplines and occupations, the scientific community has

mostly adhered to the principle that good science must be value-free. In the meantime more than forty years of scholarship in the history and sociology of science has shown the limits of that approach and revealed the importance of contextualizing (definitely not relativizing) our findings and methodologies. Lots of discussion and debate have gone into this issue, much of it more heat than light, but very little has been done on rethinking the training of scientists in view of recent developments. It is my thesis that what is needed is a replacing of the value of value-free education by a new value of educating the caring scientist, and especially, the caring social scientist. It was discussed how to introduce this new value without abandoning rigorous methodology, and without falling into irresponsible relativism, or, post-modernist "anything goes".

Yehuda Elkana is President of the Central European University in Budapest.



22. OKTOBER

Madeleine K. Albright Buchpräsentation: Die Autobiographie

MADELEINE KORBEL ALBRIGHT ging als mächtigste Politikerin der USA in die Geschichte ein. Als erste Frau übernahm sie 1997 unter Präsident Clinton das Außenministerium. Mit einer Mischung aus Charme und unnachgiebiger Härte, gewohnt Entscheidungen auch gegen Widerstände durchzusetzen, prägte sie nach-

haltig die Weltpolitik der Jahrtausendwende.

In ihren Memoiren blickt Madeleine Albright auf ihre atemberaubende Karriere und ihr bewegtes Leben zurück: Geboren in der Tschechoslowakei, als Kind in die USA emigriert, renommierte Professorin und schließlich Außenministerin, erzählt sie offen von den Schwierigkeiten als einzige Frau am Verhandlungstisch, von ihrer Rolle als Ehefrau und Mutter und vermittelt einen tiefen Einblick in die Mechanismen der Außenpolitik sowie in die politische Drehbühne und ihrer „Mitspieler“ während ihrer Amtszeit.

In ihrem Vortrag präsentierte Madeleine Albright Auszüge aus ihrer Autobiographie *Madam Secretary*, die im Oktober 2003 in deutscher Übersetzung im C. Bertelsmann Verlag erschienen ist.

Madeleine K. Albright wurde 1937 in Prag geboren. Ihre Diplomatenfamilie mit jüdischen Vorfahren emigrierte Anfang der 50er Jahre in die USA, wo die hoch begabte Tochter Politik, Rechts- und Staatswissenschaften studierte und sich schon bald als Expertin für Außenpolitik einen Namen machte. 1997 wurde sie Außenministerin der Vereinigten Staaten. Sie ist geschieden und hat drei Töchter. Geprägt vom jüdischen Holocaust und der Flucht der Familie ins Exil, tritt sie auch nach ihrer Amtszeit für Friedenssicherung und Versöhnung ein. Die Nato-Osterweiterung ist dabei ebenso ihr Thema wie die Konflikte mit der arabischen Welt.

Siehe den Bericht auf Seite 13.

28. OKTOBER

Peter Demetz Die Prager Filmproduktion in den Jahren der Okkupation: Gedächtnis und Vergessen Vortrag mit Filmbeispielen

UNSERE ERINNERUNGEN an das Protektorat Böhmen /Mähren waren lange Zeit durch Entweder-Oder-Perspektiven verzerrt, und mein informeller Vortrag versuchte ins Gedächtnis zurückzurufen, wie man in der Prager tschechischen Filmpro-

duktion unter dem Okkupationsregime arbeitete. Die NS-Behörden hatten ein besonderes Interesse an der Kino-Massenkunst (Goebbels). Die Prager Barrandov-Filmateliers, gegründet, finanziert und geleitet durch Vaclav und Milos Havel, den Vater und Onkel



des späteren Staatspräsidenten, zählten zu den modernsten Europas, und als die reichsdeutschen Ateliers wegen der Bombenangriffe nach Prag übersiedelten, waren der industriellen und ideologischen Konflikte nicht wenige. Reichsdeutsche und Tschechen filmten in denselben Ateliers, und die Tschechen versuchten in zumindest vier Filmgattungen, ihre Autonomie zu verteidigen:

- 1) der patriotisch-historischen Biographie (Slavinsky)
- 2) der Konversationskomödie (Vavra)
- 3) dem Bauerndrama, aber zuzeiten nicht frei von antisemitischen Tendenzen (Cap) und
- 4) der lyrisch-poetischen Naturnovelle (Krska).

Im Mai 1945 gelang es der kommunistischen Partei sogleich ein Verstaatlichungsgesetz durchzusetzen, und die Retributionsverfahren / Prozesse dauerten bis 1948 und später.

Peter Demetz ist Sterling Professor emeritus of German and Comparative Literature an der Yale University, New Haven.

Visiting Fellows

January – June 2003

Robin Archer

Senior Research Fellow in Politics, Corpus Christi College, Oxford

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



I am hoping to spend the next year writing initial exploratory essays on two new research projects. The first, on the future of the left, grows out of my earlier work on *Economic Democracy*. Much of the left now seems to share a fear of the unintended consequences of social change and an emphasis on the limits of human rationality that were traditionally associated with conservatism. I want to examine the emergence of this “left-wing conservatism” and consider whether it is possible to accommodate well-founded fears of the dangers of unintended consequences without abandoning the basic Enlightenment belief in our capacity to improve human society. The second project, on violence and liberalism, aims to explore the origins and enduring significance of some of the most distinctive features of American politics and culture. I propose to begin by examining why violence and repression was so prevalent in a society marked by the pervasive influence of liberalism. Given the unprecedented power and assertiveness of the United States, understanding the roots of American political culture is now a matter of great public interest and importance.

Selected *Why is there no Labor Party in the United States?*

Publications: forthcoming 2004; “Does Repression Help to Create Labor Parties?: The Effect of Police and Military Intervention”, in: *Studies in American Political Development* 15 (2001); “Secularism and Sectarianism in India and the West: what are the real lessons of American history?”, in: *Economy and Society* 30 (2001); *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...” (ACCESS)

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;

Publications: *Poduzetništvo u Medimurju i novi razvojni izazovi (Entrepreneurship in Medimurje county and new development challenges)*, (ed.), Institut Ivo Pilar, Zagreb 2002; *Poduzetništvo, institucije i sociokulturni kapital (Entrepreneurship, institutions and sociocultural capital)*, ed. with M. Vehovec, Institut Ivo Pilar, Zagreb 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.

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Krzysztof Gorlach

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

IWM Project: The Restructuring of Agriculture in Poland



The restructuring of agriculture in Poland has been a very complex process. It contains at least three different but interrelated sets of change, namely: the continuing modernization of farms and rural communities in order to overcome “the backwardness” that results from historical development especially the legacy of the communist period; dramatic changes in the farm structure in order to overcome the fragmented agricultural landscape and to gain the advantages of the economy of scale, and, last but not least, the process of institutionalization of agricultural policy, particularly as a result of the EU accession.

