

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES

FALL 2018 NEWSLETTER



FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Friends of the Institute of European Studies,

I am pleased to introduce our Fall 2018 newsletter, made with the assistance of our team of undergraduate reporters led by Melina Kompella. During the past semester, our Institute has been at the forefront of debates on the Berkeley campus on the future of Europe. Naturally, our main point of attention has been the BREXIT negotiations and the imminent leave of the UK from the EU. Equally concerning is the unrest in France caused by protests of the “Yellow Vests” movement, and, as we have seen with the fierce discussions over the UN’s Global Migration Pact, immigration continues to be a divisive topic in European politics.

The many challenges Europe is currently facing underline once more how important it is for our University to have a strong Institute of European Studies. Among the many highlights of the semester, I would like to mention the GHI-West Bucerius Lecture with David Miliband (former UK Foreign Secretary, now President and CEO of the International Rescue Committee), the Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Annual Lecture with Yuri Slezkine (Jane K. Sather Professor of History), the reading by Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Paul Muldoon, the presentation by Peter Dabrock (Chair of the German Ethics Council), and the roundtable discussion with the mayors of the cities of Heidelberg, Idanha-a-Nova, Oslo, Paris and Warsaw on climate change. If you regret to have missed these or other events, please check out the IES [YouTube Channel](#) to view a selection of our lectures.

The organization of so many exciting events would not have been possible without the support of the US Department of Education Title VI Program, the DAAD, the France-Berkeley Fund, the EU Commission’s “Getting to Know Europe” Program, the Austrian Marshall Foundation and BMBWF, as well as our partner organization, GHI-West, the West-Coast branch of the German Historical Institute. I would like to thank my colleagues Gia White, Deolinda Adão, Akasemi Newsome, and Julia Nelsen, as well as Heike Friedman and our new colleague Marlene Menghini from the German Historical Institute. Special thanks go to our Program Directors, in particular Mark Bevir, Eric Falci, Catherine Flynn, and Larry Hyman as well as to David Large, Alberto Sanchez Sanchez



and Marina Romani for their assistance in organizing events during the semester. I am also grateful to our team of Undergraduate Research Apprentice students.

I would also like to use the opportunity to announce three new research grants for Berkeley graduate students, to be offered by IES: the Münster-Berkeley research grant, the Erlangen/Nuremberg-Berkeley research grant, and the St. Andrews-Berkeley research grant.

Many more events are already in preparation for next semester. We are proud to offer you all these events at no charge. As always, we appreciate any support you can give to help us sustain our high quality interdisciplinary programming on Europe. To donate, please visit our [website](#) or contact me personally and I will be pleased to tell you more about the Institute's giving opportunities.

I wish you all a pleasant winter break and hope to welcome you again to one of our events at IES in the new year.

With kindest regards and my very best wishes for the holidays,
Jeroen Dewulf



MEET OUR VISITING SCHOLARS

Dominika Wigger

Visiting Student Researcher, University of Cologne

Interviewed by Maddi Erdall

DOMINIKA WIGGER is a lawyer and PhD candidate in the field of criminal liability concerning autonomous vehicles at the University of Cologne, Germany. Working as a research assistant in Cologne, Dominika has specialized in criminal and legal liability, a field that up until now has been largely overshadowed by research regarding civil law. Thus, Dominika is at the forefront of research in her field, and is looking to broaden her analysis through transnational comparison. She came to the University of California, Berkeley as a visiting researcher, analyzing and comparing United States law with German law specifically in the field of self-driving cars. As the Bay Area is a hub of autonomous vehicle research, Dominika has been in contact with the Berkeley Deep Drive Center and key players like Uber. Dominika spent a total of three months as a visiting student researcher at IES, after which she will finish her dissertation in Cologne.



Kerstin Mehrmann

Visiting Student Researcher, University of Cologne

Interviewed by Sophia Kownatzki

KERSTIN MEHRMANN is a research assistant and PhD student at the University of Cologne. She also took part in a dual Bachelor and Master of Laws program in international private law in Cologne and Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. While specializing in international private law, Kerstin has chosen to focus her research on European liability clauses



for credit rating agencies. Though this is a very “European” subject, she is applying the greater rating responsibility aspect to international law and global economic systems. Her split time at the universities in Paris and Cologne greatly influenced her interest in various legal systems, not only learning how they operate, but questioning why they operate in specific ways.

Kerstin has always described international private law like mathematics because of its logic and structure. Yet in conversations with faculty and researchers at Berkeley, she has been encouraged to consider broader interdisciplinary facets of international private law, such as historical or political aspects that may relate to her research. The passion other researchers have for their subjects, combined with their genuine interest in her own research, has fostered a collaborative environment which she has found to be incredibly helpful, not only in sharing ideas, but also in having a network to talk through the everyday obstacles of conducting research.

Outside of her work at IES, Kerstin has taken advantage of the opportunities the Berkeley community has to offer, including singing in the UC Berkeley Chamber Chorus. Offering advice to future visiting scholars, she says, “Truly take advantage of the time and opportunities here, both at the Institute and on campus. There are so many people that you’ll meet here, so many people that are passionate about what they’re doing.” She looks forward to seeing how her research develops over the course of this semester and when she returns to the University of Cologne.

Jekaterina Novikova

2018-19 EU Fellow

European Commission

Interviewed by Alison Spencer and Davit Gasparyan



JEKATERINA NOVIKOVA joined the European Commission in 2005 as one of the first representatives from Latvia, a new EU member state at the time. She started as a senior internal auditor at the Directorate General for Regional Policy and later worked as an investigator in the European Anti-Fraud Office, investigating cases of misuse of European Funds.

In 2013, Jekaterina joined the Directorate General for Research and Innovation. Holding management positions in two leading Agencies of the European Commission, the Research Executive Agency and the Innovation Networks Executive Agency, she was responsible for the implementation of research grants designated to individual researchers, small- and medium-size corporations, and universities.

In 2018 she was awarded a European Fellowship by the European Commission that gave her the opportunity to take a sabbatical leave from the EC and to conduct research at UC Berkeley. Her interest is in the transfer of research results to the market that would create jobs and promote growth in Europe. Jekaterina is currently investigating mechanisms to facilitate this transition in the Bay Area, focusing on a collaboration between the University and industry, the role of privately funded and joint research, and the support available for startups. Jekaterina has been particularly impressed by the hands-on approach of Bay Area startups and the dense innovation ecosystem created around the University. She is enthusiastic about her research and time here at UC Berkeley.

Nick Underwood

Tandem Fellow in the History of Migration, 2018–2019

German Historical Institute

Interviewed by Ani Hakobyan



NICK UNDERWOOD received his BA in Philosophy from Florida State University, a Master's degree in History from American University, and a PhD in History from University of Colorado, Boulder in 2016. For the past five years he has lived in Napa, gaining teaching experience at Sonoma State University and Napa Valley College.

When asked, “Why Jewish history?” Underwood responds that he studies this topic because it allows him to ask questions about identity, multilingualism, migration, and diaspora. He also emphasizes that although his research focuses on Europe, his approach to Jewish history is global. More specifically, Underwood’s work is dedicated to highlighting the depth and richness of Yiddish culture that existed in twentieth-century France. He wishes to uncover how this historical transnational culture operated.

Underwood is a polyglot who speaks Spanish, French, German, and Yiddish. Underwood credits the different classes he took for helping him quickly learn French, German, and Yiddish. Spanish, on the other hand, has a personal connection, as his mother is from Panama. Currently, he is finishing up his book manuscript titled *Yiddish Paris: Staging Nation and Community in Interwar France*, which is based on his dissertation and is a “cultural and social history of Yiddish-speaking Jewish immigrants in interwar France.” In addition, he is working at GHI West and at IES to begin a new project on Yiddish culture in postwar France. With this project, he aims to uncover what happened to the Yiddish-speaking and Jewish community in the country after the Holocaust and the Vichy.

KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH IES GRANTEES

EMILY LINARES

PhD Student in Romance Languages and Literatures Portuguese Studies Grantee

In summer 2015, I received a grant from the Portuguese Studies Program to carry out linguistic research on Terceira, Azores. As a Ph.D. student in Romance Languages, my research interests in Azorean Portuguese and language contact were motivated by a desire to work in a heritage language and culture. My great-grandfather, Joe Cardoza Jaques, immigrated to California from Terceira at age 17 and married the daughter of Azorean emigrants. Unfortunately, Portuguese was not passed down in my family, but I have been able to study the language as a doctoral student at UC Berkeley.



Interview at the home of an Azorean couple in Ribeirinha, Terceira.

My decision to focus my linguistic project on one island in the Azorean archipelago allowed me to more fully participate in cultural events and to develop relationships with Terceirans, many of whom shared their migration experiences with me. In total, I developed a corpus of 22 spontaneous oral accounts of migration. Following my return from fieldwork, I focused my analysis on narratives of return migration, recounted by Terceirans who had relocated to the United States or Canada before later returning to their home island, with a focus on what these accounts could tell us about language contact and change.

