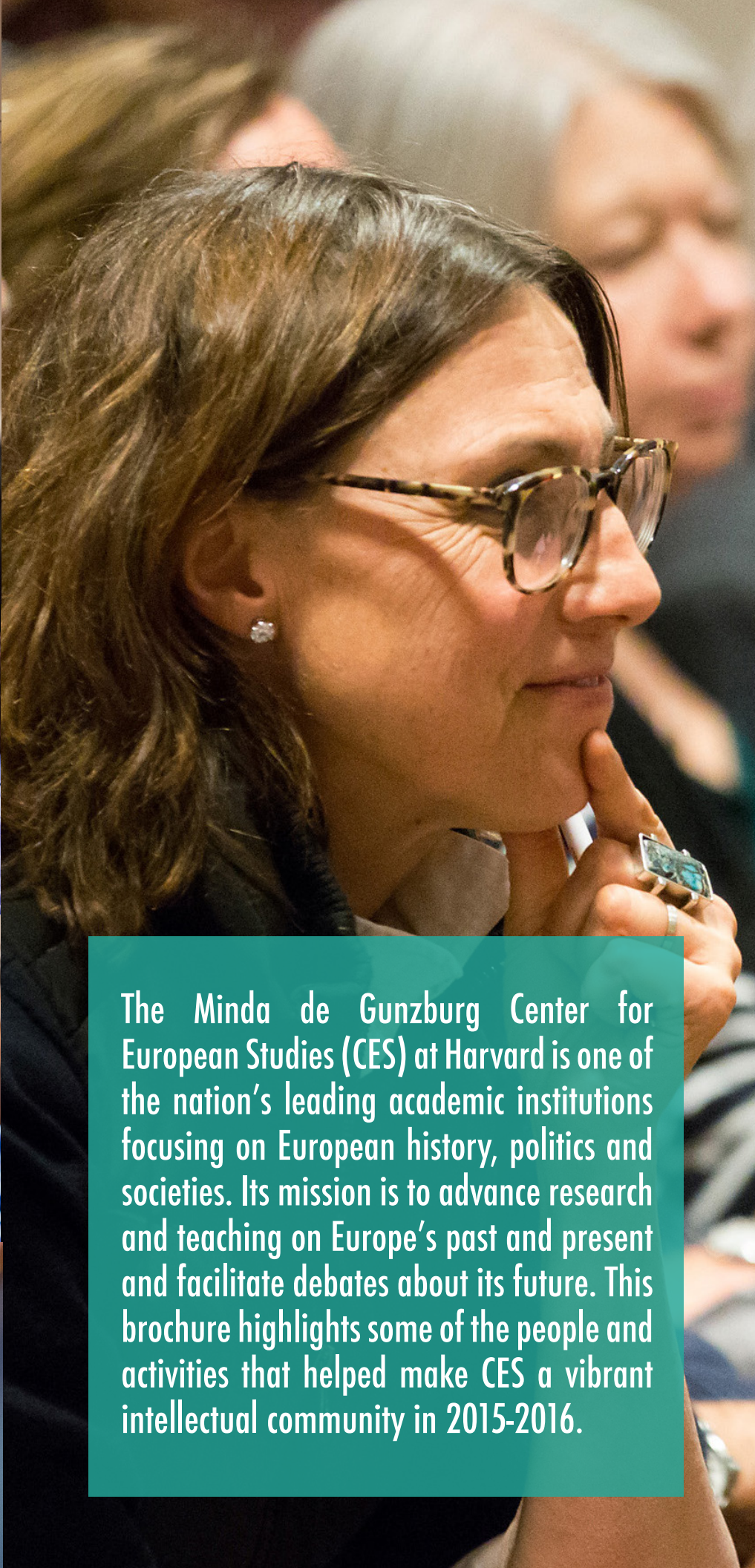




**CES@
Harvard**



**2015
2016
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 and teaching on Europe's past and present and facilitate debates about its future. This brochure highlights some of the people and activities that helped make CES a vibrant intellectual community in 2015-2016.

CES EVENTS



For almost 50 years the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES) has welcomed to its events faculty, students, visiting scholars, public servants and all those who share an interest in modern Europe. The breadth of the Center's events series is its hallmark and reflects its interdisciplinary nature. Thanks to its seminars, study groups and lecture series, the Center flourished in 2015-2016 by examining topics as diverse as the state of the euro, electoral reform in late 19th century Europe, violence in the postwar British Empire, and representation of Muslims in contemporary Europe.

As the academic year began, global attention focused on Europe's perfect storm of humanitarian, economic, political and security challenges. As it ended, Britain voted to leave the European Union. These topics, in addition to others focused on history, philosophy and political theory, were well represented in the Center's programming.

Refugee and migrant issues were frequently addressed from different perspectives. The *Director's Seminar* offered a first-hand account of humanitarian challenges by Peter Maurer, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross. He called for a "change in mindset" to create solutions for displaced people. In March, the Center presented the documentary film "On the Bride's Side" which chronicled the journey of Syrian refugees across Europe.

Hosted by CES, Matteo Renzi became the first incumbent Italian prime minister to visit Harvard. Speaking to a packed auditorium, Renzi stated that "for every euro invested in security, we need to invest a euro in police, we need to invest in improving our cities."

Hannah Arendt, the political theorist best known for coining the phrase "the banality of evil," was the subject of a four-part lecture series organized at CES by the *Harvard Colloquium for Intellectual History*.

The provocative book "Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning" by Yale historian Timothy Snyder was the subject of two events at the Center. As part of the annual *Zaleski Lecture in Modern Polish History*, Snyder focused on Poland's role in the Holocaust. The following day Snyder and a panel of Harvard scholars discussed the book's broader themes.

Reflecting developments in Europe, discussions at CES also examined the global shift toward authoritarianism and the rise of populism. CES hosted Mateusz Kijowski, the founder of the Committee for the Defense of Democracy (KOD), who assessed constitutional developments in Poland.

The following pages highlight some of the numerous CES-sponsored events which sparked lively debate on Europe at Harvard.

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CES Events

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Speakers

253

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Policy & Public
Leaders

Second Annual Summit on the Future of Europe

Europe's Challenges on the Ascent

A migrant crisis of unforeseen dimensions, a shaky euro and Europe's increasingly contentious political divisions were among the challenges examined during the Second Annual Summit on the Future of Europe. The Summit took place on September 22-23, 2015 and was co-sponsored by CES and the Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development (CIRSD).

