

TRANSREGIONAL CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC STUDIES

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE • SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA • LATIN AMERICA



On this occasion of the University in Exile's seventy-fifth anniversary, we are pleased and proud to present this commemorative issue of the TCDS *Bulletin* in its honor. Indeed, we feel that TCDS's own origins and development are directly linked to the living ethos of that institution and are thus part of its ongoing story.

The University in Exile's founding in 1933 as a haven for ousted professors from Nazi Germany was embedded in the earnest democratic tradition of the original New School for Social Research, founded in 1919 in protest of the suppression of free speech at Columbia University. As former New School President Jonathan Fanton describes below, the effort and sacrifices that went into the creation of the University in Exile on the part of both American hosts and furloughed German scholars—inevitably only dimly aware then of the true horrors that were to unfold in Europe—reflected an extraordinarily principled commitment to defending academic freedom.

1919 and 1933 were followed by a third landmark moment in The New School's history of such commitment in 1984, when the drama of dissident intellectuals in *internal* exile in Central Europe, as Jeffrey Goldfarb describes below, drew the engaged sympathy of administration and faculty at their gathering to celebrate the University in Exile's fiftieth anniversary. As direct

participants, Goldfarb and Elzbieta Matynia tell in this issue of the Democracy Seminars initiative that the anniversary event helped to spark, an initiative that recommitted The New School to the substantive support of the principle of free intellectual dialogue and formed the academic foundation for the present work of TCDS.

We are also grateful to have contributions from former Graduate Faculty Deans Judith Friedlander and Ira Katznelson. Friedlander leads us off with an overview of The New School's three historic moments, which she will be detailing in a book she is currently writing. Katznelson's narrative and personal recollections are taken from his keynote speech at the recent seventy-fifth anniversary commemorative conference organized by *Social Research*. Together all the pieces make this issue an interesting narrative ensemble, telling the story of the University in Exile from the perspectives of some of those who have been, and continue to be, involved in making it.

Brian Bartholomew

An Anniversary Celebration

JUDITH FRIEDLANDER

Over the course of this academic year (2008-2009), The New School is celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the University in Exile, also known until 2005 as the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science (GF).¹ Today the GF bears the historic name of the wider institution, which opened its doors in 1919. From the very beginning, The New School for Social Research defended the rights of intellectuals and artists to express themselves freely. The heroic role it played later on in the 1930s and 1940s marks the second and undoubt-

edly greatest moment in the history of The New School, but this came after—and was influenced by—the original founding of The New School. There was also a third great moment in the institution's history, which took place in the 1980s and early 1990s, when The New School extended a hand to dissident intellectuals in East and Central Europe.

Established in protest in 1919, the founders of The New School for Social Research included some of the most important social scientists and philosophers in the United

States in the early twentieth century: historians Charles Beard and James Harvey Robinson; philosopher John Dewey; economist/social critic Thorstein Veblen. Outspoken advocates of academic freedom, they publicly opposed Columbia University's President, Nicholas Murray Butler, for firing professors during World War I who defended their right to challenge the war effort while American soldiers were fighting overseas. Defying the head of the most important institution of higher learning in New York, the founders of The New School created a

new kind of university, where college-educated adults might continue their education and where professors and students might exchange ideas freely, without fear of intimidation or of losing their jobs.

By the mid-1920s, The New School enjoyed the reputation of being the quintessential New York City institution: cosmopolitan and inclusive; progressive and engaged with the problems of the world. Its inspirational director was no typical New Yorker and described himself as a Midwestern “pioneer.” An economist and writer, Alvin Johnson grew up on a farm in northeastern Nebraska, but, like many residents of New York, he was the child of immigrants. In Johnson’s case, his parents came from Denmark. Raised in poverty, he was the first in his family to go to college.

While directing The New School, Johnson maintained an active scholarly life and collaborated regularly with social scientists in Europe. In the late 1920s, he became co-editor of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, a project that gave him the chance to work closely with colleagues in Germany. These scholars made sure Johnson was fully informed about the rising threat of National Socialism in their country, helping him to grasp the seriousness of the situation long before other intellectuals in the United States had recognized the magnitude of the problem. When Hitler came to power in January 1933, Johnson was ready to move quickly. With the generous support of the Rockefeller Foundation and individual donors he created a University in Exile at The New School, which gave distinguished professors, who had just lost their posts in German universities, new academic appointments in the United States—job offers that came with exit visas for themselves and for members of their families. Most of these professors were Jews.

When the University in Exile opened its doors in October 1933, the faculty consisted of five economists (Karl Brandt, Gerhard Colm, Arthur Feiler, Eduard Heimann, and Emil Lederer), one legal scholar (Hermann Kantorowicz), one psychologist (Max Wertheimer), one expert in social policy (Frieda Wunderlich), one sociologist (Hans Speier), and one musicologist (Erich von Hornbostel). In 1934 the founding faculty changed the name of their new academic home to the

Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science. Soon other refugee scholars joined as well, enhancing the Graduate Faculty’s reputation even further. Together they introduced students in New York to the breadth and depth of European traditions in the social sciences and philosophy, applying their scholarly disciplines to major issues of political, cultural, and economic concern. In the 1930s, the welfare state and fascism were on everybody’s mind.

Between 1933 and 1945 the Graduate Faculty sponsored over 180 intellectuals and artists and their families, providing them with “non-quota” visas and jobs. The vast majority of these refugees moved on to other institutions in the United States. Several of them served as policy advisors for the Roosevelt Administration during the Second World War; for example, economist Gerhard Colm, political scientist Arnold Brecht, and sociologist Hans Speier. Those who remained in academic institutions helped transform the social sciences and philosophy in the United States, sometimes at The New School, sometimes after they had left to join faculties at other universities.

The work of Max Wertheimer, for

example, introduced gestalt or cognitive psychology to American colleagues. The philosopher Hans Jonas, who joined The New School in the 1950s, helped develop the field of bioethics. Then perhaps most important of all was the political philosopher Hannah Arendt. Widely read in the 1950s and 1960s, her books became central again in the 1980s to debates about democracy and totalitarianism. During the years of the Solidarity Movement and other dissident movements in East and Central Europe, political theorists in the West returned to the writings of Hannah Arendt, while young Polish, Hungarian, and Czech intellectuals began reading her for the first time.

