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Grusswort

Liebe Leserinnen und Leser

Gerne hätten wir Ihnen mitgeteilt, dass wir nach dem Lockdown wieder in den normalen Universitätsalltag übergegangen sind – doch davon sind wir weit entfernt. Das universitäre Umfeld hat sich vielmehr in Lehre und Forschung dramatisch verändert und Covid-19 ist zum Thema vertiefter wissenschaftlicher Auseinandersetzung geworden, an der sich gerade auch die Gesellschafts- und Geisteswissenschaften beteiligen sollten. Im Editorial befasst sich Prof. Teresa Pullano mit dem Verhältnis von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Zeiten der COVID-19 Krise und geht dabei insbesondere auf die Artikulationen von Territorium und Macht ein, auf die drohende globale Wirtschaftskrise und die Bedeutung der kritischen theoretischen Ansätze der Frankfurter und Freiburger Schule für die Frage von Rationalität und Irrationalität in Krisenzeiten.

Ein im Mai veröffentlichter Beitrag in der Toynbee Coronavirus Series gab meiner Kollegin Prof. Glenda Sluga und mir die Möglichkeit, zur globalhistorischen Debatte über historische Parallelen der Krise beizutragen. Im Austausch zwischen Melbourne und Basel entstanden, sollte der Beitrag auch signalisieren, dass ein globales Thema grenzübergreifend diskutiert gehört. Die Frage der Menschenrechte in Notstandzeiten aus rechtswissenschaftlicher Sicht thematisierte unser Visiting Fellow Stoyan Panov in einem Working Lunch. Die Veranstaltung fand im virtuellen Raum statt – mit einer erfreulich hohen Beteiligung von Mitarbeitenden und Studierenden.

In der Rubrik «Aktuelles» schliesslich stellen wir Ihnen drei hervorragende Masterarbeiten vor, die 2019 von Alumni des Europainstituts verfasst wurden. Die Arbeiten zu den geopolitischen Ambitionen Chinas in der Arktis, zu den Friedensmissionen der Schweiz nach dem 2. Weltkrieg und zur bilateralen Kooperationen der EU mit Ländern im Nahen Osten in der Frage der Transmigration können Sie in voller Länge als neueste Nummer der Basel Papers downloaden.

Mehr denn je brauchen wir Austausch und Kommunikation, alternative Formen des Dialogs und der kritischen Reflexion. Während des Lockdowns haben wir mit «Global Conversations» ein neues Format lanciert. Dabei hat uns tief berührt, dass Toshiki Mogami aus Tokyo, Peter deSouza aus Goa und Glenda Sluga aus Melbourne zeitzonebedingt sogar nachts bereit waren, uns zu unterstützen.

Bleiben Sie gesund – und weiterhin an unserer Seite!
Madeleine Herren-Oesch,
Direktorin des Europainstituts

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«Economy and Society» under Covid-19: which way forward?

In a recent interview, the Brazilian anthropologist and philosopher Eduardo Viveiros de Castro defined the Anthropocene and its consequences, among which Covid-19, as a «total social fact», along Marcel Mauss' definition (Viveiros de Castro, *Philosophie Magazine*, July 2020). Here, I can mention only a few critical points of our societies that the pandemic and its consequences allow us to see in the daylight. The first point concerns the global and European articulation of territory and power. While the virus is, per se, a transnational phenomenon, crossing borders, affecting the whole earth and the whole of humanity, both as a species and as the subject-object of contagion, its diffusion has shown the differential and territorial nature of globalization. In a paradoxical manner, the suspension of the Treaty of Schengen and of the right to free movement within the EU has superposed old territorial grids onto the transformed, uneven but still spatial form of political and social life which is articulated at the level of the continent and of its relations to the global space. We need to start by acknowledging the spatial and territorial structure of politics at the European and global level if we want to be able to provide a more effective solution to future crises.

This is true also for my second point, the relation between the economic and the social and political orders at the global and at the European level. A global economic crisis awaits us in the Autumn. The European Union is at present discussing the possibility of a common reply in the form of a «Recovery Fund», including the possibility of forms of direct EU investment in the economies of its Member States. This discussion, together with the suspen-

