
Institute of European Studies Fall 2017 Newsletter



Director's Letter

Dear Friends of the Institute of European Studies,

It is with great pleasure that I am sending you our Fall 2017 newsletter, made with the assistance of our team of undergraduate reporters led by Annika Van Galder. This semester, our Institute officially inaugurated the GHI-West Program, the West-Coast branch of the German Historical Institute, with a lecture by the prominent German sociologist Armin Nassehi. IES was also proud to welcome two other leading German intellectuals to the Berkeley campus during the Fall 2017 semester: Josef Joffe, publisher of the leading German newspaper *Die Zeit* and 2017 Regent's Lecturer at the Institute of Governmental Studies, and, in cooperation with GHI-West, Peter Strohschneider, President of the German Research Foundation *DFG*. Another highlight of the semester was the Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Annual Lecture, with a wonderful presentation by Professor Emeritus Margaret Anderson on the Armenian genocide. I would also like to highlight the panel discussion on "Europe and the Euro," organized by our affiliated lecturer Viviana Padelli at the Haas School of Business with Gérard Roland, Barry Eichengreen and Gabriele Giudice as speakers.

With the support of Norma von Ragenfeld-Feldman, the DAAD, and the Eric. M. Warburg Chapter of the American Council on Germany, our Center for German and European Studies brought an additional number of prominent speakers to the Institute, including Jean Deak, Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame, Jan Philip Burgard, Deputy Bureau Chief of the German TV Network ARD, Patrick Keller, Coordinator of Foreign and Security Policy at the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation, Thomas Matussek, former German Ambassador to the United Nations, Chunjie Zhang, Professor

of German literature from UC Davis, Suzanne Marchand, Professor of European Intellectual History at Louisiana State University, Edith Sheffer, Professor of History at Stanford University, Kathleen Canning, Professor of History at the University of Michigan, and Jana Puglierin from the Oppenheim Center at the German Council of Foreign Relations.

During the Fall semester, the Institute of European Studies' Social Science MATRIX Research Group also held its monthly meetings in Barrows Hall. The group's organizers Jeroen Dewulf and Jon Cho-Polizzi introduced the theme "Continent Divided: Building Bridges, Finding Truth" to the Institute's visiting scholars and affiliated PhD students. Our Irish Studies Program held a screening of the movie *In the Name of Peace: John Hume in America* with filmmaker Maurice Fitzpatrick, and a discussion of the events known as "The Troubles" in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland that took place over the span of three decades from the 1960s to the 1990s.

The Nordic Studies Program celebrated the 100th anniversary of Finnish independence with a lecture by Stina Katchadourian on the life and work of the Finnish poet Edith Södergran, while the Benelux Program organized a lecture on the debate on German war reparations with Spero Paravantes from the University of Luxembourg.

During this period, IES also welcomed delegations from Jena University, Hamburg University and Regensburg University to negotiate new cooperation agreements and the exchange of doctoral students. The newly established IES Austrian Studies Program was also a part of the annual meeting of the Austrian Studies network that took place in New Orleans. At next year's meeting in Edmonton, Canada, our Program will give two Berkeley graduate students, Laura Jakli and Makoto

Fukumoto, an opportunity to present their work about Austria and Central Europe.

The organization of so many exciting events would not have been possible without the support of my colleagues Gia White, Deolinda Adão, Akasemi Newsome, Nathan Pippenger, Sirpa Tuomainen, and Mila MacBain. IES says goodbye to Mila MacBain, who is leaving for a new position on the East Coast, and welcomes her successor Julia Nelsen, a former doctoral student in Comparative Literature, who is joining IES in January.

In this newsletter, you will also find a series of interviews with guests of the Institute and brief reports of the many events that were organized this semester. If you have missed any of our events, please check out the IES [Youtube Channel](#) where you will find a selection of our lectures.

Many more events are already in preparation for the Spring 2018 semester. In particular, I would like to highlight the forthcoming Austrian Studies conference, organized in cooperation with Oliver Rathkolb from the Institut für

Zeitgeschichte at the University of Vienna, Klemens Renoldner from the Stefan Zweig Center in Salzburg and Ambassador Wolfgang Petritsch, Director of the Austrian Marshall Fund.

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

Please allow me to thank you all for your support to our Institute and to wish you happy New Year. My colleagues and I are looking forward to welcome you to one of our events in 2018.

With kindest regards,

Jeroen Dewulf

Interview with Professor Richard Buxbaum, Founder and Former Director of the Center for German and European Studies (CGES)

IES Undergraduate Student Erika Parke sat down with founding CGES Director, and UC Berkeley Law Professor Richard Buxbaum to talk about his role in the founding of the CGES, which ultimately became the Institute of European Studies. Here are excerpts from their conversation in December 2017:

On how he became interested in European studies as a scholar:

Richard Buxbaum (RB): Well, first of all, I come from an immigrant family, I was born in Germany. I was also stationed in Heidelberg as a member of the judge advocate general corps, so I got into an acquaintance with that scene after the war. In 1957, I started law practice in a firm that happened to have as one of its major clients, the company that became Xerox, and in that year coincidentally they decided to go into overseas work. They had only been a US company, so they formed a joint venture with a British company Rank-Xerox, and my work then was heavily in that context, so I had a practice that was taking me into overseas work. So, when I got here [to Berkeley] in '61 I taught public international law and I started a seminar that still runs called "International Business Transactions." So, during that period, I had a lot of connections with the international level.

On the founding of the CGES:

RB: It was probably about 1986 when we had the Title VI program, and Western Europe was in it. Then, in 1988 - Chancellor Kohl invited a group of US university presidents to Germany and explained he was worried about a drop in the interest of US universities in German affairs. So [Kohl's] plan was to have a competition to establish three so-called Centers for Excellence in the United States. UC President David

Gardner spoke up in that meeting and said a new source of competitive funding isn't going to fly if it's only Germany, it's got to have Europe in it. And Kohl bought immediately into that and agreed that the new initiative would have to be for Centers for German and European Studies. There was one sort of amusing thing, we thought I'd propose to Gardner that it might be useful to be sure we'd win it, that we partner with Stanford University. So we made that offer to Stanford and somewhat to our surprise, Stanford said, 'No we're going to compete with you.' Our big comparative advantage vis-à-vis Stanford here was that we had a system here with many campuses. So, we converted that system into a system center. It was to be a UC Center for Excellence for German and European Studies, and we won. That meant that for ten years we received 1.5 million marks or 1 million dollars a year to spend on increasing the production of PhDs who were interested in German and European Studies.

On your impression of Helmut Kohl when he received the Berkeley Medal in 1991:

RB: Kohl took this honor very seriously, he wrote a very good talk and the Greek theater was full. It was very, very impressive and he ended with a statement that was personal to him. He made this very moving statement saying, 'when I look back over the ruins of Germany and Europe caused by Germany, my view is that we were not able to be a moral state

in a community of states and it took several generations for us to walk our way back and I look today at you and the privilege I have to be honored here so forth, for me this is a journey of 50 years.' And he really affected the audience-- it was a lovely passage.

On the impact of UC Berkeley receiving the Center for Excellence designation from the German government:

RB: It generated in fact a new generation of US Academics who would work in European affairs. We have a relatively large alumni crowd, I still know quite a number of them. It did what we wanted it to do, it revived interests at a serious level. Now, there is one issue here, around the mid-nineties, the concept of Area Studies had been in decline. It was really a feature of the Cold War-- Soviet Studies, Chinese Studies--and so on. And I have to say our Executive Director in the deanship, David Szanton, was a very strong intellectual voice in fighting back the denigration of Area Studies. One of the things that he did that was so useful, and it was later copied by the Rockefeller Foundation, were these Ph.D colloquium. We invited Ph.D candidates, from not only the UC system but from around the country, for a conference in which they shared their dissertation projects, coming from any discipline, but related to European Studies. And that, therefore, also created a kind of multiplier effect among universities.

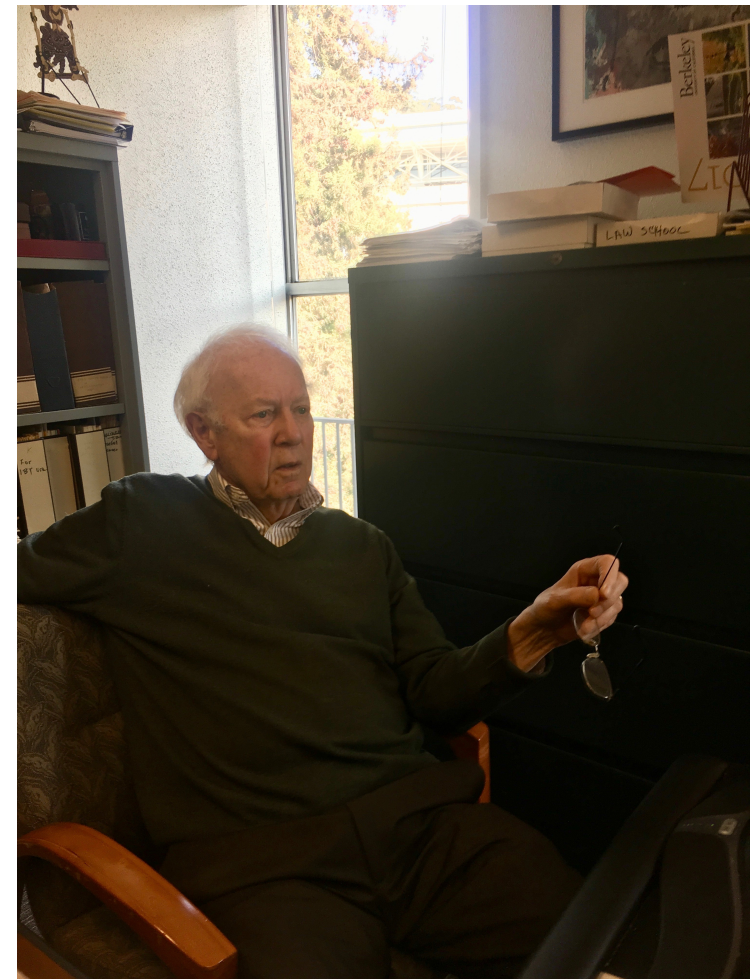
On fellow UC Berkeley colleagues who played a role in the founding of the Institute:

RB: There was **Ernst Haas**, he was an immigrant from Germany, we had the same background in a way, he came from Frankfurt, and he was the person who worked out this theory-- a functional theory-- of integration, based on his expectations that the European Union project would be successful. And he was one of the intellectual engines, along with a man named, **Tibor de Scitovsky** and of course others,

who were very instrumental in using the European Union case as their idea for even larger political theory concepts.

