



CES@ Harvard



2016 - 2017 REVIEW



The Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES) at Harvard is one of the nation's leading academic institutions focusing on European history, politics and societies. Its mission is to advance research, teaching on Europe's past and present, and discussions about its future. This publication highlights some of the people and activities that helped make CES a vibrant intellectual community in 2016-2017.

CES EVENTS

Rising populism and nationalism, the U.S. presidential elections, changing foreign policy dynamics, and the decline of leftist parties were among the central issues debated at the Center this year. From intimate off-the-record sessions to large conferences, CES events hosted some of the most original and influential scholars and practitioners, with their diverse topics reflecting the Center's interdisciplinary nature.

At the start of the academic year, the world's focus on the U.S. presidential elections drew attention to the effect of populist movements on both sides of the Atlantic. The Center's Populism and Nationalism series invited distinguished Harvard experts including Dani Rodrik and Theda Skocpol to reflect on how the Brexit campaign and the candidacy of Donald Trump have energized voters to support anti-establishment political candidates and parties.

The challenge of rising populism on democratic governance was a leading theme throughout the year. The Annual Zaleski Lecture on Polish History examined the PiS government's efforts to subvert the independence of Polish Courts. Andrzej Rzeplinski, President of the Polish Constitutional Tribunal (2010-2016), shared his personal account of fending off limits on the judiciary.

Presenting his new book, Daniel Ziblatt, Professor of Government at Harvard and CES Resident Faculty, argued that conservative parties play a critical role in maintaining the stability of democratic systems (*see interview p. 14*). Examining the other side of the political spectrum, the Southern Europe series brought together scholars and policy makers at a one-day symposium to consider the decline of leftist parties amid the tide of populist and nationalist movements.

The intersection of poverty and social marginalization took center stage at a conference organized by the CES Social Exclusion and Inclusion Seminar and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

At the two-day event, international experts outlined how policies, such as affirmative action, inclusive housing, basic income and social protection floors may reduce poverty.

Europe's economy was the subject of deep and wide-ranging discussions at CES. Europe on Credit – an event series conceptualized by Mary D. Lewis, Robert Walton Goelet Professor of French History at Harvard and CES Resident Faculty, and Emmanuel Bouju, Institut Universitaire de France – invited financial experts, literary scholars, historians and social scientists to explore the connection between public finance and narratives of indebtedness and creditworthiness. Benoît Cœuré, member of the Executive Board of the European Central Bank, gave the inaugural keynote address on sovereign debt, and Harold James, Claude and Lore Kelly Professor in European Studies, Princeton University, concluded the series with a look at debt forgiveness in modern Europe. Leading German and American economists were invited by the European Economic Policy Forum to consider Ordoliberalism – Germany's economic policy approach developed by Walter Eucken – and its conflicts with U.S. economic policy.

The semi centennial of Theodor Adorno's *Negative Dialectics* – his magnum opus in Philosophy and Social Theory – was celebrated by scholars from across the U.S. and Europe at a two-day international conference organized by the Harvard Colloquium for Intellectual History.

The following pages highlight a selection of the CES-sponsored events that deepened the discussion of Europe at Harvard.



162

CES Events

408

Speakers

40

Policy & Public
Leaders

364

Scholars



Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall

Özyeğin Forum on Modern Turkey

Sherwood-Randall's keynote speech addresses Turkey's relations with Europe & U.S.

The Özyeğin Forum on Modern Turkey was established at CES in 2015 through a gift by the family of Hüsnü Özyeğin. This year, some of the themes the Forum explored included Turkey's relations with Europe and the United States, the current refugee crisis, and the history of modern Istanbul.

In April, Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, who served as President Barack Obama's principal adviser on Turkey, was the keynote speaker at the Hüsnü Özyeğin Annual Lecture on Modern Turkey. She boldly plunged into the labyrinth of Turkey's politics and relationship with the United States by first referencing noted Harvard professor and CES Founding Director Stanley Hoffmann's principle "history matters."

"The lessons of the past suggest that there will be divergent tendencies in Turkey," said Sherwood-Randall, Special Assistant to the President, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Energy (2014-2017) and Senior Director for European Affairs, National Security Council (2009-2013). "Therefore its path to democracy, or away from democracy, will not be linear, nor will it necessarily follow a model that is familiar to us. We have seen times in which it appeared that Turkey was becoming more democratic, more nationalist, and more Islamist all at the same time."

For Sherwood-Randall the event was a homecoming: During her freshman year at Harvard, she became a research assistant to Stanley Hoffmann. To her, this was "an early opportunity" that shaped her entire career.

"We see that the emerging Cold War division of Europe became the prism through which Turkey was seen by the West – and that shaped both perceptions and engagement," she said. "Later, during the oil crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. saw Turkey as a key partner. Turkey did not feel comfortable with its role as providing the U.S. with access to the Middle East and Southwest Asia and raised concerns about its unique

position as a NATO ally at the crossroads of East and West and of the Christian and Islamic worlds."

Sherwood-Randall detailed the efforts of the Obama administration to improve relations at a time "when Turkey seemed to be on a promising path toward strengthening its democracy." Through Obama's efforts, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan chose to cooperate with the United States on key matters. "This is an example of how leadership matters – and the relationship between leaders matters," she said.

"The fate of Turkish democracy matters to the United States, and to Europe, and yet the question is how can we effectively engage," she concluded.

In conjunction with the Harvard-Mellon Urban Initiative, the Özyeğin Forum on Modern Turkey also sponsored a daylong colloquium on "Finding Refuge: Istanbul-Berlin." Using the Berlin-Istanbul connection as a focus, speakers highlighted the devastation experienced by populations subject to forced migration, as well as the positive forces that can emerge when refugee and host cultures mix.

Looking back at Turkey's history, Charles King, Professor of International Affairs and Government, Georgetown University, presented his recent book, *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul*, which traces the transformation of the Ottoman Empire's capital to a cosmopolitan city of refugees, jazz bars, muezzins and spies and a rare blend of Islam and democracy.

Third Summit on the Future of Europe

The Summit on the Future of Europe, the Center's flagship conference, opened with Charles Maier's observation that "these are desperate but not hopeless times." Maier, Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History and CES Resident Faculty, was among the more than 20 prominent academics and policy leaders who spoke at the daylong event, entitled, "Europe and The Forces of Disunion."

With a keynote address by Pierre Moscovici, European Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs, Taxation and Customs, the Summit featured panels that examined Brexit, the Eurozone, security and foreign policy challenges, and the future of democracy.

Peter A. Hall, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies at Harvard and CES Resident Faculty, observed that multiple challenges face Europe: debt, banking and growth crises; declining levels of trust in government; and a shift away from mainstream politics. Pippa Norris, the Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Harvard Kennedy School, argued rising populism has altered traditional left-right political divides and that "a new cleavage" now splits those with cosmopolitan, liberal attitudes from those who are anti-establishment. "The populist surge in both Europe and the United States is driven mostly by a cultural backlash against progressive values," she said.

Speaking less than a week after the U.S. presidential election, Commissioner Moscovici drew parallels between Europe and the U.S. He noted: "A growing part of our populations can no longer relate to existing systems and are seeking new ways of expressions." Moreover, he said, Europe's "dream of free movement of people, goods, services and capital is now seen by many as a threat."

Wolfgang Merkel, Director of the Democracy and Democratization Research Unit at the WZB

(Berlin Social Science Center) and a 2016 John F. Kennedy Memorial Policy Fellow, advised against sweeping judgments about the decline of democracy. While studies show a significant decline in public trust in elective government and political parties, they also show a high trust in (non-elected) institutions such as the military, police, and the judiciary, he said.

The dangers to democracy posed by the rise of far-right political parties could be mitigated by the actions of traditional center-right parties, argued Daniel Ziblatt, Professor of Government at Harvard and CES Resident Faculty. "A well-organized constitutional right is able to contain the far right within its ranks," he said.

Referring to the European economy, Jeffry Frieden, Professor of Government at Harvard commented, "Unfortunately, we are still in the midst of the most serious crisis in the history of European integration." He added, "The longer member states of the Eurozone... delay a restructuring of ... debts, the greater costs to overall growth in the area, the greater the political cost to every member state government, and the greater the political cost to the European Union."

Christopher Smart, a senior fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School's Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government, struck a more hopeful note. "While populism and nationalism are no doubt on the rise, broader economic and technological trends are driving the world closer together," he said.

Commissioner Moscovici also posed the question, "Did we fail?" After acknowledging missteps, he outlined needed action, including forcing corporations to pay their fair share of



taxes, supporting education from childhood to lifelong learning, and establishing economic policies that focus on human capital and productivity.

"Reviving our people's desire for Europe will not be simple," he said. "We must not be shameful, we must not be shy when we talk about Europe. We must be proactive."

SAVE THE DATE:

The fourth Annual Summit on the Future of Europe will be held on November 6, 2017.

