



S INSTITUTE OF
EUROPEAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY



FALL 2019 NEWSLETTER

FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Friends of the Institute of European Studies,

I'm delighted to send you our Fall 2019 newsletter, made with the assistance of our team of undergraduate reporters led by Melina Kompella. As the semester draws to a close, IES has been pleased to continue enriching the research and learning experience at Berkeley with exciting and timely conversations on contemporary Europe. The absolute highlight of the semester was the visit of José Manuel Barroso, former President of the EU Commission, who discussed with us the importance of transatlantic relations, the global economy, and the future of the European Union. Among our wide array of public programming, we've been especially pleased to host the Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Annual Lecture with Sir Christopher Clark (University of Cambridge), discussions on the ongoing Brexit drama with Carnegie Fellow David Whineray and Matt Beech (University of Hull), and the interdisciplinary graduate conference "Understanding the Countryside. Rural Europe in a Post-Global World." If you regret to have missed these or other events, please check out the IES [YouTube Channel](#) where you will find 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 EU Commission "Getting to Know Europe" Program, the Austrian Marshall Foundation and BMBWF, as well as our partner organization, the Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute. I would like to thank my colleagues Gia White, Deolinda Adão, Akasemi Newsome, Julia Nelsen, as well as Marlene Menghini and Heike

Friedman from the German Historical Institute for their support. Special thanks go to our Program Directors, in particular Mark Bevir, Catherine Flynn, and Larry Hyman as well as to David Large, Alberto Sanchez Sanchez, Lotta Weckstrom, Duarte Pinheiro and Danielle Callegari for their assistance during the semester. I am also grateful to our team of Undergraduate Research Apprentice students.

I'd also like to use this opportunity to announce two new funding opportunities for Berkeley graduate students, to be offered by IES: the [Austrian Studies Fellowship](#) for incoming graduate students and the [Berkeley-Inland University, Norway](#) research grant. For more information about these and other opportunities, visit our [Grants page](#).

As the new year approaches, we invite you to join us in celebrating 30 years of European Studies at Berkeley. 2020 in fact marks the thirtieth anniversary of our founding center, the Center for German and European Studies, which laid the foundations for today's Institute of European Studies. We appreciate your support in helping us mark this milestone with a gift to the [IES 30 FOR 30 campaign](#). To learn more about giving opportunities, please visit our [website](#) and stay tuned for news and updates on our special

anniversary events in 2020. Your ongoing support makes it possible to sustain our high quality interdisciplinary programming and innovative research on Europe.

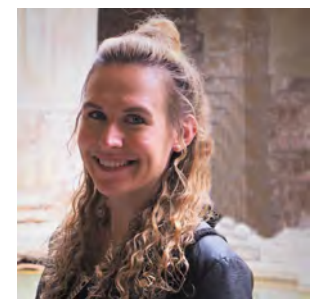
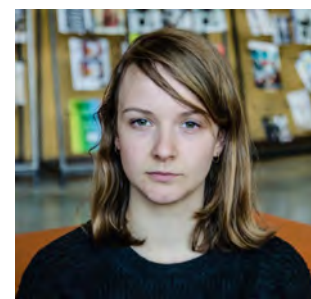
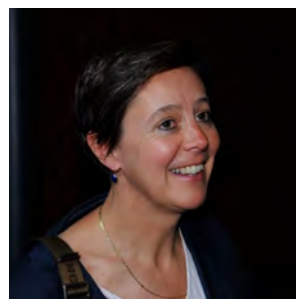
I wish you all a pleasant winter break and hope to welcome you again to one of our events at IES in the next year.

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



FALL 2019 VISITING SCHOLARS

This Fall, IES was pleased to continue hosting our semester-long series of visiting scholar social hours. These meetups, organized by our team of undergraduate research apprentices, provided a unique setting for visiting researchers to share their research and connect with students in informal and engaging conversations. Social hours included conversations with Anna Bennich Björkman, Tsany Ratna Dewi, Thanos Liapas, Olga Loza, Marisa McVey, Miriam Pechtl, Thor Rydin, Zachary Shore, and 2019-20 EU Fellows Ewa Ptaszynska and Karen Vandekerchove. Below are photos of some of the visiting researchers that IES hosted this past semester.



From top left: Gülden Ediger, Ewa Ptaszynska, Karen Vandekerchove, Tsany Ratna Dewi, Lieslot De Taeye, Verena Baier, Olga Loza, Thanos Liapas, Thor Rydin, Anna Bennich Björkman, Miriam Pechtl, and Marisa McVey.

FALL 2019 LECTURES AND EVENTS

Reflections on Brexit and the Future of Europe

by Davit Gasparyan

On September 3, IES hosted **MATT BEECH**, the Founding Director of the Centre for British Politics at the University of Hull, and Senior Fellow at the UC Berkeley Institute of European Studies. His lecture, "Boris, Brexit and Europe: An Interpretation," focused on the current situation of Brexit and British prime minister Boris Johnson's role in foreign and domestic negotiations.

Observing some of Johnson's tactics and strategies as Prime Minister, Beech went on to introduce a timetable of key events, including Standing Order 24 and the October 31st deadline for Brexit. The final part of the lecture revolved around a discussion of the potential impact of Brexit on the EU, the US, and the UK. Beech noted that that Brexit could create economic uncertainty both in the UK and the EU. During the Q&A portion of his talk, Beech fielded questions on Ireland, the (lack of) unity within the British conservative party, and his own stance on Brexit. He noted that the border between Ireland and Northern Ireland may have to remain a soft



border in order to avoid a reignition of the past violence. Beech also observed that the conservative party in the UK seems to be splintering, but argued that Johnson has the potential to restructure and unite the party if he wins the elections.

IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Senior Fellow Matt Beech

The Legacy of Hans Kelsen in Austrian Democracy

by Davit Gasparyan and Evan Gong

On September 4, IES welcomed back **DAVID WINEROITHER**, a senior research fellow at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to its Austrian Studies Program. During his talk, "Zero Sum Politics? Austrian Government and Challenges to the Kelsenian Vision of Democracy," Wineroither outlined the post-WWII democratic framework established in Austria based on the ideas of Hans Kelsen, a prominent Austrian intellectual who was once a Berkeley professor. Kelsen was an advocate for absolute acceptance of democratic rule decades prior to World War II, when many political actors openly rejected or displayed contempt for parliamentary democracy.

To introduce his talk, Wineroither analyzed the formation of post-1945 Austrian democracy, which was a power-sharing consociationalist form of government that fulfilled the state's need for long-term stability. The goals of this form of government included social integration, and building trust. Indeed, these objectives aligned with the Kelsenian vision. Political actors needed to seek compromise; and to ultimately achieve rapprochement "on center ground." Only a party state, Kelsen believed, could effectively perform accommodative politics in the long run.

