

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES



SPRING 2019 NEWSLETTER



FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear Friends of the Institute of European Studies,

I am delighted to introduce our Spring 2019 newsletter, made with the assistance of our team of undergraduate reporters led by Melina Kompella. During the past semester, our Institute has been at the forefront of debates on the Berkeley campus on the future of Europe. Naturally, our main point of attention has been the Brexit negotiations and the imminent departure of the UK from the EU. Equally concerning is the unrest in France caused by protests of the “Yellow Vests” movement, and as we have seen with the debates leading up to the European Parliament elections, immigration continues to be a divisive topic in European politics. The many challenges Europe is currently facing underline once more how important it is for our University to have a strong Institute of European Studies.

Among the many highlights of the semester, I would like to mention the visit of Enrico Rossi (Governor of the Region of Tuscany in Italy), Carlo Monticelli (Deputy Director of the Council of the European Development Bank), BBC journalist Allan Little, and a number of prestigious diplomats, including Danish ambassador Ove Ullerup, Finnish ambassador Kirsti Kauppi, and Portuguese ambassador Luís Faro Ramos, the current President of the Camões Institute. In cooperation with GHI West and Die Zeit Foundation, IES was also honored to host Matt Matsuda, Peer Steinbrück, and Karen Donfried in the context of a three-day symposium commemorating former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. If you regret to have missed these or other events, please check out the IES [YouTube Channel](#) where you will find a selection of our lectures.

The organization of so many exciting events would be possible without the support of the U.S. Department of Education Title VI Program, the DAAD, the EU Commission's "Getting to Know Europe" Program, the Austrian Marshall Foundation and BMBWF, as well as our partner organization, GHI West, the West Coast branch of the German Historical Institute. I would like to thank my colleagues Gia White, Akasemi Newsome, Deolinda Adão, and Julia Nelsen, as well as Marlene Menghini and Heike Friedman from the German Historical Institute for their support. Special thanks go to Larry Hyman, Director of the France-Berkeley Fund, Lotta Weckstrom for her work coordinating our Nordic Studies Program, to Eric Falci and Catherine Flynn for directing the Irish Studies Program, and to David Large for his assistance with the Austrian Studies Program. I am also grateful to our team of Undergraduate Research Apprentice students.

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

I wish you all a pleasant summer break and hope to welcome you again to one of our events at IES in the Fall 2019 semester.

With kindest regards and my very best wishes,

JEROEN DEWULF
Director, IES



MEET OUR VISITING SCHOLARS

This semester, IES was pleased to host a series of visiting scholar social hours. These meetups, organized by the Spring 2019 cohort of Undergraduate Research Apprentices, provided a unique setting for visiting researchers to share their work and connect with students in informal and engaging conversations. Thanks to our students and visiting scholars for their insights and engagement!



From top left: Visiting researchers Lieselot De Taeye, Juan Roch Gonzalez, Renée Tosser, Thomas Meneweger, Jekaterina Novikova, Markus Hinterleitner, Christina Golin, Florian Wagner, Nick Underwood, and Christina Gerhardt

CONGRATULATIONS TO OUR 2019 GRANTEES

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



GERALD D. AND NORMA FELDMAN DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP

Sara Friedman (History)

HELmut KOHL AWARD IN GERMAN AND EUROPEAN STUDIES

Kyle Thomson (Romance Languages and Literatures)

BERKELEY-AUSTRIA EXCHANGE

Marcel Moran (Environmental Design)

Richard K. Smith (History)

BERKELEY-COLOGNE EXCHANGE

Kevin Kenjar (Anthropology)

Sara Knutson (Scandinavian)

Urte Laukaityte (Philosophy)

BERKELEY-ERLANGEN EXCHANGE

Aleksandr Rossman (History of Art)

Agnieszka Smelkowska (History)

BERKELEY-GREIFSWALD EXCHANGE

Kate Miller (Environmental Science)

Troy Smith (Scandinavian)

BERKELEY-HAMBURG EXCHANGE

Amin Afrouzi (School of Law)

Maelia DuBois (History)

BERKELEY-MUENSTER EXCHANGE

Margaret Eby (Sociology)

BERKELEY-REGENSBURG EXCHANGE

Amélie Nicolay (Chemistry)

BERKELEY-ST. ANDREWS EXCHANGE

Derek O'Leary (History)

Sarah Sands Rice (English)

BERKELEY-UPPSALA EXCHANGE

Makoto Fukumoto (Political Science)

Shannon Ikebe (Sociology)

BERKELEY-VIADRINA EXCHANGE

Karina Vasilevska-Das (Anthropology)

Kathryn Pribble (Slavic Languages and Literatures)

IES FACULTY RESEARCH PROJECTS LAUNCHED IN 2019

Funded by the DAAD 2019-2020 Grant

*Multiculturalism and Borders: Germany and Europe in Comparative Perspective-Germany as Partner **

Professor Mark Bevir (Political Science)

*River Management and Restoration in Germany and the US: Germany as Model ***

Professor Matthew Kondolf (College of Environmental Design)

*Refugee Integration in Germany, Greece and Europe Research Workshop: The World in Germany **

Professor Katerina Linos (Berkeley Law School)

*Germany and the Globalization of the #Metoo Movement: Germany as Partner **

Professor David Oppenheimer (Berkeley Law School)

*Graduate Student Workshop on Gentrification and the Paradoxes of Creative Renewal: Germany as Model **

Professor Deniz Göktürk (German)

Funded by the Jean Monnet Center of Excellence 2018-2021 Grant

*Multiculturalism and Borders in the EU **

Professor Mark Bevir (Political Science)

*Latitudinal Gradients in Global Biodiversity ***

Professor Rosemary Gillespie (Environmental Science, Policy and Management)

*Techfugee Project **

Professor Katerina Linos (Berkeley Law)

*Anti-Corruption and Money Laundering in the EU and US **

Professor Stavros Gadinis (Berkeley Law)

*Aligns with Chancellor's Democracy Signature Initiative

**Aligns with Chancellor's Environment Signature Initiative

SPRING 2019 LECTURES AND EVENTS

Italy, Europe, and the Challenges of Globalization

By Julia Nelsen

Populism, immigration, and regional initiatives were among the key topics addressed in “**Italy, Europe, and the Challenges of Globalization**,” a panel discussion sponsored by IES in collaboration with the UC Berkeley Department of Italian Studies, the Italian Cultural Institute, and the Italian Consulate of San Francisco. Introduced by Consul General **LORENZO ORTONA** and moderated by **ELISABETTA GHISINI** (Hult International Business School / COMITES), the January 28 event featured **ENRICO ROSSI** (Governor of the Region of Tuscany) and journalist and writer **ENRICO DEAGLIO**. Over 80 community members gathered to hear this timely conversation focused on the social, political, and economic challenges Italy is currently facing, as well as opportunities that exist for political, economic and cultural cooperation across Europe and globally.

A founding member of the EU and the single euro currency, Italy is seeking ways to make the Eurozone cohesion more effective in the wake of economic pressures and growing migration challenges. It also continues to play a key role in international relations in order to advance the EU's objectives to promote stability, safeguard diversity, and stimulate economic growth. Much of the discussion centered on the upcoming EU elections amid the rise of populist and nationalist forces, which risk upending the delicate process of European unification and the single market economy.

In particular, Governor Rossi underscored the important role that regions can play in countering the centrifugal forces of globalization and nationalist discourses alike. For example, Rossi discussed the Region of Tuscany's opposition to the recently passed national decree on immigration and security, which removes humanitarian protections for migrants and makes it more difficult to obtain Italian citizenship. Because they are close to citizens, Rossi noted, regional governments are often better able to understand and respond to the needs of the people. At the same time, regions are in a position to set innovative policies such as those implemented in Tuscany's public health sector, among the most advanced in Europe. While Deaglio drew comparisons between the Tuscan system and the current debate on universal health care in the United States, Rossi highlighted that Italy also has much to learn from the entrepreneurial



From left: Elisabetta Ghisini, Enrico Deaglio, and Enrico Rossi

landscape of Silicon Valley. Regionally focused initiatives, Rossi concluded, may have a significant impact on finding solutions to today's pressing challenges, including health care and climate change, while safeguarding individual freedoms and human rights.

Trade Union Feminism Across Borders

By Marina Romani

On February 5, IES hosted Dr. **ANNA FRISONE** for her lecture titled “**We want bread and roses!**: Trade union feminism across borders: a comparative perspective on 1970s Italian and French experiences”, co-sponsored by the Department of History and the Department of Gender and Women's Studies. In her talk, Frisone (currently a visiting scholar and postdoctoral researcher in the Department of History) concentrated on the male-dominated world of trade unions and brought to the fore the ways in which feminist women workers managed to promote equal rights in the workplace. Highlighting the intersection of gender, class, and labor issues, she complicated the simplistic and one-dimensional narrative of second-wave feminism in Europe, challenging the idea of a homogeneous and predominantly bourgeois movement. In addition, she highlighted the plurality of women's movements throughout Europe, focusing on the specific experience of trade union feminism in Italy and France.

Frisone argued that feminist trade unions in the 1970s became crucial sites of collective empowerment for bargaining strategies and labor practices. In her research, she adopted a trans-local approach. She interviewed numerous unionists from industrial and urban centers in Italy (Turin, Genoa, Milan) and in

France (Paris, Lyon) to collect their oral testimonies on their specific versions of feminism and on how their feminist ideals informed their labor and union practices. As Frisone explained, there is a need to revise the traditional chronology of feminism to make it more expansive with regard to social and unionist movements of the 1970s and to highlight the experience of trade union feminism.

During the lively discussion which followed the lecture, the audience raised further issues inspired by Frisone's analysis. When asked about the extent to which migrant workers from outside Italy were involved in conversations about equal rights in the workplace, Frisone noted differences between the Italian and the French cases: in Italy, migrants would move from abroad after the 1970s, but there was a lot of internal migration from the South to the North of the peninsula; in France, instead, migrant workers were already part of the workforce but their voices were mostly ignored and their working conditions were significantly worse than those of local workers. The issue of abortion also came to the fore during the Q&A, and Frisone explained that this remained a central issue throughout the 1970s. Although unions were close to both communist and Catholic parties, feminist trade unions claimed independence and even sided against the will of powerful unions (such as CGIL in Italy) on this issue.



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Anna Frisone

Sustainable Vikings: Lessons Learned from the Nordics

by Alison Spencer

On February 7, IES' Nordic Studies Program was pleased to welcome **ROBERT STRAND**, Executive Director of the Center for Responsible Business and member of the faculty at the Berkeley Haas School of Business, for a talk titled "**Sustainable Vikings**," on sustainability practices in Nordic countries. Strand's research revolves around the idea that the world faces urgent sustainability challenges, and Nordic countries can provide an example of how to solve them. He presented an overview of indices such as the Human Development Index and the Global 100, which consistently show Nordic

countries near the top in terms of quality of life, commitment to sustainability, and progress on the UN's Sustainable Development Goals. He also discussed how Nordic cultures view creation of shared value as a responsibility for corporate managers. This emphasis on cooperation makes it easier to work toward sustainability initiatives which require collaboration among various stakeholders.

Strand concluded his talk with his hope that UC Berkeley can become a platform to raise global interest and inquiry into how Nordic countries have successfully pursued sustainable development. The talk was followed by an engaging Q&A with an audience of 30 people. This event was co-sponsored by the Center for Responsible Business.



Robert Strand (Haas School of Business)

The Nordics' Embrace of the Sustainability Agenda

By Sophia Kownatzki

On February 12, **OVE ULLERUP**, the Danish Ambassador to Sweden, came to IES to deliver a talk titled "**Sustainability: Why and How? The Nordic Way**." Ullerup first traced the historical development of the sustainability agenda in Denmark, highlighting the widely accepted need for energy alternatives and policy changes. This need is reflected in policy aspirations such as the country's goal to become a fossil-free country by 2050. Ullerup then launched into a broader discussion on both the public and private sectors' embraces of sustainable practices in Nordic countries, focusing particularly on the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). While critics may prioritize economic growth over decreasing emissions, Ullerup pointed to the Danish model, in which gross domestic product (GDP) has nearly doubled alongside sustainability initiatives. According to Ullerup, the Nordic justification for sustainable development is not simply altruistic or ethically driven, but beneficial for governments and the private sector – he commended the SDGs as "a business plan for the world."

