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IHS BOSTON |

On November 11, 2003, the *Institute for Human Sciences at Boston University*, in cooperation with the *Duitsland Instituut*, organized a conference on the transatlantic relationship.

The US and Europe: Together or Apart?

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John Silber, President Emeritus of Boston University, opened the discussions with a recent quotation by British playwright Harold Pinter: "The United States is a monster out of control. Unless we challenge it with absolute determination, American barbarism will destroy the world. The country is run by a bunch of criminal lunatics, with Blair as their hired Christian thug. The planned attack on Iraq is an act of premeditated mass murder." Pinter's complaint, Silber observed, touches on a subject at the heart of disagreements between the two continents, that of US hegemony. He expressed hope that a more accurate (and positive) assessment of the state of the transatlantic relationship would emerge from the discussions to follow.



Charles of Schwarzenberg, Aleksander Smolar, George Soros

The first panel, chaired by James Hoge, editor-in-chief of *Foreign Affairs* magazine and a member of the Institute's Board of Directors, addressed the subject "The Unification of Europe and the United States." The speakers were Hans van den Broek, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1982 to 1993; General Klaus Naumann, Chairman of the North Atlantic Military Committee of NATO from 1996 to 1999; Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Adam Daniel Rotfeld; John O'Sullivan, editor of *The National Interest* and former advisor to Margaret Thatcher; and Charles of Schwarzenberg, Chairman of the Board of Patrons of the IWM and former chairman of the advisory board to Czech President Vaclav Havel.

Hans van den Broek's remarks were optimistic. He stated his belief that despite the heightened tensions between Europe and the United States in the aftermath of the Iraq war, the common heritage of values will prevent the two continents from sliding too far apart. He did not paint so grotesque a picture of the United States as Harold Pinter, and in fact argued that Europeans ought to engage in a process of introspection, in particular in light of the enlargement process and the growing diversity of opinions within Europe, which hinder the development of common European foreign and security policies. European disagreements make it easy, he observed, for the United States to pick and choose among its allies, exacerbating internal divisions in Europe.

General Naumann acknowledged that he did not speak for the majority in Germany, as one of the few who believed the US did the right thing in Iraq. But he argued that the difficulties confronting the US in Iraq illustrate the limits of US power, and the need, therefore, to repair the alliance, to share responsibilities and decision making. He



Michael Mertes, Ira Katznelson



James Hoge, General Klaus Naumann



Max Boot, Ken Adelman



John Silber

called for a revamped and modernized NATO, with the US as its undisputed leader, and for increased defense expenditures in Europe. Naumann was also critical of divisions in Europe, echoing Hans van den Broek's call for a common foreign and security policy. Europe, he said, will never be listened to in Washington if it does not speak with one voice and if it does not have the military capabilities to match its aspirations.

Adam Daniel Rotfeld spoke as representative of a country well skilled in balancing acts in its relations with external powers. Rotfeld argued that Poland's decision to support the United States did not represent turning its back to Europe but rather, a recognition of the role the US would continue to play in European security in the future. He noted that historically, there have always been differences of opinion in Europe and the United States on critical matters, what has changed is the context.

Charles of Schwarzenberg held that moving beyond the crisis in the transatlantic relationship will require facing the fact that Europe and the United States have very different interests, and coming to terms with the very different world we inhabit after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and in particular, with America's new understanding of its role in the world in light of the events of September 11, 2001. Indeed, he asked if European skepticism about the entrance of Turkey into the European Union did not rest on the realization that such a development would immediately invest Europe with responsibility for development in the Middle East and Central Asia.

John O'Sullivan argued that the United States and Europe are at a turning point in their relationship. While the United States has long supported the cause of European integration, namely in the interest of creating a bulwark against the Soviet Union, it now finds it worrisome. Disagreements between the two sides are growing; different political cultures have developed on opposite sides of the Atlantic. If Europe were to suddenly speak with one voice, the United States might find itself deprived of particular allies, not a situation it would welcome. Hence, the resolution of the crisis in the relationship depends in large measure on what kind of Europe emerges out of the integration process.

The second panel, chaired by *Financial Times* columnist Gerard Baker, was titled "The Role of Europe in the Changing US Foreign Policy." Speakers were Defense Policy Board member Ken Adelman; Max Boot, Senior Fellow in National Security Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations; Michael Ignatieff, Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard University; Walter Russell Mead, also at the Council on Foreign Relations; and philanthropist and financier George Soros.

Max Boot remarked that he did not view anti-American sentiment as nearly so widespread, even among Europeans, as has been purported, nor as problematic, given Europe's diminished role on the world stage and the fledgling shape of the emerging European Union. He did not agree with the European panelists that European enlargement should be cause for American concern. He argued that American foreign policy under President Bush continues to emphasize diplomacy over force, citing Iran and North Korea as examples.

George Soros countered that there has in fact been a discontinuity in American foreign policy since September 11, a thesis he elaborates on in his recent book *The Problem of American Supremacy*. He stated his disbelief that a war on terror could be won, given the way it is conducted and the numbers of innocent victims. He criticized the neoconservative position as a crude form of social Darwinism in which international relations are relations of power and not law. He predicted that if the doctrine prevails, it will lead not to peace but to a vicious circle of escalating violence in the world.

Next to speak was Ken Adelman, a member of the board that advises Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. He too offered a defense of American foreign policy under President Bush, although he conceded that the doctrine of preemption was a difficult one, necessitating high levels of competent intelligence and international understanding.

Walter Russell Mead outlined what he perceived as Europe's declining role on the world stage, which he dated to the defeat of France by the British in Canada in 1763, despite the fact that three of the permanent members on the United Nations Security Council are European States. He argued that if in fact that body were more representative, we would see somewhat less European enthusiasm for the Security Council as a major mechanism in world affairs.

Michael Ignatieff agreed in large part with Walter Mead that Europe today matters less to the United States than it once did. Ignatieff was critical of Europe's "dropping the ball" as it were in Bosnia, attributing it not to a failure of military capacity but to a failure of political will in a matter of human rights. Ignatieff argued the battle was for legitimacy, with the Europeans favoring procedural legitimacy, a playing by the rules, and the United States a substantive, or moral, legitimacy. He questioned whether it was even possible to speak anymore of a community of values between the United States and Europe, watching it founder on the issue of when to use military force to protect human rights. A spirited discussion followed, moderated by Gerard Baker, in which Europe's relevance to American foreign policy was debated.

Elizabeth Amrien

On January 9-10, another debate of the reflection group on the spiritual and cultural dimension of Europe took place. After public meetings in Warsaw and Vienna, the group members and international experts met in Paris upon invitation of the French minister of Foreign Affairs, Dominique de Villepin.

Islam and Europe

THE GROUP'S MAIN TASK has been to reflect on the conditions of European cohesion: what could, and what will, keep the new, enlarged, and redefined Europe together? At previous meetings the group discussed, among other topics, possible consequences of the coming enlargement and looked for the cohesive potential of European religion. In Paris the group focused on issues connected with the role of one particular religion in the process of European integration: Islam. It debated the chances and the problems of the integration of Muslims into European societies – as well as of integration of Islamic countries into an international order.

The first session was opened by **Gilles Andréani**, Director of the Policy Planning Unit at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of France. **Olivier Roy**, Research Director at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris and **Udo Steinbach**, Director of the German Orient Institute in Hamburg, introduced the session. The topic was: "Islamic Countries in the International World Order – Which Role for Europe?".

The second session on Saturday focused on the integration of Muslims in Europe, with **Farhad Khosrokhavar**, Research Director at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris, and **Dieter Oberndörfer**, Professor of Political Science in Freiburg and Chairman of the German Council for Migration, as speakers.

The conference ended with a working dinner with the Polish minister of foreign affairs, **Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz** as guest speaker.

Taking issue with **Samuel Huntington's** conceptual model of a "clash of civilizations", **Olivier Roy** argued that the concept was in essence meaningless. But it could become dangerous, **Roy** argued, if believed; it could lead to a shift in political alignments and to a further radicalization. **Roy** called for the abandonment of attempts to explain geopolitical problems in religious terms and suggested looking for

political reasons for allegedly religious conflicts.

Udo Steinbach stressed the diametrically opposed perceptions of Islam as seen from the outside and from the inside. Rooted in large part in the teaching of the Koran which says "you are the best community" (Sura 3, 110), many Muslims believe that the Islamic world should be perfect. Yet the image of Islam in the West is rather negative; as a consequence Muslims often complain about the lack of Western recognition, believing they have been unjustly treated. The developments in the aftermath of September 11 have



exacerbated this sense of frustration. This was exactly what **Bin Laden** referred to in his first statement after September 11: he spoke of 80 years of humiliation.

Vis a vis Islam, Europe, **Steinbach** pointed out, has been caught up in the complex of difficulties. Some of its political actions have certainly contributed to the sense of frustration, especially in the last few decades. Now, **Steinbach** argued, Europe should offer the Muslims a partnership based upon principles of equality, with each side treating the other as an equal, both contributing actively to the establishment of the international order.

Will Hutton, however, did not share the optimism of the previous speakers. He held that there was indeed a "clash of civilizations" which was rooted in the fact that Islam did not undergo Enlightenment in the sense of a belief in a social contract, a belief in the public realm, or a belief in managed capitalism. This strong thesis caused a considerable debate.

Silvio Ferrari, for example, replied that in relations with Muslims Europeans sometimes seem to deviate from their own principles. Most people in Europe seem to agree that the idea of religious freedom is a universal value which should be defended. Indeed, the very reason we want to export religious freedom to Muslim countries is because we hold that religious freedom is not fully respected there. And yet by prohibiting the headscarf, for example, we do exactly this: we restrict religious freedom in our own lands. The real danger, argued **Ferrari**, seems to be a lack of confidence in our own values.

Dieter Oberndörfer added that Enlightenment itself is not the property of the West and it was not considered by the Enlightenment philosophers to be something particularly 'European'. **Udo Steinbach** appealed to his co-discussants to "come down to earth". Waiting for Islamic societies to experience "Enlightenment" was not an option. There were problems to be faced and solved now. **Olivier Roy** pointed out the dangers the widely spread belief in a uniform character of Islam entails. It could, **Roy** maintained, lead to an underestimation of the fundamentalist potential in Islam.

Farhad Khosrokhavar gave a comparative overview of the situation of Muslim immigrants in Europe, pointing out the huge diversity among them. **Dieter Oberndörfer** underlined this in his statement. He called for a political revision of the concept of the nation state as it was constructed in the nineteenth century in order to enable immigrants to become fully-fledged citizens.

The meeting in Paris was organized with the support of the Research Directorate General of the European Commission and in collaboration with La République des Idées and the Institut d'Etudes de Sécurité de l'Union Européenne.

Please also read **Nilüfer Göle's** and **Bronislaw Geremek's** guest contributions in this issue of the *Newsletter*.

Participants

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Silvio Ferrari, Will Hutton, Michel Rocard



Jean-Claude Eeckhout, Krzysztof Michalski

In collaboration with the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Radio Österreich 1, Der Standard and Museumsquartier Wien, IWM organised, from November 8-9, 2003, an international symposium on

Cultural Diversity, the Quest for Common Moral Ground and the Public Role of the Media

IN HER OPENING SPEECH the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, **Benita Ferrero-Waldner**, appealed to the audience not to take a black and white approach to this topic, but to take the many different perspectives into consideration. This responsibility lies with governments, religious leaders, teachers, writers and journalists. The media, who are the prime communicators to the public, have an especially indispensable role. This role has not been discussed enough, thus this symposium fills that need.

Charles Taylor, Professor of Philosophy and Law at Northwestern University in Chicago and Chairman of the IWM Academic Advisory Board, argued in his opening speech in front of more than 200 attendees, that civilisation is not a static concept. Not only has the Western world reached modern times through the Enlightenment, but also Islam has been shaped and has further developed in various forms. Taylor explains that conflicts grow first in the societies themselves and then they are carried outward when the polarisation becomes overextended. This contrasts with Samuel Huntington's idea of the "Clash of Civilisations", where civilisation is a monolithic concept. According to Taylor, the problem with Huntington's idea is that it could become a self-fulfilling prophecy if you believe in it.

Taylor illustrated that civilisations are not irreconcilable because of the alliances that can develop between cultures. One example of this is for a western civilisation to find ideological partners, and to support them while respecting their intellectual and spiritual tradition.

The goal of this symposium was to discuss the question how the media influences the relationships and the understanding between various cultural groups, and the responsibility that results from this influence. This topic was discussed against the backdrop of increasing globalisation and multicultural societies as well as the growing misunderstandings between various cultures.

In two panel discussions on Sunday, experts, intellectuals and representatives of the media discussed the topic. In the morning, **Krzystof Michalski**, Professor of Philosophy at Boston and Warsaw Universities and Rector of the IWM, moderated the discussion between **Arjun Appadurai**, Professor of International Studies in Yale, **Adam Michnik**, editor-in-chief of Poland's leading daily newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*, **Abduljalil Sajid**, Imam of Brighton and chairman of the Muslim Council for Religious and Racial Harmony in Great Britain, and **Charles Taylor** as to whether there is a common moral basis for inter-cultural understanding.

A main topic were the differences between the values and moral ideas of the Western and the Arabic Muslim world. As part of this discussion, the problem of unequal distribution was raised, as well as the resistance to the universalisation of western values such as human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The discussion raised the need of a new form of dialogue between civilisations to dismantle stereotypes.

The afternoon discussion was moderated by **George Weidenfeld** (Weidenfeld & Nicolson). **Nik Gowing**, BBC London, **Michael Grabner**, Verlagsgruppe Georg von Holtzbrinck Stuttgart, **Mostefa Souag** of the London Bureau of Aljazeera Channel and **Elizabeth Graham Weymouth**, publisher of the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek* Magazine, New York, discussed the question of the public role of the media in a culturally diverse world. **Nik Gowing** began the panel discussion with the statement, "we are all media," citing the change in paradigms in the "creation of the public" through new technologies like the internet and home video recorders. The idea of objective reporting raises some practical problems such as the range of contributions, the use of neutral language and the power of pictures. According to the various points of view, this topic often leads to the discussion of propaganda. **Mostefa Souag** made a statement describing the stereotyping of the Arabic world in western media, which led to a controversial discussion about the interpretation power of the media.

The relevance of the symposium topic and the complexity of the issues resulted in considerable public and media interest, with more than 300 people attending.