PHOTOS: (top) Pierre Moscovici (left to right) Christopher Smart, Jeffry Frieden, Graham Allison, Mary Elise Sarotte, Peter Hall, Vivien Schmidt



Public Officials and Policy Leaders at CES 2016-2017

Joaquín Almunia - Vice President and Commissioner for Competition, European Commission (2010-2014)

George Alogoskoufis - Minister of Economy and Finance of Greece (2004-2009)

Jochen Andritzky - Secretary General, German Council of Economic Experts

Ed Balls - UK Shadow Chancellor (2011-2015)

José María Beneyto - Member of the Spanish Parliament & Spokesperson for Foreign Affairs (2008-2011)

Ludwig Blaurock - Counselor for Political and Military Affairs, Security & Development Section, Delegation of the European Union to the United States

Gennady Burbulis - First Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation (1991-1992)

Marco Buti - Director General of the Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs, European Commission

Benoît Cœuré - Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank

Servaas Deroose - Deputy Director-General, Directorate-General Economics and Financial Affairs (ECFIN), European Commission

Radivoje Grujić - Election Adviser, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

Wolfgang Ischinger - Chairman, Munich Security Conference

Georgios Kaminis - Mayor of Athens

Andrei Kozyrev - Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (1990-1996)

Leonid Kravchuk - President of Ukraine (1991-1994)

Thierry Mandon - Secretary of State for Higher Education and Research, France

Yves Mersch - Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank

Miguel Moratinos - European Union Special Representative to the Middle East Peace Process (1996-2003); Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (2004-2010), Spain

Pierre Moscovici - European Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs, Taxation and Customs

Carl Hvenmark Nilsson - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Babatunde Omilola - Head of Development Planning and Inclusive Growth, United Nations Development Program

George Papaconstantinou - Minister of Finance, Greece (2009-2011); Minister of Environment, Energy and Climate Change, Greece (2011-2012)

Valérie Pécresse - President of the Greater Paris Region, France

Henri Piffaut - Civil Servant, DG Competition, European Commission; Fellow

Carles Puigdemont - President of the Government of Catalonia

Vijayendra Rao - Lead Economist, Development Research Group, The World Bank

Andrzej Rzeplinski - President of the Polish Constitutional Tribunal (2010-2016)

Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall - Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Energy (2014-2017); Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European Affairs, National Security Council (2009-2013); Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia (1994-1996)

Stanislau Shushkevich - Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus (1991-1994)

Sławomir Sierakowski - Founder and Leader, Krytyka Polityczna (Political Critique); Director, Institute for Advanced Study, Warsaw

Radosław Sikorski - Speaker of Parliament (2014-2015) and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland (2007-2014)

Lorenzo Bini Smaghi - Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank (2005-2011)

Christopher Smart - Special Assistant to the US President for International Economics (2013-2015); Deputy Assistant Secretary of Treasury for Europe and Eurasia (2009-2013)

Christoph Schmidt - Chairman, German Council of Economic Experts

Philipp Steinberg - Head of Economic Policy, Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, Germany

Sir Paul Tucker - Chair, The Systemic Risk Council; Deputy Governor, Bank of England (2009-2013)

João Vale de Almeida - Ambassador of the European Union, United Nations

Thomas Wieser - President, Euro Working Group and Economic and Financial Committee, Council of the European Union

Gulay Yedekci - Member of the Turkish



Valérie Pécresse



José María Beneyto



Benoît Cœuré



Andrzej Rzeplinski

Event Highlights

In 2016-2017, CES event series facilitated more than 120 events. The activities offered members of the public opportunities to exchange ideas with leaders from the worlds of academia,

policy and culture. The following pages showcase the events that helped make the Center a place of dynamic debate where lasting bonds of community are formed.

19

Event Series

125

Events



Laurent Birgogne

August Zaleski Memorial Lecture in Modern Polish History

Dismantling Democracy on the EU's Watch: Poland and Its Constitutional Tribunal

Andrzej Rzeplinski – Professor of Jurisprudence, Warsaw University; President of the Polish Constitutional Tribunal (2010-2016)
Noah Feldman – Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law, Harvard Law School; Director, Julis-Rabinowitz Program on Jewish and Israeli Law
Kim L. Scheppelle – Visiting Professor of Law & John Harvey Gregory Lecturer on World Organization, Harvard Law School; Laurance S. Rockefeller Professor of Sociology and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School and the University Center for Human Values, Princeton University

A Center-Periphery Europe? Perspectives from Southern Europe

Future of the Left Symposium - Is There a Future for the Left in Europe?

Joaquín Almunia – Chairman of the Center for European Studies (CEPS), Leader of the PSOE (1997-2000)
Antonio Costa Pinto – Visiting Professor, New York University; Research Professor, Institute of Social Science, University of Lisbon
Arthur Goldhammer – Translator and Writer; CES Local Affiliate & Study Group Co-Chair
Peter A. Hall – Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies, Harvard University & CES Residents Faculty
Georgios Kaminis – Mayor of Athens
Félix Krawatzek – British Academy Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Department of Politics & International Relations, Oxford University & CES Visiting Scholar
Gianni Riotta – Journalist & Pirelli Visiting Professor in Italian Studies, Princeton University
Śławomir Sierakowski – Founder and Leader, *Krytyka Polityczna*; Director, Institute for Advanced Study, Warsaw

Colonial Encounters and Divergent Development Trajectories in the Mediterranean

Arabs and the Problem of the Color Line: Prince Faisal at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference

Elizabeth Thompson – Mohamed Said Farsi Chair of Islamic Peace, American University

Contemporary Europe

The Populist Paradox: How the Promotion of Christian Identity by European Populists Contributes to Secularization

Olivier Roy – Professor, Joint Chair Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and Director of the Mediterranean Programme, European University Institute
Tarek Masoud – Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations, Harvard Kennedy School

Director's Seminar

Perhapsburg: Reflections on the Fragility and Resilience of Europe

Ivan Krastev – Chairman, Center for Liberal Strategies, Sofia; Permanent Fellow, Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna (IWM)
Kim L. Scheppelle – Visiting Professor of Law & John Harvey Gregory Lecturer on World Organization, Harvard Law School; Laurance S. Rockefeller Professor of Sociology and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School and the University Center for Human Values, Princeton University

Europe on Credit

The Jubilee: Debt Forgiveness in Modern Europe

Harold James – Claude and Lore Kelly Professor in European Studies; Professor of History and International Affairs; Director, Program in Contemporary European Politics and Society, Princeton University



Charles Maier, Derek Penslar, Peter E. Gordon, Mary D. Lewis, Terry Martin, David Armitage (left to right)

European Economic Policy Forum

ECB and the Fed – An Ocean Apart?

Yves Mersch – Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank

European Election Monitor Series

What to Expect from the French Presidential Election?

Laurent Bigorgne – Director, Institut Montaigne

Hakim El Karoui – Essayist

Dominique Moisi – Senior Counselor, Institut Montaigne; Co-Founder, Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI)

Vincent Pons – Assistant Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School; CES Local Affiliate

The European Union

The Future of German American Relations

Yascha Mounk – Lecturer in the Government Department, Harvard University; CES Local Affiliate

Mary Elise Sarotte – Dean's Professor of History and Professor of International Relations, University of Southern California; Senior Fellow, Transatlantic Academy, German Marshall Fund; CES Faculty Associate

Stephen Szabo – Executive Director, Transatlantic Academy

Heidi Tworek – Assistant Professor of International History, University of British Columbia; CES Local Affiliate

European Union Law and Government

Strengthening Modern Democracies Through International Electoral Observation Missions in Europe and the US

Radivoje Grujić – Election Adviser, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

José Manuel Martínez Sierra – Jean Monnet ad Personam Professor in EU Law and Government, Real Colegio Complutense, Harvard University; CES Local Affiliate & Study Group Co-Chair

Victòria Alsina Burgués – Fellow, Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business & Government, Harvard Kennedy School

Gaetano Salvemini Colloquium in Italian History and Culture

“Nothing Changed,” Yet Nothing Was the Same: On the 70th Anniversary of Italian Women’s Suffrage

Nadia Urbinati – Kyriakos Tsakopoulos Professor of Political Theory and Hellenic Studies, Columbia University

Harvard Colloquium for Intellectual History

Adorno’s Negative Dialectics at 50

Asaf Angermann – Postdoctoral Associate in Judaic Studies and Philosophy, Yale University

Seyla Benhabib – Eugene Meyer Professor of Political Science and Philosophy, Yale University

Jay Bernstein – Distinguished Professor of Philosophy, The New School for Social Research

Maeve Cooke – Associate Professor of German Social and Political Thought, University College Dublin

Konstancja Duff – Doctoral Student, Department of Philosophy, University of Sussex

Gordon Finlayson – Senior Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Sussex

Lydia Goehr – Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University

Peter E. Gordon – Amabel B. James Professor of History, Harvard University; CES Resident Faculty & Seminar Co-Chair

Espen Hammer – Professor of Philosophy, Temple University

Axel Honneth – Jack C. Weinstein Professor of the Humanities, Columbia University

Rahel Jaeggi – Professor of Philosophy, Humboldt University

Martin E. Jay – Ehrman Professor of History, University of California Berkeley

Iain Macdonald – Professor of Philosophy, University of Montreal

Brian O’Connor – Professor of Philosophy, University College Dublin

Max Pensky – Professor of Philosophy, Binghamton University

Michael Rosen – Professor of Political Theory, Harvard University

Lambert Zuidervaart – Professor of Philosophy, University of Toronto

Jews in Modern Europe

From Assimilation to Elimination: The Exclusion of Jews from Czech Society in the Nazi Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

Benjamin Frommer – Professor of History, Northwestern University

New Directions in European History

What Can't Happen Here?