In his opening remarks, CES Director Grzegorz Ekiert pointed out that the difficulties facing Europe had only grown since the first Summit in 2014, which had in part focused on a bellicose Russia. In particular, a year later, the refugee crisis has turned "from a trickle of problems to a real disaster, which is something Europe is going to face for many months – if not years – to come," he said.

Presenters generally painted a gloomy picture but also found some bright spots. In his opening address, Gikas Hardouvelis, Greece's Minister of Finance (2014-2015), expressed optimism about the survival of the euro and pessimism about Greece's ability to remain a member of the single currency zone. Other speakers put the migrant issue into historical context. Jacqueline Bhabha, FXB Center Director of Research at the Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health and CES Local Affiliate, noted recent migrant flows to Europe are smaller than that of Iraqis in the 1990s or of Afghans in the 2000s. Niall Ferguson, Laurence A. Tisch Professor of

History and CES Resident Faculty member, observed that the generation of CES founder Stanley Hoffmann had lived through vastly greater mass migrations in the mid-20th century.

Other speakers called on Europe to play a more active role on the world stage. Miguel Moratinos, Spain's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (2004-2010), argued that Europe had "outsourced" difficult Middle East decision-making to the United States: "Where is European diplomacy," he asked. Likewise, Luis Amado, Portugal's Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006-2011), advocated for Europe adopting a more active foreign policy. Vuk Jeremić, CIRSD President and Serbia's Minister of Foreign Affairs (2007-2012), said the increasingly contentious political sphere has prevented Europe from agreeing on a common foreign policy or reacting adequately to Middle East crises.

Others, such as Charles Wyplosz, Professor of International Economics at the Graduate Institute of Geneva, expressed confidence in the euro, saying its problems can be addressed by fixing institutional shortcomings in banking and debt practices.

In the end, the Summit deepened the debate on Europe's critical challenges and generated ideas on how to address them.



Matteo Renzi at Harvard

European Identity and Change on Mind of Italian Prime Minister

During the spring semester, CES had the honor to host Matteo Renzi, Italy's youngest prime minister since 1861. In introducing Renzi, Peter A. Hall, Harvard's Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies, remarked that the event was "an opportunity to hear from one of the most exciting leaders on the European continent."

Addressing an auditorium of several hundred people, Renzi discussed Europe's challenges and relayed his vision for its future. The Italian prime minister stressed that leaders must respond to citizens' growing skepticism about the advantages of free movement across borders and reactions to the perceived erosion of national sovereignty. Speaking less than ten days after the March 2016 attacks in Brussels, Renzi pointed out that terrorists have exploited these developments, and have incited disorder by striking at the European ideal. Renzi also warned that conventional approaches to maintaining and enhancing security are not enough to counter the problems Europe faces. He noted that European policymakers must find ways to "preserve the great dream" of Europe but at same time develop "a different strategy for the next generation."

Finally, Renzi focused on the economic and political factors which have further eroded confidence in European ideals. He termed austerity a "mistake," saying leaders need to create jobs and give citizens opportunities and hope. He also called for institutional reform in Italy, arguing that as his government is the 63rd in the past 70 years, the country needs political stability in order to introduce needed reforms. Failure to reform he cautioned, will only allow populist movements to grow.



Prime Minister Renzi visited the Calderwood Courtyard at the Harvard Art Museum, which mirrors an Italian piazza.



Matteo Renzi



Elaine Papoulias, Agnese Landini & Jackie O'Neill



Peter Hall & Matteo Renzi

The Özyeğin Forum on Modern Turkey at CES

Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Martti Ahtisaari presented the *Inaugural Hüsni Özyeğin Annual Lecture on Modern Turkey* on October 1, 2015. As part of CES's *Özyeğin Forum on Modern Turkey*, this high-profile lecture series aims to deepen understanding of Turkey and its relationship with Europe at Harvard.

Ahtisaari, chairman of the Independent Commission on Turkey and a former president of Finland (1994-2000), traced the long history of cooperation and conflict between Europe and Turkey and recounted Turkey's torturous path toward membership in the EU. "Turkey has been and will likely remain one of the most important countries for the European Union," he said. "The importance of Turkey for Europe is rooted in the historic ties between the two sides dating back to Ottoman times." And yet, he acknowledged, the question of EU membership for Turkey has been unresolved for the last ten years, the longest time for any country seeking EU status. "The path to membership has been fraught with roadblocks and hurdles making the final destination uncertain at best," he said.

After his lecture, Ahtisaari participated in a wide-ranging conversation on Turkey with Melani Cammett, Professor of Government, Harvard; Cemal Kafadar, Vehbi Koç Professor of Turkish Studies at Harvard; Kemal Kirisci, TÜSIAD Senior Fellow and Director Turkey Project, Center on the United States and Europe, The Brookings Institution; Elaine Papoulias, CES Executive Director; and Berna Turam, Professor of Sociology and International Affairs, Northeastern University.



Martti Ahtisaari in conversation with Karl Kaiser

Throughout the rest of the academic year, the Özyeğin Forum's Speaker Series fostered discussions on a range of topics including Austrian migrants in early 20th century Turkey, patriarchy, gender politics and governance, as well as Turkey's EU future. Professors Deniz Kandiyoti and Maureen Healy, Turkey's Minister of EU Affairs Volkan Bozkir, and former UK Ambassador to Turkey Sir Peter Westmacott were among the Forum's featured speakers.



Cemal Kafadar



Nur Yalman, Hüsni Özyeğin, Elaine Papoulias, Cengiz Cemaloğlu & Setenay Gel



José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero



Vuk Jeremić



Guido Goldman



Sir Peter Westmacott



Barbara Klemm at her CES exhibit opening with Anna Popiel and Charles Maier.