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.): *Future of Rural Poland: Visions, Strategies, Concepts*, Warsaw 2001; *Key Social Rural Questions in Poland at the edge of XXIth 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 (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. Auf diese Weise möchte ich 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 Publications: „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 Boskovska 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. Studien zu den Fragen der Phänomenalität und der Interpretation werden sich auf

den Begriff der Urteilskraft konzentrieren, weil gerade diese Fähigkeit der grundlegenden Doppeldeutigkeit der menschlichen Welterfahrung gerecht werden kann, und aus diesem Grund in der heutigen Diskussion eine zentrale, Stellung einzunehmen beginnt. Das Ergebnis des Forschungsaufenthaltes am IWM soll eine auf deutsch geschriebene Publikation unter dem Titel *Der Sinn der Endlichkeit* sein.

Selected Publications: „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...“ (ACCESS)
Selected Publications: *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 Publications: „Wie der Wind des Geistes, der hineinfährt in das wiederbelebte 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

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



IWM Project:

„Phänomen Gewalt“: Perspektiven phänomenologischer Forschung

Gewalt ist ein zentrales Problem unserer Gegenwart. Auch der Versuch ihrer theoretischen Bewältigung sieht sich, grundlegenden Schwierigkeiten gegenüber: Die leitenden Konzeptionen von Erfahrung versagen in der Konfrontation mit dem Phänomen, die Rede darüber bleibt unscharf, ist aber gleichzeitig in einer Vielzahl von Kontexten operativ, ohne begrifflich und inhaltlich hinreichend geklärt zu sein. Eine phänomenologische Analyse von Gewalt, wie ich sie in meinem Projekt vorschlage, sollte genau in dieser Perspektive ansetzen: Zum einen soll ein konsistenter phänomenologischer Begriff von Gewalt entwickelt werden, der ihrem vielsinnigen Auftreten genauso gerecht wird, wie er dem Vorwurf ihrer inflationären Verwendung in theoretischen Kontexten entgegenwirkt; zum zweiten soll die dabei angewandte phänomenologische Methode selbst weiterentwickelt werden; dies impliziert drittens eine vertiefte Rezeption aktueller, im deutschen Sprachraum noch weitgehend unrezipierter Weiterentwicklungen der Phänomenologie.

Selected Publications: *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.

Maja Vehovec

Professor of Microeconomics, University of Rijeka

IWM Project: „After the Accession...“ (ACCESS)

Selected Publications: „Defensive Restructuring in Transition Economies: Does Rigidity of Labour Market matter?“, Conference paper with Polona Domadenik, *Economia Moderna* Conference Proceedings, Zagreb 2003 (forthcoming); „Defensive Restructuring of Firms in Transition Economies: the Case of Croatia and Slovenia“, Conference Proceedings *Enterprise in Transition*, Split-Tucepi 2003; „Evolutionary-institutional Approach to Entrepreneurship Develop-

ment“, in: D. Cengic and M. Vehovec (ed.): *Entrepreneurship, Institutions and socio-cultural Capital*, Institute of Social Science “Ivo Pilar”, Zagreb 2002.

Junior Visiting Fellows

July – December 2003

Zuzana Búriková

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

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



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.

Selected 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*, Vrabel 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?”. But is this kind of inquiry adequate to grasp the nature of persons? In relation to the latter, we ask, “who is it?” The very form of our question reveals our intuition that persons are characterized by a peculiar mode of being. 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. My working hypothesis is that the being of persons exhibit what I 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.

Alison Cashin

M.S. candidate in Journalism, Boston University

IWM Project: Eastern Europe's Fourth Estate?



In the transition to democracy, print journalism in Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland has been liberated from the government constraints and censorship that defined it prior to 1989. Arguably, each of these countries now has a "free media". But has media freedom, particularly in the print press, led to the type of public interest journalism that promotes democracy?

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 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 the 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 the works of H.G. Adler, Jean Améry, Václav Havel and Adam Michnik. The thesis of the project argues for a 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, vol. 19, 2003.

Daria Lucka

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

IWM Project: Civil Society, Nationality and Religion: Allies or Enemies? The Case of Poland (1989-2000)
Since national affiliation and Catholic religion still play important roles in contemporary society in 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 (ed.): *Between Animosity and Utility. Political Parties and their Matrix*, Warsaw 2000.



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 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?

Ognjen Radonjic

Teaching Assistant of Economics, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

IWM Project: "After the Accession..." (ACCESS)

Publications: "Technological development as important condition of international competitiveness", in: *Journal of sociology, social psychology and social anthropology*, Cigoja stampa, Belgrade 2003; "The Yugoslav Lesson (1990-1999): consequences of ten years of isolation", in: www.epunto.com, part 1, 2001, part 2, 2002.



Maya Sion

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

IWM Project: The Politics of Opt-Out in the European Union: *opt-out* as a policy tool for polity management



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 should the integration process advance, other *opt-outs* were negotiated due to domestic political difficulties. It is this later type of *opt-out* which might eventually lead to *opt-in*, and therefore can be seen as a policy tool for polity management. Case-studies 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, The Helmut Kohl Institute for European Studies, Jerusalem 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; „Jednak nowa generacja II: ankieta Kultury,“ in: *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 the connection between metaphysical and ethical considerations in Plato’s philosophy as these are found specifically in his late dialogue the *Philebus*. 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.



Visiting Fellows

Preview 2004 – Selection

January – July 2003

Violeta Barbu

Senior Research Fellow, Romanian Academy, Institute of History, Bucharest; Andrew W. Mellon Fellow

Length of Stay: January – March

IWM Project: The Person as *Dominium Acta Sui* - The Topic of the Responsibility Between Orient and Occident

Jana Ciglerova

UK Correspondent, *Lidove Noviny*, London; Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow

Length of Stay: January – March

IWM Project: The Identity Crisis in United Europe

Natalia Pushkareva

Researcher, Professor of History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Körber Research Fellow

Length of Stay: January – June

IWM Project: History and Gendered Memory (re-reading European ego-documents from the 18th to the 20th century)

Oksana Zabuzhko

Free-lance writer, Kiev; Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow

Length of Stay: April – June

IWM Project: Women's Role Models in Contemporary Ukrainian Culture: Feminists, Soviet Crones & Cosmo Girls

Junior Visiting Fellows

Muriel Blaive

Post-doctoral Researcher and Lecturer at Charles University, Prague; Körber Junior Visiting Fellow

Length of Stay: February – July

IWM Project: Coming to Terms with a Nation's Past: The Czechs and their Archives of Communism

Jakub Franek

Ph.D. candidate in Political Sciences, Boston College

Length of Stay: January – June

IWM Project: Hannah Arendt and Michel Foucault – Two Attempts for a Socratic Critique of Modernity

Deanna Gard

Doctoral Candidate, Boston University School of Law

Length of Stay: January – June

IWM Project: Why revising Romania's and Bulgaria's antitrust laws in order to meet the criteria for European Union membership will have both good and bad consequences

Izabella Main

Ph. D. in History, Central European University, Budapest; Körber Junior Visiting Fellow

Length of Stay: January – June

IWM Project: Memory and History in the Cityscapes in Poland: the Search for Europe

Maria Moser

Doktorandin, Institut für Fundamentaltheologie, Katholisch-theologische Fakultät, Universität Wien
DOC-Stipendiatin der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Length of Stay: January – June

IWM Project: Opfer – Eine kulturanthropologische Kategorie zwischen Affirmation und Ablehnung

Heidi Niederkofler

Doktorandin, Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung, TU Berlin
DOC-Stipendiatin der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Length of Stay: January – June

IWM Project: Erinnerungspraktiken und Nachfolgeansprüche im Feld der Frauenpolitik am Beispiel der Frauenorganisationen der politischen Parteien und des Bundes Österreichischer Frauenvereine nach 1945

Martyn Oliver

Ph. D. candidate in Religion and Literature, Boston University

Length of Stay: January – June

IWM Project: Oriental Imaginings: Europe and the Encounter with Islamic Literature

Keping Wu

Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology, Boston University

Length of Stay: January – June

IWM Project: Fire of the House: Catholic Charismatics in the United States

Publications

Birgit Sauer

MAGEEQ Senior Researcher

Margit Appel/Luise Gubitzer/Birgit Sauer (Hg.), *Zivilgesellschaft. Eine geschlechterkritische Perspektive*. Frankfurt/M.u.a.: Peter Lang 2003.

