



G A Z E T T E

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ANNUAL OPEN HOUSE DRAWS RECORD NUMBERS



On Wednesday, November 14, 2001, Central European University was open to the public for its annual Open House. About 300 prospective students came to the Budapest teaching site to listen to presentations, attend classes and visit academic departments.

The CEU Open House is becoming an increasingly popular tradition, this year drawing approximately 100 more visitors than last year. CEU admissions staff were busy answering questions about everything from admissions criteria to the possibility of receiving financial aid. "We consider the Open House of 2001 one of the most successful ever held at CEU," the Admissions Office stated.

Many of the visitors were students currently finishing their undergraduate degrees at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, and they were mostly interested in the departments of Legal Studies, Medieval Studies, Gender Studies and History. Gabriella Nyárfás, a Slovak citizen studying geogra-

phy, had heard from friends about CEU and came to learn more about the university and attend lectures at the Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy. Students from the Budapest University of Economic Sciences constituted another significant number of visitors. They inquired mainly about the programs at the departments



of Economics, International Relations and European Studies, and Mathematics and its Applications. The event also attracted students from many other prestigious institutions outside Budapest, as well as a number of foreign students studying in Hungary and graduates

who already have jobs but are interested in post-graduate degrees. Journalist Tünde Laczkó, for example, had come to the Open House to find out more about the Department of International Relations and European Studies. "I am very satisfied with the day," she said. "I received all the information I needed and will consider applying."

GENDER PROGRAM BECOMES DEPARTMENT

PhD Degree Program to be Introduced

Effective October 30, 2001, the Program on Gender and Culture at CEU was transformed into the Department of Gender Studies. The new department will launch a PhD program in Comparative Gender Studies at the beginning of the next academic year.

"In July I did not expect that our proposal to become a department would be approved so quickly, but I am very happy that in October the university Senate and Board of Trustees were able to make this decision," Susan Zimmermann, Head of Department, said. "This is a very important decision for us, because it means institutional equality with other units." At the same time, she stresses the

importance of making all units as open as possible, and fostering communication between units.

She and faculty member Linda Fisher agree that the change will have importance in terms of departmental autonomy—the intention is now to advertise a junior position within critical cultural studies, which has been a significant gap not only in Gender Studies, but at CEU as a whole. "The decision is also important in terms of recognition within the academic world," said Fisher. "It gives us more credibility and a stronger academic profile, and I think the students also appreciate this. They are very enthusiastic about the change."

Continued on page 4

UNIVERSITY REPORT

A periodic summary of the most important development that have taken place at CEU and which are relevant for the university community as a whole

TO: CEU COMMUNITY

From: Planning and Budget Committee
Budapest, November 8, 2001

❖ Establishment of a Permanent Endowment

At CEU's 10th Anniversary ceremony, George Soros announced the establishment of a \$250 million permanent endowment for the university. The arrangements accompanying this generous donation will ensure an annual income of at least \$20 million, thus guaranteeing the long-term financial stability of the university. With the establishment of the endowment, CEU became a self-standing institution (the "umbilical cord was cut," in the words of George Soros), which brings about stirring new prospects for future development.

❖ Meeting of the Board of Trustees

A series of very important decisions was taken at the October 14, 2001, meeting of the Board. All these decisions followed from consultations with the Academic Forum and the Senate. Within the university, the minutes of the last Senate meeting on October 5, 2001, can be consulted at [O:/Common/General/Senate/Minutes/5Oct01](#).

Development of Gender Studies

The Board endorsed the decision of the Senate to establish a Department of Gender Studies instead of the Program on Gender and Culture. The decision is effective as of October 30, 2001. Susan Zimmermann, who served as Program Director, will assume the leadership of the new unit as Department Head. The Board also endorsed the decision to launch a PhD program in Comparative Gender Studies beginning with the 2002/2003 academic year.

Admissions Policy

The principles for the implementation of the new admissions policy proposed by the Senate have been endorsed by the Board. Based on these principles, the Admissions Committee is currently working on detailed guidelines that will be communicated and discussed with all academic units. The Committee is appointed by the Senate and replaces the previous Financial Aid Committee. Its main tasks are to recommend to the Senate amended admissions criteria, to ensure consistency in the distribution of financial aid, and to supervise and assist all units in establishing and implementing reliable instruments for merit ranking. Members of the Committee are: János Kis (Chair), Rositsa Bateson, Béla Greskovits, Mária Kovács, László Kontler, Stefan Messmann, Tamás Meszerics and István Teplán.

Guidelines for Faculty Evaluations

The Board expressed full support for the current efforts aiming at the creation of transparent and reliable quality control mechanisms at CEU and, in this context, expressed appreciation for the work of the Senate Ad-Hoc Committee on Faculty Evaluations chaired by János Kis. It was recommended that the Committee do some slight refinement of the *Guidelines for Faculty Evaluation*—approved by the Senate on October 5, 2001—after which they will be included as part of the new *Faculty Compendium*.

New Unit of Social Sciences

The Board re-confirmed the decision to start a Department of Sociology, or "Sociology and..." (the exact configuration is still to be decided) at the Budapest teaching site as of October 2003. Plans are being worked out to allow CEU's Warsaw Department of Sociology to integrate into a new institution (possibly a new European Academy to be created in Warsaw with international support) by October 2003. No funding from the CEU budget will be transferred to Warsaw past this date. George Soros made a commitment to provide bridge funding, as a private donor, after October 2003 until a new institution is in place, provided that enough evidence is made available (such as written commitments or letters of intent from the other participants in the project) that such a new institution would materialize. All Warsaw faculty who are on contract with CEU were invited to join the new unit in Budapest, should they wish to do so.

CEU-IMC Relations

The Board endorsed the joint recommendation of the Chairman and of the Rector that CEU take over the IMC and transform it into its Business School. This recommendation was also supported by the CEU Senate and by the IMC Board, after which this Board went out of existence. The IMC has been recently passing through a somewhat difficult situation. After very extensive scrutiny of IMC's present condition and prospects, it was decided that although the takeover is not risk-free for CEU, the IMC could be turned into a very important asset for the university, from both an academic and a financial point of view. The technical details of the transfer are to be finalized by the end of the current month. Legally, the IMC will be owned by the CEU Ltd., which in turn is owned and controlled by the CEU Foundation (the "University"). This arrangement will allow IMC to be run as a regular business school, including the for-profit component. CEU, through its Board, administration and academic fora will have full control over the IMC, including the appointment of the CEO, appointment of faculty, academic programs, etc. No academic unit at CEU will be affected budgetarily by the takeover.

