



University of California, Berkeley

INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES

Spring 2018 Newsletter

From the Director

Dear Friends of the Institute of European Studies,

I am very pleased to send you our Spring 2018 newsletter, made with the assistance of our team of undergraduate reporters led by Annika Faye Van Galder. During the past semester, our Institute has been at the forefront of debate on the Berkeley campus on the future of Europe. While the election of Emmanuel Macron as the new president of France seemed to have given new momentum to the EU and its policy of further European integration, the collapse of the political establishment in Italy and subsequent building of a populist government brought back a lot of uncertainty. Equally concerning is the uncertainty about the implementation of Brexit and about transatlantic relations now that the EU-US nuclear deal with Iran has been unilaterally cancelled by President Trump. The many challenges Europe is currently facing underline once more how important it is for our University to have a strong Institute of European Studies.

Among the semester's many highlights, I would like to mention the Spring 2018 Regents' Lecture that IES organized in cooperation with UC Berkeley's Global Studies Program. It featured Allan Little, an experienced foreign correspondent for the BBC, who spoke about "Reporting the World in an Age of Fear: The Fragility of the Post-War Order." Another highlight was the visit by Sven Gatz, Minister for Culture, Youth, Media and Brussels in the government of the Flemish Community in Belgium. Gatz is also the former director of the Union of Belgian Brewers, which was reflected in the topic of his talk, entitled "Beer vs. Brueghel: The Belgian Paradox." Minister Gatz's visit was followed by another Belgium-related event: a visit by students from Howest, a college in Kortrijk, for whom IES organized a campus tour and mixer with Berkeley students. In cooperation with the World Affairs Council, the IES EU Hub West Program also launched a vibrant series of events, including a panel discussion on international careers in the European Union. In April, IES also hosted the first international conference of its recently created Austrian Studies Program, co-organized with the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation, the University of Vienna, and the Stefan Zweig Center. The conference took its cue from sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf's observation in 1997 that "a century of authoritarianism is by no means the least likely prognosis for the 21st century." The keynote was delivered by Barry Eichengreen, who spoke on the legacy of the Marshall Plan. The three-day conference ended with a roundtable, moderated by Deniz Göktürk and featuring Wolfgang Petritsch, Oliver Rathkolb, David Large, Lukas Repa, and Christoph Hermann.

During Spring 2018, our Center for German and European Studies organized several events with a specific focus on Germany, including lectures by Céline Teney (Univ. of Bremen) on immigration; Hélène Yèche (Univ. of Poitiers) on Germany's Sorbian-speaking minority; Astrid M. Eckert (Emory) on environmental policy in post-reunification Germany; Anja Laukötter (Max Planck Institute, Berlin) on Nazi media and sexuality; Maria Polugodina (FU Berlin) on the former Eastern Prussia; Alexander Graser (Univ. of Regensburg) on poverty in Germany; Paul Lerner (University of Southern California) on German-speaking Jews; and Noah Strote (North Carolina State) on the American influence in Germany since 1945.

The Institute's EU Center organized lectures by Max Gruenig (US Ecological Institute) and Christina Gerhardt (University of Hawaii) on climate policy; Lukas Repa (EU Commission) on technology and finance; Henry Thomson (Arizona State) on agricultural policy; Matthew Specter (visiting scholar) on Hans Morgenthau; Timothy Scott Brown (Northeastern) on the global impact of the 1968 student protests; Albert Manke (Univ. of Bielefeld) on the relationship between Eastern European nations and Latin America during the Cold War; Philipp Trein (University of Lausanne) on health care policies; Ludvig Norman (Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm) on populism; Stephan Keukeleire (Univ. of Leuven) on European foreign policy; John Peterson (Univ. of Edinburgh) on EU-US relations since the election of Donald Trump; Kevin Orr (Univ. of St. Andrews) on political leadership; and Antonio de Lecea (EU Commission) on globalization and the EU.

In cooperation with the Social Science Matrix, IES organized a series of discussion sessions on contemporary Europe and the impact of “fake news,” featuring lectures by a broad variety of speakers, including Azita Raji (former US ambassador to Sweden) and Evan Reade (former US Consul General in Strasbourg). This year’s IES graduate conference was organized in cooperation with the Social Science Matrix by Jon Cho-Polizzi, Ionela Ciolan, and Thomas Lowish. The keynote speaker was Alexander Graser from Regensburg University.

The Irish Studies Program featured events with Paige Reynolds (College of the Holy Cross), who delivered a lecture on Eimear McBride, and with the Irish novelist John Connolly, who presented his latest novel based on the life of Stan Laurel. It also celebrated the important contributions of Robert and Rebecca Tracy to Irish Studies at Berkeley and in the Bay Area.

Besides Minister Gatz and the students from Howest, the Benelux Program also welcomed Pierre Franck, Consul General of Luxembourg in San Francisco, to the Berkeley campus, who spoke on Luxembourg’s role in the development of space resources; Violet Soen (Univ. of Leuven and 2018 P.P. Rubens Professor), who spoke on the Dutch Revolt and the Habsburg Empire; as well as Berkeley alumna Julie van den Hout (San Francisco State University), who presented her new book on Adriaen van der Donck and the former Dutch colony of Manhattan.

This spring, the Center for British Studies continued its series of workshops bringing together scholars around the topics of “The Decentered State” and “Community Governance and Counterterrorism.” CBS also organized a lecture by IES Senior Fellow Matt Beech (Hull University), who presented his research findings on the progressive wing of the British Labour party.

If you were unable to attend some of our events, please check out the IES [YouTube Channel](#) where you will find a selection of our lectures.

The organization of so many exciting events would not have been possible without the support of the US Department of Education Title VI Program, the DAAD, Social Science Matrix, the EU Commission “Getting to Know Europe” Program, the Austrian Marshall Foundation, the Jean Monnet Program, and BMBWF. I would like to thank my colleagues Deolinda Adão, Julia Nelsen, Akasemi Newsome and Gia White for their support. Special thanks go to Heike Friedman and Andrea Westermann for their collaborative efforts between IES and our partner organization, GHI-West. Thanks also to Jon Cho-Polizzi, David Large, and Lukas Repa for their assistance with event planning. I am also grateful to our team of Undergraduate Research Apprentice students (Layla Amiri, Clara Artoni, Maddi Erdall, Melina Kompella, Adela Li, Lindsay Longstreet, Tatjana Merkel, Joachim Sutton, Annika Van Galder, Jianwen Xu, Sharon Yang, and Ziang Zhou). I would also like to welcome a new member to the IES Advisory Board, former EU Ambassador Jaime Perez, and to announce two new research grants for Berkeley graduate students offered by IES: the Hamburg-Berkeley research grant and the Uppsala-Berkeley research grant.

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

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

With kindest regards and my very best wishes,

Jeroen Dewulf

Meet our Spring 2018 Visiting Scholars

Stephan Lehner

Stephan Lehner is a Research Assistant and PhD candidate of Transportation Economics at the Institute for Multi-Level Governance and Development (WU Vienna). He is also associated with the project IP-SUNTAN, which aims at developing innovative policies for sustainable transportation. Prior to his employment at WU, Stephan gained valuable professional experience in various positions in the field of corporate strategy and management consulting at – among others – OMV, AVNET, Contrast Ernst & Young and Fontin & Company Management Consulting. He finished both his bachelor's degree in Business Administration as well as his master's degree in Strategy, Innovation and Management Control at WU.



His PhD thesis focuses on parking price policies. His current project uses innovative technologies, such as smartphone-based mode detection, to investigate the travel behavior of commuters and how they react to parking price changes. He is especially interested in the combination

of techniques from different disciplines (e. g. engineering, business, economics, IT etc.). The design, planning, execution and investigation of such a big project is a personal challenge, which he is happy to master. While at Berkeley, his research goal is to gain expert knowledge at the world's best university for transportation that strongly improves the quality of his work. What he most enjoys about IES are the interdisciplinary talks with scholars, which help him to gain insights that broaden his current horizons.

Monique Beerli

Monique Beerli is a Postdoctoral Visiting Scholar and affiliate of the Department of Sociology. She hails from the University of Geneva, and studied History at UCLA as an undergraduate, completed a Master's degree in Development Studies from the Graduate Institute in Geneva, and this year received her PhD in Political Science and International Relations from the Sciences Po Paris-University of Geneva Double Degree Doctoral programme. Beerli is interested in studying the professionalization of security management within international humanitarian organizations. Since the early '90s, global security management has emerged as a new corps of caretakers for staff stationed abroad, giving rise to a tension between the imported security logic and the humanitarian logic of saving lives. She examines how professionalism is defined in that context, and its construction, as well as micro, institutionalized practices that play into the larger system. She also studies different forms of inclusion and exclusion and how rules of professionalism determine who can be recognised as a 'professional.' Her project hopes to contribute to building a dialogue between International Relations and Sociology, to import and adapt sociological and organizational theories to better understand the international functioning of those international organizations. Beerli bridges the gap between academic work and policy recommendations in her research. After her time with IES, she will continue her research at the New School. Her most recent publication is *Saving the Saviors: An International Political Sociology of the Professionalization of Humanitarian Security*.



Maria Polugodina

Maria Polugodina is a visiting scholar at the Institute of European Studies from the Freie Universität in Berlin, Germany. She is a graduate of the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, as well as Humboldt University in Berlin. Her research focuses on international trade and the economic history of Europe. She is currently collecting data for her dissertation on persistent cultural traits and trade in the former East Prussia. She hopes to find evidence to answer the question: "Despite the divide and the establishment of new borders, is there still a Prussian state on a map today?" Although Maria lectures her students in Germany on trade theory and economic history, she approaches her research in multiple ways. By looking at economic history, international trade, culture in economy, and institutions, she hopes to get a broader understanding of her topic.

During her stay at UC Berkeley, Maria is scheduled to give lectures, and visit conferences throughout California. When Maria is not researching or writing, she spends her time discovering the Bay Area. She enjoys archery, fencing, as well as taekwondo.



Belgian Students Visit Berkeley

On April 4, IES welcomed students and professors from Howest University in Kortrijk, Belgium to the Berkeley campus. It was Howest's second visit to California, designed to showcase exchange opportunities for majors in Digital Design and Development, New Media and Communication, Applied Informatics and Biomedical Laboratory Technologies. Led by IES undergraduate research apprentices and members of the Dutch Students' Association, the group of 117 toured landmarks and learned about Cal's vibrant history. The visit was capped by a friendly gathering in Ishi Court, where students shared common interests and Belgian sweets.



Howest University visitors at Sather Gate

Congratulations to our 2017-18 FLAS Fellows!