On his biggest success as former CGES Director:

RB: Creating a new generation of US academics, who would continue interest in European Studies, was the single biggest success. Berkeley is in a sense a factory for PhDs so much of the focus and the culture is around that. So, that was the most important thing, because it fits so perfectly into Berkeley's larger mission.



Meet our Visiting Scholars!

Jan Niklas Bunnenberg

Fall 2017

Jan Bunneberg hails from the University of Cologne, Germany, and specializes in data protection law. Berkeley has some of the leading names of the information privacy law field, and Jan says he jumped at the opportunity to participate in the joint exchange program between IES and the University of Cologne so he could meet experts and attend their events. Jan reports that there are a lot of changes in his field in Europe nowadays— national policies are being harmonized to form a unified set of EU regulations. The joint program was a perfect fit to complement his research because it offers a forum to



study the positions of scientists from other fields who work on political issues of the European Union. Jan is especially interested in how national and EU-wide regulations relate. Jan spends his days at the Institute conceptualizing his thesis, and attending as many events as possible to try to take advantage of his stay. Jan also greatly enjoys nature and hiking. He has

been to the Lost Coast Trail, Lake Tahoe, and Yosemite, but work always comes first!

Christina Gerhardt

Fall 2017 – Spring 2018

Christina Gerhardt is a visiting scholar from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She taught previously at UC Berkeley (2000-2006), and returns this year after nearly a decade. Her interests are extremely diverse, and she teaches courses at the University of Hawai'i on post-1945 German literature, art and film, arts, environmental humanities, and other topics. She is at UC Berkeley to research and write a new book, specifically about West German cinema around 1968. Three of the chapters will be devoted to the film schools that were developed at the time in Ulm, Munich, and West Berlin, and three additional chapters will focus on three different film movements based in Hamburg, Cologne, and Munich. Professor Gerhardt is in conversation with the Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive about film programming for Fall 2018 devoted to *1968 and Global Cinema*, which dovetails with a book on the topic that she co-edited. She has also applied to co-organize a conference with former IES Senior Fellow Timothy Brown at the German Historical Institute West, that will be centered on “Internationalizing Germany’s ‘68.” She is also co-editor of “Celluloid Revolt: German Screen Cultures and the Long Sixties.” In addition to these German film topics, Gerhardt’s research also focuses on the environmental humanities, an interdisciplinary field that bridges the arts and humanities, nature sciences and social sciences. Strands of the environmental humanities consider the political and philosophical ramifications of a human-centered worldview and possible alternative future directions.



When she is not researching or writing, Gerhardt spends her time admiring the view of the Bay and Golden Gate Bridges from the Berkeley campanile, gardening, cooking, bicycling or swimming in the Bay and the Pacific.

Albert Manke

Fall 2017 – Spring 2018

This semester, the Institute of European Studies was fortunate to welcome Dr. Albert Manke, a visiting scholar from Bielefeld University, Germany, who will stay in Berkeley for the remainder of the academic year as a GHI West postdoctoral fellow. Manke's areas of expertise are diverse, ranging from Latin American and Caribbean entanglements with North America, Europe, and Asia, to Global Cold War history. However, the themes of migration and the construction of transnational identities are what drive and unite his current work. Here at the Institute, Manke studies the networks of Chinese immigrants who came to California in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Interestingly, he came upon this topic while researching and writing about the Cuban Revolution. Manke found that there were populations of Chinese immigrants in Cuba, who were of the same generation as Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. This discovery caused Manke to, "interpret the Cuban Revolution through a migrant's eyes... and rethink the Americas as a space of not only European, African and indigenous influences, but also Asian." Manke's first book, *El Pueblo Cubano en Armas* (The Cuban People in Arms) focuses on social mobilization and the development of the National Revolutionary Militias in Cuba during the first years of the revolution of 1959. His next publication will center on the making of Chinese communities and networks throughout America around the turn to the 20th century.

When asked about how recent world events have influenced his work, Manke had advice to share. Manke

cautioned against following the media discourse or political rhetoric on "mass migrations" or "refugee crises." Instead, he suggests looking at migration patterns with a broader and longer perspective. Furthermore, Manke critiqued the language surrounding the issue of migration, noting that the word "crisis" gives an inaccurately pejorative connotation: "We have critical developments in societies, and migration is not the biggest problem. The events that *lead* to migration are much more important to focus on."

Manke concluded with a German saying about boundaries and identity. "*All people are foreigners, almost everywhere.*" Manke discussed how the construction of the nation-state caused humans to think in terms of national boundaries, and resulted in reformulating the concept of the "foreigner." This way of thinking and constructing the self has had negative impacts on the way people view and interact with one another. For example, it has resulted in the "othering" of different groups of people. But according to Manke, *migration* is one way to combat the negative impacts



of the nation state, as it "breaks up patterns and leads to settlement." Migration results in the mixing of different ethnicities, ideas, and cultures. It is not a new phenomenon, but a very old one. "Migrants and refugees are not far from you. If we look back, our ancestors were also migrants," noted Dr. Manke. Migration touches all of our lives, and Dr. Manke's research seeks to help us better understand the role it plays in history and the present day.

Kevin Orr

Fall 2017 – Spring 2018

Kevin Orr is a Fulbright scholar from the School of Management at St. Andrews University, and is currently a Visiting Scholar at the University of California, Berkeley in the Institute of European Studies, as well as the Center for British Studies for the Fall 2017 and Spring 2018 semester. His research broadly focuses on the connection between public policy and public administration, and organizational life and theory. As a UC Berkeley Visiting Scholar, he is currently conducting an analysis of how local government leaders utilize storytelling narratives in their day-to-day practices. This narrative-based approach to understanding organizational life thus considers the role of storytelling in framing and understanding political life. Orr's motivations for visiting UC Berkeley are to work closely with the director of the Center for British Studies, Mark Bevir, and to engage in the social and intellectual atmosphere of Berkeley. He hopes to build a



collaborative international network between St. Andrews and UC Berkeley that will push fieldwork forward and catalyze theory building. During his time in the United States, Orr plans on traveling around the country to interview different city managers and public leaders and explore the dilemmas they face.

Spero Paravantes

Fall 2017

Dr. Spero Simeon Z. Paravantes is a senior research fellow at the University of Luxembourg, Centre for Contemporary and Digital History (C2DH). A specialist in European integration history, Dr. Paravantes is a visiting scholar at the Institute of European Studies (IES) for the Fall 2017 semester. He is currently researching how the European integration process fit into the US containment policy in the early Cold War. He believes that the substantial resources available to him here at Berkeley will greatly help clarify some of his related research questions, such as the issue of how the settlement of WWII reparations contributed to the integration process, especially in regards to the countries of the Benelux and to France. He is very excited to be at UC Berkeley, so that he can meet and speak with the faculty members, many of whose works he has used in his own research back home, and because his focus on contemporary European history and integration is an area of interest of the Institute of European Studies. Dr. Paravantes intends that through this work here and his research in Luxembourg, piece by piece, he can fill gaps in our understanding of post-war Europe and the integration process that has led to the European Union as we know it today.



Lukas Repa

Spring 2017 – Fall 2018

Dr. Lukas Repa, of the European Commission, is not only extremely knowledgeable and experienced in his field, but also friendly and easily able to explain the work of the European Commission and its numerous tasks. Originally from Austria, Repa received his JSD and JD from Rudolfs University of Vienna and an LL.M from the College of Europe, Bruges. He is fluent in multiple languages (German, Dutch, French, and English), and has experience working across Europe and the United States. Repa joined the European



Commission in 2003 after 10 years in banking. His expertise with the European Commission include anti-trust laws and insurance, understanding how tech innovation is changing the stock market, finding out how fintech will change competitive banking, and examining the reaction of bankers and legislators. “Fintech” is a portmanteau of the phrase “financial technology” to describe the implementation of technology in the

financial sector. Repa's year here in the US is focused on speaking to startups and banks to further analyze and understand how they are developing and reacting to fintech, a growing sector with enormous potential. When asked about how he came to work for the European Commission, Repa answered that he had “always been interested in going beyond Austria.” Although his heart remains in Austria, he loves Belgium as well. Repa also wanted to see and experience the world by traveling and working in different locations. When not at work in Brussels or in his office at the Institute of European Studies, Repa can be spotted cheering on his favorite soccer team, the Belgian R.S.C Anderlecht. Repa is

keen on exploring the Bay Area with his wife and their three children, and he also enjoys hiking and traveling, especially in the United States, France, and Italy.

