



**INSTITUTE OF  
EUROPEAN STUDIES**  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY



**SPRING 2020 NEWSLETTER**

## FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Friends of the Institute of European Studies,

This introduction to the Spring 2020 IES newsletter is probably the most difficult one I will write in my career. What promised to be an exciting semester in celebration of our thirtieth anniversary, had to be cancelled under dramatic circumstances due to the outbreak of the new coronavirus COVID-19. From our home shelters, we have been witnessing horrifying images from our beloved Europe, where especially in Italy and Spain the situation is truly dramatic, and fear that similar scenes may soon be our daily reality here in California as well.

Our Institute cancelled its public events in early March, which explains why this newsletter is much shorter than usual. I am, nevertheless, proud to present this overview of our activities in Spring 2020. The highlight of our short semester was the panel discussion on California, the EU and the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship with Stavros Lambrinidis, EU Ambassador to the US, and California's Lieutenant Governor Eleni Kounalakis, former US Ambassador to Hungary. Co-moderated by myself and Berkeley Law professor Katerina Linos, the conversation touched upon the importance of transatlantic relations, the global economy, the future of the EU, and Europe's Green New Deal, a topic also featured in an earlier event with Jean-Eric Paquet, Director-General of Research and Innovation at the European Commission.

IES also organized a number of additional events and workshops, such as Ulf Brunnbauer's lecture on emigration from Eastern to Western Europe, Marianne Riddervold's talk on EU Foreign Policy, and a presentation by Philipp Trein on social solidarity in the EU. In the spirit of Chancellor Christ's recent initiative to mark the 400th anniversary



of the arrival of enslaved Africans to the English colonies, IES also sponsored a panel discussion with Tyler Stovall and Caitlin Rosenthal on Capitalism and Freedom examining the involvement of various European powers in the transatlantic slave trade, as well as a reading by the Afro-Swedish rapper and author Jason "Timbuktu" Diakit . Our last event took place on March 6, when we were pleased to present the 2020 Undergraduate Research Conference on European Identities: Past, Present, and Future. If you regret to have missed these or other events, please check out the IES YouTube Channel for a selection of our lectures.

This semester, I am also pleased to announce a new IES funding opportunity for graduate students: the Berkeley-Lausanne research fellowship, our first exchange with a university in Switzerland. Please visit our website for more information on this and other grant opportunities.

The organization of these 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, the Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute. I would like to thank my colleagues Gia White, Deolinda Ad o, 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 Apprentices who helped report on our events, led by Melina Kompella and Evan Gong.

We are eager to restart our activities next semester, when we also look forward to celebrating 30 years of European Studies on the Berkeley campus. We invite you to join us in marking this special milestone by supporting our IES 30 FOR 30 campaign. Your contribution will help amplify our interdisciplinary programs, expand international exchanges, and enrich the learning and research experience at Berkeley. To donate, please consult our website or contact me personally and I will be pleased to tell you more about ways to support IES.

I hope you all stay safe and healthy and, more than ever, I hope to welcome you again to one of our events at IES in the next academic year.

With thanks for your continued support, and warm regards,

Jeroen Dewulf

# SPRING 2020 VISITING SCHOLARS



**VERENA BAIER**

University of Regensburg (Germany)



**MARISSA KEMP**

London School of Economics



**CHRISTOPH KOGLER**

University of Natural Resources  
and Life Sciences, Vienna (Austria)



**BENOÎT MAJERUS**

University of Luxembourg

# CONGRATULATIONS TO OUR 2020 GRANTEES

IES is pleased to announce this year's grant winners. Students from across departments have received awards for study and exchange at our partner universities in Europe, as well as dissertation and research support.

IES HELMUT KOHL AWARD IN GERMAN AND EUROPEAN STUDIES

**Alberto Sanchez Sanchez** (Architecture)

IES GERALD D. AND NORMA FELDMAN GRADUATE STUDENT  
DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP AWARD

**Jonathan Lear** (History)

BERKELEY-LUXEMBOURG RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP  
BERKELEY-INLAND UNIVERSITY RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Urte Laukaityte** (Philosophy)

BERKELEY-AUSTRIA RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Mustafa Yildiz** (History)

**Edward Forscher** (Civil & Environmental Engineering)

BERKELEY-FSU-JENA RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP  
BERKELEY-REGENSBURG RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Pawel Koscielny** (History)

BERKELEY-MUENSTER RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Mustafa Yildiz** (History)

BERKELEY-COLOGNE RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Edward Forscher** (Civil & Environmental Engineering)

**Sara Ann Knutson** (Anthropology)

**Landon Reitz** (German)

BERKELEY-UPPSALA RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Marcel Moran** (City & Regional Planning)

**Sara Ann Knutson** (Anthropology)

BERKELEY-ERLANGEN/NUREMBERG RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Clara Turner** (City & Regional Planning)

**Brian Perlman** (Journalism/Human Rights Center)

BERKELEY-GREIFSWALD RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Natalie Graham** (Environmental Science, Policy, & Management)

**Seira Ashley Adams** (Environmental Science, Policy, & Management)

BERKELEY-HAMBURG RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Amin Afrouzi** (Law)