The aim of my research was two-fold: first, I sought to highlight the potential of “home-comers” to introduce change in the Portuguese lexicon through their incorporation of English-origin words. Second, I worked to contribute to Lusophone linguistics and Romance linguistics through attention to an under-researched Portuguese variety. In addition to examining code-switching in narrative performance data on the individual level, I considered the status of a particular category of code-switches—English discourse markers—in Romance and their potential to lose their foreign connotation and become regarded as Portuguese over



Tour of the City Hall of Angra do Heroísmo, Terceira.

time in this particular contact situation. My project drew attention to the Azores, islands shaped by migration for centuries, as an important yet overlooked site of language contact and change. The article that resulted from this research, “Home-comers as a Source of Language Contact: Return Azorean Emigrants’ English Code-

Switching Practices,” has been accepted for publication in the next issue of *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics*.

I am grateful to a number of individuals who supported this project in its various stages: *Antes de tudo, muito obrigada a todos os Terceirenses que compartilharam as suas experiências de emigração*. I also extend my sincere thanks to Professors Milton Azevedo, Justin Davidson, Rick Kern, and Mairi McLaughlin for their guidance on my research; to Lisete Ficher Medeiros for proofreading the narrative transcriptions during my data collection; and to the Portuguese Studies Program at UC Berkeley for supporting my fieldwork in Terceira.

FALL 2018 LECTURES AND EVENTS

Cooperation and Conflict in the Global Commons

By Julia Nelsen

On August 29 and 30, IES Associate Director **AKASEMI NEWSOME** and IES Senior Fellow **MARIANNE RIDDERVOLD** convened participants for a mini-conference at the Pardee School of Boston University and working group meeting in conjunction with the annual convention of the American Political Science Association open to all interested APSA attendees. In addition to the organizers, Professor **KAIJA SCHILDE** (Boston University), **KRISTI GOVELLA** (University of Hawai'i at Manoa), Professor **JULIE KLINGER** (Boston University), Professor **MAI'A CROSS** (Northeastern University) and Professor **DENISE GARCIA** (Northeastern University) submitted papers for discussion. Papers addressed a variety of themes including, migration and border management in the global commons; worker rights and EU, local and ILO regimes in international shipping, international cooperation and outer space exploration and an exploration of the US, EU, China and Russia's policies towards high seas territorial conflict.

Austrian Democracy and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism

By Davit Gasparyan and Jianwen Xu

On September 6, **DAVID WINEROITHER**, a research fellow at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and National University for Public Service in Budapest, discussed the current political landscape of Austria for an audience of 20. He began with an overview of Austrian democracy, describing it as a constitutional grand coalition with a historical focus on power-sharing. As the conflicting sectors in Austria's burgeoning democracy gave birth to antagonism, Wineroither noted, a large sector of society became depoliticized. In the face of new challenges such as migration and generational change, old parties have

evolved into populist parties using a flexible campaign program. This new offer has taken shape as the Freedom Party of Austria.

Wineroither then pointed out some reasons for the success of the Austrian right. He stated that the opportunity structure in Austrian politics is changing as the entrance barrier lowers. In addition, many new policies



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf with speaker David Wineroither

exemplify collective leadership failure in an oversized government. In a welfare system like Austria, the welfare-state configuration engages in redistribution and social risk catching. However, when parties in the coalition cannot reach a natural agreement, a large portion of talks happen behind closed doors, further alienating voters. Finally, as new issues become salient and social rifts grow, Austrian voters tend to opt for cultural protectionism, all factors that contribute to the rise of right-wing populism. During the Q&A Wineroither discussed the current political climate in Austria.

The Present and Future of the Irish Language

By Melina Kompella

On September 6, the Irish Studies Program welcomed seven experts on the Irish language for a panel discussion on its present and future. **COLM Ó RIAIN**, from the Machine Intelligence Research Institute, moderated the conversation and offered a brief historical introduction on the Irish in San Francisco, most of whom came in the 1850s, during the Gold Rush. In 1905, in fact, the Irish community in the Bay Area raised

ten thousand dollars for the promotion of the Irish language and sent that money back to Ireland. However, when the 1906 earthquake struck in San Francisco, the money was sent back to California in a significant demonstration of support from the Irish community in Ireland, solidifying the relationship between these two communities joined by a shared language and culture.

The panel brought together experts from tech, media, business and higher education. Many of the panel members, including native Irish speakers **CAOIMHE NÍ CHONCHOILLE**, a multimedia journalist from Irish television network RTE; **TOM FITZGERALD**, founder of online Irish language bookseller Litríocht.com; and **IMELDA WHITE**, lecturer emerita of Celtic Studies at UC Berkeley, referenced the relationship between



Left to right: moderator Colm Ó Riain; panelists Imelda White; Caoimhe Ní Chonchoille; Myk Klemme; Kevin Scannell; Tom Fitzgerald; and Pádraig Ó Maoilreána

language and family, culture, and heritage. The power of the Irish diaspora manifests itself through language, allowing Irish speakers to form a strong community. However, speakers noted that the health of the Irish language seems to be waning, facing issues of funding and legislation, even within Ireland.

On the other hand, social media and new technologies, such as panelist **MYK KLEMME**'s app and "online Gaeltacht" Love.Irish, are giving new and existing speakers more access to language-learning materials and online speaking communities. **KEVIN SCANNELL** (Professor of Computer Science at Saint Louis University) talked about some of his research on the development of technology for Irish and Celtic that helps speakers of indigenous and minority languages use their language

online. Originally from Donegal, **PÁDRAIG Ó MAOILREÁNAIGH**, creator of the electronic dictionary and pronunciation guide WinGléacht and contributor to Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla, also discussed some of the challenges faced by the Irish language in the digital realm.

During the engaging Q&A, many of the 50 audience members were curious about Irish language-learning resources in the Bay Area. To a question on the role of websites in teaching Irish, Imelda White responded that different websites suit different learning styles, offering options that reach a larger set of language learners. Another platform for spreading the Irish language, mentioned by an audience member, is music. The panelists referred to cultural centers and programs for the Irish language and diaspora, many of which are funded by organizations in Ireland that are very eager to support the formation of cultural and speaking communities. In general, it seems as though minority languages are undergoing a rebirth as new platforms make them more accessible to a larger audience. The Irish Studies Program here at IES is pleased to serve as one of these centers for contemporary Irish culture and linguistic exchange.

New Frontiers in Language Technology

by Jianwen Xu

On September 7, Professor **KEVIN SCANNELL** (Computer Science, Saint Louis University) gave a presentation for an audience of 20 on how the development of new technology furnishes speakers of minority languages with greater opportunities to use their language on various online platforms.

There are about 7100 languages spoken around the world; however, almost half of them are "endangered" according to UNESCO. 2500 to 3000 have some sort of online presence, with less than 1000 still used by their online language communities. Scannell gave some examples of new language technologies, such as optical character recognition. Turning to Irish and Celtic specifically, Scannell introduced a series of requirements for make Irish a "Google-able" language: a bigger, better dataset; machine learning standards tailored to linguistics;

technical capacities without communities; and collaboration with Google, Facebook, Twitter, and other social media platforms. Scannell's lecture



Professor Kevin Scannell presents his research on language technology

focused on bigger datasets for Irish and fitting machine learning standards into Irish linguistics. To get a better dataset for a minority language, Scannell has worked on collecting many different forms of minority language presence online and specifically on Twitter, through a project known as “Indigenous Tweets.” To conclude the lecture, Scannell discussed the standardization of minority languages online. The shifting landscape is towards crowdsourced translations, such as Google Translate. During the Q&A, Scannell mentioned that a trend in the field has been switching to a neural network independent of language-specific details, and shared success stories of language modeling.

EU Mayors' Perspectives on Climate Change

By Ani Hakobyan and Zakaria Gati

On September 12, IES along with the Goldman School of Public Policy and the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ISEEES) hosted a panel discussion on recent policy innovations European cities have adopted in response to climate change. Mayors from Heidelberg, Idanha-a-Nova, Oslo, Paris and Warsaw, who were in San Francisco to participate in California Governor Jerry Brown's Global Climate Summit, discussed the work that their cities are doing to combat climate change and promote sustainability. IES Associate Director Dr. Akasemi Newsome opened the conversation, which was moderated by Sudha Shetty, Assistant Dean of Goldman School of Public Policy.