European Historical Perspectives on Current American Politics

David Armitage – Lloyd C. Blankfein Professor of History & Department Chair, Harvard University; CES Faculty Associate & Seminar Co-Chair

Peter E. Gordon – Amabel B. James Professor of History, Harvard University; CES Resident Faculty & Seminar Co-Chair

Mary D. Lewis – Robert Walton Goelet Professor of French History, Harvard University; CES Resident Faculty & Study Group Co-Chair

Charles Maier – Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History, Harvard University; CES Resident Faculty

Terry Martin – George F. Baker III Professor of Russian Studies, Harvard University

Derek Penslar – Visiting Professor of History, Harvard University; CES Resident Faculty & Study Group Co-Chair

Populism, Nationalism, and Radical Politics

Trump, Brexit, and the Future of Nationalist Populism in the US and Europe

Joachim Fritz-Vannahme – Director, Programme Europe's Future, Bertelsmann Stiftung

Dani Rodrik – Ford Foundation Professor of International Political Economy, Harvard Kennedy School

Theda Skocpol – Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology, Harvard University; CES Faculty Associate

Daniel Ziblatt – Professor of Government, Harvard University; CES Resident Faculty & Seminar Co-Chair

Transformation of Work in Contemporary Capitalism

Talent and Inequalities:

Creative Labor and the Transformations of Capitalism

Pierre-Michel Menger – Professor and Chair of Sociology of Creative Work, Collège de France

Özyeğin Forum on Modern Turkey

"Midnight at the Pera Palace" - The Birth of Modern Istanbul

Charles King – Professor of International Affairs and Government and Chair of the Department of Government, Georgetown University

Seminar on Social Exclusion and Inclusion

Beauty in Comparative Perspective:

Male and Female Beauty Standards in France, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and the UK

Giseline Kuipers – Professor of Sociology, University of Amsterdam

Nina Gheihman – PhD Student in Sociology, Harvard University; CES Graduate Student Affiliate

Seminar on the State and Capitalism Since 1800

Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism:

Economic Have-nots and Cultural Backlash

Pippa Norris – ARC Laureate Fellow and Professor of Government and International Relations, University of Sydney; McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, Harvard Kennedy School; CES Faculty Associate

Jane Elizabeth Green – Professor of Political Science, University of Manchester; Co-Director, 2015 British Election Study; CES Visiting Scholar

Visiting Scholars Seminar

Each week, CES Visiting Scholars gave presentations on their new European research.



Harold James



Thomas Wieser



Olivier Roy



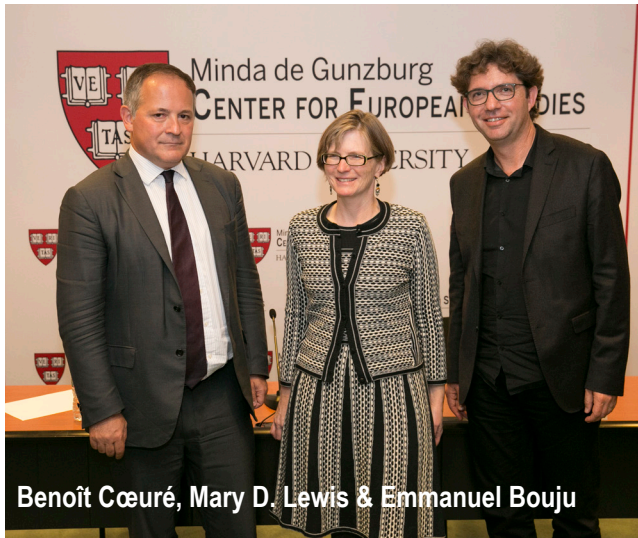
Kim Scheppelle



Yves Mersch



Georgios Kaminis



Benoît Cœuré, Mary D. Lewis & Emmanuel Bouju



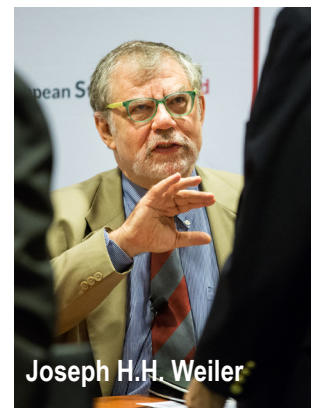
Grzegorz Ekiert & Carles Puigdemont



Pippa Norris



Dante Roscini



Joseph H.H. Weiler



Dominique Moïsi



Vincent Pons



Lucas Papademos



Benjamin Braun, Eva Schliephake, Alexander Görlach, Hanna Lierse, Eva Maria Hausteiner, Thomas Weber (left to right)

RESIDENT FACULTY



Derek Penslar

Visiting Professor
of History & CES
Resident Faculty,
Harvard University

Penslar joins as Resident Faculty

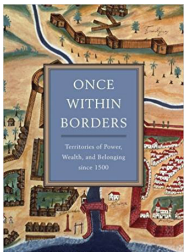
In September, CES welcomed Derek Penslar as a new resident faculty. Penslar is Visiting Professor of History at Harvard and the Samuel Zacks Professor of Jewish History at the University of Toronto. At CES, he serves as Co-Chair of the Jews in Modern Europe Study Group.

Prior to moving to Harvard, Penslar was the inaugural holder of the Stanley Lewis Chair of Israel Studies at the University of Oxford. He is an honorary fellow of St Anne's College and a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and the American Academy of Jewish Research.

Penslar is a comparative historian and approaches modern Jewish history from a transnational and global perspective. His work encompasses the history of Jews in modern Western and Central Europe, North America, and Palestine/Israel. He is particularly interested in the relationship between modern Israel and diaspora Jewish societies, global nationalist movements, European colonialism, and post-colonial states.

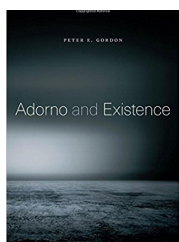
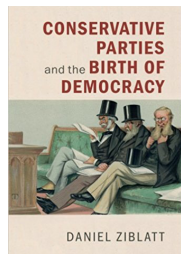
He is currently working on two books: *Theodor Herzl: The Charismatic Leader* (for Yale University Press' "Jewish Lives" series) and *Zionism: An Emotional State* (for Rutgers University Press' "Keywords in Jewish Studies" series).

NEW FACULTY BOOKS



Charles S. Maier, *Once Within Borders*, Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press (October 17, 2016)

Daniel Ziblatt, *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy*, Cambridge University Press (April 18, 2017)
(read Ziblatt's interview on page 12)



Peter E. Gordon, *Adorno and Existence*, Harvard University Press (November 14, 2016)

Jasanoff receives Yale's Windham-Campbell Prize



Congratulations to Maya Jasanoff, who was one of eight recipients of the prestigious Windham-Campbell Prize given annually by Yale University. Jasanoff, Coolidge Professor of History at Harvard and CES Resident Faculty, was awarded the \$165,000-prize in the non-fiction category.



Andrzej Rzeplinski & Grzegorz Ekiert



Hans-Helmut Kotz



Charles S. Maier



Mary D. Lewis



Peter Hall



Daniel Ziblatt



The rocky road to democracy

During a Q&A session, Daniel Ziblatt, Professor of Government at Harvard and CES Resident Faculty, discussed his new book, “Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy.” The book argues that democracy’s stability in Europe has depended on conservative parties’ acceptance of democratic principles.

Why did you decide to write a book on the history of democracy?

Ziblatt: When I began working on this book, I was struck by a deep historical question that also resonates with our times. If you looked back at Europe in the middle of the 19th century, many of the factors that we today know make creating and sustaining democracy such a truly difficult process — economic inequality, stratification, repressive states — were actually present there as well. Nearly all countries, from Britain to Germany to those in Southern Europe, were highly stratified societies governed by deeply hierarchical and repressive states, all ruled by restricted suffrage. So I found the paradox gripping of how these unlikely countries ultimately became models of stable democracy by the mid-20th century. I was

motivated to understand the sources of this transformation and to offer a new way to think about democracy’s future. All of this, I should add, has become even more pressing, as all of us look around us and worry about the unsettled state of democracy today.

How is your approach different?

Ziblatt: I focus on a different problem than has traditionally been the subject of study when people study democratization. I discovered a largely untold and fascinating story of how Europe’s pre-democratic insiders, conservative political parties

When conservatives, in a range of countries ... realized the power of political parties and built them up, democracy itself ultimately became safer for them and more enduring.

representing old-regime elites, remade themselves and shaped how democracy emerged. This is a different way of thinking about the problem. Historians, sociologists, and political scientists, with good reason, have tended to focus on the important and often liberating role of working-class movements and liberal middle-class groups pushing for democratization. As important as these groups are, I depart from these approaches in a significant way. I studied the papers of leading conservative statesmen in Germany,

Britain, and other countries, as well as lesser-known operatives of conservative parties and groups across Europe because I wanted to know how the opponents of democracy coped with and shaped its rise.

What did you find in your research?

Ziblatt: I found something very surprising. In the world of party conservatism in 19th century Europe, a subtle but momentous rupture occurred in some countries but not in others. Conservatives, representing the old regime, aristocrats, and other elite groups opposed to democracy in principle, suddenly realized the power of political parties and discovered the importance of pragmatic political action. Political parties were an invention that transformed the world. One observer at the time compared the discovery of the power of parties to the Spartan discovery of the power of infantry in warfare. When conservatives, in a range of countries including Britain, Belgium, and in Scandinavia, realized the power of political parties and built them up, democracy itself ultimately became safer for them and more enduring. In countries where this conservative innovation didn’t happen — Germany and much of southern Europe — democracy was much more unhinged and fragile.

Why are conservative parties so important to the history of democracy?

Ziblatt: This is where things get really interesting. The biggest barrier to creating sustainable democracy in the past, and today as well, is the fear of autocratic

elites to democracy; they feel their wealth, status, and power is threatened by democracy. One figure I studied closely was Lord Salisbury, a longtime 19th-century Conservative Party prime minister in Britain, a member of the wealthy, landed elite, and a powerful man. I studied his papers held in a basement archive in his family's huge home outside of London. I was amazed to see in the 1860s how fearful he was of democracy. He thought suffrage reform to expand voting rights to the working class would ruin him and his peers. By the 1880s, the reactionary Lord Salisbury had

The absence of a strong constitutional right opens the door for much more dangerous right-wing forces ... without a robust conservative party of the right, reactionary forces historically have looked to gain power through extra-constitutional means ... All societal groups deserve the right to legitimate participation in politics. Their exclusion results in a fragile democracy.

experienced a subtle conversion. He still was in principle no big fan of democracy but he was working closely now with party operatives for the Conservative Party, kind of proto-political scientists who studied demographic data, who could try to win elections for Salisbury's party. Also, his party built up a mass mobilizing organization. The machinery of party organization converted a dogmatic opponent into a reluctant democrat.