Hélène Yèche

Fall 2017

Hélène Yèche is a professor of German Studies at Université de Poitiers, France. She spent a year in the Bay Area last year with her son and husband, who worked with the Lawrence National Laboratory. She is now returning to the Bay Area as a Visiting Scholar at the Institute of European Studies for the Fall 2017 semester. She is fond of Berkeley and its welcoming atmosphere, and hopes to make the most of her stay here. Her current research is focused on a Slavic minority in Germany, which she has been working on for several years. Dr. Yèche is interested in the Sorbian minority living in Eastern Germany. Her most recent research topic was sparked through a TV documentary, “Rising Voices”, which centered on the revitalization of the Lakota language. She found similarities between the Lakota people, the Texas Wends, and her previous research with the Sorbian minority and was inspired to investigate further. The Texas Wends are a group of people

descended from a congregation of Sorbian and Wendish peoples who migrated to the US in mid-19th century. She is especially interested in the comparison of the language revitalization strategies of each of the two minorities. During her stay in Berkeley as a Visiting Scholar, she is working on a book, and is planning on giving lectures and participating in conferences. Yèche is especially looking forward to



making progress on her project with the Texas Wends and has

already made plans to travel there for further research. She is very excited to collaborate with the German and Slavic Studies departments as well as with the Native American Studies department here on the UC Berkeley campus.

Josef Philip Trein

Fall 2017

Josef Philipp Trein hails from Germany and is a political scientist with a training in history. He has a Master's degree from the University of Heidelberg in Germany and another from the University of Essex in the UK. He has also studied at the University of Northern California at Charlotte. Trein received his Ph.D in Political Science from the University of Lausanne and now works as a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Institute for Political, Historical and International Studies. His research primarily focus on comparative institutional analysis with a historical lens, Swiss politics, federal structure, and electoral behaviour in Germany. Last year, he published a book with Cambridge University Press on a comparative analysis of healthcare



policies. Here at the Institute of European Studies, Trein works on his papers and research, talks with other IES fellows, and coordinates with his home universities. He also participates in seminars, especially at the Goldman School of Public Policy and Comparative Political Science colloquia. He often works with Professor Christopher Ansell in the Political Science department, an expert in the area on public agencies and comparative politics. While in Berkeley,

Trein is working on a three-year project, of which he is halfway through. In this research, he studies multilevel integration in different countries in the areas of environmental policy,

immigration, public health policies (both curative and preventive), and employment policies. He studies a range of states with both federal and non-federal, centralised and decentralised structures. Trein is also an expert on health and long-term care policies in Switzerland for the European Social Policy Network, which is aimed at providing the EU Commission with expert insights to develop guidelines in that policy area.

Christian Schitter

Fall 2017

Christian Schitter is a Visiting Scholar at the Institute of European Studies for the Fall 2017 Semester from the University of Graz, Austria. He comes to Berkeley through funding from the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation, and is conducting his research experiment with the Haas School of Business here on campus. As a behavioral economist, Schitter's research focuses on economic institutions that depend on honesty, for example, when handling tax returns or audits. He believes that many human decisions influence these structures, and Schitter is conducting an experiment here at UC Berkeley to see if humans have certain expectations about outcomes, and whether they are more likely to be dishonest if that expectation is not fulfilled. His research is inspired by his work in consulting, where he saw that insurance companies struggled with preventing fraud, even though institutions attempt to promote honesty in economic transactions. He is interested in how this applies broadly to the psychology of economics and human decisions.



Fall 2017 IES Lectures and Events

August 28, 2017: The End of the Endless Frontier? Truth and Power in the Age of Populism

On Monday, August 28th, IES and GHI-West welcomed Peter Strohschneider, President of the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), to the Berkeley campus. Strohschneider began his lecture for an audience of sixty people with a focus on Vannevar Bush's ideas on the public role of science as developed in the 1945 report to the President of the United States, "Science, The Endless Frontier." Bush was an American engineer and science administrator, who headed the U.S. Office of



Peter Strohschneider

Scientific Research and Development during World War II and initiated the Manhattan Project. In his 1945 report, he made a compelling case for government support for science in peacetime, which would lead to the creation of the National Science Foundation. Strohschneider then switched to the upsurge in anti-intellectualism in the United States and claimed that the loss of trust of the public in science today represents a direct threat to the institution of research as a whole. The lecture concluded with a question and answer session between the speaker and Cathryn Carson (Thomas M. Siebel Presidential Chair in the History of Science at UC Berkeley), Horst Simon (Deputy Laboratory Director and Chief Research Officer, Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory), and Thomas Laqueur (Helen Fawcett Distinguished Professor, Department of History at UC Berkeley).

August 30, 2017: Rethinking German Political Economy Workshop

On August 30th, 2017, the Rutgers School of Management and Labor Relations hosted a Workshop at the Goethe-Institut in San Francisco about “Rethinking German Political Economy: Lessons for Comparative Theorizing after the Social Democratic Century.” The workshop featured a diverse range of speakers from across the world. In the morning, Sidney A. Rothstein of the University of Pennsylvania and Tobias Schulze-Cleven of Rutgers University opened the workshop with a talk entitled, “Germany after the Social Democratic Century: Capitalism, Democracy and Shifting Social Citizenship.” The workshop also discussed the topic, “Capitalism in Motion-- New Actors, New Strategies,” featuring analysis from Martin Behrens and Heiner Dribbusch of WSI, Thomas Haipeter and Sophie Rosenbohm from Duisburg-Essen University, Markus Hertwig of TU Chemnitz, Sandra Engelbrecht of Hertie School of Governance, and Nicolò Durazzi from the London School of Economics. As the event concluded the final topic, “The New Social Question-- Citizenship in the 21st Century?,” included lectures from Ute Klammer of Duisburg-Essen University, Gary Herrigel from the University of Chicago, Susanne Wengle of Notre Dame, and Stephen Silvia from American University. The event finished with a Concluding Discussion titled, “A Changing Germany and the Political Economy of Contemporary Europe.” The workshop was organized in cooperation with the University of Duisburg-Essen, and was co-sponsored by the Center for European Studies at Rutgers University-New Brunswick and the Institute of European Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. Financial and organizational support was provided by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, and the DAAD.



Attendees of the Workshop

August 30 and 31, 2017: International Migration and Refugee Law Workshop

On August 30-31, the Berkeley Law School hosted an International Migration and Refugee Law Workshop, sponsored by the DAAD Global Germany Grant. The conference featured many speakers that held talks on various panels throughout the workshop. The first panel on the morning of August 30th featured Ayelet Shachar, from the University of Toronto, discussing “The Shifting Border,” and Hiroshi Motomura of UCLA’s talk on “Migrants, Refugees, and Citizens.” Later in the day, Irene Bloemraad from UC Berkeley lectured on “The Limits of Rights: Claims-Making on Behalf of Immigrants” and Elisabeth Ivarsflaten of the University of Bergen led a discussion entitled “Mobilizing for Migrants Rights: Preliminary Results From a General Population Experiment in Norway.” The next day, the workshop hosted Elias Dinas of Oxford and Vicky Fouka from Stanford’s talk on “The Role of Family Experience in Shaping Xenophobic Attitudes” and Tom Ginsburg of University of Chicago’s “Circles of Trust: A New Proposal for Migrant Screening.” The two-day event concluded with panels by Kathy Abrams of UC Berkeley on “Performative Citizenship and the Political Consciousness of Undocumented Activists” and Sarah Song’s “Obligations to Refugees.”



Attendees of the Workshop

September 14, 2017: War Unmakes the State: Austria-Hungary's Internal Wars 1914-18

