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# Newsletter 85

## FORSCHUNGSPROJEKT |

Als Auftakt eines neuen Projekts des IWM erörterte am 4. und 5. Juni 2004 eine interdisziplinär und international zusammengesetzte Gruppe von Wissenschaftlern – Aspekte der Bedeutung des Todes in der heutigen Gesellschaft.

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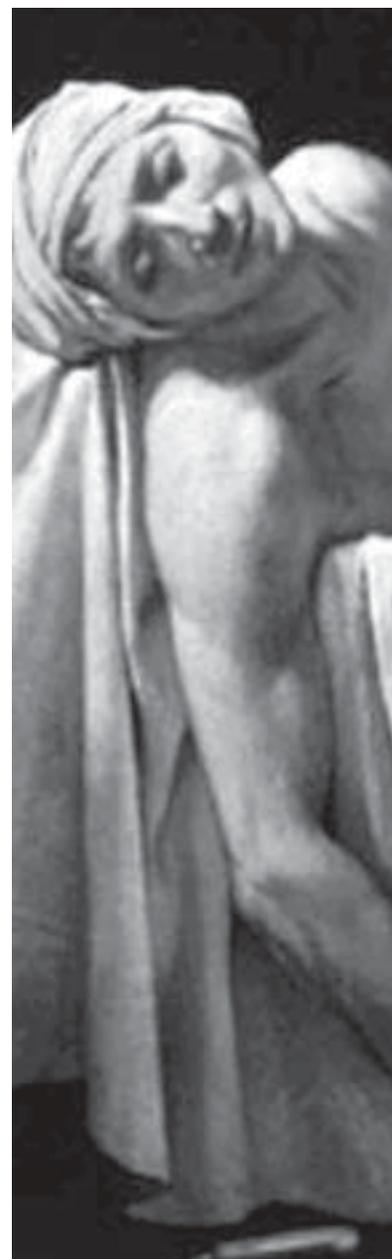
## Tod und Kultur

DER TOD IST ein physiologisches Faktum – und dennoch hängt die Antwort auf die Frage, was es heißt zu sterben, von gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Bedingungen ab. Tod und Sterben sind offen für fast unendlich viele Varianten von Deutungen, Verhaltens- und Handlungsweisen. Die wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit dem Thema "Tod" im Hinblick auf die für die Gegenwart charakteristischen Problemperspektiven ist das Ziel des Forschungsprojektes *Die Bedeutung des Todes in der heutigen Gesellschaft*, welches das IWM in Zusammenarbeit mit der *Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* sowie der *Akademie der Künste*, Berlin, und unterstützt von der *Fritz Thyssen Stiftung* initiiert hat.

Insbesondere der spezifisch abendländisch-westliche Charakter des Verständnisses vom Tod steht zur Diskussion. In insgesamt vier interdisziplinären Workshops werden unterschiedliche thematische Schwerpunkte behandelt – ausgehend vom Traditionsbruch der Moderne und der damit verbundenen Säkularisierung der Gesellschaft, in deren Folge der Tod aus der Öffentlichkeit verschwand und tabuisiert wurde, die Religion aufhörte, der umfassende Leitdiskurs der Gesellschaft zu sein, und die Wissenschaft sie in dieser Funktion ablöste.

### Ein Gespräch über den Tod

Unter der Leitung von Krzysztof Michalski (Philosophie, Boston University und Universität Warschau; Rektor des IWM), fand am 4. Juni einleitend ein Podiumsgespräch über den Tod statt. Nach Cornelia Klinger (Philosophie, Universität Tübingen; Permanent Fellow des IWM) bedeutet der Tod eine absolute Grenze und markiert damit ein Jenseits. Gleichzeitig jedoch sei er ein diesseitiges Phänomen, denn die Grenze verleihe dem Leben Kontur und Form. Damit ist der Tod "prinzipiell und unabänderlich Gegenstand aller gesellschaftlichen Handlungs- und Wissenssysteme". Für Klinger ist die Philosophie am besten geeignet, den Zugang zum Thema Tod zu eröffnen. Die gegenwärtige Situation sieht sie durch die Ablösung der transzendental orientierten durch die immanent orientierte Gesellschaft bestimmt. Diese könne die Endlichkeit nur



bis zu einem gewissen Grad bewältigen. „Der unbewältigte Rest ist dann Gegenstand, wenn auch nicht der Verdrängung, so doch der Tabuisierung.“

Die Disziplin der Soziologie sieht **Alois Hahn** (Universität Trier) in Bezug auf das Diesseits des Todes gefordert. Von Interesse für die Soziologie sei die Frage, wie Gesellschaften und Individuen mit dem Faktum des Todes umgingen. So gebe es keinen Menschen, der nicht Weiterlebensvorstellungen hätte. Selbst jene, die an nichts nach dem Tod glauben, sorgten sich darum, was nach ihrem Tod geschieht. „Offenkundig“, so der Soziologe, „verlängern wir also für uns selbst unser Leben über das Leben hinaus.“ Kulturell gebe es unterschiedliche Ausgestaltungen der Jenseitsvorstellungen, aber überall existiere das „Jenseits im Diesseits“. Die moderne Gesellschaft zeichnet sich nach Hahn zudem dadurch aus, dass sie alle Vorstellungen von Tod in ihr Repertoire integrieren kann. Auf dem „Weltanschauungsmarkt“ könne heute ein jeder auch aus Einstellungen zu Tod und Sterben auswählen. Verschwunden seien also nicht die rituellen Formen, sondern nur ihr allgemeinverbindlicher, normativer Anspruch.

**Robert Spaemann** (Philosophie, Universität München) betonte zwei gegensätzliche Arten, den Tod zu sehen: den eigenen sowie den Tod der anderen. Beide Aspekte seien zu erörtern. Da zudem jeder *alleine* sterben muss, kann der Mensch nach Spaemann den Sinn seines Daseins nicht mehr aus der Gesellschaft beziehen. Spätestens sterbend höre er auf, Glied eines sozialen Ganzen zu sein. Die ritualisierte Sterbe- und Begräbniskultur der europäischen Tradition sieht er demgemäß als ein dialektisches Phänomen der Selbstrelativierung der Gesellschaft. „Indem die Gesellschaft den Tod in kultische Formen einbettet, machte sie ihre eigene Infragestellung zu einem Teil ihrer selbst.“ Anders die gegenwärtige Situation: Die strukturell atheistische Moderne müsse den Gegensatz von Leben und Tod als absolut begreifen, so der Philosoph. Als Folge werde der Tod aus dem Bewusstsein verdrängt.

### Der Tod als philosophisch-meta-physisches Problem

Die erste Sitzung des Arbeitskreises stand am 5. Juni unter dem Thema **Tod und Kultur**. In ihrer Eröffnung betonten **Krzysztof Michalski** und **Dieter Simon** (Rechtswissenschaften; Präsident der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften) die Wichtigkeit einer Zusammenarbeit der verschiedenen Disziplinen sowie von Wissenschaft und Kunst. **Hans-Dieter Bahr** (Philosophie, Universität Tübingen) wies anschließend in seinem Vortrag über den **Tod als philosophisch-meta-physisches Problem** darauf hin, dass es lediglich zwei Grundvorstellungen über den Tod zu geben scheine: Zum einen die Vorstellung, dass der Tod ein Übergang zu einer anderen Seinsweise sei, andererseits der vor allem in der Aufklärung wirkmächtige Gedanke, wonach mit dem Tod tatsächlich alles zu Ende sei, aufhöre und zunichte werde. Der Philosoph plädierte für einen dritten Weg, für „eine Art der Überwindung des Nihilismus“. Entgegen zu setzen sei ein mögliches Verständnis von „Nicht“ oder „Nichtigkeit“, in dem sich Offenheit ausdrücke – von dem aus Seinsmöglichkeiten überhaupt erst verständlich werden könnten.

**Wiktoria Osiatynski** (Verfassungsrecht, Central European University, Budapest) stellte wiederum zur Diskussion, ob letztlich nicht die Kunst den angemesseneren Zugang zum Todes bietet. „Die Kunst spielt möglicherweise die wichtigste Rolle, sich emotional auf die eigene Sterblichkeit einzustellen“. **Ulrike Brunotte** (Kulturwissenschaften, Humboldt Universität Berlin) verwies auf den griechischen Philosophen Parmenides, der zwar das Nicht-Sprechen-Können über das Nichts thematisiere, aber dennoch in mythischer Sprache darüber spreche. „Die positive Bestimmung des Seins besteht in einem Gegensatz zu dem, was er Nichts nennt“. Doch Konstruktionen, die philosophisch ohne den mythisch-narrativen Kontext rezipiert werden, transportieren nach Brunotte häufig eine andere Lesart mit. „So glaube ich, dass wir es diesbezüglich auch bei Parmenides mit einer tiefen Ambivalenz zu tun haben.“

### Der eigene und der fremde Tod

Die Unterscheidung zwischen eigenem und fremdem Tod stellte **Hans Joas** (Soziologie, Universität Erfurt) in Frage. Ihm scheine die Voraussetzung, dass man vom Anderen tatsächlich scharf getrennt sei, prinzipiell fragwürdig. Schließlich stelle der Andere einen integralen Bestandteil der eigenen Welt dar und sei somit Teil der persönlichen Identität. Auch **Hans-Ludwig Schreiber** (Rechtswissenschaften, Universität Göttingen) sah eine gewisse Analogie in der Erfahrbarkeit des eigenen mit jener des fremden Todes. Ähnlich argumentierte **Angelo Volandes** (Medizin, Harvard University): In den meisten westlichen Ländern liege die Lebenserwartung mittlerweile bei etwa 80 Jahren. Mit dieser in einem relativ kurzen Zeitraum signifikant erweiterten Spanne habe sich auch unser Lebensentwurf gewandelt und mit ihm die Vorstellung vom Tod. In den USA gebe es allerdings in den „Ghettos“ der Großstädte auch junge Menschen, die – in Erwartung eines viel früheren Todes – bereits Vorkehrungen für ihr Begräbnis treffen. Das Verständnis vom Tod ändert sich also nach Volandes je nach den individuellen Erwartungen, die wiederum durch das Beispiel des Sterbens anderer Menschen geformt würden.

**Istvan Rev** (Geschichte, Central European University, Budapest) verwies auf Kulturen, in denen bestimmte Rituale zur Reintegration der Toten in die Gemeinschaft existieren. Ähnliche Praktiken eines solchen langsamen Transformationsprozesses gibt es nach Rev auch in der heutigen westlichen Kultur – etwa die „Trauerzeit“ einer Witwe. Zwar könne dies die radikale Unterscheidung zwischen Leben und Tod nicht auflösen. Doch es sei ein wichtiger Teil des Umgangs mit dem Verlust eines Menschen. Man habe es weniger mit dem „Nach-Leben“ zu tun, als vielmehr – aus Sicht der Weiterlebenden – mit dem „Nach-Tod“.

Die Frage, ob man mit einem philosophischen Diskurs überhaupt an die Fülle dessen, was der Tod bedeutet, heranreichen könne, stellte **Eva Horn** (Literaturwissenschaften, Viadrina Universität, Frankfurt/Oder) zur Diskussion. Sie plädierte für eine transdisziplinäre Herangehensweise. Auch die Kollektivität des Todes ist nach Horn ein wichtiger Gesichtspunkt. Dieses Phänomen könne der philosophische Diskurs allein nicht erfassen. **Hanfried**

Helmchen (Psychiatrie, Freie Universität Berlin) stellte den Gegensatz von Tod und Leben zur Diskussion. Seine These: „Natürlich ist, sofern wir das Leben als Mitte und den Tod als Ende verstehen, der Unterschied zwischen den beiden *kein* Gegensatz. Doch wir verstehen Leben und Tod nicht einfach als Anfang oder Mitte und Ende, vielmehr meinen wir mit Leben und Tod zwei *unterschiedliche* und von da her gegensätzliche Seinsweisen.“

### Tod und Gesellschaft in Amerika

**Kathleen M. Foley** (Neurologie, Cornell University) referierte schließlich zum Thema **Tod und Gesellschaft in Amerika**. Foley ist Direktorin des Forschungsprojektes „Death in America“, welches sich die Transformation von Kultur und Erfahrung des Sterbens zum Ziel gesetzt hat. In den USA, dem Land der ewig Jungen, sei das Älterwerden eine Peinlichkeit und der Tod ein Versagen, beschrieb Foley die gegenwärtige Situation. Der Tod habe Sexualität als Tabuthema ersetzt. Doch gerade die Erfahrung des Sterbens habe sich in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten verändert: „Wir haben eine medizinische Kultur geschaffen, die so versessen darauf ist, Krankheiten zu heilen und Leben zu verlängern, dass sie nicht mehr in der Lage ist, während einer der emphatischsten Phasen des Lebens – dem Tod –, Beistand zu leisten“, erklärte die Wissenschaftlerin. Hauptziel ihres Projektes ist die Anregung und Förderung eines öffentlichen Diskurses über Tod und Sterben.

Die wissenschaftliche Leitung des Projekts **Die Bedeutung des Todes in der heutigen Gesellschaft** wird vom Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und der *Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* gleichermaßen wahrgenommen. Die Federführung über Planung und Durchführung von Veranstaltungen im Bereich Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften, die ebenfalls in das Projekt einfließen sollen, liegt bei der Berliner *Akademie der Künste*. Unterstützt wird das Projekt von der *Fritz Thyssen Stiftung*.

Die nächste Sitzung des Arbeitskreises findet im Dezember 2004 statt.

### Research Project

On June 4 and 5 an international and interdisciplinary group of scholars discussed aspects of **The Meaning of Death in Society Today**. The project aims at the scholarly debate and reflection of death with regard to the specific and presently relevant problems related to the subject, their genesis as well as possible scenarios for their development in the future.