The Deputy Mayor of Paris, **CÉLIA BLAUDEL**, spoke of the city's goal to be carbon-neutral by 2050. Blauel, who has been in her role



Top: IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome introduces the panel. Bottom: Left to right: Armino Palma Jacinto (Mayor of Idanha-a-Nova); Hanna Gronkiewicz (Mayor of Warsaw); IES Director Jeroen Dewulf; Célia Blauel (Deputy Mayor of Paris); Sudha Shetty (Goldman School of Public Policy).

since 2014, also spoke about the importance of citizen mobilization to find solutions to problems such as the serious air pollution that Paris faces. Blauel emphasized the importance of including citizens in major environmental decisions and happily noted that thousands have stepped up to act against climate change. The Mayor of Oslo, **RAYMOND JOHANSEN**, who served as State Secretary of Norway from 2000-2001 and again between 2005 and 2009, shared incentives that residents of his city enjoy for driving electric cars, for instance. Johansen also mentioned the strict guidelines the municipality of 700,000 follows to be eco-friendly, including partnering with companies that focus on sustainability. **ECKART WÜRZNER**, Mayor of the German city of Heidelberg since 2006, spoke about the need to discuss all environmental issues with residents, the private sector, and the government so that policies can be efficiently created and implemented. Würzner stressed the importance for cities to have eco-friendly buildings. To create interest in this type of activity, the city of Heidelberg offers subsidies to schools and other organizations that cut back on energy spending. For example, the money that would otherwise be spent on energy in schools that make the switch to eco-friendly practices is instead redirected to scholastic needs, such as buying textbooks. **HANNA GRONKIEWICZ**, the Mayor of Warsaw, explained that economic growth in Poland has impacted the model of sustainability for the capital. She emphasized the great transition the city of Warsaw has made since the coal-based economy of 1991 and the end of the USSR. In only twenty years, the issues Warsaw faced have completely changed. She stressed the importance of the first sustainable climate plan introduced in 2011, aimed at the reduction of fossil energy use in transports and construction primarily. **ARMINDO PALMA JACINTO**, Mayor of the city of Idanha-a-Nova in eastern Portugal, gave insight on the problems faced by rural regions. The natural patrimony of this city has been listed in the world geoparque and biosphere by the UNESCO. However, the city is heavily impacted by climate change, desertification, and wildfires. In addition, in recent decades, the city's population has plummeted. Idanha-a-Nova has implemented a sustainability policy to stop emigrations and incentivize rural innovation and economic development.

The event concluded with a lively Q&A on the role of the EU and national governments in supporting climate policy innovations. City leaders also discussed the potential for policy learning and sharing with cities in California.

Brexit's Diverging Pathways

By Davit Gasparyan and Sophia Kownatzki

On September 13, the Institute was pleased to welcome **MATT BEECH** (IES Senior Fellow, Senior Lecturer and Director of the Centre for British Politics at the University of Hull) who delivered a lively lecture for an audience of 30 on what he called the current central issue for European and British Politics: Brexit. In a presentation entitled "A View From Britain: Towards Brexit?", Beech not only discussed the background on the 2016 referendum, but also emphasized that the vote was motivated by the underlying question of who the English are and what kind of England they want to build.

Beech then shifted to current negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the EU since Article 50 took effect, setting the clock for the exit. He noted that negotiations include key issues such as the EU Divorce bill, future trade, borders of Ireland and Northern Ireland, rights of EU citizens in UK and vice versa. Ultimately, given the complex



IES Senior Fellow Matt Beech presents on Brexit.

negotiations and processes, Beech noted that there are two potential pathways that Brexit can take as we move forward. The first path would be a Soft Brexit that includes a deal

with the EU including jurisdiction of the ECJ, a common rulebook for agriculture and manufacturing, free movement for workers and a customs arrangement. The other path Brexit could take is a Hard Brexit, which is one with no deal with the EU and would make the UK fall to WTO framework.

Given the two options, Beech noted that although there may be slightly less supporters of Brexit today, the ones that persist are more passionate supporters rather than moderate ones. This divide can also be seen within UK politics, which Beech referred to as “broken.” In unpredictable times such as these, when it is still unclear which direction Brexit and UK politics will take, Beech emphasized how “Brexit is much about the heart as it is about the head.”

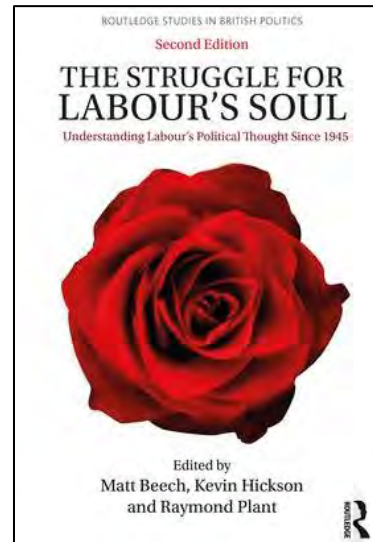
During the Q&A, audience members raised concerns about the possibility of a “hard Brexit” and its economic, social, and political ramifications. Beech offered his own insights, offering an alternative to the doomsday mindset many have taken and pointing to disenfranchisement and frustration with European Union as a force stronger than the desire for economic stability. Another attendee questioned Ireland’s position within the Brexit debate, particularly if and how the borders between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland would change. Beech concluded that there will likely be no change, given the complications of enforcement and its history of sectarian violence.

The Struggle for Labour's Soul

By Jianwen Xu

MATT BEECH (IES Senior Fellow, Senior Lecturer and Director of the Centre for British Politics at the University of Hull) visited the Institute on September 14 to present his new book “The Struggle for Labour’s Soul”, a broad survey of the history of British Labour party, for an audience of 25. The book consists of three parts: first, an overview of the three consecutive defeats of British Labour party; second, the rise of populist left; and third, the Labour Party’s response towards hot-button issues such as Brexit and immigration. In this book, Beech attempts to clarify how Labour became a “capture party” (a party with broad

electoral support) and to summarize the internal and external challenges it faces today.



IES Senior Fellow Matt Beech's new book on the British Labour Party

of immigration. Beech ended by pointing out the inherent problem of the self-proclaimed “cosmopolitan” party. He argued that blind political correctness inside Labour forbade people from voicing their true thoughts.

During the Q&A, Beech delved deeper into the Labour party’s position on specific issues and made the distinction between state-level threats, such as Russia, and sub-state level threats, such as terrorism. He also discussed the impact of gay marriage vote as a gateway vote. Finally, on the topic of European integration, Beech stated that, according to him, the fall of the Berlin Wall and stricter trade laws led to the shift from 20th century pro-European sentiment to 21st century Euroscepticism.

Beech began by describing the evolution of political positions in the Labour party: the old left, old right, center, new left, and the progressives. One important feature that Beech highlighted is that in UK politics, the conservative party tended to be typically pro-European and pro-immigration. On the contrary, the Labour party has been historically Eurosceptic. Beech also brought up several topics of interest within the internal divisions of the Labour Party, such as gender politics, political economy issues regarding the role of state and market, defense issues including nuclear weapons, and cultural issues, especially with the growing impact

The EU's Arctic Endeavor

By Ani Hakobyan and Jianwen Xu

On September 21, IES hosted **ANDREAS RASPOTNIK**, an expert on the politics of the Arctic, for a lecture titled “The Spell of the Arctic: The EU as Geopolitical Actor.” Raspotnik, who has been researching the role of the European Union in the Arctic for about eight years, is a Senior Researcher at the High North Center at Nord University Business School in Bodø (Norway) and a Senior Research Fellow at the Fridtjof Nansen



Dr. Andreas Raspotnik on the Berkeley campus

Institute in Oslo. In the United States, he is also a Senior Fellow at The Arctic Institute in Washington, DC. Although people are often surprised that he focuses on the Arctic due to the assumption that the area is not significant enough for EU policy-makers, Raspotnik insists that new energy resources in the region create an important geopolitical struggle between different international actors, such as Canada, the United States, Russia, and several European nations.

Raspotnik began his talk for the 25 guests in attendance by giving a brief history of the EU's connection with the Arctic. Greenland, for example, was part of the European Community but decided to opt out. However, as Finland and

Sweden joined the EU, Finland argued for a stronger EU presence in the Arctic due to constant Russian threats. Nevertheless, one of the biggest points of contestation in the Arctic issue is the fact that the European Union is not an official member of the Arctic Council, even though its members

Denmark, Finland, and Sweden are. Raspotnik stressed that although the three countries are EU members, they do not necessarily represent the interests of the EU. It is also important to note that although the European Commission, Council, Parliament, and Union are all connected, there is no coherent Arctic policy amongst the three. One key point of the Arctic policy is climate change and sustainable development. Economic opportunities are also becoming more realistic in the area. Raspotnik concluded his lecture by pointing out that the Arctic community can make significant progress in climate research and policy.

The animated Q&A that followed the talk covered topics of tourism, sustainability, the energy sector, and the EU's future role in the Arctic. Many of the attendees were interested in understanding EU-Russia relations as well as the relationship between the EU and its three members represented on the Arctic Council (Denmark, Finland, and Sweden).