Academic Year 2017-18

Mackenzie Bailey (Portuguese)
Dylan Fagan (Dutch – Flemish)
Brock Imel (Portuguese)
Jacob Liming (Portuguese)
Jackeline Luna (German)
Julia Rubin (French)
Bessie Young (Turkish)

Summer 2018

Alessandra Bergamin (Italian)
Luis Enrique Barco (Portuguese)
Spencer Adams (German)
Rachel Weiher (Italian)
Anahit Manoukian (Portuguese)
Gabriella Licata (Genoese/Ligurian)
Kathryn DeWaele (German)
Peter Vale (Portuguese)
Andrea Grace Mitchell Tada (French)
Daniel Driscoll, UC San Diego (French)
Sarah Hastings-Rudolf (German)
Christopher Scott (Modern Greek)

Keeping in Touch with IES Grant Recipients

Maelia DuBois, recipient of the 2017 Gerald D. and Norma Feldman Graduate Dissertation Fellowship (interviewed by Undergraduate Research Apprentice student Joachim Sutton)

Maelia is currently a Ph.D. student in the Department of History. She specializes in 19th- and early 20th-century German history, with a secondary focus on Global Colonial & Imperial History and Reproductive Demography. Maelia's areas of interest are imperialism, colonialism, women's history, reproduction, and migration.



Joachim: What are you currently studying and working on?

Maelia: I'm currently about 7 months into a 10-month research stay in Berlin funded by a Fulbright Doctoral Research Grant as well as an IES Feldman Dissertation Fellowship. My research involves sifting through documents in several Berlin archives, such as the Geheime Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, the Bundesarchiv, and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. The primary sources I work with here will form the bulk of my history dissertation, to be completed by Spring 2020.

J: What is your connection to IES?

M: I am one of the founding participants in the Designated Emphasis in European Studies program, and have been happy to receive funding through IES in the past, as well as use of IES spaces for our German History Working Group *Der Kreis*, which I chaired in 2016-17. I've gotten academic advice from Professor Jeroen Dewulf which has been very useful in planning my research schedule, as well as friendly help from the lovely Gia with departmental financials and events planning at IES.

J: How will your IES grant have a long-term impact on your work and career?

M: IES has introduced me to colloquia I might never have participated in otherwise, such as the 2016/17 European Refugee Crisis colloquium series, as well as encouraged me to take courses that I might otherwise not have signed up for, such as Katharina Linos' course on EU Law at Boalt. I am honored to be associated with IES at Berkeley, and look forward to a continued productive relationship with the Institute when I return to Berkeley to start writing my dissertation in the fall.

Spring 2018 Lectures and Events

January 25, 2018

EU Immigration of Highly Skilled Workers: Physicians in Germany

The Institute of European Studies hosted Professor **CÉLINE TENEY** of the University of Bremen, Germany. Teney presented her research on non-German European Union workers in Germany in a lecture titled “Immigration of European Highly Skilled Workers to Germany: Intra-EU Brain Circulation or Brain Drain/Gain?” The presentation focused on guest worker immigrants (specifically physicians) to Germany between 1960 and 1990, a period followed by the diversification of immigrants coming to Europe. Teney emphasized that the EU is a “unique migration space” for three reasons. First, there are free movement rights; second, because of EU citizenship; and lastly, because of institutional educational mobility. What has been a brain gain for some countries has been a brain drain for others. According to the data, Germany, the United Kingdom, Spain, and France are the countries with the most incoming migration, and Germany possesses the largest intra-EU migration. Those coming from poorer EU countries (such as Bulgaria, Croatia, and Romania) often move for economic reasons and stay permanently.

To conduct her research, Teney prepared a questionnaire that asked about reasons for emigration and immigration, collecting data during the winter of 2015 and 2016. Many of the respondents migrated

for career reasons, language reasons, and economic reasons, respectively. Among the respondents, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Romania counted the most physicians at 20.61 percent. Teney concluded her research with the belief that “permanent immigration is more likely among physicians from Bulgaria, Croatia, and Romania.”

An energetic Q&A discussion followed the presentation, during which the many audience members had the chance to ask questions about the qualifications that migrants needed to get to work in Germany and how Teney’s data was obtained.



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome and speaker Celine Teney (Univ. of Bremen)

February 1, 2018

Minorities and Globalization: The Case of the Sorbians in Germany

IES Visiting Scholar from the Université de Poitiers in France, Professor **HÉLÈNE YÈCHE**, gave a compelling lecture on cultural revival in an age of globalization that has been apparent among the



Sorbian people of Lusatia, Germany. The Sorbian people are a small, Slavic group who are indigenous to Lusatia. In lower Lusatia, the people are known as Lower Sorbs or Wends and have a strong affiliation with the Protestant Church. Those in upper Lusatia are known as Upper Sorbs or Sorbs and have a strong affiliation with the Catholic Church. The total number of Sorbs estimated to be living in

Eastern Germany is 60,000. The unique Sorbian culture, language, and way of life persists in this region despite the fact that they are completely surrounded by German culture. That being said, the utilization of the Sorbian language has been in decline since 1945, unfortunately leading Sorbian to be considered an endangered language. Due to globalization, there has been an impetus to revive endangered languages and cultures. For Sorbians in East Germany, this means an increased practice of the language through initiatives such as WITAJ. WITAJ, implemented in 1998, is an immersion program that teaches Sorbian to primary and secondary school children. The program's goal is not only to help youth foster a greater allegiance to the Sorbian culture but also to pass on the language and cultural values to their children. For the small Wendish population located in Texas, this means building on the Sorbian identity through festivals and museums that teach Sorbian customs and practices (though, unfortunately, there is no initiative to revive the Sorbian language in Texas).

As a result of globalization, the Sorbian and Wendish culture is now able to withstand the test of time and place with the hope that future generations will follow this lead. During the Q&A section of the talk, many audience members referenced personal experiences with Wendish populations in multiple countries. In particular, audience members mentioned the strong relationships between Lusatia and Eastern European countries such as Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland. When asked about the cultural history of the Texas Wends, Yèche emphasized the severe lack of literature on the topic and the loss of the language among that particular community.

IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and speaker Hélène Yèche (Univ. of Poitiers)

February 12, 2018

The Future of EU Climate Leadership

MAX GRUENIG visited the Institute to give a talk titled “EU Climate Leadership Post Paris.” As President of the United States Ecologic Institute, Gruenig briefly presented on the Ecologic Institute’s functions and its current major project: Energy Future Exchange (EFEX), which seeks to create transatlantic dialogue for civil society on climate change, and to foster connections between the United States and the European Union in regards to climate action. EFEX focuses primarily on renewable energy technologies, energy efficiency, and sustainable mobility, and conducts a series of conferences, webinars, and online forums. Gruenig provided the audience with a brief introduction of current EU energy projects, complications, and targets, citing the 2020, 2030, and long-term energy and climate targets. While research



Max Gruenig, President of the United States Ecologic Institute, and IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

indicates that the EU is on track to meet its 2020 goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 20% and increasing renewable energy use and energy efficiency by 20% between 1990 and 2020, the data indicates that the EU will need to alter current climate policies to reach its 2030 targets. Although there is a general critique of climate change negatively impacting a nation’s

economic growth, Gruenig presented data indicating that since the 1990s, there has been an absolute decoupling of emissions and economic growth in the EU, conveying that economic growth has occurred while emissions have decreased. Gruenig then focused on the EU commission and trading system, highlighting current reform, its limitations, and what is to be expected in the future. In the context of reform, the new annual reduction rate of the number of allowances permitted in the EU emissions trading system will be increased from 1.74% to 2.2%. Current reform excludes reform on partial free allocation of allowances and the creation of a floor price. In the context of the system’s limitations, the speaker highlighted the EU Commission’s decision to subsidize emergency power plants, the current lack of emissions performance standards as part of the Clean Energy Package, and the lack of an electric vehicle quota. The lecture included an overview of current internal and external difficulties that the EU faces, including the lack of US climate leadership, the loss of climate momentum, unclear relations between the EU and China and India, populism in politics, Brexit, and young and, contrarily, exhausted European leadership. The talk concluded with a projection about what is to be expected in the future. He emphasized the importance of the election in both parliament and the EU Commission in addition to the significance of Juncker not seeking a second term. While it is promising that any proposals on re-negotiations of Paris Agreement standards were shot down, Gruenig remains cautious about the future of EU climate leadership. He argues that it is necessary for the EU to engage with China and India and at-risk countries, and begin to try to compromise with other countries’ interests and work with nations to create policy and implement Paris Agreement standards.

The Q&A portion of the lecture sparked insightful discussion. One audience member asked about the paradox between energy security and energy sustainability, citing the tense situation with Russia supplying hydrocarbons to its “friends.” Gruenig agreed that there was a dilemma, and that it is of utmost importance to make both climate and geopolitical interests meet in the middle, instead of compromising on either.

February 13, 2018

Initial Coin Offerings: A European Perspective

IES EU Fellow **LUKAS REPA** gave a lecture titled “Initial Coin Offerings.” Repa, an Austrian native who holds a Ph.D. in Law, worked as an attorney in corporate banking before managing teams in antitrust investigations as a member of the European Commission. Now, Repa explores the use of blockchain technology and its impact on retail banking.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and EU Fellow Lukas Repa

Because coin offerings and crypto-currencies are highly contested, this lecture showcased Repa’s unique, expert opinion on the subject. Repa explained that start-ups need both an idea and funding, so they go to wherever the money flows, causing geographic concentration among these nascent organizations. There also exists a trend away from Venture Capitals (VCs) to Initial Coin Offerings (ICOs), which raised \$5.6 billion in 2017, significantly beating out VCs. This trend has continued into 2018.

ICOs are organizations that practice the public sale of tokens to fund a start-up on a global scale. If you hold a token, you act as a shareholder; without one, you will not get service. Tokens sold in ICOs can be coins, dividends, or utility tokens. The new fuel for the ICO industry is the ether. Established in Switzerland, the Ethereum Foundation created a token that outcompeted Bitcoin due to its smart contract and blockchain. ICOs offer a business model for open source, are arguably less biased than VCs, and boost investment in blockchain technology.

When investing in ICOs, entrepreneurs, investors, and the climate can be subject to potential failures. Investors may be subject to potential fraud, and there is an unfortunate reality that 80% of start-ups fail. Entrepreneurs risk profit forfeitures and criminal sanctions. Even the climate could be harmed through increased energy pollution and exhaustion.

During the engaging Q&A, many audience members asked about dangers in the way cryptocurrencies were being used, and if there were possible policy responses. Repa noted that we do not know very much at all about these emerging currencies and the investors who use them, but it is generally accepted that we are presently in a bubble, with possible risks emerging from inexperienced investors, policy challenges, SEC crackdowns, and climate threats. However, he also emphasized that cryptocurrencies are here to stay, as part of a globally emerging virtual world.