Peter Maurer



Karen Donfried



Samantha Power



Gikas Hardouvelis

Public Officials and Policy Leaders at CES

2015-2016

Martti Ahtisaari, Chairman, Independent Commission on Turkey; Nobel Peace Prize Laureate (2008); President of Finland (1994-2000)

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

Sheikh Mohammad Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah, Chairman of the Board, Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah Foundation; Deputy Prime Minister (2006-2011) and Foreign Minister (2003-2011), Kuwait

Luís Amado, Chairman, BANIF Grupo Financeiro; Minister of Defense (2005-2006) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006-2011), Portugal

Jörg Asmussen, Permanent State Secretary, Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of Germany

Ed Balls, Shadow Chancellor of the United Kingdom (2011-2015)

Jose Maria Beneyto, Member of the Spanish Parliament; Chairman, Spanish Foreign Affairs Committee

Volkan Bozkir, Minister for EU Affairs, Turkey

Karen Donfried, President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Gikas Hardouvelis, Chief Economist and Director of Research, Eurobank Group; Minister of Finance of Greece (2014-2015)

Barend Jansen, Assistant General Counsel, Head of Financial and Fiscal Unit, Legal Department, International Monetary Fund

Vuk Jeremič, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia (2007-2012); President, 67th Session of the United Nations General Assembly; President, CIRSD

Mateusz Kijowski, Founder of the Committee for the Defense of Democracy, Poland

Jeppe Kofod, Member of the European Parliament; Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats

Markos Kyprianou, Deputy President, Democratic Party of Cyprus; Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus (2008-2011)

Stavros Lambrinidis, EU Special Representative (EUSR) for Human Rights

Hedi Larbi, Minister of Economic Infrastructure and Sustainable Development and Economic Advisor to the Prime Minister of Tunisia (2014-2015)

Bernardino León, United Nations Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (2014-2015); Special EU Representative for the Southern Mediterranean Region (2011-2014)

Sander Lleshi, National Security Adviser to the Prime Minister of Albania

Rokas Masiulis, Minister of Energy, Lithuania

Peter Maurer, President, International Committee of the Red Cross

David McAllister, Member of the European Parliament, Group of the European People's Party

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

Samantha Power, United States Ambassador to the United Nations

Matteo Renzi, Prime Minister of Italy

Norbert Röttgen, Member of the German Bundestag; Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee

Marietje Schaake, Member of the European Parliament, Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats

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

Alan D. Solomont, Pierre and Pamela Omidyar Dean of the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service, Tufts University; U.S. Ambassador to Spain and Andorra (2009-2013)

Philipp Steinberg, Chief of Staff to the Vice-Chancellor of Germany

Ralf Tutsch, Principal Legal Counsel, European Central Bank

Sir Peter Westmacott, Ambassador of the United Kingdom to the United States (2012-2016), France (2007-2011) and Turkey (2002-2006)

José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, Prime Minister of Spain (2004-2011)

Event Highlights

Seminars, Lectures & Study Groups

In 2015-2016, CES study groups, seminars and annual lectures facilitated more than 100 events. These activities offered scholars, students, and 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 to make the Center a place of dynamic debate where lasting bonds of community are formed.



Timothy Snyder speaking to a guest

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Annual Lectures

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Events

A Center-Periphery Europe? Perspectives from Southern Europe Study Group

Europe Beyond the Financial Crisis

José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, Prime Minister of Spain, (2004-2011)

August Zaleski Memorial Lecture in Modern Polish History

The Holocaust as History and Warning

Alison Frank Johnson, Professor of History, Harvard University; CES Resident Faculty Member & Study Group Chair

Terry Martin, Faculty Associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies; George F. Baker III Professor of Russian Studies, Harvard University

Timothy Snyder, Bird White Housum Professor of History, Yale University

Roman Szporluk, Professor of Ukrainian History Emeritus, Harvard University; CES Faculty Associate

Business and Government in Emerging Europe Study Group

Managing National Security Challenges in Central and Eastern Europe

Rokas Masiulis, Minister of Energy, Lithuania
Andras Simonyi, Managing Director, Center for Transatlantic Relations, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University
Sander Lleshi, National Security Adviser to the Prime Minister of Albania

Contemporary Europe Study Group

A European Germany and a German Europe, 1989-2015

Harold James, Claude and Lore Kelly Professor in European Studies, Princeton University

Director's Seminar

The Emerging European Disunion

Jacques Rupnik, Senior Research Fellow, Sciences-Po; CES Visiting Scholar 2015-2016

Loukas Tsoukalis, Pierre Keller Visiting Professor, Harvard Kennedy School

Ed Balls, UK Shadow Chancellor (2011-2015); Senior Fellow, Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government, Harvard Kennedy School

Eastern Mediterranean and Europe Study Group

The Cyprus Economic Crisis and the European Union

Michalis Attalides, Rector, University of Nicosia

EU Law and Government Study Group

Monetary and Financial Stability in Europe: A Legal and Institutional Perspective

Ralf Tutsch, Principal Legal Counsel, European Central Bank
Barend Jansen, Assistant General Counsel, Head of Financial and Fiscal Unit, Legal Department, International Monetary Fund

European Economic Policy Forum

Big Data's Challenges and Opportunities for Labor

Jörg Asmussen, Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of Germany

European Election Monitor Series

Election Outcomes in Poland, Portugal, Spain and Switzerland

Sebastián Royo, Acting Provost, Suffolk University; Professor of Government, Suffolk University; CES Local Affiliate & Study Group Chair
Béla Filep, Lecturer, Institute of Geography, Universität Bern; CES Visiting Scholar 2015-2016

Carlos Jalali, Professor, Department of Social, Legal and Political Sciences, University of Aveiro; Visiting Professor, Brown University
Krzysztof Jasiewicz, William P. Ames Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Washington and Lee University

European Union Study Group

Political Consequences of the Eurozone Crisis

Jose Ignacio Torreblanca, Director, European Council on Foreign Relations, Madrid

Jonathan Hopkin, Reader in Comparative Politics, Department of Government, London School of Economics

Marina Costa Lobo, Professor of Political Science, University of Lisbon
David Marsh, Director, Official Monetary and Financial Institutions Forum

Vivien A. Schmidt, Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Boston University; CES Local Affiliate & Study Group Chair

Loukas Tsoukalis, Pierre Keller Visiting Professor, Harvard Kennedy School

Gaetano Salvemini Colloquium in Italian History and Culture

Notes on the Ethics of Resistance

Alessandro Portelli, Professor Emeritus, Sapienza University of Rome

Harvard Colloquium for Intellectual History

Hannah Arendt Lecture Series

The four-part lecture series featured the following scholars:

Dana Villa, Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame

Patchen Markell, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

Benjamin Wurgaft, National Science Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow, History, Anthropology, and Science, Technology, and Society Program (HASTS), MIT

Richard Bernstein, Vera List Professor of Philosophy, New School for Social Research

Jews in Modern Europe Study Group

Square Pegs into Round Holes: Creating Moscow's New Museum of Jewish History

Jonathan Dekel-Chen, Professor of History, Hebrew University

New Directions in European History

The Congress of Vienna and the Economic Origins of International Political Life, or Follow the Money