King Albert's Heroes: Belgian Armored Cars on the Frontlines of WWI

By Sophia Kownatzki

On September 25, **AUGUST THIRY** (writer-lecturer at Thomas More College in Mechelen, Belgium) delivered a lecture titled after his book recently translated into English, *King Albert's Heroes: How four hundred young Belgians fought in Russia and conquered the United States*. Thiry took the audience of 25 on the extended journey of Belgium's first armored car unit during World War I with a collection of 80 original photographs taken by members of the unit. Known as the ACM (*Autos Canons Mitrailleuses*, or Armored Cars with Cannons and Machine Guns), the Belgian unit's armored cars were impossible to use on the tight trenches of the Western Front. Instead, in an agreement made between King Albert I and Tsar Nicholas II, they were sent to Russia to fight the German army on the Eastern Front in 1915. Unable to cross German territory to return to Belgium, the men had to travel across Russia, the United States, and across the Atlantic to get back home. Thiry detailed the unit's journey and major obstacles that delayed their journey home,

from the extremely harsh winter weather conditions, to the Russian Revolution in 1917. Thiry supplemented the photographs with his vast knowledge of the political conditions surrounding the regions and the period and anecdotes detailing the many schemes and shenanigans the ACM plotted. One such scheme was the deal the ACM struck with Bolshevik leaders: to acquire a train across Russia, the ACM had to give up their armored cars. The men complied, and left the Bolsheviks with their cars – completely dismantled and in an unusable state. The men joined an American ship in Vladivostok, and traveled across the United States in a series of parades to New York, where they made their trip across the Atlantic and back home to Belgium. Thiry discussed the importance of this Belgian-American partnership as a win-win situation: globally lamented as the “poor little Belgians” dominated by German forces, the ACM was a living example of the exact opposite – the brave Belgians. For the Americans, the Belgians served as a rallying force to inspire Americans to support the war.



August Thiry (Thomas More College, Belgium) and IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

During the Q&A, audience members dug deeper into anecdotes that Thiry had mentioned in the lecture. Thiry also discussed his research process, explaining the development of his idea for an anthology into a book, the interview process with living relatives, and the long and arduous process of collecting the photographs of the ACM.

Environmental Change and Migration in Historical Perspective

By Sophia Kownatzki and Alison Spencer

On October 2, IES and GHI-West welcomed **UWE LÜBKEN** (Professor of American History at Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich) for a presentation on his three-year project “Climates of Migration.” The

project centers on the concept of environmental migration, which is defined as migration prompted by environmental change. As the term is relatively new, Lübken examined historical examples to try and gain perspective on environmental migration. His research was also inspired by the current debates about migration and displacement caused by natural disasters.

Looking to the past, Lübken discussed case studies such as 19th-century transatlantic migration. During this period, many who came to the United States from Europe cited a more favorable climate as a reason for migrating. He also discussed the



Andrea Westermann (Research Fellow & Head of Office, GHI-West) with Uwe Lübken (Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich)

Vanport Flood of 1948, in which significant flooding in an Oregon city destroyed the homes of many citizens, leading to significant displacement. A theme Lübken stressed throughout his lecture was the need for understanding the intersection of various economic, political, social, and environmental factors within history. Another point of clarification was the definitions of migration, displacement, refugees and the significance of their connotations with regard to his research. The politicization and securitization of the term “refugees,” along with its misuse and misunderstandings, are all factors he found important to consider within his lecture. Lübken proposed examining subtle population shifts in the wake of natural disasters to attempt to address some of these questions, as relocation of whole communities is rare. Additionally, he stressed the importance of a long run view of history. In addition to natural disasters or droughts, long term processes of climate change may likewise lead to environmental migration. During an engaging Q&A, the audience of 30 drew connections from Lübken’s presentation to current

climate change disasters and issues. In response to a question concerning how environmental factors may have contributed to the Syrian Civil War, Lübken admitted that there is “no one satisfying factor;” instead, he warned the audience not to fall into a “deterministic trap.” Asked about the cultural implications of environmental disasters, Lübken made connections to government agencies’ responses to Hurricanes Katrina and Maria in New Orleans and Puerto Rico, respectively. Stressing that he did not intend to diminish large scale events, Lübken concluded the Q&A session by stressing the importance of looking to environmental history and the history of migration for connections to cope with environmental change.

Vasari's Words: A Book Chat with Douglas Biow

By Julia Zimring

On Wednesday, October 3rd, the Institute of European Studies welcomed **DOUGLAS BIOW** (Superior Oil Company-Linward Shivers Centennial Professor in Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of Texas at Austin). Before an audience of 30, Biow discussed his latest book, *Vasari's Words: The "Lives of the Artists" as a History of Ideas in the Italian Renaissance*, published in September 2018 by Cambridge University Press. The conversation was moderated by **HENRIKE LANGE** (Assistant Professor of Italian Studies and History of Art at UC Berkeley).

In his new book, Biow uses Giorgio Vasari's seminal text to assemble a cultural “history of ideas” based on five keywords: “*Professione/ Profession*,” “*Ingegno/ Genius*,” “*Prestezza/ Speed*,” “*Tempo/ Time*,” and “*Notte/ Night*.” As Biow demonstrates, Vasari imagines the work of the artist as a distinct profession with an elevated cultural value. “Genius” refers to ingenuity and expertise that can be cultivated and shaped through education and training. Artists of remarkable genius possess “speed” as a defining characteristic. Vasari also assigns a unique value to “time,” which artists should use productively, but which also threatens the existence of the very art he celebrates. “Night” is a distinct experience of time as engulfing and deep as

darkness, represented visually in the works of Raphael. The different meanings that these key words take on indicate cultural and artistic inquiry during Vasari's time. Through these central concepts, Biow argues that Vasari viewed art as a discipline that could be institutionalized. The core argument of *Vasari's Words* is that the *Lives of the Artists* itself enacts the process of expressing ideas and creating things, and that each keyword is important to understanding the Renaissance as an age of artistic rebirth. During the discussion, the speakers made reference to Umberto Eco and other important Italian thinkers as points of contact for the process of creating a new vocabulary of a history of ideas. The event concluded with a lively Q&A about the intersection of professional identity and techne, the “Florence-centric” nature of institutionalization, and the relationship between the Reformation and professionalization.



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Douglas Biow (UT Austin) and Henrike Lange (UC Berkeley)

Big Data, Ethics, and Individual Freedom

By Maddi Erdall and Ani Hakobyan

On October 4, the Institute of European Studies, the Miller Institute for Global Challenges & the Law, the Center for Long-Term Cybersecurity, and the School of Information hosted **PETER DABROCK** (Chair of the German Ethics Council) for a lecture on “Freedom and Ethics in the Era of Big Data” for an audience of 80 people. As a Protestant theologian and Chair of Systematic Theology at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Dabrock was able to provide a unique take on this controversial topic.

Utilizing the Facebook suicide prevention tool as an example, Dabrock introduced the themes of moral and legal permissibility in the context of big data in an “online world.” He explored the potential advantages and disadvantages of big data, specifically highlighting three trends that conjure up the feared tipping point: trends in business society, trends in civil society, and the effect on human freedom and self-determination. The first trend concerns the workforce in the digital age and the attack on the middle class. Dabrock argued that in our current day and age, the future of the workforce seems more uncertain than ever; two-thirds of European jobs are threatened by machine learning, the most in danger being white collar jobs. Current trends in civil society comprised the second fear that Dabrock mentioned, noting that big data affects democracy, civil society, and the rule of law. The feeling of separation from the cultural and economic mainstream has broader implications for the middle class, potentially increasing isolation from the state, media, and politics and the loss of the notion of a “common good.” The third trend concerns the concepts of freedom and self-determination, both of which are threatened by technology and big data utilization, as in the Chinese social credit system.

After highlighting these three major trends, Dabrock advocated for the approach of the German Ethics Council concerning big data protection. He called for a united effort between society, individuals, and government to increase data sovereignty by reshaping informational freedom. The Ethics Council advocates for a shift in data

protection/security law from an input to an output oriented approach, thereby requiring a concerted effort in promoting a strong civil society, new technical procedures, improved legal regulation, and lifelong education and development with a focus on learning how to deal with ambiguities in life.

The lecture was followed by a series of questions covering a variety of topics, including different beliefs regarding privacy in the United States and Germany. While Germans generally seem more concerned about privacy issues than most American citizens, Dabrock noted, he also mentioned that the tech companies here in the US appear to be following suit with privacy regulations led by European countries.



Peter Dabrock (German Ethics Council) addresses the audience at the School of Law

The Gender Pay Gap: EU-US Perspectives

by Julia Nelsen

On October 4, IES and the European Union Center were pleased to host a panel discussion on the gender pay gap from a comparative US-EU perspective. Funded by a European Commission "Getting to Know Europe" grant and co-sponsored by Autodesk Women in Leadership, the event took place at the Autodesk Gallery in San Francisco. Moderated by **KELLIE MCELHANEY** (Distinguished Teaching Fellow and Founding Director of the Center for Equity, Gender and Inclusion at the Haas School of Business), the conversation featured **RUTH COTTER** (Senior Vice President, Worldwide Marketing, HR and Investor Relations at AMD) and **CAROLINE SIMARD** (Managing Director, Stanford VMware Women's Leadership Innovation Lab).