Wineroither also noted a few significant exceptions including (a) the partial hollowing-out of parliamentary rule through external partisan veto players, (b) a somewhat inflated body of constitutional law, and (c)



Jeroen Dewulf and David Wineroither

missing representation of minorities not conforming to the consociational logic of consensus building (e.g. ethnic minorities in Carinthia and Burgenland). Wineroither concluded by discussing how under former chancellor of Austria Sebastian Kurz, some values of Kelsenian democracy have been undermined, noting his rise in popularity as a direct consequence of the migration crisis.

During the insightful Q&A, Wineroither engaged questions pertaining to issues such as social media and its role in the rise of populism and some topics related to Kelsen himself. He mentioned that social media seems to have played a role in the institutionalization of this type of discourse. Wineroither went on to talk about Hans Kelsen's time in Berkeley, and emphasized that despite rising anti-democratic sentiment in Austria, there continues to be broad respect for Kelsen as one of the nation's most influential political scientists.

IES Graduate Conference: Understanding the Countryside

by Charlotte Campbell and Evan Gong

On Monday, September 9, the Institute of European Studies (IES) and the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ISEEES) hosted the graduate student conference "Understanding the Countryside: Rural Europe in a Post-Global World" at the International House. This multidisciplinary event was organized by Alberto Sanchez Sanchez (PhD candidate in Architecture, UC Berkeley) and brought together over 30 graduate students in fields as varied as anthropology, architecture, ecology, international studies, landscape architecture, and political science, from Johns Hopkins University, Harvard University, UC Davis, UC Irvine, UCLA, University of Oregon, Warsaw University of Life Sciences, and UC Berkeley.

Students shared their current research projects on the European countryside, going beyond established clichés that tend to oversimplify rural issues by merely comparing them with their urban counterparts. Respondents included John Connelly, Charles L. Briggs, Greg Castillo,



Some of the participants in "Understanding the Countryside. Rural Europe in a Post-Global World."

Kathryn de Master, Mia Fuller, María Teresa Gómez Villarino, Johanna Schenner, and Andy Shanken.

Student presentations were followed by the keynote lecture "Complicating the Countryside: Reflections on Land, Labor and the Law" by Martha Lampland, Professor of Sociology and Science Studies at the University of California, San Diego. During her talk, Lampland shared anecdotes from her two years living and conducting field research in a remote Hungarian village. She sought to investigate how social attitudes changed when peasants turned over land to collective farms, and later when Hungary moved towards capitalism after the fall of its communist regime.

Lampland emphasized that social attitudes in the Hungarian countryside were historically more complex than meets the eye. Examining the history of agrarian labor in Hungary in the early 1920s, she showed that peasants had long been subject to dismal living conditions and oppressive

state policies similar to those imposed by Stalinist collectivization. However, certain values such as privatization and individualism, typically associated with capitalism, were embodied in Hungarian rural society prior to and throughout the socialist period. These values, Lampland argued, can help explain peasants' initial resistance to Stalinist Hungary's violent and ineffective forced collectivization. Decades later, as Hungarian rural society embraced capitalism, these values of work and morality survived unscathed, aiding rural society in the development of capitalism.

During the Q&A, Lampland addressed questions pertaining to the construction of meaning in rural communities, motivations for resistance against the communist state during the dictatorship and EU policies today. When asked about the current political situation in Hungary, Lampland noted the connection between the lack of secret voting in the countryside and support for Viktor Orbán's right-wing Fidesz Party. Lampland also re-emphasized the lines of continuity in the history of Hungarian rural communities, while still refuting the idea that agrarian class configurations and identities have remained static. The keynote lecture was followed by a reception that allowed student presenters, faculty, and attendees to interact and discuss some of the ideas presented throughout the day.

Transatlantic Relations and Brexit

by Danielle Miller

On September 12, the Institute of European Studies, Center for British Studies, and Anglo-American Studies Program were pleased to welcome Visiting Scholar and Carnegie Fellow **DAVID WHINERAY** for his lecture entitled "US, UK, EU: Brexit, Trump, Foreign Policy and Transatlantic Relations."

Whineray began his talk by tracing the history of transatlantic relations through the last century, from 1917 to the present. 1917, he argued, was the year that marked the transition from a world largely defined by European imperialism to one shaped by a US on the rise. While the US entered a period of isolationism from 1919-1939, World War II and its aftermath resulted in the birth of a multilateral global system led by the

US. Whineray claimed that from 1945 onwards, the world was largely dominated by a rules-based international system and strong transatlantic alliances, with Europe on a path toward economic integration. This integration, rooted in the notion that countries in the same economic unit are unlikely to wage war on one another, was facilitated by the Coal and Steel Community that would eventually evolve into an economic and political union, the EU.

Whineray then described 2016 as a turning point in European history, due to the UK's unprecedented Brexit referendum result. However, Whineray emphasized that voters' skepticism toward EU integration and supranationalism are not new phenomena in the UK. For decades since the UK joined the EU, some UK politicians have been demanding greater UK sovereignty. In addition, Britain enjoys several opt-outs from EU legislation, including maintenance of their national currency instead of the euro, and a refusal to sign the Schengen Agreement.

Whineray also discussed the dynamics of Brexit, ranging from why the referendum was held

to why voters ultimately voted for Brexit. Reasons for which voters supported Leave were diverse: voter anger over immigration, general euroscepticism, anti-elitism, low voter turnout among young people and Remainers, and misleading campaigns that left voters unsure of what Brexit truly entailed. Whineray ended his lecture by discussing how transatlantic relations have changed since Donald Trump's election. He observes that the US/EU relationship has become more transactional and mercantile. Now, the US prioritizes bilateral agreements over multilateral ones, exemplified by the US pulling out of the Paris Agreement and JCPOA, or by greater US exclusion of the EU bloc in trade or defense negotiations. By viewing the EU as a strategic competitor and perceiving Europe through a



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf with David Whineray

zero-sum lens, Whineray claims, the Trump Administration appears unconcerned about—if not laudatory of—the prospect of EU disintegration. During a robust Q&A with the audience of 50, Whineray discussed ongoing Brexit negotiations and complications stemming from the prorogation of the UK Parliament.

A Conversation with Former EU Commission President José Manuel Barroso

by Danielle Miller

On September 13, the Institute of European Studies and the Clausen Center were honored to host former Prime Minister of Portugal (2002-2004) and former President of the EU Commission (2004-2014) **JOSÉ MANUEL BARROSO** for a forum on the UC Berkeley campus. The conversation drew an audience of 100 and was moderated by IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Berkeley Professor of Economics Maurice Obstfeld. During the talk, Barroso focused on transatlantic relations, the global economy, and the future of the EU.

The event opened with a discussion about transatlantic relations. Immediately, Barroso described himself as “very pro-European” and a “committed trans-atlanticist,” emphasizing the compatibility of these labels. In response to rising concerns about the disintegration of US/EU relations under the Trump administration, Barroso noted that, while Trump has taken a hostile and “idiosyncratic” attitude toward the EU transatlantic relations are not entirely broken.