Glenda Sluga, Professor of History, University of Sydney

Özyeğin Forum on Modern Turkey

Beyond the Siege — Cultural Traffic between Austrians and Turks in the 20th Century

Maureen Healy, Associate Professor of History, Lewis & Clark College

Seminar on Social Exclusion and Inclusion

Front National and the Rise of Populism in Europe

Bart Bonikowski, Associate Professor of Sociology, Harvard University; CES Resident Faculty Member

Mabel Berezin, Professor of Sociology, Cornell University; CES Visiting Scholar 2015-2016

David Art, Associate Professor of Political Science, Tufts University; CES Local Affiliate

Seminar on the State and Capitalism Since 1800

Electoral Coordination, Legislative Cohesion, and the Rise of the Modern Mass Party: The Limits of Majoritarian Representation in Germany, 1890-1918

Daniel Ziblatt, Professor of Government, Harvard University; CES Resident Faculty Member & Seminar Chair

Valentin Schröder, Professor of Political Science, University of Bremen

Phillip Manow, Professor of Comparative Political Economy, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Bremen

Visiting Scholars Seminar

This year, 24 presentations were given by CES Visiting Scholars.





A Tribute to Stanley Hoffmann

On December 3, 2015 friends, family and colleagues of Stanley Hoffmann celebrated his life with tributes and musical interludes. Stanley Hoffmann, the Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor Emeritus at Harvard University, died in Cambridge on September 13, 2015. When he retired in 2013, Hoffmann had served on the Harvard faculty for 58 years, and his contributions to the University were prodigious. He was one of a small group of faculty members who founded the elite social studies concentration in 1960 and, for 25 years from 1969, he was the founding chairman of what became the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES).

Hundreds of guests from the U.S. and Europe gathered at Memorial Church to honor “Stanley,” as he was simply known by those who had the pleasure of meeting and working with him. The tribute was opened by Peter A. Hall, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies and CES Resident Faculty. In memory of his love for music, the Grammy Award-winning Parker Quartet performed music by Schubert and Debussy. Several former colleagues, students and close friends gave touching remembrances of Hoffmann, including:

Louise Richardson, Vice-Chancellor, University of Oxford

Peter Gourevitch, Distinguished Emeritus Professor, University of California, San Diego

Suzanne Berger, Raphael Dorman-Helen Starbuck Professor of Political Science, MIT

Guido Goldman, Director of the Program for the Study of Germany and Europe; Founding Director, CES (1979-1994)

Catherine Grémion, Emeritus Director of Research, Center for the Sociology of Organizations, Sciences Po

Karl Kaiser, Adjunct Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School; CES Local Affiliate

Samantha Power, United States Ambassador to the United Nations

After the tribute, CES dedicated one of its lecture rooms in Stanley’s name and announced the creation of the *Stanley Hoffmann Memorial Fund for the Advancement of the Study of Europe*.

**The
Stanley Hoffmann
Memorial Fund for the
Advancement of the
Study of Europe**

The Stanley Hoffmann Memorial Fund for the Advancement of the Study of Europe has been established at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies for donations in the memory of Stanley Hoffmann. This fund is used to support programmatic activities, research and teaching at CES.

To learn more on how to contribute to the fund, contact Laura Falloon at laurafalloon@fas.harvard.edu.



Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall & Graham Allison



Andrew Moravcsik & Anne-Marie Slaughter



Anna Popiel, Peter Gordon and Charles Maier



Hannah Callaway, Elizabeth Cross & Tony Smith



Inge Hoffmann, Louise Richardson & Samantha Power



Daniel Goldhagen & Judith Vichniac



Karl Kaiser



Harvey Rishikof

RESIDENT FACULTY

Alison Frank Johnson

Professor of History,
Harvard University

Jasanoff Named Harvard College Professor

Maya Jasanoff, Coolidge Professor of History and CES Resident Faculty member, was one of five professors named Harvard College Professor in 2015 by Michael D. Smith, Edgerley Family Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS). "Their inspired scholarship and enthusiasm for the craft of teaching is a gift both to their students and to Harvard," Smith said. The Harvard College Professorships, which are five-year appointments, are one of several efforts dedicated to highlighting exceptional teaching, advising and mentoring of students at Harvard.

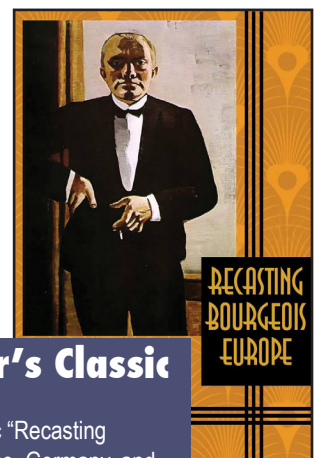
"I'm pleased to be part of a university that recognizes the importance of undergraduate teaching," Jasanoff said. She will leverage her Harvard College Professorship award to create a new interdisciplinary course on the topic of ancestry.

Jasanoff's work focuses on the history of the British Empire. Her book "Edge of Empire" describes British expansion in India and Egypt through the lives of art collectors. Her 2011 book "Liberty's Exiles" is the first global history of loyalists who fled revolutionary America and resettled in Canada, the Caribbean, Britain, Sierra Leone, and beyond.

Ferguson Coins Kissinger "The Idealist"

Niall Ferguson, Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History and CES Resident Faculty, published the first volume of his biography on Henry Kissinger in September 2015. Based on unprecedented access to Kissinger's private papers, "Kissinger: 1923-1968: The Idealist" tells the story of the statesman's formative years.

Speaking to a large audience, Ferguson described the experiences which helped shape Kissinger's perspectives as a policymaker: his youth in Germany, immigration to the United States and his tenure at Harvard.



New Edition of Maier's Classic

Forty years after Charles Maier's classic "Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade after World War I" was first published in 1975, Princeton University Press printed a new edition. This edition includes a new preface by Maier, Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History and CES Resident Faculty. The cover features Max Beckman's "Self-Portrait in Tuxedo," which Maier selected and is part of the collection at the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard Art Museum.