Georg-Sebastian Holzer



Charles Taylor



Mostefa Souag, Abduljalil Sajid, Benita Ferrero-Waldner

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Daoud Kuttab



Stefanie Peter (Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow 2003) and Adam Michnik



Arjun Appadurai in discussion with a group of participants

Speakers

Arjun Appadurai

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

Benita Ferrero-Waldner
Austrian Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs

Nik Gowing

Main Presenter, *BBC World TV*, London

Michael Grabner

Deputy Chairman of the Executive Board, *Verlagsgruppe Georg von Holtzbrinck*, Stuttgart

Daoud Kuttab

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Krzysztof Michalski

Professor of Philosophy, Boston University and University of Warsaw;

Rector, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna

Adam Michnik

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

Abduljalil Sajid

Imam; Chairman, Muslim Council for Religious and Racial Harmony UK

Mostefa Souag

London Bureau Chief / Senior Correspondent, *Aljazeera Satellite Channel*, London

Charles Taylor

Professor of Philosophy and Law, Northwestern University, Chicago

Elizabeth Graham Weymouth

Publisher of the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek Magazine*, New York

Lord Weidenfeld

Chairman, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London; Chairman, Board of Governors, Ben Gurion University of the Negev; Consultant, Bertelsmann Foundation

Pressestimmen

"Die Welt mit den Augen des anderen sehen"

Ist eine gemeinsame moralische Basis zwischen dem Westen und der islamischen Welt denkbar? Der Terrorist des einen sei der Freiheitskämpfer des anderen, sagte Nik Gowing, der Moderator-Star von BBC World, während seiner Demonstration, wie schwierig "objektive Berichterstattung" geworden ist. Um diese Einschätzungskluft vor allem zwischen der westlichen Politik und den westlichen Medien einerseits und der arabisch-islamischen Welt andererseits drehte sich die zweitägige internationale Konferenz des Wiener Instituts für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen. Die Aufforderung von Außenministerin Benita Ferrero-Waldner zu Beginn, es sei nicht "unsere Pflicht, Partei zu nehmen, Schwarz-Weiß-Unterscheidungen zu treffen, sondern die Schattierung von Grau" zu sehen und zu beschreiben, wurde weit gehend eingehalten. Trotzdem kam es zu relativ scharfen Auseinandersetzungen, wenn auch zwischen Leuten, die in ihrer jeweiligen Welt als liberal gelten müssen. Adam Michnik, der alte Solidarnosc-Kämpfer und Chefredakteur von *Gazeta Wyborcza*, verlangte vom Islam, die eigenen Extremisten nicht nur als Einzelfälle zu verharmlosen, sondern aktiv geistig zu bekämpfen. Dies als Reaktion auf den Beitrag des Imams Abduljalil Sajid aus Brighton, Großbritannien, der von der "Verrottung der Werte" in der westlichen Welt sprach und die Gettoisierung der Muslime im Westen beklagte. Michnik sagte aber auch, um einen Dialog mit den Palästinensern führen zu können, müsse man zuerst die Welt mit den Augen eines Palästinensers sehen, dessen Haus gesprengt wurde. Andererseits: Der Dialog könne die notwendige Verteidigung nicht ersetzen. Der Inder Arjun Appadurai, Professor of International Studies in Yale, plädierte für eine neue Art des Dialogs: "Wir müssen nicht danach fragen, was der andere ist, sondern was der andere will. Es muss weniger einen Dialog der Zivilisationen geben, sondern einen der Aspirationen."

Hans Rauscher, Der Standard, 10. 11. 2003

Moral, Kultur und Medien: Über die Macht der Bilder und der Begriffe

Dass eine Diskussion zum Thema Moral und Medien die Gemüter erhitzt, ist nicht selbstverständlich. Doch wenn die Diskutanten höchst unterschiedliche Ansichten darüber haben, was und wie berichtet werden muss, dann können auch die Verbalattacken heftig ausfallen. So geschehen bei der Veranstaltung des Instituts für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen, bei der hochrangige Medienvertreter zu Wort kamen. "Die Macht der Bilder ist sehr groß. Und diese Bilder werden vom Fernsehen kreiert." Daoud Kuttab, Direktor des Institutes of Modern Media an der Al Quds University in Ramallah/Palästina,

warnt davor, diese Macht zu unterschätzen. Denn via Satellit können die Bilder mittlerweile auf dem ganzen Globus empfangen werden. Eine große Bedeutung im Zusammenhang mit den Bildern haben die Wörter, die diese kommentieren. So wurde in der arabischen Welt ein "Superman"-Image der palästinensischen Freiheitskämpfer geschaffen. Vor allem die Nachrichten würden Gewaltbilder bevorzugen, da diese auch erwartet werden. Um sich diesem System zu entziehen, sei es wichtig, ausführliche Dokumentationen beispielsweise über Palästina oder den Irak zu machen. Nik Gowing, Star-moderator von BBC World TV, kennt sein eigenes Bemühen, einen "objektiven Blick auf die Fakten zu werfen". Doch das gelinge nur bedingt. "Denn was für den einen ein Terrorist ist, ist für den anderen ein Freiheitskämpfer."

Veronika Gasser, Wiener Zeitung, 11.11.2003

Alle ein bißchen Medium**Der Kongreß kämpft: In Wien treffen Medienwelten aufeinander**

Charles Taylor von der Northwestern University in Chicago, (...) der Hegel-Forscher und Vordenker des Kommunitarismus, erklärte Huntingtons Ansatz für tot, aber gefährlich. Das Beharren auf Huntingtons Ideen beschwöre die Möglichkeit ihres Wiedergängertums herauf, warnte Taylor - untote Theorien leben am längsten. Falsch sei die Kulturkampfthese, weil Kämpfe immer innerhalb von Kulturen entstünden und erst, wenn sie die Polarisierung zu weit trieben, nach außen getragen würden. Huntingtons Rhetorik ruft nach Taylor die von ihr beschworenen Kämpfe erst hervor.

Martin Lhotzky, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 14.11.2003



Elizabeth Graham Weymouth, Lord Weidenfeld, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Nik Gowing

From December 5-7, the eight research teams, the members of the advisory board, representatives of the major project sponsor, the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and international guests met at the Institute for Human Sciences to present and discuss the final results of the ACCESS research program (2001-2003).

After the Accession: Results

AFTER THE NATIONAL RESEARCH TEAMS had completed the fieldwork in October, they finalized their research reports, case studies and media and literature reviews. The synthetic national reports were discussed by the leading researchers of the national teams and the members of the International Advisory Board as well as other invited experts and policy-makers at the final international conference of the project in Vienna on December 5-7, 2003.

The conference began with keynote speeches delivered by Ivo Banac (Minister for Environmental Protection and Zoning of the Republic of Croatia) and Ivan Vejvoda (Executive Director, Balkan Trust for Democracy, Belgrade) on "South-Eastern Europe on the Road to European Integration".

Then, the national reports were discussed. The research program had 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 similarities/dissimilarities between the now "included" and the still "excluded" countries of the former Eastern Bloc. In the following some of the preliminary results of political relevance will be summarized:

The project papers reveal a resolute "culturalist" approach to the economy among the various actors. This cannot be simply a popular echo of the "cultural turn" in social sciences. Our respondents do think in cultural terms, almost instinctively, and complain that politics as such does not respond to their worries. Of course, these worries intersect each other. The Western investor demands stricter transparency laws, the Eastern entrepreneur wishes to curb Western privileges provided by the Eastern legislator. The Brussels official claims to be cheated by his/her Eastern colleague while the Eastern civil servant laments about being brutally overruled by the EU negotiators. Resentment is understandably the deepest among the state officials where cultural asymmetry is perhaps the greatest if one disregards the small group of top negotiators.

Nonetheless, there is no culture war, resentment is mixed with self-criticism, one finds a whole series of successful encounters which can be presented as best practices of cultural adjustment. Also, the agents of cultural harmonization/mediation can be easily identified in the three social groups studied (entrepreneurs, civil servants, economists).

Anti-Western radicalism is rare thus far, and anti-Eastern sentiments such as condescension, arrogance, etc. are fading.

Apparently, mutual adaptation is the smoothest in those fields, in which cohabitation is frequent, economic and institutional incentives work, and the East has something new to offer and/or can choose from different Western cultures. Conversely, cultural overkill breeds resentment, especially if the targeted group is not convinced about the superiority of the cultural good forced on them. Acculturation is a fragile process, it can derail if one of the agents of the cultural give and take makes a small – symbolic – mistake. *Ad absurdum*, cultural hybrids may emerge, which combine the worst features of the two cultural words (e.g., empty routines and corruption). In order to avoid lose-lose and minimize lose-win situations, cultural learning needs certain prerequisites that go beyond a simplistic evolutionary optimism concerning cultural homogenisation by the market.

Mutual revision of cultural prejudices is an important element of these pre-requisites. On the Western side, ought to leave behind the totalitarianism-based stereotypes concerning communism (collectivism, helplessness, egalitarianism, etc.). On the other, one is advised to look for commonalities between the emerging Eastern hybrids and the new components of Western economic cultures. The coexistence of these new cultural patterns is obviously hard to regulate *ex ante* by introducing new organizational/legal systems like the *acquis*. Anyway, rules that contradict secular cultural practices are exposed to informal violation.

With the participants of current EU Enlargement, Accession is not the end but the beginning or continuation of cultural adjustment between the East and the West. One can only hope that in the case of the South-East European ex-communist countries cultural rapprochement will be promoted by political means much earlier. The ACCESS project's main objective was to diagnose cultural gaps and identify the opportunities of bridging them. The political operationalization of cultural adjustment, i.e., producing a detailed know-how of building bridges would require a new research effort.

IWM owes special thanks to the funders of the ACCESS project, the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Austrian National Bank for their generous support.



Petya Liubomirova Kabakchieva,
Roumen Avramov (Bulgaria)



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Jane Lewis (United Kingdom)*



*Vintila Mihailescu, a guest,
Dorina Maria Nastase (Romania),
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- Project
- Participants
- Material
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www.iwm.at/access

IWM's Junior Visiting Fellows meet on a regular basis at the JVF seminar to discuss their ongoing projects. The results of their research are then presented at the Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference at the end of their stay. Last semester's conference took place on December 15.

Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference

Program

Title: **Forgiveness and Hatred**
 Speaker: **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

Respondent: **Klaus Nellen**

Title: **The Politics of Opt-Out in the European Union and Two Level Games Approach – Voluntary or Involuntary Defection?**

Speaker: **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

Respondent: **János Matyas Kovács**

Title: **Aristotle and the Nature of "Who"**

Speaker: **Silvia Carli**
Ph.D. candidate in Ancient Philosophy, Boston University

IWM Project: Aristotle and the Nature of "Who"

Respondent: **Nathalie Frougneux**

Title: **Towards Liberal Nationalism? Polish National Identity and Civil Society**

Speaker: **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)

Respondent: **Krzysztof Goriach**

Title: **Eastern Europe's Press Model**
 Speaker: **Alison Cashin**
M.S. candidate in Journalism, Boston University

IWM Project: Eastern Europe's Fourth Estate?

Title: **Consuming Socialism**
 Speaker: **Zuzana Buriková**
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

Respondent: **Krzysztof Goriach**

Title: **The Human Species: Worthy of Preference?**

Speaker: **Mahon O'Brien**
Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University

IWM Project: Heidegger's Worldview?

and

Speaker: **James Wood**
Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University

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



Silvia Carli



Jakub Jirsa



Daria Lucka



Mahon O'Brien



James Wood



Zuzana Buriková, Maya Sion, Alison Cashin

The six research teams of the MAGEEQ project, which is funded through the European Commission's 5th framework program and is co-ordinated by the IWM, just completed their first year of research.

MAGEEQ: Year One

SINCE BEIJING 1995, the EU has been among the major pioneers in developing Gender Mainstreaming, both by starting a process of Gender Mainstreaming within the European Commission itself, and by diffusing information and guidelines to Member States and candidate states (as in the case of the new regulations for the Structural Funds). After Beijing, most national governments in Europe have also announced that Gender Mainstreaming will be adopted as part of their continuous efforts to achieve gender equality.

Gender Mainstreaming is a typical example of a strategy that involves multiple levels in governance, but also multiple shifts in governance. Multiple levels because it involves not only national or regional state bureaucracies, but also institutions in fields like science and economy. Multiple shifts in governance, because the strategy aims at a reorganisation of policy processes, and a shift in responsibilities. The strategy of Gender Mainstreaming, understood as "the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making" aims at a multiplication of actors, policy areas and policy levels (Council of Europe 1998).

Under conditions of multi-level governance, the existing diversity in interpretations of "gender inequality as a policy problem" becomes more salient, as multiple frames find places to manifest themselves, and multiple political opportunities and networks become relevant. In the differentiated European countries there are several "gender equality frames", different and sometimes competing ideas about what the problem is, about who is responsible for the problem, about what are the causes and effects, and about what would be a solution.

Against this backdrop, gender mainstreaming has been chosen as the research case for a multi-disciplinary, international comparative study on policy framing. MAGEEQ is a three-year re-

search project (2003-2005) funded within the European Commission's 5th Framework Programme. Its first part is a comparative study on the framing of gender inequality as a policy problem in Austria, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Spain, and at the level of the European Union.

At the core of the MAGEEQ project is the study of differences in the framing of gender inequality as a policy problem across Europe. MAGEEQ questions the presentation of gender equality as a common similar goal and gender mainstreaming as a common similar strategy across Europe, and studies the actual variety of understandings of this goal and strategy at the national level. MAGEEQ intends to deconstruct the multitude of meanings of gender equality and gender mainstreaming in practice, proposing concepts that enable distinctions between divergent meanings that are now covered under these general terms. In doing so, MAGEEQ uses frame analysis as a method, and builds upon theoretical notions chosen from policy theory, social movement theory and gender theory. The basis is a comparative analysis of differences and similarities in gender equality policy frames in Austria, the Netherlands, Spain, Slovenia, Hungary and Greece, as compared with the level of the European Union. The comparative analysis will assist further steps in the project in constructing tools for the monitoring of inconsistencies in policies and policy frames, and in organising debates on gender equality policies.

The first aim of our comparative analysis is to open the black box of distortions in implementation, by constructing

an empirically grounded analytical framework of the various dimensions of gender inequality policy frames. Such a framework will enable the following research questions to be answered: What is similar, what is different, and what are (shifting) patterns in similarities and differences? How differentiated are patterns in Member States & candidate countries? How are patterns at national level connected to existing and developing EU frames (e.g. the Charter of Fundamental Rights)? Which processes of exclusion result from dominant frames? Who and what are excluded? What inconsistencies can be detected, and what are the consequences?

