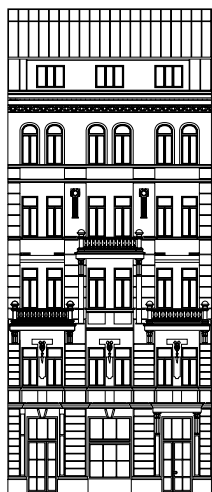




# Newsletter 65

**Institut für die  
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## Conference

# Ten Years After 1989: Politics, Ideology and the International Order

On June 25 - 27 political leaders and leading intellectuals from Eastern Europe, Western Europe and the USA met in the Palais Ferstel in Vienna for an exchange of ideas on the political changes since the events of 1989.



*Garton Ash, Orban, Havel, Klima, Michnik*

## The Conference as Reported by the Print Media

Over fifty journalists from Europe also attended in the conference "Ten Years After 1989: Politics, Ideology and the International Order", organized by the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) and the Project Syndicate for the promotion of journalistic exchange (New York and Prague). As a result the media coverage of the event was extensive. The following are excerpts from several German language newspapers.

## Press Commentary on those Present as Speakers and Participants.

The conference presented the opinions of a wide range of actors with extremely different views and approaches. This impressed Paul Kreiner of the **Stuttgarter Zeitung**: "Vaclav Havel was there as was Aleksander Kwasniewski, the former a dissident, the latter a communist, both currently presidents of their respective states. Tadeusz

Mazowiecki and Adam Michnik, who masterminded the Solidarnosc movement and paved the way for the changes in Europe, debated with Sergei Kirienko and Viktor Orban, young talents without any such history



*Viktor Orban, Vaclav Havel*

whose careers have taken them to the positions of prime minister in Russia and Hungary, respectively. Zbigniew Brzezinski, formerly adviser to Jimmy Carter and one of the architects of the new world order, called for more security policies; Lord Dahrendorf, an Anglo-German, for more freedom. Italy's former Communist leader Giorgio Napolitano was looking for a modern way forward for the left, and professional rebel Daniel Cohn-Bendit was already enthusiastically conjuring up the vision of a glorious age of world ethics." (June 29, 1999)

The variety of voices, especially from countries beyond the former Iron Curtain, was one of the most impressive aspects of the conference. Ulrich Glauber acknowledged this in his report for the **Basler Zeitung** of June 28, 1999: "A debate between the celebrities of the anti-communist opposition of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary (...) made very clear how inadequate the West's uniform perception of the countries of the former Soviet bloc has become a decade after Moscow ceased to exert its control."

Regardless of all the differences within and between the countries of the former "Eastern Bloc", the conference also highlighted the fact that the views of the main actors of 1989 and those of West European politicians and intellectuals are still worlds apart. Konrad Adam of the **Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)** commented on this: "The memory of the revolt of 1989 has left the East European states with a capital, from which the West could benefit greatly, but which it hardly knows how to appreciate because it is content with thinking in purely economic categories. [Adam] Michnik and Vaclav Havel spoke about the same things as their Western colleagues, but their language and temperament were very different. It remains palpable even today that they learned their lessons from fate itself and not just at the university. The extension of the EU, which is intended



*Adam Michnick*

finally to give them access once again to the tradition to which they feel so closely related, is not, for them, a bureaucratic project but a natural consequence of the revolutions of 1989. And then it was not a matter of chickenmeat and net book price agreements but of life or death." (June 30, 1999)

The conference was well attended. Burkhard Bischof of **Die Presse** (Vienna) noted of the panel discussion "What remains of 1989?": "That evening in Palais Ferstel, Michnik once more played his old role of the romantic revolutionary - and convincingly so, as was demonstrated by the enthusiastic applause with which the large audience received his statements." (June 28, 1999)

**Ten Years After: A Widespread Loss of Illusions - and a Trace of Optimism**

There was much talk about hopes and dreams, often, however, with an undertone of disillusionment or even disappointment. In an article entitled "'New Politics' as a Dream", Martin Stricker wrote in the **Salzburger Nachrichten**:

"The change was enormous. And it was peaceful. The dictatorships in the East collapsed without bloodshed. They made way for a new freedom. But 'The New Politics' remained a dream. (...) A dream which has so far remained unfulfilled. Havel suggested that people had been too naive." (June 28, 1999)



*Vaclav Havel*

In the **Süddeutsche Zeitung** of July 1, 1999, Michael Frank wrote: "Aleksander Smolar, a Pole living in Paris, gave the following interpretation of the problems in the development of post Soviet societies: Dissidents and resistance fighters had been committed to the illusion of a civil society of absolute and honorable responsibility. In the style of 19th century romantics they believed that by creating such a civil society they would make even the modern Western type of state almost superfluous or at least transform it."