Barroso then transitioned to discussing the “extreme” damage that a trade war between the US and EU would inflict on the global economy. When asked about the Eurozone debt crisis—the period during which Barroso served as Commission President—he pushed back on the notion that the crisis was created by, or specific to, the euro. Instead, he believes that the euro holds long-term resilience. Barroso also noted that while there has been a recent slow-down in the European economy, recession is a relative term and should not be overblown: a Germany on the brink of recession, for example, does not mean that Germany is not still an economic and social powerhouse on the world stage. When asked by

audience members about China, he said that successful trade negotiations between the US and China are possible, so long as the US does not antagonize China and misunderstand the role that nationalism plays in shaping Chinese priorities.

Barroso was then questioned about the moral principles, institutional capacities, and political ambitions of the “EU Project.” When asked to describe the EU’s response to the migrant crisis, Barroso spoke of the EU’s struggles to initiate cohesion between member states’ diverging positions on refugee relocation. Regarding EU integration and reform,

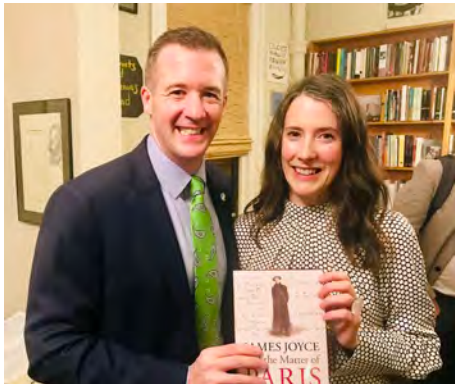
Barroso said that the “EU Project” is far from complete, but rather, under “scaffolding” — a work-in-progress, not always beautiful, and “at times frustrating.” Yet, he remains deeply optimistic about the EU’s future and believes that crises in the past have only made the EU stronger.



From left: Jeroen Dewulf, José Manuel Barroso, and Maurice Obstfeld (Photo by Hagit Caspi)

James Joyce's Parisian Influences

On September 26, Irish Studies Program director **CATHERINE FLYNN** celebrated the release of her new book *James Joyce and the Matter of Paris* before an enthusiastic crowd at City Lights Booksellers in San Francisco. In conversation with Berkeley English professor Kent Puckett, Flynn discussed the significance of the French capital across Joyce's writings, beginning with his first trip there in 1902-03. Paris is indeed crucial to Joyce's work, as the place where *Ulysses* was first published in 1922. But Flynn's study sheds new light on the author's interaction with the city. Joyce, Flynn demonstrates, experienced Paris as a material space of commerce and exchange that triggered both excitement and angst. In response to the pressures of consumer capitalism and its



Irish Studies Program Director Catherine Flynn with Irish Consul General Robert O'Driscoll

instrumentalization of desire, she shows how Joyce drew on French literary influences to develop an aesthetic of the body. This form of what Flynn calls "sentient thinking," combining thought and sensation, emphasizes taste, smell and touch--traditionally ranked "lower" in the Western cultural hierarchy of the senses. Joyce's style thus reflects the bodily experience of the urban environment in which boundaries break down and identity is felt as fluid, porous, and multiple. Highlighting the equally central importance of the Irish capital for Joyce, Flynn added that "Paris is a kind of lens through which to see Dublin." His writings, she argues, blend the sensory and somatic elements of the foreign city with the potential and richness of Hiberno-English to reshape the social and spatial context of his native Dublin. Throughout her new study of this canonical Irish modernist, Flynn reveals the important links Joyce shares with the European avant-garde, French literature, and critical theory. *James Joyce and the Matter of Paris* is published by Cambridge University Press (2019).

Patterns of German Democracy in the 20th Century

by Evan Gong and Greyson Young

On Tuesday, October 1, the IES, in cooperation with the Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute, welcomed **LUTZ RAPHAEL** for his lecture entitled "From Revolution to Routine? Patterns of German Democracy in the 20th Century." Raphael is a professor of Recent and Modern History at the University of Trier (Germany) and was awarded the Leibniz Prize in 2013.

Little attention is paid to the nature of resilience in democracies, Raphael argues. While democracies are often born in revolution, he observed, the seemingly contrasting element of routine is key to their longevity. During his lecture, Raphael analyzed the history of German democracy as one of key revolutionary shifts, as well as everyday routines of ordinary people. He noted four major ruptures: the end of monarchical authoritarianism in 1919, the Nazi regime beginning in 1933, the collapse of this regime in 1945, and the collapse of the Berlin Wall and reunification of East and West Germany from in 1989.

During the last century, German politics also went through three distinct eras of dominant political ideas. In Raphael's overview, until 1945, Germany was in the imperial period of the Weimar Republic, and preparing a return to this position of power after World War I was a constant goal. Between 1945 and 1990 Germany went through the era of "Atlantic modernity," where new ideas of democratic order were imported from the United States and Britain. The final and most recent era is neoliberal globalism; this new ideological climate saw the rise of radical market fundamentalism, which supports deregulation, free circulation of capital, and open markets. This new era



Andrea Westermann (GHI) with speaker Lutz Raphael and Rainer Grulich (DHG, German Research Foundation)

even survived the economic crisis of 2008-2009, though it continues to be attacked to this day.

According to Raphael, democratic routines and the forces of social resilience have defended democratic institutions; these include patterns, habits, attitudes and behavior. To understand the course of the last century of German democracy, he argues, one must critically examine the major events that have come to define its birth and rebirth, as well as the social attitudes and everyday routines of the people that defend or failed to defend it. With this holistic understanding, one can see more clearly the ways in which democracy is under attack today, as well as the ways it can be protected.

This insightful lecture drew more than 40 attendees, including many faculty members. Questions for Professor Raphael touched on topics such as the role of Germany's social insurance programs and worker-councils (Arbeiterräte) as elements in German democracy, and the emergence of the far-right AFD party in Germany.

New Investigations on Boris Pasternak and the Doctor Zhivago Saga

by Rikke From and Greyson Young

On Thursday, October 3, IES and ISEES were pleased to welcome Professor **PAOLO MANCOSU** (Philosophy, UC Berkeley) for a lecture based on his new study of Russian Nobel laureate Boris Pasternak. Mancosu's lecture, titled "Moscow Has Ears Everywhere: Olga Ivinskaya and the loss of Pasternak's 'Will,'" centered on Soviet resistance to Pasternak for engaging with Western writers and publishers in order to secure the publication of his 1955 novel *Doctor Zhivago*, which was primarily distributed in Western Europe. Analyzing newly procured archival documents, Mancosu covered the timeline of the Soviet-Italian drama, beginning with Pasternak's completion of the novel and his reception of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1958. The USSR not only forced Pasternak to turn down the Nobel but also expelled him from the Soviet Writers' Union, cutting him off financially. Pasternak thus reluctantly accepted \$100,000 in

royalty money from the West--namely, from the Garritano family who worked for the Italian publisher Feltrinelli.