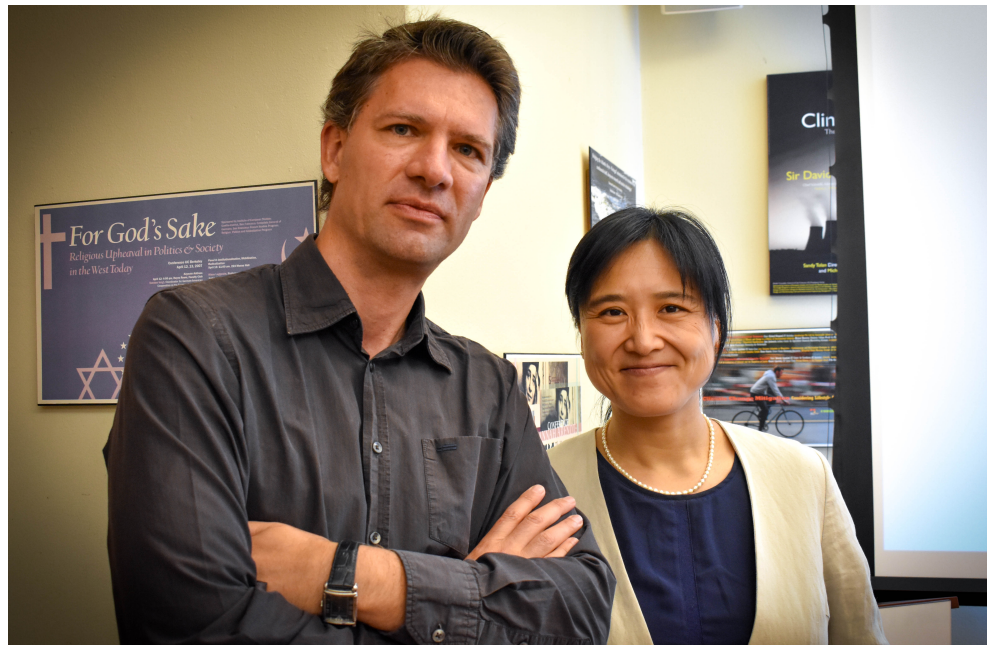
On September 14, 2017, IES welcomed John Deak from the University of Notre Dame to Moses Hall for a lecture titled “War Unmakes the State: Austria-Hungary’s Internal Wars 1914-18.” This was the inaugural lecture of this semester’s CGES lecture series and was co-sponsored by the IES Austrian Studies Program. Deak’s talk focused largely on the history of state-building, while specifically analyzing the paradigms and problems in the historiography of the Habsburg Empire during World War One. According to Deak, the traditional historiography of the Habsburg Empire during WWI followed a Hegelian logic; viewing the empire as a sideshow in European history. Following this logic, the Habsburg Empire was perceived as a place unknown to progress that was doomed to fail. However, in recent years, a striking revision of Habsburg historiography has taken place, of which Deak is a part. This revision has focused on the local politics and civil society, the entanglement of national histories within the empire, and the national indifference in the nation itself. The main results of this revisionist history that Deak highlights are as follows: The nations did not want out, the empire was not a prison of national movements, and the monarchy was not in decline before 1914. In his book *Forging a Multinational State* (2015), Deak explores these new revelations and analyzes the state building infrastructural power, the creation of a professional bureaucracy, and the new theory that the Habsburg Empire was not doomed to fail. It was during the process of writing this book, that Deak discovered not only that the Habsburg Empire developed along similar lines of surrounding European nations, but that all dissolved with the emergence of World War I in 1914. This discovery led to the conclusion that the declaration of war in 1914 represented a major rupture of the Habsburg Empire; Deak argues that this conclusion should change the way we view and discuss the Habsburg Empire. Deak’s current work focuses on the events that occurred after 1914 and how the empire managed its prosecution of the war. He specifically analyzes the constitutional clash between the military and bureaucracy after the declaration of war and the increase of military influence and power. This increase in military power resulted in the temporary suspension of the constitution, the creation of numerous ‘total war effort’ emergency laws, vast increases in arrests and prosecutions, and a war on minority languages within the empire. Deak concluded his talk with the still unanswered question of the fall of the empire; he reiterates that instead of seeing WWI as the breaking of the coffin for the Habsburg Empire, we need to reanalyze what disrupted and destroyed it beginning in 1914, and how this event altered multinational state ideology and structures in Europe as a whole. An engaging question and answer session followed the lecture between Deak and the twenty-five participants. One attendee asked what the fate of Austria Hungary would have been without WWI, to which Deak argued that the state may have been strong enough to survive, and that important reasons for the failure was the war lasting so long and the suspension of liberties during that time. Other questions debated the argument that the Habsburg Empire was indeed a strong institution before the beginning of the war, and some questioned whether Deak has sufficient data to sustain his claim that the Empire’s legal and civil institutions were still strong before 1914.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and John Deak

September 19, 2017: Transculturality and German Discourse in the Age of European Colonialism

On Tuesday, September 19, 2017 the Institute of European Studies welcomed Professor Chunjie Zhang from UC Davis for a lecture titled “Transculturality and German Discourse in the Age of European Colonialism” based off her book of the same name. Fifteen students and members of the community attended the event. The lecture started with Zhang explaining the meaning behind a map of the Dutch presence in Nagasaki, Japan, taken from a German newspaper in 1726. This example illustrated Zhang’s theme that she coins “transculturality.” In her book, Zhang details how the German culture pursued transcontinental relations in a way that was different than other European countries. Germany was not (yet) a colonial power, and lacked a unified political structure, but did have contact with many cultures across the globe. Zhang’s book identifies three sources in how German “transculturality” was formed: travel writings from Georg Forster and Adelbert von Chamisso, literature, and philosophy from thinkers like Herder and Kant. She then quoted the example of Chamisso, whose work shares a curiosity and a level of respect towards other cultures, most notable Pacific Islander and Asian cultures. Zhang points out that while a German nationalist discourse developed at this time in the 18th century, “transculturality” was also an important development at the same time. Being German at this time had a linguistic and cultural meaning, which allowed room for a non-European discourse to enter into German thought. According to Zhang, the theory of “transculturality” breaks the limiting binary of colonizer versus colonized, and highlights the contributions non-European cultures made, especially in the mutual impact between Germany and these other cultures. After the lecture, Zhang responded to the audience’s many questions.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and
Chunjie Zhang

September 27, 2017: The 2017 Federal Elections in Germany

On September 27, 2017, the Institute of European Studies held a discussion of the German Federal Elections that took place on the 24th of September. IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Associate Director Akasemi Newsome analyzed the German election results and discussed questions about what the election results mean for Germany and the European Union. The Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU), won the German elections and re-elected Angela Merkel for her fourth term as Chancellor. Although Merkel's CDU/CSU won 33% of the vote, her party suffered more than an 8% drop from the last election; while the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) became the third largest party, capturing 12.6% of the vote. The party is the first overtly nationalist party to sit in the Bundestag in 60 years. The AfD, profiled as anti-immigrant Eurosceptics, found their strongest support in Eastern Germany— ironically, Merkel's roots. Newsome and Dewulf discussed the options the elections leave the CDU/CSU with in forming a coalition to rule Parliament. Although the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) maintained its position as the second largest party in Germany, they explained that it decided to leave its long-lasting partnership with Merkel and the CDU/CSU, and to move into the opposition. If Merkel wants to avoid a minority government or fresh elections, Newsome and Dewulf said, her only option will be to form a "Jamaica" coalition with the Green party and the neo-liberal Free Democratic party (FDP). The FDP and the Green party will most likely demand concessions from the CDU/CSU in exchange for their support in the government, which might be a tough bite for the EU and Merkel's EU politics. Dewulf and Newsome predicted that Merkel will now have to adapt Germany's focus, predicting a stronger focus on Germany's internal problems and a tougher immigration policy.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Associate Director Akasemi Newsome

September 28, 2017: Porcelain in the Age of Mass Production

On September 28, Suzanne Marchand, Boyd Professor of European Intellectual History at Louisiana State University, gave a lecture in the CGES lecture series at IES on the cultural and economic history of porcelain in Europe between the 18th and 19th century. Marchand began with an introduction to the historical conditions of the porcelain industry in Europe. She explained how in the 17th century, the Netherlands were the largest importer of Chinese and Japanese porcelains, but that trade was cut with the fall of Ming Dynasty, which engendered an opportunity for domestic producers. As a result, cheaper alternatives such as faience and Delftware were developed. In Germany, the porcelain industry was mostly domestic, but it also had an international dimension: it faced stiff competition from the UK. As coffee and cuisine à *la française* grew in popularity, demand for porcelain also increased. Later in the 18th century, trade with Turkey also encompassed a large base of the demand for German porcelains. Production-wise, recipes, such as the famous Böttiger's hard-paste porcelain formula, were kept as trade secrets and designed as art. Financially, state funding was key to many ateliers' starting-off, but private capital injection, often from wealthy aristocrats, ensured their survival. For the nobility, porcelain was seen as a sign of *Glanz*, Germany's artistic prowess, and was often used as diplomatic gifts. With the onset of the French Revolution, the porcelain market suffered, and from 1819 – 1833, there was large layoff in public and private firms, and even the most successful firms suffered. In the 19th century, the porcelain market in Germany widened, although the change was slow. As exotic hot beverages became popular, the range of porcelain ware expanded, but not yet as an object of daily use. Producers wanted to cling onto its aristocratic heritage, producing works of art for the nobles, but economic conditions eventually pressured the industry to cater to a larger audience. Interestingly, producers were very frustrated by the public's "poor taste." The public loved the Rococo Revival style, which accounted for 80% of the brand Meissen's sales. Artistic experimentation proved to be a total fiasco. As pressure to commercialize porcelain persisted later in the 19th century, "semi-commissioned" porcelains emerged in the market, where customers chose the design and color in a catalogue. In the Q&A section, the audience of 25 people actively participated, asking a wide variety of questions from Limoges porcelain's lack of popularity to whether outside artists had been brought in for production. A question was also raised regarding the raw material industry's influence on the state subsidies to the porcelain industry.