In the **Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ)** Andreas Döpfner summarized former Russian Prime minister Sergei Kirienko's view of the situation in his country as follows: "People didn't think it worth voting for liberal-minded reformists now that the Communist bulwark they had been fighting against has definitively collapsed; nor had the reformers been able to provide concrete short term improvements. Hence the populists who cultivate an attitude of protest were successful. (...) Underlying all this, according to Kirienko, is an identity crisis in Russia which reflects the disappointment following the exaggerated euphoria of post-Soviet society. Russian society has been waiting too long for the supposed dawn of post-Communist paradise. Now there is a search for new

identities somewhere between nationalism and openness." (June 29, 1999)

In the **Frankfurter Allgemeine** of June 30, 1999, Konrad Adam observed that "the time of these men [meaning Havel and other former dissidents] appears to be drawing to an end. Their successors are people like former Russian prime minister Sergei Kirienko or the Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orban. They have received their education from businessmen."



*Sergei Kirienko*

Although Kirienko, the first speaker at the conference, and Kwasniewski are both - like Orban - representatives of the younger generation of politicians in central and eastern Europe, they seemed to be worlds apart. In the

**NZZ** of June 29, 1999, Andreas Döpfner wrote: "While the former was preoccupied with the internal tensions in his country, the latter spoke with a show of confidence of Poland's ties to the West as already being rooted in a 'market economy and a democratic and egalitarian society'. In Kwasniewski's view, in order to be able to 'build a united Europe', as he puts it, this western oriented development takes precedence over looking back at the past or glancing at Poland's crisis-wracked neighbours."



*Aleksander Kwasniewski*

Kwasniewski was not the only Polish participant of this conference exuding optimism. **Die Presse** commented: "Michnik is also proud of Leszek Balcerowicz's 'shock therapy': 'It has proven that the Poles, far from being a nation of drinkers and good-for-nothings, are competent businessmen and hard workers.'" (B. Bischof, June 28, 1999)

### Ten Years After 1989: Repercussions in the West

The West, too, has been undergoing changes related to the events of 1989 and the end of the bi-polar world. The **FAZ** pointed out that there is new common ground: "We have often heard that the divisions between left and right have become blurred or even redundant, but it has rarely been demonstrated as convincingly as in Vienna. 'One world' is a motto which dissolves the old front lines...". (Konrad Adam, June 30, 1999)

But there are new lines of conflict. At the conference, it was the theme of the "Third Way" which brought them to the fore. Thomas E. Schmidt referred to this in **Die Welt** of June 29, 1999: "Since 1989, Western states too have become states in transition. British Labour MP Patricia Hewitt praised Tony Blair's "Third Way" as the adequate response to the shifts in values and sociological changes in Western populations. The state is allocated a new role, it secures the market economy and ensures social justice. According to Hewitt, the state becomes an agent for the

inclusion of all those affected by the dynamics of the market economy."



*Kurt Biedenkopf, Patricia Hewitt*

Kurt Biedenkopf, the prime minister of the German state of Saxony, distanced himself, however, from such a middle course between welfare state and unrestrained capitalism. He expressed his unqualified commitment to the free market economy. "In a healthy market economy we cannot accept any dictation on prices," Gerhard Plott and Hans Rauscher quoted him as saying in the **Standard** of June 28, 1999. The same Viennese daily also referred to MEP (European Parliament Member) Daniel Cohn-Bendit's critical view of Blair's and Schröder's blueprint: "[This blueprint] accepts globalization as a fact and declares that we have to face it. 'We however', said Cohn-Bendit, 'accept globalization as a fact and declare that we have to reform it.' For Cohn-Bendit, a former student leader and 1968 activist, 'we' stands for a 'Third Left'. He calls for a Third left instead of the Third Way promoted by the political leaders of Great Britain and Germany. In this context 'left' signifies 'a capacity, beyond neoliberalism and neotraditionalism, for intervention and the exploitation of this capacity', as well as lending traditional Socialist Party policies an ethical dimension. The latter's representatives did travel to Warsaw and Budapest during the Cold War, as Cohn-Bendit pointed out last Sunday in Vienna, but they only talked to those then in power." (Plott and Rauscher, June 28, 1999)