Niall Ferguson



Maya Jasanoff



Peter Hall



Grzegorz Ekiert



Daniel Ziblatt



Charles Maier



Hans-Helmut Kotz



Mary Lewis



Patrice Higonnet



Peter Gordon



Bart Bonikowski

SENIOR FELLOWS

Louise Richardson

Vice-Chancellor,
University of Oxford



CES welcomed eight Senior Fellows from academia and the policy world to serve as strategic advisors and help advance its mission to stimulate new thinking and research on Europe. They join two previously appointed fellows Nicholas Berggruen, Chairman, Berggruen Holdings, and Radosław Sikorski, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs (2007-2014) and Speaker of Parliament (2014-2015).

- **Jutta Allmendinger**, President, Berlin Social Science Center (WZB)
- **Karen Donfried**, President, German Marshall Fund
- **Niall Ferguson**, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University; Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History & CES Resident Faculty (2004-2016)
- **Anna Grzymala-Busse**, Michelle and Kevin Douglas Professor of International Studies, Stanford University
- **Michael Ignatieff**, President and Rector, Central European University
- **Louise Richardson**, Vice-Chancellor, University of Oxford
- **Sir Paul Tucker**, Chair, Systemic Risk Council
- **Joseph H.H. Weiler**, President, European University Institute



Michael Ignatieff

JOHN F. KENNEDY MEMORIAL POLICY FELLOWS



Miriam Meckel

Editor-in-Chief,
Wirtschaftswoche

CES welcomed six John F. Kennedy Memorial Policy Fellows. Fellows gave public lectures and shared their insights in off-the-record discussions with students and faculty. The fellowship was founded in 1966 to allow German policymakers, academics and journalists to share their experiences and research and leverage Harvard's resources to advance their work.

My time at CES was the most inspiring, thought-provoking and productive experience of my academic career so far. The John F. Kennedy Memorial Policy program offers scholars the opportunity to benefit from a world class environment for debate and learning, thus allowing them to think about Europe, and European Studies, through different disciplinary vantage points.

— Tobias Schumacher

John F. Kennedy Memorial Policy Fellows

- **Miriam Meckel**, Editor-in-Chief, *Wirtschaftswoche*
- **Joachim Nettelbeck**, Secretary, Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin
- **Tobias Schumacher**, Chair, European Neighborhood Policy Studies, College of Europe
- **Philipp Steinberg**, Chief of Staff to Vice-Chancellor of Germany
- **Klaus F. Zimmermann**, Professor of Economics, Bonn University



Joachim Nettelbeck

NEW AFFILIATES



Dante Roscini

Professor of
Management
Practice, Harvard
Business School

The network of faculty and graduate students affiliated with CES creates an invaluable community of colleagues that enrich the activities and resources on Europe at Harvard. Each year, a select group of Europe-focused faculty from Harvard and the Boston area as well as graduate students

from Harvard and MIT join the CES affiliate network. We welcome the following new members to the CES community.

Faculty Associates

Dante Roscini, Professor of Management Practice, Harvard Business School

Local Affiliates

Rachel Gillett, Lecturer and Assistant Director of Studies, History and Literature Concentration, Harvard University

Manuel Muñiz, Director, Program on Transatlantic Relations, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

Ruxandra Paul, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Amherst College

Andrew Michta, Adjunct Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies

J. Nicholas Ziegler, Professor (Research) of International and Public Affairs, Watson Institute, Brown University

Graduate Student Affiliates

Jacob Abolafia, PhD Student in Government, Harvard University

Tomasz Blusiewicz, PhD Student in History, Harvard University

Colleen Driscoll, PhD Student in Government, Harvard University

Louis Gerdelan, PhD Student in History, Harvard University

Nina Gheihman, PhD Student in Sociology, Harvard University

Lisa Haushofer, PhD Student in History of Science, Harvard University

Gigi Kliger, PhD Student in History, Harvard University

Jan Kumekawa, PhD Student in History, Harvard University

Lucas Müller, PhD Student in History, Anthropology, Science, Technology, and Society (HASTS), MIT

Yukako Otori, PhD Student in History, Harvard University

Kelly Presutti, PhD Student in History, MIT



ARTS & CULTURE at the JACEK E. GIEDROJĆ GALLERY

Barbara Klemm comes to Harvard

Commemorating the 25th anniversary of German reunification, CES hosted an exhibition of the works of Barbara Klemm, the distinguished German photojournalist. The exhibit entitled “West Meets East” focused on her iconic photographs for *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* that shaped the cultural memory of generations of Germans and captured nearly a half century of Germany’s history, including the period when the country was divided.

The exhibit featured some of her most well-known political photographs including Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev kissing East German leader Erich Honecker in 1979 as well as images of the fall of the Berlin Wall and German reunification a year later.

“West Meets East” opened on October 8, 2015 with a conversation between Klemm, Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, Andrew W. Mellon Professor of Modern Art, and Mary Elise Sarotte, Dean’s Professor of History and International Relations at

the University of Southern California and CES Faculty Associate. Klemm elaborated on the behind-the-scenes events of not only the historical moments she captured but also the many artists and celebrities she has photographed over the years.

The exhibit was sponsored by the Institute für Auslandsbeziehungen (Ifa) and the Goethe-Institut Boston and curated by CES Director Grzegorz Ekiert and Jacek Giedrojć Gallery Curator Jan Kubasiewicz.



This page: Fall of the Wall, November 10, 1989 (above)
Brotherly Kiss Leonid Brezhnev and Erich Honecker (right)
Facing page: At the Reichstag, West-Berlin, 1987

Photographs © Barbara Klemm



Barbara Klemm & Charles Maier



Mary Elise Sarotte & Benjamin Buchloh



Wilhelm Neusser & Barbara Klemm



Ralf Horlemann



Thomas Gottschalk



Ingo Zamperoni



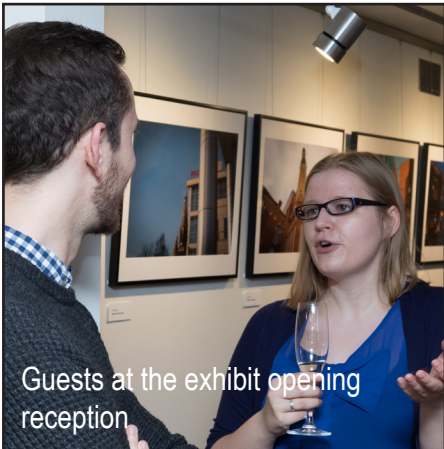
Łódź: The Promised Land

In May 2016, CES opened “Łódź: The Promised Land,” an exhibit by Jan Kubasiewicz, Professor of Design, Massachusetts College of Art and Design. Kubasiewicz was named curator of the Jacek E. Giedroń Gallery this year.