The second aim is to construct a method to monitor policy inconsistencies based on the framework and the resulting analysis. The monitoring tool should be usable at various levels, with an accent on national and EU levels. The method will also allow for a more sound foundation for the evaluation of gender equality policies in general, and Gender Mainstreaming efforts in particular.

The third aim is to counterbalance exclusion mechanisms, and improve transparency and consistency of policy making. This will be achieved by stimulating and organising national and international debates using the framework to structure debates, to channel information from the research project back to society, and to generate more knowledge for the project's final analysis report.

In the first year, the main focus was on writing state of the art reports, constructing a conceptual framework for analysis, selecting issues and material for the analysis and starting to work on the country and EU studies.

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The state of the art reports, which can be found on the project website www.mageeq.net, revealed that:

1. Reports show that gender mainstreaming is nowhere really implemented in Europe. The state of the art reports bring together material that shows that Gender Mainstreaming, especially at the level of national states, is developing rather slowly, even in countries that are considered to be pioneers in this field (such as the Netherlands).
2. There seems to be no trend of ongoing articulation of gender policy, pointing at a potential counterproductive discontinuity in gender equality policies. There seems to be no linear progress, but rather a visible alternation of periods of higher and lower articulation. Hopefully our further research will provide material to describe this phenomenon in more detail and to interpret it.
3. There are top-down as well as bottom-up moves: international impact (EU and UN) is relevant for some countries but not for others. Moreover, at times the UN seems a more common frame of reference than the European Union.
4. There is a high degree of competence on gender equality in all countries, and there is a diversified body of expertise on various policy issues in connection with the gender problematic.

The work in progress towards the Draft Country studies towards the end of 2003 resulted in a number of questions that will be explored in the first half of 2004, and that could function as hypotheses for the comparative study in the second half of 2004.

The questions resulting from the work done until the end of 2003, with some tentative answers, are the following:

- How absent or present is reference to the European Union in gender equality policies at the national level in Austria, Hungary, Greece, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Spain? The first analyses seem to reveal an absence of reference to the European Union in most countries. Most

references are to other documents or policies at the national level.

- In case of absence of reference to the European Union, which other international or transnational organisations are referred to? The UN is very often referred to, and seems to be a more important reference actor than the EU.
- How large are the differences between national states or between national states and the European Union in the framing of gender inequality as a policy problem? Differences between national states or between national states and the European Union seem to be quite large.
- Are there any similarities? There are quite some similarities too, and it is interesting to see that similarities seem to be found across the East-West or the North-South divide.
- To what extent do we find gender stereotypes or gender bias in gender equality policies at the national level in Austria, Hungary, Greece, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Spain? Surprisingly, there seems to be quite some gender bias or gender stereotyping within gender equality policies. This implies that gender equality policies could be inconsistent.
- How is the quality of the articulation of gender equality policy frames for different issues?

A weak articulation of gender equality frames within gender equality policies seems to be the rule rather than the exception. Moreover, many texts address the level of the social categories of women and men, but make no reference to other dimensions of gender such as behaviour, identities, norms or institutions. Contradictions, gaps, inconsistencies seem to prevail.

Please visit the project website www.mageeq.net, which is updated on a continuous basis, for more information.

Mieke Verloo

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11th IWM International Summer School in Philosophy and Politics

On Concepts of Order

Cortona, Italy

July 4 – 17, 2004

The **Institute for Human Sciences (IWM)** organizes the Summer School in cooperation with six partner institutions in East-Central Europe: the **Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology**, **Charles University, Prague**; the **Institute for Contemporary History, Prague**; the **Erasmus of Rotterdam Chair** and the **Collegium for Interdepartmental Studies**, both at the **University of Warsaw**; the **New Europe College, Bucharest**; and the **Society for Higher Learning, Bratislava**.

The Summer School is generously supported by the **Robert Bosch Foundation**.

Organization

Approximately forty graduate students from Eastern and Western Europe and America will be invited to participate in this two week program consisting of four courses. Students are required to enroll in three courses which will meet daily Monday through Friday. There is no tuition for the Summer School; course materials, room and full board will be provided. Participants are, however, responsible for travel costs to and from Cortona and for incidental expenses. Weekend excursions will be arranged.

Applications

Applicants must be graduate students (final year of M.A. studies or Ph.D. students) in the humanities or social sciences (e.g. philosophy, political science, sociology, or history). They must have good command of English, the language in which the summer school will be conducted.

The application should be submitted in English and include the application form (available for download at the IWM website), a curriculum vitae and a brief letter of intention.

Students from the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania and Slovakia should apply through one of the partner institutions in their respective country (for contact persons and addresses see www.iwm.at/summer04.htm).

All other students should submit their application directly to the **Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen "Summer School 2004" Spittelauer Laende 3 A – 1090 Vienna, Austria**

Advance copies by e-mail are eligible: summerschool@iwm.at

Deadline for application is **April 2, 2004** (Date of receipt!).

Applicants will be notified in the first half of May.

Course 1 **Modern Political Theory and the Rise of Secular Civilisation**
Krzysztof Michalski and Charles Taylor

Course 2 **What Can We Learn Today from the Conservative Thinkers of the Past?**
John Gray and Marcin Krol

Course 3 **What's Left? Values and Programs**
Archon Fung and Edward Miliband

Course 4 **Concepts of a New World Order**
Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter and Aleksander Smolar

More detailed course outlines and reading lists will be made available in due time.

Faculty

Archon Fung

is teaching Public Policy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. His research examines the impacts of civic participation, public deliberation, and transparency upon public and private governance. Recent publications include *Empowered Participation: Reinventing Urban Democracy* (forthcoming), *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (2003), *Can We Eliminate Sweatshops?* (2001), and *Beyond Backyard Environmentalism* (2000).

John Gray

is Professor of European Thought at the London School of Economics. His recent books include *Two Faces of Liberalism* (2000) and *Al Qaeda and What It Means To Be Modern* (2003).

Marcin Krol

is Professor of the History of Ideas at the University of Warsaw and editor of the independent intellectual monthly *Res publica*. His numerous publications on political science and philosophy include *Liberalism of Fear or Liberalism of Courage* (in Polish; 1996) and *A History of Modern Political Thought* (in Polish; 1998).

Krzysztof Michalski

is Permanent Fellow and Rector of the *Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen* (IWM), and

Professor of Philosophy at Boston and Warsaw Universities. His books include: *Heidegger and Contemporary Philosophy* (in Polish: 1978, 1998) and *Logic and Time* (in Polish in 1988, in English in 1997). His recent publications focus on Nietzsche and values in politics. He chairs a Reflection Group advising the President of European Commission on the "Cultural Dimension of Europe".

Edward Miliband

is Chair of the Council of Economic Advisers at the UK Treasury in London, in charge of long-term policy development. Until recently he was a Visiting Scholar at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University and Visiting Lecturer in the Department of Government. Prior to that he was a special advisor to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, covering a wide range of domestic policy issues. In addition to his governmental responsibilities, he writes on politics for magazines and newspapers.

Andrew Moravcsik

is Professor of Government and Director of the European Union Program at Harvard University. He is the author of more than 100 scholarly publications on European integration, global human rights, and transatlantic relations, including *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and*

State Power from Messina to Maastricht (1998) and *Centralization or Fragmentation? Europe Facing the Challenges of Deepening, Diversity, and Democracy* (1998).

Anne-Marie Slaughter

is Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. She is president of the American Society of International Law and member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Recent publications include *An International Constitutional Moment* (with William Burke-White, 2002), *Building Global Democracy* (2000), *Judicial Globalization* (2000), and *The Real New World Order* (1997). Her book on global governance is forthcoming from Princeton University Press.

Aleksander Smolar

is *maitre de recherche* at the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, Paris, and President of the Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw. He was chief advisor to the first post-communist democratically elected Prime Minister of Poland. He has published widely in scholarly journals as well as in publications of general interest; his latest book is *Globalization, Power, and Democracy* (ed. with Marc F. Plattner, 2000).

Charles Taylor

is Professor of Philosophy and Law at Northwestern University, Chicago, and Professor emeritus of Political Science and Philosophy at McGill University, Montreal. His books include: *Hegel and Modern Society* (1979), *Sources of the Self* (1989), *The Malaise of Modernity* (1991), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (1994), *Varieties of Religion Today* (2002), *Modern Social Imaginaries* (2004).

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

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



Tuesday Lectures

4. NOVEMBER

Yasemin Soysal Reihe: Die Rolle des Staates **Locating Europe**

YASEMIN SOYSAL'S CONTRIBUTION was an investigation into the nature and scope of European identity as it is built in educational spaces. She drew upon her current project, in which she explicates the redefinitions of Europe, nation, and citizenship in educational spheres. Her examples came from secondary school (history and civics) schoolbooks, as well as public debates and conflicting claims about national curricula. She focused her discussion on two specific aspects of the Europeanization of identity (or the emergence of the category of European identity): its content and its location. By content, she means the very constitution of the emerging category, what European identity holds. By location, on the other hand, she means the public and social spaces within which Europeanization of identity is happening.

Yasemin Soysal is Professor of Sociology at the University of Essex and President of the European Sociological Association (2002-03).

Kommentar: Eva Glawischnig, stellvertretende Bundessprecherin und Kultursprecherin der Grünen.

In Zusammenarbeit mit der
Grünen Bildungswerkstatt



11. NOVEMBER

Heiko Haumann **Dracula. Von Vampiren in Osteuropa**

HEIKO HAUMANN fragte zunächst danach, wie die zeitgenössische Wahrnehmung und Darstellung des historischen ‚Dracula‘, Vlad Tepes, aussahen und warum ihm eine besondere Grausamkeit zugeschrieben wurde. In einem zweiten Schritt ging es um die Formen des Vampirismus in Osteuropa, wie sie sich etwa im Volksglauben widerspiegeln. Daraus entwickelte er, warum der literarische ‚Dracula‘ in Osteuropa angesiedelt wurde. Zwei Be-

trachtungsweisen wurden so miteinander verbunden: eine Analyse von historischen Vorgängen und Vorstellungswelten in Osteuropa mit einer Untersuchung von Geschichtsbildern über Osteuropa.



Heiko Haumann ist Ordinarius für Osteuropäische und Neuere Allgemeine Geschichte an der Universität Basel und war im Wintersemester 2003 IWM Visiting Fellow.

18. NOVEMBER

Fanny Cosandey **La reine de France, un personnage essentiel du fonctionnement monarchique (XIV^e-XVIII^e siècle)**

Pendant longtemps, la reine de France fut un personnage négligé de l'historiographie. Exclues de la succession au trône en vertu de la loi salique, les femmes étaient considérées comme inaptes politique-



ment et donc écartées de la scène du pouvoir. Ce sont elles, pourtant, qui exercent la régence en cas d'incapacité royale, gouvernant le royaume avec la même autorité qu'un roi. Il s'agit de comprendre cette apparente contradiction entre exclusion et intégration, en étudiant le personnage royal féminin à travers les données juridiques et institutionnelles de la monarchie, mais aussi les mécanismes de représentation du pouvoir, ou encore la place des femmes dans la société politique de la France d'Ancien régime. Au-delà de l'analyse du système monarchique, c'est la question du pouvoir féminin dans un monde masculin qui est alors posée.

Fanny Cosandey est Professeur d'Histoire à l'Université de Nantes.

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem

Institut Français de Vienne

25. NOVEMBER

Wolfgang Kersting
Reihe: Bruchlinien der
Ungleichheit

**Notwendige Gleichheiten,
berechtigte Ungleichheiten.
Das Gleichheitsproblem in der
Sozialstaatsphilosophie und der
Multikulturalismuskussion**



IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE des Vortrags wurden die wesentlichen Argumente des gerechtigkeits-theoretischen Egalitarismus in der Sozialstaatsdiskussion diskutiert. Die ihnen zu- grundeliegende

Unterscheidung zwischen moralisch zulässigen und ausgleichspflichtigen Ungleichheiten wurde kritisiert. Das von ihnen entwickelte Recht auf Gleichheit wurde ebenso zurückgewiesen wie der zu seiner Verwirklichung geforderte sozialstaatliche Kompensationsismus. Die zweite Hälfte des Vortrags diskutierte und kritisiert die wesentlichen Argumente des gerechtigkeits-theoretischen Differentialismus in der Multikulturalismuskussion. Das von ihnen in Anspruch genommene Recht auf Ungleichheit wurde ebenso zurückgewiesen wie die zu seiner Verwirklichung geforderte Politik kompensatorischer Privilegierung.

Wolfgang Kersting ist Ordinarius für Philosophie und Direktor am Philosophischen Seminar an der Christian-Abrechts-Universität zu Kiel.

In Zusammenarbeit
mit dem



2. DEZEMBER

Jan Sokol
**Wie natürlich sind die
Menschenrechte?**

DAS KONZEPT DER Menschenrechte ist wohl die einzige denkbare Basis für Innen- und Außenpolitik unserer Zeit und in diesem Sinne schier unentbehrlich. Es ist aber bedenklich, sie auch weiterhin für etwas Natürliches halten: als ob eine Gesellschaft keine Erziehung bräuchte, um ihren Mitgliedern den Gebrauch dieser Rechte zu gewährleisten. Hat der Mensch „natürlich“ ein Recht aufs Leben? Oder ist er eher verpflichtet, das Leben aller anderen zu respektieren? Der Unterschied in der Begründung ist nicht bloß formal, sondern hat wichtige Folgen sowohl für die Rechtsphilosophie als auch für den interkulturellen Dialog, z.B. mit dem Islam.



Jan Sokol ist Dekan der Fakultät für Humanwissenschaften an der Karls-Universität Prag.

9. DEZEMBER

David Willetts
Reihe: Moderne konservative
Politik

**Conservatism in Britain, Europe
and America: Karl Mannheim,
Michael Oakeshott and Leo
Strauss compared**

DAVID WILLETTS contrasted Christian democracy on the continent of Europe, Conservatism in Great Britain, and the Neo-Conservative movement in the USA. He argued that the relative weakness of the Centre-right on the continent of Europe through the 20th century compared with Britain arose from the division between liberal rational pro-market politics

and the traditional politics of community. He argued that the success of British Conservatism came from its skill in weaving these two strands together. The challenge for the Conservative Party in Britain now is to offer a fresh version of this belief in freedom and community for the 21st century. He

then went on to argue that this is where British Conservatives can learn from American Neo-Cons. He contrasted Michael Oakeshott as the crucial intellectual figure in 20th century British Conservatism and Leo Strauss, the figure who is at the root of much of the thinking of the American Neo-Conservatives. Michael Oakeshott's theory of politics stresses contingency, chance and intimations from history. Leo Strauss and the Neo-Conservatives, by contrast, seek more ambitious fundamental truths about human nature, combining modern social science with a philosophy of man which can be traced back through St. Thomas Aquinas to Aristotle. David Willetts concluded by arguing that there is much that British and continental European Conservatives can learn from the American Neo-Conservative movement.