At the conference Austrian chancellor Viktor Klima already expressed self-criticism in this respect even without being challenged by Cohn-Bendit. As Cornelia Mayrbäurl wrote in the **Kurier** (Vienna): "Federal Chancellor Viktor Klima conceded in retrospect that the Social Democratic parties had been slow to recognise the strength of the reform movements. He expects the post-1990 unipolar world will move away from US hegemony towards a multipolar world where the EU will constitute an important pole" (June 27, 1999)

Among other papers, **Die Welt** also gave space to Dahrendorf's trenchant criticism of the idea of a Third Way for European social democracy. "He [Dahrendorf]



Viktor Klima

misses the dimension of the preservation of freedom in this program," Thomas E. Schmidt wrote on June 29, 1999.

### **A Politics of Values: Freedom, Human Rights and Civil Society**

Numerous commentaries, including the **Kurier** of June 27, 1999, quoted Adam Michnik's passionate remarks on the situation of freedom after 1989. "First we had freedom, then we argued how to manage freedom (...). For him, the fight against corruption and wolfish greed has by now become a priority." (Cornelia Mayrbäurl)

The central issues of "Human Rights" and civil society were also widely reflected in the media. As Andreas Doepfner reported in the **NZZ**: "In their contributions to the discussion the speakers from east central Europe proved that they are the clear-sighted pragmatists who are in such short supply in the West. In their contributions, all of them, Havel, the Czech, as well as Orban, the Hungarian, the Poles Mazowiecki and Michnik, and Smolar and Kis, the professors of philosophy, gave priority to human rights and civil society, to a society of responsible citizens." Havel's "calm voice" concluded this extensive report. "Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech republic, former dissident and dramatist and living symbol of 1989, gave another example of his qualities as a statesmanlike thinker. (...) Far removed from all ideologies, the message of '89 is a quiet one, and however naive and banal it may seem, it is true: Strength of spirit can achieve change without violence and bloodshed. Victory over a totalitarian power is possible if one is committed to what is good and right. According to Havel, this requires self-sacrifice, profound thought, but also irony and a sense of humor. This, he hopes, will survive as the achievement of 1989. The president went on to comment on the interpretation of history: 'He had already experienced so many surprises that he no longer believed that one can always fully understand history. Now, having just lost the red banner, the Communists had raised the banner of nationalism. This new collectivism was preventing entire nations from assuming personal responsibility - and that made him sad.' Havel put into focus what many other participants of the conference had also tried to express: In 1989-90 the conviction and mental perseverance of individuals and the firm values of hope in a

future of freedom constituted the strength of east central Europe: (...) At the end of the century the writings of the innovators of east and central Europe could provide a better remedy for Western despondency than the most recent search for a (statist) Third Way." (June 26, 1999)

### **"Europe as a Protectorate"**

At the very beginning of the conference, remarks by Zbigniew Brzezinski, former Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter and current professor of International Politics, triggered lively debate and met with a considerable response in the media. Brzezinski made the provocative statement that even now, ten years after the collapse of the communist regimes, Europe is still a "protectorate" of the USA.

However, as Ulrich Glauber noted in the **Frankfurter Rundschau**: "Austrian Foreign Minister Wolfgang Schüssel, put him in his place. He pointed out that he 'sometimes felt that the USA did not pay enough attention to the risks we take upon ourselves in our endeavours to create stability.' Little Austria, for example, had



Mazowiecki, Silvers, Wolfe, Cohn-Bendit

put the same amount of foreign investment into Russia as the USA." (June 28, 1999)