**Byron Villacis** (Sociology)

BERKELEY-ST. ANDREWS RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Kyle Thomson** (Romance Languages & Literatures)

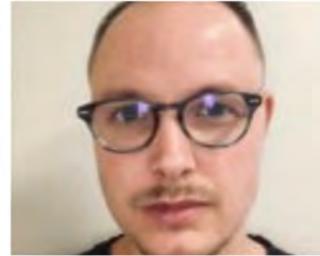
**Joshua Benjamins** (Classics)

CENTER FOR BRITISH STUDIES DISSERTATION RESEARCH GRANT

**Cheng-Chai Chiang** (English)

CENTER FOR BRITISH STUDIES PRE-DISSERTATION TRAVEL GRANT

**Jaleel Plummer** (Medical Anthropology)



*From top left: Sara Ann Knutson, Jonathan Lear, Urte Laukaityte, Marcel Moran, Brian Perlmán, Seira Ashley Adams, Amin Afrouzi, Clara Turner, Natalie Graham, Alberto Sanchez Sanchez, Byron Villacis, Kyle Thomson, Edward Forscher, Landon Reitz, Pawel Koscielny, Joshua Benjamins, Mustafa Yildiz, Cheng-Chai Chiang, Jaleel Plummer*

# IES FACULTY RESEARCH PROJECTS

## **2020 Faculty Projects Funded by the DAAD Grant**

*Comparison of Counterterrorism and Security in Germany, Europe and Australia*  
Mark Bevir, Political Science

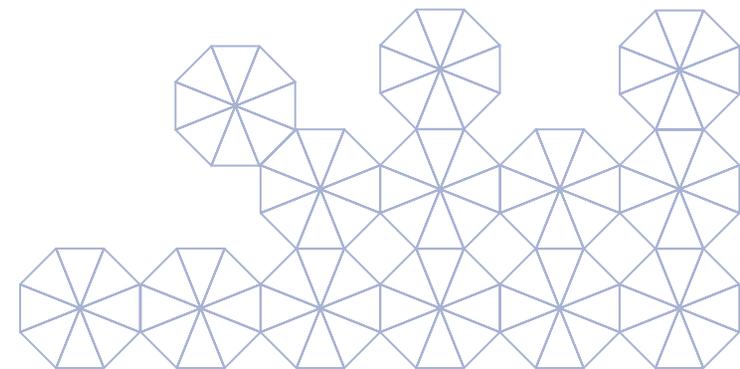
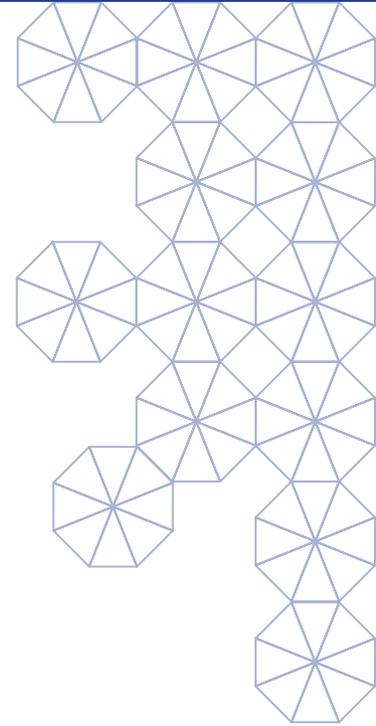
*Digital Refuge 2.0 Launch*  
Katerina Linos, Berkeley Law School

*German Perspectives on Anti-Discrimination Law Equality*  
David Oppenheimer, Berkeley Law School

## **2020 Faculty Projects Funded by the Jean Monnet Center of Excellence Grant**

*Community Governance and Counterterrorism in the EU*  
Mark Bevir, Political Science

*Anti-Corruption and Money Laundering in the EU and the US*  
Stavros Gadnis, Berkeley Law School



## SPRING 2020 LECTURES AND EVENTS

### Finnish Research on Social-Emotional Education

by Evan Gong and Ellen Harper

On January 30, the Nordic Studies Program at IES was pleased to welcome Finnish researchers **INKA-KRISTIINA HANHIVAARA** (Doctoral Candidate in Clinical Psychology at Sofia University) and **MERVI PÄNKÄLÄINEN** (Founder and CEO of Mightifier), who delivered a presentation entitled: “Social-Emotional Skills in the Digital Age.”

The researchers began by referencing many international metrics pointing to the increasing number of young people who feel socially isolated, lonely, and bullied. However, Finland is a noted exception. Despite its dreary weather, this country is noted for its high rankings in happiness, psychological safety, and societal cohesion, particularly among youth. One reason for this, noted Hanhivaara, was that the Finnish national curriculum emphasizes the joy of learning, self-care, and mental well-being and safety over a competitive culture. Pänkäläinen then spoke about her work with Mightifier, an online strength-based program she developed to enhance students’ social-emotional skills and well-being. The program was co-created with Finnish schools, teachers, and students in 2016 and focuses on how to build character strength, a growth mindset and self-determination. In particular, one module teaches students how to recognize good in another person, thus promoting courage and trust. The reason for testing



*Inka-Kristiina Hanhivaara and Mervi Pänkäläinen*

Mightifier with Finnish students was to better understand why these students are “the happiest in the world,” and how to potentially export Finnish pedagogical models to other countries.