„Veilchen im Moose'. Die (Geschlechter)Politik der Politik(Wissenschaft)“, in: *Zeitschrift für Frauenforschung und Geschlechterstudien* 21 (2003).

„Zivilgesellschaft versus Staat? Geschlechterkritische Anmerkungen zu einer problematischen Dichotomie“, in: Margit Appel/Luise Gubitzer/Birgit Sauer (Hg.), *Zivilgesellschaft. Eine geschlechterkritische Perspektive*. Frankfurt/M.u.a.: Peter Lang 2003.

„Die Internationalisierung von Staatlichkeit. Geschlechterpolitische Perspektiven“, in: *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* 51 (2003).

„Plagiate im Zeitalter von ‚Copy and Paste‘“, in: <http://science.orf.at/science/sauer/85725>

Michael Staudigl

Visiting Fellow

Stefan Nowotny/Michael Staudigl (Hg.), *Grenzen des Kulturkonzepts. Meta-Genealogien*. Wien: Turia+Kant 2003.

Rolf Kühn/Michael Staudigl (Hg.), *Epoché und Reduktion. Formen und Praxis der Reduktion* (Orbis phaenomenologicus. Perspektiven Bd. 3) Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 2003.

Lidia Antonik

IWM Chef

„Von Österreich nach Krakau kannst du zu Fuß gehen“ – Interview. In: Christine Haiden: *Bigos & Baklava. Lebensgeschichten und Kochrezepte aus dem neuen Europa*.

Linz: Welt der Frau 2003.

Travels and Talks

Nathalie Frogneux

Visiting Fellow

Vortrag: „Für das Bild des Menschen: Das Versagen der Pluralität bei Hans Jonas“ im Rahmen des Symposiums *Hans Jonas* in Mönchengladbach (19.-20. September 2003).

IWM www.iwm.at IWM Working Papers Working Papers

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

Das IWM bietet seinen Gästen die Möglichkeit, ihre Arbeit im Internet zur Diskussion zu stellen. Seit 1996 erscheinen auf der Website des Instituts regelmäßig die IWM Working Papers.

Paul Dragos Aligica

Neoclassical Economics and the Challenge of Transition: Lessons and Implications of the Eastern European Economic Reform Experience

The paper analyzes the impact of the transition experience on the theories and approaches used by economists and decision makers to conceptualize and pursue the reform agenda.

It is shown how in policy area after policy area the reform experience profoundly challenged the ability of the field to identify or anticipate crucial problems and to articulate reliable solutions. Out of that, a series of very important lessons emerged, lessons that not only contributed to a better understanding of the nature of structural policy but also to the possible development to a new and enhanced approach to economic and institutional analysis.

Petya Kabakchieva

Imagining the European Union as a "Nation State"

It seems that today we are witnessing an intensification of the ambivalence of modernity rather than a postmodern mix or recycling. United Europe is an especially interesting case in this respect, especially in the context of the imminent enlargement. The EU is a challenge to the classical structures of the nation-state, yet it is also capable of provoking nationalisms by this very challenge; the EU is building a new institutional structure while keeping the old ones in place; it is striving to homogenize its territory, but intends to integrate economically and culturally heterogeneous countries into a single European space.

Maria Todorova

National Heroes As Secular Saints: The Case of Vasil Levski

Vasil Levski, the undisputed and most venerated pinnacle of the Bulgarian national pantheon, has long attained a mythical status and has served as a coveted symbol for political legitimation. His recent canonization by the alternative synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox church embroiled him also in the church split. At the same time, there is a grass-roots process directed at the official acceptance of his sainthood. At the moment, there exists in the church a Janus-like Levski: one face already with a *nimbus*, the other a saint in the making. This paper seeks to address a number of methodological issues: the correlation between hero worship and sainthood in general but especially in the era of nationalism; the narrative and other genres that effectuate this interplay; finally, the symbolic repertoire of nationalism in the era of post-communism.

Vortrag: „Le monstrueux comme rempart de l'inhumain“ beim Kongress *L'humain comme exigence: situations et universalité*, Institut catholique de Paris, laboratoire de philosophie pratique et d'anthropologie philosophique (4.-5. Dezember 2003).

Heiko Haumann

Visiting Fellow

Vortrag: „Auf dem Weg zu neuen Selbstverständnissen: Ostjuden im 19. Jahrhundert“, auf Einladung von Prof. Andreas Kappeler am Institut für Ost-europäische Geschichte der Universität Wien (13. November 2003).

Cornelia Klinger

Permanent Fellow

Vortrag: „Wann und was war die Epoche der Moderne in der Kunst?“, Stiftung Opel-Villen, Zentrum für Kunst in Rüsselsheim (7. September 2003).

Vortrag: „Seit wann ist ‚modern‘ modern? Fragen zum Begriff und zur Ideengeschichte von Moderne“ bei der Konferenz der Hamburgischen Architektenkammer zum Thema: *Was ist heute „modern“? Perspektiven einer zeitgenössischen Architektur* (25. September 2003).

János Mátyás Kovács

Permanent Fellow

Vortrag: „Eastern Enlargement – Western Enlargement: Cultural Encounters in the European Economy after the Accession“, Paper presented to the panel „Der Einfluss kultureller Faktoren auf die politische und ökonomische Transformation postsozialistischer Gesellschaften“, organized by the section „Postsocialist Societies“ of the German Political Science Association, University of Mainz (22-25 September 2003).

Klaus Nellen

Permanent Fellow

vertrat auf der **Frankfurter Buchmesse** die am Institut herausgegebene Zeitschrift *Transit – Europäische Revue*, deren Redakteur er ist. *Transit* hatte einen Gemeinschaftsstand mit dem Verlag *Neue Kritik*, Frankfurt a.M., in dem die Revue erscheint (9.-11. Oktober 2003).

Teilnahme für *Transit* am 16. **Treffen europäischer Kulturzeitschriften**, das in diesem Jahr in Belgrad im *Center for Cultural Decontamination* stattfand, organisiert vom *Belgrade Circle*, vom *Belgrade Women's Studies Centre* und von *eurozine – the netmagazine*. Das Treffen versammelte Zeitschriften aus fast 40 Ländern, darunter zahlreiche aus dem exjugoslawischen Raum, und fand zeitgleich mit der Belgrader Buchmesse statt. Auf dem Programm standen u.a. drei Podiumsdiskussionen zu den Themen „Balkan as Meta-

phor", "Politics of Translation" und "Cultures of Democracy" (25.-26. Oktober 2003).