February 14, 2018

Food, Policy, and Power

HENRY THOMSON gave a presentation in Moses Hall titled “Food and Power: Regime Type, Agricultural Policy and Political Stability.” Thomson is Assistant Professor at the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University, and his research focuses on the political economy of authoritarianism and democratization. His expertise and interest in the field led him to investigate the impact of authoritarian regimes on agriculture, which he shared with an audience of students and faculty members.

Professor Thomson’s presentation centered on how differences in economic policy affect political stability, with a comparative study of democratic regimes and authoritarian regimes. He posed three research questions. First, what explains variations of food policy? Next, what are the effects of food policies on political stability? And finally, what are the distinct social conflicts in developing countries? He began by arguing that there are three actors in food policy: the state, rural interests, and urban interests. A policy generates a trade-off between urban and rural interests. In a democracy, policies prioritize rural interests more than in an authoritarian regime. Moreover, democratic systems are more flexible in achieving a balance between rural and urban interest conflicts than authoritarian regimes, which are often more unstable.

Thomson’s presentation addressed the cleavage between the city and the countryside, and the management of these areas by

authoritarian regimes. He argued that political regimes use agricultural policies to manage these interests by focusing on food consumers and producers and their different claims. The agricultural policies chosen by autocratic governments are driven by their struggle for power and determine their durability as they respond to possible threats such as high food prices in urban centers or the emboldening of rural elites. Agricultural policy in this view is then the result of institutional goals and the threats which they might face.

Through cross-national statistical analyses of nineteenth-century Germany under Chancellor Bismarck and Malaysia in the 1970s, Thomson’s findings show, for example, that increasing the price of food

can reduce the leverage power of rural elites. At the same time, “rural-bias” can be possible under governments facing political threats from rural elites. Thomson’s engaging presentation ended with a lively Q&A session.



Henry Thomson (Arizona State University) with IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome

February 20, 2018

Climate Refugees and Public Art

CHRISTINA GERHARDT (IES Visting Scholar and Associate Professor of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa) delivered a lecture entitled "Climate Change, Climate Change Refugees, and Public Art." Gerhardt began by discussing how rapid climate change over the past century has fueled social issues and made life extremely difficult in many parts of the world. Today, climate change is one of the major factors determining migration: the conflict in Syria is intensified and aggravated by droughts, for instance, and islands in Polynesia are disappearing due to rising sea levels. Moreover, given climate change's current trajectory, parts of Africa and the Middle East will be uninhabitable by the end of the century, which will cause a major migration crisis. Furthermore, Gerhardt argued that migrations, motivated by climate change are difficult to deal with because we have yet to officially recognize the term "climate refugees." This is a crucial issue, because in order to lobby for people who are displaced by climate changes, we need to officially recognize them as "climate refugees."

To bring awareness to climate change and climate refugees, Gerhardt argued for the importance of modern art in illustrating these issues. Modern art can be employed to represent sea level rise and capture how the globe may look a decade and a century from now. In

this way, the focus of climate change becomes visual rather than analytical, through traditional forecasts and statistics.

Gerhardt's forthcoming book, *Sea Level Rise*, focuses on Pacific islanders whom she sees as icons in climate change and as future "climate refugees." Bearing no responsibility for the problem, these islanders illustrate how climate change tends to hit disadvantaged people hardest.

In the Q&A, one audience member asked about the global significance of the small islands that Gerhardt studies, to which she responded that, once through imperialism and now simply through globalization, these islands remain close to our own society. In fact, she added that developed nations have a responsibility to aid smaller, less developed nations as we fight climate change on a global level. She also noted that these small island nations have close ties to each other, and there has been a recent push among them to reconnect with each other, and to contribute to the work being done in larger nations such as the United States.



*IES Visiting Scholar Christina Gerhardt
(University of Hawai'i at Mānoa)*

February 21, 2018

Small States in the Cold War

IES Visiting Scholar and GHI-West Fellow **ALBERT MANKE** (Bielefeld University) gave a lecture titled “Small states and Secondary Actors in the Cold War: Entanglement between Europe and Latin America” to an audience of sixteen students, faculty, and community members. He began by stating that new Cold War studies have turned to personal accounts instead of accounts of violence and conflict. This continued development in Cold War studies is seen in entanglements of history, cultural impact, and the inclusion of the global south. Manke added to these developments by exploring the role of secondary and small-state actors in the global south and Eastern Europe during the Cold War era. His work follows this new trend of decentralizing the entangled reading of the Cold War.

In 2016, Manke and his colleague, Katerina Brezinova, published an analysis of case studies that explored the impact of the war on secondary states such as Brazil, Argentina, Austria, Cuba, and West Germany. The term “secondary actors” was used to describe these states because they are middle actors (neither small nor big). Manke then dove into a case study comparison between Czechoslovakia and Cuba. As in Europe, an Iron Curtain divided the Caribbean because Cuba became a red state, urged by the Czech government. Their friendship was rooted in an arms deal, in which the Czech Republic

sold weapons to Cuba as long as they began to adopt Communist ideology. While this caused the United States to panic because the red state was creeping closer to their homeland, for Cuba, this alliance meant achieving a longtime desire to become emancipated from the hegemonic American political and economic system. This case showcased the importance of incorporating these small actors into the narrative as they were pawns in the USA and Soviet game during the Cold War era.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Visiting Scholar/GHI-West Fellow Albert Manke

February 27, 2018

Hans Morgenthau and Cold War Realism

MATTHEW SPECTER, IES Senior Fellow and Visiting Scholar in Political Science, gave a lecture titled “Historicizing the Realist Imagination: Hans Morgenthau in the Early Cold War.” During this lecture, Specter introduced the Realist school of thought and Morgenthau’s influence and involvement in it during his life, as well as various interpretations of Morgenthau’s work in contemporary international relations.

Hans Morgenthau, often called the “pope of realism,” was born to a Jewish family in Germany and emigrated to the United States just before the start of the Second World War. He was a significant thinker and writer who worked closely with the US government and made huge contributions to the development of realism, a theory of international relations that emphasizes interests and power as the primary forces of international politics. Morgenthau’s ideas continue to shape international relations to this day, and Specter’s talk focused on modern-day reinterpretations of his theories, which Specter classified into two views: the orthodox view and the revisionist view. The orthodox view falls in line with the common association of realism and conservatism, emphasizing connections between Morgenthau’s writings and Carl Schmitt’s. Writers of this view see Morgenthau as a political elitist who was heavily influenced by Bismarck, and nostalgic for traditional aristocracy. The revisionist view, on the other hand, tends to downplay Morgenthau’s connection to Schmitt and exaggerate his leftism, calling him an “uneasy realist” who tried to assimilate with American conservatism but was often misunderstood. Revisionist writers, such as William Scheuerman and Udi Greenberg, point out Morgenthau’s frustration with diplomacy and the misinterpretation of his theories to endorse policies he didn’t support.

Specter is critical of revisionist readings of Morgenthau, as they often overlook Morgenthau’s self-contradictory nature, especially in his oscillation between emphasizing the primacy of power politics and that of ethical considerations. Specter points out that in both revisionist and

orthodox interpretations, comparisons of Morgenthau to Schmitt fall short in their assumptions that Morgenthau was a fully-formed thinker when he arrived to the United States. In fact, Morgenthau was heavily influenced by American culture and society, and it was only in the 1950s, in the US, that he came to identify as a realist and develop realism as a public philosophy.

In his conclusion, Specter spoke more broadly of Morgenthau’s vision of political science and international relations as both an art and a science. Finally, Specter referenced Morgenthau’s warning of the dangers of an “unpolitical posture” and escapism in the face of politics.

During the Q&A, one audience member asked how Morgenthau felt about American hegemony in the international balance of power, to which Specter responded that Morgenthau’s realism favored pluralism and respected the balance of power, so perhaps he would not have been an adamant supporter of American hegemony. Another audience member brought up Kissinger’s realism in comparison to Morgenthau’s, and Specter responded that the two thinkers both saw themselves as modernizers of Bismarck’s Realpolitik, and were ideologically close.



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Senior Fellow Matthew Specter

February 28, 2018

The “Global 1968”, fifty years later

TIMOTHY SCOTT BROWN, IES Senior Fellow and Professor of History at Northeastern University, presented a talk based on his book, *The 'Global 1968' at Fifty: What it Meant and What it Means*. He discussed the global revolt of 1968 on both sides of the Cold War divide, explaining that it is possible and important not only to think at the local level but to look at the global framework and the movement of ideas which shaped the events of 1968. This makes the term “Global 1968” relevant in scholarship and enables us to understand that many “smaller” 1968s also occurred. Brown also noted that the academic and popular discourse on 1968 revolves around the May 1968 protests in France and the Prague Spring as watershed events; this, however, hides the long processes that led up to 1968. It is therefore important to have a more flexible periodization--what he calls the “Long 1968” - -in order to increase focus on the processual element.

Brown also presented ten main theses which characterize and enable us to understand 1968 as a complex political, social and cultural moment: it was marked by the proliferation of the political; it was characterized by a fusion of culture and politics; it involved a search for the revolutionary subject; it involved the search for radical source material; it was the product of transnational exchange and global imagination; it was characterized by an “active transnational” scene; it

was not only about protests but also about creativity; it was a product of global and local intersections; its shape was determined by the amount of available political space; and, finally, the many 1968s were not monolithic.

During the engaging Q&A, one participant posed the question of whether 1967 was actually a more pivotal year, given the Middle East revolution and other events around the globe. Another asked whether a disjuncture exists on how scholars and regular citizens understand 1968. Brown answered that both groups tend to ask the same questions, and the focus of historians is to bring scholarly analysis and primary experience together, so there is not much of a disjuncture between them.



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome and Senior Fellow Timothy Scott Brown

March 6, 2018

International Careers in the EU

IES kicked off its EU HUB WEST events series with a panel discussion on building international careers in the European Union. **"CONNECT: Exploring Global Careers in the EU"** took place at the World Affairs headquarters in downtown San Francisco, bringing together over 60 attendees including members of the World Affairs Council Young Professionals Network and recent Cal alumni. Offering a unique opportunity to gain career insights from European diplomats, the event featured the Consuls General of France, Portugal, Germany and Romania, who discussed different avenues for exploring professional opportunities overseas. IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome moderated the conversation among panelists Dana Beldiman (Honorary Consul General of Romania), Felipe Costa (Portuguese Trade and Investment Commissioner), Maria João Lopes Cardoso (Consul General of Portugal), Emmanuel Lebrun-Damiens (Consul General of France), and Hans-Ulrich Suedbeck (Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany). The speakers shared their tips for creating a global network, while offering valuable insider perspectives on European firms based in the Bay Area and American firms poised to enter the EU. Attendees also learned how to best leverage their foreign language skills in sectors ranging from tech, to finance, to diplomacy. Following the discussion, all participants enjoyed a special opportunity to network during the lively reception and further share ideas for creating transatlantic connections. This event was supported by IES' Getting to Know Europe Grant (2017-2019).