The description of the city of Łódź as “The Promised Land” is borrowed from the title of a novel by Władysław Reymont, a Polish novelist and the 1924 Nobel Prize laureate. His novel condemned the ruthlessness of capitalism, yet depicted Łódź as a modern city of four religions, cultures, and nations: Poles, Germans, Jews, and Russians. The exhibit highlights three periods of Łódź’s history. The first is the 19th century industrial revolution, a golden age of the city. It is represented by photographically enlarged illustrations of industrial architecture that were included on stationery. The second is the late 1970’s period of “the beginning of end of capitalism in Poland” based on the ŁÓDZ-ORWO Collection documenting vernacular language of visual communication. The third is today’s revival of Łódź where the old industrial infrastructure has been converted into shopping centers and commercial malls.



Jan Kubasiewicz



Guests at the exhibit opening reception



Elaine Papoulias (right) & Katherine Zippel (left)



Bernhard Struck (right) & Tobias Schumacher (left)

VISITING SCHOLARS



25
Scholars

Italy's fascist architecture, human rights in the EU, minorities and elite higher education, as well as sex, murder and scandal in Belle Epoque Paris were just a few of the diverse research topics that this year's 25 Visiting Scholars worked on during their stay at CES. At the weekly *Visiting Scholars Seminar*, participants presented their work and Chair Arthur Goldhammer facilitated discussions that crossed disciplinary and national boundaries.

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Disciplines

Among the Visiting Scholars was Sebastian Koos, Assistant Professor of Corporate Social Responsibility at the University of Konstanz. Koos was the recipient of the prestigious John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellowship. Established in 1966, this fellowship recognizes Germany's most promising social scientists in the early stages of their academic careers.



Elena Ion &
Thomas Winzen



Dimitar Bechev



Sebastian Koos &
Béla Filep



Christine Zabel &
John Rowley Gillingham



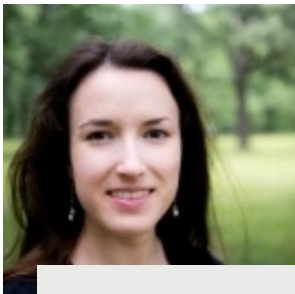
Annabelle Allouch &
Siegfried Weichlein

GRADUATE PROGRAMS



Dissertation Completion 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.



Elizabeth Cross
PhD Candidate
Department of History
Harvard University

The French East India Company and the Politics of Commerce in the Revolutionary Era



Tomasz Blusiewicz
PhD Candidate
Department of History
Harvard University

Hansa Returns or How the Baltic Sea Trade Washed Away the Iron Curtain, 1945-1989



James Conran
PhD Candidate
Department of Political Science,
MIT

The Comparative Political Economy of Working Time and Inequality



Jessica Tollette
PhD Candidate
Department of Sociology
Harvard University

Noticeably Invisible: A Study of Race, Policy and Immigrant Incorporation in Present-Day Spain

Dissertation Workshops

At the CES Dissertation Workshop, graduate students meet in a collegial and stimulating environment to present their current research to peers and faculty interested in the study of Europe. It is a student-run, student-centered project. In 2015-2016 students presented the following research topics at the Workshops:

Adriana Alfaro Altamirano (Government), *Great Expectations: Henri Bergson and the Morality of Uncertainty*

Colleen Anderson (History), *Cosmic Visitors: The Space Race in East and West Germany, 1957-1969*

Elizabeth Cross (History), *The French Revolution of the Compagnie des Indes: 1789-1792*

John Harpham (Government), *From Freedom to Slavery*

Tae-Yeoun Keum (Government), *An Enlightenment Fable: Leibniz and the Boundaries of Reason*

Jamie McSpadden (History), *Constructing and Contesting an Interwar Parliamentary International: The Inter-Parliamentary Union and Conférence parlementaire internationale du commerce*

Guillaume Wadia (History), *The Deep State and the Imperial Spring, 1934-1937*

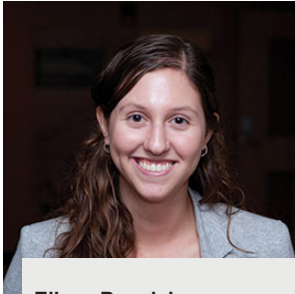
Tomasz Blusiewicz (History), *Contraband, Bribes, Drugs and Big Bucks: Why was Solidarność Born on the Polish Baltic Coast?*

Lydia Walker (History), *In the Shadow of Katanga*

Dissertation Research Fellowship Recipients

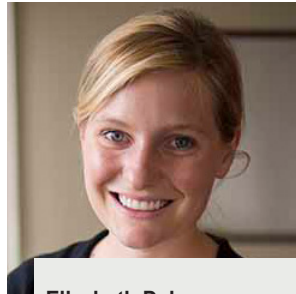
CES believes that a vital part of the training of future Europeanists is the ability to conduct fieldwork in the region. Thanks to an endowment established by the

Krupp Foundation in 1974, the Center was able to provide a year of support for dissertation research in Europe to the following 12 graduate students.



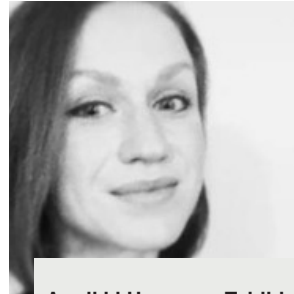
Elissa Berwick
PhD Candidate
Department of Political Science,
MIT

*Productive Parochialism:
Regionalist Parties and Social
Spending*



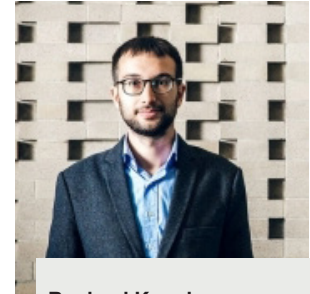
Elizabeth Dekeyser
PhD Candidate
Department of Political Science,
MIT

*An Antidote to Extremism?
Mosques and Civic Integration in
France*



Annikki Herranen-Tabibi
PhD Candidate
Department of Anthropology
Harvard University

*Care, Belonging, and Social
Reproduction in the Teno/Deatnu
River Valley*



Raphael Koenig
PhD Candidate
Department of Comparative
Literature
Harvard University

*The Reception of the "Art of the
Insane" in France and Germany
from Prinzhorn to Dubuffet*