In a compelling Q&A with the audience of 25, Hanhivaara and Pänkäläinen compared Finland to the U.S. in terms of how children behave and how this relates to their well-being. The discussion centred around how Finnish children take and deliver peer feedback, valuing constructive comments based on their performance. Finally, the speakers discussed the differences in Finnish mentality when it comes to the behavior of children. Compared to individualistic tendencies in American society, they noted, Finnish culture is deeply rooted in the concept of a collective society, which they argue leads children to become more responsible for their own learning

### Liberalism, Capitalism, and European Powers in the Transatlantic Slave Trade

By Rikke From, Davit Gasparyan and Greyson Young

In the spirit of the recent campus initiative marking 400 years since the arrival of enslaved Africans to the English colonies in North America, IES hosted a panel discussion on “Capitalism and Freedom: Perspectives on Slavery and its Ties to Economic and Political Liberalism in Europe.” The discussion featured professors **CAITLIN ROSENTHAL** (History, UC Berkeley) and **TYLER STOVALL** (Dean of the Humanities at UC Santa Cruz).

Stovall began by introducing a fundamental issue with liberal democracy: how can it exist when liberalism is based on the rights of the individual, while democracy is based on the rights of the collectivity? And how are individual rights reflected in the representation of the populace? Stovall pointed out how racialization was used to address this inconsistency in the early days of modern liberal democracies, drawing a rapidly emerging distinction between white citizens and non-white subjects. The rise of liberal democracy also coincided with the rise of heavily race-focused empires, namely Britain and France. Offering the example of the Statue of Liberty, Stovall argued that the monument was conceived as the product of the struggles between republic and empire in France, and that it is a symbol for white freedom—not ultimately freedom for all. French anti-slavery activist Édouard René de Laboulaye originally envisioned Lady Liberty as a militant revolutionary carrying broken chains and wearing a cap symbolizing



*IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Professors Caitlin Rosenthal and Tyler Stovall*

freed slaves; the final version of the statue lacked these aspects. Laboulaye saw the US as a shining model of liberal democracy, with slavery being the exception to that ideal.

Rosenthal continued the discussion by reframing the question of the relationship between capitalism and slavery. One could ask, did slavery cause capitalism? How did slavery shape capitalism? And how did slavery become so capitalistic? She concluded that slavery and capitalism are at least highly compatible with each other, and that capitalist mechanism emerged through slavery as division of labor, highly complex hierarchical organization of labor, monitor techniques and productivity measuring and management, and calculation of appreciation. Slavery made it essential to interrogate the relationship between capitalism and freedom: freedom for what and freedom for whom? Capitalism with slavery, Rosenthal argued, was capitalism completely unregulated, with anything up for grabs, even people.

The informative Q&A with the audience of 40 touched on definitions of freedom and how these often interacted with ideas of prop-

erty ownership and class. The speakers also discussed mercantilism and its effects on capitalism. Other questions concerned counting techniques of slaves and the inhumane ideas behind them, the south and its form of capitalism, and incorporation of ideas of slavery in labor movements.

## Celebrating the Languages of Berkeley

*By Evan Gong and Abigail Mullin*

On February 5, IES was pleased to take part in a reception hosted by the UC Berkeley Library and the Berkeley Language Center to complement their online exhibition “The Languages of Berkeley.” The event showcased the diversity of languages taught and spoken at Berkeley and featured brief readings by professors and students representing several departments across campus. IES Director **JEROEN DEWULF** participated with a reading from the 1860 text *Max Havelaar* or the coffee auctions of the Dutch Trading Company, a monument of Dutch literature by Multatuli (pseudonym of Eduard Douma Dekker). With additional readings in Spanish, Yiddish, Arabic, Sanskrit, Chichewa, Chinese, Vietnamese and Armenian, the program engaged a variety of different genres and styles, including novels, poetry, ancient epics, and children’s stories. The reception showcased only a fraction of the wide range of languages displayed in the online exhibition.

The event gathered an audience of 150 and concluded with a keynote lecture on “The Promise of Multilingualism” by **JUDITH BUTLER**, Maxine Elliot Professor in the Department of Comparative Literature and

the current President of the Modern Language Association. In her lecture, Butler emphasized that through the teaching of languages, we as a country can embrace diversity and gain a better understanding of other cultures.

## Europe and the Green New Deal

*By Davit Gasparyan and Victoria Struys*

On February 10, the Institute of European Studies was pleased to welcome **JEAN-ERIC PAQUET**, Director-General of Research and Innovation of the European Commission, for a lecture entitled “Europe’s Green New Deal: Fueled by Innovation.” In this fascinating presentation, Paquet focused on the desire of the European Union to innovate with sustainability initiatives and ultimately be the first continent to be climate-neutral by 2050.