Did conservatives not always come to democracy so easily?

Ziblatt: Yes, that is correct, and this is the big contrast in European history. There was a whole group of countries where

this rupture did not happen. One example I studied closely involved the repeated efforts of German conservatives to build political party structures. In the late 1890s, these efforts simply had failed. The right was fractured. The right-wing grassroots movement was controlled by interest groups and not political parties. Without political parties available for the right, the organizational firewalls that come with political parties were absent, and much more dangerous radical right forces began to assert themselves into politics. In my book I have two chapters describing the rise and fall of Weimar Germany, analyzing the history of this tragic moment in European history, showing that it was in part the fragility of the German Tory tradition that opened the door for radical right forces and ultimately the rise of Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party. In an ironic way, the fractured nature of German conservatism was the Achilles' heel of Weimar Germany's experiment with democracy

Does this have implications for the state of democracy today?

Ziblatt: Indeed, this is correct. While my book is entirely historical, readers have told me that it is a parable for today's crises of democracy. When one compares German and British conservatism in the past and thinks about how these societies developed, one gradually comes away with the conclusion that democracy may in fact require a robust conservatism that has already made its peace with democracy. Whatever one's ideological orientation, a precondition of democratic stability may be a strong, constitutionally minded electoral right. The absence of a strong constitutional conservative party may not mean simply an enduring liberal or social democratic triumph into the future. The absence of a strong constitutional right opens the door for much more dangerous right-wing forces, which may not even

accept the basic norms of democracy. Also, without a robust conservative party of the right, reactionary forces historically have looked to gain power through extra-constitutional means — military coups and counterrevolutions. All societal groups deserve the right to legitimate participation in politics. Their exclusion results in a fragile democracy.

Are you worried about the current state of democracy in the world?

Ziblatt: Yes, very much. The presence of a form of right-wing populism in Europe and the United States that barely accepts the basic norms of democracy is worrying. What to do about it is the question. Many have talked about the role of globalization in triggering this. I tend to think we should also think about the responsibilities of existing political parties in distancing themselves from these forces, not being tempted to collaborate. How mainstream parties can do this while maintaining electoral support is the trick, but it is what political parties should be expert at. In any case, the tragic lessons of European history make clear that there are moments when basic norms of democracy are violated within a democracy, and responsible statesmen, not only on the left, but also on the right, must have the political courage to confront this challenge, and not abdicate their responsibilities. European history is filled with cases where this lesson was not yet learned, with tragic consequences.

► View the video of the book launch on the CES website. The panel discussion took place on April 17, 2017, with Amel Ahmed (University of Massachusetts Amherst), David Art (Tufts University), Tarek Masoud (Harvard Kennedy School) and Yascha Mounk (Harvard University).

NEW AFFILIATES



Kristin Fabbe

Assistant Professor of
Business Administration,
Harvard Business School
and CES Local Affiliate

The Center is enriched by its network of faculty and graduate students. Each year the Center offers affiliation to a new and select group of Harvard and Boston-area faculty as well as graduate students from Harvard and MIT who are working on Europe. Bringing enthusiasm and expertise, these affiliates

fuel the Center's community and initiatives with new energy and fresh ideas.

This year, the Center welcomed the following associates and affiliates:

Faculty Associates

Arne Westad

S.T. Lee Professor of U.S.-Asia Relations, Harvard Kennedy School

Local Affiliates

Kristin Fabbe

Assistant Professor of Business Administration,
Harvard Business School

Danilo Mandić

Lecturer on Sociology, Department of Sociology, Harvard University

Yascha Mounk

Lecturer on Political Theory, Department of Government,
Harvard University

Vincent Pons

Assistant Professor of Business Administration,
Harvard Business School

Berna Turam

Professor of Sociology and International Affairs, Director of International
Affairs Program, Northeastern University

Graduate Student Affiliates

Max Botstein

PhD Student in History, Harvard University

Tugba Bozcaga

PhD Student in Political Science, MIT

Kelly Brignac

PhD Student in History, Harvard University

Max Goplerud

PhD Student in Government, Harvard University

Sophie Hill

PhD Student in Government, Harvard University

Linda Mueller

PhD Student in History of Art and Architecture,
Harvard University

Joshua Simons

PhD Student in Government, Harvard University

Matthew Sohm

PhD Student in History, Harvard University

Briitta van Staalduinen

PhD Student in Government, Harvard University

Thomas Whittaker

PhD Student in Study of Religion, Harvard University



JOHN F. KENNEDY MEMORIAL POLICY FELLOWS

This year, CES welcomed four John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellows from German academia, journalism, and policy. Among these fellows was Wolfgang Merkel, who as recipient of the John F. Kennedy Fellowship spent a year at CES in 1988. Merkel contributed to several events, most notably at the third *Summit on the Future of Europe*, joining a panel on the state of European democracy in the aftermath of the U.S. presidential elections.

Journalist Isabel Schayani shared her experiences with WDRforyou – a Facebook platform, launched by Germany’s public media channel WDR – that creates news for the country’s recently arrived refugees and migrants. The platform airs news in German, English, Arabic and Farsi/Dari. She discussed the challenges in bridging cultural differences and shared insight into ways the platform aims to build better understanding of Germany’s society for people with a different cultural, political and societal framework.

John F. Kennedy Memorial Policy Fellows

Wolfgang Merkel

Director of the Research Unit “Democracy and Democratization,” Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) and Professor of Comparative Political Science and Democracy Research, Humboldt University of Berlin (*photo above*)

Henning Meyer

Founder & Editor-in-Chief, Social Europe; Managing Director, New Global Strategy; Research Associate, Public Policy Group, London School of Economics and Political Science

Isabel Schayani

Project Leader, WDRforyou; Editor, Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR)

Peter Schneider

Author



I can’t help but feel inspired, when I think of my fellowship. As a journalist, I was amazed to meet professors at Harvard who were genuinely interested to hear about my work and, in turn, enthusiastically shared their expertise and insight. My brain was infused with fresh oxygen, and I returned back to work with a new and clearer vision. This time has been one of the best moments of my life.

– Isabel Schayani

Witnessing A Nation Torn Apart

Poland's growing socio-political division took center stage at the Jacek E. Giedrojc Gallery. "Poles Apart: Poland's Culture Wars" featured the works of five Warsaw-based photographers who are part of the NAPO Images Agency: Filip Ćwik, Maciek Jeziorek, Adam Lach, Piotr Malecki, and Ewa Meissner. Their photographs show a Poland torn apart by growing political polarization 30 years after a transition to democracy and a decade after joining the European Union.

Since the electoral victories by the conservative and nationalist Law and Justice Party (PiS) in 2015, millions of Poles have gone on the streets. Under PiS rule, culture wars that had been simmering for years have finally boiled over. Through a series of collages, the "Poles Apart" exhibit allows viewers to experience the intensity of these demonstrations that pit believers in Poland's traditional Catholic identity against supporters of liberal democracy and a European future.

The photographs bear witness to the emotionally charged events that have led Poland to its current democratic crisis. The exhibit starts with black and white photographs of mourners at the state funeral for President Lech Kaczyński – who died in a plane crash on April 10, 2010, in Smolensk, Russia. The color photos convey the clash of emotions that followed between those who support the PiS Government and its opposition.

The exhibit opening was preceded by the Annual Zaleski Lecture in Modern Polish History entitled "Dismantling Democracy on the EU's Watch: Poland and Its Constitutional Tribunal." It featured

Andrzej Rzeplinski, President of the Polish Constitutional Tribunal (2010-2016), who has been at the center of the battle to fend off government attempts to restrict judicial independence. Joining the discussions were constitutional law experts Kim A. Scheppele, Laurance S. Rockefeller Professor of Sociology and International Affairs, Princeton University, and Noah Feldman, Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law, Harvard Law School.

The exhibit was curated by Laurence A. Tisch Professor of Government and CES Director Grzegorz Ekiert, Giedrojc Gallery Curator Jan Kubasiewicz as well as documentary photographer Maciek Nabrdalik, who was the 2016 Anja Niedringhaus Nieman Fellow for Visual Journalism at Harvard.



Maciek Nabrdalik

► The exhibit is viewable through December 2018. Gallery hours, exhibit details and information about past exhibits can be found on the CES website. A video of the Annual Zaleski Lecture is posted on the CES YouTube channel.



ARTS & CULTURE

Jacek E. Giedroń Gallery



VISITING SCHOLARS



2016-2017 Visiting Scholars at the steps of the CES courtyard at the start of the academic year.

24
Scholars

15
Disciplines

The Visiting Scholars program plays an integral role in strengthening the Center's intellectual life by bringing scholars from across the globe in dialogue with Harvard faculty and students. This year's scholars came from across Europe, the United States and Asia, and their diverse research interests reflect the interdisciplinary spirit of the Center. Political parties' reputations and policy shifts, the politics of organized crime in Albania, negative interest rates and lending, the politics of wine in France and Italy, and conflicting ideas of Europe were among the many topics scholars presented at the weekly Visiting Scholars Seminar: New Research on Europe. More than 20 CES Visiting Scholars representing 15 disciplines presented their innovative research projects in the weekly seminar.