The works of other refugee scholars with ties to The New School continue to have influence as well. Let me single out political theorist Hans Morgenthau and philosophers Aaron Gurwitsch, Alfred Schutz, and Leo Strauss. Of great importance too are the works of scholars who taught in French at The New School’s *Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes*, Johnson’s second response to the crisis in Europe. The *Ecole Libre* opened its doors in 1941. Among those who taught there were philosopher Jacques Maritain, lin-



ORIGINAL FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY IN EXILE, 1933

Left to right, seated: Emil Lederer, Alvin Johnson, Frieda Wunderlich, and Karl Brandt.
Left to right, standing: Hans Speier, Max Wertheimer, Arthur Feiler, Eduard Heimann, Gerhard Colm, and Erich von Hornbostel.

guist Roman Jakobson, and anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. French Structuralism was born at The New School.

A half-century after Alvin Johnson founded the University in Exile, The New School renewed its commitment to academic freedom and human rights by lending support to young intellectuals in Poland and Hungary who were fighting for political change in their countries. On April 25, 1984, as The New School celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the University in Exile, The New School's new president, Jonathan Fanton, gave the Polish dissident Adam Michnik an honorary doctorate in absentia. Although poorly known in the United States at the time, Michnik was greatly admired as a political hero in Europe for the role he was playing as an intellectual spokesman for Solidarity.

On the actual day of the ceremony, Michnik was in prison for the fifth time. The Nobel Laureate poet Czeslaw Milosz represented him at the event and read a translation of a letter Michnik had written a few months earlier to General Czeslaw Kiszczak, Poland's Minister of the Interior, in which he rejected the general's offer to free him if he went into exile. As quoted in *The New York Times*, Michnik's defiant statement fell "like a tornado" upon the audience.²

The following fall Michnik was released from jail, as part of a general amnesty, and a small group from The New School went to Warsaw to repeat the ceremony and present him his honorary degree in person. After the ceremony, which officials in Warsaw tried unsuccessfully to disrupt, Michnik asked The New School to strengthen its commitment to the struggle of dissident intellectuals in Communist Europe. He proposed that The New School sponsor an international seminar on democratic theory with branches in Warsaw, Budapest, and New York. Michnik volunteered to lead the seminar in Warsaw and recommended the Hungarian philosopher and dissident György Bence to organize the one in Budapest and New School sociologist Jeffrey Goldfarb the one in New York.

Thus began the Democracy Seminars—and they continued underground until 1989, even after Michnik was arrested again and sent back to prison. As agreed, New School colleagues arranged to smuggle publications

into Warsaw and Budapest to provide participants in the seminars with readings that were still banned by the Communist regimes. At Michnik's request the seminars opened with the works of Hannah Arendt. After 1989 the Democracy Seminars came out of hiding and members in New York expanded the network to include dissident intellectuals from twelve more countries in the region, many of whom have become academic leaders, politicians, and public intellectuals in their countries. As readers of the TCDS *Bulletin* know, Michnik today is Editor-in-Chief of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Poland's largest newspaper, and has become one of the most influential political commentators in the world on East and Central Europe.

In 1990 the Graduate Faculty created the East and Central Europe Program, appointing Elzbieta Matynia its director. A sociologist and political dissident, she came to The New School from Poland in 1980 on a post-doctoral fellowship and then remained in the U.S. when martial law was declared. Under Professor Matynia's leadership the program recruited students from East and Central Europe interested in comparing the challenges faced by new democracies in the former Communist countries with those of the older democracies. After Mandela was elected President of South Africa the program expanded its geographical reach and became known as the Transregional Center for Democratic Studies, creating, in the process, a wide range of opportunities for young professors, graduate students, and public intellectuals from East and Central Europe, the former Soviet Union, parts of Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the United States to study together, in the U.S. and abroad.

In 1990 the GF also created the Journal Donation Project, under the leadership of Arien Mack, Marrow Professor of Psychology and Editor of *Social Research*. According to Professor Mack, György Bence suggested the idea to her when he and some of his colleagues visited The New School from Budapest that year. Eighteen years later the Journal Donation Project is still going strong and it describes its mission in the following way: to rebuild "major research and teaching libraries in countries that have fallen victim to political and economic deprivation, and often both, through the provision of current

subscriptions and back volume sets of English-language scholarly, professional and current events journals." It currently provides 6,000 gratis and reduced-cost subscriptions per year to approximately 300 libraries in over 30 countries around the world: in East and Central Europe, the former Soviet Union, parts of Africa (Ghana and Nigeria), Asia (Indonesia and Vietnam), and in Cuba.

As we celebrate today the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the University in Exile, then, let us also celebrate the third great moment in the history of The New School and salute the people who played critical roles in renewing the institution's commitments to academic freedom and human rights: Jonathan Fanton, President of The New School from 1982-1999, and his first dean, Ira Katznelson. Together they gave the Graduate Faculty strong academic direction at a time when its future was in serious jeopardy. They were greatly assisted in this effort by many colleagues, in particular Professors Jeffrey Goldfarb, Andrew Arato, Arien Mack, Aristide Zolberg, Richard Bernstein, Agnes Heller, Elzbieta Matynia, and William Hirst, whose research interests helped build strong ties to dissident intellectuals, first in East and Central Europe, then in other parts of the world. Thanks to Elzbieta Matynia's remarkable leadership, and the scholarly achievements of members of the faculty, The New School for Social Research has become in recent years a major center for the study of democracy, both in New York and in special summer institutes in Cracow and Cape Town. Over the years the Transregional Center has recruited to The New School talented students from East and Central Europe, southern Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the large majority of whom have returned home after finishing their studies and established themselves as intellectual and political leaders in their countries.

Judith Friedlander is currently serving as Director of Academic Programs at the Roosevelt House Institute for Public Policy, Hunter College (City University of New York). From 1993-2000 she was Dean of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science and Eberstadt Professor of Anthropology at The New School. She is currently writing a book on the history of The New School from 1919 to the early years of the twenty-first century.