Paquet explained that the Green New Deal itself is not about climate policy but rather economic policy aimed at creating growth and developing a fair society. Such a project pos-



*From left: Jean-Eric Paquet, IES EU Fellow Ewa Ptaszynska, IES Director Jeroen Dewulf, and Mary Kavanagh (Minister-Counsellor for Research and Innovation, European Union Delegation to the US)*

es a tremendous challenge for the European Union because of the societal change such a deal requires. As Paquet outlined, this change has already begun and is visible in the success of Green parties in EU parliament elections. In addition to the advancement of Green parties, protests are mounting in many cities around Europe to push governments to take action against global warming. In light of these events, the Commission has stated that economic growth is not an end in itself, taking a stance to act to prevent climate change.

In the second part of his lecture, Paquet emphasized the importance of technology in the greening of the economy. Even if our current technology can get us on the path for a clean economy, he argued, it remains insufficient to actually reach the goal of a climate-neutral continent. Thus, technology needs to keep improving. As a result, funds must be relocated and member states must agree to increase their funding to the European Union. Moreover, the EU faces challenges when it comes to enforcement of treaties, as some clauses require national governments to enforce new agreements in many different fields such as economic, social, and environmental policies.

During the interesting Q&A with the 110 guests in attendance, Paquet answered a variety of questions ranging from the implications of the EU Green New Deal for the US and China, to artificial intelligence and its impact on green initiatives. Paquet mentioned the need to make the objectives and mechanisms of the Green New Deal more global, referring to the upcoming climate policy summit with China as well as new climate policies implemented in African nations

He then discussed California's goal to phase out fossil fuel-emitting vehicles and the Green New Deal's similar, yet unspecified, intentions. The final set of questions revolved around the EU budget and how it will play out with the Green New Deal. This event was co-sponsored by the Climate Readiness Institute, Institute of Governmental Studies, the Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, and the Center for Responsible Business.

## Policies of Vengeance in the Postwar Period

*By Tianxing Cao, Evan Gong and Alexandra von Minden*

On February 11, IES was delighted to welcome senior fellow **ZACHARY SHORE** (Professor of History at the Naval Postgraduate School). In his lecture, entitled "From Vengeance to Virtue: The Problem of Postwar Germany," Shore explored the context and reasoning surrounding the U.S. treatment of its perceived enemies during and after World War II.

Shore began by examining the origin of the United States' response in 1942 to intern Japanese-Americans, namely Executive Order 9066. He also probed the passionate minority of government officials who engineered a concerted and fear-mongering campaign for retribution towards Japanese-Americans, despite the fact that few Japanese-Americans posed a threat and a majority of Americans disapproved of internment. Importantly, Shore noted that the side opposed to internment lacked a coherent message and strategy to combat the side in favor. Ultimately, Shore argued, Executive Order 9066 was brought about by vengeance and was significant



*IES Director Jeroen Dewulf with Zachary Shore*

because it had lasting political implications and set dangerous precedents.

Shore then turned his attention towards another policy of vengeance, namely, the extreme punishment of Germany and ordinary Germans under Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau's plan. The Morgenthau Plan proposed reverting Germany back to an agricultural state by liquidating its entire industrial capacity and other industries pertaining to war. He pointed out that, like EO 9066, the Morgenthau Plan came under serious consideration of implementation despite not having the support of a majority of decision-makers. Though the Morgenthau Plan came close to becoming enacted, the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and opposition by his predecessor, Harry S. Truman was ultimately the nail in its coffin.

The case studies Shore picked for his book give us a flavor of what he calls "misplaced vengeance" – not only because the policies were merely supported by a small number of individuals but, most importantly, because the policies targeted innocent civilians and children. He emphasized that War Secretary Stimson's efforts to blunt the worst effects of the Morgenthau Plan

and what he assessed as attempts of hindering President Truman's decision to drop the Atomic bombs on Japan, were never sufficiently recognized or appreciated by historians.

During an engaging Q&A with the audience of 20 guests, Shore explained from his unique perspective as a historian why he chose to select his cases quite narrowly from the post-war period. Speaking to the question of which advice he would give policymakers to prevent short-sighted acts of retribution or vengeance in the future, he emphasized the importance of political organization as well as the active involvement of the public at early stages of the policymaking process.

## Solidarity and Crisis Politics in the EU

*By Victoria Struys, Tor Froeytvedt Dahl, and Samantha Renee Hebri*

On February 12, the Institute of European Studies was pleased to welcome **PHILIPP TREIN**, a Senior Researcher in Political Science and Public Policy at the University of Lausanne and Senior Fellow at IES, for his lecture titled "Solidarity and Crisis Politics in the EU". Focusing on EU crisis policies and politics and how they unfolded in the EU, Trein compared those policies to other federal states and explored the possibility of solidarity among member states in periods of crisis.