sion of the rules of the Stability and Growth Pact, has the potential of being a turning point for Europe. Foucault (*The Birth of Biopolitics*, 1979) identifies in the figure of Max Weber the starting point of Europe's (and Germany's) manner of articulating the problem of the relation between the economic and the social sphere: «(...) Max Weber's problem (...) is not so much the contradictory logic of capital as the problem of the irrational rationality of capitalist society» (Foucault, 1979, 105). The division between the rational and the irrational, and their dialectic, would then be, according to Foucault, the problem that Europe, and Germany in particular, tries to address after Nazism, providing two opposite answers. One, which we could briefly define as progressive, came from the Frankfurt School, characterized by intellectual figures such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse, who tried to determine «what new social rationality could be defined and formed in such a way as to nullify economic irrationality» (Foucault, 1979, 106). The second set of answers to Max Weber's problem was provided by the Freiburg School, reunited around the journal «Ordo» and including economists and politicians such as Walter Eucken, Ludwig Erhard or Franz Böhm. Their solution, which can be defined as ordoliberalism, consisted in rediscovering the economic rationality that would make it possible to nullify the social irrationality of capitalism. The State, the German State in particular but I would also say the European form of statehood, had to be founded on the economy, and the State was meant to provide the framework for the market to function, in contrast to the neoliberal, laissez-faire school of thought.

At present, the irrationality of our economic system has been exposed by the pandemic, forcing advanced economies and societies to «choose» among its own citizens those who could be treated and saved and those who could not. The ordoliberal order of Europe comes out weakened by the present crisis, and new and more adequate tools are needed to face the coming recession. It is probably time to go back to the interdisciplinary nature of the first generation of Frankfurt School intellectuals, while providing new foundations to the spirit of the School, in line with the calls for decolonizing our memory and our societies, as expressed by the Black Lives Matter protests in the US and around the world.



Teresa Pullano, Assistant Professor at the Institute for European Global Studies (University of Basel)

Graduate Papers from the Institute of European Global Studies

«Global Europe – Basel Papers on Europe in a Global Perspective» is an e-journal published twice a year by the Institute for European Global Studies. In the latest edition we present three master's theses from our summer 2019 graduates.

The first master's thesis with the title «A Legal Conquest of the Arctic? China, the European Nordic Countries and Multilateralism» talks about the development of the Chinese presence in the Arctic. China published its first White Paper on the Arctic region in 2018, announcing its vision of integrating it as a «Polar Silk Road» under its Belt and Road Initiative framework. This marked the beginning of an increasingly confident Chinese presence in the Arctic and indicated that the region has gained strategic importance in Beijing's foreign policy agenda. The master's thesis examines whether the inclusion of the Arctic within the framework of China's Belt and Road Initiative has influenced the Chinese foreign policy approach towards the countries of the Arctic region. If the inclusion of the Arctic did indeed have an impact, these findings could help us to assess the Belt and Road Initiative's place and scope within China's overarching foreign policy and could provide us with a better understanding of how China operates within the context of this scheme.

This master's thesis was written by Selina Morell who studied European Global Studies at our institute. She spent a year in Beijing (China), where she studied at Tsinghua University and then worked for six months as a trainee in the Political Section of the Swiss Embassy. Upon her return, she completed her master's degree in summer 2019. Today, she works as a research assistant for



China aims to integrate the Arctic into its Belt and Road Initiative framework.

the Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports.

The second master's thesis carries the title «Between «fremde Händel» and «Weltpolizei». The Discourse on Swiss Participation in Peacekeeping Operations after 1945». After initially supporting selected peacekeeping missions as a means of distancing itself from the UN as an institution, Switzerland slowly adopted a more progressive position during the Cold War, which led to an increase in participation in the 1990s. The source material – parliamentary protocols since 1945 – shows that among political parties in Switzerland, the political right was oftentimes the lone opponent to more involvement in such missions, as there was relatively little other opposition to an intensification of traditional peacekeeping activities. However, attempts to relativize national neutrality concepts met broad resistance, as did attempts by the government to take too many (or too large) steps all at once. The parliamentary discussions examined focus on obligations under international law, national legal provisions and political priorities – and the famous Swiss neutrality is used in

both political and judicial terms as an argument by all sides.

Fabian Schmid, who worked and studied at the Institute for European Global Studies, wrote this master's thesis. He obtained his MA in European Global Studies in the spring of 2019, after which he worked for the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs in Budapest, Hungary. He currently acts as secretary for the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Aussenpolitik SGA, the association La Suisse en Europe, the Plattform Schweiz Europa and is an academic intern at Neue Europäische Bewegung Schweiz.

The third master's thesis bears the title «Soft Law in EU Migration Cooperation with Associated Countries». This thesis pursues the following research question: What are the legal effects of the Turkey Statement, the Jordan Compact and the Lebanon Compact on the relations between the EU and these three associated countries in the field of migration and how do they have an impact on the situation of Syrian refugees hosted by these countries? Due to the war in Syria the temporary stay of refugees in Turkey, Jor-

dan and Lebanon became a longsome and tricky situation. These three countries are strategic partners to the EU in the governance of transit migration. As a result the EU adopted three non-binding bilateral arrangements: The Turkey Statement, the Jordan Compact and the Lebanon Compact. These Compacts have facilitating and strengthening legal effects on the association links between these states and the EU. Furthermore, the Turkey Statement has transformative and multilevel

legal effects that contribute to an informalization of relations. This master's thesis provides one approach to the gap of legal research on the external dimension of EU governance.