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome moderates the panel; below, with panelists Dana Beldiman (Honorary Consul General of Romania), Emmanuel Lebrun-Damiens (Consul General of France), Maria João Lopes Cardoso (Consul General of Portugal), Felipe Costa (Portuguese Trade and Investment Commissioner), and Hans-Ulrich Suedbeck (Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany)



March 7, 2018

2018 Regents' Lecture

Journalism in Turbulent Times

Over 60 people gathered in Doe Library to hear this year's Regents' Lecture by former BBC correspondent **ALLAN LITTLE**, "Reporting the World in an Age of Fear: The Fragility of the Post-War Order." Little has done extensive work in the Soviet Union and Iraq. Little was able to offer the students and community members a unique perspective on the reporting of events of war while being in and close to the action.

Little began by sharing some of the stories collected over his 30-year career, including compelling moments from the 1989 revolution in Prague and the war in Baghdad in 2003. He then went on to discuss present-day threats to democracy from within liberal and democratic states, noting that freedom is contingent and not automatic. Drawing parallels between the election of Trump in the US and the Brexit phenomenon, Little identified the collapse of the middle class as one reason for the current state of crisis.

Turning to the Eurozone, Little examined how Spain wanted to join the EU because they saw Europe and democracy as one in the same. Germany was even willing to give up their currency, which was equivalent to their national pride, in order to join the EU and adopt the Euro. However, Little then outlined the harmful nature of the Euro. He stated that the creation of the Euro was disastrous because the EU thought that only a few countries would use it. However, once Italy was allowed to join, its immense debt opened doors to other countries' debt. Now the debt crisis threatens to take down the common currency.

The presentation ended with a lively Q&A. Drawn by Little's rich field experience as a renowned correspondent, one attendee asked about how he mediates the tension between his identity as a journalist and as

a private person in reporting tragic crises. Little emphasized empathy as a critical ingredient to good journalistic practice. Meanwhile, he cautioned against being guided by empathy, as journalists cannot "appropriate others' pain." Responding to Little's discussion about ethics in journalism, participants also asked about what can be done on a practical level to keep the record straight and prompted him to elaborate more on his own personal view on ethics. Little began by observing that news and journalism are punctuated with moral panic. He believes that both the news industry and we as readers need to adapt to the way in which information is consumed today. He highlighted the importance of measures to help us on a citizenry level to identify fake news and deliberate distortions. In the same time, he acknowledged that the challenge is especially big today to create these measures without placing oneself on one side of the ideological divide. Little further added that the present and future are not that gloomy.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and BBC correspondent Allan Little

Civil society, he believes, can play an especially important role, as seen in the American case. He also commented that the 'pessimism' transpired in his lecture can be a function of age, and that he has hope in seeing how the new generation will shape the postwar order.

March 12, 2018

Formulating US Foreign Policy

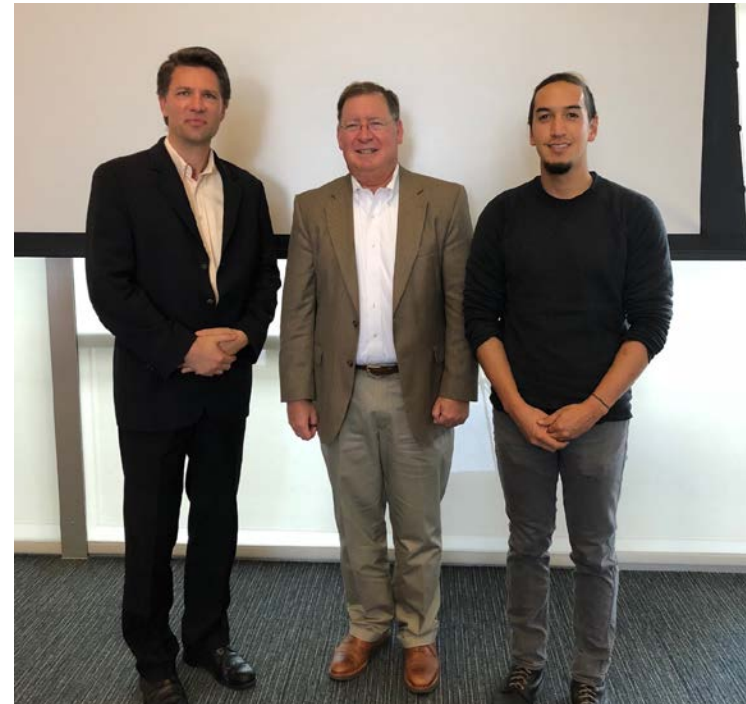
Former US Consul General in Strasbourg, **EVAN G. READE**, delivered a lecture at the Social Science Matrix on the interagency foreign policy formulation process within the US government. In addition to his role as Consul General, Evan was also Observer to the Council of Europe and Director for Western Europe on the National Security Council (NSC) staff under President Obama between 2014 and 2016. Reade spoke of his personal experiences working for the NSC and how power is balanced throughout three co-equal branches of government. Furthermore, Reade explained the role of the three equal branches of government—executive, legislative, judicial—and the complex architecture of policy formulation within the NSC, consisting of the following levels of hierarchy: NSC, Principal Committee, Deputy Committee, Interagency Policy Committee (IPC), and Sub-IPC. Information is gathered on a Sub-IPC level and then formulated through these levels of hierarchy into a policy proposal to be finally presented to the President at NSC meetings.

Reade's main tasks in his role with the NSC were to advise and prepare information packages for the Executive Branch on pressing foreign policy topics, mainly related to his areas of focus in the UK and France. In order to brief the President on world affairs, policy advisers in Reade's position must be specialized in different fields and ready to feed information to the President when he or she has to make decisions or speak on different subjects.

Engaged by Reade's fascinating insights into the American foreign policy formulation process, participants actively participated in the Q&A session. One participant asked about US involvement in supporting the European Union with the refugee crisis. Reade commented that the US respects the EU's full competence in the matter and is eager to share its resources in the region to support

European efforts. As Reade discussed bilateral interactions between the US and European countries, another participant asked about where the EU as a multilateral institution comes in. Reade responded that the US was very committed to the EU and there was certainly a lot of communication between the American administration and Ms. Federica Mogherini, the High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

Disclaimer: All comments by Reade do not represent the positions of the US government during his service or at the present time, but are only Reade's personal opinions.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf; Evan Reade; Jon Cho-Polizzi, PhD Candidate in German

March 13, 2018

Scotland and the UK Post-Brexit

BBC correspondent **ALLAN LITTLE**, the 2018 UC Berkeley Regents' Lecturer, delivered a talk to a large group of students and community members on UK-Scottish Relations after Brexit. Little, a native of Scotland, drew upon his experience growing up there, as well as his work with the BBC in Europe, to approach the question of whether the Brexit phenomenon would eventually lead to the breakup of the entire United Kingdom.

Little began by describing the EU's current situation as "two kinds of mess," both economic and political. The economic mess stems from a "one size fits all" monetary policy that a single currency necessitates, though the Euro does not in fact fit all when every EU economy differs massively. The political mess followed when the EU's economic problems brought out tensions between countries and problems by holding power accountable.

Little then gave a brief overview of Britain's Euroscepticism to prove that Brexit wasn't simply a manifestation of current European malaise, listing various reasons including a sense of detachment from the rest of Europe that is often seen as superiority or British exceptionalism. In fact, Little claimed that Britain continued to see itself as an imperial power even after World War II, basing its trade system on imperial preference and continuing to prefer trade with its colonies over trade with its neighbors in Europe.

The European project, Little noted, was a top-down economic project generated by an elite, which

succeeded in creating Europe, but not Europeans. The lack of a unifying European identity, he claimed, is the root of many of the EU's problems and part of the reason that the British never felt themselves fully integrated as "Europeans." The British always saw the EU mainly in terms of economic benefits, as evidenced by Thatcher's approval of the single market in the 1980s, counterposed to her rejection of Jacques Delors' vision of a social Europe. UK contempt for Europeans became more open and blatant in the late 1980s. New problems arose in the 2000s, when the arrival of immigrants from newly integrated Soviet Bloc countries elicited anti-immigration sentiment that eventually set the stage for the Brexit referendum.

Little then turned to Scottish history in particular, beginning with the shared British identity that tended to unite the UK, especially as Scotland remained economically dependent on Britain. He marked the 1990s as a turning point for the Scottish independence movement, as the conservative policies that the Scottish people consistently voted against continued to be imposed by British politicians. Today, the Scottish National Party is the largest party in Scotland, and Little claims that the popularization of independence was driven by shifting political values in the rest of Britain—the same political values that caused a majority in England to vote leave while the majority in Scotland voted remain.



Journalist Allan Little with IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

March 13, 2018

The Environmental Impact of the Iron Curtain

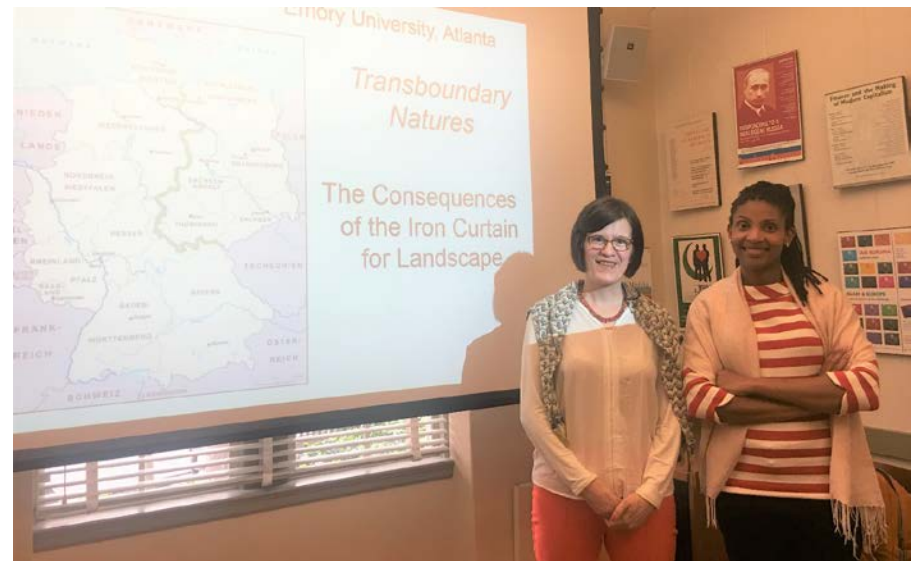
ASTRID M. ECKERT (Associate Professor of Modern European History and Winship Distinguished Research Professor at Emory University) presented a lecture at the Institute titled, “Transboundary Nature: The Consequences of the Iron Curtain for Landscape.” She began by remarking that the West German zonal borderlands or *Zonenrandgebiete*, are not just political spaces, but also environmental and economic landscapes. After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, environmentalists rushed to areas such as the German Green Belt--the strip of land between the former East and West Germany--in the hopes of preserving nature.