Focusing on two main crises— the 2009-2012 eurozone, and the 2015 immigration crisis— Trein concluded that intergovernmental decisions are the most important. Indeed, the economic and cultural diversity of member states creates difficulties in coming to agree-



*IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome and Philipp Trein.*

ment on common policies. For example, during the financial crisis, heavily indebted countries such as Greece, Cyprus, and Italy saw austerity and the other conditions attached to the financial solidarity as unfair. Creditors, such as Germany, on the other hand, saw the maintenance of fiscal rules as fundamental to any discussion of debt relief. The second example presented by Trein was the immigration crisis of 2015, in which centralized EU institutions had little power over decisions made by individual member states. In the second part of his presentation, Trein noted that the institutional set-up of the EU is different from federal states such as the United States. Namely, the EU lacks military union of common foreign policy, as well as strong political representation that is present in other federal states. However, the EU also exhibits key federal traits such as an integrated economy, and common regulations to govern internal trade and cooperation.

Finally, Trein argued that the EU struggles to agree on a common path in part because of diverging notions of solidarity. For Trein, there are two ideal types of solidarity in federal and

quasi-federal politics of crisis resolution: positive solidarity, which sees social consequences as more important than fiscal consequences, and negative solidarity, which prioritizes fiscal consequences. The resolution of crises in the European Union is characterized by the latter; high stakes, lack of powerful central authority, and diverging interests among states lead to the emphasis being placed on maintaining the existing institutional set-up and fiscal rules rather than the institutional transformation that could be cohesive to long-term integration.

During the Q&A with the audience of 15, Trein discussed positive and negative solidarity, as well as how the EU differs from other intergovernmental organizations and the struggles it faces by anti-system parties. Trein noted that the EU differs from intergovernmental organizations such as the UN through solving policy problems without involving individual states.

## The German Diamond Trade in Colonial Africa

*By Ellen Harper*

On February 18, the Institute of European Studies welcomed **STEVEN PRESS**, Assistant Professor of History at Stanford University and an affiliate of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, the Center for African Studies, and Stanford Law School's Center for Law and History. In his lecture titled "Revisiting the Economics of German Overseas Imperialism, 1884-1918," Press challenged the conventional perception of the economics of German colonialism in the former colony of German South West Africa (present-day Namibia), arguing that



Andrea Westermann (Research Fellow & Head of Office, Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute) with Steven Press

its diamond mining industry can be seen as a microcosm of the reality of German imperialism.

Press began the lecture with a description of Sperrgebiet, Namibia--literally “Prohibited Area” in German--once the center of the nation’s German diamond mining. Press argued that the common perception that Germany’s colonies were not economically viable did not take into consideration the lucrative diamond trade that characteristically lacked transparency. The economic viability of German imperialism in South West Africa can be viewed through the lens of Hobson’s or Lenin’s theories of imperialism, Press claimed, which point out imperialism’s ability to enrich the connected few without benefiting the state. He estimated that the Namibian diamond trade - which was plagued by smuggling - was extremely profitable despite its miniscule contribution to Germany’s official exports. The diamond trade also boasted the image of German overseas imperialism and contributed to the grandeur of the colonial illusion. Though German colonialism in Africa is long over, there are still many contemporary ramifications, particularly the deleterious effects on indigenous populations, whose labor and land were exploited. Furthermore, names of places and statues in

Southwest Africa still show echoes of a colonial past.

The lecture was followed by a Q&A with the audience of 25, in which Press contextualized the diamond bubble in a global framework. He also addressed circumstances in other German colonies in this time period, and how this influenced German colonial control. Press underscored that these local rebellions pushed Germany to better manage its colonies and improve its image, and it was the lucrative profits from diamonds in Namibia that provided the most benefit.

### The Ukraine Crisis and EU Foreign Policy

By Tor Froeytvedt Dahl and Nikki Schroeder

On February 19, IES welcomed **MARIANNE RIDDERVOLD**, an IES senior fellow who is Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences and a researcher at Norwegian Institute of Foreign Affairs (NUPI). Riddervold presented research on EU foreign policy and transatlantic relations surrounding the Ukraine crisis that started with the Euromaidan movement of 2013, and culminated in Russia’s annexation of Crimea in 2014.

As Riddervold outlined, the Ukraine crisis is currently the most severe ongoing military conflict on the European continent -- more than 13,000 soldiers and civilians have been killed and 30,000 have been wounded. EU and US responses differed significantly at the onset of the crisis. Whereas the US was quick to denounce Russian interference and military engagement, EU member-states were reluctant to follow up on

the US call to introduce sanctions against Russia. However, this changed dramatically from July 2014 and onwards, when member-states joined US sanctions and concerted a strong, common response targeting diplomatic cooperation, individuals, and entire sectors of Russian industry.

Riddervold’s research seeks to explain the shift in responses by the EU, pointing to three key reasons why the EU went from disagreement to agreement. First, she argued, the invasion of Crimea and the downing of the MH17 passenger flight in Donbas represented a “critical juncture” in which the path-dependent behavioral patterns were torn up. Second, as the EU qua international organization rests upon principles of international law, the EU’s norms of appropriate foreign policy behavior rests upon denouncing its breaches. Third, US leadership pressed EU countries into formulating a concerted response.