### Program

Friday, June 4

#### Ein Gespräch über den Tod

Participants:

**Alois Hahn**

**Cornelia Klinger**

**Robert Spaemann**

Chair: **Krzysztof Michalski**

Saturday, June 5

#### Welcome and Opening

**Krzysztof Michalski**

**Dieter Simon**

Session 1

#### Death as a Philosophical-metaphysical Problem

Introductory statement by

**Hans-Dieter Bahr**

Chair: **Krzysztof Michalski**

Session 2

#### Death and Society in America

Introductory statement by

**Kathleen M. Foley**

Chair: **Dieter Simon**

### Participants

**Hans-Dieter Bahr**

Professor em. of Philosophy, University of Tübingen and Vienna

**Ulrike Brunotte**

Senior Assistant, Institute of Cultural Studies, Humboldt University, Berlin

**Kathleen M. Foley**

Attending Neurologist in the Pain and Palliative Care Service at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center (MSKCC), New York; Professor of Neurology,

Neuroscience and Clinical Pharmacology, Weill Medical College of Cornell University;

Director, Project on “Death in America”

**Susanne Froeschl**

Managing Director, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna

**Alois Hahn**

Professor of Sociology, University of Trier

**Hanfried Helmchen**

Professor em. of Psychiatry, Free University, Berlin;

Member, *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (BBAW)

**Eva Horn**

Assistant Professor of Western European Literature, Viadrina University, Frankfurt/Oder; Member, *Junge Akademie*, Berlin

**Hans Joas**

Professor of Sociology, University of Erfurt, Max-Weber-Kolleg; Member, *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (BBAW)

**Cornelia Klinger**

Permanent Fellow, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna; Professor of Philosophy, University of Tübingen

**Wolf-Hagen Krauth**

Head of Department for Interdisciplinary Working Groups, *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (BBAW)

**Krzysztof Michalski**

Professor of Philosophy, Boston University and University of Warsaw; Rector, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna

**Wiktor Osiatynski**

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

**Istvan Rev**

Professor of History and Political Science, Central European University, Budapest; Director, Open Society Archives, Budapest

**Hans-Ludwig Schreiber** Professor em. of Criminal Law and Theory of Law, University of Göttingen

**Dieter Simon**

Professor of Law; President, *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (BBAW)

**Robert Spaemann**

Professor em. of Philosophy, University of Munich

**Angelo Volandes**

M.D., Post-doctoral Researcher (Ethics), Harvard University

Zum Problem der kulturellen Vielfalt unter Bedingungen der Globalisierung diskutierten am 17. Juni Experten im Rahmen der IWM-Reihe „Kultur und Politik“.

## Artenschutz für die Kultur? Globalisierung und die Politik der kulturellen Vielfalt

The UNESCO "Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity" (2001) claims that cultural diversity is "as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature". But can cultural diversity be protected against economic globalization as promoted by GATT and WTO agreements? On June 17 a group of experts debated on **Globalization and the Politics of Cultural Diversity**. It was the fourth event in IWM's "Culture and Politics" series organized in connection with the Austrian National Committee of the European Cultural Foundation.

MUSS DIE KULTURELLE VIelfALT gegenüber der wirtschaftlichen Globalisierung, wie sie GATT- und WTO-Abkommen favorisieren, geschützt werden? Ist Protektionismus das Rezept für die Bewahrung nationaler kultureller Identitäten? Am 17. Juni diskutierten Experten im Wiener Palais Clam-Gallas über Globalisierung und die Politik der kulturellen Vielfalt. Es war die vierte Veranstaltung in der Reihe „Kultur und Politik“, die seit 2000 in Verbindung mit dem österreichischen Nationalkomitee der Europäischen Kulturstiftung organisiert wird.

Vor dem Hintergrund der viel beschworenen Globalisierung ist in den vergangenen Jahren eine internationale Debatte um den Schutz der kulturellen Pluralität entbrannt. Im November 2001 veröffentlichte die UNESCO die „Allgemeine Erklärung zur kulturellen Vielfalt“. Darin heißt es, diese sei als Quelle des Austauschs, der Erneuerung und der Kreativität für die Menschheit ebenso wichtig wie die biologische Vielfalt für die Natur. Sie stelle das gemeinsame Erbe der Menschheit dar „und sollte zum Nutzen gegenwärtiger und künftiger Generationen anerkannt und bekräftigt werden.“ Im Oktober 2003 beschloss die UNESCO-Generalkonferenz schließlich die Ausarbeitung einer **Konvention zum Schutz der kulturellen Vielfalt** – mit dem Ziel, letztere auch unter den Rahmenbedingungen von Globalisierung und Liberalisierung zu erhalten.

Diese Problematik stand im Zentrum einer vom IWM gemeinsam mit dem Institut Francais de Vienne und der Kanadischen Botschaft initiierten Podiumsdiskussion, an der Ivan Bernier, Professor für Rechtswissenschaft an der Universität Laval in Québec, Cornelia Klinger, Permanent Fellow des IWM, und Jean Musitelli, Vorsitzender des Verwaltungsrates des französischen Institut national du patrimoine, teilnahmen. Moderatorin war die Journalistin Karin Kneissl.

Jean Musitelli rekapitulierte zunächst die Geschichte des Terminus „kulturelle Diversität“. Dieser habe sich international erst in den 1990er Jahren etabliert. 2001 hat die UNESCO dann die Deklaration zur kulturellen Vielfalt veröffentlicht (an deren Formulierung Musitelli beteiligt war). Nach Musitelli unterliegt die kulturelle Diversität heute zwei Käften: der Globalisierung und den Massenmedien. Ihr Einfluss auf die Kultur habe auch positive Seiten. So böten sie die Möglichkeit einer größeren Verbreitung von Kultur. Allerdings seien hier „fragile Kulturen“ gegenüber den Kulturindustrien der mächtigeren Länder benachteiligt.

Die Experten rufen daher nach Regelungen zum Schutz der kulturellen Diversität. Ziel ist nach Musitelli die Entwicklung eines Verständnisses von Kultur und Kommerz, in dem sich beide Bereiche in einem gleichberechtigten Verhältnis gegenüber stehen. Denn zwar seien kulturelle Leistungen Güter wie andere auch, jedoch überstiegen sie zugleich diese Definition. „Sie transportieren Werte, in denen sich eine Gesellschaft wieder erkennt.“ Diese kulturelle Funktion müsse durch ein Statut anerkannt und gewährleistet werden. „Schwachen“ Ländern müsse darüber hinaus der Zugang zum internationalen Kulturaustausch erleichtert werden.

Auch Ivan Bernier unterstrich die Notwendigkeit der UNESCO-Konvention. Doch die eigentliche Frage sei nicht klar geregelt. Was ist unter kultureller Diversität zu verstehen? „Ende der 1980er Jahre definierte die UNESCO Kultur einerseits über soziologische und anthropologische Elemente, und andererseits über die kulturelle Produktion (*expression culturelle*) in all ihren Formen.“ Doch es sei evident, dass die Kulturen in zunehmendem Maße von der Globalisierung und dem freien Warenaustausch geprägt würden. Kulturen seien zur Anpassung an diese Prozesse, also an externe Faktoren, gezwungen. Dies erfolge gerade auch über die künstlerische Produktion. Künstlerische Produktion will Bernier dabei verstanden wissen als „die Entwicklung einer Sprache, die es erlaubt zu hinterfragen, wohin sich die Gesellschaft bewegt.“ Daher seien die kulturellen Produzenten für eine demokratische Gesellschaft so wichtig. Jede Gemeinschaft müsse die Möglichkeit haben, sich über die Kultur ausdrücken zu können.

Auf den Begriff der Kultur konzentrierte schließlich Cornelia Klinger ihre Überlegungen. Das Konzept von Kultur, wie es heute verwendet wird, gehe auf das 18. Jahrhundert zurück. Es umschließe Elemente der Religion sowie Sitten, Gebräuche, Überlieferungen, Geschichte, Sprache, Literatur und künstlerische Ausdrucksformen. In der säkularisierten Moderne sei die Kultur an die Stelle des religiösen Hintergrundes getreten. Ähnlich sieht Klinger die heutige Situation – allerdings gehe nun nicht mehr die Religion, sondern vielmehr die Kultur verloren und befinde sich somit „in der Krise“. Der von ihr konstatierte „Verlust des bestehenden gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Rahmens“ geschieht demnach durch einen Prozess der Erweiterung. War es im Falle der Religion die Entstehung des Nationalstaats, so ist es heute die Globalisierung.

Zentrale Aufgabe der Kultur sei es im 19. Jahr-

hundert gewesen, als „gemeinschaftliches Unterfutter“ die Identifikation der Bürger mit dem Nationalstaat zu ermöglichen. Jenseits einer auf Konkurrenz angelegten Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsordnung sollte die Kultur eine die Gemeinschaft verbindende Kraft sein. Heute umschließt der moderne Begriff der Kultur nach Klinger noch immer die gemeinsame Identität und Wertegemeinschaft, aber vor allem auch die künstlerischen Ausdrucksformen. Es habe – bereits im 19. Jahrhundert – eine starke Konzentration des Begriffs Kultur auf die Kunst stattgefunden. Mit anderen Worten: „Die Kunst hat sich als das Kultursystem innerhalb der modernen, bürgerlichen Gesellschaft ausdifferenziert.“

Doch die Künste haben sich verselbstständigt, wie Klinger weiter erklärte – Kunst und Künstler sind heute nicht mehr geneigt, die Aufgabe der „nationalen Identitätsfindung, der moralischen Unterfütterung der Gemeinschaft“ zu leisten. Stattdessen haben sich Elemente der kollektiven Identitätsstiftung in ganz andere Bereiche bewegt. Der Sport beispielsweise sei ein möglicherweise viel wichtigerer Faktor. „Wenn es jetzt darum geht, kulturelle Identitäten und Gemeinschaftlichkeiten über die Grenzen der Nationalstaaten hin zu begründen, dann ist fraglich, ob mit dem Konzept Kultur – so wie wir es jetzt verstehen – dieser Schritt wirklich zu machen ist“, lautete denn auch ihr Resümee. Doch Begriffe haben auch die Möglichkeit sich zu ändern, wie sie abschließend erinnerte. Um aber etwa den Begriff der Kultur mit neuen Inhalten zu versehen und zu erweitern, bedürfe es auch einer Vergewisserung seiner Geschichte.

Die Podiumsdiskussion fand mit Unterstützung durch *Wien Kultur* und in Zusammenarbeit mit der *Europäischen Kulturstiftung*, dem *Institut Français de Vienne* sowie der *Kanadischen Botschaft* statt.

### Teilnehmer

#### Ivan Bernier

Professeur associé à la Faculté de droit de l'Université Laval, Québec et expert conseil auprès du ministère du Patrimoine canadien et du Groupe de travail sur la diversité culturelle et la mondialisation du Réseau international sur la politique culturelle (INCP)

#### Cornelia Klinger

Permanent Fellow, IWM; apl. Professorin für Philologie, Universität Tübingen

#### Jean Musitelli

Conseiller d'Etat et président du conseil d'administration de l'Institut national du Patrimoine; membre du groupe d'experts internationaux créée en 2003 par le directeur général de l'UNESCO pour préparer l'avant-projet de convention internationale sur la diversité culturelle

#### Karin Kneissl

(Diskussionsleitung) freie Journalistin und Arabistin, Lehrbeauftragte in Wien, Paris und Beirut

On May 11 the IWM organized a discussion in collaboration with the *Renner Institut*, *La République des Idées*, and the *Istituto Italiano di Cultura* on the political management of pension reforms.

## A Reform without Constituency? Pension Schemes between Populism and Realism

ACCORDING TO THE SPEAKERS, the pension reform is a must. The business sector as well as the scholarly community all over Europe display an overwhelming consensus about the need to reshape the pension system before the growing difficulties in financing it evolve into a sharp crisis. The main reasons for the difficulties are also beyond any doubt: they range from the aging of the European societies through global pressures to the inefficiency of the pension schemes. There are of course heated debates about the ways and means of the reform. Despite general agreement on the crux of the matter, the governments still hesitate to embark upon radical measures in most countries of Western Europe. They have serious concerns about the political “marketability” of the reform, and are desperately looking for its constituency. Meanwhile, some of the new entrants to the EU have already completed many of the reform tasks, which their West-European neighbours have not even begun to accomplish.

### Excerpts from Tiziano Treu's presentation:

In ten years Italy has undergone four reforms of the pensions system: three have been completed (in 1992, 1995 and 1997) and one is still in process. The reasons for reform are similar to those operating in most European countries: dramatic changes in demography, namely the decline of fertility rate and the lengthening of life expectancy, the fragmented composition of the labour force due to the diffusion of atypical workers, an irregular and slow economic growth.

(Continued on p. 6)

### Participants

#### Alois Guger

Senior Economist, Austrian Institute of Economic Research, Vienna

#### Janos Matyas Kovacs

Permanent Fellow, IWM (Chair)

#### Marc-Olivier Padis

Editor-in-chief, *Esprit*, Paris

#### Tiziano Treu

Professor of Labour Law, Catholic University of Milan; former Italian Minister of Labour and Social Security

Foto von Adidal Abou-Chamat "Borderlines" (aus *Transit 27 – Europäische Verbindlichkeiten*, siehe *Anzeige Seite 32*)



On June 23, the 4th MAGEEQ Workshop was held at the onset of the Second Pan-European Conference on EU Politics "Implications of a wider Europe: Politics, Institutions and Diversity" in Bologna, Italy.

## Mageeq Workshop in Bologna

THE MAIN GOAL of the Workshop was to further elaborate the methodology used for the preliminary country studies. With the detailed cross-country comparison of issues ahead, the MAGEEQ-team discussed the preliminary findings and questions that had been raised by each country study. The aim of the discussions was to enable a further fine-tuning of the research material used for the cross-country comparison.

MAGEEQ is a three-year research project (2003-2005) funded within the European Commission's 5th Framework Programme and is co-ordinated by the IWM. 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.

Please visit the project website [www.mageeq.net](http://www.mageeq.net), which is updated on a continuous basis, for more information.

### Teams

#### Netherlands

University of Nijmegen  
**Jacintha van Beveren**  
**Yvette Jeuken**  
**Ilse van Lamoen**  
**Petra Meier**  
**Marjolein Paantjes**  
**Mieke Verloot**

#### Spain

Universidad Complutense de Madrid  
**Maria Bustelo**  
**Emanuela Lombardo**  
**Elin Peterson**  
**Raquel Platero**

#### Slovenia

Peace Institute, Ljubljana  
**Majda Hrenjak**  
**Vlasta Jalusic**  
**Mojca Susnik**

#### Hungary

Center for Policy Studies, Budapest  
**Andrea Krizsan**  
**Violetta Zentai**

#### Greece

National Center for Social Research, Athens  
**Maria Filiopoulou**  
**Andromachi Hadjiyanni**  
**Maria Pantelidou**  
**Maloutas**

#### Austria

IWM Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna  
**Cornelia Klinger**  
**Birgit Sauer**  
**Karin Tertinegg**

(...) Pensions are the most thorny issue: among other reasons because they absorb the largest part of the public budget (about 14 % of the GDP). Some features of the Italian system are quite peculiar. (...)