The weekly **Die Zeit** carried the following commentary by Jan Ross on the front page of the issue of July 1, 1999: "In Vienna recently, at the conference marking the 10th anniversary of the 1989 revolution organised by the very active Institute for the Human Sciences (IWM), Zbigniew Brzezinski, Security Advisor to President Carter, refers to Europe as "a protectorate of the United States". The Austrian Foreign Minister is offended. Europe is embarrassed. But how is Europe supposed to reply? If it were still the old Western Europe, it wouldn't know what to say at all. But then Adam Michnik, former dissident and now editor of the Warsaw daily *Gazeta Wyborcza* speaks up: For all his sympathies for the old anti-Communist Brzezinski, when he hears the word protectorate, he, Michnik, feels his hackles rising. This is not the freedom the Poles fought for. This sounded quite different from the usual offended sulking of the European Union at such displays of American arrogance. In eastern Europe,



*Zbigniew Brzezinski*

hegemony is not an issue for think tank debates; memories of Soviet oppression are still too fresh. Poles, Czechs and Hungarians have suffered for their independence. Whoever raises the question about how a new European self-confidence could develop should not look to Brussels or Paris. They should look to those places, where freedom was victorious in 1989."

## Program

Friday, 25 June

Reception hosted by **Thomas Klestil**, Federal President of Austria

Saturday, 26 June

Opening Remarks:

**Krzysztof Michalski**, Director, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna; Professor of Philosophy, Boston University

**Andrzej Rapaczynski**, Director, Project Syndicate, New York; Professor of Law, Columbia University

Panel I

### **The World Without the Soviet Union: The International Order of the Future**

Chair: **James F. Hoge, Jr.**, Editor, Foreign Affairs, New York

Speakers:

**Sergei V. Kirienko**, former Prime Minister of Russia  
Russia at the End of the Post-Soviet Era

**Wolfgang Schäussel**, Austrian Vice-Chancellor and  
Minister of Foreign Affairs



*Wolfgang Schäussel*

EU and Russia - Are There Limits to Partnership and Cooperation?

**Zbigniew Brzezinski**, Professor of American Foreign Policy, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D. C.; former National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter

The International Consequences of 1989

Panel II

### **Did the Market Win? Market Without Enemies**

Chair: **Hans Rauscher**, Columnist, Der Standard and Format, Vienna



*Skidelsky, Rauscher, Bisenic*

Speakers:



*Kurt Biedenkopf*

**Kurt Biedenkopf**, Prime Minister of Saxony  
Market Mechanisms and the Order of Society

**Patricia Hewitt**, Member of Parliament and Economic Secretary to the Treasury, London  
Family, Work and the Welfare State in the New Economy

**Lord Skidelsky**, Professor of Political Economy, University of Warwick; Chair, Social Market Foundation, London  
The World After Communism: Second Thoughts

Public debate

### **What Remains From 1989?**

A Debate between:

**Václav Havel**, President of the Czech Republic

**Viktor Klima**, Federal Chancellor of Austria

**Adam Michnik**, Editor-in-Chief, Gazeta Wyborcza, Warsaw

**Viktor Orbán**, Prime Minister of Hungary

Chair: **Timothy Garton Ash**, Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford

Sunday, 27 June

Panel I

### **Beyond Left and Right: Ideological Differences After Communism**

Chair: **Bernard Guetta**, Journalist, Paris; correspondent of Le Monde in Warsaw, Washington and Moscow in the 1980s.



*Guetta, Dahrendorf, van der Bellen, Smolar*

Speakers:

**Lord Dahrendorf**, London  
The Hundred and One Ways

**Alexander van der Bellen**, Spokesman of the Austrian Green Party; Professor of Economics, Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration  
Green - the New Color of the Left?

**Aleksander Smolar**, Maître de Recherche, CNRS, Paris, and President, Batory Foundation, Warsaw. Chief advisor to the first post-communist Prime Minister of Poland.  
Ideologies of Anti-Politics

Panel II

### **The Politics of Values: Moral Commitment vs. Political Order**

Chair: **Robert B. Silvers**, Editor, New York Review of Books, New York

Speakers:

**Tadeusz Mazowiecki**, MP, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for European Affairs; Prime Minister of Poland 1989-91  
The Morals of Political Resistance and the Morals of Government

**János Kis**, Professor of Political Science, Central European University, Budapest; leader of the Hungarian Free Democrats 1989-91  
The Roundtable Pact as Bargaining Deal and Agreement of Principle

**Alan Wolfe**, University Professor and Professor of Political Science and Sociology, Boston University  
Moral Freedom vs: Economic Freedom