To be both sustainable and competitive, he argued, requires good governance and an embrace of corporate social responsibility; intellectual, social, and natural capital; and resource efficiency. Ullerup ended his talk

noting that, while the Nordic countries have embraced the sustainability agenda, there is always room for improvement. He emphasized the importance of cities in the future development of the sustainability practices when governments fail to follow through on their agendas.

During the engaging Q&A with an audience of over 40 people, Ullerup shied away from claiming the Nordic countries as the leaders of the sustainability movement. Instead, he emphasized the need to share ideas, present alternatives, and innovate in conjunction with other countries and cities. He also discussed the specific characteristics of Nordic countries that may have helped stimulate a quicker embrace of sustainable practices, such as population size, relatively homogeneous demographics, community efforts, and a transparent, conscientious business culture.



Ove Ullerup (Danish Ambassador to Sweden) with Dr. Robert Strand (Executive Director of the Center for Responsible Business, Haas School of Business)

Populist Attacks on Gender Studies in Europe

By Melina Kompella

On February 21, IES hosted a **panel discussion on anti-gender and anti-feminist trends in popular and academic discourse in Europe**. The speakers were **LAURA FANTONE** (Lecturer in the Gender and Women's Studies Department), **PAWEŁ KOSCIELNY** (PhD Candidate in History), and **JOHN CONNELLY** (Professor of History and Director of the Institute for East European, Eurasian, and Slavic Studies).

Laura Fantone began by identifying the role of populism in shaping this discourse. She claimed that populist movements rely on a traditionalist mentality on gender, such as the hetero-normative family and strict gender roles.

The term "genderism" is used by these movements to reflect the notion of gender equality as a foreign imposition from the EU and the United States. In countries such as Poland and Hungary, populist discourse focuses on the "attack on the family" that feminism and "genderism" poses. Fantone concluded by highlighting that populist radical nativism manifests itself as socio-cultural homogeneity.

Focusing on the political and religious dimensions of anti-genderism in Poland, Paweł Koscielny explained the labelling of "gender ideology"--namely gender equality--as a Marxist ideal that, again, threatens the traditional family. Populist discourse in Poland views "genderism" as a form of ideological totalitarianism endorsed by the law. Koscielny explained that in 2016, the church also aligned with parents' organizations and populist parties to urge a return to traditional values.

Finally, John Connelly concluded with a more optimistic view on the future of gender studies in Europe. Connelly drew connections between totalitarian regimes' historic attacks on academic freedom, and Poland's current higher education reforms. However, he stressed the resilience of Poland's higher education system and, as Koscielny also noted, the power of students to mobilize meaningful protests. Expressing concern about the Polish government's attempts to limit education programs, Connelly ended with a call for solidarity with Polish academics among scholars globally.

During the Q&A, the 25 audience members posed insightful questions to the panel. Regarding the translation of the word "gender" into Polish, Koscielny responded that there is no good translation, and the foreignness of the word impacts the backlash. Thus, a possible solution to anti-genderism would be to build the language on gender in Polish. Fantone addressed the link between populist anti-immigration sentiment and anti-feminist sentiment, noting that the radical left often focuses on the economy, while the radical right uses socio-cultural arguments. All three speakers emphasized the importance of grassroots resistance to anti-gender discourse, whose continual mobilization is promising for the future of gender equality in Europe.



From left: John Connelly, Paweł Koscielny, and Laura Fantone

Life in East Germany After the Wall

By Davit Gasparyan

On February 21, IES and GHI West were honored to welcome **KERSTIN BRÜCKWEH** for an engaging talk titled “**The Longue Durée of 1989: Regime Change and Everyday Life in East Germany.**” An author and editor, Brückweh lectures at the University of Tübingen, Germany, and is currently a fellow at the Max Weber Centre for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies. Her presentation centered on the historic fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the unification of Germany.

Brückweh addressed the 1989 phenomenon in an analytical manner. She described the long-term developments surrounding and driving the event, which she chose to divide in three important stages: the late phase of the German Democratic Republic, the peaceful revolution, and the transformation that followed. In addition to touching on the stages and developments leading up to and following 1989, Brückweh also emphasized the role of property. She discussed the perceptions and concepts of property which had existed before the GDR and were unaffected by official politics. The ideology and practices present in the GDR did, however, alter property relations, which would then shape life in the united Germany. The lecture was followed by a lively Q&A with the 20 students, faculty, and community members in attendance.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf with Kerstin Brückweh

From the Boxing Ring to the Political Stage: “Rope-A-Dope Politics”

By Danielle Miller

On February 27, IES hosted political scientist and visiting scholar **MARKUS HINTERLEITNER** from the University of Bern for a lecture titled “**Rope-A-Dope Politics and the Erosion of Democratic Norms.**” Hinterleitner’s

research seeks to zoom in on the democratic norm-erosion process by mapping it as a mechanistic, step-by-step sequence of concerted choices taken by norm-violators and norm-defenders, rather than just a symptom of broader political and social trends in society. To conceptualize this interplay, Hinterleitner frames his research through the metaphor of “Rope-A-Dope”: a boxing strategy popularized by the famous 1974 “Rumble in the Jungle” match between Muhammad Ali and George Foreman. Ali, physically weaker than his opponent, won the match by combining verbal provocation and defensive positions, leaning on the ropes to conserve energy as Foreman exhausted himself on constant offense before Ali knocked him out.

Norms, Hinterleitner explained to the audience of 15, are socially shared, unwritten rules that bind political actors to predictable behaviors and reduce the risk of political gridlock. Yet because norms are informal, they can be violated by rogue actors. Norm erosion is triggered when an actor first violates a norm (“provocation”), the equivalent of a first punch in a boxing match. In response, norm-defenders “punch back,” often in the form of sanctions (sometimes economic, sometimes as verbal condemnation) against a violator. These sanctions, Hinterleitner notes, are usually excessively strong, designed to nip norm violation in the bud rather than allow violators the opportunity to escalate erosion. While this disproportionate response by norm-defenders may prove successful by intimidating violators into submission, it can also backfire by giving violators grounds to claim unfair treatment. Or, if harsh sanctions are imposed from the beginning—and violators are either not intimidated by such a punishment or learn to adjust to it—then norm-defenders quickly lose leverage. This was the case with Foreman and Ali: as Foreman continued forceful offense and Ali became accustomed to his punches, eventually Foreman exhausted himself and Ali (in this case, the norm violator) was able to overtake him. Hinterleitner suggests that, rather than adopt Foreman’s approach to norm-violating actors, democratic norm defenders could instead respond proportionally to the degree of an actor’s norm violation (often minimal at first). If a norm-violator continues provocation, rather than norm defenders exhausting their defensive tools, they



Visiting Scholar Markus Hinterleitner with IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

can wait until the violator gets tired, exposing a point at which norm-defenders can then pursue swift action to stop a violating actor.

During the Q&A, one audience member noted that, in an international context, a norm-defender's toleration for norm-violation can largely depend on the norm-defending country's strategic alliances, geopolitics, and the balance (or imbalance) of power between actors. Another noted that, in the case of Neville Chamberlain's appeasement policy in the 1930s, simply matching aggressors' violations with weak defense early on may not be a successful strategy long term.

Project Europe

By Evan Gong

On February 28, IES was delighted to welcome Professor **KIRAN KLAUS PATEL** of Maastricht University, who delivered a captivating lecture on his forthcoming book, **"Project Europe: A New History of the European Union."**



Stefan Ludwig-Hoffmann (Department of History, UC Berkeley) with Kiran Klaus Patel

Patel offered the audience a rich historical analysis of concrete effects and results of European integration since 1945, as well as what Europeans can learn from the past to gain better insight into present-day challenges.

Patel began his lecture with a series of questions, focusing on why the EU is so significant in the minds of people, both as a symbol of hope and unity, but also of skepticism and

resentment. These symbols would have been incomprehensible in the 1980s when an overlapping patchwork of international organizations governed varying areas of cooperation. Patel sketched the history of European cooperation, beginning with the European Coal and Steel Community's efforts to promote economic and political unity through trade to ensure lasting peace. These burgeoning efforts of cooperation led to Treaty of Rome in 1957, which formed the European Economic Community (EEC). The EEC was later merged into the European Communities (EC). During the height of the Cold War, Patel

argued, it was the EC that asserted dominance over other regional organizations as they sought the EC's economic expertise, supra-national legal structure, financial resources, and experience in organizing the rules for a common market. He also noted that the various enlargements of the EU, to the south and to the east in particular, tested European policymakers in their ability to fully integrate these countries. To this day, phenomena such as Brexit and the rise of right-wing populism in Eastern Europe continue to challenge of inter-European cooperation, which has only had a relatively brief history.

Questions for Professor Patel touched on the role of NATO, whether the EU had a set of common values, global implications of European cooperation efforts through former colonies of its member-states, and the EU's common foreign policy. This event was co-sponsored by GHI West, the Department of History, and Center for German and European Studies, as part of the Gerda Henkel Lecture Series, which brings German historians to the West Coast to present their research and engage in dialogue with their North American colleagues.

Berkeley Global Commons Workshop

By Melina Kompella

On Thursday, February 28 and Friday, March 1, the IES hosted a **workshop on the Global Commons**, co-organized by IES Associate Director **AKASEMI NEWSOME** and **MARIANNE RIDDERVOLD** (Professor at of Inland University of Applied Sciences, Norway and IES Senior Fellow).

Day one of the workshop began with a group lunch for all the attendees and presenters, followed by a welcome talk by Riddervold and Newsome. The first panel included three presentations, each followed by a discussion and questions. **KRISTI GOVELLA**, from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, spoke first, on "Securing the Global Commons? Japan in Outer Space, Cyberspace, and the High Seas." The next presentation was titled "International Cooperation and Outer Space Exploration," by **MAI'A CROSS** (Northeastern University). The final presentation of the evening was given by **KAIJA SCHILDE**, from Boston University's Pardee School of Global Studies, titled "Migration Management in the Global Commons: Externalization of State Migration Control to the High Seas."

On March 1, the morning roundtable included presentations by Newsome, **JULIE KLINGER** (Boston University), **NINA KELSEY** (Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University), and **MARIANNE**

TAKLE (NOVA, University College Oslo). In particular, Klinger spoke on “Nature, Society and Outer Space” and Newsome on “Worker Rights in the Global Commons.” In the afternoon, **DENISE GARCIA** (Northeastern University) gave a talk on “Generating Successful Global Governance,” and Riddervold spoke on “Protecting the human heritage? EU Policies towards the High Seas.” The workshop ended with a concluding discussion called “Moving Forward,” giving the presenters and discussants a chance to summarize the implications of the presentations given and reflect on the future of the global commons.



Participants in the Global Commons workshop

Scottish Studies at IES

In March 2019, IES and the **ST. ANDREWS SOCIETY OF SAN FRANCISCO** established a partnership to lay the foundations for a **Scottish Studies Program**. The Program will support the exchange of graduate students between UC Berkeley and the University of St. Andrews as well as the organization of an annual “Scotland Lecture”. This year’s “Scotland Lecture” was delivered by BBC journalist Allan Little, who presented on the topic “Brexit, Britain, Scotland: The Future of the UK” on April 4.