Suzanne Marchand

October 3, 2017: Continent Divided: News and/on Social Media

On October 3, 2017, the Institute of European Studies' Social Science MATRIX Research Group held its first meeting in Barrows Hall. The group's organizers Jeroen Dewulf and Jon Cho-Polizzi first introduced the theme "Continent Divided: Building Bridges, Finding Truth." The Institute's visiting scholars and affiliated Ph.D students make up the group, and they aim to study the current



state of a polarized Europe. The first meeting of the year started with a presentation by journalist David Cohn, a lecturer in the UC Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism. Cohn presented the current state of journalism as a theory from a practitioner's point of view – emphasizing the role of today's technology companies, which have transformed into media companies. He framed the state of journalism and explained that these companies are the future of journalism, because they own the platforms of news distribution. Cohn explained that the future of news media is in "platform intelligence," i.e., the ability to adapt content production based on the device it is consumed on. This forces journalists and news producers to change their editorials in order to meet the requirements of the platforms offered by today's technology companies. Cohn also discussed what he calls the "Dharma of Facebook," the transformation of Facebook from a platform of constructing an online identity to becoming a newsfeed. This has led not to writing headlines to inform audiences, but to target as many shares as possible, explains Cohn. Cohn also discussed the difference between truths and facts in broadcasting and how these two are represented in today's news. Cohn concluded his presentation with a projection for the future of journalism as a profession. He finds the current situation and the push for change empowering rather than depressing. He sees it as an opportunity for journalists to renew their professional practices and to decide on the practices that should be carried on and what practices to leave behind. In the Q&A part of the presentation, Cohn focused on some new development in the fields of social media and news in Europe. He also spoke about ethical concerns and highlighted that it is the journalists' responsibility to make affirmations based on facts even if the news is in response to the platforms dictations. We, as a society, not just journalists, have the responsibility to regulate and teach media literacy to children in school, concluded Cohn.

IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and MATRIX Research Group

October 3, 2017: Shrinking the Carbon Footprint: Political and Economic Lessons from California and Germany

On October 3rd, the Institute of European Studies co-sponsored an event hosted at the UC Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies Library in 109 Moses Hall. The event was titled, “Shrinking the Carbon Footprint: Political and Economic Lessons from California and Germany.” Nina Kelsey, Assistant Professor, at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, Jonas Meckling, Assistant Professor of Energy and Environmental Policy, at the UC Berkeley Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, Michael Pahle, Head of Energy Strategies in Europe and Germany Working Group, at Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research, and Michael Mehling, Deputy Director Center for Energy and Environmental Policy Research, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology presented discussions on topics related to the political economy of climate change. John Zysman, Professor Emeritus, UC Berkeley Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science moderated the event and led the question and answer portion for the twenty attendees.



Michael Mehling, Jonas Meckling, Michael Pahle, Nina Kelsey, and John Zysman

October 5, 2017: The World Out of Joint: The End of the West as We Know It

Former German Ambassador to the UK, the UN and India, Thomas Matussek, visited the Institute of European Studies on October 5th, 2017 to present his talk, “The World Out of Joint: The End of the West as We Know It.” Matussek began his lecture for the forty attendees with the overarching question of whether we were beginning to see systematic patterns that lead us to believe that the global community is shifting to a new world order. Matussek argues that in the past, the international community has failed to recognize these turning points and to act upon them; yet current analysts are beginning to notice systematic trends in political instability, increase in violent conflict, and global and regional institutional pressure and vulnerability. Matussek highlighted key underlying factors of these trends: the change in geopolitical order, the system of global governance itself being under strain, technology’s influence on conflict and relations, and regional orders at high risk of collapse. The key question is then: what are we missing? Matussek states that we are not lacking adequate analysts, yet the more complex the world becomes, the more difficult it is to isolate and identify issues. According to Matussek, a major problem lies in the fact that the world of politics suffers from a type of attention deficit: the amount of potentially relevant information is so vast that it becomes easy to overlook patterns and signals, and political leaders are unable to focus their attention on one or two critical issues and solve them. The talk then transitioned to evaluate the major current global conflicts. Matussek first outlined the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which he addressed as the most dangerous situation in Europe in many years and a serious test for the strength of the transatlantic alliance. The second conflict analyzed was that between Syria, Iraq, and Turkey, which Matussek stated was a failure at multiple levels instead of simply a breakdown of local order. Similarly to the Russia-Ukraine situation, Matussek declared that the systematic implications again focus on the fact that it is not a local issue and thus cannot be treated with a local solution. Matussek claimed that a new world order of global polarization is beginning to emerge and must be addressed. He concluded his talk with a brief analysis of the recent German elections, in which the far-right, populist party, AfD, gained 13% of the vote. According to Matussek, the responsibility should be placed on Angela Merkel, who has failed to address the insecurities of the masses that voted for AfD. A brief but lively Q&A followed the talk.



Lukas Repa and Thomas Matussek

October 9, 2017: In the Name of Peace: John Hume in America

On October 9, the Irish Studies Program at IES held a screening of the movie, *In the Name of Peace: John Hume in America*, and a discussion of the events known as “The Troubles” in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland that took place over the span of three decades from the 1960s to the 1990s. With over 40 guests in attendance, the opening remarks were made by Robert O’Driscoll, Consul General of the Republic of Ireland, who then introduced filmmaker Maurice Fitzpatrick to show his movie. The film was dedicated to showing the life and work of John Hume, a Northern Irish politician and activist who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1998 for his contribution to lasting peace between the Loyalist and Unionist forces in Northern Ireland. He played perhaps the most important role in achieving American support for the peace process, often traveling to the United States for weeks at a time to meet with government leaders to bring awareness to the conflict. Narrated by world-renowned actor Liam Neeson, the 90-minute film featured comments from numerous high-profile politicians, including former US Presidents Bill Clinton and Jimmy Carter, who personally knew Hume and spoke of his unwavering belief that peace could be established between the opposing factions. Often called the Martin Luther King Jr. of Irish politics, Hume worked with many influential Americans, including former Senator Ted Kennedy, to bring different actors involved in the conflict to come together and meet, in order to stop the violence. Fitzpatrick’s film delicately wove together the unique personality of the island, John Hume’s life, and the history of the conflict. Joining Fitzpatrick and O’Driscoll for the discussion following the movie was J. Patrick Goggins, Chairman of the Board of the Irish Literary and Historical Society of the San Francisco Bay Area. One of the attendees asked by how Fitzpatrick was able to obtain so many world-renowned people to be interviewed for the film. The filmmaker answered that the fact that so many people agreed to be in the film was a “testament” to John Hume’s status as such a well-respected community leader. Other audience members commented on how important of a role education played in enlightening Irish citizens and the new generation to be different than those before them, and to contribute to the peace process on the island.



Maurice Fitzpatrick

October 13, 2017: Germany's New Administration: Key Tasks and Problems

On Friday, October 13, 2017, the Institute of European Studies, in cooperation with the American Council on Germany San Francisco Eric M. Warburg Chapter, welcomed Patrick Keller to Moses Hall, along with twenty members of the community. Dr. Keller is the Coordinator of Foreign and Security Policy at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, in Berlin, and an author, whose essays have been published in numerous newspapers and magazines. In his talk, Dr. Keller addressed some of the tasks and issues the recently elected German federal parliament has to face in German domestic politics, transatlantic security policy, the future of the EU, and international relations. Keller stated that after a period of “liberal international ordering” that has strengthened Germany’s economy and international relations, the country now faces instabilities from the south with the Arab Spring and the Syrian war, as well as from the east with the tensions between Russia and Ukraine. According to Keller, this requires Germany to adapt, now that the country has reached a time in which its central European neighbors are living in peace and alliance. With the recent elections in Germany, Angela Merkel will continue her leadership efforts, and Keller believes that her vast experience will be an advantage for Germany. The leaders of the German administration realize that with great power comes great responsibility, and Keller emphasized the role that the German leader has to play in order to create political stability in Europe after Brexit, to surmount the challenges facing the monetary union and the Eurozone members’ increasing debt, as well as solving the refugee crisis. Keller offered three key recommendations to help the German administration in terms of foreign security policy to manage

these specific challenges. First, Germany has to be an active member in building a European Union that is a believable counterbalance to the U.S. since transatlantic relations have become uncertain with the election of President Trump. Next, the members of EU should combine their resources more efficiently. Keller’s third recommendation is not to limit the conversation to more traditional topics such as trade and NATO, but to consider immigration, energy policies, digitalization, and labor markets when building the future of Europe. In the Q&A portion of the lecture, the question of Germany’s search for hard power was brought up. Keller says Germany is not searching for hard power, but says that Germany is not limiting itself to the European continent, and that increased collaboration is essential to increase its military capabilities. Keller was also asked what he sees as the Green party’s role in the “Jamaica” coalition of CDU/CSU, Greens and FDP. Keller admits that the Green party’s base is averse to military responsibility, but predicts that the party leadership will be more responsive. Keller also predicted that the FDP may end up being more averse to military responsibility than the Green Party.