❖ New Doctoral Regulations

At its meeting of October 5, the Senate adopted new university-wide Regulations for Doctoral Studies. Within the university, the Regulations can be consulted at [O:/Common/General/Policies/Doctoral Regulations](#).

❖ New Faculty Appointments

Judith Rasson, Marcell Sebök and Katalin Szende have been appointed as Assistant Professors in the Department of Medieval Studies.

❖ Academic Pro-Rector on Short Research Leave

In connection with CEU's plans to develop a "global niche," the Academic Pro-Rector is conducting research in several countries of the Far East until mid-December. Professor Messmann will be in permanent contact with CEU via e-mail and will defer those tasks pertaining to his office and that he cannot perform from abroad to the other members of the Planning and Budget Committee.

ADMINISTRATIVE RETREAT FOCUSES ON FUNDRAISING



Jeanne Jenkins

On October 26-28, CEU's seventh administrative retreat took place, with the participation of 50 employees, in the picturesque village of Kókapu in northeast Hungary. The retreat was unique in the series of retreats to date as this was the first time that faculty representatives from all departments and service units as well as central administration staff were represented. The main theme of the three-day event was the issue of fundraising, because, while the \$250 million endowment CEU received on its tenth anniversary provides the university

with enough funding to operate in the future, external support will be required in order to fund further growth and development.

Therefore, to facilitate the learning process and to assess the feasibility of fundraising, CEU has hired an external consultant, Jeanne Jenkins, from the consulting firm Barnes & Roche in the United States. Jenkins was present at the retreat and conducted a workshop on the necessity of fundraising for universities, and how this is done in the US. She introduced some of the basic terminology of university fundraising and then went on to discuss the ways in which funds can be raised—not only by obtaining gifts for the operating budget, but also through income from endowments, deferred gifts, special events, corporate sponsorships and research grants. She went on to elaborate on the process that she calls the "fundraising continuum": Prospective donors are identified, and research is done on whether the target person is able and willing to support the university. After this, targets are rated and strategically approached; they must be educated about the institution and involved in its life. If all such steps prove to be successful, only then can the individuals be solicited. An important point is that the process does not end when a donation is made. Existing donors should be cultivated and kept informed.

In the second session Jenkins presented two topics: how fundraising is done at US universities and how it could be done at CEU. First, she presented some statistics about small, private, specialized graduate schools in the US—institutions which are similar to CEU—and showed how they organize their fundraising activities, with an emphasis on the resources with which they operate. Then she elaborated on the special challenges facing CEU, and the role of the faculty and the development staff in the university's fundraising activities. Finally, she explained that departmental, program and unit mission statements are required for effective fundraising as these serve as information tools for the development staff and more importantly, possible donors. After the presentation the participants had the opportunity to put theory into practice by putting themselves into the role of a donor and reviewing the mission statements of the units from the donor's point of view. This teamwork resulted in several constructive ideas and ignited a lively discussion on the topic.



Small-group working session on fundraising

The retreat, organized by the Executive Vice-President's Office, included visits to the historic towns of Sárospatak and Tokaj in addition to the working sessions. It proved to be an excellent opportunity for faculty and staff to get to know each other and the countryside better.

NEWTON-SMITH AWARDED MEDAL OF APPRECIATION



William Newton-Smith

Central European University has awarded its Medal of Appreciation to William Newton-Smith, a member of the university's Board of Trustees. Newton-Smith, who was among those who first conceived the idea of CEU in 1989, served as Chair of the university's Executive Committee from 1991 through 1993 and was a founding member of the Board of Trustees in 1995. The CEU Medal of Appreciation is awarded to faculty, staff, board members and others who have provided at least a decade of outstanding contribution to the university's development.

HISTORY PROFESSORS RECOGNIZED FOR DECADE OF SERVICE

CEU awarded "10 Years of Service" certificates to three faculty members from the Department of History who have provided a decade of outstanding teaching and scholarship to the university. President and Rector Yehuda Elkana presented the certificates to László Kontler, head of the department, and to András Gerő and István György Tóth during a brief ceremony on October 26, 2001.

DEATH OF NOTED FILMMAKER

With deep sorrow CEU announces that Pál Schiffer, the renowned Hungarian documentary film director, died on October 3, 2001, following a long illness. During the 2000/2001 academic year, Schiffer led the successful film series "Pictures and Voices from the '90s" at CEU. He had planned to continue the screenings of award-winning documentaries at the university in 2001/2002, and CEU is hoping to continue the series.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN FILM SOCIETY BEGINS SECOND YEAR

The Central European Film Society began its second year at CEU with the continuation of the series "Reflections of Historical and Social Changes in Central and Eastern European Film – Period of Stalinism." The series, again led by film aes-

thetician György Báron, started this academic year with screenings of Andrzej Vajda's "Man of Marble," Péter Bacsó's "The Witness," Andrei Tarkovsky's "The Mirror," and Pál Gábor's "Angi Vera."

"HUNGARY CAN BE YOURS"

From October 27 to December 2, an exhibition of mail art entitled "Hungary Can Be Yours/International Hungary" was on display in the Open Society Archives' Galeria Centralis. Contrary to other forms of art, mail art is neither a medium, nor a trend, but instead a chaotic, random, interactive "surface" open to free movement that, theoretically, can only be governed by postal restrictions. The artwork in



this exhibition, however, was banned when originally put together for public display in 1984. This year's exhibition, organized jointly by the Archives and the Artpool Art Research Center, gave a wider audience an opportunity to see the original artwork, photo and video recordings taken at the 1984 opening, and documents from Hungary's internal security services—all in the context of the "official country image" of 1984.

PHOTOGRAPHY AT CEU



The CEU Exhibition Hall has recently hosted two exhibitions of photography: "Pairs and Places" (November 9-30), by Endre Sebok, a PhD student in the Department

"Drinks – Paris" by Endre Sebok



of Legal Studies; and an exhibition by Hungarian freelance photographer György Konkoly-Thege (ongoing through January 15, 2002).