Mancosu addressed the implications of this royalty money for Pasternak's family, outlining how the drama unfolded after the author's death on May 30, 1960. The \$100,000 had been transferred to her by August and Ivinskaya tried to send the restored will abroad, as she had promised Feltrinelli. Feltrinelli claimed to have a contract confirming he



From left: Harsha Ram, Diego Pirillo, and Paolo Mancosu

was allowed to publish Pasternak's book in Italy, but even though that document existed, it was never returned to Feltrinelli, instead remaining in Ivinskaya's possession in Moscow. The documents containing the correspondence between Ivinskaya and Feltrinelli suddenly disappeared, due to a storm in the Caucasus. Both Ivinskaya and her daughter Irina Emelianova were highly suspicious about this story and questioned how the KGB could have procured these documents. On August 16, 1960, only two months after her husband died, Ivinskaya and her daughter were arrested and sentenced to hard labor in the Gulag prisons for accepting Pasternak's royalties from the West. Mancosu is the first to provide the archival documents, thereby offering an unprecedentedly accurate explanation of what happened after Pasternak's Nobel Prize in October 1958. Although the awarding of the Nobel to Pasternak led to accusations of political motivations for his selection, Mancosu claimed there was no actual evidence of such a conspiracy. This engaging presentation based on Mancosu's recent book *Moscow has Ears Everywhere. Recent Investigations on Pasternak and Ivinskaya* (Hoover Press, Stanford, 2019) drew an audience of 30 and was followed by concluding remarks from Harsha Ram (Associate Professor of Slavic and Comparative Literature, UC Berkeley).

On the Concept of "Leistung" in 19th Century Germany

by Abigail Mullin

On October 15, the Institute of European Studies, Center for German and European Studies, and the Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute Washington were pleased to welcome Dr. **NINA VERHEYEN** from Germany's Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (KWI). Introduced by Professor Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, Verheyen discussed the concept of "Leistung" and work performance in 19th century Germany.

Verheyen began her talk by discussing the importance of work performance and culture within Germany. Unlike other societies where



Nina Verheyen

status is dictated by familial relations or a caste system, German societal rankings are influenced by work culture. This so-called "Achieving Society" (Verheyen here makes reference to the 1961 book by scholar Davis McClelland) is believed to lead to economic growth. For many decades, this

concept of "leistung" has driven accumulation of self-made wealth in Germany. Verheyen, however, deconstructed this notion by revealing that wealth is not self-made in a solitary work effort, but instead takes advantage of contributions from low-income workers, slaves, and women, that remain hidden throughout this historical narrative.

The lecture then shifted to focus on the historical context of this competitive, performance-oriented society based around "leistung." Verheyen's research demonstrates the shift in Germany from "leistung" as a personal, unique entity into a competitive one, which was quantified and compared to other workers. She tracked linguistic changes in the word

"leistung" across different iterations of German history, and found that the word shifted in meaning from the Middle Ages, when it held a concept of reciprocity and obligation to others. During the 19th century, however, it became used in the context of competition and began to show up on state-sponsored school exams. In this way, "leistung" began to hold the connotation of humans as machines: always working towards output, and similar enough to directly compare their productivity.

Verheyen questioned the historical evolution that created the unique and particular connotations attached to the word "leistung" and its competitive nature within German culture. When concluding the broader questions of her research, Verheyen posited the question: why do people believe that work performance is a justification to create a "fair" hierarchy in society?

During a Q&A session with the audience, Verheyen discussed more linguistic differences and translations of other German words related to "leistung." She also answered questions about the counterculture movements in Germany in the 1960's and 1970's and rebellion against traditional, standardized work culture (like Fordism or Taylorism). Verheyen elaborated that, in fact, counter-culture movements viewed "leistung" in a broader sense as an expression of social competence, creativity, and emotions.

German and U.S. Innovations in River Management

Floods are the most costly natural disasters, and conventional structural solutions commonly make things worse by creating a false sense of security that encourages further development in floodplains, and disconnecting rivers from their floodplains (with resulting ecological impacts). One of the most promising areas of innovation in river management is the integration of ecosystem restoration into projects to reduce flood risk. Flood risk reduction measures in Europe must now maintain or improve river ecology (under the WFD), and in California, major flood management programs have adopted 'co-equal goals' of flood risk reduction and ecosystem restoration.



Participants in "Innovations in River Management" workshop

On October 17, IES co-sponsored a workshop exploring the integration of flood management with river restoration, drawing on recent experience in Germany and the US (especially California). Participants in

"Innovations in River Management,

Germany and USA: Integrating Ecosystem Restoration Into Flood Risk Management" included Juergen Geist (Technical University of Munich), Mathias Scholz (Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research, Leipzig), Ricardo Pineda (California Department of Water Resources), Jeff Opperman (WWF), Eileen Fretz-Shader (American Rivers), John Cain (River Partners), Sarah Yarnell and Jay Lund (UC Davis). The workshop was organized by Sonja Jähnig (Leibniz Inst Freshwater Ecology), Anna Serra Llobet and Matt Kondolf (UC Berkeley) with support from the Institute of European Studies DAAD grant. The workshop was preceded by a day-long field trip to the Sacramento Valley for the visitors from out-of-town.

Douglas Hyde's American Journey

On October 17, the Irish Studies Program was pleased to mark the release of *Douglas Hyde: My American Journey*, with a visit from the editors of Douglas Hyde's newly published diary and travelogue. Hyde, who would become Ireland's first president (1938-45), spent eight months traveling across the United States from 1905 to 1906 to raise funds for the Gaelic League. First published in Irish in 1937, the comprehensive new edition and translation of Hyde's writings sheds light on his work and on the Irish diaspora at the turn of the 20th century.

Brian Ó Conchubhair (Associate Professor of Irish Language and Literature, University of Notre Dame) and Cuan Ó Seireadáin (Curator and Project Director, Douglas Hyde Foundation) gave an engaging presentation, with bilingual readings and humorous anecdotes from Hyde's travels, including a White House dinner with Teddy Roosevelt and a hero's welcome at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco--the largest reception ever recorded for a private individual in the city. Visiting the San Francisco Bay Area was a highlight of the tour. During his stay at UC Berkeley, Hyde--a notable public intellectual--became friendly with the University's president Benjamin Ide Wheeler and delivered four lectures on Irish literature, folklore, and poetry, and on the origins and importance of the Gaelic movement.

With its emphasis on regenerating the Irish culture and language, the editors argue, Hyde's successful U.S. tour laid the foundations for his presidency. The funds he raised contributed to the hiring and training of Irish-language teachers and organizers who supported and promoted the Gaelic League, sustaining a cultural revolution that would ultimately give rise to Irish political sovereignty.



From left: Brian Ó Conchubhair, Catherine Flynn, and Cuan Ó Seireadáin

Using Comedy to Examine the Rise of Nazism

by Charlotte Campbell, Ellen Harper, and Yeeun Moon

On Thursday, October 17, the Institute of European Studies and the Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute were pleased to host historian and IES Senior Fellow **EDITH SHEFFER**, for a lecture entitled “Nazism: A Dark Comedy in Liechtenstein.” In her lecture, Sheffer discussed what we can gain from applying a comic lens to national socialism, specifically examining the case of Liechtenstein during World War II.