As US foreign policy increasingly shifts to Asia, so do the dynamics of transatlantic relations. Riddervold argued that this phenomenon can be observed in today’s transatlantic cooper-



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome and Marianne Riddervold

ation over the Ukraine crisis as well. Under the Trump administration, EU and US positions on Ukraine have diverged. For example, the continuing peace talks over the fighting in Eastern Ukraine involves Russian and European leaders without the direct involvement of the US. Without US leadership, Riddervold claimed, it will be increasingly difficult for the EU to uphold international order and norm; thus, EU foreign policy in the future will be less 'normative'.

During the Q&A with the 20 guests in attendance, Riddervold touched on how the lack of military enforcement capabilities in the EU affected the negotiations. She also noted that the loss of the United Kingdom may actually increase cohesiveness of EU foreign policy, with an emphasis on the idea that something must be done and that countries must come together.

## Wood Supply Chain Management in Austria and California

*By Christoph Kogler*

On February 25, the Institute of European Studies hosted a liaison meeting of experts on wood supply chain management at the University of California, Berkeley with generous support from the Austrian Ministry of Science and the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation. The meeting was organized by **CHRISTOPH KOGLER**, a visiting scholar at the Institute of European Studies. The discussion involved a diverse group of researchers from the Department of Industrial Engineering, Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management, Haas Business School, Berkeley Forests, and the Institute of Transportation Studies. Visiting scholars from



*Participants in the scholarly meeting on wood supply chain management*

the European Commission were also invited. The meeting focused on current and future challenges of wood supply chain management in Austria and California. Climate change has increased the frequency and impact of forest calamities such as wildfires, windstorms and bark beetle infestations. Events such as these abruptly cause high volumes of salvage wood, which have to be transported out of the forest to limit further damage or loss of wood value. California as well as Austria have been particularly impacted by fires and windstorms. Researchers discussed similarities in the need for advanced contingency planning after risk events, exchanging and analyzing different research approaches and methods to overcome those challenges from across the scientific disciplines. The discrete event simulation method was confirmed to provide a high suitability for advanced contingency planning, because it allows for complex interdependencies to be visually illustrated and demonstrated to stakeholders. Different model configurations can show the effects of such decisions before real, costly, dangerous, inefficient or long-lasting changes are made.

## California, the EU and the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship

*By Evan Gong*

On February 27, the Institute of European Studies was honored to host a panel discussion with **STAVROS LAMBRINIDIS**, the Ambassador of the European Union to the United States, and **ELENI KOUNALAKIS**, the current Lieutenant Governor of California and former U.S. Ambassador to Hungary (2010-2013). Moderated by IES Director **JEROEN DEWULF** and Berkeley Law Professor **KATERINA LINOS**, this timely conversation focused on the social, political, and economic challenges currently facing the EU, as well as opportunities for closer cooperation between California and Europe.

Opening on the topic of transatlantic relations, both Lambrinidis and Kounalakis expressed deep concern over the current state of United States-European Union cooperation. Stark differences in values, noted Lambrinidis, particularly over trade and security, have been the primary factor straining relations between the two powers. Despite these tensions, both Lambrinidis and Kounalakis emphasized the interconnectedness of both economies. The EU is a major exporter to the United States and investor in American jobs, while the U.S. provides significant security contributions to Europe. Indeed, the need to reaffirm common ties and mutual benefits between the two powers has never been more important than now, especially in the face of populist appeal.

The conversation then shifted to relations between California and the EU, particularly on the impacts of technology and of immigra-



*From left: IES Director Jeroen Dewulf, EU Ambassador to the US Stavros Lambrinidis, Professor Katerina Linos, and CA Lieutenant Governor Eleni Kounalakis*

tion. Kounalakis expressed optimism regarding areas of active cooperation, such as the joint push for increased data security and privacy. Indeed, California enacted a data protection law this year that closely resembles GDPR protections entitled to European citizens regarding their data privacy. Kounalakis also underscored the importance of immigration to California's economic success and noted the state's success in bolstering some protections from deportation despite the anti-immigrant rhetoric from Washington DC. Lambrinidis, in analyzing Europe as a whole, stressed the importance of fostering openness among the EU's sixty million residents and communicating the EU's commitment to improving the quality of life for every citizen. As for immigration, the EU continues to face a migration crisis and sees a humanitarian responsibility

to assist displaced persons.

During the final segment of the discussion, questions were selected from the audience, which consisted of over one hundred faculty, students, diplomats, and community members in the Banatao Auditorium. Questions for Lambrinidis and Kounalakis touched on Europe's social welfare programs, climate change, and on the EU's response to some Eastern European member-states, which have challenged democratic institutions



## US Populism and Economic Conflicts in the Trump Era

by Melina Kompella and Victoria Struys

On February 26, the Institute of European Studies was pleased to welcome **PAUL WELFENS**, director of the European Institute for International Economic Relations at the University of Wuppertal. In his lecture, Welfens focused on populist tendencies that emerged in the US with the Trump election, arguing that this structural form of populism could pose long-term problems.