First of all the organization of the public pensions has been historically framed along corporatist lines. It has grown under the pressure of individual categories: not only of dependant workers, but also of professional employees and self employed people. It has been organised and financed accordingly. These structural differences among sectoral pensions have multiplied the obstacles to the implementation of common lines of reform and have foreclosed so far any universalistic approach to pensions. (...)

Secondly the Italian pension system arrived to maturity rather late, between the 50ies and the 60ies according to the categories. The conditions of that period: fast economic growth, baby booming, coupled with a socially lenient attitude of the governments in office prompted a legislative regulation extremely favourable to future retirees. The law recognized the right to 80 % of the last wage after 35 years of contributive seniority, regardless of age and for some categories (public employees in the first place) after shorter periods of service (down to 15 years of contribution in the case of so called baby pensions). Most of the population which had entered into the system in those years arrived to retirement age in the nineties when the conditions had already changed for the worse. (...)

The experience of past reforms shows the importance of multiple factors of success. Graduality of implementation is one. But it is not enough and if pushed too far may be detrimental. It is equally important to be selective in the objectives and to take into account the different interests involved in the matter and the possible trade-off between them. A restrictive reshaping of pensions may be more acceptable to large sectors of the population and to the unions themselves if it is compensated by a more equitable and diffused welfare in critical areas such as social protection, social services, long term care, active manpower policies. Indeed some of these areas are directly related to the future of pensions. Particularly relevant for the sustainability of any pension system are the economic and employment trends: the scenario varies considerably depending on how dynamic these trends will be in the future. The high road to growth and competitiveness indicated at the Lisbon summit would favour welfare and pension reforms which are both financially and socially sustainable. But that high road appears to be remote, not only in Italy. (...)

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**DEADLINE**  
15 December 2004 | **CALL FOR APPLICATIONS**  
Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen | Institute for Human Sciences

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

The Institute for Human Sciences (*Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen*, IWM) is an intellectually and politically independent institute for advanced study supported by a community of scholars consisting of Permanent Fellows, Visiting Fellows and Junior Visiting Fellows. The Institute's mission is to offer a place for research and discussion that crosses borders and disciplines. Since its founding in 1982, the Institute has laid a particular emphasis on fostering an open exchange of ideas between scholars and intellectuals from Eastern and Western Europe, an exchange that has increasingly included researchers from the United States and has resulted in the establishment of the Institute for Human Sciences at Boston University in 2001.

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

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



## 1 O b j e c t i v e

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

## 2 C o n d i t i o n s

The **Jozef Tischner Fellow** will be invited to spend a six-month term from July to December 2005 at the IWM to pursue her/his research project while working in residence. The fellow will receive a stipend in the amount of € 8.000 to cover accommodation, living expenses, travel, health insurance and incidentals during the stay at the Institute. Furthermore, the IWM will provide an office with a personal computer, access to the Internet, in-house research facilities and other relevant sources in Vienna for the **Jozef Tischner Fellow**.

## 3 J u r y

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

### **Marcin Król**

*Professor of the History of Ideas, University of Warsaw; Editor-in-chief, Res Publica Nowa*

### **Krzysztof Michalski**

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

### **Wiktor Osiatynski**

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

### **Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek**

*Rector of the Papal Academy of Theology, Krakow*

## Fellowships

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### A p p l i c a t i o n

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

The application consists of the following materials:

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

For details, please visit the IWM website: [www.iwm.at](http://www.iwm.at)

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### D e a d l i n e

Deadline for application is **15 December 2004** (date of receipt)  
Please send the application by mail to:

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

Advance copies by e-mail are eligible:  
[fellowships@iwm.at](mailto:fellowships@iwm.at)  
Subject header:  
Jozef Tischner Fellowship

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

Applicants will be notified of the jury decision in early 2005; it is not required for the jury to publicly justify its decisions.

In 2004, the IWM organized its 11th International Summer School in Philosophy and Politics. The school again took place in Cortona (Italy) and was managed in cooperation with the following partner institutions: the Erasmus of Rotterdam Chair and the Collegium for Interdepartmental Studies (both at the University of Warsaw), the New Europe College (Bucharest), the Center for Theoretical Study and the Institute for Contemporary History (both in Prague), and the Society for Higher Learning (Bratislava). The Summer School was part of an ongoing program supported by the Robert Bosch Foundation.

## 11<sup>th</sup> International Summer School: On Concepts of Order

Following an open competition with more than 400 applications, 48 graduate students from Eastern and Western Europe, the USA, and other parts of the world participated in the IWM's International Summer School. Two of them here present their personal views on two weeks of academic challenges, heated debates and, of course, Italian art of living. The four courses offered an interdisciplinary perspective combining various approaches from fields including political theory, political philosophy, history of ideas, political economy, and international relations.

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IN THE FIRST COURSE, **Modern Political Theory and the Rise of Secular Civilization**, Charles Taylor and Krzysztof Michalski gave a general overview of the emergence of modern political thought and social institutions. The lectures concentrated on the notions of modern secularization and the related themes of natural right theories, concepts of public sphere, and democracy.

John Gray and Marcin Krol taught the course **What Can We Learn Today from the Conservative Thinkers of the Past?** The aim of this thrilling and original course was to recapitulate the ideas of major conservative thinkers in order to pinpoint the core idea of skeptical conservatism. In their conclusions the professors tried to emphasize the relevance and usefulness of skeptical conservatism in contemporary politics.

Archon Fung and Edward Miliband co-taught **What's Left? Values and Programs**. The instructors tried to offer conflicting normative views about the notion of equality and social welfare in the context of the contemporary world. During the classes the various provocative proposals for a possible improvement of social justice and general welfare created long and intensive, but never overheated discussions.

Course four, **Emerging Concepts of Global and Regional Order in the New Mil-**

**lennium**, dealt with the new world order emerging after the fall of the Soviet Bloc, with a special emphasis on the issues related to 9/11. During the first week, Aleksander Smolar sketched the major challenges of post-'89 and post-9/11 international order. In their amazing lectures Anne-Marie Slaughter and Andrew Moravcsik presented their versions of the present and future of the transatlantic relations.

Interdisciplinarity was the characteristic not only of the faculty and the courses, but of the student body as well. Students from different academic disciplines (including economics, philosophy, law, international relations, political theory, sociology and public administration) came from all over the world (from Japan through India and Albania to the US and Argentina). One would assume that there is no point in initiating a discussion on any specific issue in such a diverse environment. My experience was that the various perspectives of the students coming from different parts of the world and educated in different academic fields initiated extremely interesting debates.

The organizers did a great job providing participants with detailed information and readings both before and upon their arrival and even on the spot, and arranged everything perfectly so that participants could concentrate on the coursework. But too much intellectual pleasure can be numbing. The organizers took into account that such intensive high quality academic work requires more than good faculty, great organization, and top-notch students.

The beautiful town of Cortona is the ideal setting for a productive summer university. Hotel Oasi, a former monastery with a beautiful vista over the valley and Lake Trasimeno, with its huge garden with terraces and old trees providing shade, served as ideal location for after class dis-

cussions, reading, and more: a glass of Tuscan red wine after dinner or a Friday night karaoke get-together, for example.

Weekend excursions to Assisi, Perugia, Siena, and Pienza also helped participants to relax and regain intellectual energies. And what else could be more relevant to a summer course on the concepts of order than the medieval allegorical frescos depicting good and bad government on the walls of Sala della Pace (Hall of Peace), the former city council room in the Museo Civico in Siena?

Szabolcs Pogonyi

University of Budapest, Hungary



TWO WEEKS AT THE SUMMER SCHOOL in Philosophy and Politics in Cortona exemplified interdisciplinary and international interaction in a picture perfect locale. The idyllic surroundings provided a foil for intense, invigorating exchanges between forty-eight students from twenty-five different states with diverse intellectual backgrounds.

The classes taught by distinguished professors from the US and Europe explored the concept of order, both domestic and international, from a range of historical as well as contemporary perspectives. The readings were an eclectic mix of the classics, including Hobbes, Locke, and Marx, and recent, often provocative, journal articles by scholars such as Phillipe van Parijs, Samuel Huntington, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Andrew Moravcsik, and Archon Fung. In as much as it was an opportunity to read new scholars, this was an exciting exposure to novel interpretations of previously studied texts – for instance, Professor Michalski's presentation on Nietzsche, all the more fascinating for his inimitable lecturing style. The lively debates in classes inevitably spilled onto the adjacent terrace, our Italian equivalent of the Socratic agora. Through the day, conversation clusters formed and disbanded only to regroup. As the shadows lengthened, so did the discussions. Moonlight chats often wound their way into classes by day. The political and the personal jostled for space. It was the intersection that was often the most stimulating. The course of a typical conversation ran as follows: A lecture on the 'new world order' by Alexander Smolar triggered a post-dinner debate about US intervention in Iraq. While discussing the differences between the responses of 'old' and 'new' Europe, our Eastern European colleagues spoke of the attempt by certain Western European states, such as France, to impose a common European position. We spoke of the issue of perceived discrimination against the states of the former Communist bloc, and how this would impact – and, in turn, be impacted – by the recent expansion of the EU. Students from America then chatted about domestic public opinion on the war, and international students, such as myself, recounted experiences of protesting the intervention as a non-American in America. As the conversation broadened, students from Eastern Europe spoke of their experiences with intervention or the lack of it. The Hungarian revolution, the intervention in the former Yugoslavia, and Kosovo – each came up for passionate discussion. Amongst students from Eastern Europe, there was often a conflict of opinion, in particular on the question of whether there should have been intervention during the Cold War or whether the Communist rule should have been allowed to end 'organically' as it did. Similar themes were to find resonance a week later in Anne-Marie Slaughter's class on the changing norms re-

garding the use of force.

As another example, the very different experiences of students from Eastern Europe, Scandinavia, and the US with Left policies and programs formed the subtext for numerous exchanges – debates in class and informal conversations over a beer in Piazza Signorelli or yet another plate of pasta in the Oasi. The points of view articulated in these disparate conversations were brought together in Archon Fung and Ed Miliband's final session on 'What, if anything, have we learnt from Communism?'

In as much as the breadth of scholarly interests and disciplinary backgrounds stimulated academic interactions, the range of nationalities served as the backdrop for a rich and thoroughly enjoyable set of social and cultural exchanges. The memorable karaoke evenings triggered a host of multicultural collaborations with joint singing of Italian folk songs, eighties' anthems, Beatles classics, and the latest pop songs. The performance of Britney Spears' chart topping hit, in particular, will stay with us for quite a while. Even some professors discovered a fascination for the microphone; another put on his dancing shoes and set the floor alight. The staff of the Oasi joined in the celebrations. You didn't need to understand the lyrics to have a great time.

Quite apart from cross-cultural musical references, we quizzed one other about our respective parts of the world – the expansion of the EU, elections in India and Japan, the new immigration policy in the Netherlands, the conflict in the Middle East, the party system in Hungary, the future of Labor in the UK, the crisis in the Berlusconi government. Visits to numerous churches and basilicas on weekend excursions to Assisi and Siena provided the context for chats about architecture, history, and Biblical legends and references. The differences and similarities between academia in the US and Europe were a recurring theme in conversations, as was the refrain that a congregation of students from the two continents was a mutual learning experience and had tremendous potential in that it opened up the possibility of transatlantic collaborations at both a professional and personal level.

For two weeks, we did what we know and enjoy best. We debated issues that we knew well and those to which we had never given much careful thought, topics close to our heart and others that we had been almost indifferent towards. Conversations merged into one another. Often, deliberations led to disagreements. But the one thing we did reach some sort of consensus on was the conception of good life.

**Prerna Singh**  
Princeton University, USA



Students in class



Krzysztof Michalski, Marcin Krol



Charles Taylor, Aleksander Smolar, John Gray



Anne-Marie Slaughter, Andrew Moravcsik, Archon Fung

**Namhafte internationale Wissenschaftler trafen vom 4. bis 17. Juli in Cortona (Italien) mit 48 Studenten aus ganz Europa und den USA zur 11. Internationalen Sommerschule zu Philosophie und Politik zusammen, die das IWM gemeinsam mit sechs osteuropäischen Partnerinstitutionen und gefördert durch die Robert Bosch Stiftung organisierte. Die im Rahmen des zweiwöchigen Programms angebotenen Kurse standen unter dem Thema „Zu Begriffen der Ordnung“.**

## Participants

**Tamim Al-Barghouti**  
Boston University, USA

**Delia Alexandru**  
University of Colorado,  
Boulder

**Marcin Baba**  
Warsaw University,  
Poland

**Bernd Beber**  
Columbia University, USA

**Aspen Brinton**  
Georgetown University,  
USA

**Sonali Chakravarti**  
Yale University, USA

**Hrvoje Cvijanovic**  
University of Zagreb,  
Croatia

**Agnieszka Dziegiel**  
Jagiellonian University,  
Poland

**Michael Fortner**  
Harvard University, USA

**Martin Gregor**  
Charles University,  
Prague, CZ

**Csaba Györy**  
ELTE University of Buda-  
pest, Hungary

**Jennifer Heeg**  
Georgetown University, USA

**Krzysztof Iszkowski**  
Polish Academy of  
Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

**Ariel Ivanier**  
Boston University, USA

**Yvette Jeuken**  
University of Nijmegen,  
Netherlands

**Marcin Kilanowski**  
Nicolas Copernicus  
University, Torun, Poland

**Piotr Korzec**  
Warsaw University,  
Poland

**Borbala Kriza**  
Institute d'Etudes  
Politiques de Paris

**Ales Kubeczka**  
Charles University, Prague

**Zdenek Kudrna**  
Central European  
University, Budapest,  
Hungary

**Dan Lazea**  
Babes -Bolyai University,  
Romania/University of Turin

**Micah Lott**  
University of Chicago, USA

**Sonja Lührmann**  
University of Michigan, USA

**Reidar Kiljan Maliks**  
Columbia University, USA

**Marcin Moskalewicz**  
Adam Mickiewicza  
University, Poland

**Thomas Nys**  
Catholic University  
Leuven, Belgium

**Martin O'Neill**  
Harvard University, USA

**Kimiko Osawa**  
University of Wisconsin, USA

**Cristina Pantiru**  
Penal Reform Internatio-  
nal, Romania

**Avia Pasternak**  
Oxford University, UK

**Szabolcs Pogonyi**  
ELTE University of Buda-  
pest, Hungary

**Robert Porter**  
Oxford University, UK

**Herbert Preiss**  
Department of Politics  
University College, Dublin

**Alice Ristroph**  
Harvard University, USA

**Sandra Sequeira**  
Harvard University, USA

**Etrit Shkreli**  
Bilkent University, Anka-  
ra, Turkey

**Prerna Singh**  
Princeton University, USA

**Regine Spector**  
University of California,  
Berkeley, USA

**Sigrid Stangl**  
London School of  
Economics and Political  
Science, UK

**Aivaras Stepukonis**  
Institute of Culture,  
Philosophy and Art,  
Vilnius, Lithuania

**Casper Sylvest**  
University of Cambridge, UK

**Agata Maria Szczesniak**  
Warsaw University, Poland

**Irina Tanasescu**  
Vrije Universiteit

Brussels, Belgium

**Marina Elena Tataram**  
University of Bucharest,  
Romania

**Pier Domenico Tortola**  
Johns Hopkins  
University, USA

**Andrej Tusicisny**  
University of Matej Bel,  
Slovakia

**Marketa Vavreckova**  
Charles University, Prague

**Gergana Yankova**  
Harvard University, USA

## The Faculty

**Archon Fung**  
Harvard's John F. Kenne-  
dy School of Government

**John Gray**  
Professor of European  
Thought at the London  
School of Economics

**Marcin Krol**  
Professor of the History  
of Ideas, University of  
Warsaw

**Krzysztof Michalski**  
Rector of the *Institut für  
die Wissenschaften vom  
Menschen (IWM)*, Pro-  
fessor of Philosophy,  
Boston and Warsaw  
University