*Opening of the exhibition
by György Konkoly-Thege*

GENDER STUDIES DEPARTMENT Continued from page 1

During this year, an important goal has been to intensify efforts to build on and develop the characteristic interdisciplinarity of Gender Studies, through initiatives within the department and in the university as a whole. Zimmermann is pleased with the outcome so far. The public lecture series in the spring, featuring scholars from various disciplines, and an increased number of high-quality cross-listed courses, are two concrete results. Within the MA program, six courses are cross-listed with other academic units, including History, Nationalism, Medieval Studies and Political Science. As another initiative to encourage the recognition of gender as an important category of analysis in teaching and research, the department wants to begin a collaborative program with other academic units at CEU, looking to engage them in developing a broad spectrum of integrated and cross-listed course offerings. This was originally the idea of Fisher, who said, "In the past there have been many misconceptions about Gender Studies, but now, with the recognition that comes with departmental status, we can see that this is changing. We want to take advantage of this opportunity to establish a core place for the concept of gender in the university's curriculum."

The major project for 2002, however, is to develop the new PhD program. In early 2002 the application for accreditation will be submitted to the Board of Regents of the Education Department of the State of New York (US).

Preparing the curriculum will involve a detailed review and a long-term vision of the program's requirements. The department anticipates receiving a high number of qualified applicants. Asked what would enhance an applicant's chances of being accepted, Zimmermann answers: "That depends in the first instance on the quality of the application, of course, but also, if we can see that the applicant understands why this program is in Comparative Gender Studies, that will be an important factor. The conception of the program in this regard is based on the idea that Gender Studies looks to find a balance between the general and the particular, and to overcome the perceived contradiction between these two."

Currently, there are no plans to discontinue the PhD specialization now available under the PhD in Comparative History of Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe, since this cooperation has worked out very well with the first four PhD students who started this year.

10 Year Anniversary Booklet



"THIS IS THE ONLY UNIVERSITY I KNOW OF THAT WAS STARTED BEFORE A PLAN WAS DEVELOPED."

Excerpts from comments by George Soros at the Alumni Brunch on October 13, 2001

CEU's Founder began by expressing his satisfaction at meeting such a large group of alumni and went on to thank them for the results of the alumni fundraising effort. "First of all, I would like to say that it really does make me happy to see you all here: it is sort of the fruit of the work of the university. So, to see so many of you here and also to talk to you, and hear what you say, is a source of great satisfaction. It is really the repayment, the fact that you are here. And, of course, your contribution is very nice as a symbolic gesture. But it is really your presence and your involvement, and your continued involvement, that are really the fruit of the work that the university has done." He mentioned further that the alumni present might want to "ask some of the Open Society Institute program coordinators to hold a workshop—for instance the Media Program or the Information Program. So those of you who are interested can have an interaction, because it would be very useful for them to hear from the ground what conditions are in your countries."

He continued with an account of the university's beginnings: "I would like to use this occasion to reminisce a little bit about how the university came into existence, because, I think it is good to have a little bit of tradition, something that becomes a sort of institutional memory. And in a way the alumni are the institutional memory, the repositories of the institutional memory of the university. We never really wrote a history of the university, as far as I know, and I went out of my way not to keep records. This is a particular foible of mine, that I do not like to work for history; I like to do things just for the present. The university was in fact a revolutionary institution at the begin-



ning, and I would like to preserve that tradition up to a point, and I am very happy with our current rector, who is himself a bit of a revolutionary... So I think, in a way, in him the institution's memory is being preserved, but I think it should be more widely spread."

CEU's origins, Soros said, "go back to a conference that was held in Dubrovnik. Dubrovnik had, and I think probably still has, the Inter-University Centre... this meeting was in the spring of 1989. At that time Dubrovnik was a meeting place between East and West. We had a number of courses, and on this occasion people from various East European countries came together, and the idea of setting up a university was mooted. I was at that time opposed to it because I was against setting up institutions; I like to subvert existing institutions rather than start new ones."

He went on to describe "the spirit of the foundation network at the time. The foundation, the Open Society Foundation, really started seriously in Hungary in 1984, when we made a deal with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It was a very complicated, a sort of diplomatic negotiation that I will not go back to... That goes back too far and it would make the story too long, so that we will keep it for another occasion." In Hungary, he continued, "There was a separation between research and teaching; this was a characteristic of the regime. You had this richly endowed cultural and intellectual life, and by providing very little money we could—by enabling people to do what they really wanted to do, rather than being forced to do what they were told to do—we could have a tremendous influence. At that time we spent \$3 million a year in Hungary, and we were considered to be as powerful an influence as the official Ministry of Culture, which had maybe a hundred [times more] resources than we had, and that is why I never wanted to spend money on bricks and mortar. I thought that is very expensive, and I thought with a few dollars one can change what goes on inside the institutions rather than set up a separate one."

George Soros Meets with CEU Alumni

The 10th Anniversary celebrations began on the morning of October 13 with a brunch held at the CEU Residence and Conference Center where CEU Founder George Soros for the first time had the opportunity to meet with a large body of CEU alumni. Around 140 alumni attended the event, some of whom travelled from far away for the occasion. The brunch also marked the end of the successful CEU Alumni Scholarship Campaign 2001, and a symbolic check of \$17,476 was presented to Soros. The sum, which had been collected from among 500 CEU alumni and friends of the university, exceeded the original target of \$11,000. The collected money will cover a tuition-waiver and living-cost package for one extra student for one year at CEU. Soros thanked the alumni by giving a detailed and personal account of his memories of how CEU was created. You can read excerpts from his remarks on these pages and at www.ceu.hu/anniversary.html.

That was my approach at the time; that is why I rejected the idea of setting up a university. I thought I could spend my money much more effectively by using the existing institutions. Then came the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet system, and by the end of the year we had another conference, I think in Prague, and I said, you know this is a revolution and we do need a new institution to develop the ideas of the new system, the open society. Because you had an ideology of a closed society, and in an open society you need open discussion, a different approach, different curricula for teaching—particularly in the social sciences that had been so restricted—and for *that* you need a university. So that there was the conceptual basis for setting up the university. The other main idea was to combine teaching, research and engagement. The three aspects reinforce each other. If you only teach, you really need to do research; you need to think as well as teach. And if you only think, you are in an ivory tower, and it is a real danger. There used to be—and I think there still is—a real danger in this region for intellectuals to be drawn into research and thinking, and to separate themselves from the society in which they live. Countries like Romania and Bulgaria certainly have a long tradition of that separation. To break that separation, you want the people who think and do research also to teach. And also you had this artificial official separation between research and teaching, so one wants to break it down. And then, of course, social engagement requires thinking. It is not enough to be an activist. You also have to think about what you are doing, and your actions often have unintended consequences. You have to try to learn from that experience, and to some extent anticipate it. That is why the three things go together, and I hoped that the university would be part of this."