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The University in Exile*

JONATHAN FANTON

**From President Fanton's speech at the Graduate Faculty's fiftieth anniversary convocation, April 25, 1984. Jonathan F. Fanton, The University and Civil Society (New York: The New School for Social Research, 1995), pp. 95-98.*

A half century ago, as darkness enveloped political, intellectual, and religious freedom in Europe, ten distinguished German scholars accepted the invitation of New School President Alvin Johnson to leave their native land and establish a University in Exile in New York City. They came largely from the University of Frankfurt, the Kiel Institute for World Economics, and the Berlin Hochschule. All but two were students of economics, political science, or sociology. In that first academic year, 1933-1934, eight lecture courses and seven seminars were conducted. Those ten scholars were the first of over 170 intellectuals from throughout Europe who escaped totalitarian oppression and found safety at the University in Exile. This rescue effort inspired similar action by many American institutions, resulting in the emigration of thousands of European scholars to these shores. Since that small beginning, more than 1,000 scholars have taught at the Graduate Faculty; over 50,000 students have attended; and 7,000 have earned graduate degrees.

The University in Exile forever changed The New School for the better. Because of the Graduate Faculty The New School became a university, a university which still more closely resembles a European colloquium than an American one. But the transforming effect of the University in Exile on The New School went beyond mere form to the substance of what was taught and studied and to the kind of institution this was to be—then and today.

The catalogue of that first year articulated the new institution's central values in its concluding words: "It goes without saying that every professor in the Graduate Faculty will be absolutely untrammled, teaching freely and fearlessly and what he believes to be the truth." The irony of that phrase "it goes without saying" is inescapable. They are

stirring words still. In 1933, they carried overtones which may be lost today.

Alvin Johnson and his colleagues could not possibly have imagined the monstrosities that were to follow during the next dozen years. But they perceived, however dimly, that the gates of hell were swinging open across the Atlantic. And on this side, America was at the very bottom of the Great Depression, torn by economic and social uncertainties of every kind. Yet Johnson and the New School Trustees were willing to pledge material and social resources to the cause of academic freedom, freedom of thought, and freedom of expression.

It was also the threat to intellectual freedom that moved the ten scholars to accept the invitation from The New School. Even more savage threats were foreshadowed, to be sure, but they were virtually unbelievable. It was not for sheer survival but for those freedoms that the scholars left home, family, and friends, and the comfort of their native language, to settle at this young and still untested institution.

Alvin Johnson grasped the larger significance of the rescue mission and saw it as a natural expression of our central purpose. As the first Graduate Faculty catalogue observed:

The New School is under obligation to express by work and by act its own faith in the value of academic liberty. Without freedom of inquiry and teaching in the higher educational institutions there can be no intellectual freedom in society at large; and without intellectual freedom the democratic system under which we live cannot long endure.

That message spoke not only to conditions in Europe but to fears in America that economic depression would unravel the social and political fabric of this society. In the fall of 1933 democracy faced a double test: totalitarian repression abroad and internal despair and collapse at home. The American and European scholars gathered here placed their faith in intellectual freedom and social research as a response to both.

So the occasion today is meant to recall the special circumstances and purposes of

this institution, to celebrate the contributions of its members—and a generation of émigrés—to this country and to scholarship around the world, and finally to reaffirm The New School's commitment to honor that legacy with a revitalized Graduate Faculty that includes once more the tall trees of international intellectual life. Further, through the honorary degrees we confer today, we recognize the continuing role of The New School in nourishing and protecting those who risk all in defense of intellectual freedom and human and civil rights. As Alvin Johnson wrote, "In extending its hospitality to a group of German professors who have been displaced, The New School conceives of itself as acting in the capacity of a representative of American institutions, in the first instance, and ultimately, of American democracy." Let us reaffirm today our role as a representative American institution—one that has made a difference.

Why do we make so much of the University in Exile? Why has the special tie between The New School and German scholarship remained vital for 50 years? Recall that the University in Exile started with only ten émigrés and through all its years only thirty more taught there. To be sure, through The New School many more were helped to find positions in the United States at well-established institutions like the University of Chicago, Yale, Harvard, and the University of California.

Since the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630, Americans have believed in the efficacy of the "city upon the hill," the symbolic power of small examples to inspire hope among the oppressed. The University in Exile was a twentieth-century equivalent, a symbol of the enduring commitment of Western society to the values of academic freedom, human rights, political liberty, equality, and justice.

The second observation relates to the first. Most of the émigrés were dispersed across the American landscape. For all their brilliance and accomplishment, they were peripheral to the institutions that took them in. Only The New School found virtue in the clustering of émigrés; only The New School appreciated the beneficial potential of their influence on American scholarship; only The New School respected and encour-

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aged the folkways of different cultures; and only The New School placed them at the heart of the university.

Finally, the very term “University in Exile”—so monumental a name for so modest an enterprise—conveys the true ambition and meaning of that historic emigration. A *university* transcends lecture halls, laboratories, and even libraries. It is not defined by geography or confined to a particular place. A *university* is a community of thinking, study, discourse and collaboration which rises above disciplines, methods, languages, and nationalities. The University in Exile reminds us that we are all part of that greater community, of one university. It can be removed from one locale to exile in another, but it can never be exiled from our hearts and minds.

That was the message brought to The New School by Thomas Mann when he spoke at a dinner for the University in Exile in 1937. He recalled that the Nazis had removed from the wall of the University of Heidelberg a plaque bearing the inscription “to the living spirit.” Of course, the “living spirit” was the tradition of free and unfettered inquiry that had thrived for so long in the German university system. Because of the University in Exile, Mann said, the removal of the plaque would have no effect. The “living spirit” would be preserved in America through the émigré scholars at The New School....

Jonathan F. Fanton was President of The New School from 1982-1999. Since 1999 he has served as President of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.