**Edward Miliband**  
Chair of the Council of  
Economic Advisers at  
the UK Treasury in Lon-  
don, in charge of long-  
term policy development

**Andrew Moravcsik**  
Professor of Government;

Director of the European  
Union Program, Harvard  
University

**Anne-Marie Slaughter**  
Dean of the Woodrow  
Wilson School of Public  
and International Affairs,  
Professor of Politics and  
International Affairs,  
Princeton University

**Aleksander Smolar**  
*maitre de recherche* at  
the Centre National de  
Recherche Scientifique,  
Paris; President of the  
Stefan Batory  
Foundation, Warsaw

**Charles Taylor**  
Professor of Philosophy  
and Law at Northwestern  
University, Chicago;  
Professor emeritus of  
Political Science and  
Philosophy at McGill  
University, Montreal

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## The Courses

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**

## Guest Lectures

**Giuliano Amato** Professor of Law;  
former Italian Prime Minister  
**"What Left for Europe?"**

**Rocco Buttiglione** Italian Minister for  
European Union Policy  
**"Balzac and Benjamin: Europe and  
the Soul"**  
(had to be cancelled on short notice  
due to current political developments  
in Rome)

**Alfred Gusenbauer** Chairman of the  
Austrian Social Democratic Party  
**"The Return of the Social Democrat  
Century"**



The 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 a conference at the end of their stay. Last semester's conference took place on June 2.

## Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference

### Panel 1

Chair: **Waltraud Ernst**

Title: **Civil War as an Unwieldy Object for the Building of National Identity: Guatemala's Post War Debates over Historical Narrative Authority**

Speaker: **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

Respondent: **Oliver Rathkolb**

Co-Direktor, Ludwig Boltzman-Institut für Geschichte und Gesellschaft

Title: **The Czechs and Their Communism**

Speaker: **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

Respondent: **Oliver Rathkolb**

### Panel 2

Chair: **Maria Katharina Moser**

Title: **Monuments and Memory. A Few Theoretical Considerations**

Speaker: **Izabella Main**

*Post-doc in History, Central European University, Budapest, Körber Junior Visiting Fellow*

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

Respondent: **Waltraud Ernst**

Title: **Women's Movement: Raising Questions about Meaning and Terminology**

Speaker: **Heidi Niederkofler**

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

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

Respondent: **Waltraud Ernst**

### Panel 3

Chair: **Berthold Molden**

Title: **The Star Spangled Invasion: Why Europe loves to hate and hates to love American mass culture**

Speaker: **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?

Title: **Philosophical Parrhesia as Aesthetics of Existence. Interpretation of Michel Foucault's "Trip to Greece"**

Speaker: **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

### Panel 4

Chair: **Deanna Gard**

Title: **Europe and Islam: A History of Projection**

Speaker: **Martyn Oliver**

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

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

Respondent: **Keqing Wu**

Title: **Performing Charisma: the Construction of Religious Experience in Catholic Charismatic Rituals**

Speaker: **Keqing Wu**

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

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

Respondent: **Izabella Main**

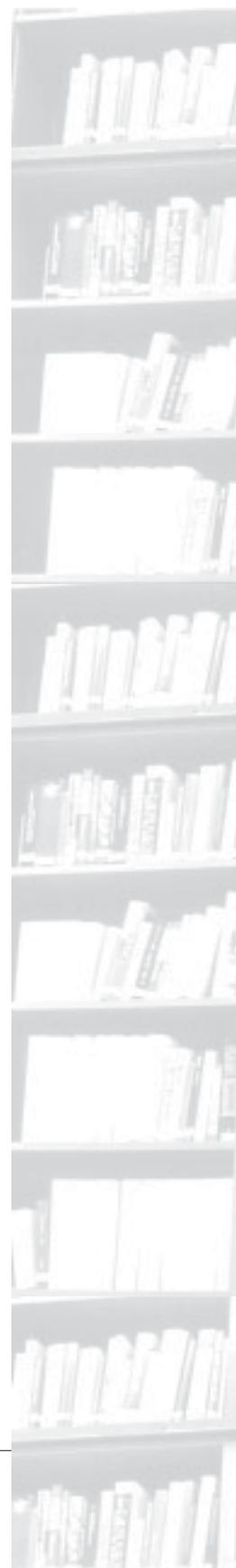
Title: **Performances of Suffering. Confronting Mel Gibson's "The Passion of the Christ" and Rituals of Self-Flagellation and Crucifixion in the Philippines**

Speaker: **Maria Katharina Moser**

*Doktorandin (Institut für Fundamentaltheologie, Universität Wien), Stipendiatin im Doktorandenprogramm der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

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

The proceedings of these conferences are published on the IWM website [www.iwm.at/p-jvcon.htm](http://www.iwm.at/p-jvcon.htm)



In 2002, the IWM and the Koerber Foundation launched a new fellowship program on "History and Memory in Europe". While the new Call for Application has been published recently (see page 13), the first group of fellows has now completed their stay. In this Newsletter Muriel Blaive presents her research project.

## Coming to Terms with a Nation's Past: The Czechs and their Communism



Muriel Blaive, who received her PhD from Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris in 1999, was awarded the Körber Fellowship as a Junior Visiting Fellow for her research project *Coming to Terms with a Nation's Past: The Czechs and their Archives of Communism*.

Results from the research of the first Körber Visiting Fellow, Natalia Pushkareva, will be published as IWM Working Paper [www.iwm.at/p-iwmwp.htm](http://www.iwm.at/p-iwmwp.htm)

WHEN DEALING with a non-democratic past, one of the main issues which arises for a newly established democracy is the relationship between history, justice, and social peace. As for Central Europe, each society's former relationship to its own communist regime has obviously had some influence on its policy of dealing with the past.

Today's Czech Republic is a peculiar example. On one hand, it has kept rather quiet about the long years of relative accommodation of its population with the communist regime. On the other, a list of alleged former collaborators of the Secret Police (StB) was snatched from the Ministry of Interior by means yet unknown and published in 1991 by an individual, Petr Cibulka, thereby serving up to the public, as a sort of sacrificial lamb, this group of citizens who had been approached – on conditions never specified on the list – by the least recommendable institution of the former regime. In the meantime the political elites in power were implementing a strongly anti-communist policy condemning the old regime as "criminal", and implementing a policy of "lustration" of the former communist party members.

This mixture of silence, when it comes to social history, and indignant verbal condemnation, when it comes to politics, – in other words: this problematic relationship to the past – can only be explained by a past which is in itself problematic. It is precisely because the Czech society has maintained an ambiguous relationship to communism that it has problems dealing with its communist memory today. In 1945, the Czechoslovak conditions were particularly "favorable" insofar as the USSR hardly opposed Czech nationalism, thus rendering the latter exceptionally compatible with communism. The communists largely won the free elections of 1946 and dominated the political scene already before they came into power in 1948, seducing vast segments of the population. By the end of 1948, 49.2 percent of the Czech active population had joined the Party. Fear, opportunism, and conviction were the mixed feelings which have for decades constituted the cement of a finely supervised communist "popular enthusiasm."

The favorable economic conditions (Czechoslovakia was relatively rich, especially in comparison to its immediate neighbors Poland and Hungary)

and a sustained increase of the standard of living have greatly helped ensure the pacification of the population, naturally with ups and downs, all the way until 1989. Life was perhaps not very glorious, but for the ones who didn't get involved in politics, it was not difficult either, it was quite comfortable and secure. As a consequence, the dissidents were not very numerous, and they were completely isolated from the rest of society.

Since 1989 the political elites who have drafted and voted the laws regulating the past have mainly been trying to acquire a solid democratic reputation for themselves. Practically all the great episodes of the management of the communist past testify to a firm and swift will to condemn the old regime and its champions as a matter of principle, but to a slowness and carefulness nothing short of total idleness when it came to establishing concrete and personal responsibilities. If the return to democracy in 1990 had to find an expression in the formal opening of the former regime's archives, this moral obligation did not coincide in the Czech Republic – and probably neither in most other former satellites – with the need to understand and accept the past in the sense of a true *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* of communism. To understand and to accept the past, it would have been, and still is, necessary to study the way in which the Czech population massively either "compromised itself with", or "let itself be compromised by" or "invested itself in" or "purposely refrained from resisting to" the communist regime.

The only real policy of dealing with the past has consisted in allowing the sacrifice of the so-called former "agents" in order to morally "cleanse", if not exempt, Czech society. This way of putting an end to the past can hardly pass for an efficient way to serve justice; it is an additional demonstration of the fact that democracy is not a question of verbal declarations but of concrete action.

# Körber Fellowships: History and Memory in Europe

Fellowships 2005/2006

**DEADLINE** | **CALL FOR APPLICATIONS**  
15 Dezember 2004 | Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen | Institute for Human Sciences

1

**O b j e c t i v e** The Körber Foundation and the Institute for Human Sciences jointly award **Visiting Fellowships** and **Junior Visiting Fellowships** on "History and Memory in Europe".

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

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

2

**C o n d i t i o n s** The **Körber Fellows** are invited to spend six months at the IWM during the academic year 2005/2006 to pursue their research project while working in residence at the institute. The fellows will receive a stipend to cover accommodation, living expenses, travel, health insurance and incidentals. The amount of the stipend for the **Visiting Fellow** will be determined according to the "no gain, no loss" principle and seeks to compensate for a loss of income based on the current salary of the recipient. **Junior Visiting Fellows** will receive a stipend in the amount of € 8000 for the six-month term. Furthermore, fellows will be provided with an office, a personal computer and have access to e-mail, internet, in-house research facilities and other relevant sources in Vienna. The fellowship may be taken up between July 2005 and June 2006.

3

**E l i g i b i l i t y R e q u i r e m e n t s** Candidates for the **Körber Visiting Fellowships**

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

Candidates for the **Körber Junior Visiting Fellowships**

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

4

**J u r y** A jury of experts meets once a year to evaluate the applications and select the finalists. Members of the jury are:

**Peter Burke**

Professor of Cultural History, Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge

**Ute Frevert**

Professor of History, Yale University and University of Bielefeld

**Bronislaw Geremek**

Professor and Chair of European Civilization, College of Europe, Natolin; former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs

**Cornelia Klinger**

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

**Reinhard Koselleck**

Professor emeritus of History, University of Bielefeld

**Luisa Passerini**

Professor of Cultural History, University of Turin; External Professor of History, European University, Institute, Florence

**Wolf Schmidt**

Member of the Executive Board, Körber-Stiftung, Hamburg

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**A p p l i c a t i o n** The application consists of the following materials:

1. application form (please download from [www.iwm.at/f-koerb.htm](http://www.iwm.at/f-koerb.htm))
2. a concise research proposal (max. 4 pages) in English, including
  - the scientific problem(s) addressed
  - critical consideration of current relevant literature
  - research goals and expected results
  - work and time schedule
  - a curriculum vitae and list of publications
  - names of two referees (applicants for Junior Visiting Fellowships only)

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

**Deadline: 15 December 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 [www.iwm.at](http://www.iwm.at)

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

Nach der Sommerpause starten die Dienstagsvorträge wieder am 21. September mit Detlev Claussen über „Anitamerikanismus – ein verbindendes globales Lebensgefühl?“

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## Tuesday Lectures

18. MAI

### Oksana Zabuzhko Modernism, Feminism, Nationalism: The Death of Don Juan

THE DEATH AND DEMISE of myths which rule our everyday conduct usually takes generations to be noticed. Whereas in popular awareness Don Juan remains as the paragon of masculine sexuality, as passed on to us by European cultural tradition, the creative period of his legend had, in fact, exhausted itself about a century ago. This coincided with one of the most significant powershifts in modern history, its consequences becoming fully visible only now.

Red the lecture:  
[www.iwm.at/p-iwmwp.htm](http://www.iwm.at/p-iwmwp.htm)

Oksana Zabuzhko is a journalist and writer based in Kiev, Ukraine, and was Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow at the IWM from April to June.

24. MAI

### Frits Bolkestein Europe at a Crossroads

Commentator:  
Martin Bartenstein, Austrian Federal  
Minister of Economic Affairs and Labour



THE COMMISSIONER SHED light on corporate governance which is a guiding theme in both the European Union (Parmalat, Ahold) and in the US (Enron). He particular focused on the importance of reliable accounting and the exclusion of conflicting interests. Corporate governance is an essential part of integrating financial services markets which by itself is a driving force in the internal market. Bolkestein lined out what is needed to assure corporate governance.

In his comment, Minister Bartenstein compared the pros and cons of the German-Austrian and Anglo-Saxon models of corporate governance, and emphasized the importance of corporate social responsibility.

Frits Bolkestein is a member of the European Commission. He is responsible for internal market, taxation and customs union issues.