Edith Sheffer

While Liechtenstein remained neutral during World War II, it was heavily influenced by the political rhetoric of Nazism. Sheffer talked the audience through the events leading up to this shift in public opinion, beginning with antisemitic tendencies driving hostility against Jews who entered the country and purchased citizenship, built homes, and contributed to the economy. Though the presence of Jewish people was of great benefit to the nation, Nazism took hold in government and captured a large proportion of the electorate, with some of the population even hoping Hitler would annex Liechtenstein as he had done with Austria in 1938. Throughout these political shifts towards Nazism in Liechtenstein, Jews in the country were under threat.

Drawing on the work of various scholars and satirists who have used comedy to highlight incongruities in history, Sheffer argued that writing in the dark comedy tradition about the rise of fascism in places such as Liechtenstein can call attention to gaps that reveal the human folly of Nazism. She illustrated the comedic value in examples such as the kidnapping plot where nine Nazi supporters tried to overpower four Jews but unsuccessfully ended chasing them off of a cliff, or the story of citizens and state officials begging Hitler and the Nazis to annex their country. Sheffer argued that viewing these events through the lens of dark comedy highlights both the humor in projections of grandiosity that are

incongruous with reality, and the speed at which people can adapt to changing norms. In a dynamic Q&A with the audience of 30, Sheffer responded to questions about the application of her analysis to the current moment and to other cases such as Switzerland. She also discussed the gendered and religious dimensions of the situation in Liechtenstein during World War II.

“Maybe Esther”: Storytelling and the Unpredictability of the Past

by Abigail Mullin



Katja Petrowskaja, author of *Maybe Esther*, in conversation with Sven Spieker (University of California, Santa Barbara)

On October 21, the Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute Washington, in cooperation with the Institute of European Studies and the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, were pleased to host the Third Annual Bucerius Lecture, sponsored by the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. This year’s lecture featured a conversation with **KATJA PETROWSKAJA**, author of *Maybe Esther*, and **SVEN SPIEKER**, professor of Comparative Literature at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Axel Jansen, deputy director of GHI West, Hans-Ulrich Südbeck, German Consul General in San Francisco, and Anna Hoffman, Program Director of ZEIT Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, all gave opening remarks before the main discussion between Petrowskaja and Spieker.

Petrowskaja began with an introduction on her family background and its influence on the narrative style of her book. In particular, Petrowskaja owes many of the tales, as well as the occupation of storyteller, to her father. Under the Soviet Union's rule, her family used stories to reclaim their Jewish identity and preserve their memory during a period where their safety and identity were infringed upon. Many of the family stories in her book, including the titular *Maybe Esther*, come from her father. Indeed, her father's inability to remember the name of a female relative killed in broad daylight in Kiev catalyzed her creation of this book. Petrowskaja stated that the book's title is an intellectual and emotional description of embracing uncertainty. The book is framed with short stories of a family history, as this avenue of storytelling allowed her to write about small fragments of the world. In this way, it is not history the way that the Soviets told it, but instead history as remembered and recounted by her family.

One of the most important themes that Petrowskaja discussed was her conscious decision to write the original book in German, which is not her native language. She chose not to write in Russian because the Soviets claimed Russian discourse about victors and victims and "corrupted" certain words, as she put it. German, instead, was an "innocent" language in her family's history. Writing in German thus represents freedom and a means of escaping through language, working against the assumption raised by Spieker that writing in a second language means that you do not master the language but rather the language masters you.

The Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Annual Lecture: The Times of Power

by *Tianxing Cao, Ellen Harper, and Danielle Miller*

On November 7, over 60 students, faculty, and community members convened at the Bancroft Hotel in Berkeley to attend the Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Annual Lecture, a highly anticipated event honoring the life and work of former IES Director Gerald D. Feldman. This year, IES was pleased to host Sir **CHRISTOPHER CLARK**, Regius Professor of History



From left: Sir Christopher Clark, Norma Feldman, and IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

at the University of Cambridge, for an exciting lecture exploring temporality and power in history from the perspective of Prussia, and how this shapes our current understanding of politics and power.

Clark led the audience through a brief history of Prussian rule, highlighting how each ruler conceptualized time through their exercise of power. Clark began with Fredrick Wilhelm, the so-called "Great Elector," arguing that his rule was fused with a sense that the present was a precarious threshold. Though Wilhelm aimed to be innovative and future-oriented, his legitimacy was rooted in tradition. This ruling style comes in contrast with the rule of Fredrick II, which famously featured what Clark called a "non-alignment of history," reflecting a desire to be as ahistorical as possible, focusing on present decisions rather than future consequences or historical reflections. Clark next discussed Otto von Bismarck as a decision maker who intervened in day-to-day politics to assert his power and viewed history as an unceasing process that predetermined choices, making the statesman solely a decider between the options that history provides. Jumping to far more recent history, Clark conceived of the Nazi party as one that anchored its identity between the remote past and the distant future. The Nazi regime, in Clark's view, was the temporary transition period between the two, a necessary transition to an ideal Nazi future.

To conclude the lecture, Clark related temporality in history to temporality of our present time. He likened French president Emmanuel Macron's vision of curbing previous national privileges in order to prepare for a more advanced European integration to Fredrick Wilhelm's proactivity in preparing his state against possible Pomeranian invasions. In addition, Clark pointed out the tendency of contemporary populists such as Boris Johnson to construct a glorified perception of the past in order to further their agenda.

During the lively Q&A, Clark spoke of the mechanisms by which regimes and governments can manipulate historical narratives and conceptions of time. In some cases, this can be via the introduction of new calendars, such as the French Republican calendar during the French Revolution. In other cases, such as under Mussolini's regime in Italy, fascist-futurist versions of history became integrated into broader society through public exhibitions like *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*. Clark also discussed the concept of time as a benchmark for goals. While some political actors may see time as a process shaped by the push and pull of political entities, others—such as the Nazis under Hitler—saw time benchmarks as goals themselves, with the “end” of a timeline viewed as equivalent to their desired “final state of affairs” under Nazi ideology. Finally, when asked about the rise of populism across Europe, Clark characterized a common technique used especially by populist movements as one seeking to “replace old futures with new pasts.”

Foodways and Culture in California and Europe

by *Evan Gong*

Tariff threats, climate change, and immigration policy were among the topics discussed in “Food, Wine, and Culture: Foodways in California and the E.U.,” a panel discussion sponsored by the Institute of European Studies, the European Union Center, and the Department of Italian Studies. The event, funded by a European Commission “Getting to Know Europe” grant (2017-19), featured wine journalist Elaine Chukan Brown, educator and activist and Fabrizia Lanza, and Berkeley lecturer Danielle Callegari,



From left: Danielle Callegari, Elaine Chukan Brown, and Fabrizia Lanza

who analyzed the economic viability of food systems within the context of current political challenges in the EU and the United States. The panelists began by discussing the implications of food products such as cheese, wine, and olive oil as bargaining chips in trade disputes between the United States and the European Union. Although these disputes are unrelated to food, tariffs on these products have political effects that could yield trade concessions from the EU. The production of parmesan cheese in Italy, for example, involves some 50,000 people who work within this supply chain, and these individuals could see severe impacts to their livelihoods with the introduction of tariffs, Fabrizia Lanza pointed out.