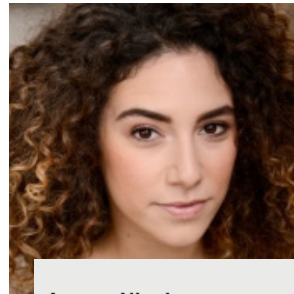
Dominika Kruszewska
PhD Candidate
Department of Government
Harvard University

*From the Streets to the Party
Lists: Electoral Fortunes of Social
Movements*



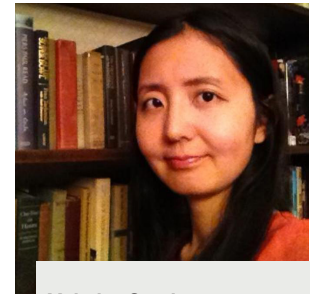
**Joseph la Hausse de
Lalouviere**
PhD Candidate
Department of History
Harvard University

*The Restoration of French
Colonial Slavery, 1802-1848*



Argyro Nicolaou
PhD Candidate
Department of Comparative
Literature
Harvard University

*Europe and the Cultural Politics
of Mediterranean Migration*



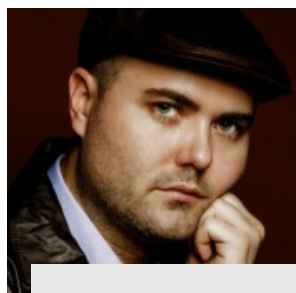
Yukako Otori
PhD Candidate
Department of History
Harvard University

*Child Labor and Progressive
Politics, 1914-1948*



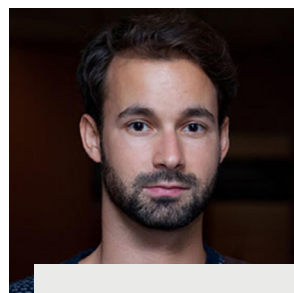
Paul Schmelzing
PhD Candidate
Department of History
Harvard University

*The Global Genoa System,
1929-1969*



Thomas Wisniewski
PhD Candidate
Department of Comparative
Literature
Harvard University

*The Recordings of Karen Blixen
and the Rhythm of Prose*



Andreas Wiedemann
PhD Candidate
Department of Political Science,
MIT

*Borrowed Dreams: How
Household Debt Drives the
Knowledge Economy and
Influences Politics*



Kathryn Heintzman
PhD Candidate
Department of History of Science
Harvard University
*Materia Medica Veterinaria:
France's Administration of
Human-Animal Interdependence*
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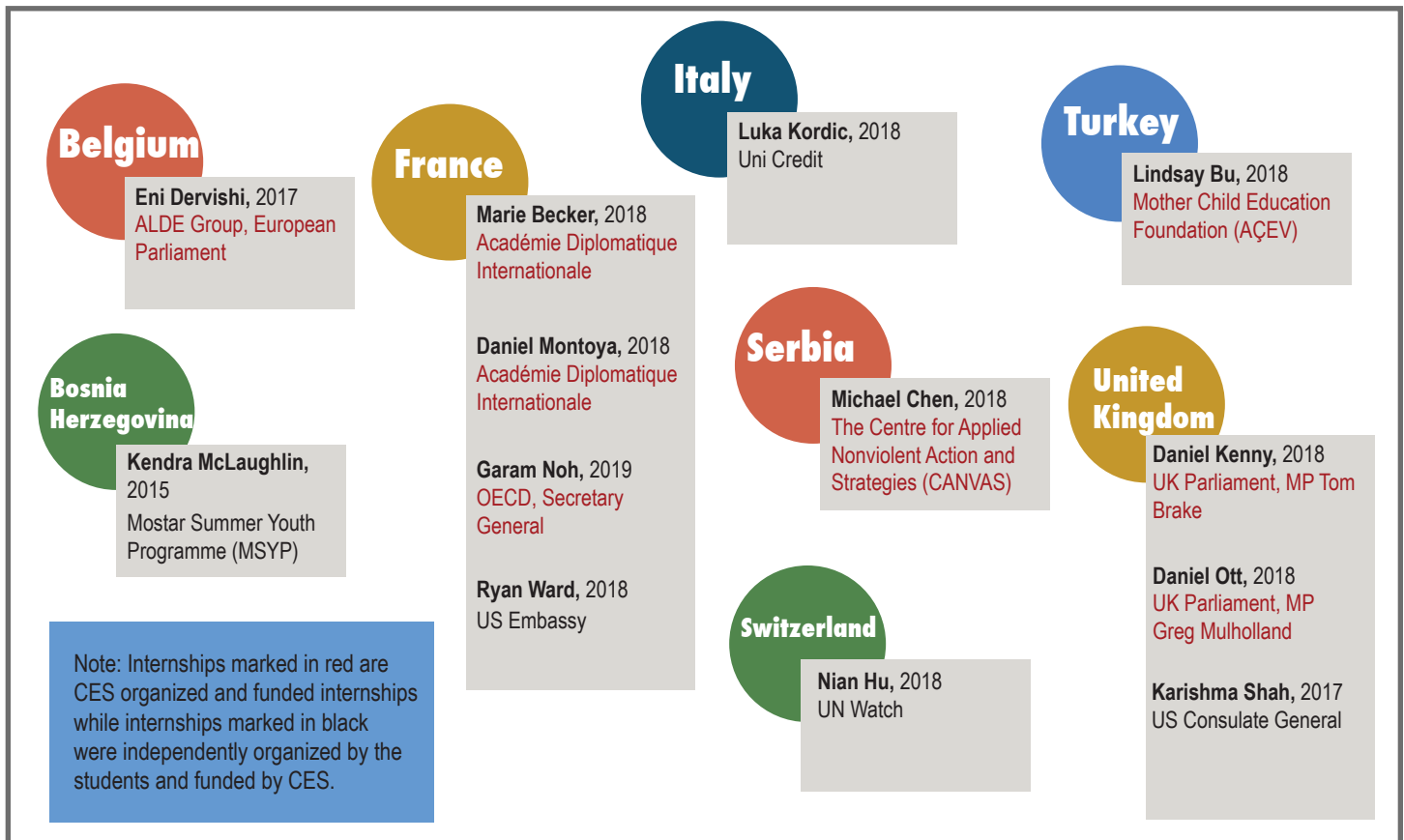
UNDER-GRADUATE INITIATIVES



Internships in Europe build new perspectives

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 issues and a new skill set that they tested in an international environment.