St. Andrews Society Board members David McCrossan, David Campbell, and Francesca McCrossan with IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

The Rise of “Crimmigration”: Securitization of Migration in Europe

By Danielle Miller

On March 4, in conjunction with the Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative and GHI West, IES was pleased to welcome Law and Society Professor **MAARTJE VAN DER WOUDE** of Leiden University (Netherlands) for her lecture, **“Securitization of Migration and Racial Sorting in Fortress Europe.”** Van der Woude began by outlining the Schengen *acquis*, which incorporates Schengen Area rules (abolition of internal border and passport checks) into EU law. However, Van der Woude revealed through her research—grounded in both a close analysis of Schengen Border Code and field work at border checkpoints—that the Schengen goal of openness and the EU principle of free movement are not fully implemented in practice by EU member states. By examining the Schengen Border Code (SBC), which serves as the legal framework that governs border crossing and control throughout most of Europe, Van der Woude discussed loopholes that allow states to impose their own border checks in intra-Schengen border areas. Article 23, for example, is discretionary and vague, allowing national governments to carry out police spot checks around internal borders so long as sustained border control is *not* their formal objective. However, Van der Woude argued that many EU countries’ spot checks have essentially become border control anyway, and that these measures are grounded in states’ desires to crack down on “crimmigration.”



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Maartje Van Der Woude

migration crisis in Europe. Fear of the “other” is far from a new phenomenon in Europe, but the rise of far-right populism and identity politics have given the

Crimmigration, she said, is the merging of crime control and immigration control, and is rooted in member states’ efforts to use borders as both social sorting tools (to separate “deserving” asylum-seekers and “undeserving” economic migrants) and as physical tools of exclusion. This conflation of immigration and criminal activity, Van der Woude argued, is fueled by the growth of nationalism, terrorism, and anti-immigrant sentiment exacerbated by the 2015/2016

issue new life. By conducting inter-views and field work observations of law enforcement activity at borders, Van der Woude and her team uncovered that “crimmigration” can manifest on-the-ground as racial profiling. Van der Woude considers this deeply concerning and feels that the EU must do more at a supranational level to combat racial profiling. During the Q&A with 20 audience members, Van der Woude discussed the importance of tracing each member state’s history of immigration in order to understand states’ policy preferences today.

Spain and #MeToo

By Alison Spencer

On March 5, IES and the Berkeley School of Law welcomed **EVA ANDUIZA** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) for a lecture on **"The #MeToo Movement and Women's Protest in Spain."** Anduiza began by noting that nearly a year had passed since March 8, 2018, the date of large-scale protests across Spain for the International Women's Strike on International Women's Day. She argued that this event and other feminist protests over the last year have been influenced by a moment of significant political realignment and moral outrage, coming in the wake of Spain's new political landscape. The Podemos party, founded in 2014, has defined itself as a “feminist party,” while Spain's other parties continue to debate questions of feminism. Moral outrage was also a powerful trigger for the protest, as many Spaniards reacted against what they saw as a lack of proper punishment for the perpetrators of sexual violence in 2018's La Manada case. Social media mobilization has also played a large role in feminist protest in Spain. In April of 2018, the hashtag #cuentalo spread in Spain, similar to #MeToo in English. People used the hashtag online to share their experiences of sexual harassment and abuse.

Anduiza presented her research on what factors influence whether people participate in feminist protests in Spain. Based on survey data, she found that women, younger people, and parents with daughters were more likely to participate. The results also showed



Prof. David Oppenheimer (Berkeley Law) with Eva Anduiza

that income and education were not significant explanatory factors, evidencing that participation was transversal in terms of social demographics.

To close her presentation, Anduiza discussed the anti-feminist reaction to these popular mobilizations. In the Spanish autonomous community of Andalusia, the radical right-wing party VOX has won elections while supporting policies such as the repeal of laws against gender violence--a political trend Anduiza has situated within the wider populist backlash in the U.S. and Europe in recent years. A lively Q&A concluded the lecture with the 30 students and faculty in attendance.

From Research to Market: Horizon EU, 2021-2027

By Ella Smith



Jekaterina Novikova (IES EU Fellow, 2018-19)

On March 6, **JEKATERINA NOVIKOVA**, the IES's 2018-19 EU Fellow, delivered a presentation titled, **“The Future of the European Research via the lens of the Horizon EU R&I program 2021-2027.”** As Innovation Policy Coordinator at the European Commission, Novikova spoke to the audience of 20 about her leadership with Horizon EU, a

European research and innovation program. Her research project at IES focuses on what the EU can learn from the US in terms of bringing academic research to market.

Novikova emphasized that while Europe has 7% of the world's population, it has 20% of the global research and development and one-third of all high-quality scientific publication. Though Europe is a leader in science, it fails to lead in innovation and entrepreneurship. That is where Horizon EU comes in. “Horizon EU is not a revolution,” says Novikova, “it is an evolution.” Building on the Horizon 2020 program, which supported various research areas including multilateral cooperation, green and safe aviation, renewable fuels, and safe design for nano-safety, Horizon EU is set to launch in 2021. The program seeks to better disseminate research and innovation, connecting research with the markets. Thus, open science through mandatory open access

to publications and research data is the first pillar. Another pillar is open innovation, which stimulates market-creating breakthroughs and ecosystems conducive to innovation. This brings together many actors, including the European Innovation Council and European innovation ecosystems. The program prides itself on taking a bottom -up approach by soliciting feedback from universities and research centers. Another pillar of the program is to address global challenges and industrial competitiveness. Health, food and natural resources, inclusive and secure societies, and digital and industry are a few of the clusters the program strives to address. Horizon EU is ever changing, constantly seeking to meet the needs of participants, its pillars, and research centers.

The Economic Roots of European Populism

By Davit Gasparyan

On March 7, IES was honored to welcome **DARIUSZ ADAMSKI**, professor of law at the University of Wrocław, Poland, for a presentation titled **“European Economic Integration and Populism: Foes or Allies?”** Centered on the current rise of populism and its relation to European economic integration, the lecture shed a unique light on the phenomenon of populism and how certain countries may be more prone to its rise than others.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf with Dariusz Adamski

First, Adamski chose to depict the phenomenon of populism as a sleeping disorder, insomnia, meaning that it is caused by another “root problem” which needs to be addressed, instead of resorting to the common perception of it being a monster. Adamski then identified the problems with many of the policies of European economic integration such as

redistribution, international market, and commercial policies. The effects of each policy were then examined by looking at Italy, Germany, Sweden, and Poland, which stood as models representing the effects on other similar countries. Adamski concluded by stating “the EU is quite Darwinist: it has made the strong stronger, and the weak weaker.” To conclude, he stated that populism is

essentially a reaction to the malfunctioning of mainstream institutions and policies, and not a permanent solution.

Engaging the audience of 20 students, scholars, and community members, the Q&A was filled with questions about topics ranging from populism in well-off countries to populist backlash, or the lack thereof, in countries like Spain and Portugal. Adamski discussed how support of populism is not nearly as strong in wealthier countries such as Sweden, and also noted that the collective memory of dictatorships could serve as a shield against populism, recalling the history of communism in Eastern Europe. He also expressed his concern that if the French economy does not recover soon, the country may at one point end up with a populist government similar to the one in Italy today.

The Irish Language and the Novel: Traditions and Divergences

By Davit Gasparyan and Melina Kompella

On March 7, the Irish Studies Program at IES, in cooperation with the Department of English, was honored to welcome **BARRY MCCREA**, novelist, scholar, and professor at the University of Notre Dame, for his lecture entitled **“Language Change and Narrative Form from Ó Cadhain to Ferrante.”** Speaking in front of an audience of 25, McCrea discussed the Irish language and its struggles to establish a tradition of the realist novel.

The lack of 19th century Irish-language novels may seem like a sign of underdevelopment in the Irish literary tradition, McCrea began. As he pointed out, Irish is a peripheral language in a country in the periphery of Europe, and its dispersal into patches of regionally distinct dialects has also seemed to contribute to the stunted development of a strong novelistic tradition. Not only did it become difficult to create incentives to write in the Irish language, McCrea argued; it also seems that the scattered nature of the language was not conducive to the form of the novel, lending itself to experimental forms and poetry rather than realist prose.



Barry McCrea with Catherine Flynn (Co- Director, Irish Studies Program)

McCrea went on to discuss two characteristics of the novel and their incompatibility with the Irish language. For one, novels revolved around specific, unified territories or settings which simply didn't exist for the Irish language. Second, in 19th century novels, themes of upward social mobility were indicated by changes in style of language from dialects to more formal forms. The Irish language itself was understood to be a group of diverse dialects, which ultimately failed to provide the needed linguistic "development" by the characters and made it difficult to write a universal novel in the language. However, McCrea suggested that perhaps the language could forge its own new paths and defy the commonly accepted traditions of the novel. In the Q&A, the audience drew connections to other minority languages, such as Yiddish, and the impossibility of establishing a written tradition for languages based in a spoken tradition. McCrea also emphasized the social "ecosystem" in which the Irish language exists--at the margins of society. He concluded by mentioning that those Irish language novels that do exist are powered by a desire to remove the language from its marginalized position and bring it into mainstream society.

IES at South by Southwest

On March 11, IES partnered with the University of Texas at Austin's Center for European Studies and IC² Institute to enhance collaboration between European companies and local business experts at this year's South by Southwest Festival (SXSW) in Austin, Texas. Working with the Arctic Business Incubator of Sweden, CES and IC² Institute awarded funding to 12 promising European startups for a week of training and mentoring in the context of the SXSW festival. Company representatives had the opportunity to network with business leaders and practice pitching with experts at IC². Associate Director **AKASEMI NEWSOME** and **DEOLINDA ADÃO** (Executive Director of the European Union Center) represented IES at SXSW events. This initiative was funded in part by the EU's "Getting to Know Europe Grant" and the US Department of Education.



Left: IC² staff and program participants from Sweden at SXSW. Above: IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome and EU Center Executive Director Deolinda Adão.

A New Take on the Prague Spring

By Sophia Kownatzki and Julia Zimring



Timothy Scott Brown with IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

On March 12, **TIMOTHY SCOTT BROWN** (Professor of History at Northeastern University and Senior Fellow at IES) delivered a lecture titled "**New Approaches to the Prague Spring**" to a group of 20 students, professors, and community members. During the lecture, Brown gave a historical breakdown of events leading up to the 1968 Czechoslovakian Communist reformist movement and an analysis of the movement itself.

Common interpretations of the event acknowledge the role of transnational exchange of ideas, particularly the naïve assumption that Czech reformers aimed to embrace western liberal democracy. Despite acknowledging the validity of these spatially-oriented arguments, Brown instead focused on a historical understanding.

What Brown emphasized in his lecture – and what is often overlooked in most studies of this movement – is that the Prague reformers were in search of a humanist socialist system rather than a switch to western capitalism. Brown also asserted that we cannot understand the Prague Spring without discussing

prior revolutionary attempts under Soviet rule, particularly the violent Hungarian uprising in 1956. He stressed that the Prague Spring must be understood as a much greater existential dis-course on reaching a humanist socialism, one that combines equality with liberty. Following the lecture, the audience members engaged in a Q&A session which offered Brown the opportunity to expand on the topics of the economy, Soviet intervention, and the role of cognitive dissonance in the Prague Spring. Brown explained that in the early 1960s, Prague did experience an economic downturn, but that the effects of this were secondary to changing notions of civil rights and the rise of “socialism with a human face.” Cognitive dissonance, in his view, was an important element in galvanizing youth movements towards a new type of socialism and away from Soviet oppression.

European Soccer and Politics

By Ella Smith

“In Europe, Church no longer plays the integrating role that soccer does,” says **TIMM BEICHELT**, Professor of European Studies at European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder). On March 13, Beichelt visited IES to discuss the influence of soccer on the political sphere in Europe, especially Germany. He explored the political meaning of soccer in a presentation entitled **“A Field of Autocratic Temptation: European Soccer and its Actors.”**



Timm Beichelt with IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

Beichelt began by introducing his new book, which examines the central role that soccer plays in shaping German identity, especially around the time of the World Cup. In fact, he even joked that his publisher expected to have sold more copies had Germany performed better in the most recent World Cup tournament. Beichelt summarized his findings on the major societal implications of soccer. He discussed the sport’s

functions in late modernity, political actors in the field, and autocratic practices in international soccer as an institution. Most importantly, he described soccer in Europe as a powerful force for unity and integration, which explains its strong

political relationship with neoliberalism. According to Beichelt, in Germany, soccer can even replace traditional community institutions, such as family and church. By offering a source of self and identity, soccer plays an integrating role that family and church appears to be failing to provide.