In 1999, The New School began conferring the University-in-Exile Award to honor individuals and groups who have made outstanding contributions to the protection and promotion of democracy and human rights. Recipients of the award for each year it has been conferred are as follows:

-1999-

Galina Starovoitova. A major figure in Russia’s pro-democracy movement at the time, member of the Duma, presidential candidate, Visiting Professor at our Graduate Faculty, and a close associate of TCDS. The citation read in part: “Radiating commitment to a peaceful and democratic Russia, generously cooperating with the new nations emerging as its neighbors, you boldly challenge the resurgent evil of ethnic bigotry. Your service to humankind is passionate and principled, true to your vibrant democratic vision, and true to yourself. The New School takes pride in conferring upon you the University in Exile Award.” The award was conferred posthumously, as Galina had been gunned down in the lobby of her St. Petersburg apartment building in November 1998.

-2000-

Dogu Ergil. Turkish human rights activist and member of the Faculty of Political Science at Ankara University whose work has addressed Turkish-Kurdish relations and reconciliation, among other issues.

Yuri Kochiyama. Japanese-American human rights activist who has worked on behalf of such causes as the defense of political prisoners’ rights, nuclear disarmament, and reparations to Japanese-Americans interned during World War II.

-2003-

Saad Eddin Ibrahim. Egyptian sociologist and prominent human rights activist who has several times been convicted and jailed for his criticism of the Egyptian government.

-2004-

Ami Ayalon and Sari Nusseibeh. Two non-despairing men, Ayalon, retired commander of the Israeli navy, and Nusseibeh, President of Al-Quds University in Jerusalem, together formed “The People’s Voice,” a broad-based grassroots campaign that proposes a Middle East compromise based on the “two states for two peoples” formula.

-2005-

The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo. Human rights organization founded in 1977 to locate and return to their families children abducted during the Argentine “National Reorganization Process” of 1976-83. It has thus far located 87 of an estimated 500 lost children.

-2007-

Shirin Ebadi. Iranian lawyer and human rights activist, and the first Iranian to win the Nobel Peace Prize in 2003 for her work especially on behalf of the rights of women and children.

-2008-

Wanda Nowicka. Feminist and human rights activist, Nowicka is an outspoken advocate of women’s sexual and reproductive health rights in Poland. ASTRA, the organization she founded and directs, monitors the commitments to this crucial aspect of women’s health and rights nationally and internationally.

Remembering the University in Internal Exile of East and Central Europe

JEFFREY C. GOLDFARB

April 25, 1984, was one of the turning points in my life, and in the life of The New School for Social Research. I spent the day as the host and guide of Czeslaw Milosz. The occasion was the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the University in Exile. Milosz was there to accept an honorary degree on behalf of Adam Michnik, the Polish democratic activist and political thinker, who then sat in a prison cell for the exact reasons we were honoring him. As a creative independent intellectual, he spoke his mind freely in opposition to a totalitarian regime, offering critical insights into its logic and its vulnerabilities, illuminating alternative ways of acting politically with dignity.

In prison, Michnik embodied the ideals of The New School for Social Research. At the ceremony, Milosz read excerpts from Michnik's famous letter to General Kiszczak, the Polish Minister of the Interior, in which Michnik refuses an offered exile "on the Riviera." He denounces the Polish General as a swine for even imagining that he, Michnik, would leave his internal exile in a prison cell for the comforts of the West. His resolute commitment to intellectual freedom and political independence moved the audience, vividly linking as it did a contemporary struggle with the ideals of the University in Exile.

Milosz read Michnik's words as if they were his own, and his reading of them "fell like a tornado" on the commemoration, as the report in *The New York Times* the next day put it. The Polish Nobel Poet clearly was committed to the young man. He also felt very much connected to our celebration. He privately told me that he felt like he was coming back to our University—that he had felt like a colleague of The New School in the forties in Nazi occupied Poland, when he translated a book by Jacques Maritain, who was then in exile at The New School. Milosz connected the first decade of the University in Exile with what was yet to come. As Hannah Arendt would put it, he was thinking "between past and future."

The future, which is now our more recent past, involved a very serious New School engagement in the democratic oppositions in Central Europe and in the making of the new democracies around the old Soviet bloc. It began a few months after the April festivities. Michnik had been released from prison, and a few months later The New School celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in Berlin. Jonathan Fanton, President of The New School, proposed that he and I take a side trip to Warsaw to give Michnik his degree in person after the Berlin festivities. We went and gave him his degree on December 10, International Human Rights Day. We saw how important the degree was to Michnik and to the democratic opposition. It gave them a sense that a larger world knew about their struggles, and that they were taken seriously both as activists and as critical thinkers. It confirmed for them that they had colleagues beyond their confinement. This proved to be more than metaphoric.

The ceremony in which the degree was conferred included the leading lights of independent Poland: Jacek Kuron, Bronislaw Geremek, and the host, Edward Lipinski, among many others. The people who would lead Poland in the first years after 1989 were there. It was, in a sense, a meeting of the University in Internal Exile.

The next day, after we met with Jan Jozef Lipski, the distinguished historian, at his hospital bed, Michnik turned to me and proposed a common project, as he put it, "now that we are New School colleagues." By then, we had talked about common friends from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. We had discussed the struggle for social justice in Chile against the anti-Communist dictator. We had shared our passion for the writings of Hannah Arendt, and our commitment to critical thinking beyond ideological clichés. He then suggested that we run a joint international seminar on related topics, read books in common, starting with Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. He would organize a discussion in Warsaw. I would

organize one in New York, and we would invite György Bence to do the same in Budapest and Vaclav Havel in Prague. In the end, because of much tougher political conditions, the Prague branch never got off the ground. But in fact from 1985 to 1989 meetings were held in the other branches, records of the proceedings were exchanged, and The New School supported the alternative academic and intellectual culture in a variety of different ways.

There was an understanding that the situation, while similar, was still strikingly different from the thirties. Repression and suffering were of a different order. The goal was to help sustain academic freedom and political independence in the very place of repression, not to provide the possibilities of exile. Exile, as Michnik's letter revealed, represented the defeat of critical alternatives, not their survival.