Stefanie Peter

Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow diskutierte im Polnischen Institut Düsseldorf mit dem Warschauer Philosophen Pawel Dybel über die gesellschaftlichen Transformationen in Polen nach 1989, über neue Idole, Mythen und Trends. Anlass der Veranstaltung war die Vorführung des Dokumentarfilms „Generation 89“ von Maria Zmarz-Koczanowicz (2002), ein Porträt der ersten Generation von Polen, die nach der politischen Wende 1989 ins Erwachsenenleben eintrat (16. Oktober 2003).

Buchpräsentation: Mariusz Wilk: *Schwarzes Eis. Mein Russland*. Wien: Paul Zsolnay Verlag 2003, Vorstellung gemeinsam mit dem Übersetzer **Martin Pollack**, Mitglied der Jury für die Paul Celan Stipendien für Übersetzer des IWM, Zentralbuchhandlung, Wien (23. Oktober 2003).

Birgit Sauer

MAGEEQ Senior Researcher

„Add women and stir? Die mühsamen Wege der politikwissenschaftlichen Geschlechterforschung“, **Vortrag** im Rahmen der Ringvorlesung *Gendered Subjects 1: Die Kategorie Geschlecht im Streit der Disziplinen* an der Universität Wien (27. Oktober 2003).

„Gender Studies unterrichten. Curriculare und methodische Überlegungen in historischer Perspektive“, **Vortrag** auf der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Konferenz *Sibirische Kultur und Mentalität* an der State University Sankt Petersburg (22.-24. Oktober 2003).

„Revisiting State Feminism in the Context of Globalization“, **Vortrag** auf dem Internationalen Workshop *Gender, Globalization, and State Transformation: New Concepts and Approaches in Political Research*, Universität Bremen und Hanse Wissenschaftskolleg (27.-30. September 2003).

Michael Staudigl

Visiting Fellow

Teilnahme an der *Second Central and Eastern European Conference on Phenomenology "Everydayness, Language, Communication"* an der European Humanities University

in Minsk (Belarus) mit einem Vortrag über „Technik und Kulturkritik in der Phänomenologie Michel Henrys“ (9.-13. Oktober 2003).

Karin Tertinegg

MAGEEQ Junior Researcher

Präsentation von MAGEEQ auf der Fachtagung *Gender Mainstreaming im ESF – von der Theorie in die Praxis, Zwischenbilanz und Perspektiven der Umsetzung in der österreichischen Arbeitsmarktpolitik*, organisiert von der GeM - Koordinationsstelle www.gem.or.at (16. September 2003).

Anita Traninger

Managing Director

Vortrag: „Tarnen und Täuschen. Improvisation, Bluff und ‚hohles Geschwätz‘ in Wissenskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit“ im Rahmen der Reihe „Geschichte am Mittwoch“, veranstaltet vom Institut für Geschichte der Universität Wien und dem Institut für die Erforschung der Frühen Neuzeit, Wien (15. Oktober 2003).

Participated in the 2nd Workshop on Early Modern German History, German Historical Institute, London (31 October 2003).

Mieke Verloo

MAGEEQ Research Director

chaired the 3rd **meeting** of the informal *Council of Europe Network on gender mainstreaming*, Strasbourg (10 September 2003).

Paper: „The Transformative Potential of Gender Mainstreaming: Some Critical Comments“. Opening Session *Stream Equality*, together with Stream Academia Conference *Gender and Power in the New Europe*, Lund (20-24 August 2003).

Paper: „Reflections on the Concept and Practice of the Council of Europe Approach to Gender Mainstreaming“, ESRC seminar: *Gender Mainstreaming: Theoretical Issues and New Developments*, Leeds (24-25 October 2003).

with Meike Schmidt Gleim

IWM Junior Visiting Fellow 2001

Paper: „One More Feminist Manifesto of the Political Gender and Politics Section“. Session *Feminist Futures in Europe* at the ECPR General Conference, Marburg (18-21 September 2003).

Natascha Vitorelli

Junior Visiting Fellow

Vortrag in serbischer Sprache zur „Einführung in Frauen-/Geschlechtergeschichte und feministische Geschichtswissenschaften“ am Women's Studies Center Mileva Maric-Einstein in Novi Sad (11. September 2003).

Vortrag: „Marja Borsnik und ihre Erzählung über die ‚Slovenka‘“ im Rahmen des *Slowenischen SlawistInnen-Kongresses* in Bled (3. Oktober 2003).

Varia

The Library of Congress awarded the new \$1 million Kluge Prize for lifetime contribution to the humanities to IWM Academic Advisory Board Member **Leszek Kolakowski** in recognition of his intellectual backing for the Solidarity union's efforts to jettison communism.

The prize is meant to highlight fields of study as varied as anthropology, history, philosophy, sociology and religion for which there is no major international award. Professor Kolakowski was chosen by a five-member panel of scholars, based on his broad intellectual interests and endeavors and because "his voice was fundamental for the fate of Poland, and influential in Europe as a whole."

He began his career as a philosophy professor as a Marxist, but became disillusioned and was eventually expelled from the Communist Party, lost his post at Warsaw University and went into exile in 1968. He then wrote his best-known work, the three-volume "Main Currents of Marxism: Its Rise, Growth and Dissolution," describing Marxism as "the greatest fantasy of our century."

From Britain Mr. Kolakowski backed Solidarity in the 1980's as it confronted Poland's communist government, and he was described by one of its leaders as "the awakener of human hopes." Mr. Kolakowski, in an interview, was modest about his role, saying, "I gave interviews, wrote articles, collected money, but it was nothing great."

(Excerpt from The New York Times, November 5, 2003)

Charles Taylor, Chairman of the Academic Advisory Board of the IWM, was awarded the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council's Gold Medal for Achievement in Research, the Council's highest honour, in Ottawa on October 16th 2003.

Anita Traninger, Managing Director, erhielt am 10. Oktober 2003 den Figdor-Preis für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2003. Der Preis, der im jährlichen Wechsel an Linguisten und Literaturwissenschaftler verliehen wird, wurde ihr für ihr Buch *Mühevoll Wissen. Lullismus und Rhetorik in den deutschsprachigen Ländern der Frühen Neuzeit* (München: Fink 2001) zuerkannt.

Barbara Weber ist seit Oktober 2003 gemeinsam mit Anna Steger für das Library Service des Instituts zuständig. Sie studiert Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Wien.

Veronika Jantsch, Studentin der Studienrichtungen Französisch und Spanisch an der Wiener Romanistik, absolviert von Oktober bis Weihnachten 2003 ein Praktikum am IWM.

Osteuropa wurde in Politik und Geschichtswissenschaft zu verschiedenen Zeiten unterschiedlich definiert. Heiko Haumann, Visiting Fellow des IWM, zum Verständnis eines facettenreichen Begriffs und zu den Schwierigkeiten seiner geographischen, historischen und kulturellen Eingrenzung.