Among the Visiting Scholars were four recipients of the prestigious John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellowship: Benjamin

Braun, Senior Researcher, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne; Eva Maria Hausteiner, Postdoctoral Lecturer and Researcher in Political Theory, University of Bonn; Hanna Lierse, Postdoctoral Fellow, Jacobs University Bremen; and Eva Schliephake, Assistant Professor, Institute for Financial Economics and Statistics, University of Bonn. (see group photo on bottom of cover) Established in 1966, this fellowship recognizes the most promising social scientists from Germany starting their academic careers.

In 2016 the Fellowship was augmented to additionally include the German Kennedy Memorial Fellowship, which supports citizens from other European Union (EU) member states to participate in the CES Visiting Scholars program for 10 months. Tom Chevalier, a French political scientist from Sciences Po was selected as the inaugural Fellow and will commence his tenure in fall 2017.



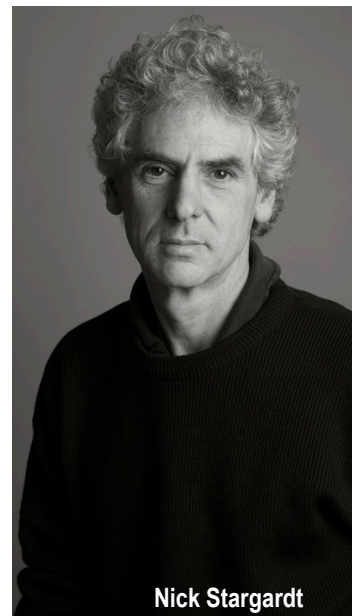
Fabian Zhilla



Aleksandra Sojka



Jane Elizabeth Green



Nick Stargardt

GRADUATE PROGRAMS

Nina Gheihman

PhD Candidate in Sociology and
CES Graduate Student Affiliate

Gheihman received a Dissertation Research Fellowship from CES this year. She served as a discussant at an event on beauty in comparative perspective with Giseline Kuipers, Professor of Sociology at the University of Amsterdam.

Congratulations Graduates

CES said goodbye to nine Graduate Student Affiliates who completed their PhDs this year. Guiding the next generation of Europeanists has been one of the strongest missions of resident

faculty since the Center's foundation. CES wishes them all the best in their future endeavours and looks forward to welcoming them back to the Center again soon.

Joelle Abi-Rached

PhD Student (History of Science)

Tomasz Blusiewicz

PhD Student (History)

Tae-Yeoun Keum

PhD Student (Government)

Adriana Alfaro Altamirano

PhD Student (Government)

Volha Charnysh

PhD Student (Government)

Jonathan Mijs

PhD Student (Sociology)

Colleen Anderson

PhD Student (History)

Elizabeth Cross

PhD Student (History)

Carolyn Roeder

PhD Student (History)



Carolyn Roeder



Tomasz Blusiewicz, Elizabeth Cross, Tae-Yeoun Keum, Colleen Anderson, Volha Charnysh and Jonathan Mijs (clockwise from top)

Dissertation Research Fellowship Recipients

CES believes that a vital part of the training of future Europeanists is the ability to conduct fieldwork in the region. Thanks to an endowment

established by the Krupp Foundation in 1974, the Center provided a year of support for dissertation research to 13 graduate students:



Stefan Beljean
PhD Candidate
Department of Sociology

Growing Up Neoliberal. Students Experiences at Upper-Middle-Class Schools in the United States and Germany



Olivia Bergman
PhD Candidate
Department of Political Science
MIT

Feeling Taxed? How Policy Design Influences Perceptions of the Costs and Benefits of Governance



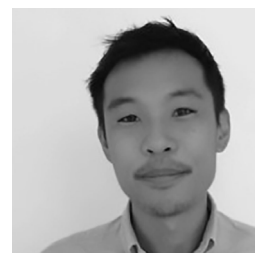
Colleen Driscoll
PhD Candidate
Department of Government

Rethinking Regionalism: The Role of Party Actors in the Nationalization of Politics



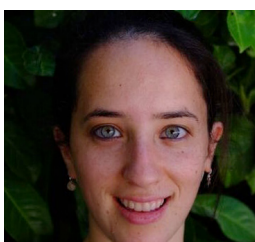
Nina Gheihman
PhD Candidate
Department of Sociology

Veganism in Vogue? Cultural Intermediaries and National Context in France, the United States, and Israel



Matthew Gin
PhD Candidate
Department of Architecture, Landscape Architecture & Urban Planning

Architecture feinte and the Art of Artifice in Eighteenth-Century France



Gili Kliger
PhD Candidate
Department of History

The Human Sciences and the Ethnographic Turn, 1895-1949



Gabriel Koehler-Derrick
PhD Candidate
Department of Government

Rifle and Plow: Colonial Legacies of State Building in North Africa



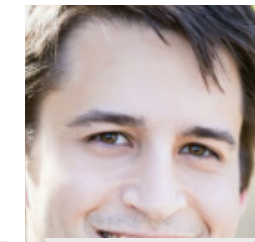
Ian Kumeawa
PhD Candidate
Department of History

World War I, The Economist, and the Modern Economy in Britain and its Empire



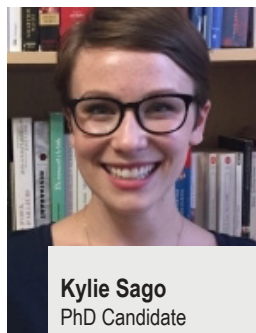
Rachel Thompson
PhD Candidate
Department of Anthropology

Wresting Land from Sea: The Export of Dutch Hydro-Expertise to Indonesia



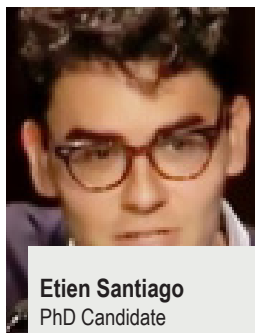
David Sadighian
PhD Candidate
Department of History of Art & Architecture

Global Paris: Beaux-Arts Design and Liberal Internationalism between France and the Pan-American World, 1867-1932



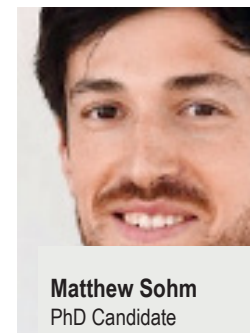
Kylie Sago
PhD Candidate
Department of Romance Languages & Literature

The Empire of Disgust: France's Colonies in the 18th and 19th Centuries



Etien Santiago
PhD Candidate
Department of Architecture, Landscape Architecture & Urban Planning

Dreams and Nightmares of Rational Building: The Great War, Construction, and Architecture 1914-1940



Matthew Sohm
PhD Candidate
Department of History

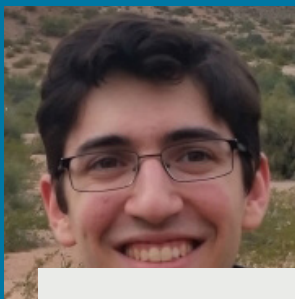
Energy, Economic Development, and European Business, 1956-1983

◊ Unless otherwise noted, all recipients are PhD candidates at Harvard University

Dissertation Completion Fellowship Recipients

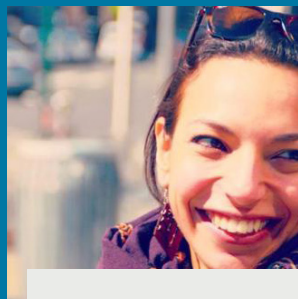
Each year, CES awards Dissertation Completion Fellowships to Harvard and MIT doctoral students in the

social sciences to dedicate a final year to writing. This year's recipients were:



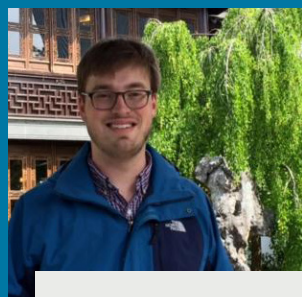
Brandon Bloch
PhD Candidate
Department of History

Faith for This World: Protestantism and the Reconstruction of Constitutional Democracy in Germany, 1933-1968



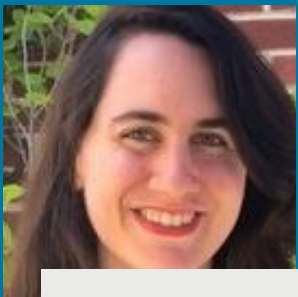
Lulie El-Ashry
PhD Candidate
Department of Religion

Crossing Continents: A European Sufi Muslim Convert Community's Journey of Geographic Relocation and Identity Renegotiation



James McSpadden
PhD Candidate
Department of History

In League with Rivals: Parliamentary Networks and Backroom Politics in Interwar Europe



Liat Spiro
PhD Candidate
Department of History

Drawing Capital: Depiction, Machine Tools, and the Political Economy of Industrial Knowledge, 1824-1914



A view of faculty offices in the courtyard at CES.

At a Crossroads

The Future of the European Union

In May, the editor of *Colloquy*, the alumni magazine of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (GSAS), sat down with three current and former CES graduate student affiliates to gain perspective on the challenges facing the European Union and the opportunities to address and solve them. The following is the interview published in the summer edition.

Following the devastation of the Second World War, European nations made a commitment toward economic and political integration and cooperation in the hopes that this convergence would bring stability to the Continent. Today's European Union with its 28 member states appeared to be the realization of a vision that was established by the Treaty of Rome in 1957 when the six founding members—Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands—created the European Economic Community (EEC) that was to bring an “ever closer union” of the peoples of Europe.

With the financial crisis of 2008, however, the term “crisis” became synonymous with Europe and challenged its ability to manage issues effectively and equitably among member states. The political winds also began to shift as populist and nationalist parties became more prominent on the political stage across Europe. The Brexit vote of 2016 was the first manifestation of the changing tide as it opened the door for the United Kingdom's exit from the Union. The election of President Donald Trump in the United States deepened concerns over the post-war order and security.