Touching again on the theme of the connection between CEU and the Open Society Institute, Soros stated that it is an interesting relationship. Although related, they are two separate institutions. But, he said, as he would be announcing an endowment pledge later that day, there would be an official cutting of the "umbilical cord." The university needs to be an independent university, not dependent on the Open Society Institute. "However," he continued, "the spirit of the university should reflect this threefold engagement, and that is why I think it would be useful for the alumni for instance to hear about what goes on in the Open Society Institute, or even to get the annual report."

He further stated that the original concept was to have three campuses, Budapest, Prague and Warsaw, making CEU a truly international university. He had "wanted to start not in Budapest, because a Hungarian setting up an international university in Hungary, that would be... maybe too much of a Hungarian uni-

versity. So deliberately I started in Prague, and that is where we set up the university. And the creation of the university was a very unusual one, because usually a university needs to be planned, and it is a long period of preparation. I felt that this is a revolutionary situation, it is important to act very fast, to have this university up and running immediately. This is the only university I know of that was started before a plan was developed. We actually started, and I was very personally engaged at the time in setting it up, to the point of selecting the people, of picking up people whom I thought were of such a quality that they could run a department... The departments were created really before the university was created, and that caused a lot of problems afterward for the development of the university..."



George Soros

Soros referred to the "velvet revolution" under the government of Václav Havel, which had given CEU "a Party building, free of charge, and it was actually very modern and well established, did not need any alterations, so we could start right away, and we started with these two courses [Economics and International Relations]. We had no accreditation; we applied for accreditation after we started teaching. And I take particular pride in the fact that not only did we get accreditation, but we got it *retroactively*. So the people who came there, I do not know if there is anybody here from that period... So you remember that we were not a university yet, but you did get your degrees retroactively. I believe you did get your degrees. That I think is rather nice. I think it is probably unique. I do not think there is another university that could give degrees retroactively." But, he said, after the first year, a new government—one with a different point of view—came to power. Facing legal and procedural problems, CEU lost its Prague building after just two years, and the Budapest location became the central one.





Alumni Affairs Officer Serge Sych addresses the Alumni Brunch.

"So we decided to move ahead in Budapest, and [first] we rented a space in Buda..." And, he said, finally "we bought these buildings that we now have, and that was when I got corrupted; I was diverted from my pure devotion to ideas and became converted to brick and mortar. I was still not paying very much attention to brick and mortar, and I was surprised when I saw the building, because it was really, it is I think a very inspiring building. I really like it, architecturally. But I had absolutely nothing to do with it: I did not see the plans of the building as far as I know. I did visit it occasionally when it was under reconstruction, but what came out of it... I am really very, very pleased with it. I think it is a terrific place for a university. So then we had the university, and by that time we had the Political Science Department... and then we started Environmental Sciences and Legal Studies.

...We had all these departments, we moved into the building, and then came the rather difficult task of creating a university out of a collection of departments. And I think that task has really only been accomplished fully under Rector Elkana.

I will not go into the further history, because [this] is the time when I was actively engaged in the university, which had its positive aspects and its negative aspects. I think that if I had not been engaged, the university could not have started as fast as it did. Certainly it would have taken a different course. Fortunately, I also recognized the negative aspects of my involvement, and have been working after the first three years to distance myself from the university, and to allow the university to take its own, independent course, and I stopped appointing professors. And now with this rather difficult, but exciting, history you have got the CEU that you have got today. As I say, we have now a true revolutionary who has taken charge of the university, and I think that our future development will continue to be interesting and exciting.

That is where we are, and I am very happy to see you here as products [of this history and this university]..."



Sara Svensson and Vügar Seidov, chairs of the Alumni Scholarship 2001 Coordinating Committee, present a symbolic check for the Alumni Fellowship 2001.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS AT CEU

Celebrations of the 10th Anniversary of the founding of Central European University began on Saturday, October 13, 2001, and continued with a week-long series of events. The anniversary ceremony itself was held in the concert hall of the Pesti Vigadó in



Stefan Messmann, Academic Pro-Rector

Budapest and also marked the opening of the 2001/2002 academic year. During the ceremony, CEU Founder George Soros announced a \$250 million endowment pledge for CEU. The keynote lecture on "Terrorism and Human Rights" was given by Lord Russell-Johnston, the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Many distinguished guests attended the ceremony along with the CEU community.



*István Rév, Director,
Open Society Archives*

The celebratory events of the following week included public lectures by Gerhard Casper, Professor at Stanford University's Institute for International Studies (October 14), Leon Botstein, President of Bard College and Musical Director of the American Symphony Orchestra (October 15) and Aryeh Neier, President of the Open Society Institute (October 16), all three also members of CEU's Board of Trustees; the conference "Reshaping Globalization: Multilateral Dialogues and New Policy Initiatives" (October 17-19); and a concert by the Academia String Quartet (October 15), including the world premiere of Amos Elkana's "String Quartet."



Dávid Pintér performs.



Petr Lom, PhD Director, Nationalism Studies Program

Transcripts of the public lectures may be found at www.ceu.hu/anniversary.html. The endowment announcement, the address of CEU President and Rector Yehuda Elkana and the keynote lecture are featured in full in this issue of the *Gazette*.

CEU's anniversary celebrations and the endowment announcement received intense media coverage, in spite of the focus on events following the September 11 terrorist attacks. Reports were given by various Hungarian and numerous international media, including *The New York Times*, *Financial Times* and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.



*Daniela Raiman, Incoming
Student Representative*



Andrej F. Kovaljev, Alumnus Speaker



*The Academia String Quartet finishes its performance.
At right is composer Amos Elkana.*



Academic Year 2001 / 2002

OPENING CEREMONY & TENTH ANNIVERSARY

Saturday, October 13, 2001

Pesti Vigadó, Concert Hall



3:00-3:10 Welcome and Opening Remarks by Stefan Messmann, Academic Pro-Rector

3:10-3:15 Welcome by Andrej F. Kovaljev, Alumnus Speaker, Economics 1992

3:15-3:20 Response by Daniela Raiman, Incoming Student Representative, Legal Studies

3:20-3:25 Remarks by Petr Lom, Associate Professor and PhD Director, Nationalism Studies Program

3:25-3:30 Introduction of George Soros by Stefan Messmann

3:30-3:35 Special Announcement by George Soros

3:35-3:40 Remarks by István Rév

3:40-3:50 Short Address by Yehuda Elkana

3:50-3:55 Brief Musical Interlude – Ferenc Farkas: Solo Sonata – 1st Movement
Violin: Dávid Pintér, Student at the Béla Bartók Music Academy