Was ist eigentlich "Osteuropa"?

„OSTEUROPA IST TOT!“ So hieß es in einer Diskussion, die innerhalb des Faches Osteuropäische Geschichte in Deutschland 1998/99 geführt wurde. Mit dem Zusammenbruch des kommunistischen Herrschaftssystems sei auch die begriffliche Einheit für einen Raum verschwunden, in dem sich „das Andere“ gegenüber dem Westen symbolisiert habe. Folgerichtig plädierten die Anhänger dieser These für eine Abschaffung des Faches und für dessen Integration in die „Allgemeine Geschichte“, bei gleichzeitiger Spezialisierung auf einzelne Länder oder Regionen. Dabei stießen sie allerdings auf unterschiedlichen Widerspruch.

Inzwischen hat sich die Aufregung wieder gelegt und ist einer ruhigeren Betrachtungsweise gewichen. Unbestritten ist, dass die Gründung von Lehrstühlen für Osteuropäische Geschichte oft mit politischen Absichten verbunden war und dass der Begriff „Osteuropa“ konstruiert, ja zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten je nach herrschendem Geschichtsbild anders verstanden wurde. Der Osten, das war ursprünglich der Orient, also Ostrom, das Byzantinische Reich, später das Osmanische Reich. Russland, die baltischen Länder, auch Polen-Litauen galten bis in das 18. Jahrhundert als „Nordeuropa“. Erst dann, als sich allmählich die Machtverhältnisse in diesem Raum zugunsten Russlands verschoben und das Interesse an jenen fremden Gebieten zunahm, wurde „Osteuropa“ im heutigen Sinn „erfunden“. Der Begriff, der sich in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts durchsetzte, bezog sich dabei zunächst in erster Linie auf Russland. Daneben weitete sich das Verständnis in wachsendem Maße auf den gesamten Raum von Polen über Böhmen und Ungarn bis zum „Balkan“ aus. Diese Sichtweise ist also, anders als in der eingangs erwähnten Diskussion behauptet, keine Folge des „Eisernen Vorhanges“ nach 1945, wohl aber vom Westen her geprägt. Je mehr sich die westlichen Staa-

ten seit dem 18. Jahrhundert als „Europa“ und Zentrum der Zivilisation definierten, desto stärker musste der Osten als das rückständige, „andere Europa“ erscheinen.

Gemeinsame Identität fehlt. Diese eng mit politisch-kulturellen Bedingungen verbundene Wahrnehmung des Verhältnisses zwischen Ost und West hat sich keineswegs geradlinig entfaltet, aber, verschärft durch den „Kalten Krieg“, bis in die jüngste Zeit erhalten. In Osteuropa selbst hat sie immer wieder zu heftigen Debatten über einen eigenen Weg oder die Orientierung an westlichen Vorbildern angeregt. Sollten wir deshalb am besten tatsächlich vom Begriff „Osteuropa“ Abstand nehmen? Eine gemeinsame „osteuropäische Identität“ hat sich offenbar in der Bevölkerung nicht verankert, gerade auch nicht während der kommunistischen Periode. Viele Bewohner der Gebiete außerhalb Russlands sehen sich nicht als „Osteuropäer“, sondern wollen ein Teil „Mitteleuropas“ oder zumindest „Ostmitteleuropas“ sein; im Süden wird die Zugehörigkeit zu „Südosteuropa“ betont, das viele dem mit Barbarei und Gewalttätigkeit assoziierten Begriff „Balkan“ vorziehen. Konstruktionen sind dies allerdings ebenso. An sich lässt sich, ganz banal, nicht davon absehen, dass es irgendwo einen Westen und einen Osten Europas geben muss. Vom jeweiligen Standpunkt hängt es ab, von dem aus sich die Himmelsrichtungen verzweigen. Was also ist „Osteuropa“?

Eine deutliche geographische Eingrenzung ist nicht sichtbar. Selbst über den Ural gehen viele „europäische“ Einflüsse hinaus. Dennoch sprechen ernsthafte Argumente für die Eigenart des Großraums und damit für eine spezifische



wissenschaftliche Disziplin. Die Vielfalt der Sprachen – und mit ihnen der Völker – Osteuropas ist nur verhältnismäßig wenigen Spezialisten zugänglich. Würde das eigene Fach aufgegeben, ginge mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit eine angemessene Untersuchung jenes Raumes verloren. Die von Nicht-Osteuropahistorikern verfassten Geschichten Europas zeigen anschaulich, wie hier die westeuropäisch geprägte Sichtweise vorherrscht – so wie in der politischen Diskussion abwertend von den osteuropäischen „Reform- und Transformationsstaaten“ gesprochen wird, die um die Aufnahme in die Europäische Union nachsuchen, die ihnen gnädigst gewährt wird, damit sie den Weg der Zivilisation beschreiten können.

Differenzierte Geschichte. Darüber hinaus hat der Raum eine gemeinsame, wenngleich in sich differenzierte Geschichte, in unterschiedlich dichten Beziehungen der dortigen Territorien untereinander wie mit westlichen Ländern. Aufgrund der häufigen Wechsel staatlicher Zugehörigkeit und vielfachen Migrationsbewegungen kann oft die Geschichte und Kultur eines Volkes oder einer Ethnie nicht unbedingt mit einem bestimmten Staat verbunden werden. Vollends wurde seit der wachsenden Abgrenzung des Westens vom Osten, trotz vielfältiger Verbindungen und in den Übergangszonen auch Vermischungen, die eigenständige Entwicklung Osteuropas „gemacht“ und in ständiger Auseinandersetzung mit dem Westen, aber auch dem eigenen „Osten“ reflektiert.

Festmachen lässt sich die Eigenständigkeit etwa an den kirchlich-kulturellen Wegen, an der bedeutenden Rolle von Dorfgemeinden mit ihrer Selbstverwaltung und ihren Wertvorstellungen in vielen osteuropäischen Ländern, an gemeinsamen Familienformen, an einer von Westeuropa unterschiedenen – und keineswegs schlechteren – Stellung der Frau, an zahlreichen Beispielen des Volksglaubens und der Mythen, an einer größeren Toleranz gegenüber Andersgläubigen, an alternativen Herrschaftsformen, die zugleich ihre Querverbindungen zu Westeuropa hatten (ständisch-„demokratischen“ in Polen, Böhmen, Ungarn und Kroatien, autokratischen in Russland), an besonderen Ausformungen freiheitlicher Ideen und Bewegungen. Dabei haben sich die osteuropäischen Länder immer als Teil Europas verstanden. Angesichts der Osterweiterung der EU wäre es angebracht, seitens der Westeuropäer die Eigenständigkeit und Gleichwertigkeit der Geschichte und Kultur Osteuropas anzuerkennen, sich von den Klischees der Rückständigkeit und mangelnden Zivilisiertheit zu lösen.