These developments, among others, have called into question the future of the European Union. Can the European Union successfully manage the persistent debt crisis and address populist concerns? Or will integration break down under the weight of the economic, political, and security challenges?

The UK's Brexit vote seems to be a symptom of a larger issue within the European Union. What are the pressures leading some countries to consider leaving the EU?



Colleen Driscoll: One of the major pressures is, of course, immigration, from inside and outside the EU. The Brexit vote, for example, raised issues of border control, with Leave voters wanting to deny entry to the UK for people who they don't see as benefiting their economy or culture. They are driven by economic concerns, by a backlash against the de-industrialization of Western economies more broadly, and by xenophobia, fear of terrorism, and fear of Islamization of the West, as we see in other countries in Europe. So immigration is a key issue, as well as the idea that leaving Europe gives a country complete control over their national identity and over who may enter national territory.

“The EU is stuck between two goals: increasing the number of member states and developing a deeper and more meaningful integration.”

**— COLLEEN DRISCOLL,
PHD STUDENT
IN GOVERNMENT**

Danilo Mandić: I agree with that. The simplest answer is that when times are bad, voice and loyalty become more difficult, and exit becomes more appealing.

Jonathan Mijs: Voice is something that many member states never believed they had. The EU hasn't really built that voice or strengthened their democratic legitimacy. Many populations across Europe feel they are facing foreign forces who are making decisions that impact their lives. But also they feel impacted by the economic forces of globalization brought in by the European Union, and by the foreign bodies, foreign tongues, and foreign looks brought in by immigrants. For people who themselves are facing hardship, who are seeing their prospects and their ambitions unrealized, that is a threat, and they are calling for, if not national autonomy, then for bringing back a sense of control over their lives—even if that is an illusion.

So the movement of refugees, for example, as well as legal immigration, would feed into their fears and their desire for change?

(Photo above: Jonathan Mijs, Graduate Student Affiliate and Co-Chair Seminar on Social Exclusion and Inclusion; Colleen Driscoll, Graduate Student Affiliate and Co-Chair Populism, Nationalism and Radical Politics Study Group; Danilo Mandić, Lecturer in Government and CES Local Affiliate.)

Mandić: Sure. But I don't think there's any law of nature that says it has been perceived that way.

Aggressive propaganda campaigns have arisen across Europe, especially in Eastern Europe. The Visegrád countries, led by Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, have been absolutely disgraceful. Brexit data shows that migration was by far the most important concern. In a word cloud representing Leave voters, the most prominent word was immigration, a simplistic reference to fear of an Arab or Muslim terrorist threat. The Remain camp did very lit-



tle to address this in a compelling way, and in many ways it played into fears and xenophobia. This anti-migrant sentiment is very robust. But why not ask the question: Could migration be an opportunity? Nobody asks that. Nobody dares ask that.

From an inequality perspective, are those in the center more affected by inequality, which leads to the rise in their feelings about immigration?

Mijs: For one group of people, opening borders have provided easier travel and cheaper phone plans. They applaud the market forces that have helped them, and they would like to see these benefits increase. Many are worried about how, with the Brexit, the mobility they now take for granted may reduce in the coming years. These are people who generally have good jobs, who have benefited from the forces of globalization and the opening up of the markets.

And then there's a group of people who, in a very real sense, haven't benefited or perceive that they haven't. They have seen their wages drop because of increased competition. They have not, or feel they have not, benefited from the markets opening up. They do not appreciate increased mobility because that hasn't and will never be on their mind. In fact, they feel threatened and are worried by the fact that the communities they live in are changing in nature away from what they're comfortable with. This divide is increasing in Europe as it is across the world, leading to polarization—economic polarization as well as polarization of their sentiments—which they translate into politics.

In the United States, many voted for Donald Trump because of lowering wages and job insecurity. Are we seeing something similar going on in Europe?

Driscoll: Yes, definitely. I believe that this relates back to de-industrialization and to the lack of stable, steady jobs that people kept throughout their lives. It's no longer the case that a high school diploma, for example, assures a lifetime job in the local factory. Job prospects are more precarious, and workers now compete for jobs with individuals from other EU countries or with immigrants from outside the EU—or they might perceive that scenario as a threat. They feel as though their livelihood is being taken away from them by forces they can't control.

Mijs: These are legitimate fears. Careers are much less stable. Expectations are bleaker, leading many to oppose the European project's opening up of markets in a rational and well-informed way.

Mandić: That's extremely important. I'm always struck by the attitudes around globalization and the opening up of borders, which allows for the movement of stuff and for the movement of people. In principle, you would expect tremendous advantages and some disadvantages. But the media reports on the disadvantages of moving people around, whereas the movement of stuff is considered wonderful. Goods should move across borders. But no one, based on the same principles of economics, is willing to admit that the movement of people could be considered economically advantageous. You only hear about the negative aspects of moving people around.

Driscoll: Yeah, definitely. In France, for example, the Right wants to portray France as a sovereign nation that will care for its citizens. The

Right's natural focus on sovereignty and economic protectionism in France is different from right-wing parties in other countries.

Mijs: It probably is a special case in France, although you see a similar coming together of ideas in Holland, where you have Wilders advocating to rid the country of foreigners and increase support for the elderly and for the poor. Wilders began his political career as an economic liberal in what is now the centrist government party, and he left that party to form his own. He adapted his political positions into an effective form of protectionism, a belief he shares with the Socialist Party in the Netherlands. Even though the parties are at opposite ends of the political spectrum, they agree on their positions more than one would expect.



A broader trend in many countries is the erosion of social democracy, where we naturally find the defenders of the working class. Many in these countries, particularly the working class, have grown unconvinced that this system of government can address their issues of concern, in large part because it is connected to the European Union as a neo-liberalist and free market project. Perhaps for a while they believed it was possible. But they can no longer.

Looking forward, is it inevitable that the European Union could be dismantled or are there things the European Union could do to preserve and strengthen itself?

Driscoll: The EU is stuck between two goals: increasing the number of member states and

developing a deeper and more meaningful integration. I see these two goals as fundamentally opposed, because as you increase the number of people around the table, it's much more difficult to build consensus and find projects that will work for everyone. Increased market integration is one concern, and challenges exist in creating social integration, especially among countries that have very different political and historical experiences. That's why the EU is facing this crisis right now, because it's been trying to put forth these two fundamentally incompatible goals.

Mijs: I agree. The European Union has perhaps explicitly, but certainly implicitly, been designed with the belief that economic integration would lead to a convergence in terms of economic development across the Continent, which would then lead to a convergence on political, cultural, and other social forms. Neither have happened yet. The only hopes for Europe would be deepening that union and developing a more convincing identity or message. Let's think about voice, to go back to that important term, about giving people a say in this process. And leave it to them to figure out where to take it.

Could you sum up your thoughts about the future of the EU?

Mandić: I think the EU is on the defensive and has a PR problem. They need to rebrand themselves and coopt the right-wing critique of neo-liberal devastation, which is very compelling to many as European integration moves forward. If the EU doesn't send that message to them, Marine Le Pen will.

On the broader issue of identity, I do think they need to stop being defensive and clearly define an identity, even if it's a laundry list about gay rights, women's rights, and national toleration, for example. An identity that can coherently draw Europe into a pan-nationalist kind of unification.

Mijs: I have some optimism about what is driving these populist movements. The rise of the Right across Europe, the rise of the populist right—sometimes xenophobic, sometimes extreme—is in many places an interesting combination of socialist, anti-capitalist ideas about what we owe our people and a desire to not rely on market forces to solve our problems. It also includes an appeal to common enlightenment values and a Judeo-Christian identity. Somehow, this message of socialism combined with



a message of unity based on a whitewashed version of the European past appeals to many voters. The EU could combine these different values to appeal to different groups.

In a way, the European football championship or the Eurovision Song Contest are the sites of competitions, but also the sites of community building within and between countries. Developing solidarity would make for a deeper union, perhaps a smaller one.

Driscoll: The EU has been perceived as an elite-run project benefitting the winners of globalization and the winners of the European project itself. You bring up the Eurovision Song Contest and the European football championship as frivolous examples, but they're not. They bring in the potential losers of the European project and integrate them into the beginnings of a European identity. The key to moving forward with European integration is reaching out to people, especially people in rural locations who are not connected to the elite project of the EU. The more inclusive, centrist politicians need to listen and offer solutions that counteract xenophobic populists. They need to endorse policy solutions that will improve lives. They need to say: "We understand your circumstances, because we have been listening to you."

CES Dissertation Workshop

The Dissertation Workshop is a forum that brings together graduate students to present their current research on Europe to peers and faculty in a supportive and stimulating environment. The Workshop is student-run and student-centered. In 2016-2017, CES Graduate Student Affiliates presented the following research projects:

Elizabeth Cross (History)

The Pen and the Sword: Visions of Revanche and the Problem of Company Governance in the French Indian Ocean

Tomasz Blusiewicz (History)

Überseehafen Rostock: East Germany's Window to the World under Stasi Watch, 1961-1989

Rachel Friedman (Government)

The Collectivization of Risk and the Early Welfare State

Adriana Alfaro Altamirano

(Government)

Adam Smith and Max Scheler on Sympathy

Jamie McSpadden (History)

A Radical Change? Female Parliamentarians' Influence on European Politics, 1918-1940

Joshua Ehrlich (History)

Wellesley and the Politics of Fort William College

Lydia Walker (History)

Politics of Plaint: Nagas, Namibians, and the United Nations System of the Early 1960s

Kristen Loveland (History)

Replacing God: Reproductive Technologies in German Religious and Legal Thought in the 1980s

Liat Spiro (History)

Drafting Empire: American and German Capital Goods and the Mission Industrialisatrice in the Shandong-Kyushu Corridor, 1880-1914

Andrew Bellisari (History)

Yesterday's Enemies: Decolonization and the Role of the Mixed Ceasefire Commissions in French Algeria

Brandon Bloch (History)

Institutionalizing Protestant Ethics: Families, Schools, and the West German Basic Law, 1949-1957

UNDER-GRADUATE INITIATIVES



Senior Thesis Grant Recipients

Days before heading off to Europe to conduct research for their senior theses, students met at CES for a pre-departure briefing.