3:55-4:45 Lecture by Lord Russell-Johnston, President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
"Terrorism and Human Rights"

4.45-4:50 Closing Remarks by Stefan Messmann



4:50-5:20 Press Conference at Pesti Vigadó

Chair: István Teplán

Participants: George Soros, Yehuda Elkana and Zuzana Jalcova, PhD Student



4:50-6:30 Ongoing reception at CEU for all

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT BY GEORGE SOROS

The 10th Anniversary of the university is a very important festive occasion. I want to make sure that it is not going to be an empty ceremony. And so, being a financial man, the first thing that I would like to announce is that I am endowing the university with an endowment of \$250 million, a quarter of a billion dollars, which will ensure the independent and permanent existence of the university. This means that the university has come of age. It means that we are cutting the umbilical cord between the founder and the university. Financially, from now on, the university is on its own. It is assured of its present existence and a little bit of expansion; but the future growth of the university will have to come out of the strength of the university itself. I'm reminded of the University of Chicago, which was founded by Rockefeller. He had a pretty rough time with his university; then he launched it—and the university today is totally independent of Rockefeller.



George Soros

I was very much involved, for better or worse, with the starting of the university. I will, of course, remain very much involved, because I feel that the university has a unique role to play. Now "unique" is an over-used term. Probably I haven't seen a university that isn't "unique." But I think that there *is* a spirit and I hope that the university will be able to maintain that spirit, as things calm down and it becomes a more, let us say, "regular" institution. During these ten years, I think, the university has established its academic credentials. I saw the mission of the university as a combination of teaching, research and social engagement. I was looking to the university to be the "brain center" of the Soros foundations network. And, of course, the university is closely connected with the Open Society Institute, which has its offices right next door. I hope that that relationship will continue. The university was founded to "institutionalize" the ideals of an open society in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet system. I think that it is fulfilling that mission.

The collapse of the Soviet system is now ten years in the past. The main challenge now confronting humanity is how to deal with and develop globalization: the fact that we now have global markets, but we don't yet have global political and social institutions to match the globalization of markets. This is what I, personally, consider the greatest intellectual challenge and I think it is an issue to which the university can make a significant contribution. It is very well situated to do so, because the problem of globalization can be seen as this: how to combine the universal with the local. What better institution to do this

than the university? It has access to the local knowledge of a significant part of the world, and, at the same time, it is involved in studying the disciplines which provide the universal principles for dealing with the problems of globalization. Every university has to have a mission. Being a small university, we have to find for ourselves a small niche, where we can excel. I think that there is such a small niche for the university, and that is the "global niche." I hope that the university will fill that little niche and so fulfill itself. I wish the university success in all its future activities. Thank you.

SHORT ADDRESS BY YEHUDA ELKANA

Lord Russell-Johnston, George Soros, Your Excellencies, the Ambassadors—and I would like to greet especially the new US Ambassador to Hungary (as an American university, it is a special honor to have you among us)—Members of the Board of Trustees and the Council, the Senate, Heads of Departments, Colleagues and Students, Alumni, all of you:

After that announcement by George Soros, naturally, there is very little to say, except to express deep admiration and gratitude. I would like to analyze this donation, which is so important for us, into several elements: The greatest and most important element is, obviously, for the faculty and the work of the university, a feeling of stability, even (as István Rév said) "until the end of time," which is a wonderful feeling; we are here to stay. Not less important is the message which is being sent out to the world, what George called "cutting the umbilical cord." When we want to grow and develop, we are going to be able to say, in the future, to whoever wants to donate and support this university, "You are not supporting George Soros. You are supporting an independent university. If you share its values and ideas and achievements, then you are an independent member of this community and you are not simply following in the footsteps, easily, and just participating in, the work of George Soros; although, needless to say, he will always remain our Founder, our funder—and he is the Chairman of our Board—and, as he promised, he will not lose interest in us. These are terribly important points, and we are deeply grateful for the endowment.



Yehuda Elkana

Today I would like to address a few words to those who are starting this academic year, because whatever we planned to do at this event, because of September 11, to some extent has changed. For me, the deep meaning of what has really changed, is to remind us what the conceptual changes which

we have to undergo are. For many years there was a feeling that a university based on the principles of open society and democracy, and one which supports these values, would bring the best achievements in science, technology, medicine, social sciences, political science and all the other areas, developed in the last three hundred years, mainly in the West. Well, this knowledge, at least in principle, is today globalized; and indeed, it is part and parcel of human achievement. Yet it is becoming more and more clear that, despite the enormous achievements of that knowledge, there are basic presuppositions which must change, which we must live with, be able to address academically, intellectually, morally, in our private lives.

We grew up under Enlightenment values, which included an abhorrence of contradictions and a deep belief that, sooner or later, we would be able to live up to a coherent set of values which could coexist. The late Isaiah Berlin was one of the few voices who, while a great representative of Enlightenment culture, always warned, "Don't kid yourself! We will never be able to live in accord with a coherent set of values." Today, more than ever, after September 11, we are facing that challenge. It is not simply possible to say, "We are going to have maximum freedom and maximum security." We will not be able to say simplistically that we are going to fight *all* fundamentalisms. But we will have to distinguish very carefully among those fundamentalisms which are indeed on the lunatic fringe, where nobody can deal with them, and those fundamentalisms which are chosen as political means or tools to achieve that which great striving by the population of the world has not achieved.

Poverty versus richness, the West versus many of the non-achieving countries, or less-achieving countries, is not any more something which can be dealt with only in terms of the very successful globalization and market economy and globalized information systems. We have to think through, exactly, as George Soros just mentioned, the shifting boundary between the local and the universal; and to realize, that, while deeply

committed, in some sense, to universal values, we have to tune them locally, in every culture, in every society, to local situations. We must be ready to live indeed with harsh contradictions, and with very painful balances. Very often we must give up part of what we would like to have, be it security, be it freedom, be it the feeling that we can go everywhere carrying our knowledge proudly, and we will be received with the same openness and friendship. This is not the case; and we have to live with tensions, which we have to learn how to live under and to accommodate intellectually.



And for me the task of this university, the task of the "global niche" that we were talking about, is to develop the intellectual tools. This is something in which a small university, and not a rich university, can easily compete with the rest of the world, because it means taking intellectual risks; and daring to think and to tread in areas where well-established, successful, and therefore risk-averse institutions are very often afraid to tread. This is our task. And in our international community, with so many students from so many countries, and now opening up to all the emerging democracies, and slowly actually becoming indeed global—however, a "global niche"—hope we can achieve a contribution to that world which we are facing nowadays.



"TERRORISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS"

*Lord Russell-Johnston, President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
The First Public Lecture, October 13, 2001*

The events of September 11 have produced shock waves all over the world. The sheer blind merciless fanaticism of the action filled us with horror: the sudden violent and seemingly easy way in which our settled relatively ordered existence could be disrupted filled us with fear.



Lord Russell-Johnston

People who are horrified and afraid call for certitude and safety and action—so we have a war against terrorism.

The target is Osama bin Laden protected by the Taliban in Afghanistan but the language has been taken by many to be much more inclusive, taking in Chechens, Palestinians, Kashmiris, Armenians, Kurds and others, over and above obvious examples like ETA, the IRA or the thought-to-be defunct Red Brigade. Turkish Cypriots talked of terrorism, meaning Greek Cypriots; Greek Cypriots talked to terrorism, meaning Turks.

I am told that the world-respected news agency Reuters does not use the word terrorist in its reportage because it has no sufficiently precise definition.

I think most people would accept that if you kill or indeed harm innocent people in pursuit of some political or religious objective within a democratic society, you are a terrorist. Even in a totalitarian society, indiscriminate killing can in no way be justified but targeting military objectives or persons at once brings one into a hazardous moral swamp where some justify a certain violence to achieve the overthrow of the greater violence of sustained repression and the "terrorist" in one person's vocabulary becomes the "freedom fighter" in the language of another.

We saw this pattern in Kosovo where for nearly a decade Rugova sought support in Western Europe and the States for his peaceful struggle against the repression which Milosevic orchestrated but until the KLA arrived and committed violence—terrorism or freedom fighting—no one paid attention. The vicious circle here is not yet complete though we can see daylight.

The problem is how to contain terrorism and to do it without placing human rights at risk from the actions of the very people who defend them.

For a week now, the United States and my country, the United Kingdom, have been engaged in a military operation against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. I support this operation. Terrorist networks have operated in Afghanistan with the knowledge and consent of the Taliban authorities, who allowed them to plan and carry out terrorist attacks all around the world with full impunity. One could not allow this to continue.

But my support is not unconditional. We do not have to look very far to see how a legitimate response to a security threat can turn into a self-perpetuating, destructive and seemingly endless circle of violence and abuse.

In August 1999, a group of armed Chechen combatants, led by Shamil Bassaev, who had previously fought in the Russian side in Abkhazia, stormed into several villages high in the mountains of Dagestan. I have been there.

They pillaged, plundered and killed. In September, two apartment houses, in Moscow and Volgodonsk, were blown apart, killing several hundred people. Russia was under attack. It had not only a right, but also a duty to fight against the terrorist threat. The second Chechen war began.

Two years later, Shamil Bassaev has lost a leg, but he's still around. The perpetrators of the terrorist attacks in Moscow and Volgodonsk have never been identified. Grozny, a city of 400,000 people, the size of Edinburgh, where I went to university, was bombed to ruins. The list of Russian casualties is steadily growing, as is the length of the list of human rights abuses committed by the Russian security forces for which, very few, if any, of the perpetrators have so far been brought to justice. After all the destruction and loss of lives, on both sides, terrorism, if you wish to define it so, persists.

This is a lesson that those carrying out the riposte to the attacks in the United States should bear in mind.

It certainly was a lesson that dominated the recent Assembly debate on democracies facing terrorism. The final text of the resolution accepted the possibility of military action against the perpetrators and organisers of the attacks in the United States, provided that any such action was approved by the UN Security Council, that it clearly defined its objectives, that it avoided targeting civilians, and was generally conducted in conformity with international law.

The message of the Assembly was simple and straightforward. Yes, we must act against terrorists, as swiftly and decisively. Yes, we are entitled to use force, if necessary. But using force in a disproportionate and indiscriminate manner, as has been done in Chechnya, will only make things worse.

You may say this is typically vague and well-meaning of an international body but it really is the only approach which will produce any stable solution.

The second potentially fatal threat to the success of the international fight against terrorism comes from the exaggeratedly pragmatic attitude of some western leaders who, in their eagerness to win a military campaign, are ready to turn a blind eye to the human rights record of their newly-found allies.

In my opinion, there is a danger of the United States repeating the errors it made during its ideological battle against communism, when, particularly in Central and South America, it

financed and supported right-wing dictatorships simply because they weren't communist.

Again, let me use the example of Russia, although this is far from being the only example, and is perhaps not even the best one. For all its faults, the human rights and democratic record of the new Russia is considerably better than that of several other members of the anti-terrorist alliance. But Russia is big, it is important, and it is a member of the Council of Europe.

Moscow's support of the international campaign against terrorism is crucial, but in obtaining it, we should not trade our values and principles. We cannot accept the notion that the fight against terrorism is incompatible with respect for human rights. If, after September 11, there is anything that requires "a differentiated evaluation" to repeat a phrase Schroeder used, in world opinion on Chechnya, it is the world leaders' half-hearted, soft-peddalling attitude with regard to the Russian conduct so far in that war.

I have to say I was extremely impressed by President Putin's performance during his recent tour of European capitals. He showed great diplomatic skill. His decision to associate Russia with the international campaign in such a resolute and unequivocal manner is certainly historic.

But it is time to ask the Russian President to match his words with action. Russia can make a decisive contribution to a lasting victory against terrorism, not so much by offering its military resources, but by cleaning up its act in the Caucasus, by ending human rights abuses and prosecuting those who committed them in the past, and by pressing for a peaceful political solution with the moderate Chechen leadership. That would make a huge difference! And set a huge example.

Millions of moderate and peaceful Muslims around the world will consider our attitude with regard to Chechnya, the Middle East, and other conflicts where their fellow Muslims are involved, as a test of whether the West is sincere in its message of justice, equality and human rights, or whether it is all merely a charade, and we are ready to condone injustice in the name of our own interests. The stakes are enormous. We shall either win their trust, and with it the battle against the extremists, or fail, and sow the seeds of a new circle of despair, hatred, and violence.

Sometimes terrorism emerges in circumstances which no enlightened social or political action could prevent: as the Baader Meinhof in Germany, but, in the main, throughout the world, it is the end-product of political or religious fanaticism, blending together, and always strengthened by grievance. The removal of grievance does not guarantee the disappearance of religious fanaticism which can and does appear and operate in advanced societies, but it seems to diminish its incidence. The removal of grievance normally has some direct political response and a relatively quick calming of extremes.