Betrachtung von Lebenswelten. Das gilt auch für die Geschichtswissenschaft. Das Fach Osteuropäische Geschichte wird erst dann überflüssig, wenn es für HistorikerInnen von den sprachlichen

Voraussetzungen wie von den kulturellen Vor-Einstellungen ebenso selbstverständlich ist, ein Thema aus der Geschichte Osteuropas wie aus derjenigen Westeuropas zu wählen. Die beiden Lehrstühle für Osteuropäische Geschichte in der Schweiz – an den Universitäten Zürich und Basel – haben, bei aller notwendigen Spezialisierung, immer darauf Wert gelegt, sich nicht zu isolieren und das „Allgemeine“ an den jeweiligen besonderen historischen Prozessen aufzuzeigen – so wie eine Lehrveranstaltung oder ein Forschungsprojekt zu einem Aspekt der westeuropäischen Geschichte zugleich besonders und allgemein ist. Wer einen Gegensatz zwischen „Allgemeiner“ und „Osteuropäischer Geschichte“ konstruiert, geht selbst von einem westeuropäisch bestimmten Geschichtsbild aus.

Besonders wichtig ist die vergleichende Betrachtung von Lebenswelten, die Verbindung von regionalen Studien mit übergreifenden Perspektiven, um das „Eigene“ der jeweiligen Verhältnisse herauszuarbeiten und die schematische Übertragung von Kategorien, die an anderen Gesellschaften gewonnen wurden, zu verhindern. Ein „klassischer“ Fall für den interregionalen Vergleich stellen Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Kultur der Ostjuden dar. Sie belegen im Übrigen exemplarisch eine vom Westen eigenständige Entwicklung im gesamten osteuropäischen Raum bei gleichzeitiger innerer Differenzierung. Immer wieder werden schließlich die Beziehungen osteuropäischer Länder mit Westeuropa, namentlich mit der Schweiz thematisiert. Insgesamt geht es darum, Werturteile über „fremdartiges“ Verhalten oder angebliche Rückständigkeits in Frage zu stellen, indem die sozialen Zustände und kulturellen Praktiken in ihren geschichtlichen Erscheinungsformen „von innen her“ erschlossen werden. Auf diese Weise kann die Erforschung der Geschichte und Kultur Osteuropas dazu beitragen, gesamteuropäische Zusammenhänge zu erkennen und ein Geschichtsbild zu fördern, das die Vorgänge im „Osten“ in ihrer Eigenart, ohne Überlegenheitsgefühle, wahrnimmt.

Heiko Haumann

Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von UNI NOVA.
Wissenschaftsmagazin der Universität Basel. Nr. 94,
Juni 2003

Our view of what is called 'Eastern Europe' has gone through several changes over the course of time. This applies both to the way in which this region has been situated in the geographical space as well as how it has been perceived. From the eighteenth century onward, the West European states identified themselves more and more with the notion of 'Europe', placing themselves as the center of civilisation. As a consequence, the East was frequently represented as the 'other Europe', backward and less developed. Despite the fact that there has never been a common 'East European identity', this part of the continent has developed its own, albeit diverse history and common cultural traditions.

On the eve of the EU enlargement to the East, West Europeans would be well advised to overcome the stereotype of backwardness and finally recognize the authentic and equal rank of the history and culture of Eastern Europe. Scholarly research on Eastern Europe, especially on its history, can help to reunite what was divided for so long, by making visible what Western and Eastern Europe have in common and by promoting a view of history which helps understand the 'East' in its specificity, without effecting a feeling of superiority.

Does anyone still believe in solidarity between the “two Europes”? While in the context of EU enlargement the concept of solidarity is enjoying a renaissance, it is interpreted quite differently on both sides of the former Iron Curtain. IWM Permanent Fellow Janos Matyas Kovacs takes a closer look at the incredible bipolarity of solidarity narratives.

On the Eve of a Gloomy Feast Narratives of Solidarity in the Enlarging Union



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János Mátyás Kovács, der Leiter des Projekts „After the Accession“, sprach Anfang Oktober anlässlich der Konferenz „After the Enlargement. The Conditions of European Solidarity“ (siehe Bericht S. 3) über die Frage, ob Solidarität im erweiterten Europa überhaupt möglich ist. Bereits die unterschiedlichen Definitionen des Begriffs „Solidarität“ verweisen auf eine problematische kulturelle Kluft zwischen „westeuropäischer“ und „osteuropäischer“ Erwartungshaltung und Handlungsbereitschaft.

UNDER COMMUNISM, solidarity was a subject of black humour rather than scholarship. An altruistic interpretation of transnational solidarity could not be accepted under the conditions of “forced solidarity”. Let me quote my favorite joke on “mutual aid” and “socialist brotherhood”: “On a military training field a Russian and a Hungarian soldier find a table of chocolate. They are terribly hungry. The Russian says solemnly: let us share it in a brotherly manner. God forbid, answers the Hungarian, we should split it up fifty-fifty.” The message was clear: if solidarity is nothing but a farce, equal sharing becomes *the* just alternative. In Eastern Europe one did not have to nuance that proposition until the birth of *Solidarnosc*, or, in transnational sense, until the fall of the Wall. Yet, the attraction of “unforced solidarity” evaporated fast (somewhen between the first quarrels within *Solidarnosc*, the political disempowerment of the Eastern lands in Germany, and the outbreak of the Yugoslav war), and I returned to my customary suspicion toward the allegedly altruistic transnational relations.

My personal story is irrelevant but it explains the surprise I would like to share with you. In studying current history of ideas in Eastern Europe, I have been witnessing a renaissance of the concept of solidarity, in particular, in the context of EU enlargement. My surprise stems less from the revival itself than from a clear divergence in interpreting the concept on the two sides of the former Iron Curtain. I saw two rival discourses crystallize, a romantic and a pragmatic one, which – unfortunately – reinforce each other, like in a dialogue of the deaf, without resulting in mutual understanding.

In running an eight country research project on cultural encounters in the economy between the East and the West, I am also astonished by the extent to which the narratives of our respondents are permeated by their views of European solidarity, no matter if they are entrepreneurs, civil servants or academics. (We are conducting many hundred in-depth interviews, and preparing dozens of case studies, media- and literature reviews.) The micro-narratives allude to two macro-discourses, both dealing with the East-West distribution of costs and benefits, among others, in the turbulent game of the Enlargement. I call them “rhetoric of resent-

ment” and “rhetoric of indifference”. Although they conflict sharply as far as their arguments and style are concerned, their representatives are fairly interchangeable, expressing similarly hybrid persuasions. Currently it is rather difficult to determine both in the East and the West whether a given narrative of solidarity with the “Other” has been produced by a soft populist, a pragmatic conservative or socialist, or a frustrated liberal.