CES expands undergraduate opportunities to study Europe

After receiving approval from Harvard's Educational Policy Committee, in fall 2016 CES established a Secondary Field in European History, Politics, and Societies (EHPS), which now enables Harvard undergraduates to officially minor in European Studies. CES created the Secondary Field to offer students a guided, recognized, and intellectually coherent program of study with requirements that are flexible and accommodate individual academic interests, but also ensure interdisciplinary content.

Building on a CES tradition of undergraduate mentoring, the Secondary Field's creation of an advising structure also provides students systematic guidance on academic planning, and research opportunities, as well as professional development. In addition, students pursuing the Secondary

Field have the ability to augment their classroom experiences by participating in CES programs such as: its extensive event and lecture series; fully funded Europe-based summer internships; travel grants to support the preparation of theses focused on Europe; and a series of seminars entitled "Junior Thesis Workshop: Research, Writing, Funding."

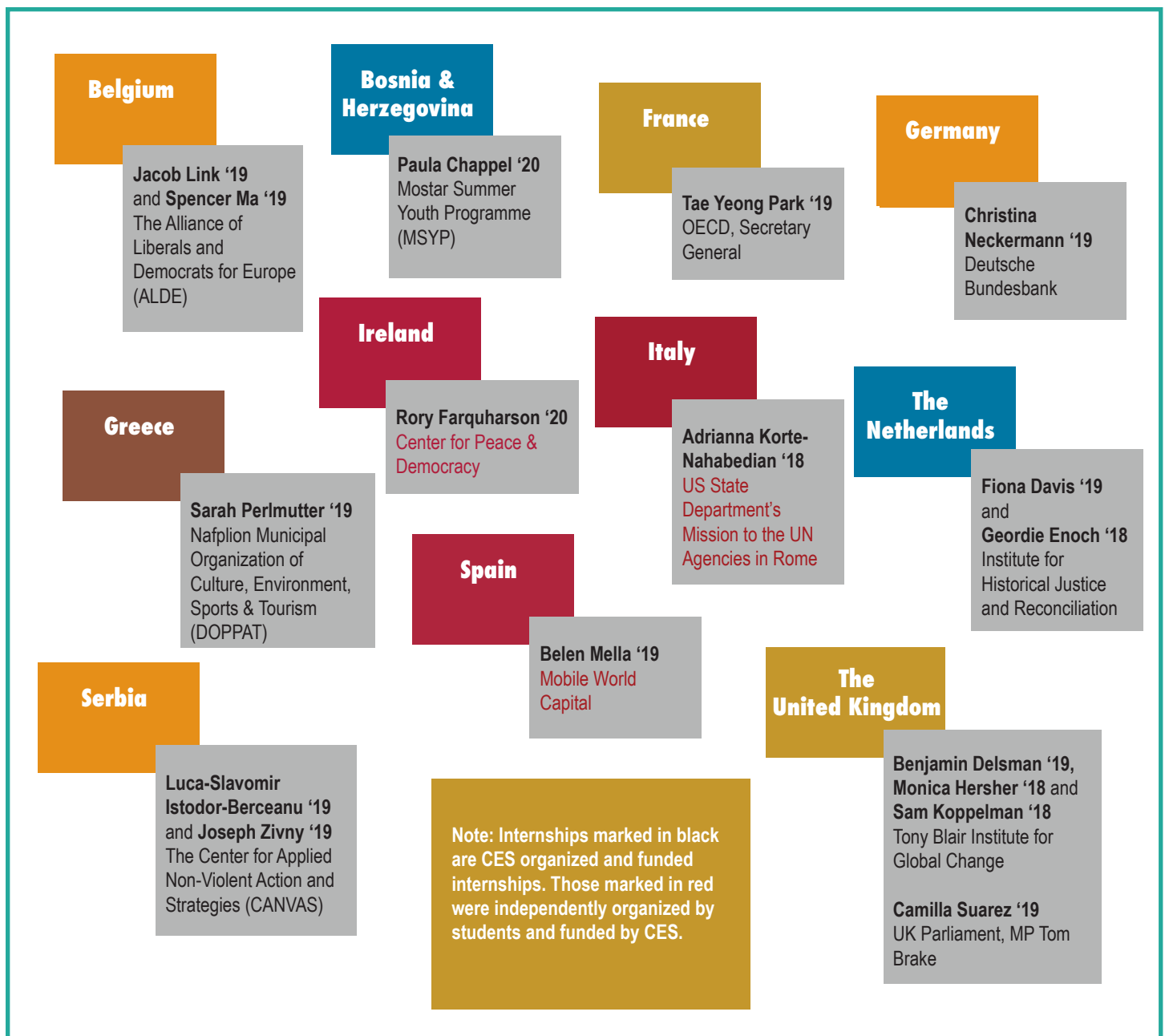
After only one academic year, students have demonstrated great interest in fulfilling the requirements of the Secondary Field in EHPS. Moreover, three seniors graduated in 2017 having completed all requirements: Luka Kordić (Statistics), Camelia Valdejuly (Government) and Akshay Verma (Economics).



Internship Recipients

Over the years, scores of Harvard College students have gained invaluable professional and cultural experience through CES's rich program of internships in public service, private enterprises, and research institutions. Students return from these opportunities with new perspectives, a deepened appreciation for European history and contemporary society, and a new skill set that they tested in an international environment.

In addition to offering 14 positions in Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, France, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Serbia, and the United Kingdom, CES supported entrepreneurial students who organized their own internships in Europe. These jobs merged their academic and professional interests with the experience of living and working in Europe. Below are the 17 students whose internships were funded by CES.



The Language of Learning

Eni Dervishi was one of the few graduating seniors featured in the Commencement edition of the Harvard Gazette this year. A native of Albania, Dervishi was the recipient of two CES internships: one at the Ministry of Urban Development and Tourism of Albania and the other at the ALDE Group in Brussels. This profile tells the story of her journey to Harvard and the impact of the CES internships.

Eni Dervishi '17 has always been intrigued by language. "When I was in kindergarten, a teacher taught us how to say 'chair' and 'table' in English," she recalled. "I found it fascinating that you could use two different words for [one] object."

In her small Albanian town, language instruction was limited. But Eni was determined to learn. She heard that a neighbor knew more English than a few simple words. "I'd go knocking on his door, asking him to teach me. ... [Eventually] his wife took pity on me," Dervishi said. When an older friend began studying Italian, Dervishi tagged along, and soon she added French, traveling to the capital Tirana for books. German, Spanish, and a little Portuguese — picked up watching television soap operas — followed. And, finally, her relative isolation turned to a benefit. Because her hometown, Pogradec, is on Lake Ohrid, a tourist attraction, she was able to practice her languages with international visitors.

A window opened for Dervishi. "I fell in love with languages," she said. "Through languages I was able to see a different world. It opened my imagination to what was out there."

Indeed, it was a particular phrase that set the economics major on the path to Harvard. "When I was in fourth grade, a teacher mentioned that Harvard was the best university in the world," she said. "It stuck in my mind, this dream college."

At that point, college itself was a dream. Her father had no formal college education, but her mother had returned to school as an adult, attending college part time during Dervishi's youth. "Seeing her balance working two jobs at the time with intense studying, and on top of that taking care of her family, was extremely motivating," said Dervishi. "My mother not only talked about the importance of education, but she actually showed it with her actions."

Even with such inspiration, the way forward was difficult. Dervishi's small-town high school had no one to guide her in the application process. "My teachers hadn't written letters of recommendation



before," she said. "I had to teach them." When she needed to send official documents, such as transcripts, she found another hurdle. "I thought of faxing them, but there was no fax machine in my hometown."

Her persistence paid off with a full scholarship (she was accepted at 14 of the 15 colleges she applied to). But the challenges continued. "The transition from high school to college, which is already daunting, for me was coupled with moving to an entirely new country," she said. Vending machines, for example, were new to her, as was swiping an ID card to gain entrance to a library. And even with her impressive language skills, some words eluded Dervishi. In a mathematics class freshman year, she said, "I knew how to write an equation and solve it, but I did not know how to say the 'minus' or 'plus' sign, which made speaking up in class and asking questions particularly challenging."

"It was like a learning process," she said, in her lightly accented, fluent English. "I was discovering something new every day."

Her education has already taken her far from Albania and Cambridge. She has been granted several internships, including with the Ministry of Urban Development and Tourism of Albania (funded by the Center for European Studies) and with the Europe Research Center in Paris (established by the Harvard Business School). Last year, at the European Parliament in Brussels, she interned with the Alliance for Liberal Democracy in Europe Party (ALDE Group), in a program funded by the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies. With energy to spare, Dervishi has managed to play intramural volleyball and enjoy her runs along the Charles.

Being at Harvard, she said, "has really been a life-changing experience. I have always dreamt of traveling the world, and Harvard enabled me to do that. I've been exposed to so many different viewpoints. I've met people from very, very different backgrounds and been able to learn from the best professors in the world."

Right from the start, she focused on giving back to her wider world. Freshman year, for example, she got involved in tutoring candidates for citizenship through the Institute of Politics.