It was at this time that a series of Hungarian dissident scholars visited to teach at the Graduate Faculty, including Bence, Janos Kis and András Kovács, and then returned to Budapest and their independent circles. Fanton, Ira Katznelson, the Dean of the Graduate Faculty, and I made a series of trips to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary in support of the alternative academic life. Arien Mack developed the Journal Donation Project. Regular dinners were arranged by Fanton for members of the broader New School community to discuss developments with leading scholars and public leaders from the region. Special issues of *Social Research* dedicated to the situation there were published. And a group of distinguished colleagues engaged in the critical analysis of "the other Europe" were recruited to our faculty. Agnes Heller, Ferenc Feher, José Casanova, and Elzbieta Matynia joined Andrew Arato and me to make up a core of engaged researchers and theorists who developed critical works on the previously existing socialist order.

We developed an avenue of mutual exchange with our colleagues, first in the Democracy Seminars, then through the East and Central Europe Program, later in the expanded Transregional Center for Democratic Studies. We learned from them at least as much as they learned from us. And we developed among ourselves a set of concerns that was nurtured in our engagement in the



CZESLAW MILOSZ, WITH ELZBIETA MATYNIA, SPEAKING AT A TCDS DEMOCRACY & DIVERSITY INSTITUTE IN KRAKOW, POLAND

region but reached beyond it. These concerns were presented to the faculty and students of The New School and to the broader academic community, within our disciplines and in more public forums. In this setting, the intellectual substance of the initiative developed. Major works were informed by the transregional intellectual exchanges: Andrew Arato and Jean Cohen's work on civil society, José Casanova's studies of the role of religion in contemporary politics, Agnes Heller and Ferenc Feher's development of a post-Marxist social and political theory and critical appraisal of the post-modern condition, Elżbieta Matynia's early work on performative democracy, Ira Katznelson's examination of liberalism in the contemporary political world (presented as a letter to Adam Michnik), and my analysis of problems of political culture in Central Europe and the United States, among others. These were all independent works, but somehow informed by each other. Together they contributed to the continuing vitality of the tradition of the University in Exile, linking American and European scholarship (now in a Europe that was centered further east).

When I spent the day with Czesław Miłosz, I was moved. This was a man whose poetry I had enjoyed and admired, whose classic essay, *The Captive Mind*, was crucial to my education as a student of politics and culture and a critic of ideology and its temptations. It was a great honor to spend some time with him and to have a sense of his commitment to the institution around which I was building my life. That a little piece of his past was going to be an important part of

my future—it seemed then that it would be a momentary pleasure. But from our meeting came the Democracy Seminars, first as a small semi-clandestine activity, but after the changes of 1989, as a much larger network, developed all over the former Soviet bloc, by then, under the able leadership of Elżbieta Matynia as an activity of the East and Central Europe Program. Next came the many other endeavors of the Transregional Center for Democratic Studies, the gem of which has been the Democracy and Diversity Institute in Krakow. And there, the annual extra-curricular highlights of this very special summer school were for many years a lecture by and public conversation with Adam Michnik and a poetry reading by and conversation with Czesław Miłosz, who was by then primarily living in Krakow. Each year the great tradition of the University in Exile was kept alive and was extended in this New School outpost. Each year, in a sense, the excitement of April 25, 1984, was repeated.

As I have spent my "summer vacations" in Krakow and the rest of the year in New York, I have come to appreciate how much the critical spirit of the University in Exile is very much alive and has shaped my life, and the lives of my colleagues and students. We are a part of a distinctive academic tradition. It shapes not only our memories, but also our imaginations. A pressing challenge that I feel I have, indeed, that we have, is to pass this on, to keep the tradition alive.

Jeffrey C. Goldfarb is Michael E. Gellert Professor of Sociology at The New School for Social Research.

An Anniversary Celebration

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Notes

¹Most important, Arien Mack, Editor of *Social Research*, organized a conference in late October that paid tribute to The New School's history: "Free Inquiry at Risk: Universities in Dangerous Times." It opened with a keynote address by former GF Dean Ira Katznelson: "Liberty and Fear: Reflections on The New School's Founding Moments (1919 and 1933)." The papers presented at the conference will be published this coming summer in *Social Research* (Vol. 76, no. 2). Arien Mack has organized a similar program that will take place in Berlin in February 2009. At this later event The New School will give Chancellor Angela Merkel an honorary doctoral degree.

²*The New York Times*, April 26, 1984, p. 1. It was the late Robert Heilbroner, Norman Thomas Professor of Economics at the GF, who had described the letter's impact upon the gathering in such terms.

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The Democracy Seminars Our Flying University: Warsaw, Budapest, New York*

ELZBIETA MATYNIA

**Adapted from Elzbieta Matynia, Performative Democracy (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2009).*

One of the semiclandestine seminars that Michnik initiated in the late 1980s was called the Democracy Seminars. It was a project at once modest and ambitious, proposed by Michnik in Warsaw, and extended to New York and Budapest to provide an opportunity for a sustained and uninhibited discussion of democratic theory and the prospects for democratization.

When I look at that initiative now—and I was a member of the small New York seminar that met for a few years—openly, of course—in the Wolff Conference Room at The New School for Social Research—I do see it as one instance of those alternative activities outside the official structures of the state that added to the thickness of the pre-1989 democratic opposition in both Poland and Hungary. Excited about our exchanges, we did not think back then about this. Yet the Democracy Seminars, which in the pre-Internet and pre-fax era brought together independently minded intellectuals in Warsaw and Budapest and linked them with their colleagues in New York, have earned a modest place in the history of the democratic opposition in the region. Michnik remembers,

In apartments filled with cigarette smoke, in illegal self-education groups, we argued endlessly about everything: on the phenomenon of totalitarianism, on the condition of an intellectual caught up in politics, on what it meant to be a Jew after the Holocaust, on the dynamics of the internal transformation of the communist system, on parliamentary democracy and the market economy, and on a process of transformation of the communist dictatorship that was itself full of traps and new dangers.

But these deliberations were rarely documented, as they were conducted verbally and necessarily “off the record.” The main documentation of the democratic opposi-

tion, and of the whole alternative culture it nurtured, was provided by underground periodicals that came out of the same milieu as the Democracy Seminars—periodicals like *Krytyka* or *Res Publica* in Warsaw, and *Beszelo* in Budapest. It became the practice of these journals, as with the Democracy Seminars, to keep in touch with each other, introducing each other’s ideas and presenting each other’s authors. In that way the respective fields of discourse widened, along with a significantly widening and more diversified public.