The incredible bipolarity of the solidarity narratives, which is, by the way, well known from the proverbial *Ossi-Wessi* conflict in Germany, allows me, I believe, to commit all possible crimes against science one can commit in fifteen minutes. My presentation will be an orgy of oversimplification. I will use a primitive two-actor model, in which the aggregate terms of East and West represent a large variety of agents: a great number of countries, Brussels and the EU member states, the members, the new entrants, the candidates and the left-outs, the elites and the people at large, governments and oppositions, politics, business and the academia, and so on, and so forth. Apologies in advance. In exchange, I promise not to consider the two rhetorics as simple cover discourses that only serve political manipulation or self-deception. In what follows, I will touch upon four major issues:

1. The semantic roots of the divergent interpretations
2. The difficulties of defining and measuring solidarity
3. The composition of the two rival discourses
4. The chances for a rapprochement between the two

Vocabularies. Suspecting a dialogue of the deaf, one is advised to reach for dictionaries. In looking up the word “solidarity” in English language dictionaries (Oxford, Cambridge, Webster), I found the following definitions:

1. unity or agreement, especially among individuals with a common interest
2. mutual dependence
3. mutual support or cohesiveness within a group
4. complete or exact coincidence of interests

5. consolidation of interests and responsibilities
6. fellowship
7. community
8. combination or agreement of individuals, as of a group
9. complete unity, as of opinion, purpose, interest, feeling
10. agreement between and support for the members of a group

Apparently, in English, solidarity is not necessarily imbued with the altruistic value of *fraternité* and philanthropy. The emphasis is put on common interest, mutual dependence and agreement rather than support. As a contrast, in my mother tongue, Hungarian, one can hardly be solidaristic with someone out of self-interest, not even on the basis of a sober assessment of “mutual dependence”. Solidarity is essentially unselfish, it pertains to assisting the weaker, with a bit of sacrifice at least, a sacrifice without material reward. What you gain from supporting others is – at most – pure moral gratification. Also, you can’t be solidaristic with the stronger or the more powerful.

When it comes to differences in meaning between Anglo-American and Hungarian (or, in general, Eastern European) thoughts, we had better consult a dictionary of German language. Small wonder that terms such as “support”, “sacrifice”, “fraternity” and “charity” (*Nächstenliebe*) are stressed there vehemently. In *Wahrig* or *Duden*, for instance, one comes across synonyms like „gemeinsam“, „einig“ and „fest verbunden“ but, at the same time, they also focus on the *Solidaritätsprinzip* in Catholic social teaching (the theory of *Solidarismus*), which expresses „das wechselseitige Füreinander-Eintretens (einer für alle, alle für einen)“ and legitimizes „soziale Ausgleichsprozesse“.

I expected to examine a communication gap, and actually fell in a cultural abyss. The only hope for the East, I thought, might arise from the fact that the dominant discourse in the West combines the Anglo-American (liberal) and the German as well as other European, (social-liberal or conservative) readings of solidarity. However, things turned out to be much more complicated, and not only because one can easily get lost in the jungle of communitarian, egalitarian-liberal, multicultural, etc. theories.

Pains of definition and measurement. I spare you the intricacies of measuring solidarity by two parties who disagree on the merit of the concept. Even in the optimal case, in which integration is a positive-sum game, opinions will differ on whether one can call a win-win situation a quintessential embodiment of solidarity. The typical answer by a Westerner would be this: if this favorable situation results from joining forces on the basis of our common interests and shared values then we are definitely solidaristic with each other. Redistribution (i.e., a sacrifice on our part) and levelling are no primary prerequisites to solidarity. The Easterner, however, would argue in the following way: a win-win situation can only reflect solidarity if the weaker party gains (perhaps significantly) more in relative terms than the stronger one as a result of co-operation *and* redistribution. Eventually, this may lead to a catching up with the West. If we, however, catch up without redistribution there is no point to talk about “real” solidarity. In the opposite case, if the East gains comparatively less, the Westerner will still continue to talk about solidarity whereas the Easterner will begin to wonder why the West does not offer the East part of its own gains as support. Why should one regard a widening of the gap between the rich and the poor as a sign of solidarity, he/she will ask.

Questions after questions, though we have not considered yet the problem of absolute gains and the win-lose and the lose-lose situations. In any event, what notion of gain is to be applied? Like with all theories of distributive justice, the devil is in the details of defining what exactly is being distributed and in what manner. Is it income or wealth, or chances to generate them? Is it a material or a spiritual good? Also, one party may lose in the short run to gain in the long run. Gaining might also mean that you lose less than you would have lost if you had not taken part in the game.

Are the gains really measurable by the two actors *and* commensurable between them? How do we calculate, for example, the decline in the sovereignty of the entrants, and how do we compare the result of our calculation with the growth of agricultural subsidies allotted to them? I am afraid that measuring is not a less perplexing task if one studies the pluses and minuses in the same field, say, sovereignty.

Can we reasonably compare sovereignty losses that are due to the imposition of the *acquis* on the candidate countries with sovereignty gains that are due to new freedoms granted by the same *acquis*?

Let us suppose the impossible: all short- and long-term gains and losses of the Enlargement are quantifiable. We know not only all price indices, trade figures and employment indicators but also the monetary equivalent of each and every indirect effect of economic change on air pollution, life expectancy or propensity for migration. Moreover, the balance of all genuinely political and socio-cultural transactions between the East and the West is precisely drawn. Let us also presume optimistically that, at the end of the day, the entrants will be net recipients of the integration in all respects of the overall give-and-take. Yet, even in this Paradise we will hear many Easterners lament: “the concept of solidarity must not be expropriated even by a far-sighted but exclusively technical calculation. You, Westerners are not quite solidaristic with us if you write us a billion euro cheque but deliberately drop it to force us to bow down before you.”

Rhetoric of resentment. As my last sentence indicates, there already exists a detailed Leidensgeschichte of the Accession; a story that starts with the “original sin” of rejecting in 1989 the project of European reunification, and replacing it with the foggy prospect of gradual integration. In fact, membership in the EU was not conceived of by the West as a natural entitlement that a country deserves by its geographical position, or as a moral compensation for suffering under communism.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 1990s, one might believe that the indisputably large gains acquired by the West from the first moments of post-communist transformation would pave the way for a rather smooth enfranchisement of the former Eastern Bloc by the Union. Accordingly, the EU members would be solidaristic with the potential entrants at least in a narrow sense of the concept: the West would take the political and socio-cultural risks as the economic risks would be covered abundantly by profits earned in the emerging markets of Eastern Europe. It came as an embarrassment for the applicants that the principle of natural entitlement was not replaced by that of co-

option based on overall reciprocity (i.e., exchanging risks *without* examining the performance of and making distinctions between the newcomers). Instead, the EU insisted on the principle of individual merits and competition among the accession candidates.

Admission in a club, athletic game, school enrollment, parental help, job interview, tourist guide, military training, etc. – even if the West has not always employed exactly these metaphors, the East translated the incoming paternalistic messages with their help, and slowly gave up every hope in symmetric relationships, fast mutual adjustment, and trust based on moral merits, traditions and an exchange of favors.

It was another blow on Eastern European self-esteem when it became clear what the EU means by “preparedness for membership”, what kind of performance counts, and how it is measured. Here the tale of woe rose in epic heights and got filled with a whole series of concrete offenses ranging from the legalism of the *acquis*, and the changing rules of the game, through the planned postponement of the Accession date (you remember Geremek’s *bon mot*: the admission is always five years ahead of us), to the proliferation of Orientalist terms such as Eastern Enlargement, accession, etc. in Euro-speak. Solidarity is a fragile commodity. One has the impression that, in deciding whether or not the West shows solidarity, the East was at least as much influenced by the choreography (scenery, language, symbols, images) of the Accession as by the size of the transfer payments or the entrants’ voting rights in the enlarged Union.