Furthermore, Elaine Chukan Brown analyzed the economic impacts of California's wine production in the context of changing climate conditions and immigration policy. Wine producers have realized the need to undertake more sustainable practices, from altering cover crops and tilling practices in vineyards to adjusting the type of bottles used in packaging. Immigration policy and labor needs have also impacted the economic viability of wine production. Currently, immigrants make up a large part of the labor force on vineyards and much of this labor requires special skills and experience. However, tightening immigration policies under the Trump administration has created difficulties in retaining skilled workers among wine producers in California.

The speakers addressed a variety of other topics, including food education and technology on vineyards. More than 50 community members attended the event and accompanying reception at the David Brower Center in Berkeley. Questions for the panelists ranged from food distribution networks to sustainability practices and food education.

Europe and the Arctic: Science, Security, and Governance

by Danielle Miller and Greyson Young

On November 15, in collaboration with The Arctic Institute, the Norwegian Consulate General of San Francisco, Norway's High North Center for Business and Governance, and Eurasian Studies (ISEEES), IES welcomed Dr. **KRISTIAN ÅTLAND** of the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment and Dr. **ANDREAS RASPOTNIK** of the High North Center to discuss EU policy toward the Arctic. Their talk, titled "Europe and the Arctic: Ground Zero for Climate Change?", assessed the interdisciplinary nature of Arctic affairs. From the threat of climate change, to ambiguity in Arctic governance, to tensions between Arctic states as a result of shipping and natural resource interests, the Arctic has become a contentious arena in geopolitics.

Åtland began by discussing the interplay between regional and international governing institutions in the Arctic. The Arctic Council, composed of 8 member states and participant organizations, plays a prominent role in facilitating sustainable development and environmental practices within the Arctic Circle. Åtland noted that, because many of the Council's member countries have high economic development and are politically stable, they are better equipped to mitigate the harmful effects of climate change than indigenous communities who are most vulnerable to rising seas, warming temperatures, and potential food shortages. However, despite intergovernmental collaboration, Åtland noted that Arctic states also pursue independent interests in the region, at times creating hard (military) and soft (economic and environmental) security challenges and interstate disputes. In particular, the lack of transparency surrounding Russia's air offenses and missile testing in the Arctic proves concerning to Russia's Nordic neighbors. Meanwhile, Russia remains suspicious of Arctic states who are members of NATO and aligned with the West, though the region remains stable.

Raspotnik then focused the lecture on the European Union's role in Arctic governance. EU participation in the Arctic is a relatively new

phenomenon enhanced by the rise of climate change awareness over the last decade. While the EU lacks coastline along the Arctic Ocean, three of its member states are in the Arctic Council, giving the EU legitimacy in its Arctic policy initiatives. The EU works in several arenas related to Arctic affairs, from funding scientific research, to regulatory and trade policy, to creating climate blueprints. Yet, this fragmented approach—along with the EU's own complex institutional dynamics and tensions between the Commission, European Council and Parliament—as well as member states' own national policies, has prevented the EU from developing a cohesive Arctic strategy beyond fine-tuned, niche European projects. However, Raspotnik sees potential for elevating Arctic issues by tying them to the EU's more ambitious climate change and sustainability goals as the Union moves into a new decade with a fresh Commission and Greener European Parliament.

During a robust Q&A, Åtland and Raspotnik responded to questions about the Russian approach to the Arctic compared to the European one. While Russia sees the opportunity for new oil and gas projects that could arise from melting sea ice, the EU and its member states underline policy decisions with caution. Further, the speakers discussed China's growing interests in the Arctic due to their growing energy needs and desire for shipping routes. This event was sponsored by a European Commission "Getting to Know Europe" grant (2017-19).



From left: Graduate student Derek O'Leary, IES Director Jeroen Dewulf, Deolinda Adao (Executive Director, EU Center), Kristian Åtland, and Andreas Raspotnik

The Mystery of Van Gogh's Ear

by Danielle Miller and Abigail Mullin

On November 19th, IES and the Bancroft Library were pleased to welcome author **BERNADETTE MURPHY** for a lecture on Vincent van Gogh's time in Arles, France. Based on her discovery of an important archival document at the Bancroft Library, Murphy's talk uncovered aspects of the mystery surrounding the night of the artist's self-harm, when he famously cut off his own ear.

Van Gogh's time in Arles was marked by both an explosion of artistic creativity—he produced around 200 paintings—and his own mental and physical health decline. Inspired by the serenity and colors of Arles, along with Japanese prints, Van Gogh painted some of his most iconic works there, including Café Terrace at Night, Bedroom in Arles, and portraits of Joseph Roulin. Murphy explained how, throughout her



From left: David Faulds, Bernadette Murphy, and David Kessler discuss "Van Gogh's Ear" (Photo by Peg Skorpinski)

research, several of these paintings offered geographic and social clues about Van Gogh's whereabouts in the months leading up to his mental breakdown and self-harm.

Furthermore, Murphy investigated the statements and

documents left behind by individuals who interacted with Van Gogh in Arles. Some were of questionable accuracy, such as recollections of the painter's 'madness' by Paul Gauguin who had visited Van Gogh in 1888 to offer company and paint alongside him. But others, such as Dr. Félix Rey's medical sketch of Van Gogh's severed ear -- the sketch Murphy found in UC Berkeley's Bancroft Library -- provided accurate details. Murphy then explored Van Gogh's hospitalization in Saint-Rémy, where his asylum

residency did not entirely symie his artistic output, despite poor conditions and persistent mental health struggles. In Saint-Rémy, Van Gogh painted his famous "Almond Blossom" piece for his nephew in 1890, along with self-portraits and scenes of the asylum grounds.

The lecture was capped by a lively Q&A with **DAVID FAULDS** (Bancroft curator of Rare Books and Literary Manuscripts) and **DAVID KESSLER**, the now-retired Bancroft staff member whose sleuthing in the archives helped Murphy make her crucial discovery. During the Q&A, Murphy elaborated on her research process and on the lives of some of the subjects of Van Gogh's paintings. Kessler and Murphy discussed their correspondence over Irving Stone's archival papers which lay in the Bancroft library, and how Kessler was able to locate the document which revealed that Van Gogh cut off his whole ear. Murphy then answered questions regarding the secrecy of her discovery and the project, as well as the reaction from the community in Arles and the family of the young woman to whom Van Gogh gave his ear.

This event was co-sponsored by the Department of Art History, the Division of Arts & Humanities, the French Department, and the Townsend Center for the Humanities.