The Democracy Seminars were different from other projects in the region in that they included an American partner, for whom, despite fundamentally similar values, the same books and concepts, considered under very different political and cultural conditions, had a very different resonance. For the Americans, the seminars offered an opportunity to discuss central aspects of their own normative tradition with people who had had profoundly different political experiences. The exception in all this was a very important bridge provided by the works of Hannah Arendt, writings deeply permeated with European history and philosophy, yet ultimately unimaginable without the author’s intimate exposure to American culture and politics.

The most exciting thing for us in New York was the very opening of these passageways, through which we all experienced each other’s terms, semantic fields, moral and political concerns, and ultimately got insights into the confusing nature of modern European dictatorships. Though no one ever thought of preserving a complete

record of the early seminars, there remain some bits of correspondence, as well as some reports from the discussions. The major challenges—apart from Michnik’s frequent imprisonments—were problems with communication. That was a time—mostly in Poland, and less so in Hungary—when mail was frequently searched, and movement in and out by people who could serve as couriers or liaisons was limited. The letters that have survived at The New School reflect the early efforts to find the most appropriate format and focus for the seminars.

Like almost everything that Michnik envisioned, the initiative thrived and took on a life of its own. The earnest dialogue taking place in private apartments in Warsaw and Budapest and in New York—despite the exchange of brief summaries of the discussions—had a fleeting quality. There were no professional ambitions at stake, no selfish motives coming into play. It was clear that participation in the Democracy Seminars would not advance academic careers or make political heroes or public celebrities of any members; there would be no books produced, no public presentations, or articles in official or unofficial journals; nor was participation a substitute for political activity. It was simply to be a shared deliberation by engaged intellectuals on problems concerning political and civic engagement in their respective societies.

Elzbieta Matynia is Associate Professor of Sociology and Liberal Studies at The New School for Social Research and Director of TCDS.



ELZBIETA MATYNIA WITH ADAM MICHNIK
THE NEW SCHOOL, 2000



REMAINING A REFUGE

75 years ago, recognizing the danger Hitler presented to democracy and the civilized world, The New School created The University in Exile as a haven for scholars and artists whose very lives were threatened by National Socialism. Then as today, our university recognized the impact losing a whole generation of social scientists, philosophers, historians, and other great minds would have on the world. We are honored this year to host two University in Exile Scholars, Muwafaq Hamid, a translator for the American Army from Iraq, and Befekadu Degefe, a renowned economist from Ethiopia. These brave men spoke and acted freely for what they believed to be right and as a result placed themselves in grave danger in their homelands. The New School will remain a refuge for those whose very existence is put at risk by authoritarian rule, religious and ethnic hatred, or physical threats that aim to silence their voices.

—Bob Kerrey, President, The New School

BOB KERREY

TCDS ALUMNI VOICES

Promoting the Value of International Education: Jonah Kokodyniak

While it has been more than six years since I worked at the Transregional Center for Democratic Studies and participated in one of its *Democracy & Diversity* Institutes in Krakow, those experiences—and the values of TCDS and The New School—had a profound impact on the career path I have followed since receiving my MA from the Graduate Faculty.

Through TCDS, I gained an understanding of the value and importance of international educational experiences and the unique, cross-cultural dialogues that emerge within them. During the Institute I attended, students from over thirty countries in Africa, Asia, North America and Europe came together to learn about and discuss critical issues like ethnic conflict, gender, globalization, and the role of international institutions. Many of the participants had their first opportunity to openly express their opinions about these issues, while many of us from the west learned of their regional histories, challenges and perspectives for the first time.

This past summer, after a number of years with an organization that educates students in New York City high schools about foreign policy issues, I began a new role in the strategic development office at the Institute of International Education (IIE), which works

with foundations, corporations, and government agencies to foster mutual understanding among students and scholars through programs that reach people in more than 175 countries each year. With 20 offices around the world, the goals of IIE's programs include:

- Strengthening and linking institutions of higher learning globally and increasing access to international educational opportunities—for students in the United States and other countries.
- Building leadership skills and enhancing the capacity of individuals and organizations—especially in the developing world—to address local and global challenges.
- Rescuing threatened scholars and advancing academic freedom through the Scholar Rescue Fund, which provides support and safe haven to persecuted scholars around the globe and involves a partnership with The New School for Social Research.

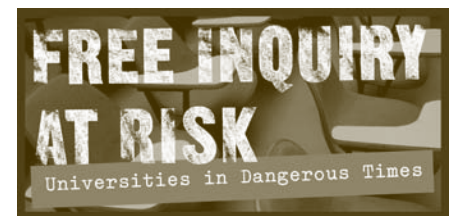
My commitment to these programs—and to international education as a whole—was undoubtedly inspired by my involvement with TCDS. I hope that, as a result of my current work, I am helping to create educational opportunities that have as significant an impact on their participants as TCDS had on me.

—Jonah Kokodyniak, Krakow '01
Director of Institutional Giving, IIE

FALL 2008 EVENTS

Social Research Conference Explores Contemporary Fate of University in Exile's Core Values

To explore contemporary challenges to the core university values of academic freedom and institutional autonomy, an apropos theme also to mark the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the University in Exile that established the journal, *Social Research* held a conference at The New School from October 29-31: "Free Inquiry at Risk: Universities in Dangerous Times." We are grateful to Arien Mack, Editor and Marrow Professor of Psychology, and to Cara Schlesinger, Managing Editor, for their permission and assistance in allowing us to print the excerpt from Ira Katznelson's keynote speech at the event that appears below (page 10). For the full speech, as well as the entire conference proceedings, look out for the Summer 2009 issue of *Social Research* (Volume 76, Number 2).