**Daniel Cohn-Bendit**, Member of the European Parliament, Strasbourg  
Ethics and National Sovereignty

Public debate

### **Communism Transformed**

A Debate between:

**Aleksander Kwasniewski**, President of Poland

**Giorgio Napolitano**, former Italian Minister of the Interior and former Speaker of the Parliament

Chair: **Roger de Weck**, Editor-in-Chief, Die Zeit, Hamburg



*Napolitano, de Weck*

### **Participants**

**Konrad Adam**, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt/Main; **Piotr Aleksandrowicz**, Editor-in-Chief, Rzeczpospolita, Poland; **Mitchell G. Ash**, Professor of History, University of Vienna; **Anders Aslund**, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C.; **Jonas**

**Bagdanskis**, Editor, Mokesciu Zinios, Lithuania; **Jan Barcz**, Polish Ambassador to Austria; **Hans Bergstrom**, Deputy Editor-in-chief, Dagens Nyheter, Sweden; **Kurt Biedenkopf**, Prime Minister of Saxony, Dresden; **Dragan Bisenic**, Foreign Editor, Nasa Borba, Belgrade, IWM Milena Jesenska Fellow; **Tannelie Blom**, Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Maastricht; IWM Visiting



*Brzezinski, Klestil*

Fellow; **Andreas Breitenfellner**, International Department, Austrian Trade Union Federation; **Zbigniew Brzezinski**, Professor of American Foreign Policy, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. and Counselor, Center for Strategic & International Studies; **Jorge Campos De Costa**, Economia Pura, Portugal; **Rasim Cerimagic**, Deputy Editor-in-chief, Oslobođenje, Bosnia; **Galina Chebakova**, Editor-in-chief, Optovik, Uzbekistan; **Daniel Cohn-Bendit**, Member of the European Parliament, Strasbourg; **Lord Dahrendorf**, London; **Ian Davidson**, Columnist, Financial Times; **Wayne Dillehay**, Executive Director, International Center for Journalism, Washington D.C.; **Andreas Doepfner**, Senior Editorial Writer, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zürich; **Ekrem Dupanovic**, Editor-in-chief, Business Magazine, Bosnia; **Vedrana Dupanovic**, Financial Director, Business Magazine, Bosnia; **Alfred Ebenbauer**, Professor of German Language and Literature, University of Vienna, President of the Austrian Academic Exchange Service; **Michael Ehrenreich**, Deputy Editor-in-chief, Berlingske Tidende, Denmark; **Sarmite Elerte**, Editor-in-chief, Diena, Latvia; **Peeter Ernits**, Editor-in-chief, Luup, Estonia; **Yoel Esteron**, Managing Editor, Ha'aretz, Israel; **Jonathan Fanton**, President, New School University, New York; **Rodica Floroiu**, Deputy Editor, Revista 22, Romania; **Roman Frydman**, Professor of Economics, New York University, Director, Project Syndicate, New York; **Timothy Garton Ash**, Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford; **Jas Gawronski**, Italian Journalist; **Masha Gessen**, ITOGI, Moscow, IWM Milena Jesenska Fellow; **Paul Gillespie**, Foreign Desk Editor, Irish Times, Ireland; **Susan Gillespie**, Vice President for Public Affairs and Development, Bard College, Annendale-on-Hudson, New York, Director, International Institute for Liberal Education; **Nikolay Golemanov**, Deputy Editor-in-chief, Bulgarski Business, Bulgaria; **Bernhard Görg**, Vice Mayor and Executive Counsellor for Planning and Future Development, Vienna; **Wilfried Graf**, Grüne Bildungswerkstatt, Vienna; **Walter Greinert**, Director for Press and Information, Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **Jiri Grusa**, Czech Ambassador to Austria; **Bernard Guetta**, Freelance journalist, editorialist, Radio France, former editor-in-chief, Le Nouvel Observateur, Paris; **Elisabeth Hagen**, Cabinet of the Austrian Federal Chancellor; **Szilvia Hamor**, Nepszabadsag, Buda-