The Green Belt, Eckert noted, was originally a dense 1,400-km network of fences and guard towers that ran through Germany. This had two distinct consequences on the physical border strips, the first being the damage to the landscape itself. Due to deforestation, fields were turned into wetlands and canals could not be maintained, eroding biodiversity. Secondly, German wildlife suffered as a result of the fencing. Additionally, after 1961, wildlife was killed from land mines, which were placed throughout the strip to prevent people from crossing the border.

After the fall of the Iron Curtain, the German government together with grassroots activists began the project to create the first Green Belt. The political and ecological landscape of the borderland eventually developed into the European Green Belt, which evolved from Germany’s new way of approaching natural conservation. Today,

the Green Belt runs all the way from the Barents Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south, and extends over 12,500 km along the borders of 24 states. It symbolizes the opening of borders and the reclaiming of space by people who were once separated, as well as a zone of environmental conservation.

The audience had many questions for Eckert after her informative and evocative presentation. One asked if any studies have been completed to determine how well the zones have developed ecologically. Eckert responded that the Green Belt is still a work in progress for conservationists, but there is hope for the future. The audience thoroughly enjoyed Eckert’s presentation on the intersection between ecological and political issues.



Astrid Eckert (Emory University) with IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome

March 15, 2018

Luxembourg and Space Exploration

PIERRE FRANCK, Consul General of Luxembourg in San Francisco and Executive Director of the Luxembourg Trade and Investment Office, visited the Institute to give a lecture titled, "Space Resources in Luxembourg: Exploring New Frontiers." The talk focused on Luxembourg's space exploration initiatives and its role as a hub for space-technical companies. Franck offered fascinating background on Luxembourg's history, from its origins as a fortress to an independent nation and European financial center--the second largest after London.

Besides the overwhelmingly international composition of its population, which counts 48% of foreign-born residents, Frank explained that Luxembourg endeavors to diversify its economy by starting a space resources initiative to promote its space industry. Specifically, the initiative provides a business-friendly regulation framework, which encourages formation of new companies and participation of small businesses. Despite many challenges, the initiative also reaches out to foreign countries and calls for international cooperation.

Many of the audience members had questions for the Consul General about this cutting-edge initiative, and how Luxembourg is leading the way in space exploration. One asked about other European governments and whether they were supporting spin-off companies, to

which Franck responded that about 80% of startups in the commercial state are partially funded by governments, and different government agencies are definitely involved in this research and development. He said that different companies from around the world have been interested in co-investing with Luxembourg in a public/private space investment. Another attendee asked how the government of Luxembourg balances questions of international cooperation with issues of security and terrorism. Franck stated that Luxembourg has research centers actively working on cybersecurity, and the country benefits from its membership in NATO.



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Consul General Pierre Franck

March 20, 2018

Comparing the Co-Evolution of Health Care and Public Health

JOSEF PHILIPP TREIN (IES Visiting Scholar and Senior Researcher at the Department of Political, Historical and International Studies at the University of Lausanne) gave a lecture on the coevolution of health care and public health. Drawn from his new book project, Trein's talk examined these two topics from a comparative perspective, using a variety of sources for historical context.

Outlining his research motivation and strategies, Trein explained that his work was inspired by the mounting costs of healthcare and the massive increases in the percent of GDP spent on health. In his research, he focuses on growth in developed democracies, specifically comparing Australia, Switzerland, Germany, the US, and the UK. He defined health care as individual- and illness-based, and public health as population- and health hazard-based, and framed his research question around the coevolution of these two policy sectors in the five countries he studied.

He then outlined a series of theoretical priors on which he based his research: first, that a unified government and a strong state allows for less institutional distinctiveness between health care and public health; second, that politically active health professions and a liberal market economy make the two sectors more responsive to each other; and finally, that context (e.g. specific health problems, technology, etc.) matters in determining whether a curative or preventative approach is used.

Trein approached his research question using both quantitative analysis and descriptive statistics from sources such as secondary literature, documents, and interviews. He then was able to break down his research into four time periods for each country—from 1850 to 1918, the emergence of the modern state; from 1918 to 1945, the period between the two World Wars; from 1945 to 1980, with the

rise of personal health care; and from 1980 to today, as public health becomes increasingly important.

To trace the coevolution of the sectors of public health and health care, he studied various reforms in health over these time periods and coded them as the sector they represented. Every country



Heike Friedman (GHI West) and IES Visiting Scholar Josef Philipp Trein

he studied, except for Germany, had the same pattern—the larger portion of health spending went to public health in the first few time periods, but over time the focus shifted to health care. He claimed that Germany's health governance tended to be more focused on insurance, whereas in other countries, health policies were more broadly and politically defined, especially where interest groups played a significant role. For example, in Australia and the US,

politically motivated interest groups fought for more regulation of tobacco advertising in newspapers, more so than in Switzerland and Germany.

In his conclusion, Trein reemphasized the distinctions between health care and public health, and preventative and curative approaches as two different policy fields. Finally, he stressed the relevance of political, historical, and national context of these two sectors, and of health spending in general.

March 21, 2018

Belgian Culture, from Brews to Breughel

SVEN GATZ is the current Minister for Culture, Youth, Media and Brussels in the government of the Flemish Community in Belgium, and the former director of the Union of Belgian Brewers. On March 21st, he visited IES with a delegation of Belgian diplomats to deliver a lecture titled, "Beer vs Brueghel: The Belgian Paradox."

To introduce his presentation, Minister Gatz provided a general overview of Belgium as a land of culture: the Flemish Masters, Surrealism, Anne Teresa de Keersmaeker, among others. He then turned to Belgian beer and its crucial role in Belgian identity--how it combines both tradition and diversity, a mix of the German and the US style, stressing the importance of balance between the two. He asserted that Belgian Beer is grounded on three different pillars: the city, the church, and agriculture. Also, Gatz noted that, given its history of repression, Belgium has relied less upon a central government than on cities, where trade was free and campaniles were symbols of liberation. Agriculture is another important element, because, in the case of Belgian beer, experimentation was more important than the "Reinheitsgebot" in the German case. This experimentation reflects Belgium's diverse historical background. Moreover, the Trappist-Abbey Beer demonstrates how politics and policies have intervened with beer

production. Above all, Gatz jokingly emphasized, beer is best enjoyed fresh at 8 degrees Celsius.

During the Q&A, the Minister engaged with an audience curious both about how Belgium deals with its cultural diversity and about the art of beer tasting. The audience asked about the difficulties of promoting culture, considering that the country is divided between Flemish, French, and German communities, all of which have strong identities and beer-brewing traditions. According to the Minister, the differences matter but, when it comes to the promotion of beer at the international level, the actors generally come together to promote Belgium as a whole. The discussion also touched upon some more practical matters; the main takeaways on the enjoyment of a good Belgian beer are that personal preferences are very relevant.



Belgian Minister Sven Gatz

March 22, 2018

National Socialist Media and Sexuality

ANJA LAUKÖTTER visited IES to give a talk on Nazi media and sexuality titled, “Trust as Violence: The Politics of Film and the Militarization of Male Sexuality in National Socialism.” Laukötter is a researcher at the Center for the History of Emotions at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin and Co-Director of the international research group “The Healthy Self as Body Capital: Individuals, Market-Based Societies, and Body Politics in Visual Twentieth Century Europe.” Discussing the political significance of film and emotions in National Socialism, her talk addressed how Nazi ideology and culture politics led to the conception and production of films as a forum for regulating emotions. Laukötter underlined that the implosion of democracy, prevalent in the National Socialist period, also influenced media through double censorship. A film would be banned if it either endangered “vital interests of the state,” or it did damage to Nazi moral or cultural feelings. Yet the concept of “feelings” and “sensitivity” are ambiguous, and defined according to the “average man” under National Socialism. Religious, moral, artistic sensitivity, natural honor, universal morality, self-respect and cultivated instincts---all these concepts counted towards “feelings” and “sensitivity.”

Turning to the regime’s ambivalent sexual politics, Laukötter focused primarily on its attempts to fight the spread of venereal disease, which took on new relevance for the military after the beginning of the Second World War. Film under Nazism was closely connected between producers and audiences, Laukötter argued. Hence it became clear to Nazi authority that films could be the channel to fight against venereal disease, which was essentially the “fight against prostitution,” as described by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*. While Nazism placed sexual relationships into the context of the family, it also constructed the need of “trust” between soldiers, as shown in the film *Ein Wort von Mann zu Mann*. This is strikingly different from Weimar cinema, Laukötter noted, in which sexual education appealed more to intellectuals. The lecture was widely enjoyed and sparked a lively discussion.



*IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome and Anja Laukötter
(Max Planck Institute, Berlin)*

April 3, 2018

The Problem with Populism

LUDVIG NORMAN, IES Senior Fellow based at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in Stockholm, delivered a lecture on issues of defining contemporary populism and its challenge to liberal democracy. In academic and popular debates, it has long been held that contemporary populism presents liberal democracy with a set of challenges. However, populism encompasses various interpretations, which creates definitional confusion and complicates debates, as it becomes difficult to label the problem with populism and its attributes.

Norman is interested in the political reaction to populism within the European Union and the rise of right-wing populist parties. Today, he observes, populism has few if any positive connotations and is tied to xenophobia and racism while being expressed through far right-wing parties. As a result, Norman finds that populism is understood as anti-establishment and authoritarian ideology. However, he also notes that populism occupies a grey area that is not solely connected with far right-wing ideologies: while populism borrows ideas from authoritarianism, it also concerns ideas of liberal democracy.

According to Norman, one of the core traits of populism is essentialism, which understands “the people” as a homogenous mass and employs this notion as the organizing principle of politics. As he argues, populism in its core is neither racist nor anti-elitist, but rather

it challenges representation of “the people” and participation. Working through political implications helps us define populism and how it evolves and creates tension in liberal society.

During the Q&A, one audience member asked if all populist parties posed a threat to liberal democracy, referencing how the Podemos party in Spain is tied to many civil rights movements, which would seem to aid democracy rather than threaten it. Dr. Norman responded that while the Podemos party considers itself a populist party, defining itself as inclusive and critical of the economic elite, he wouldn't define it as populist precisely because of its focus on inclusion. Another audience member noted that often populist parties promise to include members of society often left behind by economic development, which also doesn't seem to be an anti-democratic principle. However, Dr. Norman claimed that the paradox within populist parties is that while they often promise a more direct form of democracy, once in power a single leader tends to dictate the people's will rather than opening up channels for effective participation by the people themselves. Dr. Norman concluded the Q&A by emphasizing the looseness of the term populism and the variation in the kinds of political parties that that one term can cover.