The author of this third master's thesis is Anna Wolf who graduated from the Institute of European Global Studies in 2019. After concluding her master's program she completed a 6-month internship at the Mission of Switzerland to the EU in

Brussels. She is currently working at the Federal Office of Police (fedpol) as a Specialized Officer in the division for Schengen and EU co-operation.

This edition, as well as previous issues, of the Basel Papers can be downloaded from our [web-site](#) and can also be read on the e-journal depository [eterna](#), run by the Basel University Library.

Working Lunch mit Stoyan Panov: «What Happens with Human Rights Obligations in Times of Emergency? An Analysis of the Derogation Regime under the European Convention on Human Rights in COVID-19 Public Emergencies.»



Dr. Stoyan Panov, Dozent für Internationales Recht am University College Freiburg (Universität Freiburg) und Visiting Fellow am Europainstitut der Universität Basel

Der Working Lunch vom 20. Mai mit Stoyan Panov fand aufgrund der aktuellen Situation in Zusammenhang mit dem Coronavirus erneut im virtuellen Raum statt. Panov ist dieses Frühjahrssemester als Visiting Fellow am Europainstitut zu Gast. Physisch befindet er sich zurzeit jedoch in Freiburg (im Breisgau), wo er als Dozent am University College der Universität Freiburg tätig ist.

Panov befasste sich in seiner Präsentation mit der Forschungsfrage, welcher er im Rahmen eines aktuellen Working Papers nachgeht, nämlich «What Happens with Human Rights Obligations in Times of Emergency? An Analysis of the Derogation Regime under the European Convention on Human Rights in COVID-19 Public Emergencies.» Panovs Forschung untersucht ein hochaktuelles Thema und bietet eine rechtliche Analyse wie die Europäischen Staaten die nach Art. 15 der Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention vorgesehene Abweichung von menschenrechtlichen Verpflichtungen im gegenwärtigen Notstandsfall umsetzen. Ein besonderes Augenmerk wurde auf die verfassungsmässigen Prinzipien der Rechtssicherheit und Vorhersagbarkeit gelegt. Es müsse sichergestellt werden, dass die getroffenen Notstandsmassnahmen ihren Zweck erfüllen und dabei nur minimale Abweichungen vom status quo vorgenommen werden. Die Massnahmen müssten ausserdem verhältnismässig, nachvollziehbar und zeitlich begrenzt, sowie für die Sicherstellung der öffentlichen Gesundheit zwingend notwendig sein,

erläuterte Panov. Weiter wurde veranschaulicht, wie die staatlichen Eingriffe auf Grundlage des Notstandsrechts konkrete Menschenrechte tangieren, namentlich die Versammlungsfreiheit, die Bewegungsfreiheit, das Recht auf Eigentum oder das Recht auf Bildung. Zum Abschluss seiner Präsentation stellte Panov das Fallbeispiel Bulgarien vor. Dabei handle es sich um ein Land, welches über kein spezifisches Notstandsgesetz, sondern lediglich eine Verfassungsklausel verfügt. Im Anschluss an die Präsentation entwickelte sich eine lebhafte Diskussion, in der die Frage aufgeworfen wurde, ob der gegenwärtige Notstand zu einer Unterminierung des Menschenrechtsregimes führe. Ein weiteres Bedenken, das geäussert wurde, war die Problematisierung der Normalisierung von Machtzuweisungen, welche während des Notstands vorgenommen wurden. Dies könnte insbesondere in demokratietheoretischer Hinsicht eine Gefahr für das soziale Gefüge darstellen.

Arun Mahato, Hilfsassistent am Europainstitut

At war with the virus, no battles to win, only a future to lose



A woman dropping her tea-cup in horror upon discovering the monstrous contents of a magnified drop of Thames water; revealing the impurity of London drinking water. Coloured etching by W. Heath, 1828. (This file comes from Wellcome Images, a website operated by Wellcome Trust, a global charitable foundation based in the United Kingdom.)

This article was originally published as op-ed in the Toynbee Coronavirus Series (<https://toynbeeprize.org/posts/glenda-sluga-and-madeleine-herren/>). We thank the Toynbee Prize Foundation for the authorization to reprint the article in full.