"That was very empowering for me," Dervishi said, "seeing people who have always dreamt of becoming U.S. citizens, even if it was simply helping them feel more confident about their English skills."

After graduation, Dervishi will stay in the United States — at least for now. She has landed a consulting job in Boston, which she hopes will help her develop her quantitative skills. She wants to continue her studies, probably at business school, where she intends to pursue a master's in international development.

"I have experienced the challenges of coming from a developing country, and being here I have seen that Albania is not the only country facing these challenges," she said. "I want to make my own contribution to solving these issues."

That includes reaching out to students, particularly those to whom a college education may seem impossible. "Never give up on your dreams," Dervishi said — in the language that has brought her so far — "never let your circumstances define who you are."

Senior Thesis Grant Recipients

Travel offers students the contextual and personal experience that classroom study alone cannot provide. In this spirit, CES has offered summer research travel grants for senior thesis writers for more than twenty years. These grants give students the chance to

spend the summer in Europe, experience the continent and explore their topic by conducting research in local archives or connecting with people and organizations. The following 11 students were this year's recipient from a highly competitive pool of applicants.

Theresa Byrne '18

History & Literature

Words as weapons in the Cold War: Encounter magazine and the publication of dissident literature
(travel to Oxford, UK)

Emma City '18

History & Literature

*Writing for the vote:
A comparison of genres of suffragist writing*
(travel to London, UK)

Stergios Dinopoulos '17

Visual & Environmental Studies

Martyrs - A short film about the relationship between neo-fascism and the refugee crisis
(travel to Athens, Greece)

Benjamin Grimm '18

Comparative Study of Religion

Thesis fieldwork with Muslim community in Malmö, Sweden
(travel to Malmö, Sweden)

Margot Mai '18

Anthropology, Romance Languages & Literature

Political tension between French feminism and Muslim immigrant communities
(travel to Marseille, France)

Andrew O'Donohue '18

Social Studies

Comparative study of Turkey's 1961 and 1982 constitutions and their effect on democratization
(travel to Istanbul, Turkey)

India Patel '18

History & Literature

Ayahs in London: Reconciling imperial archetypes with migratory experiences in 19th-century Britain
(travel to London, UK)

Romana Pilepich '18

Government

The residue of authoritarianism: Croatia and the countries of the former Yugoslavia
(travel to Zagreb, Croatia)

Andrew Secondine '18

Social Studies

Conceptions of the nation in post-Annan plan Cyprus
(travel to Nicosia, Cyprus)

Theo Serlin '18

History

Anglo-Indian politicians, nationalism, and competing internationalisms
(travel to London, UK)

Caleb Shelburne '18

History & Literature

Inverting the Orient Express
(travel to Istanbul, Turkey)

**HARVARD COLLEGE INTERNATIONAL PHOTO CONTEST WINNERS**

(clockwise from top left)

Winner: Denise Acosta 2017 – People – Italy

Honorable mentions:

Romana Pilepich 2018 – People – Croatia

John Bourjaily 2017 – Landscape – Denmark

Kevin Xiong 2017 – Landscape Nature – Greece

CES STAFF



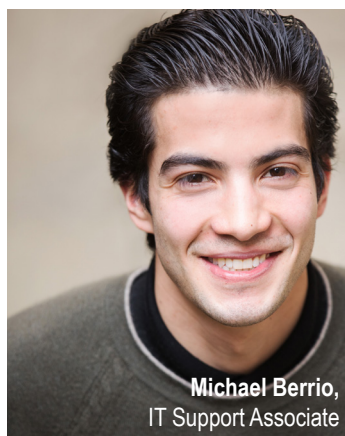
Roumiana Theunissen, Program Coordinator; **Laura Falloon**, Assistant to the Directors and Program Assistant; **Elaine Papoulis**, Executive Director & **Gila Naderi**, Communications Manager (left to right)

CES Welcomes New IT Team

A new IT team has joined CES this year. Peter Stevens is the Center's IT Manager, and Michael Berrio is IT Support Associate. Together, they are responsible for ensuring that the busy event season with hundreds of speakers runs flawlessly and the technical needs of faculty, staff, and visiting scholars are met seamlessly.



Peter Stevens,
IT Manager



Michael Berrio,
IT Support Associate



Aida Vidan, Student Programs Adviser and **Anna Popiel**, Program Assistant and Receptionist



Elizabeth Johnson,
Director of Finance, Operations
and Administration



Filomena Cabral, Accounting Assistant



Grzegorz Ekiert,
CES Director and Laurence A. Tisch
Professor of Government at Harvard



CES Year in Review 2016-2017

Front Cover:

(top left to right)

Peter Hall, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies, Harvard University & CES Resident Faculty
Sir Paul Tucker, Chair, The Systemic Risk Council; Deputy Governor, Bank of England (2009-2013) & CES Senior Fellow

(group photo - left to right)

Benjamin Braun, **Eva Schliephake**,
Hanna Lierse and **Eva Maria Hausteiner**,
2016-2017 John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellows

Back Cover:

(from top left clockwise)

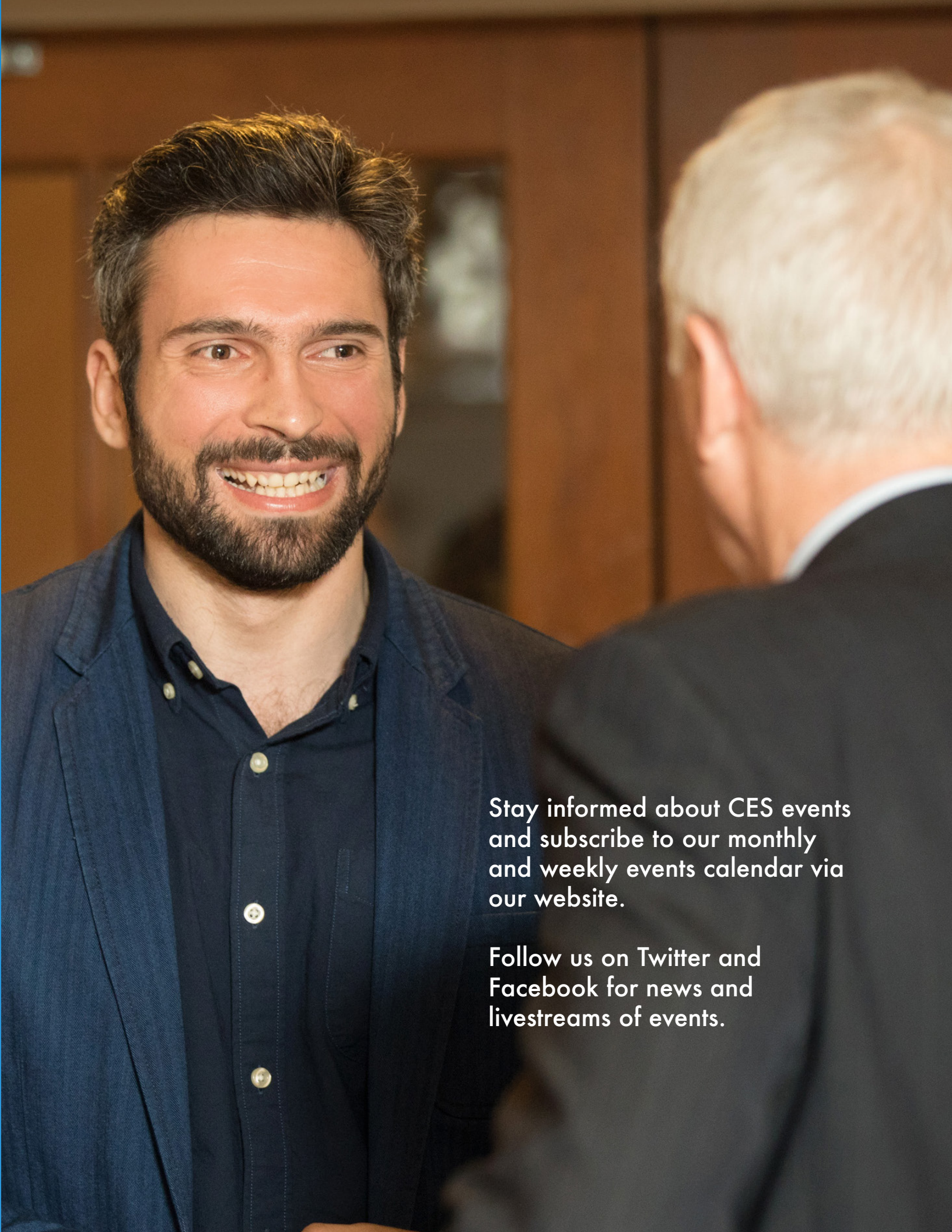
Vivien Schmidt, Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration & Professor of International Relations and Political Science, Boston University & CES Local Affiliate
Gazmend Kapllani, Affiliated Faculty, Emerson College
Carles Puigdemont, President, Government of Catalonia, with Harvard College student
Peter Gordon, Amabel B. James Professor of History, Harvard University & CES Resident Faculty

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ABOUT CES

The Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES) was founded in 1969 at Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences to promote the interdisciplinary understanding of European history, politics, economy and societies. Its mission is to:

- Foster the study of and innovative research on Europe among Harvard faculty as well as graduate and undergraduate students.
- Facilitate the training of new generations of scholars and experts in European studies.
- Encourage vibrant discussions on European history and contemporary affairs which nurture the exchange of ideas across disciplines, sectors, generations, and across the Atlantic.



Minda de Gunzburg

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A view inside CES during a reception held after the keynote address by Benoît Cœuré organized by the Europe on Credit series.