It is widely reported that women continue to earn roughly 80 cents on the dollar compared to their male colleagues. According to recent figures from the OECD, however, wage differences vary dramatically from as little as 2% in Belgium to around 18% in the US, to over 25% in Estonia. The news has been filled with high-profile examples of the pay gap. This past year in the UK, for instance, the BBC made headlines when the salaries of its top-earning stars were published, revealing a huge imbalance between men and women.

In the wake of #MeToo, efforts have been launched to address gender wage disparity as one facet of workplace inequality and discrimination. Iceland, for example, recently passed a law requiring companies to prove that men and women are paid equally, while France has proposed a new labor law under which companies caught discriminating against women will be given three years to close the gap or be fined. Earlier in 2018, five members of the European Commission published a joint declaration reaffirming gender equity as one of the EU's top priorities.

During the Q&A, the panelists discussed initiatives to build more inclusive and equitable workplaces, including effective strategies that they have seen companies implement, as well as the role of governments. They also addressed obstacles to pay and career attainment from both

an individual and collective standpoint, citing the need for women to "lean in" and negotiate on behalf of themselves while also noting structural factors such as weak policies and enforcement of pay equity laws. The conversation focused broadly on the need for culture change in workplaces around the gender pay gap. As McElhaneay put it, "Diversity is counting heads; inclusion is making heads count."



Left to right: Caroline Simard, Kellie McElhaneay, and Ruth Cotter

Performing Germanness: Laughter and Violence in Nazi Germany

By Lillie Vogt

On October 9, IES and GHI-West were pleased to host **MARTINA KESSEL** (Professor of Modern German History at Bielefeld University) for a lecture on the significance of humor as an identity practice during the time of National Socialism in Germany. Addressed to an audience of 40 students, faculty and community members, the lecture was centered around Kessel's forthcoming book titled *Gewalt und Gelächter. "Deutschsein" 1914-1945* (Laughter and Violence. 'Being German' 1914-1945). In her book, Kessel explores the idea that non-Jewish Germans disguised violence as art to defend their failure to



Martina Kessel (Bielefeld University) with Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (Department of History, UC Berkeley)

comply with international and humanitarian beliefs. In other words, the National Socialist Party launched “artistic” propaganda campaigns against Jewish populations to justify Germany’s horrendous acts on these communities. Kessel mentioned that in the late 1930s the National Socialist Party organized a series of parades that ridiculed forced immigration policies on Jewish Germans. In an effort to humiliate and shame Jews, parade

performers would wear nose masks, long beards, curls, and tall hats to exaggerate stereotypical Jewish features. These ‘artistic performances’ were generally humorous to non-Jewish Germans, but reinforced stark differences between these two groups. Campaigns like these contributed greatly to racial and ethnic polarities leading to WWII, and allowed Germans to act as perpetrators through levity.

Kessel’s lecture concluded with an engaging Q&A. A significant topic of discussion was the use of humor directed towards the children of Germany. Kessel responded that the state provided education curriculum, books, and board games that emphasized the importance of ‘Germanness’ to German children. The lecture was part of the Gerda Henkel Lecture Series at GHI-West in cooperation with the Gerda Henkel Foundation and the Institute of European Studies.

Fascism Then and Now

By Julia Zimring

On October 10, **TIMOTHY SCOTT BROWN** (Professor of History at Northeastern University and Senior Fellow at the Institute of European Studies) delivered a lecture titled “Fascism Then and Now: Some Theoretical and Practical Reflections.” Brown, who has written on a variety of topics such as West Germany, media, counterculture, and subversive politics, drew on both historical and current examples to help define the concept of fascism. Following his lecture, Brown and the audience of 30 engaged in an stimulating discussion.

Brown began his lecture with an assertion followed by two probing questions. First, he claimed that fascism -- which emerged in the early 20th century and diminished after World War II

-- never really went away. Rather, its “brand was tarnished” by the war, and few groups wanted to openly associate with it. So what, Brown asked, has propelled fascism back to the center of politics? How do we define and determine what and who is fascist?

Brown approached these difficult questions by first offering a definition of fascism. According to Brown, fascism is, above all, a “dictatorship against the Left.” Brown emphasized that, in his opinion, fascism is not just concerned with attacking trade unions and cooperatives, thus making sure economic power does not shift hands. According to Brown, fascism is also, and perhaps more nefariously, a political and spiritual battle -- one that holds war, white identity, and masculinity as



Timothy Scott Brown (Northeastern University / IES Senior Fellow)

essential core components. Brown also touched on the topics of Islamophobia, Steve Bannon's political commentary, and the election of Donald Trump.

Throughout the lecture, Brown cautioned against labeling all right-wing populist groups as fascist. Although it is a difficult determination to make, Brown claimed that if a group is "content on some level to work within democratic institutions, it is ipso facto, not fascist." This sparked a discussion with audience members about the importance and potential dangers of labeling groups. Audience members also asked Brown about the role of masculinity in anti-fascist organizations, such as ANTIFA, and the meaning of fascism in US history.

An Evening with Paul Muldoon

By Sophia Kownatzki

The Irish Studies Program welcomed Pulitzer Prize-winning poet **PAUL MULDOON** on October 11. The 2017 recipient of Her Majesty's Gold Medal for Poetry, Muldoon was met with a large and excited audience of over 100 that packed the Maude Fife Room in Wheeler Hall. Following an introduction listing his awards and accomplishments as a poet, songwriter, and children's books writer, Muldoon took to the podium and immediately jumped into a recitation of "Meeting the British." Muldoon was engaging, physical, and passionate as he spoke, and provided a clarification of the poem's context – the native Pontiac's Rebellion against the British army – and its relation to early germ warfare. Segueing into the next poem, Muldoon admitted, "I'm making this up as I go along. We'll go on an adventure together and see where it goes." The subject matter of the following poem, "The Coney," paralleled the spontaneity of the evening. He explained that "The Coney" was inspired by one of his dreams, in which he met a rabbit that mistook him for his father. Muldoon's fantastical storytelling had the audience alongside him every step of the way, laughing at its oddities and processing his surreal portrayal of emotional loss, which presented his father's death as a rabbit diving into a pool of wolves. Muldoon also



Pulitzer Prize-winner Paul Muldoon

read one of his newer poems, such as "The Great Horse of the World," which detailed one of his earliest memories.

Running across the stage to grab another one of his books sitting at a merchandise table, Muldoon leafed through it quickly and quipped, "Please don't feel that I'm ill prepared." He settled into the next poem, titled "Wave," a somber and sentimental elegy he wrote in memory of poet C.K. Williams. As the Campanile bell struck eight o'clock, Muldoon concluded the evening by reciting a love song he wrote called "Comeback," telling the story of a once popular, now dated band trying to make a comeback. Although the official poetry reading ended, with the Irish Studies Program's encouragement and to their delight, most of the audience stayed afterwards to discuss the reading amongst themselves and with Muldoon.

EU Economics Commissioners Visit IES

By Zakaria Gati

On October 16, the European Union Center of IES was pleased to host a meeting with two distinguished members of the European Commission's Department of Economic and Financial Affairs, Minister Counselor **MORENO BERTOLDI** and Senior Advisor **ANTOINE BEGASSE**. Speaking to an invited audience of 25 faculty and graduate students from IES and the Department of Economics, the commissioners discussed the resilience of the Eurozone ten years after the great recession, and presented the economic activities of the EU more generally. Bertoldi explained from empirical evidence how strong economic growth has characterized the Eurozone since 2015. According to economic cycle theory, the Eurozone is no longer in a period of recovery, and currently

in a period of expansion. Domestic demand fuels this growth as it increases. Bertoldi pointed out that fears of a negative economic impact of Brexit on Eurozone growth are for now unverified. Going into policy analysis, he explained that policy has completely evolved since 2008, while at the same time the European Central Bank has moved on to an expansionary monetary policy, and a generally favorable fiscal policy. However, several challenges threaten these developments, including economic fragmentation between northern and southern Eurozone



From top: EU Commissioners Bertoldi and Begasse at IES; Antoine Begasse with IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome; Minister Bertoldi meets with Profs. Ulrike Malmendier and Yuriy Gorodnichenko; IES Director Jeroen Dewulf with the Commissioners. (Photo credits: JRumans Photography / Julia Nelsen)

countries, and geopolitical tensions such as trade wars. Moreover, the delays in completing the European monetary union architecture could also lead to negative economic consequences. Begasse addressed questions related to financial regulation. After the crisis, he noted, banking sector actors called for a change in the banking union, as the

system was experiencing risks of general failure. In addition, new tools have been introduced such as a capital market union and a fiscal union. However, Begasse argued that in order to implement complete financial regulation for the Eurozone, political unity must be deepened.