Welfens began by explaining populism as a combination of nationalism and protectionism, with a nostalgic emphasis on “wishful thinking.” For Welfens, populism has been able to gain ground in the US due to socioeconomic inequalities but also due to the behavior of American voters, which Welfens classifies as a structural problem. He argued that Trump’s tactic in winning the 2016 election was to take advantage of and capitalize on the very real problem of inequality in the United States, by focusing on its “forgotten” men and women. In 1981, low-income earners constituted 21 percent of US market income, falling to 13 percent in 2015. While this decrease has been mirrored in Europe as well, Welfens explained, the effects of this change have been more significant in the US, as it reflects the growing inequalities inside the country.

In the second part of his lecture, Welfens exposed Trump’s economic policy of targeting China by raising tariffs on imported goods. The problem, according to Welfens, is that a tariff war with China would have as a side effect a de-

crease in exports from the US toward Europe—a consequence that has been underestimated by the Trump administration. Even though Trump’s policy has been described as innovative and rule-breaking, Welfens identifies important weaknesses in it.

Following the lecture, the audience of 30 engaged in a Q&A with Welfens on the global spread of populism, and how much of this phenomenon can be attributed to Trump’s rhetoric. In addition, many questioned how structural populism will shape US politics in the long run. While we do not yet have the answers, Welfens explained, we have begun to see the implications for foreign trade and international relations.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf with Paul Welfens

## The Donbas Deadlock: “Minsk II” at Five Years

by Tor Froeytvedt Dahl and Davit Gasparyan

On March 3, IES was pleased to welcome **KRISTIAN ÅTLAND**, who presented his research on Ukraine and the ongoing deadlock in the Donbas area five years following the signing of the Minsk II agreement. Åtland is a Senior Research Fellow at the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment (Forsvarets Forskningsinstitutt) and is currently a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

As Åtland explained, in the wake of the Euromaidan movement and the 2014 Ukraine revolution, changes in Ukraine’s ruling coalition were met with protests in the Donetsk and Luhansk, two eastern regions (oblasts) that border Russia. These protests in Donbas escalated into an armed conflict between separatist and Ukrainian forces. Eventually, the separatist forces declared the creation of the People’s Republic of Donetsk and the People’s Republic of Luhansk. The continuing bloodshed has led to attempts to stop the war in the Donbas region through the Minsk Protocols. After the adoption of the second of these, “Minsk II,” the violence subsided temporarily, but little long-term progress has been made. Indeed, the central question of Åtland’s research is why the Minsk II agreement of February 2015 has not been implemented in good faith.

Åtland first surveyed the academic literature on war, diplomacy, and interstate negotiations. He highlighted that while the negotiation phase may be difficult, the implementation



*Kristian Åtland with ISEES Executive Director Jeff Pennington*

phase is most complicated. Ambiguities in the protocol language, negotiations conducted in “bad faith,” with the intention of derailing implementation efforts, and irreconcilable differences between parties can all make it hard to find an outcome that is beneficial for all veto players in the negotiations. In Åtland’s view, the most important reason why the Minsk II agreement has failed relates to the discrepancies between the realities on the ground and the political-legal framework that was designed for the conflict’s resolution in 2014 and 2015. It is still unclear whether it is possible to achieve a feasible solution in the future through some form of Minsk III agreement. However, Åtland notes, the prospects for such a third agreement are dire as little has been done to address the underlying issues that contributed to the failure of earlier agreements.

During the insightful Q&A involving the 20 attendees, participants asked about the ultimate goal of Russia given the rather ambiguous nature of its demands thus far, to which

Åtland speculated that Russia wants to obtain leverage on Kiev by keeping the conflict simmering, hindering Kiev’s prospects of joining NATO and eventually the EU. Explaining the role of the Russian language in Ukraine, Åtland pointed out how, during the conflict, the question of Russian language has become more politicized than ever before. Finally, Åtland discussed how perhaps the status quo is a win for Russia as finding a solution may not be its priority given other post-Soviet conflicts.

## Reshaping Higher Education in Germany and the US

*by Melina Kompella and Nikki Schroeder*

On March 4, the Institute was delighted to welcome **TOBIAS SCHULZE-CLEVEN** (Cal Alum and Associate Professor at the Rutgers School of Management and Labor Relations), who delivered a lecture on “Disruption through Regulation: Reshaping Higher Education in the United States and Germany.” Schulze-Cleven, an expert on comparative employment relations across wealthy democracies, explained how regulatory strategies in both the United States and Germany are being utilized to redefine higher education systems, while also highlighting convergences and divergences between the two educational structures.

Referring to numerous statistical and analytical models, Schulze-Cleven emphasized the hurdles of federalism and academic freedom faced by both countries in the pursuit of transforming higher education. He analyzed this hindrance, describing how the understanding of academic freedoms of individual students



*IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Tobias Schulze-Cleven*

and professors in Germany, as well as that of the individual institution in the US, have created challenges for the state in its effort to bring about change. Schulze-Cleven also explored the divergences of the two educational systems, contrasting the United States’ market-driven university model against Germany’s state-supported model. He also explored statistics pertaining to higher education access between the two countries. Indeed, the U.S. has a higher rate of higher education access, but Germany has a higher rate of students who complete their degrees. Accordingly, such divergences make it difficult to integrate the two systems.