Beichelt used the soccer field as a metaphor and pointed out significant actors, including coaches, players, journalists, and administrators. He acknowledged autocratic practices in international soccer by noting FIFA’s history of corruption and criminal practices. He also mentioned politically relevant soccer team owners, like Roman Abramovich (former Governor of Chukotka) and Nasser Al-Khelaifi (former Minister of Qatar), and noted that influential people from autocratic countries tend to increase autocratic practices in international soccer. Beichelt’s takeaways highlighted the soccer community’s acceptance of this lack of transparency and accountability.

Challenging Coloniality through Art

By Julia Zimring



From left: IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome; Prof. Leigh Raiford; Jeannette Ehlers; Elizabeth Hunter (PhD Candidate, African Diaspora Studies); Lotta Weckstrom (Executive Director, Nordic Studies Program)

In collaboration with the Nordic Studies Program and the Department of African American Studies, IES was pleased to welcome visual artist **JEANNETTE EHLERS** for a dynamic conversation on March 14. The discussion, **“How to Challenge Scandinavian Colonial Amnesia,”** focused on artistic strategies of resistance to coloniality and counter-narratives to the Eurocentric writing of history. Panelists included Prof. Leigh Raiford and PhD candidate Elizabeth Hunter, both scholars of African Diaspora Studies.

Ehlers, a graduate of the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, is a Copenhagen-based artist of Danish and Trinidadian descent. Her work experiments with photography, video installations, sculpture, and performance, focusing on self-representation and image manipulation. These techniques are used as a means to represent Denmark's colonial impact in the Caribbean and participation in the Transatlantic Slave Trade. From a material and affective perspective, Ehlers' use of images seeks to disrupt dominant narratives of history and activate what she terms "decolonial hauntings." Her presentation focused on artistic practices of merging the historical, the collective and the rebellious with the familial, the bodily and the poetic.

Ehlers' lecture was followed by a lively discussion and Q&A session with the 30 audience members in attendance. The panelists emphasized the possibility for empowerment and healing through art, honoring legacies of resistance in the African diaspora.

Political Rhetoric in Belgian and Congolese Literature

By Jianwen Xu

On March 18, IES and the Center for African Studies were pleased to host visiting scholar **LIESELOT DE TAEYE** for a lecture titled "**Defining Roles. Representations of Lumumba and his Independence Speech in Congolese and Belgian Literature.**" De Taeye is a Belgian post-doctoral scholar who specializes in modern Dutch and Flemish literature. Her talk centered on the roles that Congolese and Belgian novelists have imagined for Patrice Lumumba, the first Prime Minister of the independent Democratic Republic of the Congo.

De Taeye began with a historical overview of the events surrounding the Congo's declaration of independence from Belgium on June 30, 1960. At the official ceremony marking the end of colonial rule, the Belgian King Baudoin gave the first speech, applauding the work of his countrymen during the



Visiting scholar Lieselot de Taeye

"civilizing mission" and praising the "genius" of his great-granduncle King Leopold II, who began the colonization of the Congo in the 1880s and was

indirectly responsible for the death of thousands, perhaps even millions of Congolese people. In response, Patrice Lumumba, one of the leaders of the Congolese National Movement, gave a now-famous speech broadcast live around the world. In it, he denounced the atrocities that occurred under Belgian rule and praised the Congolese struggle for freedom in the years leading up to 1960. Independence, Lumumba argued, had abolished the forced labor and racial discrimination of the colonial period and would lead to the Congo becoming a proud beacon of the Pan-African movement.

In her lecture, de Taeye discussed the reception of Lumumba's speech in literary texts, examining the ways in which Flemish and Congolese authors have given shape to this shared past. She focused on characteristics that novelists have ascribed to the young politician and how writers have portrayed the consequences of his speech, blending fictional and factual representations. Analyzing and comparing different strategies of characterization, she argued that authors employed the figure of Lumumba to deal with personal and national identities in this historical period. De Taeye situated her research in the broader context of 1960s counterculture in Flemish and Dutch literature. The lecture was followed by an engaging Q&A with the 20 audience members in attendance.

Feminist Cinema in West Germany

By Sophia Kownatzki

On March 19, IES welcomed back visiting scholar **CHRISTINA GERHARDT**, a former UC Berkeley lecturer who is currently teaching at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Gerhardt presented a lecture titled "**Helke Sander's dffb Cinema, 1968 and West Germany's Feminist Movement.**" Gerhardt traced the history of the German Film and Television Academy Berlin (DFFB), the alma mater of filmmaker Helke Sander who was part of the first graduating class of students from 1966 to 1969.

Recounting Sander's history of political activism, Gerhardt aimed to develop three points: to examine narratives of feminism as 1968 revolutionary



Visiting Scholar Christina Gerhardt

narratives; to acknowledge feminist filmmakers in late 1960s cinema; and to show how Sander's early DFFB films examine themes visible in her later, better-known films of the 1970s. Examining Sander's earlier works of the late 1960s, Gerhardt pointed out a number of themes, from women's "double burden" – describing the situation of women who perform paid work outside of home and unpaid work in the domestic sphere – to heterosexual child rearing practices, the rights of children, and the subjective experiences of women. In analyzing these earlier films, Gerhardt emphasized that Sander's early works were closely tied with her political activism and later films. Additionally, Gerhardt underscored that second wave feminism in West Germany began in the late 1960s, with Sander as a force that sparked the movement through her films and political activism. The 20 audience members raised a number of questions during the Q&A, asking Gerhardt about the role of women workers and transnational dialogue with feminist filmmakers, Sander's personal innovations in filmmaking, and the role of women of color in second wave feminism in West Germany.

The European Approach to Sustainable Business

On March 19, IES partnered with the World Affairs Council of San Francisco to host **DANA REDFORD** (Senior Fellow at the Institute of European Studies) for a conversation on how forward-thinking European businesses are creating sustainable business models and how these can be replicated in the



Ann Cleaveland with IES Senior Fellow Dana Redford

United States. The discussion was moderated by **ANN CLEAVELAND**, Executive Director of the Center for Long-Term Cybersecurity at UC Berkeley.

Europe is at the forefront of developing sustainability in business. The knowledge triangle where research, education and innovation meet has long been a focus of European policymakers and industry players. Globally, most large corporations believe they need to adjust their core business models in order to operate in and contribute to a truly sustainable economy. Entrepreneurs are taking the lead in providing innovative

solutions for the next generation. But it is only by strengthening partnerships and building robust ecosystems, Redford notes, that business will achieve true and lasting sustainability.

World Affairs from a Finnish Perspective

By Danielle Miller

On March 20, IES and the Nordic Studies Program were pleased to welcome Finnish Ambassador to the United States, **KIRSTI KAUPPI**, for a conversation on **Finland's current affairs and the US/EU transatlantic relationship**. In her talk, Kauppi spoke of how Finland's many identities—as sovereign state, a Nordic country, an EU member, and an Arctic state—shape the country's domestic politics and diplomatic agenda.

Kauppi began by describing Finland and its national achievements. Ranked the "happiest" nation in the world, Finland has high gender equality, holds one of the best, most democratized education systems in the world, and



Finnish Ambassador Kirsti Kauppi with Nordic Studies Program Director Lotta Weckstrom

has an innovative and tech-oriented knowledge economy. Finland is deeply engaged in the United Nations, which—according to Kauppi—Finnish policymakers view as a crucial outlet for diverse international voices to be heard and for "rules of the road" to be laid out in an increasingly globalized world. In the UN, Finland and other Nordic countries can "punch above their weight" to push for causes they care about such as reducing inequality and combating climate change. Yet, for Finland, other memberships common among Western countries—such as NATO — are not desirable. While Finland is not a member of NATO due

to low public support in Finland for joining the alliance, Kauppi notes that Finland remains a "very close partner" and has a defense force that is "interoperable" with NATO.

As a Nordic country, Finland is both influenced by and helps to define Nordic values. The “Nordic Brand,” as Kauppi puts it, is very important to Finland for its clearly defined and internationally recognized set of values centered on equality, stable democracy, education, and the unique pairing of dynamic economies with social safety nets. EU membership, too, is essential for Finland because of the nation’s access to the single market, the Erasmus Program, and EU supranational laws on everything from consumer protection to high environmental standards. Being part of the EU gives a small country like Finland the ability to shape economic and global affairs in a way that would not be possible without membership. Finally, Finland’s role in the Arctic Council means that climate change and Arctic-region geopolitics (power struggle for access to sea routes and mineral resources) are ongoing challenges for Finland.

In a Q&A with 30 audience members, when asked which Nordic values Kauppi believes should be exported to the US, she noted gender equality (through policies like parental leave and day care) and sustainability. When questioned whether Finland’s equality is centered on “sameness” and “homogeneity,” Kauppi said that while Finland is quite ethnically homogeneous, growing immigration and the country’s longstanding commitment to gender equality suggests that equality is not bound by racial or ethnic classifications.

Portuguese Studies Conference: Cataloguing Ana Hatherly

By Alison Spencer

On March 22, thirty scholars gathered at IES for the symposium **“Between the Lines: Tradition and Plasticity in Ana Hatherly,”** held as part of the 43rd Annual Education Conference of the Luso-American Education Foundation. Various presentations discussed the work of Ana Hatherly (1929-2015), a Portuguese visual artist, poet, scholar, and filmmaker recognized as a pioneer of experimental poetry and literature, who earned a doctorate in Hispanic Studies from UC Berkeley in 1986. The event was sponsored by the Institute of European Studies, the Center for Portuguese Studies, Ana Hatherly Camões Institute Catedra, the Camões Institute, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Luso-American Education Foundation, and the European Union Center.

In one presentation, **CLAUDE POTTS** (Romance Languages Librarian, UC Berkeley) discussed the library’s creation of a bibliography of works by and about Ana Hatherly. Explaining that the library was motivated to create the guide to aid scholars, students, and faculty, Potts introduced the history of



Participants of “Between the Lines: Tradition and Plasticity in the Works of Ana Hatherly”

Berkeley’s Hatherly collection, which has doubled over the past three years and is one of the most complete collections in the world. He credited Hatherly herself, her dissertation advisor Arthur Askins, and retired Berkeley librarian AnneMarie Mitchell with donating many works important to the collection. Potts and Mitchell traveled to Portugal several times over the past few years to secure additional items for the library.

After this historical outline, Potts offered a tour of the library’s Hatherly catalogue, whose breadth evidences how multi-faceted Hatherly was as a scholar and artist. Sections cover her poetry, prose, visual art, essays and scholarship, works written about Hatherly, and online resources. Of particular note is the poetry section, organized chronologically so that viewers can see the progression of her poetry over time. Other interesting features of the bibliography include translations of her works into other languages and a digital copy of her 1986 dissertation from Berkeley. Lastly, Potts discussed future ways to add to the Hatherly bibliography. One area for possible expansion is the online resources category. The section currently features images pulled from the Instagram hashtag for Ana Hatherly, where people have shared pictures of her poetry. Potts sees an opportunity to collaborate with scholars in Portugal and others to further develop this section. Potts ended his lecture by thanking the Center for Portuguese Studies and the Camões Institute for their support to the Ana Hatherly collection.