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome and Patrick Keller

October 16, 2017: Nation and State vs. Europe: When the Sum of the Parts is Larger than the Whole

On Monday, October 16, 2017, the Institute of European Studies, in cooperation with the Institute of Governmental Studies, welcomed Josef Joffe, the current Regents' Lecturer at IGS, to give a lecture entitled, "Nation and State vs. Europe: When the Sum of the Parts is Larger than the Whole." Joffe is the publisher and editor of the German newspaper, Die Zeit, and a regular contributor to the op-ed pages of the Wall Street Journal, New York Times, the Washington Post, Time, and Newsweek. Joffe began his lecture for a packed audience of over 40 attendees by discussing a suitable definition for the European Union. He questioned the EU's status as a nation state, comparing and contrasting the EU to Switzerland and the U.S. Unlike the U.S. and other nation states, he claims, it is not founded by a single act of will, and not nourished by a common sense of history. As the unity of Europeans is approaching its all-time low, Joffe finds it problematic that the focus of loyalty is not in Brussels, but in the state capitols. He points out that the political culture unfolds at home, not at the EU parliament, and that there is no EU-wide media, for example, rather, the Europeans follow their own national media. Joffe also points out that the EU has not successfully built its own identity; Europeans listen, watch, and even eat as Americans and the language of communication in Brussels is not French, Spanish or German, but English with an American accent. In addition to these observations, Joffe identifies some key issues in the attempt of building a stronger European Union. This attempt sometimes collides with member states' domestic objectives, and thus the EU is not powerful enough to become a unified union. Brexit, the continuous crisis of the Eurozone, and the suspension of Schengen are some of the indicators of the EU's identity crisis, Joffe argued. Even the Germans, who are known as strong supporters of "Europeanism" have selected a nationalist party in their parliament for the first time in 60 years. Joffe nevertheless predicts that Chancellor Merkel will try to slowly pursue French President Macron's ideas of unifying the EU. He believes that the EU will continue its existence - but it will never become a national state. In his conclusion, Joffe compared the EU to a coral reef: it is an organism that obeys no design, it is built by microscopic parts of which some break, some are rebuilt, but unless it is influenced by outside forces, it remains indestructible. The Q& A portion of the lecture was particularly lively. First, Joffe was asked what he predicts as the future of the monetary union, and what Germany's role in it will be. Joffe answered that Germany cannot and should not impose dramatic monetary policies for the rest of the member states. He also argued that no one wants to leave the monetary union even though the Euro is not an optimal currency. The European Monetary Union will not break apart even if it no longer made fiscal sense, concluded Joffe. Next, Joffe was asked if he believes that there is a necessity for the political elite in the EU to unite against the rising national right wings. Joffe answered that there will not be such trend or behavior by the political elite, because Macron's strategy of unity will not work well with the Germans, Dutch, or even Scandinavians, since they have less state-centered cultures. When asked about the US, he added that he used to think that the U.S. two-party system was the most stable political system, but after the parties have been pushed farther to the left and right, the multi-party system in many European countries now seems more stable than the system in the US, as there is no cumulative effect of power.



Josef Joffe and IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome

October 19, 2017: Respectable Radicals and the Euro-Nationalist International

On October 19th, Duncan McDonnell, a political scientist of Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia, presented a lecture to twenty participants titled, “Respectable Radicals and the Euro-Nationalist International: Explaining Right-Wing Populist Alliances in the European Parliament” at an event at the UC Berkeley Center for Right-Wing Studies, co-sponsored by the Institute of European Studies. He began by explaining how the European Parliament can tell us a lot: as groups and coalitions form, it shows how parties see themselves, how they want to be seen, and how other parties see them. Parties in the European Parliament have traditionally allied based upon policy congruence, however, some radical right parties fail to form groups with each other, and shun each other and alliances in general. McDonnell collected data from the 2014 UNC Chapel Hill survey on party policy positions and salience, and personal interviews with key figures involved in European Parliament group formation. He found that policy differences did



not prevent far right parties from forming groups. In the interviews, it was clear that national level concerns took precedence over European level policy congruence, for example, the “toxic” reputation of some national parties prevented others from joining their groups. To avoid being punished domestically and to prove themselves as willing to work with others, alliances became “marriages of convenience.” McDonnell coined the term “respectable radicals” to describe this process of far-right parties seeking domestic approval. But in the most recent past, however, some radical right populist parties have come together allied and proud. The most salient example is the ENF (Europe of Nations and Freedom) party that has unashamedly joined in celebration of their common nationalistic and Eurosceptic ideology.

Dr. Lawrence Rosenthal and Duncan McDonnell

October 20, 2017: America and Germany: Old Friends or New Rivals?

On Friday, October 20th, the Institute of European Studies and the American Council on Germany welcomed Jan Philip Burgard, Deputy Bureau Chief of the German TV Network ARD to Moses Hall to give a lecture entitled, “America and Germany - Old Friends or New Rivals?” With an audience of twenty UC Berkeley students, staff, and community members, Burgard spoke about the relationship between Germany and the United States and the impact of the US presidential elections, the recent federal German elections, and the overall international atmosphere regarding Europe’s role in that relationship. Burgard stressed that the relationship between the two nations depends heavily on the heads of states of each respective country, and noted that he believes that despite certain political setbacks, the German-American bilateral relationship remains intact. He also spoke of the rise of the right-wing populist Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) political party, and said that although Chancellor Angela Merkel was re-



elected, many German citizens voted AfD as a protest of the handling of the refugee crisis by German politicians. According to Burgard, the decision by Merkel to let in one million refugees into Europe has affected her party and caused internal tension for party members. As for German perception of the American political system, Burgard revealed that 92 percent of Germans disapprove of President Donald Trump, while just 21 percent think that the United States is still a trustworthy partner. To give examples of where (and how) the US and Germany could continue to normalize bilateral relations, Burgard insisted that the EU and Germany should continue to be important trade partners, as German companies employ 700,000 people in the United States. In addition, he stated that Germany and the United States have the potential to work together to solve international security issues. Many of the questions asked at the end of the lecture were in regards to German-American relations.

IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome and Jan Philip Burgard

November 1, 2017: The Opening of GHI West

On November 1, 2017 at the Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life in Downtown Berkeley, the German Historical Institute opened its doors of its West Coast branch thirty years after the opening of the GHI in Washington, DC. The event included the First Annual Bucerius Lecture and Reception featuring Professor Armin Nassehi, Professor of Sociology at LMU Munich and editor of Kursbuch, one of Germany's leading intellectual magazines. His lecture was titled, "The Knowledge of/about Migrants: Preconceptions, Misconceptions, Limits." This talk reiterated the research agenda of GHI



Armin Nassehi

West: "Given current debates on immigration policy in Europe and North America, research into the knowledge migrants carry with them and the knowledge migrants need to make their way could hardly be more timely," GHI Director Simone Lässig stated. She also pointed out California's ideal location for research on migrant knowledge, and its long history as a major destination for migration. Lässig mentioned that some of the leading research hubs in the social sciences and humanities call California home. The Institute of European Studies is honored to house GHI West within Moses Hall.



Deputy Director of GHI Washington Axel Jansen, GHI West Research Fellow and Head of Office Andrea Westermann, IES Director Jeroen Dewulf, Director of GHI Washington Simone Lässig, Executive Vice Chancellor and Provost of UC Berkeley Paul Alivisatos, and GHI

West Tandem Fellow Albert Manke

November 3, 2017: Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Annual Lecture

On the evening of November 3rd, the Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Annual Lecture took place at the Bancroft Hotel. IES Director Jeroen Dewulf introduced UC Berkeley Professor Emeritus in History Margaret Anderson as the keynote speaker, and she spoke to an audience of over 120 attendees. Anderson's lecture, entitled "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story: The Armenian Genocide and the Problem of Humanitarian Intervention," centralized on the topic of the Armenian Genocide and the overarching question of humanitarian intervention, with a specific focus on the role of US Ambassador Henry Morgenthau. Morgenthau was the US ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913 until 1916; a time that encompasses the beginning of the first World War and the genocide resulting from the "deportation" of the Armenian sector of Turkish society. While Morgenthau has been remembered as a fierce advocate for human rights during the genocide, Anderson's research has concluded that this theory is inflated and only partially true. Utilizing a detailed analysis of *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, the published memoirs of Henry Morgenthau, and numerous outside sources, Anderson recounts Morgenthau as oblivious to the reality of the genocide and claims that he ultimately believed that it was 'diplomatically impossible' for the United States to aid the Armenians. Anderson's lecture began with a comparison between Morgenthau and von Wangenheim, the German ambassador to the Ottoman Empire that Morgenthau portrays as his counterpart. Describing von Wangenheim as "fundamentally ruthless, shameless, and cruel," Anderson comments on Morgenthau's portrayal of Germany and its ambassador and his corresponding solution of simply defeating the Germans to stop the Armenian Genocide. Anderson continued with a chronological account of the genocide, with a special emphasis on the actions of von Wangenheim and Morgenthau. In response to the Turkish government's claim of Armenian insurgence and the corresponding need to evacuate Armenian communities, on July 4th 1915, von Wangenheim issued a formal complaint against the Turkish government. While this interaction with von Wangenheim did ultimately cause Morgenthau to send a message to the US government describing the Turkish program of Armenian genocide, Anderson states that the latter half of this message is often overlooked, in that it advised against US outcry. Anderson concluded that Morgenthau and the US government never expressed true outspoken disagreement to the Turkish state and ended her talk by commenting on the feasibility of a neutral country intervening in genocide rather than encircled German troops. A brief Q&A followed the talk and questioned whether *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* was written to preserve Wilson's majority for reelection and what the implications were for Morgenthau's depiction of von Wangenheim. Additionally, multiple questions were raised contextualizing the situation by comparing it to US's current role in Myanmar. The Feldman Annual Lecture was well-attended, and followed by a pleasant reception, where guests were able to mingle and discuss the ideas presented by Professor Anderson.