David Willetts is Member of Parliament, London, and Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions.

In Zusammenarbeit
mit der



20. JÄNNER

Wiktor Osiatynski
**Is Cross-cultural Consensus on
Human Rights possible?**

IN 1948, there was a broad cross-cultural consensus on human rights that found its expression in the Universal Declaration. Today, this consensus broke up between civilizations, cultures as well as within cultures. Is it possible to restore it?

Is it at all desirable? Can human rights





values be protected without restoring the consensus? Can we stop the inflation of human rights, and the flood of claims and entitlements? How can we protect basic rights without further eroding the sense of responsibility?

Wiktor Osiatynski is Professor of Law at Central European University and at the University of Chicago. He is Member of the Board of the Open Society Institute and was guest of the IWM in January.

27. JÄNNER

Dominique Schnapper De la communauté des citoyens à la „démocratie providentielle“

SI LE PROCESSUS de démocratisation correspond à une extension légitime de l'idée d'égalité entre les citoyens, pense Dominique Schnapper, la démocratie providentielle aurait ceci de particulier „*qu'on y recherche de manière prioritaire l'égalité réelle et non plus seulement l'égalité formelle des individus citoyens*“. Les ressources d'un Etat-redistributeur de richesses sont mises à profit pour réaliser une utopie „*prométhéenne*“: assurer l'égalité la plus complète possible. Mais plus les individus sont privilégiés dans leurs aspects „*réels*“, économiques, historiques, ethniques, plus s'affaiblit „*le principe même de la transcendance politique*“. Sans valeurs partagées, la démocratie victorieuse du totalitarisme se voit désormais menacée par sa dynamique propre. L'idéal de la „*communauté des citoyens*“

est remplacé par la somme prosaïque des intérêts particuliers qu'aucune „*volonté générale*“ ne vient plus surplomber.

Nicolas Weill, *Le Monde des Livres*



Dominique Schnapper est directrice d'études à l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales et, depuis 2001, membre du Conseil constitutionnel.

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem Institut Français de Vienne

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Working Papers

Krzysztof Gorlach

Two Ways Out: The Restructuring of Peasant Agriculture in Contemporary Poland

The paper analyzes the process of disintegration of family-run agricultural holdings as a key factor of the restructuring of peasant agriculture in Poland.

Krzysztof Gorlach is Associate Professor of Sociology, Jagiellonian University, Krakow and was Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellow at IWM in 2003

Meike Schmidt-Gleim and Mieke Verloo

One More Feminist Manifesto of the Political

Meike Schmidt-Gleim is a research fellow at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. She is currently working in Paris. In 2001 she was a Junior Fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna. She prepares a dissertation on democracy.

Mieke Verloo works as a lecturer in political science and women's studies at the University of Nijmegen and as a Research Director for the MAGEEQ-project at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna. Her work focuses mainly on feminism and on equality policies, more specifically on gender mainstreaming.

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.

Regina Becker-Schmidt

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

Haraway und Adorno greifen beide Positionen an, die Subjekt und Objekt als getrennte Pole der Erkenntnis behandeln. Für Haraway, die postmodernistische Sichtweisen mit kritischem Feminismus verknüpft, steht der Zusammenhang von Androzentrismus, akademischer Theorie bzw. Praxis und politischer Macht im Zentrum ihrer Analysen. Adorno entfaltet seine Subjekt-Objekt-Dialektik, in der Erkenntniskritik als Gesellschaftskritik erscheint, vor dem Hintergrund einer Begrifflichkeit, welche die Postmoderne verwirft: Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Subjekt. Wo berühren sich die beiden Positionen, wo liegt jeweils ihre begrenzte Reichweite?

Regina Becker-Schmidt ist Professorin für Sozialpsychologie an der Universität Hannover und war Gast des IWM im Oktober 2002.

Visiting Fellows

January – June 2004

Robin Archer

Senior Research
Fellow in Politics,
Corpus Christi
College, Oxford



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

Selected *Why is there no*

Publications: *Labor Party in the
United States?*, 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 Ameri-
can history?", in: *Economy and Society* 30 (2001);
*Economic Democracy: The Politics of Feasible
Socialism*, Oxford 1995.

Violeta Barbu

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



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

Selected Documenta Romaniae Historica, B, XXXI, XXXV

Publications: (ed.), Bucarest 2003; *De bono coniugali. Une
histoire de la famille au XVIIe siècle en pays de
coutume*, Bucarest 2003; "Concili locali e riforma
liturgica in Balcani nell'eta della Controriforma",
in: *Orientalia Cristiana* 78 (2002).

Waltraud Ernst

Habilitandin
(*Wissenschaftsphilosophie,
Gender Studies*);
Lehrbeauftragte für
Gender Studies,
Universität Wien und
Technische Universität
Wien



IWM Project: Erotic Economies of
Science

Selected "On the 'nature' of desire – an approach from

Publications: historical epistemology", in: Fina Birulés (ed.), *A
Passion for Freedom. Proceedings of the Xth sympo-
sium of the International Association of Women*

Philosophers, University of Barcelona Press,
forthcoming 2004; „Zur Vielfältigkeit von
Geschlecht. Überlegungen zum
Geschlechterbegriff in der feministischen
Medienforschung“, in: Johanna Dorer, Brigitte
Geiger (Hg.), *Feministische Kommunikations- und
Medienwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 2002;
*Diskurspiratinnen. Wie feministische
Erkenntnisprozesse die Wirklichkeit verändern*,
Wien 1999.

Ludger Hagedorn

Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter,
Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität,
Mainz; Wissenschaftlicher
Mitarbeiter, IWM Patocka Project



IWM Project: Projekt Europa: Die politische
Philosophie Jan Patockas

Selected *Tschechische Philosophen im 20.*

Publications: *Jahrhundert*, dva: Stuttgart 2002;
*Tschechische Philosophen von Hus
bis Masaryk*, dva: Stuttgart 2002; „Nomos -
Mythos - Krisis. Jan Patockas existentialistische
Deutung der Antigone“, in: *Phänomenologie und
Literatur* (hg. v. J. Trinks), 2002; *Jan Patocka,
Texte – Dokumente – Bibliographie* (hg. mit H.-R.
Sepp), Alber/Oikoumene: Freiburg/Prag 1999.

Natalia Pushkareva

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



IWM-project: History and Gendered
Memory (Reading Russian
ego-documents from the 18th
to the 20th century)

Selected "Russian Noblewomen's

Publications: Education in the Home as
Revealed in Late 18th to Early 19th Century
Memoirs", in: Bartlett W. (ed.): *Women and
Gender in 18th Century Russia*, Hampshire 2003;
"The Ideal Image of a Spouse and its Evolution in
Medieval Rus' and Early Modern Russia from the
12th until the 17th Century", in: L. Bessmertnyj,
Oexle O. (ed.): *Das Individuum und die Seinen.
Individualität in der okzidentalen und in der
russischen Kultur in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*,
Gottingen 2001; *Women in Russian History from
the 10th to the 20th Century*, New York 1997,
London 1999; "The Women in the Ancient
Russian Family, Problems of New Discussion", in:
M.M.Balzer (ed.): *Russian Traditional Culture:
Religion, Gender, and Customary Law*, NY/London 1992.

Michael Staudigl

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



IWM Project: „Phänomen Gewalt“:

Perspektiven phänomenologischer Forschung
Die Grenzen der Intentionalität. Zur Kritik der
Phänomenalität nach Husserl, Würzburg 2003;
Jenseits des Kulturprinzips. Meta-Genealogien (hg.
mit Stefan Nowotny), Wien 2003; „Phäno-
menologie an der Grenze? Bemerkungen zum
Status der Grenze in der Phänomenologie“, in:
Recherches husserliennes 16 (2001).

Selected

Publications:

Maja Vehovec

Professor of Microeconomics, University of Rijeka

IWM Project: After the Accession

Selected

Publications:

“Comparative overview of defensive firm restruc-
turing in Croatia and Slovenia”, in: (ed. with
Domadenik), *Financial Theory and Practice 4*
(2003); *Defensive Restructuring in Transition
Economies: Does rigidity of labor markets matter?*
Proceedings of the Economia Moderna Confer-
ence (ed. with Domadenik), Zagreb 2002; “The
Informal Economy and Informal Standards of
Behavior: How much Ethics can help in Business
Conduct?”, in: *Financial Theory and Practice*, 26
(2002).

Junior Visiting Fellows

January – June 2004

Muriel Blaive

Post-doc
Researcher and
Lecturer of
History, Charles
University,
Prague,
Körber Junior
Visiting Fellow



IWM Project: Coming to

Terms with a Nation's Past: The Czechs and their
Archives of Communism

Selected

Publications:

“La démocratie pour les Tchèques: une légitimité
politique et une composante identitaire”, in: *Revue
d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, 1 (2003); “La
police politique communiste en action: les
Tchécoslovaques et la révolution hongroise de
1956”, in: *Revue d'histoire moderne et
contemporaine*, 49 (2002); *Promarena prilezitost*.

*Ceskoslovensko a rok 1956 (A Missed Opportunity:
Czechoslovakia and the Year 1956)*, Prague 2001.

Jakub Franek

Ph.D. candidate in Political
Science, Boston College

IWM Project:

Hannah Arendt and
Michel Foucault – Two
Attempts at a Socratic
Critique of Modernity

Selected

Publications:

“Platón jako inspirátor
současné politické filosofie?
– Pojetí spravedlnosti a
poznání v liberální tradici a u Platóna”, in: *Reflexe*
25, forthcoming 2004; “Bohumil Hrabal's 'I
Served the King of England' – The Writer as a
Bad Conscience of the Nation”, in: *Proceedings of
APSA 2002 Annual Meeting* (electronic publica-
tion: psaproceedings.cup.org)



Deanna L. Gard

Post-doc, Boston University
School of Law

IWM Project:

Catch22: The Dilemma of
Revising Bulgaria's and
Romania's Competition Laws
for EU Accession



Izabella Main

Post-doc in History, Central
European University,
Budapest

IWM Project:

Körber Junior Visiting
Fellow

IWM Project:

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

Selected

Publications:

*Trudne swietowanie.
Konflikty wokół obchodów
swiat panstwowych i koscielnych w Lublinie, 1944-
1989*, Warszawa 2004; *Political Rituals and
Symbols in Poland, 1944-2002. A Research Report*,
Leipzig 2003; “The Weeping Virgin Mary and
the Smiling Comrade Stalin: Polish Catholics and
Communists in 1949”, in: Gabor T. Rittersporn
et. al. (ed.), *Sphären von Öffentlichkeit in
Gesellschaften sowjetischen Typs*, Frankfurt am
Main, New York 2003.



Berthold Molden

Ph. D. candidate in History, University of Vienna



IWM Project: Memory and interpretations of the 1960-1996 Civil War as conflict lines in Guatemalan society

Selected Publications: „Mythos und Identität als Vektoren im symbolischen Raum. Psychoanalytisch-historische Reflexionen über die Urbarmachung der Vergangenheit“ (mit Klaus Ebner), in: Wolfgang Müller-Funk (Hg.), *Leitha und Lethe, Symbolische Räume und Zeiten in der Kultur Österreich-Ungarns*, Frankfurt/Main, erscheint 2004; „Spielarten der Debatte um David Stolls Menchú-Kritik: Vom US-Akademiker-Streit zur geschichtspolitischen Kontroverse in Guatemala“, in: *Lateinamerika Analysen* 6 (2004).

Maria Moser

Doktorandin (Institut für Fundamentaltheologie, Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät, Universität Wien),



Stipendiatin im Doktorandenprogramm der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

IWM Project: Opfer – eine kulturanthropologische Kategorie zwischen Affirmation und Ablehnung. Zur feministisch-befreiungstheologischen Reformulierung eines Begriffs

Selected Publications: „Differenzfähigkeit als theologisches Gütekriterium. Versuche zur Frage ‚Was ist gute Theologie aus feministischer Perspektive?‘“, in: Clemens Sedmak (Hg.), *Was ist gute Theologie?* Innsbruck 2003; „Auf das Opfer darf keiner sich berufen“. Opfer-Konstruktionen im Spannungsfeld von Krieg, Religion und Geschlecht“, in: Anker/ Arzt /Eckstein/ Neissl (Hg.), *Männerkrieg und Frauenfrieden. Geschlechterdimensionen in kriegerischen Konflikten*, Wien 2003; „Der Alltag des ‚Nicht-Normalen‘. Prostitution und Prostitutionstourismus auf den Philippinen“, in: *Herder Korrespondenz. Monatshefte für Gesellschaft und Religion* 3 (2002).

Heidi Niederkofler

Doktorandin (Institut für Geschichte, Universität Wien), Stipendiatin des Doktorandenprogramm der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften



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

Selected Publications: „Die Arena politischer Repräsentation: ‚Geschlecht‘ als Kategorie des Ausschlusses?“, in: *Demokratie-Zivilgesellschaft-Menschenrechte* 5. *Österreichischer Zeitgeschichtetag 2001*, erscheint in Kürze; „Im Spannungsfeld von politischen Parteien und Lobbies: Geschlecht im System der politischen Repräsentation in den USA“ und „Geschlechtsneutrale Kriterien – geschlechtsspezifische Handhabung. Politische Repräsentation in Österreich“, in: Maria Mesner u.a., *Das Geschlecht der Politik. Annäherungen an die Bedeutung der Kategorie ‚Geschlecht‘ im Feld des Politischen*, Wien 2004.

Martyn Oliver

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



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

James Wood

Ph.D. candidate in Philosophy, Boston University



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

Keping Wu

Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology, Boston University



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

Guests

Wiktor Osiatynski

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



Month of stay: January
Recent "On the

Publications: Universality of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights", in: Andreas Sajó (ed.): *Kluwer Law International*, forthcoming 2004; "Paradoxes of Constitutional Borrowing", in: *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 1 (2003); "Constitutionalism, Democracy, Constitutional Culture", in: *Constitutional Cultures*, Warsaw 2000.