Migration Politics in a Post-Truth Environment

By Evan Gong

On March 22, the Institute was pleased to host Professor Emerita and former IES Associate Director **BEVERLY CRAWFORD AMES**, who delivered a lecture titled “**Lies about Migrants: Comparing U.S. and German Migration Politics in a Post-Truth Environment.**” Analyzing migration policy and politics, Crawford Ames described the responsibilities of the US in accepting refugees and immigrants. She also noted statistics that overwhelmingly demonstrated the social and economic benefits brought about by immigration. At the same time, Crawford Ames raised a larger question in her lecture about the reasoning behind the far-right’s reliance on anti-immigrant rhetoric and sentiments, despite the proven benefits of immigration. She argued that the far-right’s ascendancy in both the US and Europe depends heavily upon its virulent opposition to immigration. Conflating refugees and asylum seekers with economic migrants, she noted, the far-right fan the flames of fear of “the other” with vitriolic anti-immigrant rhetoric as its central political message. For example, she observed the use of dehumanizing rhetoric when referring to migrants, such as use of the terms “aliens” and “illegals.” Crawford Ames offered a quote from novelist Viet Thanh Nguyen, who, as a refugee, observed: “Those who live on the other side do not see you as a human at all.” Crawford Ames concluded by asserting our responsibility to strongly defend immigrant rights under inter-national law. She noted that the ascendancy of the far-right is an issue much larger than immigration; namely, it threatens pluralistic, multicultural societies and liberal democracy as a whole. During the Q&A, the lively audience of twenty-five students, faculty, and community members engaged Crawford Ames with questions on President Trump’s policies, Germany’s refugee policies, and tribalism.



Beverly Crawford Ames with IES Senior Fellow David Large

Pacific and Atlantic Connections

From March 25 to 27, IES was pleased to co-sponsor a three-day symposium organized by GHI West to commemorate Helmut Schmidt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. Titled “**Entangling the Pacific and Atlantic Worlds: Past and Present**,” the event took as its cue Schmidt’s pioneering recognition of the geopolitical transformation from an Atlantic-centric world order to one in which the Pacific is on the rise. Interdisciplinary in approach, the symposium brought together scholars, policy experts, and journalists to discuss rising Pacific influence and to revisit the multifaceted history of Atlantic-Pacific connections.

Entangling the Pacific & Atlantic Worlds

Past & Present

A Symposium Commemorating Helmut Schmidt



March 25-27, 2019

German Historical Institute Washington
Pacific Regional Office at UC Berkeley

#GHIevents #GHItransoceanic

Photo: Helmut Schmidt (second from left) and the wife (name unknown) visiting the Great Wall of China. Photo by Ulrich Wehr, October 23, 1984. Bundesarchiv, Berlin, Germany.

Max Weber Stiftung

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China

Ministry of Culture of the
People's Republic of China

Ministry of Education of the
People's Republic of China

Ministry of Finance of the
People's Republic of China

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China

MATT MATSUDA (Rutgers University) delivered the opening keynote, “**Shifting Tides: Rise, Resurgence, & Deep Histories from the Atlantic to the Pacific**,” in which he considered the historical contexts of the presumed shift of power and influence from Europe and the Atlantic to Asia and the Pacific. The symposium continued with a fireside chat on Helmut Schmidt as “**Global Statesman**,” in which the former Chancellor’s friends and collaborators discussed his role in connecting China and the West at a time when the world was still divided into “communist” and “capitalist” camps. This discussion capped a day of panels on topics ranging from “**Imperialism, Decolonization, and the Cold War in the Pacific Theater**,” to “**Atlantic Debates on Emerging Pacific Competitors**,” to “**Transformations of China Expertise in the West**.” Day three of the symposium included roundtables on “**The World Economy in a Shifting International Order**” and “**The Global Reach of Security Politics in the Pacific Region**.” IES Director **JEROEN DEWULF** moderated the concluding roundtable on “**The Future of Transatlantic Relations in the Pacific Century**,” featuring **KAREN DONFRIED** (President of the German Marshall Fund of the United States) and **PEER STEINBRÜCK** (Former Minister of Finance of the Federal Republic of Germany). Combining historical and contemporary perspectives, the symposium as a whole provided a dynamic opportunity for dialogue and exchange across professional and disciplinary boundaries.

Europe and Global Governance

By Davit Gasparyan and Ella Smith



From left: IES Director Jeroen Dewulf, Carlo Monticelli, and Barry Eichengreen (Professor of Economics and Political Science, UC Berkeley)

Order," explored the contrast between Europe's small influence and its economic might.

"Europe has a long tradition of punching below its weight," began Monticelli, calling for Europe to take on a greater role in international financial institutions (IFIs). While many believe that this notion is utopian and aspirational, Monticelli believes that it is within reach. Without changes in legislation, Europe could be granted veto power like the US and a single chair in IFIs. Monticelli believes a more effective Europe is good for Europe's nations and for the world, since the continent's unique socioeconomic features, such as welfare and equitable economic integration, could tame globalization. According to Monticelli, if European nations gained greater representation and influence, they could improve the quality of global governance, improve financial resilience, and balance international financial architecture. Despite Europe's long tradition of ineffective external representation, Monticelli argues that there are viable solutions to raise Europe's external profile. He offers veto power and a European-area chair in AIIB as two examples of solutions.

In an enlightening Q&A with the audience of 30, Monticelli answered questions ranging from the role of nationalism in the EU, to the definition of Europe itself. Monticelli discussed the misperception of the role of individual EU nation-states in shaping global affairs, claiming that once people uncover these misconceptions, nationalist policies will stagnate. He then discussed issues of populism and the failure of European elites in communicating the success stories of the EU, leading to the rise of more vocal populist leaders. To the question of Europe's veto power Monticelli answered that though Europe had the option to

collectively have veto power, it chose to pursue the post-war attitude of individualism. He ended by emphasizing the potential within Europe to shape the path of globalization and global governance.

Global Fascisms in the 1930s and 1940s

By Davit Gasparyan and Alison Spencer

On April 2, IES, GHI West, and the Department of History welcomed Professor **SVEN REICHARDT** (University of Konstanz, Germany) for a lecture entitled "**Fascism's Global Moments: New Perspectives on Entanglements and Tensions between Fascist Regimes in the 1930s and 1940s.**" Drawing on historical works, Reichardt's talk examined the global character of fascism through three different lenses, focusing on global moments of fascism, brokerage between major and minor fascisms, and collaboration between fascist empires.



From left: Akasemi Newsome (IES Associate Director), Andrea Westermann (Research Fellow & Head of Office, GHI West), Sven Reichardt (University of Konstanz), and Prof. Stefan Ludwig-Hoffman (UC Berkeley)

Currently at work on a book on the global history of fascism, Reichardt began by noting that recent research on fascism has focused on its imperial shape. Germany, Italy, and Japan challenged the international world order with their radicalized logic of imperial warfare. He highlighted Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, the Abyssinian War from 1935-1937, the Spanish Civil War from 1936-1939, the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, and Germany's attempts to conquer the hinterland in the same period. As these powers fought similar wars, their transfers of ideas and entangled political practices altered the world order of the 1930s and 40s.

Focusing on brokerage, Reichardt then discussed the brutal power politics of Hitler's treatment of smaller fascisms in Eastern Europe, and his preferential treatment of right-wing authoritarians such as Romania's Antonescu. Lastly, Reichardt discussed the entanglement of fascist powers. Throughout the period, Nazi Germany was seeking to conquer surrounding areas and annihilate their populations in a quest for living space. Germany's motives became more concrete following a study of Italian and Japanese colonial cities, particularly after Mussolini announced the Italian settlement program in 1938. In addition, the speed of the Japanese settlement in Manchukuo impressed the Nazis. Reichardt noted that these mediation processes are hard to reconstruct, as they involved fragile and fluid intermediary bodies outside of traditional diplomatic channels. Reichardt concluded with the idea that many of these similarities between regimes are only seen in retrospect, and called for greater exploration of reciprocal relations, as they have been insufficiently explored compared to classical comparative fascist studies.

The lively Q&A with the audience of 35 began with the interesting question of how to reconcile the Nazi ideology of stratification and the act of learning from the "non-Aryan," Japanese regime. Reichardt answered by separating ideology from pragmatic policies, noting however that a quantitative assessment to the entanglement of fascist regimes is difficult since the phenomenon was multifaceted and complex. To the question of using the term "global" instead of "international" when referring to fascist regimes, Reichardt noted that "global" implied the empire-aspect of such regimes and it was not simply about nation-states.

The Poetry of Tomas Tranströmer

By Evan Gong and Chihiro Kajiura

On April 3, the Institute of European Studies, in coordination with the Nordic Studies Program and the Department of English, held a performance-based presentation and reading of the poems of Swedish Nobel laureate Tomas Tranströmer. To introduce the event, titled "**Secrets on the way: The poetry of Tomas Tranströmer**," **MADS TOLLING**, an internationally renowned



US Poet Laureate Robert Hass

violinist and composer, played a prelude piece. **KATHRYN ROSZAK**, a curator, choreographer, and producer, then screened a short dance film that serves as an homage to Tranströmer's great poem "Schubertiana." Roszak highlighted that the film focuses on the theme of trust by exploring the relationship between the couple depicted.

The centerpiece of the afternoon was a reading by **ROBERT HASS**, a poet and professor in the Department of English at UC Berkeley and the editor of "The Selected Poems of Tomas Tranströmer." Himself a renowned Poet Laureate--the first from the Western US from 1995-97--Hass read a selection of poems that he translated. The presentation was followed by a Q&A with the audience of 25.

The Future of the UK After Brexit

By Davit Gasparyan and Danielle Miller

On April 4, IES was pleased to welcome journalist and former BBC correspondent **ALLAN LITTLE** for an engaging lecture on "**Brexit, Britain, Scotland: The Future of the UK**." The event, co-sponsored by the St. Andrew's Society of San Francisco, the Center for British Studies, and the Anglo-American Studies Program, attracted a broad audience of over 100 students, faculty, and community members.



Allan Little with IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

Far from the "smooth and orderly" Brexit that Prime Minister Theresa May pledged for March 29, Brexit negotiations (now extended until 31 October via Article 50) have instead ushered in an era of parliamentary gridlock, constitutional crises, blame games between the PM, UK Parliament, and EU, and deep divisions among the British people. In his talk, Little spoke of how these divisions threaten the unity of the United Kingdom, both in terms of its collective "British" identity, and as a sovereign state comprised of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. In one sense, Little noted that modern Britain's identity struggles are rooted in the incompatibility between "British exceptionalism" and the fact that the UK no

longer exists as a global trading power and empire. In another sense, he recognizes the role that political parties—especially conservatives in Margaret Thatcher's neoliberal era or the power amassed by the eurosceptic ERG wing today—have played in shaping Britain through the decades. Most notably, the 2016 Brexit referendum exposed how differently each of the UK's own countries envision what it means to be "British" and what Britain's relationship with the EU should look like, with England and Wales voting Leave, and Scotland and Northern Ireland voting Remain. Little warned not to conflate England's views on Brexit with the UK as a whole. His native Scotland, he pointed out, may again seek independence and join the EU on its own. While Little believes that the UK has long seen its relationship with the EU as transactional, he notes how important other aspects are to Scotland, such as human rights, social justice, rule of law, and the centrality of the single market to a broader European project. While he admitted that the EU has faults—it does, for instance, not properly account for public opinion and has been an elite project—if Britain leaves the EU, the likelihood of the UK breaking up is ultimately "more likely... and paradoxically much more difficult."

Little kicked off the Q&A by answering questions on the pound, immigration to Scotland, and English submarines in Scottish territory. Little believed that while Scotland would need new immigration policies, English-set policies would hurt Scotland's needs, thus creating conflicting interests. He then talked about how comparatively, Scotland is doing better in terms of youth unemployment and how young people in Scotland seem less attached to British identity compared to the older generations. Finally, Little touched on the problems with having another Brexit referendum. He stated that holding another referendum would mean undermining the initial vote or democracy itself.