Prof. Emer. Margaret Anderson

November 9, 2017: Subnational Governance: Community, Scale, and Jurisdictional Design within States

On November 9, the Institute of European Studies co-sponsored an event with the Global Metropolitan Studies and the Center on the Politics of Development. Liesbet Hooghe, W.R. Kenan Distinguished Professor in Political Science at UNC Chapel Hill, presented her talk, “Community, Scale, and Jurisdictional Design within States” to an audience of 30 community and university members. Her lecture centered on the idea of subnational governance, and the ideas of scale and community level of jurisdictional design, and her research questions which jurisdictional design best provides a basket of goods to individuals. Hooghe defined the scale model as top down, instrumental, and standardized in relation to public goods, while the community model is bottom up, expressive, and differentiated. These can of course coexist or be tradeoffs, Hooghe said. The lecture then moved to apply these definitions to a theory on self-rule. When groups wish to break away and form a new, distinct community, there exists two paths: geography or power. Regions can separate through geography, for example when they are small and spatially distant from the center of power, or through power, for example when they are central and distinct enough on their own to leave the rest of the state. When a region breaks from the rest of the state, Hooghe asserts that the jurisdictional design of the country as a whole changes. Hooghe has compiled data from the Regional Authority Index, and has looked in depth at 81 countries to produce a complex data set that analyzes how scale and community design are manifested in countries across the globe.



Liesbet Hooghe

November 9, 2017: The Future of the EU After Brexit

On November 9th, 2017, Jana Puglierin of the Oppenheim Center at the German Council of Foreign Relations gave a lecture to a crowd of twenty-five entitled “The Future of the EU after Brexit: Implications from a German Perspective.” Puglierin began her lecture by contrasting the European Union today with the European Union of 2005. Back then, political union through an integrated Europe was seen as a way to deter from war and other forms of conflict. The notion of an ever-closer union was written in many European treaties. Nevertheless, Brexit in 2016 came as a backlash against the perceived linear curve of progress for the European experiment. Although Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon existed, no one had ever thought of invoking it up to this point. From the German perspective, European integration is a part of political DNA and Brexit was seen as an earthquake; for the first time, it seemed like there was a wall coming over Europe again. Brexit illustrated a deeper problem within European integration: interdependence is now seen as a threat, while historically it used to be perceived as a good force in keeping European peace. For example, the idea of the common currency shows a huge split between south and north, as many southern Europeans would not want economic policy run under German pressure. Brexit also displayed a backlash against the freedom of movement; for example, the refugee crisis of recent years scares many countries with the idea that they cannot protect their borders any longer. There is a distinct Eurosceptic and nationalistic wave across the continent. Puglierin believes that many Europeans today feel threatened by immigration, pressured by political correctness and are concerned about losing their cultural identity. In the past, European Union membership was seen as a key to a country’s future; nowadays, the European Union seems it is losing this appeal. Across the Atlantic, Trump’s election to the presidency was seen as a shock for any pro-European, while Eurosceptic parties openly embraced his victory. Nevertheless, Puglierin believes that there may still be hope for the pro-European project. For example, in France, Macron won the presidency and parliament with an overwhelming majority, even though he was the only candidate with a pro-European policy. According to Puglierin, the European Union must fulfil its promises if it is to have a hopeful future. The EU needs to demonstrate that it can protect Europeans and assist in a globalized world. For the EU to work, it needs to be diverse, but also honest and moderate; in order for it to stay together, it must prioritize what is really important while offering space and flexibility to its member states. After the conclusion of her lecture, one audience member asked for Puglierin’s reaction to the recent Catalonia secession crisis. She expressed concern about the growing nationalistic mood in Europe and fears for a repetition of the Yugoslavia crisis in the 1990s. Puglierin was also asked about the AfD party in Germany and explained that this is the first time a far-right party has entered parliament in post-war Germany. According to Puglierin, the AfD symbolizes a dissatisfaction with the elites and acts as an “alternative” to the traditional parties and media.



Jana Puglierin and IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

November 14, 2017: “European Migrations post-WWII: Past, Present and Future” and “Reception or Detention Centers? Informal Detention Practices for Migrants in Europe at the European Court of Human Rights”

On November 14, 2017, The Institute of European Studies’ Social Science MATRIX Research Group gathered in Barrows Hall. The 20 participants, consisting of the Institute’s visiting scholars and affiliated PhD students, and led by the Director of IES, Jeroen Dewulf, continued the discussion around the theme, “Continent Divided: Building Bridges, Finding Truth.” This session, the group welcomed a two-part presentation by Dr. Maria Pichou, Senior Visiting Scholar at the Berkeley School of Law, and Dr. Spero Paravantes, Senior Research Fellow at IES, both hailing from the University of Luxembourg. Dr. Paravantes’ presentation, “European Migrations post-WWII: Past, Present and Future,” discussed the history of the continent’s migrations, as well as the migration and refugee policy within the EU, from the beginning of the integration process and the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) until the present. Throughout its history, Europe has had different migration movements and policies from the post-WWII refugee crisis when millions of people were displaced, to the Italian migration of millions of unemployed workers in the 1950s, to the “Dublin” regulation and the conflicts the EU carries today. In his presentation, Dr. Paravantes gave an overview of events within Western Europe, the rules established to regulate internal and external migration, and the steps which the various iterations of the European Union and its individual members took to deal with them. Dr. Paravantes concluded his presentation by recalling that the principles which founded the EU communities in 1951 were “shared values seen as a way to pursue economics, rather than economics as a way to pursue shared values.” The context of European integration offers great insights in understanding current events, and reactions to them, as well as examining the misconceptions about migration policy and borders in the EU. Building upon the theme of historic perspective, Dr. Pichou’s presentation, “Reception or Detention Centers? Informal Detention Practices for Migrants in Europe at the European Court of Human Rights” focused on the legal obligations of European countries, especially concerning reception centers for migrants and refugees in the light of the European Convention on Human Rights. Dr. Pichou analyzed the state obligations for migrants by examining the recent interpretations by the Strasbourg Court. According to the Strasbourg Court’s established case law, states have the right to control the entry, residence, and expulsion of aliens. The right to asylum is not provided in the Convention or its protocols. However, the treatment of migrants by state authorities may give rise to a series of violations of the Convention. In her presentation, Dr. Pichou examined these violations in the light of this recent case law concluding that “the convention does not apply to certain nationalities - but to human beings.” The Q&A part of the meeting was particularly lively and insightful.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf, Dr. Maria Pichou, and Dr. Spero Paravantes

November 29, 2017: German Post-World War Reparations

On November 29, IES Visiting Scholar Dr. Spero Simeon Z. Paravantes presented his lecture, “To Pay or Not to Pay”: WWI and WWII Reparations and their Impact on European (Dis)Integration.” The focus of the lecture was Germany’s relationship with Greece and Poland, who have demanded reparations from Germany in compensation of their time under German occupation during World War II. The recent financial and political crises in Europe have once again sparked the topic of German reparations to its formerly-occupied territories. As Paravantes pointed out in his lecture, this issue centers on who owes what to whom (if anything at all). Paravantes argued that because *reparation* is such an “emotional word,” it must be used carefully and should also be distinguished from the term *compensation*. Reparation is when a government pays money to another government while compensation is the act of paying individuals. Much was discussed about Greek and Polish claims to reparations from Germany, including statements from Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras who has brought up the issue, most notably in January 2015. Meanwhile, the Polish claim that the German government owes them because both the Treaty of Versailles and the Yalta Conference established that Germany would pay reparations. Paravantes stressed that had these issues of reparations been taken care of on time, they would not be affecting Germany’s relations with Greece and Poland today. Also mentioned in the talk as contributing factors to the situation today were the London Agreement that stated that no claims for World War II would be asked of Germany until reunification. During the Q&A session, the lively discussion focused on clarifying the treaties and conferences that allowed Germany to hold off making reparations.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Spero Paravantes

November 30, 2017: States of Exception and Sudden Democracies in 20th Century Germany

On November 30th, Professor Kathleen Canning, Sonya O. Rose Collegiate Professor of History and Arthur F. Thurnau Professor of History, Women's Studies and German at the University of Michigan, gave a lecture entitled, "States of Exception and Sudden Democracies in 20th Century Germany," for 20 participants in Moses Hall. Canning began by discussing how populism is often



Kathleen Canning

misconstrued as a strengthening of democracy, when in her opinion it delegitimizes institutions and representation in favor of direct, popular rule. Canning then presented a question that guided the rest of the lecture: how are affinities for democracies dismantled? Her work used the two case studies of Weimar Germany in 1918, and post-war Germany in 1945; in both, democracies were created out of crisis and collapse. Canning argued that "sudden democracies" are a cultural process of societal conversion. The broken character of the state demands these sudden democracies, and are improvised and invented in the absence of traditions. This idea is especially potent when considering the situations of post-war Germany after both the First and Second World War. Democracy was created under emergency conditions as the sole option for Germany. New forms of representation and political involvement had to be made up. But in this rebirth, new visions of the future were created; democracy was viewed as a form of positive politics. Canning presented the example of women's involvement in the creation of Weimar democracy to show how this entailed new ideas of citizenship and the right of political participation. In the question and answer portion, members asked if the difference between 1918 and 1945 creation of "sudden democracies" was the American occupation in 1945. Canning answered that the end of the First and Second World Wars varied greatly. The German loss of WWI came as a complete shock, while the loss in 1945 came after years of bombing and destruction on the home front, so, the visions of democracy and ideas for the future are substantially different, even if both conceptualize roughly the same government. Others asked more in depth questions about the role of women in shaping democracy, specifically their involvement in unions.