Gudrun Axeli Knapp

Professorin für Sozialwissenschaften/
Sozialpsychologie, Universität Hannover

Month of stay: March

Selected *Soziale Verortung der Geschlechter. Gesellschaftstheorie*

Publications: *und feministische Kritik I*, hg. mit Angelika Wetterer, Münster 2001; *Achsen der Differenz. Gesellschaftstheorie und feministische Kritik II*, hg. mit Angelika Wetterer, Münster 2003; *Denkverhältnisse. Ansätze und Strategien feministischer Erkenntniskritik* (multimediales Lehrbuch auf CD-Rom), hg. mit Klinger/Gehring/Singer, Hannover 2003.

Visiting Fellows Preview

Daniel Cohen

Assistant Professor in Modern European History, Rice University, Houston

IWM Project: History of Displaced Persons and Political Refugees in Post-1945 Europe

Selected "Displaced Persons in Post-War Historiography",

Publications: in: *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, forthcoming Spring 2004; "Naissance d'une nation: les personnes déplacées de l'après-guerre européen", in: *Genèses*, 38 (2001); "Insertion and Transit: Jewish Refugees in Post-War France, 1945 – 1948," in: *Archives Juives*, Spring 1999.

Rebecca Knight

Assistant Analysis Editor, Financial Times, London;
Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow

IWM Project: Rejecting Star-Spangled Values: Will Anti-American Sentiment in Europe Decrease its Appetite for US Culture?

Selected *Car, Cash and a Place to Crash: The Only Post-College Survival Guide You'll Ever Need*, Rodale Press 2003; "New Generation Faces Wartime," in: *USA Today*, February 2003; "Leg up for minorities turns college into life," in: *USA Today*, July 1998.

Sandra Lehmann

Post-doc scholar, Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft; Research Associate, IWM Patocka Project
Geschichtsphilosophie Jan Patockas

IWM Project: Projekt Europa: Die politische Philosophie Jan Patockas

Marci Shore

Assistant Professor of History, Indiana University

IWM Project: The Wonder of Words: Cosmopolitanism and the Avant-garde in East-Central Europe, 1919-1930

Oksana Zabuzhko

Free-lance writer, Kiev; Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow

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

Selected "Publicity and Media in Communism and After: The Destruction of Privacy", in: *Social Research* 69 (2002); *Sestro, sestro (O Sister, My Sister) and other Stories*, Kiev 2003; *Reportazh iz 2000-ho roku (The 2000 Report), Essays*, Kiev 2001.

Publications

Gerhard Gnauck

Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow 2003

Syrena auf dem Königsweg. Warschauer Wandlungen

Wien: Picus 2004

„Polen nach der Wende“, Einführung zum Buch: Ich lebe einfach mit – Kirchenfrauen in Polen. Porträts und Erfahrungen evangelischer Frauen im vom Katholizismus geprägten Polen.

Hg. von der AG der Frauenarbeit im Gustav-Adolf-Werk.

Leipzig 2004

Birgit Sauer

MAGEEQ Senior Researcher

Zivilgesellschaft. Eine geschlechterkritische Perspektive (mit Margit Appel und Luise Gubitzer), Frankfurt/M. et al. Peter Lang, 2003

„Doris ihr'n Mann seine Partei“. Die Re- duktion von Frauen- auf Familienpolitik im bundesdeutschen Wahlkampf 2002 (mit Sabine Lang), in: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft 4 (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: Appel / Gubitzer / Sauer (Hg.): *Zivilgesellschaft. Eine geschlechterkritische Perspektive*, Frankfurt et al.: Peter Lang 2003.

Die Internationalisierung von Staatlichkeit. Geschlechterpolitische Perspektiven, in: Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie 51 (2003), H. 4.

Michael Staudigl

Visiting Fellow 2004

“The Critique of the Phenomenological Concept of the World according to Michel Henry”, in: A. T. Tymieniecka (Hg.), *Does the World exist? Plurisignificant Ciphering of Reality* (Analecta husserliana LXXIX) Dordrecht: Kluwer 2004

Anita Traninger

Managing Director



und Anita Traninger
Wien: Böhlau 2003

Im Keller. Statik, Dynamik und das Raumproblem in der Mnemotechnik der Frühen Neuzeit. In: Gehäuse der Mnemosyne. Architektur als Schriftform der Erinnerung. Hg. von Harald Tausch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2003



In January, **Paul Ricoeur's** new book *Le parcours de la reconnaissance* was published in French and Polish. It is based on the *Institute for Human Sciences Vienna Lectures* he gave in 2001 (see also Charles Taylor's review in this Newsletter). This series is published in cooperation with Suhrkamp Publishers (Frankfurt a.M.), Harvard University Press and Znak Publishers (Cracow). After the Polish *Drugi Rozpoznanie*, the German and English editions will follow in autumn.

Travels and Talks

Robin Archer

Visiting Fellow

Vortrag: “Why is there No Labor Party in the United States? The Effect of Police and Military Repression in the Late Nineteenth Century” im Rahmen der Reihe „Geschichte am Mittwoch“, veranstaltet vom Institut für Geschichte der Universität Wien, (28. Januar 2004).

Waltraud Ernst

Visiting Fellow

Vortrag: „Die natürliche Konstruktion der Erotik. Methodologische Überlegungen zu einer Rekonstruktion der entwicklungsbiologischen Thesen des Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis“ im Rahmen des Romanistischen Kolloquiums Literaturwissenschaft. Forum für neue Forschungen von Prof. Ottmar Ette, Institut für Romanistik der Universität Potsdam (28. Oktober 2003).

Vortrag: „Zur Bedeutung der Kategorie Geschlecht in den Technowissenschaften“ im Rahmen der Podiumsdiskussion „Technik als Religionsersatz. Und die gesellschaftlichen Folgen?“, der Österreichischen Statistischen Gesellschaft, Arbeitskreis Langfristige Entwicklungsforschung (Zukunftsforschung), Wien (20. November 2003).

Vortrag: „Die Kategorie Geschlecht in den Biowissenschaften“ im Rahmen des Seminars „Gender and Science“ von Prof. Renée Schröder, Institut für Molekularbiologie der Universität Wien (12. November 2003).

Cornelia Klinger

Permanent Fellow

Vortrag: „Herrschaft, Macht und Gewalt im Geschlechterverhältnis“ beim Symposium der IAG Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte Universität Kassel „Herrschaft – Macht – Gewalt“ (22. November 2003).

Vortrag: „Die Kategorie Geschlecht und die symbolische Ordnung“ bei der Tagung „Gender Studies e metodologia del discorso filosofico“ am Centro per le scienze religiose ITC-isr in Trento (4. Dezember 2003).

Vortrag: „Zwischen Auflösung und Verfestigung: Zur Transformation des Begriffs Kultur im Prozess von Globalisierung“ bei der Tagung „Gotteskrieg und Geschlecht. Gewaltdiskurse in der Religion“ an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin (13. Dezember 2003).

Kompaktseminar: „Ungleichheit in den Dimensionen Klasse, Rasse und Geschlecht“ am philosophischen Seminar der Universität Tübingen (18.-20. Dezember 2003).

Vortrag: „Das Geschlecht der Kunst. Geschlechterkonstruktionen in der künstlerischen Arbeit“, Wien, Universität für Angewandte Kunst (28. Januar 2004).

Janos Matyas Kovacs

Permanent Fellow

Paper: „The Narcissism of Small Differences. Looking Back On 'Reform Economics' in Hungary“ at the conference „Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe“, organized by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences (Blankensee, 27-29 November 2003).

Paper: „On the Eve of a Gloomy Feast. Discourses of Solidarity in the Enlarging Union“, at the conference „Economics and Ethics“, New Europe College, Bucharest (12-13 December).

Maria Katharina Moser

Junior Visiting Fellow

Co-Leitung einer Exkursion auf die Philippinen zum Thema „Theologie kontextualisieren: Begegnung mit der *theology of struggle* und der *church of the poor* auf den Philippinen“ im Rahmen eines Austauschprojekts der Institute für Moral- und Fundamentaltheologie der Universität Wien und des Intercongregational Theological Center, Manila (22. Januar – 20. Februar 2004).

Birgit Sauer

MAGEEQ Senior Researcher

Vortrag: „Camouflage. Verbergen von Gefühlen und Ritualisierung von Geschlecht im politischen Raum“, Ringvorlesung „Ritualisierungen von Geschlecht“ des Gender Kollegs der Universität Wien (10. Dezember 2003).

Vortrag: „Frauenrechte und politische Partizipation. Strategien und Instrumente zum Abbau von Diskriminierungen“, gehalten auf dem chinesisch-deutschen Symposium der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung und der Chinese Association for International Understanding „Gesellschaften in Veränderung: Geschlechterverhältnisse in China und Deutschland“, Beijing (17.-19. November 2003).

Vortrag: „Add women and stir? Die mühsamen Wege der politikwissenschaftlichen Geschlechterforschung“ im Rahmen der Ringvorlesung „Gendered Subjects 1: Die Kategorie Geschlecht im Streit der Disziplinen“ an der Universität Wien, Wintersemester 2003/2004 (27. Oktober 2003).

Michael Staudigl

Visiting Fellow

Teilnahme am VII. Kongress der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Philosophie in Salzburg „Gerechtigkeit - Auf der Suche nach einem Gleichgewicht“ mit einem Vortrag über „Der Anspruch des Anderen und das Problem der Gewalt“ (1.-4. Februar 2004).

Anita Traninger

Managing Director

Vortrag: „Streiten um Wissen. Zum Verhältnis von Disputationswesen und Wissenskonstitution in der Frühen Neuzeit“ im Rahmen der Jahrestagung des Sonderforschungsbereichs „Kulturen des Performativen“ zum Generalthema „Macht – Wissen – Wahrheit“ (Berlin, 21.-23. November 2003).

Varia

Krzysztof Michalski is the 39th winner of the Theodor Heuss Prize, awarded annually by the Theodor Heuss Foundation to public figures who excel politically or socially. The prize will be awarded in a ceremony in Stuttgart on April 3, 2004. Michalski was recognized by the foundation for „playing an important role in the deepening of the political and cultural dialogue between East and West since the early '80s. With this he contributed to the liberation from Communism and promoted

the development of a democratic civil society in middle and east European countries. Michalski and his Vienna Institute bring together the highest intellectual claims with the questions of their transformation into political action and the encouragement of the rising generation. At the same time, Krzysztof Michalski is an important mediator of the transatlantic dialogue: he teaches at Boston University, where the Institute for Human Sciences maintains a branch working particularly on American-European relations.“ Named for the first president of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Theodor Heuss Foundation was formed in 1964 as an initiative independent of the influence of political parties. Each year the foundation looks to honour exemplary citizens. Previous recipients include **Jürgen Habermas**, **Ralf Dahrendorf**, **Vaclav Havel**, **Hans-Dietrich Genscher**, and **Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker**.

Georg-Sebastian Holzer, Student der Politikwissenschaft an der Universität Wien, absolvierte von Dezember 2003 bis Februar 2004 ein Praktikum am IWM.

Floriane Lestréhan, who is currently completing a master's degree in Press and Communication at Jean Monnet University (St Etienne, France) joined the IWM as an intern in January 2004. During her four-month stay she will help with public relations and conference organization.

Birgit Sauer, MAGEEQ Senior Researcher, nimmt im Sommersemester 2004 eine Gastprofessur am Department for Political Science an der Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton, Florida, wahr.

Die Kunstgeschichte-Studentin **Katharina Steidl** ist nach einem Auslandssemester in Zaragoza zum IWM-Team gestoßen. Seit Februar 2004 betreut sie als wissenschaftliche Hilfskraft den Bibliothekservice des Instituts. Sie folgt **Anna Steger** und **Barbara Weber** nach.

Call for Applications

Milena Jesenská

Fellowships

for Journalists

Milena Jesenská (1896-1944) was an outstanding journalist and mediator between the Czech and the German cultures in Bohemia as well as an astute political commentator. She was detained in the Nazi concentration camp in Ravensbrück for her political involvement and resistance, where she died in 1944. She is widely known for her famous correspondence with Franz Kafka.



2004 / 2005

The European Cultural Foundation is an independent non-profit organization that promotes cultural participation and cooperation within Europe and beyond its borders. It was founded in 1954 as the cultural counterpart to economic Europe. It strives to reinforce Europe's cultural dimension and to stimulate intercultural dialogue.
www.eurocult.org

The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) is an institute for advanced study. Its mission is to offer, in Austria, a place for research and discussion that crosses borders and disciplines with a view to contributing to the formation of a new intellectual geography in Europe.
www.iwm.at

Project Syndicate is an international association of 188 newspapers in 99 countries, devoted bringing distinguished voices from around the world to informed national audiences so as to create a global forum for broadening debate and exchanging ideas.
www.project-syndicate.org

I Objective

The Milena Jesenská Fellowship program was established by the Institute for Human Sciences and by the European Cultural Foundation and is supported by Project Syndicate.

It offers journalists working in print, broadcast and electronic journalism time off from their professional duties in order to pursue in-depth research on a European topic of their choice. The call for applications 2004/05 is directed towards cultural journalists, with the term 'cultural' interpreted in a broad sense to encompass all kinds of artistic and intellectual disciplines.

II Conditions

Milena Jesenská Fellows are invited to spend three months at the IWM in Vienna, Austria. Recipients of the fellowships are given a stipend of € 7.630 and provided with office space, a PC with broadband Internet access, and access to IWM's in-house research facilities as well as other relevant sources in Vienna. Travel grants of up to € 1.820 will be available for research visits to neighbouring countries.

Candidates for the Milena Jesenská fellowships must have several years of experience in professional journalism. Their work may deal with any topic related with cultural issues of a European relevance, especially against the backdrop of enlargement. Fellowships are not intended for entry-level journalists or students.

III The Jury

Helena Luczywo, Managing Editor-in-chief, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Warsaw
Gerfried Sperl, Editor-in-chief, *Der Standard*, Vienna (Chair)
Laura Starink, *NRC-Handelsblad*, Rotterdam
Anita Traninger, Managing Director, IWM, Vienna
Gottfried Wagner, Secretary General of the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam

IV Application

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One of the Institute's longest-standing collaboration partners, the Amsterdam-based European Cultural Foundation (ECF) is celebrating its 50th anniversary in 2004.