In Zusammenarbeit mit der



Königlich Niederländische Botschaft

8. JUNI

### Rudolf Burger Lehren der Geschichte – oder Lehren der Historiker? Von der moralischen Autorität der Geschichte

VON DER „Wiederkehr der Geschichte“ ist in letzter Zeit viel die Rede, und zwar mit Recht: Spätestens seit dem Ende des Kalten Krieges geschieht die Mobilisierung politischer Bewegungen nicht mehr über utopische Entwürfe, sondern über die Revitalisierung eines „historische Erben“: „Erinnerungen“, nicht „Visionen“ sind gefragt. Man will, so sagt man, die „Lehren aus der Geschichte“ ziehen. Das aber ist ein fundamentaler Bruch mit der Bewusstseinslage der Moderne: Denn diese wollte von der Last der Vergangenheit sich befreien und einen Neubeginn initiieren. Der „Alb aller toten Geschlechter, der auf den Hirnen der Lebenden lastet“ (Karl Marx), sollte abgeschüttelt werden und Platz machen für das radikal Neue. Heute wird – und nicht nur von der politischen Rechten – die moralisch verpflichtende Kraft der Vergangenheit wieder gepriesen. Der Vortrag stellte diesen Imperativ und seine Voraussetzungen zur Diskussion: Was heißt „Vergangenheit“? Was ist ihr ontologischer Status? In welcher Weise ist sie uns „gegeben“? Was folgt daraus, dass Vergangenheit immer nur als „Geschichte“, das heißt als Erzählung gegeben ist?



Rudolf Burger, Professor für Philosophie,  
Universität für Angewandte Kunst, Wien

# Andrew W. Mellon East-Central European Research Visiting Fellowships 2005/2006 in the Humanities and Social Sciences

**DEADLINE** | **CALL FOR APPLICATIONS**  
30 November 2004  
Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen | Institute for Human Sciences

## 1 Objective

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

## 2 Conditions

Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellows are invited to spend three months at the IWM to pursue their research projects while working in residence at the institute. The fellows will receive a stipend of EUR 7.630,- (paid in three instalments) to cover living expenses, travel, health insurance and incidentals. The IWM will provide Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Fellows with a guest apartment, an office with a personal computer and access to e-mail and internet, in-house research facilities and other relevant sources in Vienna. Fellowship terms are July – September 2005; October – December 2005; January – March 2006; and April – June 2006.

In cooperation with:



Institut für die  
Wissenschaften  
vom Menschen  
Institute for  
Human Sciences



Council of  
American  
Overseas  
Research Centers

## 3 Eligibility

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

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

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

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

## 4 Jury

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

### Ira Katznelson

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

### János Mátyás Kovács

*Professor of Economics and Political Science, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest and Permanent Fellow at the IWM*

### Charles Taylor

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

## 5 Application

The application consists of the following materials:

1. the application form (please download from [www.iwm.at/f-mellon.htm](http://www.iwm.at/f-mellon.htm) or request by fax: +43-1-31358-30 or e-mail: [fellowships@iwm.at](mailto:fellowships@iwm.at))
2. a concise research proposal in English (max. 4 pages, double-spaced, A4)
3. a curriculum vitae and list of publications, and
4. names of two referees familiar with the applicant's academic work

Please send the application by mail to

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

Advance copies by e-mail are eligible:  
[fellowships@iwm.at](mailto:fellowships@iwm.at)  
Subject header: Mellon Fellowships

Deadline for application is  
**November 30, 2004** (date of receipt).

## 6 Notification

Applicants will be notified of the jury decision in early 2005; it is not required for the jury to publicly justify its decisions.

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# Visiting Fellows

July to December 2004

Beginning with this Newsletter IWM Fellows will briefly present their research projects. To be continued in Newsletter 86.

## Pavel Barsa

Associate Professor of Political Science, Charles University Prague; Andrew W. Mellon Fellow

Months of stay: July – September

IWM Project: National Identities and European Migration Policies. The Challenge for Central European Countries

Research: The main purpose of Pavel Barsa's stay at the Institute is to complete a book, co-authored by a Czech legal expert, with the working title *Immigration: Threat or Opportunity? Policies of Immigration in the US, Western Europe and the Czech Republic*. Drawing on his two recent policy papers and the work of the co-author in the field, the book will use a cross-national comparative analysis with the purpose of identifying feasible and desirable policy alternatives for an active Czech immigration and integration policy which is currently being sought by the Czech government. It will also take into account the emerging common framework for such policies that has been recently worked out by the EU. It will assess the effects of the new constructed identity of the EU on the identities of its members and their policies in the field. One "co-lateral" paper should be completed as well: an article on the crisis of the French integration model as exemplified by the so-called *Affaire du foulard*; the article will review several recent books on integration of Muslim populations in France and discuss their implications for the policies in the field.

## Ivan Chvatik

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

Month of stay: November

IWM Project: Projekt Europa: Die politische Philosophie Jan Patockas



Ludger Hagedorn,  
Ivan Chvatik

## Benjamin Frommer

Assistant Professor of History, Northwestern University, Evanston/IL

IWM Project: Living in the Shadow of the Iron Curtain: The Czech/Slovak - Austrian/German Borderlands, 1945 – 2000

## Ludger Hagedorn

Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz; Research Associate, Patocka Project

IWM Project: Projekt Europa: Die politische Philosophie Jan Patockas

## Sandra Lehmann

Post-doc scholar, Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft; Research Associate, Patocka Project

IWM Project: Projekt Europa: Die politische Philosophie Jan Patockas

## Susanne Lettow

Lehrbeauftragte Gender Studies, Institut für Philosophie, Freie Universität Berlin; Lise Meitner Fellow des Fonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung (FWF)

IWM Project: Gender in the Philosophical Debates on Biotechnology



## 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

Research: This project focuses on East-Central European avant-garde movements in Vienna, Prague, Bratislava, Kraków, Lviv, Warsaw and Kiev, exploring how the avant-gardes' understanding of the materiality of language shaped their philosophy. It also aims to situate Eastern-Central Europe as a liminal space amidst influences from both Russia and Western Europe and to explore tensions between national identity and universalist / cosmopolitan aspirations. Each chapter will be a portrait of a single moment in time, portraying a tangled web of



relations as they then existed. The chapters are conceived to move seamlessly among these various cities by following the connections among the protagonists.

### Timothy Snyder

*Associate Professor of History, Yale University*

**IWM Project:** Brotherlands: A Family History of the Slavic, German, and Jewish Nations



**Research:** Timothy Snyder is beginning a family history of nationality in Europe. Its method is the serial biography of prominent families whose members chose different national identities, 1848-1948. The general hope is to fully define the moments in which nationality is a political choice; an intermediate goal is to demonstrate some structural similarities among individual nationalities; and a particular aim is to demonstrate the importance of individual choices for what became mass movements. He will begin research on Habsburg cases in Vienna.

### Michael Staudigl

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



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

### Maria Szmaja

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

**Months of stay:** October – December

**IWM Project:** Continuance of Historical Borders in the Consciousness of Polish Citizens

### Philipp Ther

*Junior Professor of Polish and Ukrainian Studies, Europa-Universität Frankfurt / Oder; Körber Visiting Fellow*

**Months of stay:** October – March 2005

**IWM Project:** The History and Legacy of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Ethnic Cleansing in Europe

## Junior Visiting Fellows

July to December 2004

### Christoph Bärenreuter

*Doktorand (Politikwissenschaften, Universität Wien); DOC-Stipendiat der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

**IWM Project:** Researching the European Public Sphere. Theory of democracy and empirical evidence.



**Research:** With the acceleration of the process of European integration since the early 1990s the European Union has reached a degree of integration that goes beyond known forms of international cooperation. Despite the far-reaching competencies of its institutions, the EU still mainly derives its legitimacy from its Member States. As a consequence, in the last decade or so a lively academic debate on the Union's "democratic deficit" developed. These discussions, however, mainly focus on the institutional setup and mostly neglect other aspects. Among these neglected aspects one has to count research on the role of a European Public Sphere (EPS) in the construction of a European identity and for legitimising the European polity. Only recently were the first theoretical and empirical studies conducted on the EPS. Their number, however, is still small and the theoretical concepts on which these studies are based either differ from case to case or remain vague. As a consequence, the results of empirical research also show great variation.

In his project, Christoph Bärenreuter wants to make a dual contribution to this new field of research: Based on a review of the existing literature on the EPS, he will start with a critical assessment of the actual possibilities of a public sphere in a multi-layered and multi-national polity. The aim of this assessment is to develop a definition of the EPS that is based on theories of democracy, but neither takes the nation state nor sophisticated normative theories on the public sphere as a benchmark. In the second phase of the project, this definition of the EPS will be applied to empirically investigate the Europeanization of media coverage in print media in seven Member States of the EU. Two case studies are planned: one on media coverage on the presentation of a European Constitution by the European Convention in June 2003 and one on the reporting preceding and following the elections for the European Parliament in June 2004. This study will help to overcome the current focus of empirical studies on Western European, longtime Member States.

### Muriel Blaive

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

Month of stay: July

IWM Project: Coming to Terms with a Nation's Past: The Czechs and their Archives of Communism (see her presentation on p. 12)

### Uner Daglier

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

IWM Project: Mill's Argument for Free Expression

Research: Uner Daglier is engaged in a comprehensive effort to criticize John Stuart Mill's argument for free expression. Topics he will address in his research project include the state of the society that Mill lived in; the connection between freedom of expression, the quest for truth, the growth of individuality, and progress; the compatibility of Mill's call for liberation with his alleged elitism. Throughout his study, the rich secondary literature on Mill will be well made use of, especially in respect to Mill's concept of truth and the compatibility of his doctrine with his self-proclaimed utilitarianism.

### Michal Luczewski

*Ph.D. candidate in Sociology, Warsaw University; Chairman of the Polish Invisible College; Jozef Tischner Junior Visiting Fellow*

IWM Project: National Experience. Practice and Theory of Nation in Everyday Life

Research: Since it has been an object of three monographs in the last century, Zmiaca is not only the most famous village in Polish social sciences, but perhaps also the longest continuously studied community in world sociology. My purpose is to write – on the basis of past research as well as my field-work – a research study which bridges the gap between theories of nationalism and empirical research, between historical and sociological investigations, and finally between macro and micro level of analyses. My research questions concern genesis and development of national



identity, its shapes, and the function it plays in social integration.

### Maria Moser

*Doktorandin (Institut für Fundamentaltheologie, Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät, Universität Wien); DOC-Stipendiatin der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

IWM Project: Opfer – eine politische und theologische Kategorie zwischen Affirmation und Ablehnung. Zur feministisch-ethischen Reformulierung eines Begriffs

Research: Sind Frauen Opfer? Welche Bedeutung hat die Opfer-Kategorie für feministische Theorie und Praxis? Wie wirken ihr politischer und religiöser Gehalt im Leben von Frauen? Welche Einsichten ergeben sich aus feministischer und feministisch-theologischer Opfer-Kritik für eine Ethik der Repräsentation von (Unterdrückungs- und Gewalt-)Erfahrungen von Frauen und für „choice“ als feministisch-ethische Leitkategorie?



### Thomas Nesbit

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

IWM Project: Gender and Violence in "Wiener Aktionismus" (Viennese Actionism)

Research: Beginning with their seminal action paintings from the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Viennese Actionists – including Günter Brus, Otto Mühl, and Hermann Nitsch – incorporated violence into their art as a means to liberate themselves from the manacles of conservative Viennese culture and self-imposed restraints. Eventually, they would use their own bodies as an arena for exploration, transforming their skin into canvases and using bodily fluids and animal parts in addition to paint as tools for self-expression. Their individual quests for self-liberation curiously led them to force their work on others, often with the presumption that their art will lead to a collective catharsis. To this end, they began to document their actions for public viewing, invite the public to live actions, and produce manifestos and "relics" out of these ritualistic endeavours that would be disseminated and exhibited. Furthermore, the artists began to include others in their performances. In some cases, the artist was almost completely removed from view, as he simply choreographed the placement of substances on outsiders. Thomas Nesbit's project will examine the politics of this transition from the private to



Matthias Thaler, Uner Daglier

the public, in which he sees their public displays of violence as simply a different form of fascism than what they were encountering in conservative Vienna. Because it shows the most vivid transition, he will specifically analyse Otto Mühl's mid-1960s work, which often featured extreme violence on women in his reenactments of myths and rituals. Nesbit's critique will argue that Mühl's use of violence on others is ultimately ineffectual in bringing about a positive transformation in either men or women. In place of an aesthetics of violence, he will suggest a more effective way to bring about positive social change, namely, an "aesthetics of seduction," in which concepts such as beauty, charm, and humour are held in high esteem.

### Justin Steinberg

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

**IWM Project:** The Concept of Freedom in Spinoza's Political Writings

**Research:** During his stay at the IWM Justin Steinberg will be analysing Spinoza's metaphysical conception of freedom as developed in his magnum opus, the *Ethics*, and he will be bringing this conception to bear on Spinoza's account of the role and scope of civil liberties as presented in his political works. On Steinberg's reading, Spinoza's writings are - without exception - concerned with human liberty (in Spinoza's idiosyncratic sense), and his interest in political matters stems from the recognition that the organization of the state plays a decisive role in determining the relative degree of liberty/servitude of its citizens. By maintaining that the political works are continuous with the *Ethics*, Steinberg hopes to show that Spinoza's defence of civil liberties (negative liberties) is predicated on his concern for a more robust sense of freedom. In the process of working out his interpretation, Steinberg will call into question the "liberal" reading of Spinoza that becomes so prevalent in the Anglophone scholarship of the past twenty years.



Thomas Nesbit, Justin Steinberg

### Mathias Thaler

*Doktorand (Philosophie, Politikwissenschaft, Universität Wien); DOC-Stipendiat der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

**IWM Project:** Gründen, Fundieren, Rechtfertigen. Eine Archäologie moralischer Argumente im Feld des Politischen

**Research:** Mathias Thaler's PhD-thesis analyzes how moral arguments function in the political realm. To this end, he will focus on recent theories of just war and human rights foundationalism.

### Matthias Till

*Doktorand (Soziologie, Technische Universität Wien); DOC-Stipendiat der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

**IWM Project:** Stations of Being Poor in New Europe – Social Change and Persistence of Precarious Living Conditions in Budapest, Dublin and Vienna

**Research:** The project investigates three basic assumptions: pauperisation as a product of social change; persistence of disadvantageous living conditions beyond income poverty; regionalization of poverty in major cities. Point of departure is the EU's conventional reporting on income poverty and social exclusion. In a previous study conducted for Eurostat's second report on income poverty and social exclusion the set of indicators adopted by the Laeken European Council of 2001 have already been examined on the level of the Member States, thereby revealing marked differences with regard to welfare typologies. The present project applies this approach to investigate dynamics of poverty in Budapest, Dublin and Vienna. The present undertaking aims however beyond pure descriptive social statistics and includes substantial theoretical enquiry as well as qualitative studies. The theoretical framework draws from classic writers on poverty such as George Henry and Alexis de Tocqueville who were among the first to understand poverty as the product of social change and increased wealth. The study also enquires into the concept and operational definition of poverty. Otto Neurath's empirical sociology is revisited to establish the „poor“ as a social construct upon individual perceptions on "being poor" thereby bridging the gap between the two conflicting notions of poverty which Georg Simmel had described. For the qualitative part a number of interviews have already been conducted with help seekers of Caritas-Vienna, which is the major charity institution in the city. Additional interviews with social workers and experts are planned for the other cities.