November 30 and December 1, 2017: Working, Earning, Learning, in the Age of Intelligent Tools

On November 30 and December 1, an Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) held a conference entitled, "Working, Earning, Learning, in the Age of Intelligent Tools." The two-day event was hosted at UC Berkeley, and co-sponsored by the Institute of European Studies. Many discussions were led by notable experts: one session centered on "Employment, Labor Markets, and Social Policy," while another focused on "Emerging Technologies and Their Implications for Work," and even another on "Implications for Education." In the concluding afternoon of the conference, representatives from many different countries including China, Germany, Finland, and others held a panel to discuss "International Perspectives" on the field of the future of technologies and their implications.

December 1, 2017: Europe and the Euro

On December 1, 2017, Viviana Padelli organized at the Haas School of Business a panel entitled, “Europe and the Euro: The Way Ahead” together with the Institute of European Studies’ affiliated professors Gérard Roland and Barry Eichengreen and Gabriele Giudice, representing the European Commission. 80 students attended the panel. According to Roland and Eichengreen, ten years after the economic crisis struck Europe and the Eurozone, we can finally observe improvements in the European economy—unemployment is down, investment is recovering, and public finances are improving. To further discuss the issues in the European economics, the panelists sought to address the question of how the European Union can exploit this window of opportunity to strengthen the Economic and Monetary Union, increase the resilience of individual economies, and relaunch economic and social convergence between its Member States. Giudice, head of the unit working on EMU Deepening and the Macro economy of the Euro Area, opened the discussion by looking at the current events and debates concerning the Eurozone. In order to strengthen the euro, Giudice suggests improvement strategies in financial, economic, and fiscal unions as well as in institutions and governance. Giudice recommended strengthening the links between national reforms and existing EU funding, and reinforcing democratic accountability and transparency at every level of governance. Giudice’s presentation was followed by Dr. Barry Eichengreen, who agreed with Giudice on several topics, but argued that it is still too early to call the euro a success, or to say the public support for the euro is deep, citing the example of Italy, where in a recent pre-election poll only 50% supported the euro. He suggested that a ‘normal separate bank for Europe’ would compete with the monetary union, deal with fiscal policy, as well as the financial legacy of debts. On the question whether there should be more or less integration for the Eurozone, Eichengreen concluded that both are essential; the flexible integration of Europe in the 1990s was a great idea but fell out of fashion because nobody knew how to govern such a system. He urges that it is important to work within the context of the existing European Parliament and create subcommittees, and to develop trust in the European Parliament. Followed by Eichengreen, Gérard Roland presented his thoughts on one of the biggest topics today: what will happen to the international economic order after Brexit and the election of President Trump, both of which were extremely unexpected. He argued that there is a backlash against globalization not only coming from Europe and the United States, but from Asia as well. Roland presented his research on political authoritarianism versus economic interventionism, and concluded that the refugee crisis in Europe has acted as a catalyst to open the discussion for the values of European cooperation.



Viviana Padelli and Gérard Roland

December 5, 2017: The Life and Work of the Finnish Poet Edith Södergran

On December 5, 2017, the Institute of European Studies welcomed Stina Katchadourian, a Finnish prize-winning translator, author and journalist, who lives in California. Katchadourian gave the talk “Singing the North: The Life and Work of Edith Södergran.” Her work on Edith Södergran includes four editions of translations, many articles, and a play. The latest edition, entitled “Love, Solitude, and the Face of Death,” was published by Fithian Press in 2017. Edith Södergran (1892 - 1923), was born in Finland to Swedish parents in St. Petersburg, in pre-revolutionary Russia. She lived a short life, dying at the age of 31 in a newly independent Finland – making it a special time to talk about her life as the 100th anniversary of Finnish independence has just passed. Practically unknown at the time of her death, Södergran now has been translated into over forty languages and is considered one of the most influential poetic voices of the Nordic countries. Södergran was fluent in six languages; English, Finnish, Swedish, Russian, French, and German. She wrote in Swedish, although one of her earliest poems in high school was written in German and English. She was diagnosed with tuberculosis at the age of 16, which is reflected in her poetry as a theme of “the face of death”. Her first poem collection “Dikter” was published in 1916. Katchadourian describes it as a major innovation in not only Finnish, but Scandinavian literature: previous publications were written by men, and they were more traditional. The first poem of the collection, “I saw at 3” uses Montage technique, several little pictures that add up to a greater picture, and it was visionary and reminiscent of symbolism. “I saw at 3” is a catalog poem, and the concluding statement is a statement of gender equality, asserted Katchadourian. The collection was well received and had favorable reviews. Södergran’s next collection “Septemberlyran” was published in 1918, during the end of Russian revolution. It was considered scandalous and its introduction became famous as a literature manifesto. Södergran made critics furious by defying conservatism with her collection. Finally, Katchadourian describes Södergran’s poem “Landet som icke är” (The Land that is not) which was published after her death. It was found by Södergran’s mother who refused to destroy Edith’s work, against her wishes. The poems contained a calm, harmonious voice, and they were influenced by Christianity and nature, Katchadourian describes, making Södergran’s writing more childlike. In the Q&A section of the lecture, Katchadourian was asked how Södergran chose a language to work in, since she was multilingual. Katchadourian says Edith most likely struggled, but once she made the decision to write in Swedish, she stuck with her choice. Katchadourian was also asked if it is hard to translate her poetry, and how she makes sure the translation stays true to the original. Katchadourian says she chooses to empathize the rhythm and the length of the lines. She gives an example: a poem with short lines ends with a line “Du är besviken,” which directly translates into “you are disappointed”. Katchadourian chose to translate it to “I disappoint you”, because it is better in harmony with the rhythm of the poem, although it has a slightly different meaning. The event was well attended and the 25 participants enjoyed the discussion following Katchadourian’s thought-provoking lecture.



Stina Katchadourian (left)

December 7, 2017: How East and West Germans Made the Iron Curtain

On December 7th, Edith Sheffer, Assistant Professor of History at Stanford University and Senior Fellow at IES, gave the lecture, “How East and West Germans Made the Iron Curtain” to thirty attendees in Moses Hall. Her talk investigates the role of perception, where thought meets reality and created something ‘concrete’ in the Iron Curtain. Sheffer began by announcing that the parameters of our thought create the parameters of our actions. She asserted that the role of government, politics, and armies are all extremely

important, but the everyday, routine actions of individuals cannot be understated in their self-creation of the “other” in both East and West Germany. Sheffer argued that although the wall that divided East and West Germany seemed to be imposed by communism, it had very real, human underpinnings, what she called the “walls of the mind”. Sheffer stated that the number of crossings of the wall was vastly underrepresented, and people conceptualized it as impenetrable, when in fact it was oddly porous. People that lived along the border had inside, local knowledge, that allowed them to cross. Many young boys and men even made a sport of crossing, just for fun. Sheffer showed that local subversion of the wall meant that its perceived strength depended on the minds of East and West German citizens, rather than the strength of the literal border. Geopolitics is lived and supported by local individuals. Sheffer concluded that Germany’s story can show us today the danger of perceptual walls, and that this story has very real similarities between the conditions that exist today. The Q&A portion was very engaging and many questions were posed to Sheffer from the large audience. One attendee asked how local stories were documented in the border towns. Another asked how the situation compared to the reality of the division between North and South Korea. And another asked whether “walls of the mind” or regional hostilities existed even before the Cold War, which Sheffer concluded that most likely did, just not on this large of a scale.



Edith Sheffer

Why not consider a donation to IES?

IES offers a variety of giving opportunities. Gifts can be used to support undergraduate and graduate student scholarships; public lectures and community outreach; research and teaching endowments for faculty, and the development of new curricula. All of these gifts help us build on scarce resources to advance understanding of IES' mission of research, outreach, cooperation, and exchange with European institutions and scholars. [Click here to give a gift](#) for the future of scholarship to the Institute of European Studies (IES) at Berkeley.

Other Ways to Donate:

Endowments

Endowed funds provide a permanent source of income to meet the needs of IES. These funds may be named for the donor or someone whom the donor wishes to honor. Endowed funds are managed by the UC Berkeley Foundation or The Regents of the University of California. They may be unrestricted or restricted for a specific purpose and can be established through an outright gift of cash or securities or a planned gift or bequest.

Pledges

Donation pledges to IES should be made in writing and include a commitment to a specific amount and payment schedule. Pledges may be paid over a period of five years in annual, semiannual, or quarterly installments, with payments to begin at the donor's convenience. Pledge payments may be in the form of cash, securities, or credit card charges. Donors should indicate if their pledge includes an anticipated corporate matching gift.

Planned Giving Donations

Planned Giving donations can take the form of charitable remainder trusts, pooled income funds, charitable gift annuities, retained life estates, charitable lead trusts, will bequests, revocable trusts, irrevocable trusts, paid-up life insurance policies, and outright gifts of real estate. Tax advantages and accounting of such gifts differ with each type of gift.

Thank you for supporting IES. With your help, IES will advance its mission of advancing knowledge about a globalized world and training the next generation of global leaders. Your gift – small or large – is needed and appreciated.

Newsletter Staff

The Institute of European Studies would like to thank all Undergraduate Research Apprentice Students for their tireless work throughout the semester.

Peter Birghoffer, Maddi Erdall, Ani Hakobyan, Ilse Kaaja, Tyler Von Denlinger, Ziang Zhou, Julia Zimring, and Sharon Yang

Paolo David, Photo and Video

Annika Van Galder, Editor in Chief



Thank you all for your continual support of the Institute of European Studies. We hope to see you soon in Moses Hall!