Race and German Music in Interwar Europe

by Ellen Harper and Victoria Struys

On November 21, the Institute of European Studies was pleased to welcome **KIRA THURMAN** (Associate Professor of History and Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Michigan) for her lecture "Singing Schubert, Hearing Race: Black Concert Singers and the German Lied in Interwar Central Europe." In this fascinating presentation, Thurman explained how classical music has been imagined as a universal language and what happens when non-white singers and musicians begin to speak that language.

Focusing specifically on Germany and Austria--the cradles of classical music and the home of composers such as Mozart, Wagner, and Bach--Thurman began by explaining that during the interwar period, Germans praised the universality of classical music. However, this message was tested when non-Europeans espoused it, revealing tensions between a belief in the universality of classical music and the racial ideology of who



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Kira Thurman

could perform it. Thurman explained that Germany and Austria appealed to African American musicians because the musical culture of the two countries dominated their education, and they wanted to learn from the best. In addition, Europe was perceived as a more favorable place for African Americans, since institutionalized racism was not as entrenched as it was in the

United States during the Jim Crow era. The actual reception of black performers in Europe, however, was highly dependent on the political era. In Nazi Germany, black performers were often met with protest. But in the immediate postwar period, black singers were welcomed, and even encouraged to perform the works of acclaimed German composers such as Wagner.

Finally, Thurman told the stories of Marian Anderson and Roland Hayes, two African American singers who "sounded like Germans." Despite being met with hostility, they excelled in the traditional form of the German lied to critical acclaim. Yet Anderson and Hayes had to be "whitewashed" in order for German people to accept their success, often being described as "negroes with white souls." When they did not perform well, critics would attack their blackness. As Thurman pointed out, this double standard faced by black performers reveals the underlying hypocrisy of the "universality" claim of German classical music. During an intriguing Q&A session with the audience of 25, Thurman discussed how African

American performers challenged associations of classical music with whiteness, even as they saw their blackness being erased to fit German ideals of musical universality. Other questions focused on the comparison between classical music and jazz, and the "virtue" associated with both musical forms. Overall, Thurman's research demonstrates how black performers pushed Germans to reconsider their views on race and music.

Post-Crisis Financial Policy in the E.U.

On November 22, IES and the EU Center were pleased to sponsor a presentation on "Post-Crisis Financial Management and Policy Implementation in the European Union" hosted by the Consulate General of Portugal in San Francisco. The Consul General of Spain in San Francisco, **FRANCISCO TEJADA LOZANO**, and the Consul General of Portugal, **MARIA JOÃO LOPES CARDOSO**, discussed the impact of the 2008 economic crisis in the Iberian Peninsula. **TERESA FERNANDES**, from the trade agency of Portugal (AICEP), drew a detailed scenario of that period and showed how Portugal as well as Spain emerged from the crisis and recovered economically.

Furthermore, all the guests gave their perspective on the current situation and relationship between the EU and the United States. The



Panelists at the Consulate General of Portugal in San Francisco

presentations were followed by a Q&A and reception that produced a lively debate between the speakers and audience members, including business owners and entrepreneurs in areas related to transcontinental business ventures. This event was supported by a European Commission "Getting to Know Europe" grant (2017-19).

Women's Rights in 1970s Europe

by Danielle Miller and Victoria Struys

On November 25, the IES, along with the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ISEEES) and the Working Group for German History and Culture, was pleased to welcome **CELIA DONERT** from the University of Cambridge. In her paper, "The Working Women's Charter: Women's Rights between Socialist Internationalism and Neoliberalism in 1970s Europe," Donert explored how proposals for a Working Women's Charter developed through 1970s Europe. At times, proposals put forth by trade union movements and women's groups in Europe crossed geographic and ideological barriers between communist Eastern Europe and the West, with many calling for equal rights to be integrated further into political and economic development goals of the decade and beyond.



Celia Donert

Donert began her lecture with the 1979 World Federation of Trade Unions's introduction of rights to employment, equal pay, maternity leave and many others. Begun in 1940 to claim equal pay for equal work, the WFTU experienced conflicts over female laborers and social and economic rights during the Cold War, and was dismissed by critics as communist propaganda. Donert demonstrated that the narrative of feminism in the East offered a different perspective on discrimination against women. However, she insisted that even though conditions were different and socialist countries tried to reduce inequality, women were still not considered equal to men. In some of the countries of the Eastern bloc, pay discrimination toward women was also observed. Several charters for women's rights were proposed, but it proved difficult to see them applied and accepted.

During the Q&A, Donert spoke of the post-1989 transformation of discourse on women's rights. Some scholars of gender studies, she noted, see "sexual rights" as the "final frontier of democratization" since the collapse of the Soviet Union. She noted that the weaponization of women's rights by oppressive, autocratic regimes continues to pose a challenge for universal women's rights. In addition, cultural and religious differences between countries' notions of "freedom"—and the degree to which a state should intervene to guarantee it—prove difficult to reconcile. When asked what happened to Eastern European women's rights organizations after the fall of communism, Donert noted that several women continued activism at a broad, European level, even joining social lobbies funded by the EU.

Migration Politics in European Minority Regions

by Davit Gasparyan

On December 3, the IES was pleased to welcome **CHRISTINA ISABEL ZUBER**, Assistant Professor of German Politics at the University of Konstanz, for a lecture titled "*Past Incentives, Present Choices: Ideational Legacies and the Politics of Migration in European Minority Regions.*" Focusing specifically on the regions of Catalonia and South Tyrol, Zuber discussed differing attitudes towards immigration in minority regions and argued that these ideas connect the past with the present outcomes—that historical legacy creates incentives that connect the past with today's politics of migration.

Discussing the differing stances minority regions can take on immigration, Zuber demonstrated how regions such as Bavaria and South Tyrol have come to adopt stricter policies with regard to immigration, whereas regions such as Catalonia and Scotland continue to embrace immigration. She then focused on the regions of Catalonia and South Tyrol to specifically address the reasons behind these contrasts. In the case of Catalonia, a long history of integration has led to the idea that being Catalan is a matter of contribution and willingness, linking to the positive consensus on immigration today. In contrast, South Tyrol historically

viewed integration as a duty, leading to a more ethnic conception of shared identity, and the region's present-day contestation of immigration.

These differences in chain effects, as Zuber calls them, started with the internal migration into the regions by the majority populations of Italians into South Tyrol and Spanish into Catalonia during industrialization. Minority groups experienced different socioeconomic statuses as a result of the internal migration: Catalans were the industrial and urban elite, while the South Tyrolean population suffered more and perceived immigration as a threat to its status, despite later successes. Thus, Zuber concluded, these differing views solidified throughout history and are reflected in today's politics in both regions.



Akasemi Newsome and Christina Zuber

The insightful Q&A considered the influx of migrant workers into Eastern Germany following the Second World War, which Zuber examined as another case in which the dominant conception of immigration in the past is reiterated in politics today. Zuber also addressed the role of

annexation of South Tyrol, which created nuances in the population's self-perception and differentiation. A final question revolved around issues of center-periphery relations and their impact on differing attitudes towards immigration.

Plastic Regulation in the E.U.