Telling Political Refugees and Economic Migrants Apart

By Alison Spencer

On October 17, IES and GHI West welcomed **DAVID MILIBAND**, former UK Foreign Secretary and current President and CEO of the International Rescue Committee (IRC) to the Berkeley campus for the Annual Bucerius Lecture, “What is in a Category? Telling Political Refugees and Economic Migrants Apart.” Addressing an audience of over 150 at the Alumni House, Miliband discussed the work of the IRC, an organization devoted to global humanitarian aid and development, and offered his perspective on the current state of the global refugee crisis.

To begin the lecture, Miliband addressed the increasing complexity of the worldwide displacement crisis as a result of new political and economic reasons for people to leave their home countries. Today, one out of every 110 people on the planet is a refugee. Last year, less than two percent of refugees returned home, and sixteen million people were newly displaced. Additionally, roughly half of refugees are children under the age of eighteen. Unlike Europe, where



David Miliband (President and CEO of the International Rescue Committee) addresses the audience at Alumni House.

there are two separate migration issues that are coming together in a complicated way, the US conversation on migration has until recently been more neatly divided between economic immigrants coming from Latin America and East/South Asia on the one hand and refugees being resettled in the country, largely from the Middle East and Africa. Yet several events, leading to a muddled distinction between immigrants and refugees, have resulted in the need to figure out how to differentiate between the two groups and clarify their rights and our responsibilities to them.

Miliband argued against the dilution of the definition of refugee, as established by the UN's 1951 Refugee Convention, contending that altering this definition would lead to a corresponding dilution of rights for both refugees and immigrants alike. He also placed considerable importance on shifting host countries' perspectives from the idea of refugees simply surviving while waiting to return, to thriving in their new location, as there is a significant probability that refugees will not return home.

One of several areas of focus for the IRC and international community, Miliband highlighted, is the need to spend more on educational programs for refugees, given that roughly half of displaced people worldwide are children. Another is the prioritization of family reunification, for the wellbeing of children and families. Countries, he emphasized, should also strive to make the arrival process of refugees more efficient. This amount of time ranges by country, from 8-10 weeks in Germany to four years in the United States. This inefficiency leads to vulnerability, as refugees waiting for a decision on their applications for asylum are more vulnerable to trafficking.

The event concluded with a lively discussion moderated by Jutta Allmendinger, President of the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

Refugees in German Higher Education

By Ani Hakobyan and Davit Gasparyan

On October 24, IES and GHI West were pleased to welcome **BERND FISCHER** (Deputy Head of Division at the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research) for a lecture on the integration of refugees in German institutions of higher education. He began his lecture by noting that he was a practitioner and not a researcher and that his presentation was based on what he himself had seen and worked on.

Fischer's lecture, drawing on his firsthand experience as a practitioner, focused on the German response to the influx of refugees (from Syria, Afghanistan, Russia, Somalia, Nigeria, and Eritrea) in the country starting in 2014 and 2015, when the number of refugees skyrocketed to around 900,000. This number has since dropped, with 2016 and 2017 seeing 300,000 and 200,000 refugees respectively. Because so many refugees are between the ages of 18 and 29, education is one of the key factors in successful integration into German society.

In response to the influx of refugees, Germany's Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) has come up with five initiatives, including the need to promote basic language and reading skills, assessing practical skills and giving refugees access to vocational training, and funding research projects focusing on refugees and the best approaches to their integration. The BMBF has allotted 100 million euros to an action plan that is to last



Bernd Fischer (Practitioner-in-Residence at GHI West) with GHI Program Coordinator Heike Friedman

until March 2020. The projects in this action plan include assessing university entry qualifications and language proficiency, bridging courses for asylum-seekers and accepted refugees, and on-campus inclusion by voluntary students' initiatives. These programs were implemented by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) and the German Academic Exchange Service, the world's largest funding organization for international academic mobility. Fischer emphasized that refugees are treated in the same way as other students and need to show their qualifications in order to be accepted to German institutions of higher education and/or vocational schools, which are highly valued and well-respected.

Following the lecture, a Q&A session allowed the 30 attendees to engage in dialogue with Fischer. To the question of how outreach is done, Fischer answered that such programs are conducted by universities and grassroots organizations. He also emphasized that social media has magnified outreach in recent years. Fischer discussed some challenges, such as refugees from certain countries benefiting more from or having easier access to the system due to their country's academic recognition rate. In addition, access to a university does not give refugees privilege to stay in Germany. Fischer concluded by discussing the multicultural dimension and outreach-focused approach of the new systems being put in place to support refugee education.

Political and Operatic Mythologies in Contemporary Italy

By Maddi Erdall and Zakaria Gati

On October 25, IES was pleased to welcome **MARINA ROMANI** (Lecturer at UC Berkeley and Contributing Writer for the San Francisco Opera) for a talk entitled "Political and Operatic Mythologies in Contemporary Italy: Lega Nord's 'Va Pensiero.'" Co-sponsored by the Department of Music and the Department of Italian Studies, Romani's lecture analyzed Italian composer Giuseppe Verdi's famous operatic chorus, "Va Pensiero," in the current political context of the far-right Italian party, Lega Nord.

Romani began by giving background on Lega Nord, or the "Northern League." Founded in the early 1990s, Lega Nord was created to advocate for the secession of northern Italy. Lega Nord justified secessionist ambitions by arguing that southern Italy was feeding off of the richness of the north, and the party's early rhetoric exhibits the notion of a proud and successful people



Marina Romani (UC Berkeley / San Francisco Opera) with IES Program Manager Julia Nelsen

feeling exploited by a failing nation. In 2013, Lega Nord lost over half of its electorate compared to 2008 due to corruption and financial scandals. Now in 2018, the party has rebranded into "Lega," establishing itself as the third largest party in Italy. Dropping the 'north' from its name, the party's rhetoric now focuses less on southern blame and instead expresses far-right discourse in the context of patriotic sentiments expressed by "Va Pensiero."

Contextualizing the song within Italian culture, Romani explained that though Italy had struggled throughout its history to achieve linguistic and political unity, certain cultural traditions have united the Italian people. One of the elements that best exemplifies this notion is "Va Pensiero," which many have considered to be the alternative unofficial national anthem since the 19th century, interpreting it as a patriotic hymn that speaks to a forsaken spiritual history of the nation. It is in this sense, Romani argued, that Lega has appropriated "Va Pensiero" as its own anthem. The chorus is a powerful political tool through which Lega indirectly suggests that Northern Italy is the cultural, political, and economic engine of the country--the "true Italy." Thus, the party's anti-immigrant ideology is implicitly equated with Italian nationalism and identity. Romani conveyed the consequences of pinning these new meanings on an artistic artifact whose influence is much larger than the reaches of Lega.

The lecture was followed by a lively Q&A with the 45 in attendance. Romani was first asked about the theme of the homeland in “Va Pensiero,” to which she responded by explaining that the concept of ‘homeland’ has been a cause of resentment for many other groups, such as Istrian-Dalmatian exiles. When asked about the use of “Va Pensiero” in the 2006 Olympics in Turin, Romani answered that, although groups such as Lega attempt to appropriate it, the chorus nevertheless remains a symbol of Italian tradition and excellence.

The Odd Spring of May '68

by Julia Nelsen

On October 30, the French Studies Program together with the French Department was pleased to host a screening of the recent documentary by **DOMINIQUE BEAUX**, *Mai 68: un étrange printemps*. Presented in conjunction with a selection of previously unpublished photographs by Philippe Gras, on display in Dwinelle Hall, the film was part of an international traveling exhibition sponsored by the Institut Français to mark the fiftieth anniversary of May 1968.

During that month, France was transformed as mass rallies and nationwide strikes shut down universities and factories across the country.



Nearly eleven million students and workers assembled on the streets of Paris and in cities all across the West demanding freedom of speech, self-government, higher wages, and, more radically, a complete overthrow of all forms of authority. Those events crucially defined the relationship between the so-called ‘old guard’ and the younger generation, and indeed shaped a generation itself—the collective “we” of 1968, or the *soixante-huitards*, forever associated with that epochal year.

While the movement is often associated with familiar images of unrest—raised fists, burning cars, students occupying the Sorbonne—Beaux’s film is unique for new angle that it offers on those events from those on the other side of the barricades: the very politicians, police officers, and business leaders who were the target of the social and cultural upheaval that brought France to a halt. The film devotes significant attention (and is in fact dedicated) to Maurice Grimaud, the former chief of police at the center of the *NUIT DES BARRICADES*. We also hear from members of the communist party and union reps from the CGT, who were criticized by the far left for betraying its ideals, and from other “anonymous” witnesses.

Dominique Beaux has said that he wanted to revisit the events from the perspective of those contested, not only to render the magnitude of the social crisis, but also to cast what happened in a sort of ironic light. As he put it in a recent interview, “There was, in May ’68, a touch of the carnivalesque: an insolence, a cruelty, a reversal of the usual order of things. There’s an added irony in reversing the perception of an event that was itself already a reversal.” In so doing, the filmmaker controversially reverses our image of the *soixante-huitards* themselves—not young revolutionaries hurling rocks at the police, but individuals who were largely unprepared for, and even afraid of, a radical upending of their worldview. Their stories, juxtaposed with archival footage through which they are asked to revisit the events, challenge our collective historical memory of “May 68.”