European Cultural Foundation: 50 years of sharing cultures

SINCE THE 1950s, the European Cultural Foundation has been awarding grants to artists and others in the cultural sector for projects that are clearly European in nature. Europe's only independent, non-national and pan-European cultural foundation, the ECF runs its own programmes and awards grants, activities which keep it close to the grassroots cultural sector and make it a credible advocate of strong cultural policies for Europe. For many years the ECF has supported the IWM's Paul Celan fellowship program for translators. In 1998, it helped launch a program specifically for journalists, the Milena Jesenská fellowship scheme. The IWM is proud to be part of the ECF's network of institutes and to host the foundation's Austrian National Committee, which has recently held a series of symposia on questions of politics and culture.

New programmes are currently in preparation and new lines of development being planned. With the setting up of a 4-year pilot-project for a dynamic 'Laboratory of European Cultural Cooperation', the ECF is demonstrating that cultural organizations can work collectively in a new kind of public-private partnership. The Laboratory will provide services and information on European cultural cooperation, and generate knowledge for cultural operators and creators, politicians, the media, and the public at large.

The anniversary celebration will take place on April 24 in the Beurs van Berlage, Amsterdam. In July, an ECF conference called "Sharing Cultures" will take place in Rotterdam in connection with the Dutch EU Presidency and the Informal Councils of Culture and Education Ministers.

www.eurocult.org

The IWM regularly invites its fellows, guests and friends to share their thoughts on current publications.

Charles Taylor

on

Paul Ricoeur

The Process of Recognition

Institute for Human Sciences

Vienna Lecture Series

THIS IS VINTAGE RICOEUR. Three lectures on "recognition" which link up the different ways that the concept has figured in philosophical discourse. In the course of this trajectory, Ricoeur makes connections between authors and philosophical themes, stretching over a vast area of time and subject.

The three lectures look at different phases of the term recognition, senses that it has borne in philosophical discourse. These are also seen as (loosely) historical phases. The first deals with "recognition" as it figures in the discourse of modern epistemology. The key locus here is the "synthesis of recognition" which figures in the Transcendental Deduction, First Edition, of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. The second lecture deals with what might be called the "recognition of responsibility", and traces the understanding of agency and moral responsibility from the ancients up to today. The third deals with the problem of recognition and identity, the set of issues which Hegel launched in his discussion of the struggle for recognition, and which has become central to contemporary arguments about identity and multiculturalism.

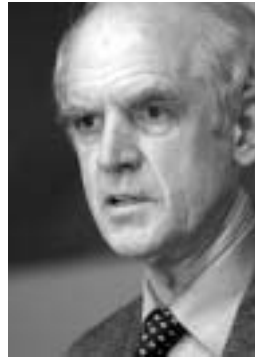
The first kind of recognition is still seen as a phase of knowledge of objects. Something like a concept of recognition becomes part of the theory of knowledge, because early modern epistemology stresses the place of method, and of careful scrutiny to avoid error. So to know something properly is to have recognized it for what it is after careful examination. Ricoeur sees a phase of this notion in Descartes (where the key term is "recevoir"): to identify something is to distinguish it clearly from others. Kant takes up a similar idea but in a quite new context. He rejects the rational psychology of Descartes, refuses the atomism of the input to knowledge. Our scattered bits of intuition only constitute knowledge insofar as they are linked together by concepts. To grasp an object is to see a pattern in intuition; but this seeing is also an imposi-

tion; the mind in fact links the different representations according to a template or formula whose shape is given by a concept. This is a "recognition" of the object as falling under this concept. Again, recognition is a crucial phase of knowing.

But the Kantian notion of "representation", uniting receptivity and the spontaneity of judgement remains deeply puzzling. Modern phenomenology has revisited it. Ricoeur refers to Husserl's *Krisis*, followed by Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty. The object has to contain more than what the subject conceptually grasps in it. The thinking mind who grasps objects is incarnate. There is more to this recognition of things than he/she can ever understand. Here Ricoeur also alludes to the work of Lévinas.

At this point, Ricoeur prepares us for the transition to the second lecture. In this first phase, recognition only concerns objects in general. As though the issue about the identity of objects was the same whether we're dealing with things or human agents, for instance. But these have their quite distinct styles of changing and remaining the same. A negative side reference here to Hume and Derek Parfit, who don't seem to have appreciated this. The lecture finishes with a discussion of the passage in the last volume of Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu*, where the narrator sees his friends and acquaintances reunited after many years, transformed by age. How to recognize them?

The second lecture will now take up the theme, that the first just suggested at the end: what makes the identity of human agency, as against mere objects. Here Ricoeur refers us to the major theme of his book *Soi-même comme un autre*: the distinction between ipse and idem, to use the Latin words for "same". Idem-identity is that of things. Ipse-identity is that of



Charles Taylor

agents. Each bridges difference: the same car has recently been painted another colour. The same person was before a coward, is now brave. But they bridge difference differently. We think in the first case of some substrate which remains unchanged under the alteration (the car); while in the second case we see an agent, leading his/her life, that is, making (or failing to make) a unity which is one of sense or meaning. These two differences go together: 1) whether the unity just results from the flow of events (the car remains the car because it hasn't suffered the kind of damage which will make it non-functional); or is (at least partly) made, designed; and (2) whether it is just a unity de facto, or one of meaning or sense. A life strives to make sense; which is why (and this might be seen as a third, related difference (3)) it has a narrative unity. Ricoeur reaches here further back in his oeuvre, and brings in *Temps et Récit*.

The full appreciation of these differences come only in modern philosophy, indeed in our time (and largely through the work of Ricoeur, I might add). But Ricoeur traces the development of this "recognition of responsibility", or agency through the ancients, with references to *The Odyssey*, to Oedipus, and an extremely interesting discussion of moral agency in Aristotle.

Agents are defined by capacities, being able to say, being able to do. They can bring things about. This difference from things has been neglected, one might almost say repressed in much modern philosophy. Post-Fregean philosophy of language constructs a notion of meaning which starts with the propositional content, and then sees how this is taken up by speech acts, as if the proposition could be made intelligible in the first instance outside the context of agency – here dialogical, interlocutory agency – in which it arises, the conversational exchange. Philosophers like Donald Davidson try to find causal antecedents for action which relate in the same way to it as causes do to events in nature, failing to see that ascribing an action to me is part of its meaning as an action.

Ricoeur then addresses the narrative identity of agents. To have an identity is *se raconter soi-même*. The "emplotment" (*mise en intrigue*) of a life is an attempt to give "an intelligible configuration to a het-

erogeneous ensemble composed of intentions, causes and contingencies". This is never totally successful. After having explored the different ways in which we receive models of identity-narration from our culture and the ways in which we can become too rigidly committed to certain models, Ricoeur discusses the imputation of responsibility in a juridical context and moves thence to a treatment of Hans Jonas' responsibility-principle.

A fascinating discussion follows of Bergson on memory, and how this develops into an understanding of the lived time of agents, *durée* – with a reference to Augustine's concept of time. Which in turn opens the way, via Bergson on promising, to a discussion of promises, of the will to constancy, and their place in our lives.

The third lecture is about recognition between agents, the theme which Hegel launched. This has already been prepared in the previous lecture, in the recognition that our identity-narrations are forged in constant interchange, and also borrowing, with those who surround us; in other words dialogically.

Ricoeur sees Hegel's discussion of the struggle for recognition, which comes to a positive result in mutual recognition, as a kind of response to Hobbes. Hobbes reduced the grounds for men's entering society to the amoral one of fear of death. Hegel is seen as holding that another kind of mutual need underlies society, that the identity of each of us requires confirmation from others. Here Ricoeur follows the discussion of Axel Honneth, who links the analysis of the necessity of recognition in Hegel to the (supposedly more empirical) sociology of G.H. Mead.

The first part of the lecture follows the development of the Hegelian analysis through the various early writings of his Jena period to the mature formulation we all know in the *Phenomenology*.

The second part follows Honneth and comments on the three levels of the need or demand for recognition which the latter distinguishes: love, equal rights, social esteem. These demands play out on different levels of society. The first in intimate relations, in particular the family; the second in legally entrenched rights; the third is what is at stake in the various demands for recognition of ethnic minorities, or women, or sexual orientations in

our contemporary societies.

There is a very interesting discussion, particularly of rights and identity recognition, which takes in references which are unfamiliar to anglophone readers, and which adds ideas rarely heard in this country. The works of Jean-Marc Ferry, and Luc Boltanski, for instance, are discussed.

Ricoeur adds an extremely interesting and suggestive third part. Can the struggle for recognition of itself ever eventuate in an equilibrium, in a just meeting of all legitimate demands? There are certain reasons for thinking that this can never happen. Consider the sense of victimhood, and the corresponding demand for redress, which is one of the major phenomena of our time. Who can doubt that this arises in large part from an unprecedented acknowledgement of wrongs which have remained often for centuries denied and forgotten? It is in this sense a positive result of the modern demand for recognition. But at the same time, how to evaluate the wrong, and the redress? Don't we feel at the same time, in relation to some of these wrongs (e.g., - these are my examples - the Holocaust, slavery) that no amount of redress would ever be equal to the demand?

How can we establish a new way of living together just by undoing these wrongs, giving everyone their due? Indeed, what is anyone's due here, when some of us are owed (ex-slaves, Holocaust survivors) something close to infinity?

This makes it necessary to loom at "states of peace" which are inaugurated by something quite different, something like a free gift, an offer of conviviality which is unlinked to the past and the debts it creates. If something like this is necessary, we can speak of a dialectic of love and justice, where neither can suffice of itself to resolve our conflicts.

We could think here of Mandela and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in post-apartheid South Africa. There is a real dialectic here. Reconciliation enters by an act which sets justice aside, in the sense of a complete settling of accounts due. And there is always a problem with this. Reconciliation can never simply replace justice. There is always an agonizing choice. Ricoeur speaks of these moments of reconciliation as "temporary clearings" in the struggle for recognition.

The third lecture contains at the end

an extremely valuable discussion of the gift in Marcel Mauss, and the discussion around this, the relation of gift exchange to market exchange, in which Ricoeur brings out, against various reductive accounts in people like Lévy-Strauss, how different that earlier form of gift-society was to our modern market-dominated civilization.

True, Ricoeur's new book is difficult: the argument is dense, the shifts often appear sudden and under-motivated, until you see what avenues these connections are opening. Many of the references are unfamiliar to anglophone readers. But these are writers which should be better known in our culture, where another side of French thought has had a major impact.

I'm afraid I haven't by any means given an idea of how rich the set of discussions and references is in

this book. It gives one a path through much of Ricoeur's work, on language, narration, memory and the self; but it also shows the deep connections between so many disparate discussions. Who would have thought that reading Marcel Mauss could illuminate Mandela and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Who could have seen the connections between the modern rage for objectification and the occultation of agency, ipse-identity, narrative, dialogicality, and a host of other issues? As with Ricoeur at his best, it suggests a number of wholly different ways of thinking our way through the major questions of modern philosophy. I've been thinking about these things for a number of decades, and reading *The Process of Recognition* I had several times the experience of seeing a wholly new and immensely fertile perspective opening up.

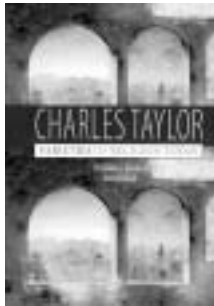
Die **IWM-Vorlesungen zu den Wissenschaften vom Menschen** wurden 2001 von **Paul Ricoeur** gehalten. Die Vorlesungsreihe erscheint in Kooperation mit den Verlagen Suhrkamp (Frankfurt a.M.), Harvard University Press und Znak (Krakau). *Le parcours de la reconnaissance*, das neue Buch von Paul Ricoeur, ist aus seinen Wiener Vorlesungen hervorgegangen. Soeben erschien die polnische Ausgabe *Drogi Rozpoznania*; die deutsche und englische folgen in diesem Jahr.

Bereits erschienen: **Charles Taylor**, *Religion heute*; *The Varieties of Religion Today* (siehe Anzeige auf dieser Seite).

Die Vorlesungen von **Cornelia Klinger** (*Die Erfindung des Subjekts*, 2002) und **Abraham B. Yehoshua** (*The Shaping of Jewish Identity*, 2003) sind in Vorbereitung.

Die **IWM-Vorlesungen zu den Wissenschaften vom Menschen** 2004 werden von **Ryszard Kapuscinski** gehalten.

IWM Lectures in Human Sciences



Charles Taylor
The Varieties of Religion Today
Harvard University Press 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)

In the early 20th century, Harvard sociologist William James delivered a series of lectures in Edinburgh that were eventually put together in book form as *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, still in print today. A century later, philosophy professor Charles Taylor spoke for the same lecture series, revisiting James's work for a postmodern audience. His *Varieties of Religion Today* is a provocative, witty and worthy conversation with James's timeless work.

Publishers Weekly, 2002



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



Charles Taylor
Oblicza religii dzisiaj
Cracow: Znak 2002

Die Debatte über die „Union“ müsse mit einer Debatte über die „Gemeinschaft“ einhergehen, meint Bronislaw Geremek, Mitglied der Reflexionsgruppe zu den europäischen Werten, in seinem Beitrag zum neuen Heft von *Transit – Europäische Revue* 26.

Europa als Gemeinschaft denken

JEAN MONNET WIRD DER SATZ zugeschrieben: Wenn ich noch einmal von vorn anfangen müsste, würde ich mit der Kultur beginnen. Bekanntlich hat er dies nie gesagt, denn der Große Inspirator wusste sehr wohl, dass er in diesem Fall gescheitert wäre. Andere meinen, man hätte mit der Politik anfangen sollen, doch auch dies wäre unweigerlich misslungen. Der europäische Einigungsprozess musste bei der Wirtschaft ansetzen, doch heute hängt die Zukunft der Union vom Erfolg der Arbeit an der politischen Einigung ab. Erst in diesem Zusammenhang wird deutlich, was man als kulturelle Herausforderung bezeichnen könnte, obgleich diese über den Rahmen des kulturellen Erbes und der Kulturpolitik im engeren Sinn hinausreicht. Vielmehr stellt sich die große Frage: „Woher kommen wir, wo stehen wir, wohin gehen wir?“

Wer Europa als wie immer geartete politische Einheit denken will, kommt nicht daran vorbei, nach den Wertvorstellungen, den Erinnerungen und den Traditionen Europas zu fragen – und nach der Grundlage des Willens der Bürger zusammenzuleben. Die Herausforderungen, mit denen sich Europa zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts konfrontiert sieht, verlangen nach tiefgreifenden Veränderungen im europäischen Diskurs. Wir müssen die Buchhaltersprache ad acta legen und uns entschließen, zur Sprache der alltäglichen Verständigung zurückzufinden, in der wir uns fragen, was gut und was schlecht, was schön und was hässlich, was richtig und was falsch ist. An dem historischen Wendepunkt, an dem sich die Europäische Union derzeit befindet, dürfen wir es nicht bei dem Versuch belassen, die Aufgaben der gemeinschaftlichen Institutionen neu zu definieren, sondern wir müssen auch bestrebt sein, ein Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit zur Gemeinschaft zu schaffen.