Liberty and Fear: Reflections on The New School's Founding Moments (1919 and 1933)*

IRA KATZNELSON

**From Professor Katznelson's keynote address given at the conference, "Free Inquiry at Risk: Universities in Dangerous Times," on October 29, 2008. The entire talk will be available in the Summer 2009 issue of Social Research (vol. 76, no. 2) devoted to the conference.*

I am grateful for the honor, and pleasure, of having been asked to speak at this felicitous occasion. I am thankful for the continuing vitality of The New School, and for the ways it has wrestled with the consequences of unfreedom, fear, and insecurity. From the start, it has advanced John Milton's ringing affirmation of 1643: "Give me liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties," and it has tried to emulate Thomas Huxley's call, when he was installed as Rector of Aberdeen University in 1874, that "Universities should be places in which thought is free from all fetters, and in which all sources of knowledge and all aids of learning should be accessible to all comers, without distinction of creed or country, riches or poverty."

This singular university has touched many lives through its active values. It certainly has touched mine, offering the special privilege of serving as Dean of

the Graduate Faculty at a moment of transition, opportunity, and growth. I arrived in the 1983-84 academic year. The distance of a half-century from the founding made it impossible for me to know the earliest members of the faculty—with one exception, the sociologist Hans Speier, the youngest and last surviving founder of the University in Exile, who had been a member of the Graduate Faculty from 1933 to 1942 before serving in the Office of War Information and the State Department's Occupied Areas Division. Professor Speier kindly conveyed a sense of what the first decade had been like. I also benefited from conversations with members of the second and third waves of émigré faculty and students who shared their histories and expertise with warmth and generosity. These colleagues included the Austrian jurist and political scientist Erich Hula, who arrived soon after the 1938 *Anschluss*; and the Stuttgart-born Adolph Lowe, a veteran of the First World War who joined the Graduate Faculty as Professor of Economics and as the Director of a new Institute for World Affairs in 1940, having come from the University of Manchester where he first had found refuge. I also enjoyed

conversations with the Italian New School student Franco Modigliani, who completed his Ph.D. under Jacob Marschak's supervision in 1944, and was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1985; and with Hans Jonas, who served as Alvin Johnson Professor of Philosophy at the Graduate Faculty from 1955 to 1976, and who first had met Hannah Arendt when they both were graduate students of Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger in Marburg in the mid-1920s, before Heidegger reminded the world in 1933 that even the greatest of minds was

susceptible to the blandishments of National Socialism.

One of the grand opportunities I experienced as Dean was the chance to address the two fiftieth-anniversary celebrations that marked the 1933-34 founding of the University in Exile. Some of us in this room will recollect those gatherings convened by Jonathan Fanton in April and December 1984 at the First Presbyterian Church, just down the street on Fifth Avenue, and in Berlin's striking *Staatsbibliothek*, in the large hall named for Otto Braun, the social democrat who served as Prime Minister of Prussia from 1920 to 1932, and who himself emigrated to Switzerland in 1933 when Hitler came to power. The New York gathering awarded the Doctor of Humane Letters degree to Hans Speier and to six exceptional contributors to human rights, including South Africa's Helen Suzman, The Maryknoll Sisters for their courageous work in Central America, and Poland's Adam Michnik. Erich Hula and Adolph Lowe served as Honorary Marshals. The Berlin ceremony and commemorative seminar included a memorable talk by Jürgen Habermas on German academic culture and the impact of the absence of a once vibrant Jewish intellectual and cultural presence, and a moving account of personal and scholarly duress and renewal by Aristide Zolberg, the first holder of The New School's University in Exile Chair, awarded by the City of Berlin.

The Berlin commemoration's highlight was an address by Richard Von Weizsäcker, who received an honorary degree for his commitment, as the citation said, "to the ideals exemplified by the University in Exile: the freedom of intellectual inquiry, the defense of human rights, and the pursuit of international understanding as an avenue toward peace." His diplomat father, Ernst, had been a member of the Nazi Party, had held honorary rank in the SS, had been a key figure in the 1938 negotiations at Munich, and had served as German



IRA KATZNELSON SPEAKING AT THE NEW SCHOOL IN OCTOBER 2008

Ambassador to the Vatican just as Rome's Jews were being deported. In 1947, he was sentenced to seven years for war crimes associated with the deportation of French Jews. So it was particularly moving to hear his son, the new President of the Federal Republic, pay homage to The New School's legacy of courage and resistance. That talk, and Berlin's gift of the University in Exile Chair, signaled a salute—sadly, a belated one—"To the Living Spirit," the inscription the Nazis had removed from the great lecture hall at Heidelberg University, and which Thomas Mann, who had come to New York in 1937 to celebrate the start of the Graduate Faculty's fifth year, suggested should become the institution's motto "to indicate that the living spirit, driven from Germany, has found a home in this country."

And so it did. Here we are this evening, gathered again to recall and honor this stirring history at a conference sponsored by Social Research, the journal announced in the very first public document proclaiming "the establishment of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science in The New School [that] has arisen out of the reorganization of German university life under the National Socialist Revolution," in circumstances where "scores of professors of international reputation have been dismissed or given indefinitely prolonged furloughs from their teaching duties." That statement talked of the obligation The New School had seized "to offer temporary or permanent hospitality to scholars who have been deprived of the opportunity of functioning by the political requirements, real or imaginary, of any country," and it spoke of the scale of that task at a time, at the start of the Third Reich, when "the hundreds of able scholars who have been displaced from the German universities represent a priceless resource of all civilization." This indeed was a rare act, unique at the time, when the expulsion and repression of scholars from German universities was greeted with indifference by university faculties, boards, and administrators in the United States....

Ira Katznelson was Dean of the Graduate Faculty from 1983-1989 and is now Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History at Columbia University.

TCDS ALUMNI NEWS

GBEMISOLA ADEOTI (Cape Town 2002) is Senior Lecturer in the English Department of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria. He is one of the winners of the 2008-09 competition for the British Academy Visiting Scholars' Fellowship, and is putting finishing touches on his next book entitled, *Voices Offstage: Nigerian Dramatists on Democratization*.

LAURA BALBUENA-GONZALEZ (Krakow 2004) has published two articles (also delivering them as lectures in different cities of Peru): "Public Interest, Health and Gender Perspective" and "Health and Maternal Mortality." She is currently living and working on her dissertation in Lima, Peru.