Artistic Responses to Europe's Refugee Crisis

By Julia Zimring

On April 9, **FATIMA EL-TAYEB**, professor of Literature and Ethnic Studies at the University of California, San Diego, shared her work with an audience of 25 at the Institute of European Studies. Her presentation, entitled "**Europe's "Refugee Crisis" and the Colonial Archive: Is Art Universal?**" explored the connections between Germany's colonial legacy, the current refugee crisis, and the idea of the "universal museum." El-Tayeb's work centers on the "Multaqqa" project, which was initiated at the height of the refugee crisis

in 2015. As part of this project, five of Germany's most prestigious museums began to hire refugees as guides. They saw this as a way of helping the refugees integrate into society through cultural appreciation and a "shared past." Although well-intentioned, El-Tayeb argues that this initiative is in line with the dominant refugee narrative, which builds a larger hegemonic self-image for Europe and ignores Western culpability in the crisis.



Fatima El-Tayeb (UC San Diego)

According to El-Tayeb, this project also poses greater questions about the role of art in museums and the issue of historical erasure. She pointed out the not-so-subtle irony that these refugees are giving tours of objects that sometimes are African and Middle-Eastern in origin, but through unclear historical events -- likely involving violence and colonialism -- have ended up in Berlin. El-Tayeb argues that Germany should not focus on assimilating or ignoring the foreign, but should strive for a new, more inclusive understanding of Europeaness and the continent's colonial past.

In the Q&A, audience members were curious to know more about the German government's role in the Multaqqa project, as well as where its funding came from, and whether immigrants themselves are supportive to such a progressive identity project.

Covering the World's Refugee Crises

On April 10, IES hosted an event at the World Affairs Council in San Francisco comparing and contrasting the recent refugee crisis in Europe with the inflow of Central American refugees on the southwest border of the United States. Over 60 people attended the event featuring a discussion between **GIOVANNA DELL'ORTO** (Associate Professor, Hubbard School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Minnesota) and writer and journalist **JEANNE CARSTENSEN**. The discussion was moderated by writer and journalist **ROBERTO LOVATO**. As both panelists had experience reporting from the US and EU border crises, Dell'Orto and Carstensen addressed the way in which on both continents, humanitarian vs. security arguments have become an inescapable part of public discussion, with divisive results. Journalists seeking to

report on these dynamic and fast-moving stories are themselves facing a credibility crisis, caught between very different perceptions of reality. The migrant crises have greatly exacerbated the challenge for journalism—reporting the facts vs. spinning the story. Journalism is now finding itself providing news and analysis about migration dynamics while also defending its place in the public sphere against a dramatic increase in "fake news" and nakedly partisan social media "information."



From left: Roberto Lovato, Giovanna dell'Orto, and Jeanne Carstensen

Cultural Memory and WWII Cemeteries in Italy

By Evan Gong

On April 10, the IES welcomed Dr. **BIRGIT URMSON**, who delivered a captivating lecture to an audience of 30 on "**German and U.S. Second World War Soldiers' Cemeteries in Italy: Cultural Perspectives.**" An art historian, Urmson concentrated particularly on cemeteries in Italy because the nation was both friend and foe of the Axis and Allied powers, but chose the winning side in 1943. She not only analyzed the purpose of these cemeteries, which was to offer meaning and remembrance of soldiers' sacrifices, but also offered insight into how these cemeteries reflected political ideologies and the international order following World War II.

Urmson led the audience through myriad images, noting the distinctive architectural and landscape elements employed at the Florence American Cemetery and Memorial in Tuscany, and the German Futa Pass Cemetery,

respectively. She first pointed out that the American overseas cemeteries, overseen by American Battle Monuments Commission, featured a grandiosity of scale and opulence. Situated on large plots of prized land, these cemeteries featured atriums open to the sky and reception halls designed in the majestic classical style, all of which represented freedom, wealth, status, and power. The hallmark of these cemeteries was the display of eagles, which presented America's hegemony backed by its military prowess. The message could not be clearer: as Urmson claimed, the architects Eric Gugler, Paul Manship, and Ralph Griswold aimed to showcase America's presence on the world space and make a bold statement against the adversarial power of the time, the Soviet Union.

In contrast, the German cemeteries, which were maintained by the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge (VDK), are notably subdued in appearance and blend in with the surrounding natural landscape. Indeed, Urmson argued, these designs sought to highlight a collective suffering and show the German tradition of nature as a metaphysical entity. Each soldier's death was viewed as a tragedy for that individual and the family. Urmson noted that first sentence of the German Constitution of 1948, states: "The dignity of the Individual is unassailable." Clearly, the German cemeteries sought to highlight the meaning of each soldier's death, an admonishment to keep peace, and a reconciliation over graves. One can see this through the use of minimalism and doves in the cemeteries' designs. In the Q&A, questions ranged from religious symbols used in cemeteries and remembrance of civilian deaths to war memorials in Italy. Urmson noted that while German cemeteries emphasized the loss of life in war through modernist artistic elements, classicism was the dominant style in American cemeteries, highlighting the victory and glory of the U.S. military.

Generational and Social Change in 1960s West Germany

by Sophia Kownatzki and Jianwen Xu

On April 11, IES in conjunction with GHI West hosted **CHRISTINA VON HODENBERG** (Director of the German Historical Institute London and Professor of History at Queen Mary University London) for a lecture titled "**Over Sixty**



Dr. Birgit Urmson

in the Sixties: The Older Generation and Youth Protest in West Germany.”

Von Hodenberg’s research marks a departure from most scholarship on the German and European Sixties, which revolves around a common narrative of young student activists, artists and bohemians facing off against elder professors, intellectuals and politicians. Instead, Von Hodenberg shifts her focus to the aged and middle-aged “establishment” and its role in bringing about social change.

Von Hodenberg’s research is based largely on interviews with elderly people from the West German 1960s, seeking to learn more about their attitudes toward youth and consumerism and about how they related to their children. Her interviews revealed that the standard narrative of generational conflict was often not mirrored in private family life. In dialogue with recent research, von Hodenberg seeks to disrupt traditional tropes of the “father-son conflict” and demonstrates

that young activists often rallied against abstract parental figures rather than their actual parents. Interviewees were also asked about the extent to which the legacy of Nazism defined their role in family and society. While many scholars have assumed that 1960s protest was a conflict over the guilt of older generations in being complicit with the Nazi regime, von Hodenberg discovered that reckoning with the Nazi past came publicly rather than privately, as family memory tended to exonerate older generations from blame so as not to disrupt family relationships, while public communication did the opposite.

To conclude, Von Hodenberg observed that two types of generational relations unfolded during the 1960s, operating on separate levels: the level of public and political debate, which saw acrimonious clashes between young and old, and the level of private family life, where generations lived in relative harmony. She also noted that generational conflict has been overstressed at the expense of gender conflict, whose role has been downplayed in 60s protest. Arguing for the need to distinguish more clearly between “familial generations” and “political generations,” von Hodenberg claims that the latter concept was often employed as a political weapon rather than being an actual feature of family biographies. The lecture was followed by a lively discussion with the 20 students, faculty, and community members in attendance.



Christina von Hodenberg (Director of the German Historical Institute London)

Musical Material Culture during the Third Reich

By Julia Zimring

On April 12, the Institute of European Studies welcomed Senior Fellow CARLA SHAPREAU, a lecturer at the Berkeley School of Law. Her presentation, entitled “From Enigma to Virtual Splendor - The Nazi-Era Theft and Restitution of Guillaume de Machaut’s Extraordinary Medieval Manuscript, the Ferrell-Vogué,”



ISenior Fellow Carla Shapreau with Jeroen Dewulf

traced the fascinating history of this cultural artifact from its creation in the 14th century to its modern-day whereabouts. Shapreau’s lecture focused on the Ferrell-Vogué manuscript as a case study through which to examine the role of musical material culture during the Nazi era and up to the present day.

The Ferrell-Vogué is a medieval codex, written by the great French poet Guillaume de Machaut. Compiling music, literature, and art, the codex offers invaluable insight to the events of the time. For several centuries, it was passed between members of the French aristocracy, but by the mid-20th century, the Ferrell-Vogué landed in the hands of French art dealer Nathan Wildenstein. With the ushering in of the Nazi occupation of France, Wildenstein was forced to flee the country, leaving the manuscript behind. Like so many other priceless works of art and cultural artifacts, the Ferrell-Vogué was seized by Nazi forces and hidden in a network of repositories throughout Germany. After WWII, the codex passed into American hands, then French, and finally back to Georges Wildenstein, who luckily had preserved photographs proving the Ferrell-Vogué was rightfully his. Shapreau concluded her presentation with a question: Does knowledge of an artifact’s cultural context and historical narrative distract from or enhance one’s ability to appreciate it? A lively Q&A followed with the audience of 35.

Inclusive Approaches to Translating Contemporary Swedish Literature

By Davit Gasparyan



Christian Gullette (Department of Scandinavian, UC Berkeley) and Saskia Vogel

belong to the Swedish literary canon.

Vogel began by discussing common threads throughout works of Scandinavian literature, including sex-positive feminism and power, especially in the Swedish and Finno-Swedish context. She then discussed how her work goes beyond the act of translating the idioms of one language into another, but also encompasses taking a closer look at the socio-economic issues of the countries whose works she translates, and delving deeper into their politics. She noted one incident involving the central display of neo-Nazi groups at the Gothenburg Book Fair, which impressed upon her the importance of representation. Having witnessed the display, Vogel began to examine the process of narrative-building and the problems behind idealized Scandinavian societies. After translating works by Swedish people of color and being told that they were "not Swedish literature," Vogel decided to compile a portfolio composed of many minorities and themes diverging from the "norm," to challenge solid notions of Swedish literature and identity. She ended by stating that translation can function as a tool of protest and change, and that the visibility of new authorial voices is key.

During the Q&A with the audience of 25, Vogel noted how despite shifting Swedish demographics, the representation of authors is still overwhelmingly white. She then talked about Swedish literary presence in the Anglophone world and its current increase, and discussed her plans to continue her career in Berlin.

Angela Merkel's Legacy in Germany

By Sophia Kownatzki

On April 16, **NIKO SWITEK** (DAAD

Visiting Assistant Professor of German Studies at the University of Washington) gave a talk at IES on "**Deceptive Stability? Germany in Chancellor Angela Merkel's Last Term.**" In his lecture, Switek discussed Chancellor Merkel's tenure, from the perspective of her as a stabilizing force, to the view of her as a villain whose refugee policy has led to turbulence both in the public and within her conservative party. Having stepped down as head of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) due to mounting criticism of her refugee policies, Merkel broke from the Chancellor's traditional role as head of government and head of their political party.



Niko Switek (University of Washington)

Whoever succeeds Merkel, Switek argued, will test the validity of her changes within the CDU. Switek then took a closer look at the influence Merkel has had on the socio-cultural and economic positions of the CDU. He characterized the CDU as a centrist party positioned as a conservative party, one which, under Merkel, has moved towards the economic left and socially progressive end of the spectrum. These shifting positions within the CDU have led to the rise of new coalition models, Switek notes. While national attempts at new coalitions were ultimately unsuccessful, Switek's analysis on the state and subnational levels has shown new coalitions forming. He proposed that these newly forming coalitions, along with the tension between Chancellor Merkel and the new head of the CDU, may lead to an earlier end to Merkel's chancellorship than expected. However, he added that people have wrongly predicted the end of Merkel's leadership throughout her tenure as chancellor. Ultimately, though, Germany will be heading into uncharted waters.

The Q&A addressed refugee policies, particularly how the CDU and conservative coalitions handle the rise of the far-right party Alternative for Germany (AfD), and how refugee policies affected the CDU's leftist shift on the socio-cultural spectrum. Switek acknowledged both of these issues, explaining how the growth of AfD has stimulated the search for new coalitions.