pest, IWM Milena Jesenska Fellow; **Pierre Hassner**, Senior Research Associate, Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris; **Vaclav Havel**, President of the Czech Republic; **Marek Hessel**, Associate Professor of Management, Graduate School of Business, Fordham University, Publisher, Project Syndicate, New York; **Patricia Hewitt**, MP and Economic Secretary to the Treasury, London; **Georg Hoffmann-Ostenhof**, Profil, Vienna; **James F. Hoge, jr.**, Editor, Foreign Affairs, New York; **Stefan Hrib**, Editor-in-chief, Domino Forum Magazine, Bratislava; **Lonnie Johnson**, Executive Director, Fulbright Commission, Vienna; **Virginie Jouan**, Project Manager, European Journalism Center, Maastricht; **Delgermaa Junseren**, Editor, Ardyn Erkh, Mongolia; **Don Kalb**, IWM Program Associate, Director of the SOCO Program and Social Anthropologist, University of Utrecht; **Monika Kalista**, Director, Section V, Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **Albrecht Von Kalnein**, Director of Programs, Die ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, Hamburg; **Nina Khrushcheva**, Program Director, East/West Institute, New York; **Sergei V. Kirienko**, Former Prime Minister of Russia; **János Kis**, Philosopher, Professor of Political Science, CEU Budapest; President of the Hungarian Free Democrats 1989-91; **Viktor Klima**, Austrian Federal Chancellor; **Lud'a Klusakova**, Associate Professor of Modern European History, Charles University, Prague, IWM Visiting Fellow; **Martin Komarek**, Deputy Editor, Mlada Fronta Dnes, Czech Republic; **Franz Cardinal König**, Vienna; **János M. Kovács**, Permanent Fellow, IWM, Professor of Economics, University of Budapest; **Martin Krafl**, Press Secretary to the President, Czech Republic; **Michel Krielaars**, Opinion Editor, NRC Handelsblad, Netherlands; **Marcin Król**, Professor of the History of Ideas, University of Warsaw, Editor-in-Chief, Res Publica Nowa; **Aleksander Kwasniewski**, President of Poland; **Michael Landesmann**, Professor of Economics and Director, Vienna Institute for Comparative Economic Studies; **Kazimierz Laski**, Professor em. of Economics, Vienna Institute for Comparative Economic Studies and University of Linz; **Zuzana Lehmannova**, Director, Jan Masaryk Centre for International Studies, Prague; **Andrzej Majkowski**, Undersecretary of State, Chancellery of the President of Poland; **Norman Manea**, Novelist, New York; **Irena Matlin**, Caroe and Partners, London; **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**, MP, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for European Affairs, Prime Minister of Poland 1989-91, Warsaw; **Mitja Mersol**, Editor-in-chief, Delo, Slovenia; **Krzysztof Michalski**, Director, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, Professor of Philosophy, Boston University; **Adam Michnik**, Editor-in-Chief, Gazeta Wyborcza, Warsaw; **Alexander Mikhaltchouk**, Deputy Editor-in-chief, Beloruskaya Gazeta, Belarus; **Sergei Mishin**, Editor-in-chief, Logos Press, Moldova; **Ken Murphy**, Director, Project Syndicate, London; **Giorgio Napolitano**, Former Italian Minister of the Interior and former Speaker of the Parliament, Rome; **Ina Navazelskis**, Director, Training Unit, Radio Free Europe, Prague; **Klaus Nellen**, IWM Permanent Fellow; **Mark Nelson**, Senior Communications Strategist, World Bank, Paris; **Ewald Nowotny**, Professor at the Institute of Economics, Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration, Member of the Austrian National Council; **Viktor Orbán**, Prime Minister of Hungary; **Andres Ortega**,



James F. Hoge, jr

Deputy Editor, El Pais, Spain; **Wiktor Osiatynski**, Professor of Law, Central European University, Budapest and University of Chicago, Board Member of the Open Society Institute, New York; **James Ottaway**, Vice President, Dow Jones, President, World Press Freedom Council, New York; **Vaclav Pavlas**, Advisor, Office of the President, Czech Republic; **Sandor Peisch**, Hungarian Ambassador to Austria; **Igor Pototsky**,



Schüssel, Mazowiecki

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Kis, Cohn-Bendit, Michnik, Kwasniewski

IWM gratefully acknowledges the support of:

Bundesministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten,  
Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Verkehr und  
Gemeinde Wien, Stadtplanung.

Project Syndicate gratefully acknowledges the support of: Zeit-Stiftung, Eurasia Foundation, Open Society Institute.

Translated from German by Esther Kinsky