Post-war Germany and Changing Values of Work

By Sophia Kownatzki

On November 2, 25 people filled 201 Moses to hear a talk by **JÖRG NEUHEISER**, Visiting Associate Professor at UCSD sponsored by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). His lecture, titled “Work between National Socialism and the Economic Miracle: A Forgotten Crisis in the Early Federal Republic,” considered work in post-war Germany from a historical and sociological perspective. Neuheiser gave an overview of the histories of the so-called “Trümmerfrauen” (rubble

women), the reconstruction of German cities and the creation of the economic miracle in the 1950s. It was during this period of successful recovery, he argued, that work was inextricably tied with the German people's sense of duty and purpose in life. The forgotten work crisis in the 1950s, Neuheiser reveals, has implications on the future of work in today's technologically advancing world. More specifically, Neuheiser addressed two questions: What can Germany do about high youth unemployment? And, will there still be vocational training with machinery?

Noting a "failed attempt to repress women's work," Neuheiser stated that one way to tackle unemployment in Germany was by pressuring married women to leave the workforce, not only citing motherly moral obligations, but the idea of unfair economic distribution by having "double earners" in one household. With regard to vocational training, Neuheiser discussed a shift



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Jörg Neuheiser

in this post-economic miracle period, in which Germans placed an emphasis on skilled work and quality of craftsmanship – two values that hold strong in German culture today.

Neuheiser noted that in the 1970s, there was a clear change in values, especially among German youth, where the previous bourgeois work ethic cleared way for the "new leisure ethic – the post-material work ethic." To working people in the 1970s, work had a purpose in life, but was not a fundamental part of it. Through his retracing of the shifting values of work, Neuheiser portrayed a more nuanced, complicated progression of modernity in Germany.

Audience members had a number of engaging questions for the speaker. Neuheiser clarified the myth of the German work ethic and its many varied iterations throughout German history, pointing out specific periods which valued work in anti-Semitic comparisons and civilian

bourgeois ideals. Others were curious about depictions and perceptions of working German women in this crisis of work. Neuheiser ended his lecture by emphasizing the complexity of debates surrounding the value of work in daily life.

Investigating the Digital Future of the EU

By Ani Hakobyan

On November 8, the Institute welcomed **PETER FATELNIG**, Minister Counsellor for Digital Economy Policy at the EU Delegation to the United States of America. Fatelnig presented his lecture "The Digital Future of the European Union – Will There be Any?" to a diverse audience of 25 that included computer science students, community members, and those interested in the inner workings of the European Union and its digital strategy. The lecture was moderated by **JEKATERINA NOVIKOVA** from the European Commission, currently 2018-19 EU Fellow at IES.

Fatelnig's lecture focused on the digitization of a variety of services across the European Union. He spoke about the digital single market, which he characterized as a series of actions that "systematically create safeguards for citizens for how future digital economies and societies should be functioning." The Minister Counsellor emphasized that digital policy-making in the EU is a "precise process" and noted that although values in general vary from country to country, one theme is common: Europeans generally lack trust in digital and tech



Jekaterina Novikova (IES EU Fellow, 2018-19) with Peter Fatelnig (European Commission)

companies, and thus rely on legislation to protect themselves. In Austria, for example, seventy-seven percent of people have serious concerns about technology and digitization, Fatelnig noted.

The current EU Commission's priority is primarily to foster job growth, and secondly to work on improving digitization, which is expected by the European people. In general, Fatelnig stressed that European policy-making aims to be "strategic" and said that it focuses on "creating favorable outcomes" for European citizens. In his words, the EU is "not a country, but a project," dynamic and constantly moving. This means that there is always new legislation and policy affecting digitization and its impact on citizens. Examples of some programs that are being funded and implemented are developing virtual museums to give all people access to culture and history, monitoring beekeeping, and giving those living in the remote parts of the EU access to healthcare. The lecture ended on the hopeful note that Europe and the United States will continue to have good relations and work together on cybersecurity and other aspects of digitization.

Centenary Perspectives on the Austrian Republic

By Julia Nelsen

To commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Austrian republic, on November 10, the Austrian Consulate of Seattle in conjunction with the Austrian Studies Program was pleased to host **DAVID CLAY LARGE** (IES Senior Fellow and Professor at the Fromm Institute, University of San Francisco) for a lecture titled "From Renner to Kurz: Reflections on the History of Austrian Republicanism." The First Republic was declared on November 12, 1918, at the end of World War



David Large addresses the Austrian community in Seattle

I. Large's talk examined the First Republic (1918-1938) as a cautionary tale, illustrating how domestic and foreign challenges in the 1920s and 1930s compromised Austria's parliamentary democracy well before the country's annexation into the German Reich in 1938. As Large noted, the history of Austria's Second Republic has shown that the Austrian people learned from such challenges to evolve a durable and stable consensus-based political system. His lecture also considered the problematical aspect of Austria's reluctance to reckon with its role in the Third Reich, as the country was often portrayed as a victim rather than as a co-conspirator of the Nazi regime. Offering a critical retrospective of postwar Austrian identity, Large explained historical developments and sources, engaging the Austrian community of Seattle in an enriching discussion.

Historical Influences on Contemporary Immigration Discourses

By Sophia Kownatzki

On November 13, **PAUL VOERKEL**, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) professor at UERJ University of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), delivered a lecture entitled "Historiography and Migration: Explaining the Present through the Lens of History." Voerkel gave a brief background on recent German history, particularly Germany's history with immigration, and the recent shift to emotional rather than empirical public discourse surrounding migration and refugees. While he mainly used a historical lens to understand contemporary conditions, language



Paul Voerkel (UERJ) with IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

studies, linguistics, and culture were also strong influences in his argument. Voerkel focused primarily on German development in the 1990s: with German reunification came changing values,

including an effort to “internationalize” Germany. Yet, immigration to Germany in the 1990s was not a “new phenomenon,” as Voerkel points out. After comparing facts and figures of migration patterns in Germany over its recent history, Voerkel transitioned to the recent 2015-16 “refugee crisis,” and the rapid shift from the early “refugees welcome” campaign to recent tense, xenophobic language used when discussing migration. Looking at the tendencies of language use, Voerkel connected language use in totalitarian regimes – such as enemy creating, devaluation of intellectuals, religious terms – to discourses surrounding refugees today. Using immigration data, he demonstrated that despite the focus of immigration discussions on people from Arab and African countries, this is not the largest demographic of immigrants entering Germany. Voerkel stressed the importance of looking to historical examples to help us understand current discourses, and concluded his discussion with significant works and scholars to look towards for guidance.

Voerkel’s lecture led to an in-depth Q&A during which the audience members asked about differences in refugee reception in rural and urban communities. Voerkel responded that this has less to do with the attitudes of people themselves in these regions, but more so with people’s prior exposure to foreigners. There was also a short discussion about the role of journalists in spreading (mis)information, in which Voerkel took an optimistic view, pointing to common fact-checking networks among German news outlets.

Anti-Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Germany

by Maddi Erdall

On November 13, **JENNIFER ALLEN** (Professor of History, Yale University) visited IES to deliver a talk entitled “Twentieth-Century Anti-Utopianism and its West German Antidote” to 25 attendees. The main goal of Allen’s lecture was to convince her audience of the significance of the curious cultural practices that developed in the last decades of the 20th century. She began with a historical overview of the anti-utopian turn following the end of the Cold War, stating that there was a large

consensus that radical left ideologies had confronted a dead end. Building off of the failed leftist ‘68 revolutions, this anti-utopian sentiment became widespread through the famous claim of ‘the end of history,’ in addition to Margaret Thatcher’s conclusion that “there is no alternative.”

After establishing the historical context of anti-utopianism, Allen began her analysis of the German case study. She argued that Germany exemplified resistance towards the anti-utopian sentiment, instead conveying a new utopian revisionism. The German revisionist utopia rethought both the scale and temporality of historical utopianism, seeking to enact moderate, smaller-scale initiatives in present time, while working towards a different future. Instead of waiting for the end-all, absolute



utopia of the past, this revision displayed a collective working towards finite, set goals -- towards a sustainable utopia. Allen argued that the German sustainable utopia is exemplified by a number of art projects, one of such

being Gunter Demnig’s *Stolpersteine*. Allen articulated how the *Stolpersteine* (‘Stumbling Stones’) project was realized through a decentralized network of individual people, working toward a common goal and making it the largest grassroots memorial in the world. While the content of such projects is crucial and significant, Allen explained that the structures and their objectives themselves reveal more about Germany’s future toward a sustainable utopia. She finished her talk by stating that the imminent micro-utopian model is significant in a global context, as it has resonated across a range of intellectual topographies. A short but lively Q&A followed the excellent lecture.