Science, Poetry and Culture in Early Modern Portugal

By Melina Kompella

On April 22, the Institute of European Studies welcomed **LUÍS MIGUEL CAROLINO**, Professor at Lisbon University Institute, Portugal, and Visiting Professor in the Department of History at UC Berkeley. Carolino's research centers on the cultural and intellectual history of early modern Europe, with an emphasis on Portugal and the Portuguese overseas empire from the 15th to the 19th century. His presentation was titled "**Science, Poetry and Cultural Resistance in Early Modern Portugal.**"



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Visiting Professor Luis Miguel Carolino

During the lecture, Carolino analyzed neo-Latin cosmological poems and traced their influences to skepticism, Neo-Platonism, Lucretian atomism, and Stoic philosophy. He discussed the history of cosmological poetry in Renaissance Europe, focusing on the special case of Portugal. This poetry was often perceived as a privileged means to discuss the

constitution of heaven, its structure and the interrelations of its parts. It was in Portugal that the first sharp and comprehensive criticism of Aristotelian natural philosophy emerged poetically, through physicians Francisco Sanches, Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro and Manuel Bocarro Francês. As Carolino argued, the physicians produced poetry as an intellectual way of rising against the philosophical tradition and cultural hegemony established by the Counter-Reformation movement. Carolino used these examples of Portuguese poetry to examine the intersection of science, philosophy, and art in Renaissance Europe. During the Q&A, Carolino addressed the social, institutional, and cultural relations of science, as well as the intersection between confessionalization, institutional policies and the practice of science in early modern Europe.

Far-Right Intellectual Counterculture in Germany

By Sophia Kownatzki

On April 23, IES and GHI West welcomed **ELIAH BURES**, a former graduate student at Berkeley's Department of History who currently is a

postdoctoral teaching fellow at Berkeley, for a lecture entitled "**Beachhead or Refugium? The Rise and Dilemma of Germany's Far-right Intellectual Counterculture.**" In his talk, he traced the development of the right-wing intellectual counterculture since World War II, particularly highlighting the influences of Ernst Junger and Carl Schmitt on radical conservatism.

As Bures explained, those active in the current intellectual far-right movement present themselves as nonconformists who stand up against political correctness and the cultural mainstream. He also notes that this intellectual far-right rebellion is an attempt to steer the term "counterculture" away from the 1960s leftist counterculture. However, Bures also identifies a split in the new right: some want to break into the mainstream, while others believe it is wiser to wait for the transformation that will come only in years from now. The latter see the far-right counterculture as a safe haven for right-wing radicals to cultivate new ideas and protect existing ideologies while they wait for the end of the modern liberal, cosmopolitan world order.

Bures' talk was followed by a lively discussion with the 20 students, faculty, and community members in attendance.



Elijah Bures (UC Berkeley)

Loyalist Bonfires in Northern Ireland

by Ella Smith and Alison Spencer

On April 24, the Irish Studies Program at IES welcomed **RENÉE TOSSER**, Assistant Professor of Irish Civilization at Université de la Réunion in France, for a lecture on "**Political Imagery and Bonfires in Northern Ireland.**" Her talk to an audience of 25 was accompanied by photographs from her exhibition on bonfires entitled "King Billy's Towers," shown in Ireland and North America in 2016. Tosser demonstrated through her research and photographs how relevant marches



Eric Falci, Director of the Irish Studies Program, with visiting scholar Renée Tosser

and bonfires are to understanding Northern Ireland's contemporary culture and political history.

Tosser first provided a historical overview of marches in Northern Ireland, where up to 4,000 parades happen in a single year. These events are especially prominent around July 12, known as "the Twelfth," which celebrates the victory of William of Orange at the Battle at the Boyne against the English Catholic King James II in 1690. The celebrations traditionally involve visual displays, in particular large outdoor wall murals and bonfires, through which Northern Ireland's powerful sense of nationalism is exemplified. As Tosser argues, these celebrations act as social paradigms which entertain and seek to encourage separation between the Catholic and Protestant communities of Northern Ireland.

Much time, money, and energy is invested in the construction of massive bonfires, which are controlled by loyalist movements. Associated with masculinity, strength, and power, Tosser claims that the bonfires are military and political symbols through which the loyalists assert domination and superiority over territories previously occupied by Catholics. They have also become a means to show resentment of Irish political leadership as a whole. "No one represents us," reads one sign on a bonfire, in one of Tosser's photographs. Despite being contentious and dangerous, the bonfires are considered "culture" and may receive public funding, since the Good Friday Agreement enabled communities to organize cultural displays as a way to keep the peace. Tosser argues that the bonfires represent a form of "institutionalized sectarianism," pointing out that they have paradoxically become higher and more divisive than before the peace process was enacted.

During the Q&A, Tosser explained the mix of symbols on the bonfires, which may include Catholic icons, Palestinian and Confederate flags, and effigies of republicans and Sinn Fein politicians, along with the Irish flag itself. She noted the irony of Protestant groups burning the Irish flag, whose orange band represents Protestants within Ireland. To conclude, she noted that 2018 marked a turning point in the history of "the Twelfth," when two bonfires were removed following judicial decisions, and that Brexit risks complicating the situation even further.

Migration from the Margins in Jewish Europe and Africa

By Julia Zimring



GHI Tandem Fellows Florian Wagner (left) and Nick Underwood

On April 24, IES and GHI-West presented a dual lecture on the history of migration with tandem fellows **NICK UNDERWOOD** (PhD, University of Colorado, Boulder) and **FLORIAN WAGNER** (Assistant Professor of Contemporary History, University of Erfurt, Germany). Their research centers around Jewish return migration and repatriation tendencies in France and Ethiopia.

Underwood's presentation centered on reconstructing Jewish France after the Holocaust. Based on his current book project titled "Plural Jewish Communities: Yiddish Culture and Jewish Migration in post-Holocaust France 1944–1965," it considered the postwar reestablishment of Yiddish-speaking Jewish communities in France, discussing new markers of inclusion that helped to create a new, Franco-Yiddish postwar Jewish identity. As Underwood argued, offering examples from Yiddish cultural organizations and literary journals, this particular Jewish community sought to distance itself from normative French bourgeois culture, appealing instead to an alternative French leftist and internationalist Republicanism that advocated for cultural pluralism and cosmopolitanism.

Wagner then turned to Jewish repatriation in Ethiopia. In the 1980s, Ethiopian Jews were the last Jewish diaspora group to publicly debate repatriation to Israel, as a result of the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Ethiopia under the repressive Derg regime. Most refugees fled to camps in Southern Sudan, where, however, they faced food shortages and thus decided to organize their "repatriation": the Ethiopian Jews to Israel, and the Tigrayans and Eritreans to their country of origin. Using sources from the Sudanese refugee camps and beyond, Wagner demonstrated how these self-organized repatriations were linked. He argued that, by promoting their migration and repatriation, these groups contributed to a new, non-Eurocentric humanitarian discourse that both used and contradicted international refugee law. The presentations were followed by a moderated discussion with **ANDREA WESTERMANN**, Research Fellow and Head of Office of the Pacific Regional Office of the GHI.

Understanding Brexit

By Davit Gasparyan

On April 24 and 25, IES was honored to welcome **MATT BEECH** for two engaging lectures on Brexit. Beech is an IES Senior Fellow and founding director of the Centre for British Politics at the University of Hull.



Top: IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Senior Fellow Matt Beech; below, with IES Director Jeroen Dewulf

parliamentary gridlock in the UK.

Beech's lecture at IES, "**So what are we to make of Brexit?**", was attended by over 40 guests. Summarizing Brexit's political, economic, and social components, Beech claims that a conflict in British culture played a major role in bringing about Brexit. In order to understand Brexit, Beech argues, we need to relate it to a crisis of identity, beliefs, and values which is the result of a conflict between conservative and cosmopolitan cultural poles. Thus, in his view, Brexit is about the idea of who the British are and want to be. At the end of the day, in his words, "Brexit reflects the heart of the people and not only the head." Beech continued by talking about the UK's unique role in the EU and

the frequent clashes of interests that arise. He then discussed the current situation of Brexit and explained that any attempt to distract from Brexit defies the voice of the majority. To conclude, Beech discussed the polarization of political parties, including the pro-Brexit party led by Nigel Farage and Change UK, a newly created anti-Brexit party. The lecture was followed by passionate discussions during an insightful Q&A.

EU Ambassadors Undergraduate Conference: Climate Change and the EU

By Alison Spencer



Participants and jurors in the 2019 EU Ambassadors Undergraduate Conference

On April 26, the European Union Center, housed at IES, was pleased to sponsor the **EU Ambassadors Undergraduate Research Conference**. The focus of this year's conference was the effect of climate change in the European Union. Undergraduate students **HARINI BOIENIPELLY, JOAQUIN A. MONCADA, and SARA ZAAT** presented their research to the audience and the jury composed of members of the IES program.

Boienipelly's paper focused on the effects of climate change on the European Union's refugee crisis. She noted that from 2015 to 2016, the EU experienced a spike in asylum applicants greater than 1 million per year. Boienipelly argued that the EU's response to this crisis has not effectively addressed climate change as a contributing factor. She cited UN projections that by 2020, the world will have 50 million migrants due to environmental factors, with that number rising to 200 million by 2050. Climate change in the Middle East and North Africa region is currently intensifying geopolitical conflicts, with flooding and natural resource scarcity becoming ever more

pressing problems. Boienipelly expressed her view that the European Union has a moral duty to admit even more people from these regions due to EU nations' contribution to increasing global warming. Boienipelly argued that the EU could combat public dissatisfaction concerning the refugee crisis by introducing the idea of climate refugees to the international conversation.

Joaquin A. Moncada discussed his research on Regulation EU 2019/452. This regulation, set forth by the European Parliament and Council of the European Union in February 2019, created a framework for screening foreign direct investment in the European Union. EU nations have expressed concern over Chinese investment into sensitive sectors of their economies, such as telecommunications. Regulation 452 was preceded by some unilateral approaches, as Germany, France, and the UK have instituted tougher investment rules in recent years. Moncada's theoretical framework cited market failure theory, hegemonic stability theory, and the transaction costs argument as potential explanations for the EU's institution of this regulation. He explained that the goals of this regulatory regime are to promote multilateral cooperation, address security concerns around Chinese investment, and reduce the transaction costs of sharing information relevant to this issue between EU nations.

Sara Zaat presented research on how the EU and the US have addressed the issue of food waste in recent years. Over one third of the world's edible food is currently lost or wasted, and the OECD recognizes food waste reduction as crucial in meeting increasing world food needs. One challenge in researching food waste, Zaat noted, is that most Americans think they waste less than the average American, and it is hard to obtain accurate figures from survey respondents. Both the US and the EU provide digital tools for consumer benefit. In the US, organizations such as the EPA have posted online guides to aid consumers in reducing waste. In the EU, WRAP (Waste & Resources Action Programme) works to create change through educating businesses and consumers on sustainable practices. Zaat concluded by pointing out that both the EU and the US have ambitious aims for food waste reduction, with increasing unity among cities and nations needed to effectively address the issue.

After a long deliberation, the jury decided to select Sara Zaat's paper as the winning contribution in this year's undergraduate conference. Congratulations, Sara!

Greek Relations and the 'Macedonia' Name Agreement

By Davit Gasparyan and Alison Spencer

On April 29, the IES was honored to welcome Dr. SPERO PARAVANTES, an IES Senior Fellow and Senior Research Fellow at the University of Luxembourg, for a fascinating lecture titled "**Building Bridges or a Bridge Too Far? The 'Macedonia' Name Agreement and the Past, Present and Future of Greek Interstate Relations.**" As suggested by the title, the lecture centered on the issue of the Macedonian name and its history, and the future prospects of Greek-North Macedonian relations.