In this regard and here I speak personally and not as a representative of the Parliamentary Assembly, I believe that, in all the world, Palestine is a suppurating wound, feeding poison into international relations, as was most recently and sadly illustrated in Durban and, somehow, it must be cauterised. I use the word

cauterised intentionally because I do not think the wound can be healed without some previous hurtful burning.

I take only a short instant of your time to say what I would do if I had the power.

I would say to the Israelis that international force would guarantee their existence. But within internationally recognised borders. I would say to the Palestinians that international force would guarantee a free Palestinian state. I would say to both that a permanent UN police force would police the border between them. Perhaps this would not exclude cross-border violence entirely and it might also require facing up to the removal of settlements but it would give each a space of their own and time peacefully to develop and slowly to reach for a civilised relationship.

I do not see it as being possible to establish the level of international agreement needed to tackle terrorism without concerned action to remove the grievances upon which it feeds and without strengthening the international community's ability collectively to confront and deal with it.

However, in the pursuit of justice and in guaranteeing the security of ordinary citizens, we must not forget—as difficult as this may be for some to accept—that terrorists also have human rights. Our belief in

that is what separates us from them. Against the background of the considerable differences that exist between the United States and Europe on some aspects of human rights, such as the death penalty, this consideration is important and risks having an impact on the efficiency of trans-Atlantic co-operation in the prosecution of terrorists.

The Council of Europe's response to the attacks in the United States was one of solidarity with the American people and support for its efforts to deal with the consequences of these awful attacks and to bring the perpetrators to justice.

The significance of this support is far from just symbolic: the Council has 43 member states—including all fifteen members of the European Union—and has over 50 years of experience in international legal co-operation, including in the field of law enforcement.

During its last part-session at the end of September, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe called on its member states governments to review its 1978 European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, the main purpose of which is to make extradition easier. This should include the opening of the convention to Council of Europe observer states—of which the US is one—and non-member countries, and the removal of the right to make reservations, which can defeat the purpose of the Convention. The Assembly also recommended that the European Union arrest warrant, agreed last week in Brussels, be extended to all 43 Council of Europe member states.

In offering Council of Europe assistance and support, the Assembly firmly insisted on full respect for human rights, which includes its unconditional opposition to the death penalty.

While the controversy between the United States and Europe on the issue of capital punishment has not created any difficulties so

“In the pursuit of justice and in guaranteeing the security of ordinary citizens, we must not forget that terrorists also have human rights. Our belief in that is what separates us from them.”

far; suspects with alleged links to the attacks of September 11 are being arrested on a daily basis across Europe. This may change if the US requests their extradition.

In the aftermath of the horror they have had to live through, it might seem in rather poor taste to speak to Americans in a high moral tone on the death penalty. Yet today we have perhaps a better opportunity than ever before to reflect on this, together.

In many countries, not only in the United States, the threat of terrorism is one of the strongest arguments for retaining capital punishment. The three of the 43 Council of Europe member states that have not yet formally abolished the death penalty: Armenia, Russia and Turkey, have all suffered from terrorism in the past. Recently, Turkey has adopted a broad constitutional reform which includes the abolition of the death penalty for all offences, except terrorism.

One can understand, even justify, such an attitude on an emotional level. But even if we leave aside the ethical objection, that killing people is simply wrong, the two main arguments in favour of the death penalty—that it acts as a punishment and a deterrence—do not survive rational scrutiny when it comes to fanatics ready to die for their cause.

Fanatical terrorists, be they driven by religion or ideology, are not concerned about their physical well-being. They are ready to put their lives at risk, and indeed to sacrifice them, in order to carry out their abominable deeds. What they do fear is political death, anonymity, and public oblivion.

Does anybody remember Ilich Ramírez Sánchez? Since his incarceration in the Santé prison in Paris, the main preoccupation of Carlos "the Jackal" has become not how to change the world order through violent means, but rather how to recover his socks from the prison laundry. He is hardly the image of a world-class terrorist, or an inspiration to would-be revolutionaries of this world.

For fanatical terrorists, physical death is not a punishment. On the contrary, the prospect of being put to death by the very government they fight against is an added bonus, guaranteeing instant martyrdom and a place of honour in the collective memory of those who share their fanatical views.

Executing fanatics not only gratifies them personally. I shall never forget that sneer on Timothy McVeigh's face; it also risks inciting others to follow their example.

What Osama Ben Laden fears most is being locked away and forgotten. And this is what should happen to him and his like. They should spend the rest of their lives in prison. They should wake up and go to bed with the thought that they have lost their cause. That they are nobodies.

But Europe's reluctance to extradite persons accused of terrorist activities not only has an ethical and philosophic nature, there is also a legal obstacle.

In the 1989 case *Soering vs United Kingdom*, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that the conditions in the US death rows went beyond the threshold of ill-treatment set by Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights, which says that nobody shall be subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

The Court therefore requested from the United Kingdom not to extradite Mr. Soering without first receiving assurances from US prosecutors that he would not face the death penalty. This is a decision no European court or government can ignore.

Before concluding, just a short reflection on the impact of what has taken place on the ordinary life we lead. I don't mean the air traveller who, though there are many, is a minority person and since the Munich exercise of Al Fatah has had, and I suppose forever will have, to be subjected to search. I mean the man and woman in the street, going to the supermarket, walking about, dropping into a restaurant. The reality is that we can't spend our lives looking over our shoulders.

So, unless we want our lives to be distorted and made miserable by the activities of what are, in the end, the activities of a few crazy people, we will go on and act normally. I remember the bombs in the Paris metro. Suddenly all the *poubelles*, rubbish bins, not just in Paris but throughout France, were closed. It lasted about a fortnight. People said where can I put things? And common sense triumphed. And the *poubelles* were opened. And have so remained.

We must not exaggerate the extent and level of threat and thereby give to "security" the right to push us about without reason, which many would happily do. I am in Budapest. It was the case here before. We don't want it back again!

In conclusion, I wish to offer an apology. If this speech came across as fragmented and incoherent, I have an excuse. In preparing for this conference, I lost precious time because of a bomb alert in the Palais de l'Europe in Strasbourg. There was nothing extremely dramatic in the incident, and the 1700 members of the Secretariat calmly evacuated the building and gathered in the park opposite to it, waiting for the bomb experts of the French police to blow to pieces a piece of luggage left behind by a distracted visitor.

As President, I have some privileges, however dubious they may seem in this case. I did not evacuate, I was evacuated.

My secretary came in and said "the police have come to take you away." I have a clear conscience and I remained calm ... but they did! I was removed in a small car, at high speed, to a building some distance away.