On December 4, Maria Elvira Callapez, Research Fellow at Centro Interuniversitário de História da Ciência e Tecnologia, Portugal gave a presentation on the "Regulation and Innovation of Plastic Use in the European Union" at the David Brower Center in Berkeley, CA. Funded with



Maria Elvira Callapez

the support of EU Commission's Getting to Know Europe Grant and co-sponsored by the California Chamber of Commerce, her presentation began with the acknowledgement that plastics have been demonized in discussions on climate change and pollution; however, much can be done to reform the ways in which they are used. Callapez presented the European Strategy for Plastics in a Circular Economy adopted on January 2018 with the goal of transforming "the way plastic products are designed, used, produced and recycled." Callapez discussed the degree to which the strategy has met its stated goals of protecting the environment, reducing marine litter, greenhouse gas emissions and the economy's dependence on imported fossil fuels.

Perspectives on the "Yellow Vest" Movement

by Tianxing Cao and Davit Gasparyan

On December 5, IES was honored to welcome international business lawyer and activist **JEAN-CLAUDE BEAUJOUR** (Vice-Chair of France-Amériques) for a timely lecture titled "Can the French President Emmanuel Macron Reform the Country After the Yellow Vest Protests?" His presentation clarified not only the purpose of the Yellow Vest movement in France, which has gained recognition worldwide, but also the reasons behind why the government has been unsuccessful in addressing and mitigating it. The brightly colored yellow safety vest, which French law requires all motorists to keep in their vehicles and wear during emergencies, was chosen by protesters as a symbol of visibility. It is also the vest worn by construction workers and thus, quite different from the

clothes worn by white-collar workers. Finally, the color yellow represents anger. All these ideas are manifested in the movement itself, which Beaujour described as a general demand to hold the government accountable for the *pacte républicain*, or the belief in equality of opportunity for everyone in France. Originating as a protest against the rise of gasoline taxes, the movement has coalesced into a call for better public services,



Akasemi Newsome and Jean-Claude Beaujour

higher wages and retirement pensions, and solidarity among students, farmers, and working-class people.

Beaujour then discussed the French government's failure to successfully address the movement, especially citing the lack of direct contact between politicians and members of the movement.

While Macron may have been successful with international policy, Beaujour argued, his domestic policy in France has largely failed as a result of fading optimism in his ability to address social issues more effectively and reestablish a closer link with the population. In order to succeed in managing the Yellow Vest movement, Macron will need to reestablish a vision of inclusion and to shift decision-making away from a small group of elites. With the challenge of reelection around the corner, Beaujour stated that Macron would need to understand the importance of involving everyone in the political process and to distance his government from its elitist image in order to regain popular support. During the Q&A, Beaujour elaborated on France's situation in the broader context of Europe and the world, acknowledging the deep rooted tradition of revolution within French society. The *gilets jaunes* protests, he pointed out, can be seen as the expression of a sentiment present in many countries in which the middle class is demanding government recognition of mounting grievances such as the rising cost of living.

Brexit and the British Elections: What Happens Next

by Tianxing Cao and Abigail Mullin

On December 6, the Institute of European Studies and the Center for British Studies were pleased to welcome back visiting scholar **DAVID WHINERAY** for a second lecture on Brexit and the general election in the United Kingdom. Whineray is a Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington DC, and his areas of expertise include transatlantic relations and US and UK foreign policy.

Whineray began by revisiting the UK's initial entry into the European Union, noting that the UK had first entered into the European Community in 1972 both due to economic incentives and political exigence vis-à-vis the gradual dismantling of the global British empire. He then examined the events surrounding the UK's decision to exit the EU, including incentives behind former Prime Minister David Cameron's decision to call for a Brexit referendum. The referendum, as a result of a controversial but well-run "Leave" campaign, culminated in the UK formally pursuing Brexit, against Cameron's expectations. Issues that fueled the "Leave" sentiment, as cited by Whineray, included immigration, the perceived imbalance between the UK's contribution to the EU and what it gets in return, and the revival of a 1950s Churchill outlook favoring British independence and exceptionalism. These reasons were enough to rally enough of the population behind the "Leave" cause, despite broad disapproval from the established elite, the urban population, and young people.

Whineray proceeded to look at current sentiments surrounding Brexit and its future, especially within the context of the Parliamentary election



Akasemi Newsome and David Whineray

on December 12. He predicted that the Conservatives had the best shot at forming a majority and proceeding with a renegotiated deal, while the possibility of a Labor win could have resulted in a second referendum. Less probable was the chance of the Liberal Democrats forming a government to reverse Brexit or a no-deal exit by the Brexit Party. Elaborating on the possible outcomes of the election, as well as the effects of Brexit, Whineray discussed the rights of UK citizens living abroad if the British Government and the European Union are able to reach a deal, and the effect of a “Hard Brexit” on immigrants in the UK and British emigrants living and working in Europe. Whineray also addressed the effect of Brexit on a possible UK-US trade agreement, the border in Northern Ireland, and political ramifications within the UK itself.

Refugee and Migration Law Workshop

On December 12 and 13, 2019, IES co-sponsored an international workshop on Refugee and Migration Law, convened at the UC Berkeley Faculty Club. The two-day event brought together legal scholars from institutions across the United States and abroad, and focused on questions of race and ethnicity, borders, refugee protections, and international law. T. Alexander Aleinikoff (Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility, The New School for Social Research) began the first day of panels with a presentation on reforming the international refugee regime, followed by Tendayi Achiume (UCLA School of Law) on “Racial Borders.” Janie Chuang (American University) discussed the issue of global governance over labor migration. The impacts of technology on refugee law and refugee access to information were the focus of presentations by Katerina Linos (Berkeley Law) and Jasmijn Slotjes of the UC Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative. Day one concluded with talks by Ralph Wilde (University College London) on the refugee and migration “crisis” and international law, and Chantal Thomas (Cornell Law School) on global migration governance from a political economy perspective.

The second day of the workshop shifted to research on borders and border violence by Itamar Mann (University of Haifa) and Sheraly Munshi (Georgetown). Loren B. Landau (African Centre for Migration and Society, University of the Witwatersrand) spoke about “Protection in Times of Containment: Fragmented Temporalities and the Limits of Law.” Violeta Moreno-Lax (Queen Mary University of London) discussed intersectionality and forced migration, while Jaya Ramji-Nogales (Temple University) considered questions of safe transit. The workshop ended with a study of detained migrant children in U.S. custody by Emily Ryo (University of Southern California). Discussants included faculty and researchers from across the Berkeley campus. This event was co-sponsored by the Miller Institute for Global Challenges and the Law, the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, and the American Society of International Law Migration Law Interest Group.



Participants in the Refugee and Migration Law workshop

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From left: Julia Nelsen (IES Program Manager), Greyson Young, Victoria Struys, Danielle Miller, Abigail Mullin, Ellen Harper, Jeroen Dewulf (IES Director), Evan Gong, Yeeun Moon, Charlotte Campbell, Melina Kompella, Tianxing Cao, Davit Gasparyan



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