IES Senior Fellow Ludvig Norman

April 4, 2018

Border Persistence in East Prussia

IES Visiting Scholar **MARIA POLUGODINA** delivered a lecture titled, “Eastern Prussia 2.0: Persistent Regions, Rising Nations,” to an enthusiastic group of students and Berkeley community members in Moses Hall. She began by stating her motivation for her research: she seeks to research how culture and institutions influence economic development, as well as to examine the growing literature on cultural and economic persistence after borders. She then dove into the historical background of the rise and fall of eastern Prussia, stating that the German population has been present in the region since the early 13th century. Her hypothesis for her research was that the political attitudes in the three countries within former East Prussia are more similar than outside former East Prussia.

The data she collected was on the Presidential and Parliamentary elections at a county level, which included 322 counties in East Prussia and neighboring regions: 45 (or 14%) of them in former east Prussia. The type of data included voter turnout, number of votes for each of the parties (conservatives, nationalists, etc.), population and educational statistics at the county level, and number of pupils in schools at county level.

The data uncovered that individuals in former East Prussia vote more liberally in the presidential election than voters outside of former east Prussia. Additionally, she found that Lithuania and Poland have lower turnout than Russia, cities vote more conservative, Lithuania and Poland vote more liberal, and that Lithuania and Poland are more

similar to each other inside East Prussia (the only part that held up to the hypothesis).

Polugodina stated that her next steps will include collecting more geographically disaggregated data, and looking at other measures such as human capital, economic geography, former ethnic “borders,” and survey data.

The lecture concluded with a lively Q&A. One audience member asked if there had been any effort to maintain the German language or culture in northeastern Poland, to which Polugodina responded that there is really no longer any sign of German there. Another asked what the statistics about schools meant, for example, if fewer schools per capita per area exist, how it reflected the quality and availability of education. The speaker stated that in Russia there are generally large territories with sparse populations, so there are many

small schools in rural areas and fewer, but larger schools in urban areas. Because of this, Polugodina wants to collect more data in the future, such as number of pupils and education levels, as she believes that data will be much more indicative.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Visiting Scholar Maria Polugodina

April 10, 2018

Decentering European Foreign Policy

STEPHAN KEUKELEIRE, Jean Monnet Chair in European Foreign Policy and European Integration at KU Leuven University in Belgium, delivered a talk titled “Analyzing European Foreign Policy in a Post-Western World: Operationalizing the Decentering Agenda.” In order to understand EU foreign policy, Keukeleire argues, we must step away from a Eurocentric point of view and adopt a decentralized standpoint. Europeans often focus more on European benchmarks such as World War I and World War II, for instance, yet outside of Europe the benchmarks might be different, such as the history of decolonization. Spatial difference is also important, as Keukeleire gave his own work on Congo as an example: Congo is half the size of Europe, yet this fact is often neglected in EU foreign policy. He also maintains that it is important to consider authority structures, such as religion or regional identity, and the ways in which they organize people. In other words, the act of engaging with others can help us engage and learn about ourselves.

Professor Keukeleire also discussed the System of Values, which described the current European vision as focusing on individualism, rights and freedoms, and secularism. Yet other cultures bring different views and priorities to the System of Values, he observed, such as different views on collectivity and the value of groups and personal relations, responsibilities and obligations, religion or spirituality. Language is also very important, Keukeleire noted. While

academic discourse and scholarship are dominated by English, French and German, considering other languages can bring other insights and forms knowledge. Understanding these contexts can help reframe Western-centric values and attitudes.

Dr. Keukeleire’s presentation was followed by an engaging discussion with an audience of professionals, academics and students who brought in their views and experiences from the US and abroad.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Stephan Keukeleire (KU Leuven)

There was a consensus on the value of decentering for the study and functioning of the European Union. The audience drew a link between decentering and the possibilities that the presence of migrants in Europe open up in terms of new perspective and expertise, and to how this potential is lost due

to their still insufficient integration. A special focus was also given to the analysis of two concepts, hegemony and fragmentation, addressing their meaning and the ways they play out in the decentering agenda.

April 10, 2018

Managing Poverty in Post-Unification Germany

ALEXANDER GRASER, Chair of Public Law and Politics at the University of Regensburg, visited IES to present a lecture titled, "Managing Marginalization: Poverty Politics in Post-Unification Germany." Professor Graser prefaced his talk by noting that poverty has become more of a topic in Germany, the self-perceived "motherland of social welfare," than it used to be. Graser took this diagnosis as the starting point for his lecture and reviewed Germany's poverty politics over the last 25 years.

Graser outlined that the building blocks of German poverty policies, which are more geared towards short-term and immediate poverty alleviation, are hand-out benefits in cash or in kind (meaning in food stamps, services and so on), regulation of wages and taxes, and institutional services such as healthcare, childcare, and education. Cash grants are often means-tested, meaning one does not receive them if he or she has sufficient means to live on. Income, assets and third parties (family members) are different standards of means-testing. The actual outreach of poverty policies is also important.

In his review of Germany's poverty policies over the last 25 years, Graser began with the 1993 asylum seekers' Basic Subsistence Law, before turning to "Hartz Reformen" in 2005, and the surprising reform of social welfare for pension-age, limited capacity people. "Hartz Reform" came into tension with GFCC, the German Federal Constitutional Court, and was corrected in 2010. A huge reform of disability law took place in 2017 by redefining assets and income, and mixed social security and tax finance benefits. To conclude his talk,

Professor Graser also addressed several puzzles with poverty politics, such as the introduction of Germany's minimum wage law in 2017.

During the insightful Q&A section, one audience member asked how the growing shift from full-time work to part time-work in Germany can be explained. Graser responded that the major issue is the decline in the power of unions, which represent the worker. Another asked what the impact of neoliberalism is on Germany's social structure, to which Graser responded that the overall transition from welfare to work could be problematic.



Alexander Graser (University of Regensburg) and IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

April 11, 2018

Europe. America. Trump.

JOHN PETERSON, Professor of International Politics at the University of Edinburgh, visited IES to deliver a lecture focused on the volatility of EU-US relations since the election of Donald Trump. The 2016 election of Trump shocked the world political landscape, Peterson observed, and his violent rhetoric and America First vision has hurt the liberal international order and America's relations with its European allies. Thus, Peterson asks: are we witnessing the emergence of a “post-liberal”, “post-American”, “post-transatlantic” era?

Peterson framed his talk around four key points: history, the crisis of liberal democracy, Trump's worldview, and the power of civil society (globally and nationally) to constrain any US President. He noted that Trump undermines western hallmarks, such as democracy, liberal economics, and international cooperation, which ultimately harm the international order. Furthermore, he argues, with Trump's political agenda and Brexit, a global power shift to the East has occurred. Trump's



John Peterson (University of Edinburgh)

worldview is pushing European allies away, while empowering Eastern countries. Moreover, at recent NATO meetings Trump did not address Article 5, the principle of collective defense, and the very core of NATO's founding treaty. Hereby, he has managed to push allies even further away and thus weakened his own country. While Trump promises activism and not individualism, Peterson notes, evidence points to the opposite, and with the rise of BRIC countries, international order and relationships are indeed undergoing massive change.

Professor Peterson drew three main conclusions from his discussion, focusing first on continuity over change in US foreign policy as well as transatlantic relations. Second, he noted that the US-European alliance may have actually been more fragile prior to Trump's election than is generally accepted. Finally, in order to ensure continued American leadership in the world, US political power must be focused on serving its own democracy. However, he also pointed out that Europe's magnetism seems to be experiencing a recovery since the Great Recession. The audience was extremely intrigued by Peterson's lecture, which provoked a lively Q&A.

April 13, 2018

Overcoming Zero-Sum Games in Growth and Globalization

ANTONIO DE LECEA, the Principal Advisor to the Director General for Economic and Financial Affairs in the European Commission, delivered a lecture titled, “Overcoming Zero-Sum Games to Sustain Growth and Globalization.” Drawing on his experience in Europe, Asia and the US, de Lecea highlighted two narratives on globalization’s zero-sum games, both based on the idea that each participant’s gain or loss is balanced by those of other participants.

On the one hand, he noted, emerging economies have prospered from globalization by abusing open trade at the expense of low and middle-income classes in advanced economies. On the other hand, the problem is not globalization, but rather the unfair distribution of its benefits in Western countries. Both narratives are somehow correct. As de Lecea pointed out, protectionism in the West drives growth away while the leniency of developing economies attracts benefits from globalization, leading to a shift of activity from West to East.

These views lead to different policy conclusions: for the *East-West zero sum game*, stopping globalization; for the *West-West zero sum game*, pushing it. The first, de Lecea observed, would reduce growth, while the second would fuel social resentment. Another option is an inclusive globalization, achieved through structural reforms at the national level, which fiscally compensates those left behind. Yet even this case would involve unequal benefits as the system can redistribute to a relatively low extent.

A final approach proposed by de Lecea is an *East-West Grand Bargain* where the West deals with the blast of globalization, the East deals with protectionism, and both open up markets to promote growth. In that framework, Europe, as the most developed regional



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome and Antonio de Lecea (European Commission)

globalization example, can be a leader. In fact, its stance on globalization---a combination of enforcement at home and abroad and a welfare state that mitigates polarization and empowers middle classes---can overcome the zero-sum stories by reconciling higher growth with a fairer distribution of income and opportunities and a multidimensional concept of sustainability and well-being. The EU model is imperfect but, building on its past success and errors, it can offer insights on how to

overcome zero sum-games and have most actors benefit from globalization.

De Lecea’s presentation was followed by a lively Q&A. There was an agreement on the value of analyzing globalization’s zero-sum games and their possible solutions. Questions were raised regarding whether Europe is a model for, or a victim of, globalization following the economic crisis. Some also questioned the incentives booming Eastern economies have in strengthening regulations, leading to the conclusion that it would be best to develop safety nets for which Europe could serve as a model.

April 16, 2018

Modernism, prayer, and sexuality in Eimear McBride

The Irish Studies Program was pleased to welcome **PAIGE REYNOLDS** (Professor of English at College of the Holy Cross), who delivered an engaging lecture titled “False Comfort: Sex, Prayer and Modernism in Eimear McBride’s ‘A Girl is a Half-Formed Thing.’” Reynolds, a scholar of modern and contemporary Irish literature who has published widely on the subjects of modernism, drama and performance, explored how the formal features of modernist writing combine with the language of prayer to represent adolescent sexual trauma in McBride’s 2013 debut novel.