Die verfassungsorientierten Arbeiten im Rahmen der gesetzgeberischen Praxis der Union – ich denke hierbei an die europäischen Verträge, aber auch an die Grundrechte-Charta und die europäische Verfassung – bezeugen die schrittweise Bewusstwerdung und Stärkung dieses Gemeinschaftsgefühls eines „zusammen-

wachsenden Europa“. Doch erst die Osterweiterung, die das Ende des Kalten Kriegs besiegelt und die Teilung Europas in zwei Blöcke beendet, verleiht der Perspektive eines einigen Europa Realität und Gewicht. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch der Konvent über die Zukunft Europas zu sehen. Die Bedeutung des mit bewundernswerter Meisterschaft von Valéry Giscard d'Estaing geleiteten Konvents bemisst sich nicht nur an seinem unmittelbaren Ergebnis – dem Entwurf eines Verfassungsvertrags (bzw. einer Verfassung – ein Begriff, der nun selbst für die Briten akzeptabel geworden ist) –, sondern auch an der Tatsache, dass er die europäische Öffentlichkeit bewegt und eine europaweite Debatte ausgelöst hat. Hierin – und nicht in der Welle pazifistischer Bekundungen gegen den Irak-Krieg – zeichnet sich die Entstehung einer wirklich europäischen Öffentlichkeit ab. Die Zukunft der Europäischen Union hängt gewiss von den institutionellen Reformen der nächsten Jahre ab, doch sie hängt auch von der Diskussion über den Inhalt der europäischen Idee ab.

Die Debatte über die „Union“ muss mit einer Debatte über die „Gemeinschaft“ einhergehen. Erste Ansätze hierzu finden sich in den von Roman Herzog geleiteten Arbeiten des Konvents über die Grundrechte-Charta, die die Öffentlichkeit jedoch trotz Bekanntmachung kaum bewegt hat. Für den Konvent wäre die Diskussion um die Verfassungs-Präambel ein geeigneter Zeitpunkt gewesen, sich mit dieser Frage auseinanderzusetzen. Doch wollen wir hier nicht verpassten Gelegenheiten nachtrauern.

Weitere Fortschritte bei der europäischen Einigung lassen sich nur erzielen, wenn wir die in den zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen zum Ausdruck kommenden Nationalegoismen überwinden und an Gemeinschaftsgefühle appellieren, die über das Nationalgefühl hinausweisen. Ich bin überzeugt, dass die Formulierung „Föderation von Nationalstaaten“ den derzeitigen Charakter der Europäischen Union treffend beschreibt und der Tatsache Rechnung trägt, dass der Reichtum Europas in der Vielfalt seiner nationalen

Kulturen besteht und nach meinem Dafürhalten auch weiterhin bestehen wird. Die nationalen Egoismen hingegen, wie sie in der Routine der EU-Gipfel und den zwischenstaatlichen Verhandlungen zum Ausdruck kommen, sind für Europa ein Unglück. In Abwandlung eines Scherzes aus der Zeit des Risorgimento, der nationalen Einigung Italiens – „Wir haben Italien geschaffen, nun müssen wir nur noch Italiener schaffen“ – könnte man sagen: „Wir haben Europa, nun brauchen wir nur noch Europäer“. Mit anderen Worten: Wir brauchen eine Sichtweise, die Europa als Gemeinschaft denkt.

Vorausgeschickt sei, dass sich dies keineswegs von selbst versteht. Die Geschichte des Nationalgefühls lehrt, wie schwierig und konfliktbeladen der Prozess nationaler Bewusstwerdung war, obwohl diese auf dem Gefühl eines gemeinsamen Schicksals und auf gemeinsamen „Orten der Erinnerung“, auf gemeinsamer Sprache und gemeinsamer Kultur aufbauen konnte. Das Band der Gemeinschaft lebte aus Erfahrungen und Wissen, die über Generationen angehäuft wurden, und erhielt durch mythologisch-historische Konstruktionen organische Beschaffenheit. Nichts Vergleichbares charakterisiert das Band, das Europa zusammenhalten soll. Es ist eher Ergebnis freier Willensentscheidung denn Resultat organischer Entwicklung.

Geht es um Probleme der Kollektivpsychologie, der Einstellungen und Gefühle, der Zukunftsentwürfe und kulturellen (oder zivilisatorischen) Zielsetzungen, so sieht man sich unweigerlich auf die Geschichte einerseits und die Wertvorstellungen, d.h. die Axiologie, andererseits verwiesen. Das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zu Europa oder die europäische Identität lassen sich unter verschiedenen Erfahrungsgesichtspunkten betrachten.

Zum einen durchziehen die europäische Geschichte eine Reihe imperialer Einigungsversuche, die sich durch die Achtung ethnischer Differenzen und partikularer Souveränitäten innerhalb des Reiches auszeichneten. Das mittelalterliche Prinzip, dass der König Herr über sein Königreich ist, lässt sich als Ausdruck dieses

Sachverhalts verstehen. Es genügte, die Einheit des Reichs und die Herrschaft des Kaisers anzuerkennen, um innerhalb des eigenen Gebiets frei schalten und walten zu können. Gleichwohl zeigen sich mit Blick auf die imperiale Politik mitunter deutliche Unterschiede. Karl der Große sah in der Christianisierung der Sachsen eine notwendige Vorbedingung für ihre Unterordnung unter seine Herrschaft. Als die Osmanen die Nachfolge des byzantinischen Reichs antraten, erwarteten sie von den in ihrem Herrschaftsbereich lebenden Völkern nur Steuern und Tribut, nicht jedoch den Verzicht auf ihren Glauben. Karl V., in dessen Reich „die Sonne nie unterging“, unterstützte die katholische Religion, sah sich jedoch gezwungen, konfessionelle Brüche zu akzeptieren. Napoleon akzeptierte zwar alle Religionen, zuvörderst die Religion der Freiheit, und alle Nationen, mit der Grande Nation an der Spitze, erwartete von ihnen gleichwohl, dass sie sich der kaiserlichen Oberhoheit unterwarfen. All diese Reiche und Imperien verstanden sich nicht nur als übergeordnete Macht, sondern auch als das, was die Deutschen als Rechtsordnung bezeichnen. Das mittelalterliche Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation setzte einen Rechtsrahmen, der den damaligen König- und Fürstentümern Raum für Koexistenz und Regeln für die Verwaltung bot. Das Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch, das Napoleons Soldaten mit dem Bajonett in alle Länder Europas trugen (und das im Eigentums- und Vertragsrecht von Ländern wie Polen dauerhafte Spuren hinterließ), konnte in den unterschiedlichsten politischen und kulturellen Umfeldern Anwendung finden. Diese „Rechtsordnungen“ waren mitnichten Wertegemeinschaften. Ganz im Gegenteil, sie sicherten den staatlichen Institutionen und den Bürgern die Wahrung ihrer Rechte unabhängig von der Wertegemeinschaft, der sie jeweils angehörten, wenn sie nur den Gesetzen Folge leisteten.

Man könnte die Zukunft der Europäischen Union perspektivisch auf die historischen Erfahrungen der Reichseinigungen verengen und mit dem deutschen Philosophen Robert Spaemann zu dem Schluss gelangen: „Das künftige Europa wird nur dann eine Rechtsgemeinschaft sein können, in der alle Bürger der Länder europäischer Tradition ein gemeinsames Dach finden, wenn es Ge-

meinschaften mit gemeinsamen Werteschätzungen ermöglicht und schützt, selbst aber darauf verzichtet, eine Wertegemeinschaft zu sein.“ Ich glaube indes nicht, dass der Gemeinschaftsbegriff diese „Reichserfahrungen“ der europäischen Geschichte treffend beschreibt: Im Begriff der Rechtsordnung schwingt eher Zwang als Partizipation mit; dem Bürger werden Pflichten auferlegt und Rechte zugestanden. Auf diesem Weg ließe sich die „Finalität“ der Europäischen Union schwerlich realisieren, ganz abgesehen davon, dass der derzeitige Einigungsprozess darin nicht aufgeht.

Viel wichtiger für die aktuelle Debatte sind die Momente tatsächlicher Gemeinsamkeit in der Geschichte Europas. Hier ist zuvörderst an die mittelalterliche Christenheit zu denken, wie sie sich im 13. Jahrhundert darstellte. An ihrer Spitze sicherten Papst und Kaiser die Zusammenarbeit zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht, eine Konstellation, die die „weströmische“ Tradition fortschrieb, in der die Kirche über dem Staat stand, während sich die oströmische Kirche ihm unterzuordnen hatte. Die Gemeinschaft versammelte sich um einen gemeinsamen Glauben und besaß mit Rom, dem Sitz der Nachfolger des heiligen Petrus, ein einigendes Machtzentrum. Sie besaß ein Netz von Universitäten, die, der Kirche unterstellt, die Verbreitung von Wissen und die Ausbildung der kulturellen Eliten nach einem einheitlichen Curriculum und in einer gemeinsamen Sprache, dem Lateinischen, gewährleisteten. Und sie besaß ein Netz von Gotteshäusern, die europaweit in demselben Stil erbaut wurden und denselben Kalender und dieselbe Liturgie verwendeten. Die mittelalterliche Christenheit folgte einer europäischen Berufung, wenn sie das Wort auch mied (erst der große Humanist – und Papst – Enea Silvio Piccolomini sollte es im 15. Jahrhundert aufgreifen), vor allem aber akzeptierte sie alle nationalen Kulturen.

Das zweite gemeinschaftliche Moment in der Geschichte Europas bildete die Gelehrtenrepublik, von Erasmus von Rotterdam bis hin zur Aufklärung – von der Übernahme des Lateinischen als allgemeiner Verkehrssprache bis zur Entfaltung der Volkssprachen, allen voran das Französische. Die zunächst noch dominierende religiöse Reflexion wich der Beobachtung und Analyse der Welt, eine Be-

wegung, die vom grenzenlosen Glauben an den wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt und die Macht der Vernunft getragen war. Den natürlichen Rahmen dieser Gemeinschaft bildete Europa. Der gemeinsame Geist konnte sich auf ein Kommunikationsnetz stützen, das trotz der technologischen Schwächen der damaligen Zeit die rasche Verbreitung von Ideen und Schriften gewährleistete. Die geistigen und kulturellen Bande festigten sich durch eine rege Reisetätigkeit, die das Wissen in alle Länder Europas trug und den Kontinent enger zusammenrücken ließ. So konnten die Bürger dieser Gelehrtenrepublik auf die natürlichste Weise von sich als „wir Europäer“ sprechen oder mit Montesquieu sagen: „Europa ist nur eine Nation, die aus mehreren besteht.“

Wenn ich hier kurz auf diese beiden Gemeinschaftserfahrungen eingegangen bin, so deshalb, weil ich der Auffassung bin, dass sie als Hauptbezugspunkte für die europäische Identität fungieren können. In beiden Fällen handelte es sich, wenn auch mit gegensätzlicher Zielrichtung, um Gemeinschaftsbildung. Karl Jaspers erklärte in seiner Genfer Rede „Vom europäischen Geist“ (1946), die Freiheit Europas gründe in Antithesen: „Europa hat zu jeder Position selber die Gegenposition entwickelt. (...) Europa bindet aneinander, was es zugleich in die letzte Gegensätzlichkeit treibt: Welt und Transzendenz, Wissenschaft und Glaube, Weltgestaltung und Religion.“¹ Demgemäß sollte die Europäische Union nicht davor zurückschrecken, sich sowohl auf die Gemeinschaft der mittelalterlichen Christenheit als auch auf die Vernunftgemeinschaft der Moderne zu beziehen, da sie auf diese Weise das widersprüchliche Wesen des europäischen Geists bekräftigen könnte. Der Geschichte würde man damit ebenfalls besser gerecht werden.

In den europäischen Verfassungstexten ist auch dem Religiösen Platz einzuräumen. Im Vertrag von Maastricht zum Beispiel findet sich die von Helmut Kohl eingebrachte „Erklärung zum Status der Kirchen und weltanschaulichen Ge-



Bronislaw Geremek

meinschaften“. Auch der Verfassungsentwurf des Konvents schreibt die in den nationalen Gesetzgebungen verankerte Achtung aller Kirchen und religiösen Institutionen fest und bekräftigt die Notwendigkeit eines ständigen Dialogs zwischen EU-Behörden und Kirchen (Art. 51). Diese rechtlichen Bestimmungen sollten nach dem Vorbild der Grundrechts-Charta mit einer Erklärung zur individuellen und kollektiven Freiheit in religiösen Fragen einhergehen. Doch die Debatte über die Verfassungs-Präambel gab in dieser Hinsicht Anlass zu heftigen Konflikten. Zunächst weigerte man sich, das religiöse Erbe Europas überhaupt zu erwähnen; dann vergaß man, dem Christentum bzw. dem jüdisch-christlichen Erbe den gebührenden Platz einzuräumen und zitierte neben dem alten Griechenland und Rom nur die Tradition der Aufklärung. Die einstweilen verabschiedete Kompromisslösung ist armselig, wenn nicht obskur, und das ist schade.

Gewiss, man könnte auf die Präambel verzichten, um dieses heikle Thema und die ihm entspringenden Zwickigkeiten zu vermeiden. Religiöse Konflikte und Schismen forderten in der Geschichte Europas einen hohen und schmerzhaften Preis. Ein Wiederaufleben solcher Streitigkeiten ist unter allen Umständen zu vermeiden. Wenn man jedoch in Betracht zieht, dass der Verfassungsvertrag die Funktionsweise der EU-Institutionen nicht nur klarer, transparenter und effizienter gestalten, sondern die Bürger auch näher an die Europäische Union heranzuführen soll, so wird man ohne ein Körnchen „europäische Metaphysik“ schwerlich auskommen können. Wenn wir die Bürger anregen wollen, darüber nachzudenken, wie wir zusammengefunden haben, warum wir zusammen bleiben und was wir gemeinsam unternehmen wollen, muss auch von der Idee Europa, vom europäischen Geist die Rede sein. Nur so kann der Verfassungstext in der Schule wie im Alltag zu einem Instrument europäischer Erziehung werden.