Schulze-Cleven concluded by stating that education officials in both the USA and Germany, in an effort to transform higher education models, have worked to promote self-reliance among universities, which is achieved by cutting financing per student in both countries, bolstering rivalry, and decentralizing decision-making in an effort to increase autonomy. The Q&A, which involved approximately 25 attendees, touched on the role of rivalry between universities, the mar-

ket structure of higher education in the US, and culturally variable understandings of academic freedom. Schulze-Cleven highlighted that the structure of higher education in each country is entwined in both culture and politics.

## Navigating Afro-Swedish Identity: A Drop of Midnight

by Rikke From and Abigail Mullin

On March 4, IES and the Nordic Studies Program were pleased to present a discussion with the Afro-Swedish hip-hop artist and writer **JASON “TIMBUKTU” DIAKITÉ** about the English translation of his memoir *A Drop of Midnight*. Diakité, who has recently adapted his memoir into a spoken word play to be performed in Harlem, New York, presented a portion of his life story through monologues, poetry, and music. The event, introduced by Barbro Osher (Honorary Consul General of Sweden in San Francisco), attracted an audience of over 60 guests from across the Berkeley campus and Bay Area.

Diakité’s story recounts his quest to understand his place in the world, raised by interracial American parents in homogenous Sweden. One central theme of his work is his deep desire to connect with his paternal family’s African-American heritage, which led him on a trip to the cotton fields of South Carolina. Through narratives from his grandfather and father’s lives, Diakité explored the legacies of slavery and racism within the United States, from the South to New York, and his own problems with assimilation in Sweden. He placed great emphasis on remembrance and communion with his ances-

tors as a vehicle to understand his own identity and place in the world.

In conversation with Professor Stephen Small of the Department of African American Studies & African Diaspora Studies, Diakité addressed questions about his upbringing in Sweden, his writing process, and the importance of race and heritage. He also touched on the Swedish language as a tool to be accepted during his childhood. In addition, Diakité expanded on the concept of “respectability” as a recipe for survival. When asked about his intended audience, Diakité stated that he intended his book to reach any biracial kid living in Sweden who is struggling with the largely homogeneous culture of the country. He concluded with his recollections on hip-hop and its influence in his life, and the way it taught him about black masculinity and African-American culture, across the world and in Sweden.



From left: Jason “Timbuktu” Diakité, Barbro Osher, and Stephen Small

## 2020 Undergraduate Research Conference

Friday, March 6 marked the 2020 IES Undergraduate Conference in European Studies. Organized by the Institute’s team of Undergraduate Research Apprentices, this year’s conference brought together students and scholars to share their research and exchange knowledge on the theme of “European Identities: Past, Present, Future.” The conference featured presentations by eleven Berkeley undergraduates representing a wide range of academic disciplines—political science, history, anthropology, literature and cultural studies, and more.

To kick off the first panel on “Political Identities: Law and Governance,” History major **NICHOLAS PINGITORE** reconsidered the 1648 Peace of Westphalia as a foundational moment in modern international relations, shedding new light on its role in the evolution of state sovereignty in Europe. Senior **MATEO MONTOYA** (Rhetoric) discussed Jacques Necker’s 1781 pamphlet *Compte Rendu au Roi* (Report to the King), arguing that its financial calculations represented a new rhetorical tool used by political rivals to contest each other in the public sphere. Turning to contemporary politics, Political Science junior **ALEXANDRA VON MINDEN** investigated the environmental and climate agendas of European right-wing populist parties in the context of the 2019 European parliamentary elections. **TOR FROEYTVEDT DAHL**, a senior majoring in Political Economy, concluded the panel with an analysis of his native Norway’s paradoxical relationship with the EU and the EEA agreement.

In the second panel on “Language and Nation,” senior **EVAN GONG** (Political Economy and German) discussed the origin and development of Central and Eastern European national identities based on the philosophy of Johann Gottfried Herder. **SKYLAR CLARK**, a third-year English and Comparative Literature double major, examined how American ideals of individualism resonate in literary constructions of nation and self in 19th century European novels by Guy de Maupassant and Bolesław Prus. **VICTORIA STRUYS**, a junior studying Political Science, addressed the linguistic divide in Belgium in light of the Second World War and its aftermath.

“Cultural Expressions” were the focus of the third panel. First-year student **VANESSA LI** examined the motif of the severed head in Celtic culture and identity and its connections to classical and religious traditions. **ABIGAIL MULLIN**, a fourth-year double major in History and Global Studies, considered representations of female identities and family values in propaganda posters of the Spanish Civil War.

The final panel, on “European Identities, Local and Global,” began with a presentation on Gozitan identity in Malta and its connection to plant-based cuisine by **ROSIE MACON**, a second-year undergraduate studying anthropology and education. First-year Political Science major **JULIE DE VAULX** wrapped up the conference with an analysis of European identity in expatriates.

The Spring 2020 URAP students are grateful to all participants and moderators for their participation and support.



*Panelists at the 2020 IES Undergraduate Research Conference*



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Thanks for your continued support!





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