Sitting there and waiting for the bomb experts, I had time to reflect on the sad change that has happened to the world we knew.

In retrospect, I try to look at this episode with humour, but it is a bitter kind of humour, because it is mixed with fear. It is not so much fear for my personal safety; I am, after all, reaching an age at which one can afford to have a "differentiated evaluation"—I can't escape the phrase! I'm sorry!—of physical risks. My fear is for the values I so strongly believe in and to which I have devoted my entire political life—the values of freedom and humanity.

The world has changed after September 11. And, so far, it has not changed for the better. My values, our values, are under threat and we must defend them.

If, in facing terror, we give up on freedom and humanity, the terrorists have won.

**“If, in facing terror,
we give up on freedom
and humanity, the terrorists
have won.”**

GLOBALIZATION AT THE CROSSROADS

"We live in a dangerously polarized world," warned Ernesto Zedillo, former President of Mexico, in his introductory speech to the conference on "Reshaping Globalization: Multilateral Dialogues and New Policy Initiatives" held at Central European University on October 17-19, 2001. The conference, organized by CEU and the University of Warwick, provided a forum where leading academics, leaders of NGOs and policy-makers could exchange ideas on the future of the globalization movement and new ways to fight global inequality.

Zedillo and John Gray of the London School of Economics opened the debate, setting the scene for a two-pronged agenda: how to curb global inequality at a time when the discrepancies of the global financial system have been tragically brought home to the developing world, and how to rethink approaches to the anti-globalization movement in the aftermath of September 11. The attack on America dominated the first half of the conference as participants endeavored to take stock of its effect on the movement.

"Anti-globalization protesters perceived themselves as being the opposition to an immensely powerful trend,... characterized by peace and... by ongoing economic growth... neither of these conditions applies now," said Gray, an outspoken proponent of the anti-globalization movement. "The movement has no strategy to cope with circumstances of global crisis," he added.

Anti-globalization went from relative obscurity to being the most-discussed topic on the international agenda within two years following the 1999 protests in Seattle. The feeling of fighting back an immensely powerful world trend gave the loose network of anti-globalization supporters a coherence which enabled it to gather momentum at an incredible pace. The leaders of the movement were unanimous, September 11 marked a sea change in their fight: the movement must reinvent itself or perish.

Discussions progressed from a broad debate on the protection of public goods in the global economy to an examination of the weaknesses and strengths of the current aid system. Most participants agreed that the nature of the governments in various countries was the major factor in causing poverty, but differed on how globalization and the current aid system was seen to influence that process.

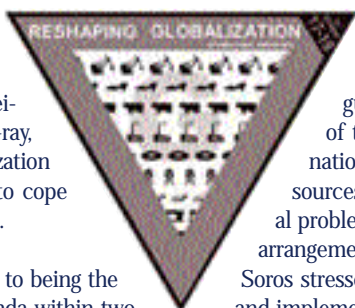


John Gray (left), Professor of European Thought, London School of Economics, and Ernesto Zedillo



Ernesto Zedillo, former President of Mexico

On October 19, George Soros presented the *Soros Report on Globalization*, which gave practical proposals for the reform of international financial and trade institutions. "We need a system of incentives that encourages voluntary compliance, in addition to the WTO rules-based system," Soros suggested, introducing a system for earmarking IMF Special Drawing Rights for aid initiatives. "Foreign aid has a bad name, and justifiably so. It is guided by the interests of the donors, not the interests of the recipients." Participants from NGOs and international organizations stressed the need to establish new sources of multilateral finance to support solutions to global problems. "We have global financial markets, but political arrangements that are based upon the sovereignty of states," Soros stressed. Now it is up to those states, he said, to debate and implement and revise global aid policies.



Former President of Hungary Árpád Göncz (right) and Cristovam Buarque (left), President of the Brazilian NGO Missao Crianca

For some, globalization is the source of all that is modern, progressive and good in the contemporary political economy; for others, it is the major source of poverty and inequality in the world. The conference aimed to go beyond this polarization of views and achieve a constructive debate.

A publication based on the main conclusions of the conference is forthcoming.

- Martin Tisné, Center for Policy Studies

"THE FUTURE OF UNIVERSITIES AS INSTITUTIONS"

*Gerhard Casper, Professor,
Institute of International Studies, Stanford University
An excerpt from the Second Public Lecture,
October 14, 2001*

The university will survive to the extent that it is irreplaceable. But what is it about the university that is irreplaceable? Probably only the link between teaching and research in the laboratory and the classroom, the working environment for professors and students that requires a particular brand of camaraderie. This, however, calls for a personal approach, an acceptable and therefore costly relationship between capacity and the number of students. Information technology as such will, in part, reduce the cost of teaching, and even improve it. Paradoxically, however, I see no improvement in the overall costs incurred by the university—rather the opposite.



Gerhard Casper

"MUSIC AND POLITICS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY"

*Leon Botstein, President, Bard College, and
Musical Director, American Symphony Orchestra
An excerpt from the Third Public Lecture,
October 15, 2001*

...In the 1930s and 1940s the significance of music as a public forum was undisputed. Maybe that has to do with conditions of "unfreedom." I close with something that is relevant to this university. In the nineteenth century particularly, but also in the twentieth century, music was a coded form of communication in periods of high censorship and autocracy. The power of music in Soviet Russia, in the Stalinist period, was in part that going to concerts was one of the few events that was protected: your private opinions were protected, you could express them without being [denounced]. You could go to a piece of theater, and when the tyrant was killed on stage and you cheered, someone could infer you were sympathetic. There is no such correlation in the instrumental, musical world...

"THE GLOBAL MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS: SUCCESSES AND FAILURES"

*Aryeh Neier, President of the Open Society Institute
An excerpt from the Fourth Public Lecture,
October 16, 2001*



Aryeh Neier

I think that the idea of human rights as [being] universal has prevailed. And I would argue that it's a less dangerous idea than other ideas that claim to be universal. I think of it as less dangerous, because, at least in the definition of human rights that I favor, which is a civil and political rights definition, it is mostly about limiting the exercise of power. It is not about itself exercising power. That is, it's a series of "Thou shalt nots": Thou shalt not torture; Thou shalt not send someone to prison arbitrarily; Thou shalt not interfere with freedom of speech, or freedom of worship. And a universal idea which limits power, I think, is one we can live with much more, or much more readily, than a universal idea which is about the exercise of power.



Leon Botstein

The full text of all four Public Lectures is available at <www.ceu.hu/anniversary.html>.