Cumulative frustrations notwithstanding, the rhetoric of resentment is more than just a sentimental or, on the contrary, a sneaky talk. Apart from the obvious attempts at gaining as much support from the West as possible in the shortest period of time, the entrants put forward rational ideas of distributive justice. They wish to catch up quickly but do not aim at instant levelling by claiming a large part of the wealth of the member states. At the same time, they are not willing to put up with alms. They do not wish that the West loses when the East gains but they cannot imagine solidarity without a real sacrifice. The entrants are convinced that they do not ask too much. Given the huge differ-

ences in the starting conditions, presenting say, one per cent of Western GDP to the East may replace (or trigger off) many-percent growth in our half of the continent, they remark sadly.

Rhetoric of indifference. By indifference I do not mean a lack of moral approach to European integration. The term is to reflect three things: a.) a principled uninterestedness in an overwhelmingly altruistic approach to solidarity, in historical arguments on reciprocity, and in vague ideas on distributive justice and social engineering, b.) an instinctive inattention toward any reasoning based on the concept of the victim with his/her *ressentiments*, c.) a calm and neutral stance of the “seller” vis à vis the “buyer” on the seller’s market of the Accession. To be sure, the West did not make the final objective of catching up questionable, just asked the following question: “why does the East not realize that the means it suggests serve this end wrongly?”

The Easterners waved indignantly. They did not understand why they cannot build consensus around the concept of solidarity with the Union that also loves to advertise categories such as identity, belonging, family of nations, cultural/religious traditions, citizenship, social cohesion, the European Social Model etc. With a reflex motion, the Easterners associated these categories with forgiving, biased rules, permissiveness, exchange of favors and generosity, applying the *Solidaritätsprinzip* of “one for all, all for one”. It took some time for them to recognize that the West went beyond the biblical analogy of the prodigal son: its paternalism is not a humble and unconditional one geared by affection and bordering on self-punishment. The *pater* called European Union would like to be strict and demanding rather than generously tolerant. Nothing must invalidate the underlying maxim of initiation: “prove first that you are able to live with us under the same roof”.

In closing, let me just mention, in a telegraphic style, three strong arguments by the West, which aim at counterbalancing the Eastern claims at risk sharing, quick accession, Western sacrifice, and support for catching-up.

a.) If the West had decided to accept these claims it would have had to renounce its whole philosophy of evolutive social engineering.

b.) Similarly, it would have had to challenge its own stronger ego, I mean, the meritocratic one (versus the charitable) in terms of distributive justice.

c.) Finally, it would have retroactively depreciated its own sacrifices made in the past. What kind of sacrifices? The “achievements” that are being taken over by the East with much complaint, harbour tremendous amount of hard work, sharp conflicts, self-restraint, in one word, sacrifice made by the West at earlier stages. Hence, inclusion itself is tantamount to solidarity based on support and sacrifice, especially if we consider the future risks emerging from a joint use of the Western societal regimes. Maybe, says the West, if we could calculate the balance of costs and benefits properly it would not be us but the East who should pay. In such a case, why should we spend for the East more than absolutely necessary for damage control?

Chances for a rapprochement. Although the rhetoric of indifference also contains apologetic even demagogic arguments expressing resentment, this does not bridge the communication gap. I am afraid that the conflict is by definition irresolvable not only because of the divergent value orientations and the troubles with measurement but also because both discourses rest on a number of assumptions that can only be checked (if at all) decades from now.

Given the favorable bargaining position of the West, for the time being I cannot imagine but a kind of “unilateral rapprochement”, to use an oxymoron, between the two rhetorics. (In other words, this will be an adjustment by the East.) Meanwhile, provided the Enlargement will be successful, the entrants may reconcile themselves with a less romantic concept of solidarity. They will be tempted by accepting an interest-based approach. Actually, they have already been tempted by that. In response to the growing resentment of their Eastern neighbors, in particular, of those who have not yet entered even the waiting room of the Union, a familiar attitude is becoming more and more fashionable among the current entrants. I would call it “indifference”.

Janos Matyas Kovacs

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Preview

The next issue of the **IWM Newsletter** (Nr. 83) will cover, among others, the following topics:

Cultural Diversity

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

International Symposium
8 – 9 November 2003



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



Among the participants: **Arjun Appadurai** (Yale), **Charles Taylor** (Chicago), **Benita Ferrero-Waldner** (Vienna), **Nik Gowing** (London), **Michael Grabner** (Stuttgart), **Daoud Kuttub** (Ramallah), **Adam Michnik** (Warsaw), **Abduljalil Sajid** (Brighton), **Lord Weidenfeld** (London), **Elizabeth Weymouth-Graham** (New York)

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 für auswärtige Angelegenheiten

in collaboration with



The Institute for Human Sciences
at Boston University
11 November, 2003

The US



Together or Apart?

Session I:
The Unification of Europe and the United States

Session II:
The Role of Europe in the Changing US Foreign Policy

International conference
The US and Europe: Together or Apart?

Organized by the Institute for Human Sciences at Boston University and the Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam

Session I:
The Unification of Europe and the United States

Session II:
The Role of Europe in the Changing US Foreign Policy



Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam

Participants included:

John Silber
Chancellor, Boston University

James Hoge
Editor-in-Chief, *Foreign Affairs*

Hans van den Broek
Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands (1982 to 1993); Member of the European Commission, responsible for common foreign and security policy and enlargement negotiations (1993 to 1994)

General Klaus Naumann
Chairman of the North Atlantic Military Committee of NATO (1996 to 1999); Chief of Staff, Federal Armed Forces (1991 to 1996)

John O'Sullivan
Editor, *The National Interest*; former Editor-in-Chief, *United Press International*; former adviser to Margaret Thatcher

Adam D. Rotfeld
Deputy Foreign Minister, Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw; former Director, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

Prince Schwarzenberg
Chairman, Board of Patrons, Institute for Human Sciences; Former President, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights; former Chairman of the Advisory Board to Czech President Vaclav Havel

Gerard Baker
Columnist, *Financial Times*

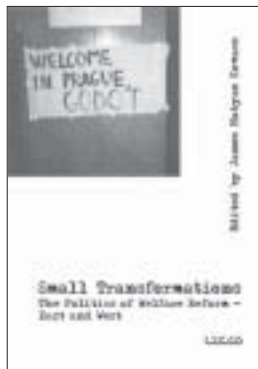
Ken Adelman
Member, Defense Policy Board; former U.N. Ambassador and Arms Control Director in the Reagan Administration

Max Boot
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Michael Ignatieff
Director, Carr Center of Human Rights Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Walter Russell Mead
Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow in US Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

George Soros
Chairman of the Open Society Institute and the founder of a network of philanthropic organizations active in more than 50 countries in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the United States



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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Impressum

Responsible for the
contents of the IWM
Newsletter:
Institute for Human
Sciences © IWM 2003

We gratefully acknow-
ledge the support of the
Austrian Federal Ministry
of Foreign Affairs for this
issue of the IWM News-
letter.

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Published four times a year.
Current circulation: 6200.