Ich habe mich mit den Wechselfällen der Arbeit an der europäischen Verfassung aufgehalten, um die Bedeutung der Diskussion über die Geschichte und die Wertvorstellungen Europas zu unterstreichen. Nur diese Debatte bietet die Möglichkeit, die Gemeinsamkeiten der europäischen Kultur herauszuarbeiten, zu der

die religiösen Traditionen ebenso gehören wie die laizistischen.

Wenn man auf Europa den Begriff der „Erinnerungsarbeit“ anwendet, der Paul Ricoeur so sehr am Herzen liegt,² so wird man feststellen, dass Europa im Mittelalter durch den gemeinsamen christlichen Glauben und in der beginnenden Moderne durch das gemeinsame Vertrauen in die Macht der Vernunft Gestalt annahm. Man wird feststellen, wie Einigkeit auf der Grundlage ethischer Prinzipien entstand, die das Handeln und die Einstellungen der Menschen prägten, obgleich über die Quellen dieser Prinzipien weiterhin Uneinigkeit bestand. Man wird schließlich bei den Grundwerten anlangen, die Europa zum Fundament einer freien, prometheischen und solidarischen Gemeinschaft wählte. Meines Erachtens kann man sich nicht darauf beschränken, ein Inventar der verschiedenen Bestandteile des europäischen Erbes anzulegen, denn die Geschichte schafft offene Wahlmöglichkeiten und Chancen, und sie bringt Zivilisationen und Gesellschaften hervor, die nicht ein für allemal in feste Formen gegossen sind. Um voranzukommen, muss sich Europa in jedem entscheidenden Moment seiner Geschichte selbst hinterfragen.

Von großer Bedeutung scheint in diesem Zusammenhang der besondere Stellenwert, den unsere Kultur seit der Vermischung der barbarischen Gebräuche mit dem Christentum der menschlichen Person einräumt. Ein Träger dieser anthropozentrischen Sichtweise ist die christliche Überlieferung mit ihrer Botschaft, der Mensch sei nach dem Ebenbild Gottes erschaffen und der Sohn Gottes habe sich für die Menschen aufgeopfert. Die gleiche Botschaft findet sich auch in der nicht-religiösen Tradition, die den Menschen zum Maß aller Dinge erhebt oder ihm – wie bei Pico della Mirandola – Größe und Würde zuspricht. Wichtig ist hierbei, dass dieser Anthropozentrismus sowohl in der jüdisch-christlichen Tradition als auch in der humanistischen Philosophie vom Menschen verankert ist. Alle Werte, auf die sich die Gemeinschaften beriefen – und auf die sich heute die Europäische Union bezieht – wurzeln in dieser besonderen Vorstellung. Der Würde des Menschen entspringen seine Freiheit ebenso wie die Begriffe von Gerechtigkeit, Solidarität und freiem Willen; sie ist die

Quelle auch der Menschenrechte. Es ist die zwiefache Verwurzelung des europäischen Anthropozentrismus, die es erlaubt, den Konflikt zwischen Religion und Laizität zu überwinden, der die Diskussion über die weltanschaulichen Grundlagen der europäischen Verfassung begleitete. Eine wahrhafte Diskussion über die Zukunft Europas hebt mit der Reflexion über das Modell einer Zivilisation und den Entwurf einer Gemeinschaft an, die dem Menschen und seiner Würde einen zentralen Stellenwert zumessen.

Kommen wir kurz auf drei Fragen zur Funktionsweise Europas als Wertegemeinschaft zu sprechen. Zunächst einmal sind die gemeinschaftlichen Werte nicht als Abschottungsmechanismus nach außen misszuverstehen. Die Gefahr, die die Einführung der Axiologie in den politischen Raum mit sich bringt, besteht in der Tendenz zum Absoluten, aus der immer auch eine Politik der Ausgrenzung hervorgehen kann. Ethnozentrische Tendenzen der Ausschließung des Anderen sind zu vermeiden. Der Begriff der menschlichen Würde muss zum Dialog mit dem Anderen anregen, zu einer radikalen Öffnung hin zu den Anderen, ganz im Sinne von Emmanuel Levinas. Europa ist nur als pluralistische Gemeinschaft vorstellbar und muss sich dessen bewusst sein, wie viel die kulturelle Überlieferung den Griechen und Römern, den Arabern und Juden verdankt. Europa hat aus eigener Erfahrung gelernt, welche Stärke Offenheit und Toleranz verleihen und welches Elend die geschlossenen, totalitären Ideologien bedeuten, die noch immer den Schatten der Schande auf Europa werfen.

Zweitens muss gerade die Politik der Menschenrechte das Bild von Europa prägen, sie muss zum Emblem Europas werden, wenn nicht zu seiner „Religion“. Dies betrifft die Innenpolitik der Europäischen Union ebenso wie die „Kopenhagener Kriterien“, die die Bedingungen des EU-Beitritts regeln. Die Menschenrechte sollten der weltanschauliche Bezugspunkt der europäischen Außenpolitik sein, da die Schaffung des Amts eines europäischen Außenministers ansonsten toter Buchstabe bliebe. Gerade in der derzeitigen Situation ist es sehr wichtig, dass Europa den Multilateralismus seiner Außenpolitik auf die Menschenrechte gründet und an der Reform des internationalen Rechts und des Systems der Vereinten

Nationen arbeitet, um den Menschenrechten gegenüber kurzfristigem politischen Kalkül zum Durchbruch zu verhelfen. Wie sonst ließe sich dieses System und dieses Recht verteidigen?

Drittens ist auch das europäische Entwicklungsmodell in dieser „personalistischen“ Perspektive neu zu überdenken. In Frankreich verkündete am Ende des Ancien Régime der von der Konstituierenden Versammlung eingesetzte Ausschuss zur Ausrottung der Bettelei: „Stets dachte man daran, den Armen Almosen zu geben, doch nie daran, den Rechten des armen Menschen gegenüber der Gesellschaft und denen der Gesellschaft ihm gegenüber zur Geltung zu verhelfen.“ Diese prägnante Formulierung bringt nicht nur die Macht der Menschenrechte zum Ausdruck, sondern situiert das Armutproblem auch in der Perspektive moderner Sozialpolitik. Sie regt dazu an, das sozialpolitische Modell Europas nicht mit Blick auf erworbene Rechtsansprüche zu diskutieren, sondern als sozialen Dialog, der den Erfordernissen der Menschenwürde gerecht wird und die Programmatik der Bewegung „ATD Vierte Welt“ in das europäische Projekt aufnimmt.

Dem Unbehagen an Europa ist mit neuen Institutionen und politischen Reformen allein nicht beizukommen; was wir brauchen sind Ideen. Die Vorschläge zur Bildung eines „harten Kerns“ der europäischen Integration sind fehl am Platz, wo es allererst darum geht, die europäische Solidargemeinschaft zu festigen. Wer versucht, aus einer amerikakritischen Haltung politisches Kapital zu schlagen, um Europa ex negativo zu definieren – wie es einst die Athener gegenüber den Persern oder die Europäer gegenüber den Arabern, Tataren und Türken taten – der verfolgt eine Strategie, welche die Chancen der Entwicklung Europas zu einem glaubwürdigen Partner auf der internationalen Bühne zunichte macht. Die Rolle der intellektuellen Diskussion über die Zukunft Europas besteht darin, über die „Säulen des Herkules“ hinauszuschauen und Ideen und Visionen zu entwickeln, welche die Kraft haben, den Weg zur Schaffung eines mächtigen, mutigen und klarsichtigen Europa zu weisen.

Bronislaw Geremek

Aus dem Französischen von Bodo Schulze

Der Beitrag geht auf einen Vortrag zurück, den der Autor im Juni 2003 in Paris im Rahmen des Zyklus *Grand Angle* („Quelles valeurs pour quelle Europe?“) gehalten hat, organisiert von *Mécénat Altadis* und *La république des idées*.

¹ „Vom europäischen Geist“, in: Karl Jaspers, *Wahrheit und Bewährung. Philosophieren für die Praxis*, München 1983, S. 116.

²Vgl. Paul Ricoeur, „Zwischen Gedächtnis und Geschichte“, in: *Transit* 22 (2001/2002), S. 3 – 17.

Turkish Sociologist Nilüfer Göle shows how from a stigma the veil has become for many muslim women a positive sign of their Islamic identity, shifting it from the private to the public sphere.

The New Muslims

EVERYWHERE YOU LOOK nowadays, Islam is used (and misused) as a political force. Some Muslims use it as a call to action; many in the West (and elsewhere) perceive Islam as an “other” demanding containment and exclusion. As a Turk, I feel both sides of this debate directly.

The reason that Islam seems like a religion of the “other” to Western eyes is that the West has witnessed a systematic de-institutionalization of religion. It is not religion that disappeared from modern Western life, of course, but the claims that religious institutions can make on individual behavior. Religion in the modern world is a much more personal and spiritual experience than ever before.

Yet a process of de-institutionalization of religious experience is also taking place within Islam. Politicization of Islam is displacing the authority of Islam’s religious classes, the *ulema*. As in the West, Islamic religious experience is becoming more personal. Interpretation of religious texts by individual Muslims, including political militants, intellectuals and women, is one result of this. Another is the vulgarization of religious knowledge, with the Koran’s teachings abused and taken out of context to support political ends.

Who now decides what is legitimate and what is illicit in Islam? Who has the authority to interpret religious texts? Who can issue a “fatwa” or declare “jihad”? Nowadays, activism and terrorism provide, or rather impose, a new source for legitimacy. So lay people speak of what Islam does and does not mean, despite lacking the institutional authority of religious schools and training.

Indeed, Islam today is primarily interpreted through political agents and cultural movements, not religious institutions. This de-institutionalization has enabled Islam to move from being a local and national social bond to forging imaginary bonds between all Muslims, everywhere, who feel themselves socially uprooted. Thus Islamism can unite adherents who previously were deeply divided: spiritual Sufi and canonized Shariat Islam; Shia and Sunni Islam; conservative Saudi Arabia and revolutionary Iran.

At the same time, Islam is on the move, its believers leaving rural areas for urban ones and, through migration, to the cities of the West. Many see this movement as something negative, emphasizing the fact that these people are socially uprooted, which leads to alienation and, for some, to terrorism. But social mobility is also a precondition for creating a modern outlook.

Of course, through migration Muslims experience a sense of distancing from their social origins, if not an outright break with them. This is true for migrant Muslims in Europe, but also of those recently urbanized in Muslim countries. Consequently, their religious experience is of a new kind. Community, religious, or state institutions do not directly hand it to them. Instead, religious experience for them is a form of social imagination within which they reconstruct a sense of belonging to Islam in new and strange surroundings.

Indeed, it is not distance from but proximity to modern life that triggers a return to religious identity. Most radicalism arises in groups who, by their experience of mobility and displacement, are acquainted with secular Western ways of political thinking and urban living. Disoriented by unfamiliar surroundings, Islam becomes their anchor.

But for this anchor to work, Islam must be liberated from its traditionally subservient, passive and docile posture in the face of modernity. By wearing a veil or beard, claiming the right for places to pray at work or school, and demanding special foods, Muslims identify themselves overtly as Muslims. They are telling everyone around them that they are more zealous and meticulous in their religious observance than those who confine their religiosity to private life.

For example, non-Muslims usually see veiling as a sign of the debasement and inferiority of Muslim women. From a stigma, however, it has become for Muslims a sign of their positive affirmation of an Islamic identity.

Young Muslim women in Europe illustrate this transformation perfectly. Girls

who adopt the headscarf in French and German schools are closer in many respects (namely youth culture, fashion consciousness and language) to their classmates than to their homebound, uneducated mothers. In adopting the headscarf for Europe’s public sphere, these girls are unintentionally altering the symbol and the role of Muslim women.

This tendency extends deeper than headscarves. European, indeed all Western Muslims, possess a sense of double belonging, a double cultural capital. They define themselves through their religiosity, but also have gained universal, secular knowledge. Because they have a double cultural capital, they can circulate relatively freely between different activities and spaces – home, school, youth associations, and urban leisure space.

Being a Muslim and being an Islamist are not the same thing. What we are witnessing today is a shift from a Muslim identity to an Islamist identity. The religious self for individual Muslims is being shifted from the private to the public realm. The question for everyone is whether that search for identity can be satisfied with headscarves and wide public acceptance of Islamic religious practice, or if positive affirmation of Islam demands a more fundamental renunciation of modernity.

Nilüfer Göle is Directeur d’études, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris.

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Upcoming Events

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


20. April

Robin Archer
Oxford University
The Conservatism of the Left

27. April

Zaïr Kédadouche
*Président de l'Association Intégration France et
créateur de l'Association pour le Musée d'Histoire de
l'Immigration*
Le modèle d'intégration français est-il en crise?
In Zusammenarbeit mit dem 

Montag, 3. Mai

Michel Wieviorka
Directeur d'études à l'EHESS et directeur du CADIS, Paris
Violence: une nouvelle approche
In Zusammenarbeit mit dem 

11. Mai

Political Discussion:
**A Reform without Constituency? Pension Schemes
between Populism and Realism**
Tiziano Treu
*Professor of labour law and member of the Senate of
the Italian Republic*
Marc-Olivier Padis
La République des Idées, Editor-in-chief of Esprit
Markus Marterbauer
WIFO, expert for economic trends and macroeconomics
In Zusammenarbeit mit

 **RennerInstitut**




18. Mai

Oksana Zabuzhko
Writer, Kiev; Milena Jesenská fellow at the IWM
**Modernism, Feminism, Nationalism:
The Death of Don Juan**
In Zusammenarbeit mit dem 

VÖZ VERBAND ÖSTERREICHISCHER ZEITUNGEN

Montag, 24. Mai

Frits Bolkestein
European Commission
Europe at the Crossroads
In Zusammenarbeit mit der 
Königlich Niederländische Botschaft

Transit

Europäische Revue Heft 26

Europäische Verbindlichkeiten

Krzysztof Michalski **Editorial**

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

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

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

Osterweiterung als Herausforderung Heather Grabbe **Hat Solidarität noch eine Chance?**

Jacques Rupnik **Erweiterung light?**

Janos Matyas Kovacs **Zwischen Ressentiment und
Indifferenz**

Barbara Tóth **Reifeprüfung 1989**. Photographien

**Religionen und europäische
Solidarität** Danièle Hervieu-Léger **Religion und sozialer Zusammenhalt**
David Martin **Religionmuster in Europa**

Bhikhu Parekh **Islam – eine Gefahr für die Demokratie?**

Nilüfer Göle **Neue Muslime und europäische
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Charles Taylor **Religion und politische Identität**

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