## Iryna Vushko

*Ph.D. candidate in History, Yale University*

**IWM Project:** Austrians in Galicia: Social Transformations of the Former Polish Territories in the Austrian Empire

**Research:** Iryna Vushko's project focuses on Austrian bureaucrats in Galicia, 1772 through 1848. Their careers provide a vantage point from which to analyze the connections between locals and new arrivals. By analyzing Austrian bureaucrats, Vushko also aims to overcome predominantly national narratives in Austrian, Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian historiography of Galicia, and draw the links between the different communities in the region. At present, she is reading the archival documents on the Austrian bureaucracy, and analysing the Austrian historiography of the Austrian state administration.

## Guests

### Daniel Cohen

*Assistant Professor in Modern European History, Rice University, Houston*

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

**Month of Stay:** July



### Jack Russell Weinstein

*Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Associate Member of Graduate Faculty, Department of Philosophy and Religion, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks*

**Month of Stay:** September

### Andrew C. Janos

*Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley; Fullbright Senior Specialist*

**Month of Stay:** October

# Publications

## Perti Ahonen

*After the Expulsion: West Germany and Eastern Europe 1945 – 1990*  
Oxford University Press 2003

Ahonen started his research on the post-war political integration of the expellees from Eastern Europe and its impact on German *Ostpolitik* as a Junior Visiting Fellow in 1996 working under the auspices of the IWM research project “Rethinking Post-War Europe”.

## Pavel Barsa

*Andrew W. Mellon Fellow 2004*  
“The Case of Benny Morris” (about the last book and controversial political views of an Israeli historian) in: *Lidové noviny* (July 2004)

## Muriel Blaive

*Körber Junior Visiting Fellow 2004*  
“Einige Etappen der Bewältigung der kommunistischen Vergangenheit seit 1989 in der Republik Tschechien” in: Dorota Dakowska / Agnes Bensoussan / Nicolas Beaupré (eds.): *Die Überlieferung der Diktaturen*, Essen: Klartext (2004)

## Waltraud Ernst

*Visiting Fellow 2004*  
“On the ‘Nature’ of Desire – an Approach from Historical Epistemology”, in: Fina Birules / María Isabel Aguado (eds.): *A Passion for Freedom. Action, Passion and Politics. Proceedings of the Xth Symposium of the International Association of Women Philosophers*, Barcelona: Publicacions i edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona 2004

## Cornelia Klinger

*Permanent Fellow*  
„Seit wann ist ‘modern’ modern?“ in: *Der Architekt. Zeitschrift des Bundes Deutscher Architekten 3-4* (2004)

„Macht – Herrschaft – Gewalt“ in: Sieglinde Rosenberger / Birgit Sauer (Hg.): *Politikwissenschaft und Geschlecht. Konzepte – Verknüpfungen – Perspektiven*, München/Wien: UTB / WUV (2004)

## Petya Kabakchieva and Roumen Avramov (eds.)

*“East” – “West” Cultural Encounters Entrepreneurship, Governance, Economic Knowledge*

Sofia: East-West Publishers 2004  
384 p.; ISBN 954-321-033-0

This volume presents the results of research done by a team of Bulgarian scholars in the framework of the comparative project “After the Accession... The Socio-Economic Culture of Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union: An Asset or a Liability?”, directed by Janos Matyas Kovacs and coordinated by the IWM. Research focused on the prospects of cohabitation of “Eastern” and “Western” socio-economic cultures in the EU after enlargement and the likelihood of their convergence. (See also advertisement on p. 23)

## Jaroslav Kilijs

(Wspolnota abstrakcyjna zarys socjologii narodu)  
*Abstrakte Gemeinschaft. Grundriss einer Soziologie der Nation*  
Wydawnictwo IfiS PAN, Warszawa 2004

Kilijs war 2000 Junior Visiting Fellow des IWM. Das Buch präsentiert die Ergebnisse seines damaligen Forschungsprojekts.

## Rebecca Knight

*Milena Jesenská Fellow 2004*  
“Test Drive: Soothing as a Lullaby”, in: *Financial Times*, June 12, 2004

## Krzysztof Michalski

“Zmysł Przynależności” (The Sense of Belonging), panel discussion in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, May 6, 2004

“Kochając, wracamy do raju” (In love we return to paradise), interview in *Polityka*, June 12, 2004

## Birgit Sauer

*MAGEEQ Senior Researcher*  
“Das Ende der Politik ist der Anfang von Widerstand. Feminisierung und andere Entwicklungen im Vereinigten Europa”, in: Carola Maltry et al. (Hg.):

*Zukunftsbilder. Wie Frauen in dreißig Jahren leben werden - Prognosen und Visionen*, Königstein: Ulrike Helmer Verlag (2004)

# Travels and Talks

## Robin Archer

*Visiting Fellow 2004*  
**Lecture** on Americanism and Anti-Americanism in America at the conference on “Ideologies of Anti-Americanism: Cross-Cultural Perspectives”, Centre for Political Ideologies, University of Oxford, June 12, 2004

## Waltraud Ernst

*Visiting Fellow 2004*  
**Lecture** „Can There Be a Feminist Philosophy of Erotic Pleasure?” at the XIth Symposium of the International Association of Women Philosophers “Human Good: Dignity – Equality – Diversity”, Göteborg (Sweden), June 17-19, 2004

**Lecture** “Economies of Pleasure and Danger” at the conference “Pleasure & Danger Revisited. Sexualities in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, Cardiff School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University / U.K., June 30 - July 2, 2004

## Rebecca Knight

*Milena Jesenská Visiting Fellow 2004*  
**Panel Membership** at the session “Intellectuals and the Media in European Public Space”, conference “Sharing Cultures” of the European Cultural Foundation in Rotterdam / Netherlands from July 11 – 13, 2004

## Sandra Lehmann

*Patočka Research Associate*  
Leitung zweier **Seminare** zu Schellings „Freiheitsschrift“ und zur Geschichtsphilosophie Walter Benjamins sowie Präsentation einer Einführung in den „Stern der Erlösung“ von Franz Rosenzweig an der Jan Palacky Universität in Olmütz (Olomouc). Die Seminare gehörten zu ihrem dortigen von der ÖFG geförderten Lehrauftrag für das Sommersemester 2004.

### Michal Luczewski

*Junior Visiting Fellow 2004*

**Presentation of the paper** "One Hundred Years of Village Monographs in Poland. Jubilee Reflections" (co-author: I. Bukraba-Rylska) at the International Sociological Association Conference, Marienthal, May 2004

On the occasion of the Special Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities in Warsaw in July 2004 he **presented his paper** "From Scum to Salt of the Nation: A Monographic Study of National Consciousness in a Polish Village"

### Krzysztof Michalski

*Rector*

**Meeting of the Board** of Trustees of the Batory Foundation in Warsaw (June 28, 2004).

**Panel discussion** on "Visions of Europe" organized by the College of Europe, Chair of European Civilisation, in Warsaw on May 9, 2004

**Panel discussion** "On Love" with E. W. Böckenförde, Barbara Skarga, Wladyslaw Strozewski at the Józef Tischner Memorial Conference in Cracow, May 6-8, 2004

### Berthold Molden

*Junior Visiting Fellow 2004*

**Vortrag** "Der Bürgerkrieg als sperriges Objekt nationaler Identitätsfindung in Guatemala: Der Streit um historiographische Deutungsmacht in der Nachkriegszeit" im Rahmen der Tagung "Lateinamerika im Fokus – 20. Jahrestagung der ARGE Österreichische Lateinamerika-Forschung, 14. – 16. Mai 2004

### Maria Moser

*Junior Visiting Fellow 2004*

**Live-Diskussion** im Fernsehen zum Thema "Sündenfall St. Pölten. Wege aus der Krise" in der Sendung Kreuz und Quer mit Kardinal Schönborn, Paul Zulehner und Hans Rauscher (20. Juli 2004)

### Heidi Niederkofler

*Junior Visiting Fellow 2004*

**Buchpräsentation** „Das Geschlecht der Politik“ (Heidi Niederkofler / Maria Mesner / Margit Niederhuber / Gudrun Wolfgruber, Hg.) in der Neuen Hauptbücherei, Wien, am 23. Juni 2004

### Natalia Pushkareva

*Körber Research Fellow 2004*

**Lecture** "Feminism in Russia: Two Centuries of History" at the International Conference on Women's Movement and Feminism(s) in Central-, Eastern and Southeastern Europe (19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries), Bruno-Kreisky-Forum, Vienna, June 3 – 4, 2004

### Birgit Sauer

*MAGEEQ Senior Researcher*

**Vortrag** "Feministische Theorie und Praxis zwischen Gestern und Heute" auf dem 2. Feministischen PolitikwissenschaftlerInnentag vom 4. bis 6. Juni 2004 an der Philipps-Universität Marburg

Participation – with **Karin Tertinegg** – in the **workshop** for the MAGEEQ teams in Bologna, June 23, 2004 (see also the report on p. 6).

From June 24 – 26, 2004 **Birgit Sauer, Majda Hrenjak, Vlasta Jalusic, and Karin Tertinegg** participated in the Second Pan-European **Conference** on EU Politics of the ECPR-Standing Group on the European Union in Bologna. Birgit Sauer presented two papers: "Gender Equality Frames: Sex Work between Catholicism, Liberalism and Social Democracy. A Comparison of Austria and Slovenia", and "At the Frontier of Western Patriarchy: Migration, Prostitution and Regulation in Vienna"

Birgit Sauer presented her paper "Civil Society, Women's Movement, and the State" at the Interdisciplinary Conference "Civil Society and Gender Justice. Historical and Comparative Perspectives", Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, July 9-11, 2004

### Tim Snyder

*Visiting Fellow 2004*

Participation in a televised **discussion** about the memory of the Warsaw Uprising in Warsaw in July 2004

### Michael Staudigl

*Visiting Fellow 2004*

**Vortrag** „Das alternde Leben und die Erfahrung des Todes. Bausteine zu einer Anthropologie auf phänomenologischer Grundlage im Ausgang von Landsberg, Schütz und Lévinas“ bei der internationalen Konferenz "Mensch und Welt. Perspektiven einer phänomenologischen Anthropologie" im Zentrum für phänomenologische Forschung (CFB), Karls-Universität Prag, 11.-12. Mai 2004

**Lecture** „Aging Life. On the Internal Limitations of the Counter-Reduction in Michel Henry“ at the International Conference „Phénoménologie et idéalisme“, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, June 7-9, 2004

## Varia

**Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde**, langjähriges Mitglied des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats des IWM, wird am 30. September der *Romano-Guardini-Preis* der Katholischen Akademie Bayern verliehen. Die Auszeichnung würdigt das Wirken des Staats- und Verfassungsrechtlers und ehemaligen Bundesverfassungsrichters in Forschung und Rechtsprechung sowie seinen Beitrag zum Verständnis der gesellschaftlichen Verantwortung der Kirche. Der Preis wird seit 1970 vergeben, zuletzt 2002 an den Komponisten Krzysztof Penderecki.

Am 4. September werden Arnulf Baring und Marcel Reich-Ranicki in Frankfurt a.M. mit dem dem *Europäischen Kulturpreis* ausgezeichnet. Die undotierten Ehrenpreise werden der Historiker Wolfgang Leonhard und der amerikanische Literaturwissenschaftler **Peter Demetz** erhalten. Der Preis wird laut Satzung an „europäische Persönlichkeiten mit Vorbildfunktion für den europäischen Dialog“ vergeben. Peter Demetz ist dem IWM seit vielen Jahren mit Rat und Tat verbunden.

**Timothy Snyder** was awarded the American Association for Ukrainian Studies book prize for „The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999“, New Haven: Yale University Press (2003)

In May 2004, **Thomas Nesbit** was presented with the “Angela J. and James J. Rallis Memorial Award” by the Humanities Foundation at Boston University. The award was given for his dissertation research on American author Henry Miller, which is being supervised by Susan Mizruchi of Boston University’s English Department. Nesbit also spent the month of June examining Miller’s archives at the University of California at Los Angeles, thanks to receiving the “James and Sylvia Thayer Fellowship from their Department of Special Collections”.

Before the end of their six months’ research stay at the IWM the “Koerber Foundation” invited IWM’s first three Koerber Fellows to Hamburg on 15 June 2004. Two informal discussion rounds were held: **Natalya Pushkareva** gave a review of her work on “Feminism in Russia in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century – History and Presence”, and in the evening **Muriel Blaive** and **Izabella Main** talked about the topic “Politics of History and Memory in Germany’s neighbouring countries” discussing the ways of coming to terms with the recent past in Poland and the Czech Republic. In both cases a mix of distinguished academics and experts in the respective fields contributed to stimulating debates. In addition the three fellows got a brief introduction into the general work of the Koerber Foundation.



**„East“ – „West“ Cultural Encounters**  
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## Notes on Books

David Martin on  
Charles Taylor  
**Varieties of Religion Today:  
William James Revisited**  
Harvard University Press 2002

THESE LECTURES, given originally in 2000 at the Vienna Institute for Human Sciences to mark the centenary of Hans Gadamer's birth, should be essential reading for psychologists of religion, including so-called cognitive scientists. It could release them from the scientism currently restricting the range and significance of their findings. Without the broad understanding of cultural history and phenomenological acumen represented here by Charles Taylor (and over a century ago by William James) the psychology of religion remains for the most part in a state of prideful self-limitation. So we may assume any liberation will be resisted.

These lectures are also essential reading for sociologists of religion, who may be more responsive. The grip of scientism on sociology is far less deadly than its grip on psychology, because sociologists simply cannot operate without culture or history, including the philosophically grounded cultural history exemplified by Charles Taylor. The virtue of Charles Taylor's work lies in the kind of discriminating judgement only possible if you possess a comprehensive grasp of the relevant cognate disciplines: the long duration of history as well as the dynamics of culture and religious change, including the matrices of religious change out of which modern selfhood emerged.