1968 and Global Cinema: Ciné-tracts

by Julia Nelsen

Co-curated by IES Visiting Scholar **CHRISTINA GERHARDT**, the series *1968 and Global Cinema* explored how the revolutionary energy of that year found expression on screen across national boundaries. Among the diverse films screened at the Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive from October 19–November 29, the rarely seen collection of *Ciné-tracts* by Jean-Luc Godard, Alain Resnais, and other French directors transported viewers to arguably the most iconic site of that iconic year: Paris. Demonstrations erupted across much of the world in 1968, from Prague to Mexico City, but it was in the French capital and cities throughout the country that nearly eleven million citizens went on strike in mass protest, even causing President Charles De Gaulle to flee.



Stills from the *Ciné-tracts* (France, 1968)

Cinema expressed the militant spirit of that month, and also served to respond to the events as they unfolded. The *Ciné-tracts* are the direct result of a coordinated effort by filmmakers to document the movement while actively taking part in it. A group known as the Estates General of Cinema coordinated the project during the general strike as part of broader demands to democratize film and set up alternative, autonomous channels for production and distribution. Bringing together amateurs and veterans of the French avant-garde, the *Ciné-tracts* were largely the brainchild of Chris Marker, known for his role in forming the anti-war film collective SLON the previous year. As political pamphlets in bite-sized form, their primary intent was to bypass traditional news circuits and offer counter-information on what was happening in the streets, in response to the state-enforced media blackout.

A pamphlet issued by the Estates General, with its imperative title “CINÉTRACTEZ!”, outlined the goals and framework of the project. Each silent “tract” was to be shot on a single reel of 16mm black and white film, using a rostrum camera to animate still images with pan and zoom effects. Photographs of the events are intercut with newsprint, advertisements, posters, and other texts, in a radical montage style that is clearly indebted to the Soviet avant-garde of Sergei Eisenstein and Dziga Vertov. Images are inscribed with text that subverts their original meaning, echoing the practice of *détournement* made famous by the Situationist International and its critique of modern consumer society. Many of the found materials came from a stockpile organized by the SLON, which both facilitated production and reinforced the collective, anonymous principle of the project. (Though Godard’s hand is said to be evident in some, all are uncredited.) Because the films were edited in-camera with no sound, they could be quickly and cheaply shot one day and screened the next---at committee gatherings and university assemblies, and on factory floors, where they were meant to serve as agit-prop in support of the movement. In short, they take the cinematic medium outside the realm of entertainment and into one of militant action. While each tract stands on its own, taken together the films speak to each other through common images that demand from the viewer the same political engagement that they enact.

Memory and Democracy in Germany

By Alberto Sanchez Sanchez

On November 27, DAAD Visiting Assistant Professor in Politics at York University **JENNY WÜSTENBERG** came to Berkeley to discuss her research on memorials and memory practices in Germany. During her talk, “Memory and Democracy: Civil and ‘Uncivil’ Activism for Remembrance in Germany and Beyond,” Professor Wüstenberg examined how grassroots actors have engaged with German institutions in order to shape public mnemonic space. She situated the discussion within the larger global debate on how to confront racist, colonial, or genocidal pasts and the ways history challenges contemporary democratic governance. The respondent to Professor Wüstenberg’s lecture was **ANDREW SHANKEN**, Professor of Architecture at the College of Environmental Design.

The event was introduced by Jeroen Dewulf, Director of IES, and Alberto Sanchez Sanchez, one of the students in the Designated Emphasis in European Studies. PhD candidate in Architecture Valentina Rozas-Krause introduced Professor Wüstenberg, and she also moderated the discussion between her and Professor Shanken. The event was organized by the Institute of European Studies and sponsored by the German Academic Exchange Service DAAD.



Left to right: Andrew Shanken, Jenny Wüstenberg, Jeroen Dewulf, Alberto Sanchez Sanchez, and Valentina Rozas-Krause

A Conversation on Contemporary Portuguese Fiction

By Julia Nelsen

On November 30, the Center for Portuguese Studies was pleased to host a special conversation on “The Art of Being Woman.” Politics, colonialism, and gender are some of the subjects that CPS director, **DEOLINDA ADÃO**, discussed with three contemporary literary figures from Portugal: **BÁRBARA BULHOSA**, **DULCE MARIA CARDOSO** and **RICARDO ARAÚJO PEREIRA**. Bulhosa is the publisher of one of the most successful editorial projects in Portugal, Tinta-da-China, which has published several outstanding books of national and international literature. Among these is the pictorial narrative *O Retorno* (“The Return”) by Cardoso, a reflection on Portuguese colonialism and post-colonialism that earned its author a place in the hall of fame of Lusophone literature.

Joining Bulhosa and Cardoso was Ricardo Araújo Pereira, a famous comedian, TV personality, and writer. His ironic style and parody are well-known narrative strategies that appear in chronicles such as “Frankenstrump, a

less known story by Mary Shelley”, or “The Beagle Boys, Dalton, and Lehman.” The lively discussion concluded with an engaging Q&A before an audience of 20 students, faculty and community members. This event was co-sponsored by the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, the Camões Institute, and the EU Center.



Deolinda Adão (right) interviews Bárbara Bulhosa, Dulce Maria Cardoso and Ricardo Araújo Pereira.

Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Annual Lecture: The Life and Death of the Russian Revolution

By Davit Gasparyan

On November 29, IES was honored to welcome **YURI SLEZKINE** (Jane K. Sather Professor of History and Director of the Institute for Slavic, Eastern European and Eurasian Studies at UC Berkeley), for the Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Annual Lecture. To the audience of over 120 that gathered at Berkeley's Bancroft Hotel, Slezkine introduced his book, *The House of Government: A Saga of the Russian Revolution*, giving an insightful summary of its narrative and providing historical and biographical context for the book and its characters.

To begin the lecture, Slezkine mentioned his memories of the late Gerald D. Feldman and the time they spent together in Moscow. He then began his summary of the book by discussing his inspirations and his writing process. He spoke about the House of Government, a large residential complex in Moscow where top Communist officials lived along with their families, and touched on the Bolsheviks, their ideologies, and their demise caused by their own children. Slezkine mentioned the mythical nature of Bolshevik ideology and compared it to a religion. In conclusion, Slezkine addressed the fall of the Soviet Union and how "Bolshevism and Marxism had very flat perceptions of human nature." During the Q&A, Slezkine discussed the children of the Bolsheviks and their reaction to the imprisonment of their parents. He then went on to answer questions pertaining to the Bolsheviks' attitude towards religion and their view of themselves, and concluded by discussing the role of Soviet Nationalism, which he claimed did not come until after the fall of the USSR. The lecture ended with much applause and a festive reception in honor of Professor Gerald D. Feldman.



Top: Yuri Slezkine delivers the annual Feldman Lecture. Bottom: Professor Slezkine with Norma Feldman and IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

Comparing California and Germany: New Research on Electricity, Transportation and Carbon Markets

By Eric Biber

On December 3, UC Berkeley faculty affiliated with IES/CGES, organized a DAAD- sponsored workshop titled, “Comparing California and Germany: New Research on Electricity, Transportation and Carbon Markets.” The workshop took place at the Institute of Transportation Studies at the University of California Davis and comprised three sessions. The theme of the first session was a comparison between California and Germany of the integration of renewable resources in electricity markets,



Professor Eric Biber (Director of Environmental and Energy Law Programs, UC Berkeley) gives opening remarks.

the introduction of electric vehicles, and how they may relate by coordinating the new sources of electricity supply and demand, and how they affect overall carbon emissions in the jurisdictions. Political science views on policies to promote renewable energy and electric vehicles

were balanced with economic assessments of the efficiency of these policies. The second session focused exclusively on transportation, with a look at efforts to promote new technologies such as electric vehicles for both personal and freight transportation and bussing, the role of the low carbon fuel standard in California, and how the relevant policies interact. The session broadened the dialogue with input from transportation scholars, industry and nongovernmental organizations. The third session examined the electricity and transportation sector policies in the context of carbon markets, with an eye toward how sector-specific policies

interact with economy-wide policies such as carbon pricing. Sector policies are often justified to advance technology or overcome barriers to more comprehensive policies, but they are understood to be less efficient than economy-wide policy approaches. The key issue in their



Professor Jonas Meckling (UC Berkeley Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management), describes the challenges of achieving joint agreements between Germany and California.

implementation is how they might strengthen or undermine economy-wide approaches such as carbon markets. Evidence in both jurisdictions is that sector-specific policies have pushed down the price in carbon markets, so policy designs need to address this directly. The meeting had thirty registered participants plus three students and post-docs who sat in. Participation included representatives from the fields of law, economics, engineering and political science in the academic community (UCLA, UC Berkeley, UC Davis, George Washington University), plus nongovernmental organizations and business (Öko-Institut, Berlin, Potsdam Climate Institute, ClimateWorks Foundation, National Center for Sustainable Transportation, Audi of America, Resources for the Future, Washington DC, BMW of North America), and government agencies (California Environmental Protection Agency and CALSTART).

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