In addition to offering seven positions in Belgium, France, Serbia, Turkey and the United Kingdom, CES supported entrepreneurial students who organized their own internships in Europe that merged their academic and professional interests with the experience of living and working in Europe. The chart below shows the 13 students whose internships were funded by CES.



Witnessing history first-hand

Daniel Ott (class of 2018) spent his summer internship in the office of Greg Mulholland, a Member of Parliament for Leeds North West in the United Kingdom. Mulholland's party, the Liberal Democrats, was supporting the Remain campaign. Ott's internship coincided with the EU Referendum vote on June 23, 2016 in which the majority of Britons voted to leave the European Union. He shared his impressions below.

The most memorable part of my internship comes from the lead-up to, and aftermath of, the EU Referendum. The toxicity of the campaign became apparent when Labour MP Jo Cox (who hailed from the same region as MP Greg Mulholland) was murdered at one of her surgeries exactly one week prior to the Brexit vote. After joining with other Harvard students for the annual Harvard-Cambridge dinner at Cambridge University's Emmanuel College the following weekend, I took a train up to Leeds North West for a week of fighting for the European Union. It was incredible to spend time in the English countryside and hear what Brits thought about the Referendum after weeks of listening to politicians in Westminster. Unfortunately, we lost.

As MPs returned to Westminster from their constituencies, British politics was in utter chaos. The Conservative Party was trying to figure out how to replace David Cameron after his surprisingly swift resignation. Labour started to suffer a leadership coup as MPs blamed the Remain defeat on Jeremy Corbyn's inability to lead the party. The Liberal Democrats were trying to discern how they would fit into all of this as the party pledged to keep the UK in the EU despite the Referendum's outcome. The Tory leadership election had an abrupt ending with Andrea Leadsom's withdrawal from the race. It was surreal to be in the front row as Theresa

It was a roller coaster of a summer as I witnessed moments that will be described in history lessons.

— Daniel Ott, 2018



May made her first public statement after becoming the Tory Party leader and presumptive Prime Minister without a single vote from the nationwide party membership. Two days later, Her Majesty the Queen officially appointed May to the post of Prime Minister, and we all eagerly watched as the new government began to take shape.

Overall, it was a roller coaster of a summer as I witnessed moments that will be described in history lessons, and I could not have been happier to work for Greg Mulholland on his journey to make a positive difference in the UK.

A lesson in civic engagement

Eni Dervishi (class of 2017) spent her internship in Brussels with the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) at the European Parliament. She shares her experiences below.

The internship at the European Parliament with the ALDE group was very fulfilling academically, professionally and culturally. I learned a lot through the amazing opportunities that the ALDE program for US interns offered. I sat in plenary sessions and learned about the interaction of EU institutions through meetings with several European Commissioners as well as visits to the European External Action Service, the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights. In light of the challenges that the EU is currently facing, such as the refugee crisis and Brexit, it was a very interesting time to be in the hub of the discussion. My internship at the European Parliament challenged my beliefs about civic participation, bureaucracy and the role of policy in everyday life. It inspired me to become a better citizen by expressing my own beliefs and being more active in defending the values that I believe in.

Living in Brussels was a great way to get closer to Europe and strengthen my ties with the continent. I met people from different countries, which brought to my attention different perspectives on certain issues, but also it was interesting to see the common shared European

My internship at the European Parliament challenged my beliefs about civic participation, bureaucracy and the role of policy in the everyday life. It inspired me to become a better citizen.

— Eni Dervishi, 2017




values and culture. This summer helped me become more independent and adapt more quickly to new environments, which will be very useful during my final year of college, but even more so, after I graduate.

Senior Thesis Grant Recipients

CES funds research in Europe for juniors at Harvard College. Since 1979, these grants have been made possible through the generous endowment of the Alfred Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach Foundation which established the Krupp Foundation

Fellowships at CES. This year, the following 13 students received grants after a highly competitive selection process.

 <p>Daniel Banks Social Studies, 2017</p> <p><i>Refugee and Human Rights Policy in Southern Europe: A Comparison between Sicily and the Balkans</i></p>	 <p>Deniz Cataltepe History & Science, 2017</p> <p><i>The Increased Medicalization of Epilepsy in Mid- to Late Nineteenth-Century London and Paris</i></p>	 <p>Eli Davey History, 2017</p> <p><i>An Intellectual History of Habermas's Theory of Technocracy</i></p>	<p>Dana Ferrante History & Literature, 2017</p> <p><i>Nationhood v. Citizenship: Uniting the South and North of Italy</i></p> <p>(Note: No photo available)</p>
 <p>Pietro Galeone Social Studies, 2017</p> <p><i>Rational Ballots? The Economics of Euroskeptical Voter Behavior</i></p>	 <p>Samantha Garin Social Studies, 2017</p> <p><i>Membership and Meaning: Officials' Attitudes and Response to the Refugee Crisis in Greece and the EU</i></p>		 <p>Caroline Hubbard History & Literature, 2017</p> <p><i>Formation of Black Identity Across the Transatlantic Imaginary under the Neoliberal State Apparatus</i></p>
	 <p>Nancy Ko Near Eastern Languages & Civilizations, 2017</p> <p><i>In the Shadows of Change: Jewish Alliances in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1905-11</i></p>	 <p>Elijah Lee History, 2017</p> <p><i>Football Stadiums, State Action, and the Development of Civil Society in early Republican Istanbul</i></p>	 <p>Siobhan McDonough Social Studies, 2017</p> <p><i>The Factors of Labor-Market Integration for Refugee Women in Switzerland</i></p>
 <p>Juan Pablo Miramontes Social Studies, 2017</p> <p><i>Muslim Immigrant Youth in the Banlieues of Paris</i></p>	 <p>Toby Roper Social Studies, 2017</p> <p><i>A Comparative Analysis of the Varied Responses of EU Nations to the Recent Refugee Crisis</i></p>	 <p>Ian Van Wye History & Literature, 2017</p> <p><i>Maurice Blanchot, Public and Private Intellectual</i></p>	

CES STAFF



Elaine Papoulias



Elizabeth Johnson



Roumiana Theunissen



Paul Dzus



Laura Falloon



Gila Naderi



Colin Brown



Anna Popiel



Aida Vidan



Amir Mikhak



Filomena Cabral



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.
- Serve as a forum for 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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Where
& Harvard
Europe
meet