Charles Taylor offers us a fresh understanding of secularization, its varied forms at different periods, in particular the contemporary paradox of a diminishing ecclesiastical religiosity (with discernible links to other social formations, for example, the state) and an ascendant spirituality largely free of such links. Hardly a day goes by without some accredited cultural commentator, or "public intellectual", referring to somebody as not "conventionally religious" but yet "profoundly spiritual". Musicians and poets regularly receive this accolade.

In Charles Taylor's view, William James captured this aspect of contemporary religion (or spirituality) long before it

came to full maturity in the sixties. The very limitations of James' understanding of religion, which he saw as rooted in intense experience and warmed hearts, lent him the prescience to be our contemporary. As a Protestant James did not properly grasp the collective and ecclesiastical aspect of religion and so he was the better able to illuminate changes today which are a mutation of Protestant Christianity. On page 23 Taylor suggests that James missed "the religious connection, the link between the believer and the divine (or whatever), [which] may be essentially mediated by corporate ecclesial life". It is just this impaired understanding that animates cultural commentators in animadversions against institutions and ritual "mumbo-jumbo", and has to be understood as required by the secular (or secularist) paradigm of how things are and should be. In Charles Taylor's view we have become imaginatively incapable of comprehending "church" as an ethical community in which the habitual exercise of charity is sustained by the sign language of the sacraments. Moreover, such a sign language generates the dangerous but necessary articulation of what the Church believes in. John Wesley as the originator of the phrase "the warmed heart" also said "no religion that is not social", which in turn implies no religious language or vocabulary that is not social. Our primary religious experience is therefore recognised through pre existing linguistic moulds and frames.

Most of Charles Taylor's argument bears very directly on how sociologists and cultural historians articulate the endlessly debated "secularization thesis". For myself I have over decades had to resist accounts of secularization either implicitly embedded in historical work (for example, that a given episode or person, though apparently religious was essentially in transition to a secular *démoument*), or else presented in a history of philosophy that was also a secular philosophy of history. Of course, this in itself is a kind of secularization in that history (and the history of philosophy in particular) is retrospectively organized according to the assumptions of the secular premiss.

Charles Taylor breaks with this by critically reshaping the philosophical ac-

count, partly by reference to a quite different sociological account, while also reformulating the sociological account in a richer, more paradoxical manner. As a sociologist critical of the assumptions undergirding the approach of sociologists, I have been trying to build pontoons reaching out to what I take to be richer, more paradoxical understandings, and in Charles Taylor I find complementary pontoons put in place by a philosopher. This feeds my sense that none of us needs be imprisoned by the restrictive protocols of positivism or reductionism, or actively insist on phenomenological blindness.

In chapter 3 Charles Taylor provides a nuanced account of the cultural changes and accompanying religious mutations that led first to the embrace of individual inwardness and personal authenticity by elites, and then to a similar move on the part of much larger numbers in the nineteen-sixties. There was, first of all, a condition of enchantment in which the mystical body of society was located in the sacred body of the monarch. This he labels "paleo-Durkheimian". Then there emerged a universe and a society where God was not so much embodied as discerned or admired in design and moral order. In its American version this amounted to a providential design progressively consummated, and the recent challenge to this explains the current American culture wars. Furthermore, the (initially limited) pluralism of Anglo-American society allowed for the appearance of an overarching "civil religion" such as is represented in Linda Colley's idea of "Protestant Britain". This Taylor labels neo Durkheimian, and it was for long contrasted with the unstable "Baroque compromise" in Catholic societies between the inherent social sacred and incipient functional justifications. Today, however, the advance of "expressive individualism" marks a shift from common action to the mutual display of difference. This condition, part-way between solipsistic isolation and communication, is post-Durkheimian. People in a youth culture fomented by advertising, cannot even comprehend the pull of conformity or the appeal of long-term institutional commitment.

Naturally, Charles Taylor provides an

account of exceptions and historical variants, as well as a discussion of how belief has been rendered fragile, and a intriguing explanation as to why believers and non-believers talk past each other, which I guess dogmatic non-believers will not accept. Overall this is just the book to put in the hands of those assailed by the potent confusions and assumptions it analyses.

David Martin is Professor emeritus of Sociology, London School of Economics, and Honorary Professor for Religious Studies, University of Lancaster. See also his article "Integration and Fragmentation: Patterns of Religion in Europe" in *Transit – Europäische Revue* nr. 26.

Taylor's book presents the inaugural IWM *Vorlesungen zu den Wissenschaften vom Menschen* he gave in 2000. This series is published jointly by Harvard, Suhrkamp and Znak.

**Charles Taylor**

**Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited**

Harvard University Press 2002

**Charles Taylor**

**Die Formen des Religiösen in der Gegenwart**

Frankfurt a.M. (Suhrkamp) 2002

**Charles Taylor**

**Oblicza religii dzisiaj**

Cracow (Znak) 2002

In her commentary the French scholar and intellectual Dominique Schnapper reflects on the paradox that „welfare democracy“ feeds discontent.

## The Welfare State's Fragile Foundations

TENSIONS HAVE EXISTED between liberty and equality ever since modern democracy placed citizenship at the root of political legitimacy. In every democratic society, freedom for all has been at odds with equality for all, and vice versa. But no matter how frequently we proclaim that all “are born free and equal in dignity and rights,” this clash of principles has not diminished. Indeed, it has simply taken new forms, partly owing to economic and technical progress – and with it an increase in available wealth – and partly owing to efforts aimed at allaying it.

The tension between civil, legal, and political equality and the reality of economic and social inequality was noted as far back as the French Revolution. Today, citizens inevitably use their civil, legal, and political rights to demand economic and social equality – or at least reduction of inequality. Equal rights, according to this logic – as socialist thought has emphasized – imply public policies aimed at narrowing inequalities in the actual living conditions of all citizens.

Indeed, contemporary democracies are distinguished precisely by their ambition to combine respect for liberty and formal equality of rights with public policies that, as the Preamble of the 1946 French Constitution puts it, provide all citizens with “adequate living conditions.” Contemporary democracies base their legitimacy on ensuring both political and social rights.

But intervention by modern democratic states goes beyond the boundaries of the post-1945 welfare state, which sought to protect individuals against risks linked to old age, family responsibilities, accidents, illness, and the labor market. Intervention has now been broadened to include education, culture, sport, and ethnicity, in the belief that only citizens who receive equal education and training, and have their historical and cultural specificity recognized, can enjoy genuine equality.

As a result, the number of partici-

pants in educational institutions, as well as the absolute and relative costs of these institutions, is increasing. State-funded cultural programs strengthen “welfare democracy” even more, while the economic and

symbolic importance of sporting events has led to state intervention that increasingly organizes athletic training along the lines of the public school system. Thanks to the welfare state, organized sports, which first appeared among the leisured upper classes, are now practiced by everyone.

Moreover, communal rights have progressively been accorded to the various groups that compose a nation. Can there be real equality for citizens whose language, history, and collective identity are marginalized by the dominance of the majority's language, history, and collective identity? Even in France, where universal republican principles theoretically contradict such policies, public action is being ‘ethnicized’ under the mask of geographical or social criteria.

Greater equality reinforces the ambition for still more equality. “When inequality is the common law, the strongest inequalities are not conspicuous,” Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in his classic *Democracy in America*, but “when everything is more or less leveled, the slightest inequality hurts.” Because no society can ensure complete equality, “welfare democracy” feeds dissatisfaction and frustration – and hence demands for *more* welfare democracy, not less.

As a result, the welfare state becomes unavoidably particularizing, as it constantly adds and refines categories and groups entitled to formal recognition and resources. With the surge in unemployment in the 1970's, for example, several



new categories of beneficiaries were created and subsequently modified to adapt to funding limitations. All European countries then established a minimum income policy to help those whose benefits had run out. It is the source of the inflation in legislation in the European countries.

So the birth and development of the welfare state reflects an inescapable fact: freedom and equality are both in tension *and* intimately linked, because both values are part and parcel of the democratic project. Democratic principles call for organizing society in such a way that both values can be realized to the greatest possible extent. But the path for particularistic action that does not undermine the liberty and equality of all citizens is narrow. This is a paradox intrinsic to democracy, and it is the duty of politicians to deal with the tensions to which it gives rise.

Yet it is also the duty of citizens to preserve the formal, political meaning of citizenship as state intervention broadens to ensure the well being of all. This might restrict political freedom in the name of greater equality. Still more probably, it might confine politics to the day-to-day management of redistributing wealth among groups that coexist in the same society but do not necessarily share much else.

Such an outcome, however, would quickly render all efforts to ensure material equality unsustainable. For without a common political identity on which to base social solidarity, redistribution of wealth by the welfare state loses its legitimacy.

Dominique Schnapper is professor of sociology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris); Balzan Prize for sociology 2002. Main publications: *La France de l'intégration* (2001), *La communauté des citoyens* (2004), *La relation à l'autre* (1998), *Qu'est-ce que la citoyenneté?* (2000), *La démocratie providentielle* (2002).

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As an American journalist who has lived in London for the past two years, and in Austria for three months recently, Rebecca Knight has observed two phenomena that, at first glance, seem to be at odds. One is that American mass culture is widespread. The other is that anti-Americanism is rampant.

## The Star Spangled Invasion? Why Europeans Love to Hate and Hate to Love American Mass Culture

AMERICAN MASS CULTURE has become part of Europeans' everyday acoustic, visual and commercial environment. Consider these pieces of evidence:

- So far this year, most of the top grossing films in Germany are American including *Shrek 2* and *Troy*.
- Britain's paperback best-seller list this year contains many books by American authors including Alice Sebold's *The Lovely Bones*, Dan Brown's *Da Vinci Code*.
- Some of the best-selling albums in France this year include American artists such as Prince and Norah Jones.

Now consider this: Across Europe, anti-Bush and anti-American feelings are growing more intense by the day. A recent poll conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press found that opinion of the president and, by extension, the United States, had plummeted across Europe since George W. Bush took office.

How does this Anti-American sentiment translate in the Real World? According to a recent consumer attitudes survey conducted by NOP World, America's foreign policy has had a profoundly negative affect on the perception of US culture. Europeans say they have less respect for big US brands.

Curiously though, this current tide of anti-American feeling has had little impact on American companies operating in Europe. Companies from McDonalds to Ford to Kodak to Nike have recently posted strong earnings from their European operations.

Rhetorically, Europeans say that they are angry at the US. Yet behaviorally, they continue to gobble its cultural exports: munch on its Big Macs, watch its blockbuster movies and guzzle its Coke. This

article analyzes what's going on here. It offers a discussion of European attitudes toward US culture, and it examines why Europe is seemingly unable to reconcile its desire to consume US goods with its opposition to American policy.

To begin, it's necessary to point out that most Europeans have a fairly benign view of American mass culture. But of course there are still some complaints:

### 1. American culture is boring and homogenous

Some Europeans are contemptuous of American mass culture because they do not believe it has any merit. Our blockbuster movies are vulgar. Our music is bland. Our books are superficial. Our television shows are inane. America, they say, substitutes quality for quantity, elegance for efficiency and pleasantness for practicality.

It's true that Americans are inclined to have a more democratic sense when it comes to culture. Modern American culture generally requires no special knowledge, no gown, no limousine, and no membership fee. It's defined by what is popular and inclusive: professional sports, blockbuster films, television sitcoms and pulp fiction.

### 2. American culture is not art; it is a moneymaking proposition

To Europeans, culture is a public service that their governments heavily sponsor and subsidize. Meanwhile American artists must rely on private patronage as government support is miniscule.



In terms of Hollywood, US media conglomerates have a big incentive to increase their distribution: money. Thus, the expansion of American entertainment throughout the world is in part attributable to big corporations who are able to make more money if they are able to reach more people.

But Tyler Cowen, an American economist who wrote a book called *In Praise of Consumer Culture*, argues that capitalism and economic growth promote, rather than squelch, individual creativity through artistic expression. “I don’t see a contradiction between making money and making art,” he says. “Shakespeare made a good living, so did Michelangelo. Money motivates great artists.”

### 3. American culture is too invasive

As any European or tourist to Europe can attest: the place is crawling with American popular culture. Consider this: there are nine Starbucks coffee outlets in Vienna. There are 12 Gap clothing shops in Paris. There are 324 Burger Kings in Spain.

“Some of the richness of Europe – its cultural diversity – is disappearing,” says Joop de Jong, a professor of culture at the University of Maastricht in The Netherlands. “Everything looks identical and that is a big loss.”

### 4. American culture erodes national identities

Some Europeans fear the threat posed by American mass culture because it might homogenize their own culture. The popularity of American films, television shows, music, theme parks, and the Internet, they say, makes it difficult for local cultural industries to have any influence at all.

Simon Newman, the Chair of the British Association for American Studies, says that his students resent what they refer to as the Disnification of their culture. “The Braveheart phenomenon was a Hollywood creation,” he says referring to the 1995 movie starring Mel Gibson. “And my students are horrified to see this Hollywood version of their history.”

### 5. Europe has a touch of a cultural superiority complex

Prior to the Second World War, the world looked to Europe in matters of culture and sophistication. We deferred to British letters, French fashion, Italian art, and German music and architecture. After WWII, the Europe we had once known – the one of vitality, power, and refinement – had vanished. Germany was divided and defeated. Italy had given up its illusions of grandeur. Britain, Belgium, France and Holland were losing their empires.

And on the other side of the pond, America blossomed. Emboldened by its victory, the economy soared. Hollywood replaced Paris as the

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cinema capital of the world. New York replaced London as the global business center. The world started listening to Washington, not Berlin, as the place where fateful decisions are made.

Last year, in an article entitled “Europe’s Anti-American Obsession,” Jean Francois Revel, a French writer, said: “Many Europeans sneer that America, a society still in a primitive state, ruled by violence and criminality, couldn’t possibly have a mature culture. American literature and cinema is said to be an arid desert, devoid of original talent or great creators. They apparently never heard of Poe, Hawthorne and Faulkner. Piercing analysts like Upton Sinclair, John Steinbeck, and Tom Wolfe are conveniently ignored.”

Still, the US remains uncertain and insecure about its literary and artistic accomplishments. We realize that Europe is more cosmopolitan. Europeans travel more, speak more languages and seem to have a style and flair that we don’t have. That’s part of the reason why so many Americans want Europe to remain, well, European.

Europe, for its part, is baffled by America’s pride in its parochialism. We have an anti-intellectual, folksy president. We are skeptical of hoity-toity culture; we take pride in our anti-elitist attitude toward art and food.