Written in a stream-of-consciousness style inspired by James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, McBride’s novel explores a young Irish girl’s troubled relationship with her disabled brother, pious mother and sexually abusive uncle. The fusion of liturgical discourse and modernist forms, Reynolds argued, demonstrates the pervasive influence of Catholicism on the unnamed protagonist’s life, while also articulating the chaotic complexity of her traumatic sexuality. Prayer, like sex, fails to fill a void for the character, and is ultimately felt as a painful experience.

Reynolds concluded that, while prayer seems to inscribe McBride into a redemptive tradition of Irish women’s writing, the final breakdown of language in the novel actually underscores the limitations and failure of faith in the face of real physical suffering. Within McBride’s modernist-inspired experimental writing, Reynolds thus identified a possible social critique of religious institutions, particularly in light of



Eric Falci, Director of the Irish Studies Program, with speaker Paige Reynolds (College of the Holy Cross)

sexual abuse scandals that have rocked the Catholic Church in Ireland and elsewhere.

During the lively Q&A with the audience of 45 students, faculty and community members, Reynolds explained what drew her to study McBride’s novel and addressed its connections to contemporary Irish culture and to an earlier generation of writers such as Samuel Beckett and Kate O’Brien.

April 17, 2018

Reconsidering American Influence in Postwar Germany

IES welcomed **NOAH STROTE**, Associate Professor of European History at North Carolina State University, for a lecture titled, “Post-Nazi Germany and the Myth of American Influence.”

Strote began his lecture by posing a question: how did Nazism occur and how did liberal democracy collapse as a dictatorship emerged? Three main paradigms exist to help shape the narrative of liberal democracy in Germany. The first paradigm is Americanization, which insinuates that German society learned from the Americans. The second pattern is Westernization, which focuses on the idea that cultural transfer to Germany was not exclusive to America but encompassed all western countries. The third pattern is liberalization, which highlights that a robust liberal democracy in post-1945 Germany took time to permeate.

Strote’s investigation has attempted to uncover if these three paradigms were the only truth. He believed that these patterns started too late: in order to understand how a liberal democracy fell to Hitler, we must understand how a liberal democracy emerged in the first place. Challenging older explanations of postwar German liberal democratic reconstruction, which have focused on the 19th century and on WWI and the Weimar Republic, Strote offered a new interpretation rooted in sources from the Hitler era that have so far been under-explored by historians. He drew information from a group of ten elite men who came of age by the time of the First World War. Polarization and the ensuing frustration among the parties were the driving factors of

instability within the democracy. In challenging the myth of American influence, Strote does not deny the help of the U.S. in the stabilization, funding, and support of the Nazi opposition.

The presentation was followed by an hour-long reflection where all participants contributed their knowledge and experience to engage with and challenge Professor Strote. Most agreed with the focus on the generation born around 1900 and on their role in the Weimar Republic before the Nazi rise and fall. The literature on this generation

usually focuses on ultra-nationalists or anti-Nazis, not on those who were more moderate and worked towards the development of a liberal democracy. Strote highlighted the relevance of this category and that the efforts of the Weimar Republic were geared towards the development of a democratic nation considering the stable constitutional system and the willingness to find a consensus on the values of

the polity and on complex topics such as the reconciliation of Marxism and Christianity. Other interesting questions considered former Nazi officials who stayed in politics after the regime fell, the role of Christianity, the role of German immigrants during and after the Nazi Era, and the problem of “democracy” as a vague concept.



Noah Strote (North Carolina State) and DAAD Professor Isabel Richter

April 17, 2018

The Crisis of UK Labour's Progressives

The Institute was pleased to welcome **MATT BEECH** (IES Senior Fellow, Senior Lecturer and Director of the Centre for British Politics at the University of Hull) for an engaging talk that examined the recent challenges faced by the progressive wing of the British Labour Party. Asking "Why are Labour's Progressives Ineffective?" Beech took as his starting point the defeat of Labour in the 2010 general election, bringing an end to the "New Labour" project that was once a dominant force in UK politics for over a decade (1997-2010).

As Beech outlined, progressives are motivated by traditions and ideas that are socially and constitutionally liberal, pro-European, and market-friendly. Yet, Beech argued, Labour's progressives have faced a crisis for the past several years, after Ed Miliband saw his party lose heavily to Cameron's Conservatives in the 2015 general election. Moreover, the result of the Brexit vote has further caused what Beech calls an "existential crisis" for Labour's progressives.

In his talk, Beech offered an analysis of why the political and cultural platforms of Labour's Progressives do not resonate with Labour-inclined and undecided voters, thus rendering them ineffective at the polls.

Beech cited several reasons for this inefficacy. First, he noted a "values gap" that has not kept pace with the worldview of Labour-inclined working-class voters. A second reason is the damaging legacy of the Progressive brand over the past two decades, which includes the Iraq War, the curtailment of civil liberties, increasing income inequality, and a culture of media management. Finally, Beech cited the negative influence of Jeremy Corbyn, whose election has moved Labour's

political orientations sharply to the left. Corbyn's support group, Momentum, has recruited hundreds of thousands of members, and some Constituency Labour Parties (CLPs) have voiced the idea of mandatory reselection of MPs who fail to support Corbyn's agenda.

As Beech demonstrated, the progressives are currently no nearer to displacing Corbyn, reversing the leftward drift in many CLPs, or thwarting Brexit--even though the Labour party faced a third election defeat in 2017. Beech noted that progressive MPs and activists struggle institutionally and structurally, as well as at the level of message, to set out what they are for, which is actually out of step with what many Labour-inclined voters want. Activists, instead, believe the time has come for a more radical, left-wing socialist politics, thus provoking a crisis within Labour's progressive identity.



IES Senior Fellow Matt Beech (University of Hull)

April 18-20, 2018

Austrian Studies Conference

IES was pleased to host its inaugural Austrian Studies conference on the Berkeley campus. Twenty-one scholars from Austria and the United States gathered for three days of engaging dialogue around the topic of "Authoritarianism and Democracy," bridging literary, historical, economic and technological perspectives.

Co-sponsored by the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation, the University of Vienna, the Stefan Zweig Center and the IES Austrian Studies Program, the conference took its cue from sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf's observation in 1997 that "a century of authoritarianism is by no means the least likely prognosis for the 21st century." Participants sought to examine the successes and failures of democracies, facing the profound consequences of globalization from the end of World War I to the post-1945 period, and analyzed a possible return of anti-democratic trends, both in present-day Europe and internationally.

The conference began with two panels on modern Austrian literature. **NORBERT CHRISTIAN WOLF** (German Studies, University of Salzburg) opened the first session with a paper comparing ideas of Europe developed by writers of the interwar period, including Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Stefan Zweig and Robert Musil. **KLEMENS RENOLDNER** (Director of the Stefan Zweig Center, Salzburg) discussed how Zweig assimilated the loss of his home country in several literary projects. Next, **HINRICH SEEBÄ** (Emeritus Professor of German, UC Berkeley), considered Robert Menasse's contemporary satirical portrayal of the EU against the background of renewed critical interest in Zweig. **JEROEN DEWULF** (IES Director and Associate Professor of German and Dutch Studies, UC Berkeley) spoke about Zweig's exile in Brazil and how the concept of the 'noble savage' influenced his humanitarian perspective in response to Nazi barbarism. Turning to historical approaches, **THOMAS OLECHOWSKI**'s presentation discussed Hans Kelsen in the context of Communism and Fascism, while **FLORIAN WENNINGER** (Contemporary History, Vienna) addressed historiographic debates on domestic politics in Austria through the work of interwar historian and late Berkeley professor Charles A. Gulick. The afternoon continued with a talk by

GUNTER BISCHOF (Professor of History, University of New Orleans) and **HANS PETSCHAR** (Austrian National Library) on "The Marshall Plan and the Survival of Democracy in Postwar Austria."

Day one concluded with a keynote by Professor **BARRY EICHENGREEN** (Economics and Political Science, UC Berkeley) on the legacy of the Marshall Plan. Eichengreen sought to draw out its lessons from an economic perspective, based on collaborative research done with Brad Delong. Though the Marshall Plan has been viewed as the solution to wartime destruction and halted industrial production,



Keynote speaker Barry Eichengreen (UC Berkeley)

Eichengreen critiques accepted readings, instead encouraging closer examination of its economic mechanisms and channels, focusing on three key areas: how it facilitated repair of essential infrastructure; how it stimulated investment; and how it eliminated import bottlenecks. Has the importance of the Marshall Plan been exaggerated? Or was it important by operating through other channels? This latter point is what Eichengreen and Delong have argued. They first note that the Plan stimulated liberalization and decontrol, in response to widespread price controls and rationing imposed because of fears of hyperinflation such as that which followed WWI. The Plan also encouraged social consensus, by limiting the amount of belt-tightening needed to achieve fiscal and monetary stabilization. It also encouraged European integration, since integration and cooperation were essential for receipt of funds, and nations had to agree to remove trade barriers within Europe.

The second day of the conference shifted to current debates around globalization, digitalization and democracy. In his talk "Polarization by Design," **HARALD KATZMAIR** (FASresearch, Vienna) showed how social media algorithms help anti-democratic forces gain ground worldwide. **AXEL POLLERES** (Vienna University

of Economics & Business / Distinguished Visiting Austrian Chair, Stanford University) also discussed the challenges and opportunities of various digital initiatives and their potential to affect democracy, with a focus on online privacy in Austria. These tech-based discussions were followed by IES EU Fellow **LUKAS REPA**'s talk on the threat of populism to European stability. **OLIVER RATHKOLB** (Chair, Department of Contemporary History, Vienna) rounded out the panel with a presentation on undemocratic tendencies across Central and Eastern Europe, drawing on the results of empirical studies and opinion polls.



Opening the afternoon session on day two, **EDITH SHEFFER** (IES Senior Fellow and Assistant Professor of History, Stanford University) lectured on the origins of autism in Nazi Vienna, arguing that Dr. Hans Asperger, the long seen resister of the Third Reich, was in fact deeply embedded with Nazism. Professor **JOHN CONNELLY** (History, UC Berkeley) followed with a talk on Austrian Fascism, emphasizing its differences from fascism in Italy and National-Socialism in the Third Reich. In the third presentation, **JASON WITTENBERG** (Political Science, UC

Berkeley) discussed Hungary's transition from communism to democracy and its more recent retreat into "illiberal democracy" under the maneuvers of Fidesz and Prime Minister Viktor Orbán.

To conclude the second day, **ISABEL RICHTER** (DAAD Professor of History, UC Berkeley) focused on Wilhelm Reich's interpretation of fascism and authoritarian structures as symptoms of sexual repression, and how Reich became a reference for the "sexual revolution" in the 1960s. IES Senior Fellow and Associate Director of the Austrian Studies Program **DAVID LARGE** examined the separate legacies of National Socialism in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Austrian Second Republic, arguing that early postwar divergences in this domain had crucial implications for the future of the two states.