JONATHAN FAULL (Cape Town 2003), formerly the Africa Coordinator of our *Democracy & Diversity* Institute in Cape Town, left his position at the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) to pursue a Master in Public Policy degree at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

JULIE FRATRIK (Cape Town 2002), our Program Coordinator since 2003, recently moved on to become the new Director of the Center for Global Exchange at the New York Institute of Technology. Julie will be responsible for developing all of NYIT's global education programs to promote both student and faculty exchange among its campuses in Bahrain, Canada, China, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, and the U.S. We are very happy she has found a great position that will allow her to grow further—and we will miss you, Julie!

ANNA HARUTYUNYAN (Krakow 2004) is a PhD student at the Freie Universität Berlin Institute of Ethnology, with part of her doctoral dissertation focusing on Polish Armenians, specifically in the Krakow community. On a more personal note, she and 2003 Krakow alumnus, Tigran Zakaryan, were recently married. Congratulations!

RAMADAN ILAZI (Krakow 2008) has established SPEAK UP!, a non-profit organization in Kosovo that works to strengthen public scrutiny of the government's work in order to ensure efficient and responsive governance. Their website is www.fol-08.org.

MATTHIAS LEHMPHUL (Krakow 2006) is editor for the Berlin newsportal, www.zoomer.de, and also writes for the bi-national journal of international politics, *WeltTrends* (www.welttrends.de). He graduated from the University of Potsdam in 2007, writing on "European Migration Policy."

SMOKI MUSARAJ (Cape Town 2001) is a PhD student in Anthropology at the NSSR and is currently doing fieldwork in Albania. Her project, "When and What Is Corruption? A Case Study from Postsocialist Albania," received the National Science Foundation Cultural Anthropology Dissertation Grant and the International Dissertation Research Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council.

DAVID NIETO-RASIŃSKI (Krakow 2005) recently received his PhD from the University of Wrocław, Poland. He works at the University of Wrocław's Institute of International Studies and is Director of the Center for Spanish Language and Iberoamerican Culture in Wrocław.

ISAACK OTIENO (Cape Town 2001) was recently appointed Director of the CIDA Democratic Governance Fund, a five-year civil society based fund for Kenya with an annual budget of CAD \$5 million.

VERÓNICA PERERA (NSST 2000) completed her PhD at the NSSR and was recently appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology at Purchase College, the State University of New York.

MICHELE RUITERS (Cape Town 2006) started at the Development Bank of Southern Africa as a Senior Researcher in Regional Integration in October 2008. In 2006, she obtained her PhD in Political Science from Rutgers University and is now looking for her next intellectual challenge.

GREGOR SOKOL (Krakow 2003, NSST 2004) received a dissertation research grant from the Wenner-Gren foundation to do fieldwork on the "Medicalization of Affects in Post-Socialist Poland," an ethnographic study of the increase of affective disorders during and following the transformation.

ANDRIS SPRUDS (Krakow 1997) received his doctoral degree in Political Science from Jagiellonian University in Krakow in 2005, and is an Associate Professor at Riga Stradins University in Latvia and Deputy Director of the Latvian Institute of International Affairs. He is also a proud father to his son Patrik, born in Krakow in 2005.

MYRA WATERBURY (Krakow 1998) presented a paper, "Bridging the Divide: Towards a Comparative Framework for Understanding External Kin-State and Migrant Sending-State Diaspora Politics," at a workshop on Diaspora and Transnationalism organized by IMISCOE and the European University Institute. The paper will be published as a chapter in a forthcoming edited volume by Amsterdam University Press.

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Transregional Center for Democratic Studies
80 Fifth Avenue, Room 517
New York, NY 10011

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Transregional Center for Democratic Studies
Phone: 212.229.5580
Fax: 212.229.5894
Email: tcds@newschool.edu
www.newschool.edu/tcds

Elzbieta Matynia, *Director*
Amy Sodaro, *Program Coordinator*
Brian Bartholomew, *Editor, TCDS Bulletin*

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Announcements

**NINTH ANNUAL DEMOCRACY & DIVERSITY INSTITUTE
CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA
JANUARY 6-22, 2009**

In an intensive program offering the equivalent of a full semester of graduate study, an international body of civic-minded junior scholars and activists will examine critical issues of challenges to democracy and democratization as they manifest themselves in Southern Africa and beyond.

The following core seminars will be offered this year:

Democracies & Boundaries - Conflicts about Membership, Borders, and Diversity, Prof. David Plotke, Department of Political Science, The New School for Social Research

**TCDS Launches Next *Democracy & Diversity*
Summer Institute on Transnational and Transatlantic
Challenges to Democracy in Wroclaw, Poland
(July 9-26, 2009)**

Located between Berlin, Prague and Warsaw, and saturated with the history and memory of these three distinct cultures that it has been a part of, Wroclaw (formerly Breslau) is a beautiful and booming city that uniquely conveys both the challenges and the promise of a united Europe. Building on the achievements of our Krakow Institute (1991-2008), our new three-week transatlantic laboratory in Wroclaw will offer a full semester's worth of studies in politics, culture, and society under the working title: "The New World Meets the New Europe." The program is designed

Gender and Democracy, Profs. Elzbieta Matynia, Department of Sociology & Liberal Studies, The New School for Social Research, and Shireen Hassim, Department of Political Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Democracy and Africanism, Prof. Hylton White, Department of Anthropology, The New School for Social Research and Eugene Lang College The New School for Liberal Arts, and guest speakers

Shifting Power in the Global Economy: Rethinking Development Strategies, Profs. William Milberg, Department of Economics, The New School for Social Research, and Stephen Gelb, Executive Director, The EDGE Institute, Johannesburg; and Development Studies, University of the Witwatersrand

to facilitate intellectual and experiential insights into a momentous experiment now under way: the peaceful and democratic construction of what may become, in some form, the United States of Europe. In an increasingly interdependent world fraught with violent conflicts, wars, and ethnic and religious tensions, we believe it vital to understand the past and present lessons involved in this extraordinary experiment in democratic and transnational institution building.

Wroclaw, with its culture of borderlands, TCDS's network of distinguished and dedicated collaborators, and The New School's reputation stemming from our long-term engagement in the region promise a strong and innovative program on the New Europe—one that would reflect our ongoing commitment to critical inquiry and dialogue as paths to improvement of the human condition.