But for young Europeans in particular, American culture is attractive precisely because of this indifference to the pretensions of art and philosophy. To them America is the anti-Europe, and that is not without its charms. Indeed, American mass culture may not be profound, but it is both popular and a growing force in the lives of Europeans. Here’s why:

### 1. A lot of American culture and American products are pretty good

Because America is so big and wealthy, it has a richly diverse culture and many of its mass cultural exports are high quality. Musically speaking, America is the birthplace of jazz, blues, hip-hop, gospel, rap and R&B. Writers like Ernest Hemingway and Toni Morrison are powerful examples of the American imagination. Artistically, America is where one of the most important modern art forms of the past fifty years – abstract expressionism – originated. Theatrically, it has exported many fine playwrights including Eugene

O’Neil and Arthur Miller.

### 2. American mass culture feels familiar

In many ways, the very idea of American culture is anachronistic. Its “culture” is merely an imitation of other foreign cultures – what Americans have done is repackage the cultural products we receive from abroad and then retransmit them to the rest of the planet.

Indeed, much of what is considered uniquely American pop culture has a precursor in Europe. Before there was Disneyland, there was Tivoli Gardens, an amusement park in Copenhagen which Walt Disney used as a prototype for his first theme park in California. Before there was Hooters, there was Cabaret. America didn’t even invent “reality television.” *Big Brother* and *Fear Factor* are produced by Endemol, a Dutch company.

### 3. Europeans live differently and need products to fit their changing lives

Europeans today are living more like Americans. Therefore, American popular culture and consumer products play a bigger role in Europe because they are an increasingly comfortable fit for European lifestyles.

First, Europe has a greater consumer culture today brought about by a significant increase in personal and disposable income. And there has been a steady expansion of credit and people’s willingness to go into debt to gain more purchasing power.

Second, Europeans live a faster-paced life. They are accustomed to spot news and entertainment from the Internet and immediate communication by mobile phone. They have adopted the American desire for instant gratification. This need translates into shifting taste for US consumer goods as American products fit a practical need in people’s lives.

### 4. American mass culture is subversive.

Part of the reason Europe gravitates toward American mass culture is that a good deal of it is anti-American in content, or at least pokes fun at America’s perceived self-righteousness.

Robert Thompson, who is the head of the Center for Popular Television at Syracuse University, says that it’s true that some American popular culture is not particularly flag-waving and that’s possibly

what attracts Europeans. Take the popularity of television show *The Simpsons* as an example, he says. It is a cartoon that portrays the typical American family: Homer is a fat, lame-brained father who works at the town’s nuclear power plant. And Bart, the hero, of the show is a scheming 4<sup>th</sup> grader. The show is a send-up of America’s religiousness, piety and work ethic.

“It’s a critique of American popular culture at the same time it’s a parody of American popular culture,” Thompson says.

### 5. American mass culture is a drug and Europe is hooked

Even as they deride it, many Europeans would concede that American culture is a compelling force. Robert Thompson puts it best: “American culture goes down smoothly. It is brilliant at being user-friendly.

He said that it’s likely many Europeans feel this way about American TV. “They may see American mass culture as just another symptom of American imperialism, but then they watch the TV shows anyway. They love to hate, they love to watch it.”

The only question left to answer is: Will the global political climate change the calculus of how much they hate it, and how much they love it? The answer, put simply, is no – for both political and social reasons.

Politically speaking, Europe is not equipped to enact policies that restrict American culture. On May 1 of this year, the European Union grew by 10 countries and now has a population of about 450m people. And while this grand experiment of unity and identity is exciting, it poses problems for the disparate continent.

Paul Giles, director of the Rothermore American Institute at the University of Oxford in England, says that Europe does not yet speak and act with one mind “Europe as an entity today does not have the clout to carry off [a boycott]. Imagine it: A boycott of American goods? The opportunities for revenge on the part of the US would be plentiful,” he says

And Europe’s future, as compared with the US, looks bleak. Many European countries are experiencing brain drain to

the US. This started in fifty years ago as the US poured billions into defense-related research. These investments laid the foundation for the tech booms of the 80s and 90s, which prompted yet more Europeans westward.

Europe's economy is flailing, too. Its sluggish performance is due to low productivity, poor use of technology, weak public finances and low employment rates. Furthermore, many countries in Europe are losing population. Demographic trends show that the US population is growing faster and getting younger and the European population is declining and ageing steadily. By 2050, if present trends continue, there will be 100m more Americans and 100m fewer Europeans.

Tyler Cowen, the economist, says that: "Many European countries are growing at about one percent a year whereas the US grows at about 5 percent. Forty years down the road, the gap between the US and Europe will look more like the gap between the US and South Korea today."

Finally, on a social level, regardless of any negative feelings about the US, Europeans differentiate between its foreign policy and its culture. They are unwilling to issue a blanket condemnation of all things American.

Joop de Jong says that "Whatever your feelings about America, it's hard to take that next step and say you will give up drinking Pepsi and forget all about Britney Spears."

Here we are getting back to where we started. But the decline of European ethnic identities is not solely the fault of Americanization. Rather, cultural influence is a complicated exchange of borrowing, emulating, and imitating, and not merely a zero-sum game. And both countries engage in various forms of cultural cross-pollination.

Indeed, our cultures are becoming so hybridized that we can no longer identify what is exactly American, and what is exactly European. Take, for instance, the recent hit movie and Oscar winner *The Lord of the Rings*. It may seem like your typical Hollywood blockbuster. But look closer: The story is British. The mythology behind it has Celtic roots. The director, Peter Jackson, is from New Zealand and the cast includes actors from a variety of nationalities. So it's hard to say which country claims the film.

The reason is that mass culture is nationless. And it often has a lot more to do with what makes us alike than what makes us different.

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Rebecca Knight is Deputy Analysis Editor, *Financial Times*. From April to June 2004 she was a Milena Jesenská Fellow at IWM.

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September 30 – October 1  
2004  
Diplomatische Akademie  
Favoritenstraße 15A  
A-1040 Vienna  
Austria

## An Asset or a Liability? Eastern European Economic Cultures in the EU

The ACCESS project ("After the Accession ... The Socio-Economic Cultures of Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union: An Asset or a Liability?") focused on current encounters between the "East" and the "West" in the European economy to predict the chances for convergence between the twin economic cultures. The research fields – entrepreneurship, governance and economic knowledge – were explored in four countries of South-Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania and Serbia and Montenegro) and in four East-Central European countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia). The objective of the conference is to present and discuss the main results of this project carried out by the IWM in cooperation with eight national research teams.

Thursday 30 September 2004	18:00	Friday 1 October 2004	09:00	12:30
	Opening of the conference		Introductory remarks	Lunch Break
	<b>Ernst Sucharipa</b> Diplomatic Academy		<b>János Mátyás Kovács</b> Institute for Human Sciences	<b>13:30</b> Afternoon Session
	<b>Georg Lennkh</b> Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs		<b>Michael Linhart</b> Austrian Development Agency	Economic Knowledge
	Key note speech <b>Sorin Antohi</b> Central European University, Budapest		<b>09:15</b> Morning Session	<b>General overview</b> <b>János Mátyás Kovács</b> Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna
	<b>Spacing the Spirit of Capitalism: A Symbolic Geography of Europe's Economies and Societies</b>		Entrepreneurship	<b>The case of Poland</b> <b>Jacek Kochanowicz</b> Department of Economics, University of Warsaw, Depart- ment of History, Central European University, Budapest
	<b>19:30</b> Reception		<b>General overview</b> <b>Violetta Zentai</b> Center for Policy Studies, Central European University, Budapest	
			<b>The case of Romania</b> <b>Vintila Mihailescu</b> National School of Political Studies and Public Administrati- on, Bucharest	Case Studies
			Governance	<b>"Small Farms in Bulgaria: Four Decades Outside Legality"</b> <b>Ilia Iliev</b> Department of Ethnology, University of Sofia
			<b>General overview</b> <b>Dragos Aligica</b> National School of Political Studies and Administration, Bucharest; Mercatus Center, George Mason University, Wa- shington DC	<b>"It's hard for chicks to take to the sky! Establishing an Organic Agro-Business in Serbia"</b> <b>Slobodan Naumovic</b> Department of Anthropology, University of Belgrade
			<b>The case of Bulgaria</b> <b>Petya Kabakchieva</b> Department of Sociology, University of Sofia; Center for Advanced Studies, Sofia	<b>"East-West Business Encounters: The Serbian Repatriates"</b> <b>Vesna Vucinic-Neskovic</b> Department of Anthropology, University of Belgrade

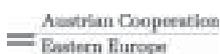
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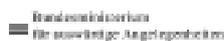
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the Diplomatic Academy



Austrian Development  
Agency



and Austrian Ministry  
for Foreign Affairs

Um Anmeldung unter Tel. 313 58-0 oder via e-mail: event@iwm.at wird gebeten.

Freitag, 8. Oktober, 18. Uhr

Vortrag und Buchpräsentation

**Gilles Kepel**

**Die neuen Kreuzzüge: Die arabische Welt und die Zukunft des Westens**

IWM

„In seiner Verbindung aus Wissenschaftlichkeit und epischer Erzählkunst versteht es Gilles Kepel meisterhaft, sein Wissen zu präsentieren.“

*Le Monde*

Terroranschläge, Guerillakriege, offene Feindseligkeit: Täglich zeigt die wachsende Kluft zwischen der islamischen Welt und „dem Westen“ neue erschreckende Auswirkungen. Anderthalb Jahrzehnte nach dem Ende des Kalten Krieges droht somit ein weiterer, noch gefährlicherer Ost-West-Konflikt. Gilles Kepel, weltweit als einer der besten Kenner der islamischen Politik anerkannt, analysiert die gefährliche Lage in drei Schritten. Beginnend mit dem Palästina-Konflikt, erweitert er den Fokus auf den gesamten Mittleren Osten und schließlich auf die Grundfrage: Wie sieht eine neue Weltordnung aus, die die islamischen Länder zu echten Partnern werden lässt? Müssen wir im Westen auf Vorrechte verzichten, Macht abgeben, Wohlstand teilen?

Gilles Kepel ist Professor für Politische Studien am *Institut d'Etudes Politiques* in Paris und Gastprofessor u.a. an der *Columbia University*.

Publications:

**Zwischen Kairo und Kabul**

München: Piper, 2002

**Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam**

Harvard University Press, 2002

**Allah in the West:**

**Islamic Movements in America and Europe**

Stanford University Press, 1997

In Zusammenarbeit mit

**PIPER**

Thursday, October 28, 18:00

**Theda Skocpol**

**Voice and Inequality:**

**The Transformation of American Civic Democracy**

BAWAG, Hochholzerhof

1., Seitzergasse 2-4

Voluntary associations have long been understood as central to American democracy, but they have been fundamentally reorganized over the past four decades. Membership associations – popularly rooted voluntary federations and trade unions – have declined, while professionally managed advocacy groups and nonprofit institutions have proliferated. The variety of causes represented in U.S. politics has increased, and expertise has been furthered. But avenues for popular participation and citizenship training have constricted. And public agendas of debate and legislation have become skewed toward the better educated and the privileged, who dominate recently expanding civic organizations.

Theda Skocpol is *Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology, and Director of the Center for American Political Studies, Harvard University*.

Publications:

**Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life**

Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003

**The Missing Middle: Working Families and the Future of American Social Policy**

New York: W.W. Norton, 2000

**Boomerang: Clinton's Health Security Effort and the Turn Against Government in U.S. Politics**

New York: W.W. Norton, 1996

Keynote speech to the opening of the workshop: „Inequality on the Rise? The United States and Europe in a Comparative Perspective“ jointly organized by

 Renner Institut

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For more information see [www.iwmm.at/a-upcom.htm](http://www.iwmm.at/a-upcom.htm)

Thursday, November 4

**Anne Phillips**

*Director of the Gender Institute, London School of Economics*

**Gender Equality, Cultural Diversity, and the Interventionist State**

In Zusammenarbeit mit der Grünen Bildungswerkstatt



November 9

**Tomas Halik**

*Professor of Sociology, Charles University, Prague*

**The Unknown God of Europe: Political Theologies and European Integration**

November 16

Reihe: Die Rolle des Staates

**Sabine Berghahn**

*Professorin für Politik und Sozialwissenschaften, Freie Universität Berlin*

**Staat und Privatheit: Warum der Staat so an der Ehe hängt**

In Zusammenarbeit mit der Grünen Bildungswerkstatt



Freitag, 19. November

18. Jan Patocka-Gedächtnisvorlesung

**Lord Dahrendorf**

**Engagierte Beobachter:**

**Die Intellektuellen und die Versuchungen der Zeit**

19.00 Uhr

Marmorsaal des Palais Schwarzenberg  
Schwarzenbergplatz 9, Wien

November 23

**Timothy Snyder**

*Associate Professor of History, Yale University; IWM Visiting Fellow*

**Brotherlands: A Proposal for a Family History of the East European Nation**

Die Beiträge der letzten beiden Hefte von Transit stehen im Zusammenhang mit der Arbeit der vom IWM gebildeten Reflexionsgruppe über die geistige und kulturelle Dimension Europas (vgl. [www.iwm.at/t-26txt1.htm](http://www.iwm.at/t-26txt1.htm) sowie [www.iwm.at/r-reflec.htm](http://www.iwm.at/r-reflec.htm)). Sie gehen z.T. auf öffentliche Debatten der Gruppe zurück, die in Brüssel, Warschau, Wien, Paris und Berlin stattfanden.

## Europäische Verbindlichkeiten I

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**

**Öffentlichkeit**

Charles Taylor

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Bronislaw Geremek

**Europa und die Welt**

Timothy Garton Ash

**Was Europa sein kann**

## Schwierige Freundschaft: Die erweiterte EU und die USA

Jacques Rupnik

**Amerikas beste Freunde in Europa**

Ivan Krastev

**Das Jahrhundert des Anti-Amerikanismus?**

Mit zwei Kommentaren:

Janos Matyas Kovacs

**Little America**

Michael Mertes

**Amerikanophilie wider Willen**

## Religionen und europäische Solidarität II

José Casanova

**Der Ort der Religion im säkularen Europa**

Peter L. Berger

**Bemerkungen aus amerikanischer Sicht**

Adidal Abou-Chamat

**Borderlines.** Photographien

## Islam in Europa

Olivier Roy

**Konflikt der Religionen oder Konvergenz der  
Religiositäten?**

Tariq Modood

**Muslime und Multikulturalismus in Europa**

Dieter Oberndörfer

**Politische Integration und kulturelle Freiheit**

Farhad Khosrokhavar

**Muslime im Gefängnis. Der Fall Frankreich**



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