The final day was capped by a roundtable discussion on Dahrendorf's forecast of a period of "authoritarian constitutions." Chaired by **WOLFGANG PETRITSCH** (President of the Austrian Marshall Foundation) and moderated by Professor **DENIZ GÖKTÜRK** (German, UC Berkeley), the panel

Roundtable participants gather at the Social Science Matrix

included Oliver Rathkolb, David Large, Lukas Repa and **CHRISTOPH HERMANN** (Sociology, UC Berkeley). In an engaging conversation, participants addressed the development of new political, cultural and economic framework conditions for the stabilization of Western-style parliamentary democracies. The Austrian Studies Program, together with our co-sponsors, thanks all the organizers and participants for their valuable contributions to this timely conference.

April 23, 2018

John Connolly: The Craft of Writing

The Irish Studies Program hosted a special event in Moses Hall with acclaimed Irish novelist **JOHN CONNOLLY**. Best known for his detective fiction, Connolly visited the Institute on the first leg of a book tour for his latest novel, *he*, based on the life of Stan Laurel (of "Laurel and Hardy" fame). During a lively lunchtime conversation with Berkeley students, Connolly spoke about his background as a journalist and writer, as well as the practice of writing more generally.

Writing is not just an art, but a discipline and "a muscle that needs to be trained," Connolly reminded the 25 students in attendance, encouraging aspiring writers to turn their passion into a daily habit. Noting the frequent lure of new ideas, the author stressed the importance of not leaving projects unfinished and cautioned against falling prey to the many distractions of the internet ("the enemy of good writing"). Connolly also discussed how the publishing industry has changed, as blogs have made it easier to publish now than ever before, while expressing optimism about the future of traditional printed books.

Connolly shared an inspiring dialogue with students during the engaging Q&A. Asked why he chose detective fiction as his home genre, he explained that the crime novel offered freedom from the social and political constraints of Irish literature while allowing him to revisit the

supernatural and gothic elements of Celtic culture. Detective fiction also provided a way to truly delve into character and explore compassion, empathy, and notions of justice. Finally, Connolly addressed the question of how accessible writers should be in an age of constant online presence. While publishers increasingly put pressure on writers to maintain a certain profile, Connolly noted, a bit of mystery in a writer's persona--as in detective fiction--never hurts.



Eric Falci (Irish Studies Program Director) with novelist John Connolly and moderator Brian Cliff (Trinity College Dublin)

April 24, 2018

Transatlantic Consumer Culture

IES was pleased to welcome **PAUL LERNER** (Professor of History at the University of Southern California and Director of the Max Kade Institute for Austrian-German-Swiss Studies) for a fascinating lecture entitled "Consuming Temples on Both Sides of the Atlantic: German-speaking Jews from the Department Store to the Mall." In his lecture, Lerner also discussed the formation of consumer culture in 19th- and early 20th-century Germany and the activities of German-speaking emigrants and refugees from fascism in American consumer culture after World War II. The talk drew upon the research in Lerner's recent book, *The Consuming Temple: Jews, Department Stores, and the Consumer Revolution in Germany, 1880-1940* (Cornell University Press).

Lerner's talk focused on the reception and representation of department stores and modern forms of marketing and consumption in Germany and Central Europe. Department stores were a highly conspicuous symbol of modern transformation, which altered the relationship with goods forever. These "consumer temples" or "cathedrals of consumption," in Lerner's words, were vast commercial enterprises, as well as tourist attractions and vacation destinations. Not only were they dramatically larger in size than traditional stores; they also offered cafes, reading rooms, museums, salons, theatres, restaurants, and fashion shows: truly a city within a city.

In comparison with Britain, France, and the United States, Germany experienced this consumer revolution differently and much later in time, due to a later industrial boom (30-40 years later than in France) and to the fact that the majority of German department stores were Jewish owned. Lerner paid particular attention to the notion of the "Jewish department store" and the ways that images of Jews were deployed to critique excessive consumption or mass consumer society.

He demonstrated how department stores and other commercial venues were represented as "Jewish" in the pre-war German context, while in postwar America, the work of some of these same figures was seen as "European" and sophisticated. Ultimately, Lerner sought to challenge simple binaries between European and American consumer culture, revealing previously unappreciated mutual influences and cross-fertilization across the twentieth century.



Paul Lerner (USC)

April 26, 2018

The Stories Leaders Tell

Professor **KEVIN ORR**, Fulbright Scholar and IES Visiting Scholar from the University of St. Andrews, gave a lecture entitled “Leadership, Storytelling and Alternative Facts.” His talk centered on the growing importance of storytelling and narrative building in an age of “alternative facts” and fake news, and the role of leadership in crafting these narratives. In a time when institutions seem to be failing, the cultural significance and symbolic relevance of leadership matters more and more.

Orr began by breaking down traditional narratives surrounding leadership, namely the concept of charisma and influence as indicators of good leadership. In fact, he claimed, every study aimed at compiling the ineffable traits and qualities of leaders often came to unsatisfactory conclusions, because of the huge variety in forms of leadership and personalities of leaders. Thus, Orr’s analysis of leadership focuses around the concept of relationality—that is, leaders operate within a complex matrix of relationships and draw their influence from these relationships. Storytelling and narrative building, therefore, come into play as communication devices used by leaders to build and enhance the relationships that make them leaders.

Orr then described the research subjects and methods of his public leadership research program. His focus was on a set of local government chief executives in the UK and city managers in the US—a group of leaders chosen because they were directly elected and closely related to a specific community. Orr asked: how do these executives achieve the leadership task of shaping narratives? As a response to this question, Orr gave some examples of stories that leaders tell to evoke emotional responses and draw upon feelings of trust and community. Often, the task that leaders aim to achieve is creating new or alternative narratives to displace old ones.

The implications of the relational model of leadership practice are that storytelling and narrative building become a basis of exchange, contributing to understandings of the present and future. Orr went on to emphasize that storytelling has always been inherently political, using the bottom-up process of creating and spreading folktales as an

example. Currently, the process of narrative building has become imbued with distrust, as a crisis of truth and expertise looms globally. As experts fail and public discourse transforms, it becomes harder to disprove “alternative facts” and cement the importance of facts over emotion. Orr ended his talk by stressing the importance of storytelling and our ethical responsibility to listen to stories critically and construct narratives with care.



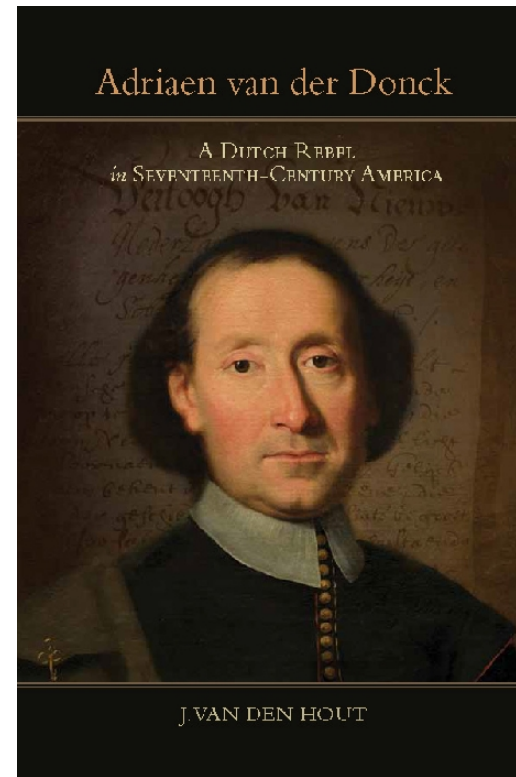
Visiting Scholar Kevin Orr (University of St. Andrews) with IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

In the Q&A, one audience member asked about Orr’s position on objectivity, particularly among the “expert elite” and the divide between them and their intended audience. Orr conceded that “pure objectivity” cannot exist, as we are all socially situated, and even seemingly objective statistics are constructed around subjective questions and collection methods. Another attendee asked if the power of stories over facts makes us all victims to stories, to which Orr responded by referencing a new trend towards pluralism that allows new voices to be heard. He concluded that while a variety of narratives offers valuable diversity in storytelling, it also makes certain stories impervious to critical thinking and fact-checking.

April 27, 2018

A 17th-Century Dutch Rebel in America

IES rounded out the spring semester with an engaging talk by **JULIE VAN DEN HOUT** on her latest book about the life of Adriaen van der Donck (1618–1655), whose fight to secure the struggling Dutch colony of New Netherland made him a controversial but pivotal figure in early America. Van den Hout, a graduate student in History at San Francisco State University and Digital Humanities Project Archivist at the Bancroft Library, recently published the first comprehensive biography of this 17th-century legal activist, an important yet understudied figure in American colonial history. Her talk, drawing from the book, traced Van der Donck's compelling story, from his war-torn upbringing and university education to his political vicissitudes in New World Manhattan. The activist took colonists' complaints against their Dutch West India Company administrators to the highest level of government in the Dutch Republic, resulting in his arrest and detainment. In 1655, he published a landmark book, "Description of New Netherland," which attested to his vision for the country and his pursuit of justice. In her talk, Van den Hout offered an engaging survey of the wide range of opinions about this intriguing and ambitious figure, who set in motion changes that continued long after his untimely death.



Julie van den Hout's recent book, Adriaen van der Donck, A Dutch Rebel in Seventeenth-Century America (2018)

Give to IES

Contribute to the future of scholarship at the Institute of European Studies! With your help, IES will advance its mission of advancing knowledge about a globalized world and training the next generation of global leaders. 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.

Gifts may be made to the IES general fund or to any of our regional or national programs (Center for British Studies; Center for German and European Studies; Center for Portuguese Studies; the French Studies Program; the Benelux Program; the Spanish Studies Program; the Nordic Studies Program; the Irish Studies Program; the Program for the Study of Italy).

All of these gifts help us build on scarce resources to advance research, outreach, cooperation, and exchange with European institutions and scholars. Your gift – small or large – is needed and much appreciated.

Ways to Donate

Giving to IES can be accomplished through a variety of methods and forms, including:

Outright Gifts
Pledges
Endowments
Planned Giving Donations

For more information, please visit <https://ies.berkeley.edu/donate> or contact our Director Jeroen Dewulf at jdewulf@berkeley.edu.

With questions about international giving, please contact UC Berkeley International Relations at intl@berkeley.edu.

Newsletter Staff

The Institute of European Studies would like to thank all of our Undergraduate Research Apprentice Students for their tireless work throughout the semester: **Layla Amiri, Clara Artoni, Maddi Erdall, Melina Kompella, Adela Li, Lindsay Longstreet, Tatjana Merkel, Ziang Zhou, Joachim Sutton, Jianwen Xu, Sharon Yang**

Annika Van Galder, Editor in Chief



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