IES Director Jeroen Dewulf and Senior Fellow Spero Paravantes

Paravantes first offered historical background on the controversy over the name "Macedonia" which--along with the symbol of the Sun of Vergina, utilized by North Macedonia--has roots in Greek culture. Following the collapse of Yugoslavia and the independence of North Macedonia, tensions escalated between Greece and North Macedonia given the latter's choice to use a name that is part of the Greek identity. This fact angered many Greeks who believed that North Macedonians did not have claim to the symbol and name since they are ethnically of Bulgarian and not of Greek origin. While the recent Prespa agreement seemingly put an end to this conflict over the name, the prime ministers of both countries faced much domestic backlash. He then went on to discuss hindrances to reaching an agreement due to factors such as Greece's financial crisis. He also explained how Geoffrey R. Pyatt, US Ambassador to Greece, pushed for an agreement that was finally reached earlier this year, establishing the name "North Macedonia" and opening the country's prospects for NATO and EU membership. Paravantes then discussed the role of Russian intervention in opposing the Prespa Treaty brokered by Pyatt, especially considering the latter's previous role as ambassador in Ukraine. Paravantes concluded by discussing future prospects for cooperation between Greece and North Macedonia. During a lively Q&A with 25 attendees, Paravantes discussed Russian intervention, geopolitics, and the future of the treaty.

Integrating Asylum-seekers in Germany

By Sophia Kownatski

On Thursday, May 2, **ANNETTE LÜTZEL** (practitioner-in-residence at GHI West) spoke to a group of 20 about her experience as a psychologist and social worker in Germany, in a lecture titled "**Asylum and Integration Policies in Germany – from the 1990s to 2015.**" Lützel spoke not only from an academic perspective, but also from her experience in assisting asylum seekers through the years, offering personal insights on the the legal troubles and trauma that accompany an asylum seeker's journey.

Lützel explained the legal bases and frameworks in place during the 1990s, when almost one million asylum seekers fleeing conflict in East and Southeastern Europe entered Germany. Between then and 2015, laws, politics, and public sentiments toward the refugee and asylum process in Germany have

shifted, and Lützel traced landmark changes in her lecture. In the 1990s, Lützel outlined, Germany had high unemployment, asylum seekers had limited rights, lived in insecure situations, and often failed to meet the legal basis as warranted by the German constitution to receive refugee status (at the time, those fleeing civil war did not meet the standard of



Andrea Westermann (Research Fellow & Head of Office, GHI West) with Annette Lützel

being persecuted by the state or through political motivation). Germany's aging population and fear of losing a young labor force, along with the election of a Social Democrat/Green governing coalition led to an easing of immigration policies, most notably reforming the legal basis for refugee status in the German constitution. Changing attitudes toward asylum seekers are most evident in the *Wilkommenskultur* ("welcoming culture") of 2015, when Germany accepted about 700,000 asylum seekers. This initial eagerness wore off, and led to a number of deals with Turkey and Lebanon to stem the flow of refugees to Germany. Despite difficulties and protests, Lützel highlighted the change in

cultural acceptance of refugees, evident across the country, including with her Language Teaching Project in partnership with the University of Hildesheim.

In the Q&A, one audience member asked about the relationship between federal, state, and local governments in refugee policy. While policies are mostly top-down, Lützel pointed to education policy – including refugee education – as a primarily state-run project. Another asked about the Language Teaching Project, which Lützel explained often assists in providing additional resources, such as job search programs, because of the lack of social workers in the region.

EU Foreign Policy in North Korea

By Sophia Kownatski

On May 7, IES together with the Institute of East Asian Studies and the Center for Korean Studies was pleased to sponsor a lecture by Dr. **TEREZA NOVOTNÁ** titled "**Between Maximum Pressure and Minimum Engagement: The EU's Foreign Policy Towards North Korea.**" Novotná is a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the Center for European Integration at Free University Berlin, and a Senior Associate Research Fellow at the EUROPEUM, a Prague-based think-tank. Her lecture examined questions related to the EU's foreign policy on the Korean Peninsula and in North East Asia.

Since the PyeongChang Olympic Games in 2018, Novotná outlined, there has been more hope for a peaceful solution to the crisis on the Korean peninsula. Three inter-Korean summits have taken place between South Korean President Moon Jae-In and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, as well as the summit in Singapore between Uh and US President Donald Trump. Yet these apparent breakthroughs have been followed by disappointments, including the breakdown of the second US-DPRK summit in Hanoi. If the cycle reverts back to the "maximum pressure" policy, the North Korean conundrum may not only represent an international crisis, but it can also develop into a future hotspot where policies of the allies, the EU and the US (and others), may critically



IES Associate Director Akasemi Newsome with Tereza Novotná

diverge, forcing the EU and its Member States into conflicts along the lines of the Iraq war.

In her lecture, Novotná discussed the possibility of reviving stalled denuclearization talks, and considered how the EU could best contribute to a solution in the Korean peninsula. She also explored the best strategy that the new EU leadership should adopt after the May 2019 European elections.

Ireland, the UK, and Brexit

By Danielle Miller

On May 14, the Irish Studies Program was pleased to welcome Maynooth University professor **JOHN O'BRENNAN** for a lecture titled **“Requiem for a Shared Interdependent Past: Brexit and the Deterioration in UK-Irish Relations,”** co-sponsored by the Center for British Studies, the Department of Political Science, and the Anglo-American Studies Program.

O'Brennan, who is also a member of the Irish government's Brexit Stakeholder Group, began by outlining the many ways in which Ireland will be negatively affected by Brexit. While much of the lead up to the 2016 Brexit referendum excluded Irish concerns from mainstream political debate in the UK, the 2017 Conservative-DUP agreement and gridlock over Theresa May's withdrawal agreement have made the Irish border and controversial Northern Irish backstop center-stage issues. As a result, political and media attention on Ireland and Northern Ireland has grown. Northern Ireland, which voted 56% Remain, and especially Ireland, O'Brennan says, have a “real sense of regret” about the UK's decision to leave the EU. He concedes, however, that the EU has been more beneficial for Ireland than the UK, since Ireland depends on the single market more than almost any other member state.

To prepare for Brexit, O'Brennan noted, Ireland has been engaging in robust political, economic, and diplomatic activities. The central priority of the



Irish Studies Program Director Eric Falci with John O'Brennan

Irish Department of Foreign Affairs is to inform other EU member states—especially in central and eastern Europe—and allies across the globe like the US, that maintenance of the Good Friday Agreement is crucial for peace. Within Ireland, the government has worked to diversify its export markets away from the UK, mobilize civil society, and redefine Ireland's modern relationship with the EU as less about functionality for Ireland, and more about Ireland's role in helping to shape the EU project.

During Q&A with a lively audience of 30, O'Brennan was asked about Ireland's geopolitical status with regard to security and defense. Another attendee noted that the growing media attention toward Northern Ireland has put a spotlight on the region's creative sectors, building on O'Brennan's remarks that in some ways, Brexit may have benefits. For Ireland, Brexit could also mean attracting foreign university students who otherwise may have been bound for the UK.

The Worldwide #MeToo Movement



On May 12-15, IES was honored to co-sponsor a **conference on The Worldwide #MeToo Movement: Global Resistance to Sexual Harassment and Violence**, hosted by the Berkeley Comparative Equality & Anti-Discrimination Law Study Group. The conference included a one-day public meeting, as well as various plenary panels, break out workshops, and keynote speeches that discussed how the #MeToo movement has affected women's lives

across the globe, and how resistance to the movement endangers its successes. Legal scholars, attorneys, and practitioner-experts from 23 countries across the globe gathered to discuss the systemic issues that permit sexual harassment and explore creative solutions to address the problem using the tools of comparative law. Keynote speakers included **CATHARINE MACKINNON**, Professor of Law, University of Michigan/Harvard, who pioneered the legal claim for sexual harassment as sex discrimination in employment and education; **PURNA SEN**, Executive Coordinator and Spokesperson on Addressing Sexual Harassment and Other Forms of Discrimination, United Nations; and **SARU JAYARAMAN**, Co-Founder and Co-Director of the Restaurant Opportunities Centers United (ROC United), Director of the Food Labor Research Center at UC Berkeley, and San Francisco Chronicle 2019 Visionary of the Year for her advocacy for restaurant workers' rights, including against sexual harassment. Panel and workshop events focused on the role of the general counsel and board, workplace investigations, litigation, law reform, social media, harassment prevention, and harassment viewed through the lens of race, sexual orientation, disability, and class. Over 60 speakers presented their work to an audience of over 150 lawyers and activists.



Previous page: Keynote speaker Catharine Mackinnon; above, a panel at the Worldwide #MeToo conference

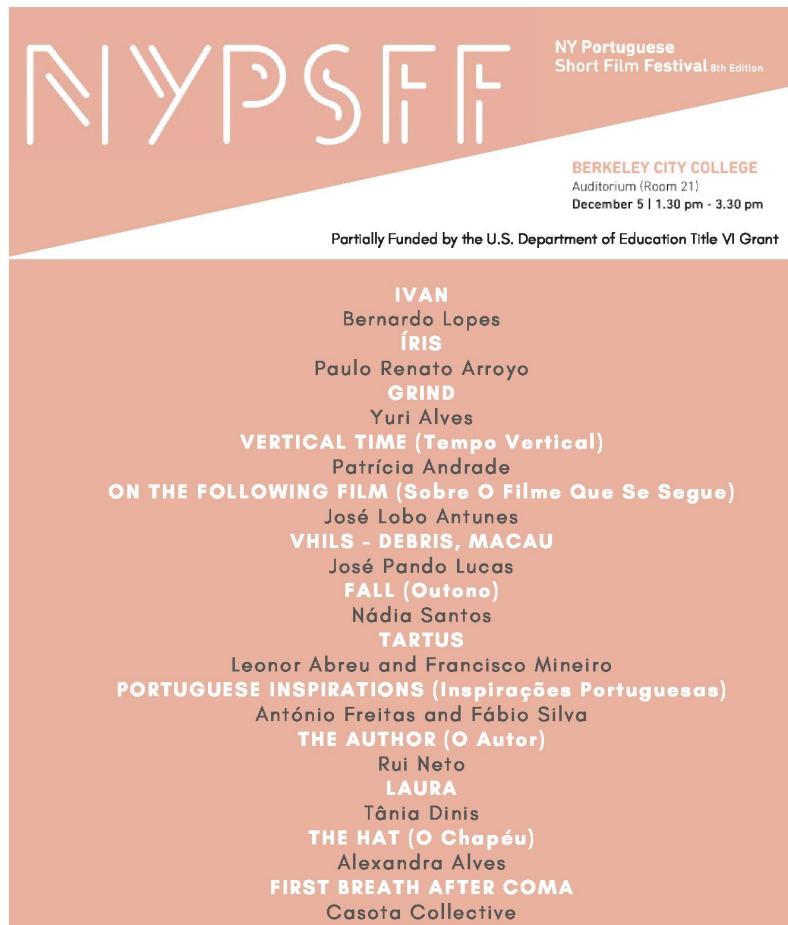
Portuguese Studies Events at Berkeley City College

By Duarte Pinheiro

Spring 2019 was an intense semester for Portuguese Studies Program event at Berkeley City College. Beginning on December 5, BCC was the stage for the 8th edition of the **NY Portuguese Short Film Festival in California**. The festival took place in the main auditorium and counted more than 50 guests. On March 20, renowned filmmaker **SARA LEAL** presented her film "A Fajã onde o tempo não mora" and talked with a group of 20 students about her experience as Azorean director." On April 22, anticipating the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the "Carnation Revolution," Prof. **INÊS LIMA** from CSU Fresno delivered a lecture titled "**The 1974 Portuguese revolution and its objectives: Democratization, Decolonization and Development.**" Famed author **INÊS PEDROSA** talked to Berkeley City College students on May 14 about her novel "**In your hands**," engaging the audience in a debate about translation and literary themes. The students demonstrated great interest in learning more about Portuguese culture and in reading other books by the author.



Inês Pedrosa talks to students at Berkeley City College



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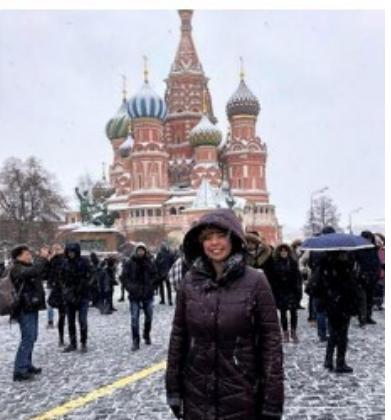
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