When on March 27 Pope Francis streamed his Urbi et Orbi blessing from the steps of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, the Vatican announced the «extraordinary prayer for an end of the coronavirus pandemic» as a powerful historic ritual addressing the whole world. Meanwhile, the UN Secretary General evokes the theme of global solidarity daily, but the UN Security Council has been unable to include the COVID-19 pandemic

on its work agenda. The venerable World Health Organization (WHO) is now the fall guy for a failing United States government (itself seemingly at war with many of its constituent states), which is threatening its funding. Rather than restore the WHO's global authority and funding, some spokespersons in the West are calling for an exclusive G20 health body, as if viruses stop at wealthy borders and the fate of the poorer parts of the world do not matter.

These days, it is all too apparent that in a majority of cases, the global dimensions of the crises we face are being tackled within national parameters, often with the emphasis on patriotism, national behavi-

ours, and national interests. Analysts anticipate the global spread of an ideological virus – namely a new wave of the strongman-backed authoritarian nationalisms typified by Hungary's Orban regime. In general, national governments are adopting wartime postures and policies, along with military infrastructures, in their «fight» against the pandemic. From the increasingly favoured legitimization of emergency laws as an appropriate reaction for saving the nation and protecting Hungarian citizens (and only Hungarian citizens), to the Chinese remembrance of victims as national martyrs, an old-fashioned, even xenophobic, patriotic nationalism is underscoring the connections between our world and that of

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a century ago, despite the differences that technological and cultural changes and fast communication technologies have made. At the most, a global perspective occurs in the obsessive televised and world wide web-based comparisons of national COVID-19 «curves» (of countries deemed relevant), the log-graphs of which now dominate our view and reflect our experience of everyday life.

As international historians we observe these developments with evidence-based trepidation. As humans, we have certainly been here before. In 1919, as the disastrous World War I finally ended, economic and political dislocation alongside the savage spread of the «Spanish flu» led to the extension of wartime authoritarian powers far beyond the armistice. Even as the parliaments of liberal democracies continued to meet, their respective state manoeuvres often blurred the lines between democracies and emergency regimes. A century later, nation-states are transgressing those same borders in the interests of national security but with only the metaphors of war (not an actual war) as a source of legitimization. Despite the unlimited availability of Zoom-life, some governments (vedi Australia) feel that the practice of parliament is worth it. As many commentators have noted, in the circumstances, there is much to lose, including civil rights, democratic institutions, let alone institutionalized forms of humanitarianism and solidarity. A century ago, during the Spanish flu pandemic, even as newly invented cinemas were shuttered, newly independent states, at the least, kept their parliaments open.

History only fuels our accruing sense of unease with the contemporary turn inward, to national solutions

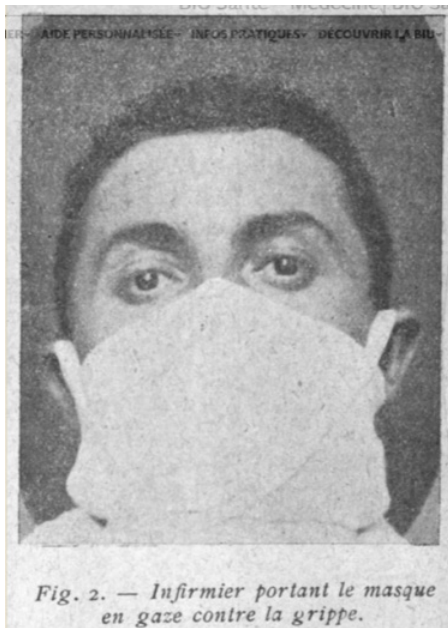
to global problems, swaddled in the language and policies of war. By contrast, each of the 20th century's major threshold crises, the horizon of democratic, inclusive, and equitable state and international, even global, expectations were closely aligned. If we take public health as our example, during both world wars, it was in anticipation of the post-war that intergovernmental health organisations were given conceptual form. Dreamers dreamed big, invoking universal norms that established the intersecting interests of state and global-based public health obligations, including the goal of improving the health of the world's population through the sharing of expertise and resources. Today's WHO is one manifestation of the principles of public health and equity that for much of the 20th century undergirded the welfare state and obligated national governments to accept responsibility for protecting the health of their populations in toto. The weakness and vulnerability of today's WHO reflects the relative weakness of the welfare ideal, no more so than in the same state that helped found so many of these intergovernmental instruments, the United States of America.

During both the First and Second World Wars, the global scale of the social, economic, and political challenges faced by nations were met with a determination to think about how to reinvent the world, on a scale that incorporated and transcended the governance and democratising potential of national states. Even when we imagine just how different our own moment is, history really is useful. We need only recall that the principle of access to information beyond fake news and censorship crucial to definitions of equality and democratic access to health services, let alone

employment, has echoes too in the past. The promise of trans-national exchange of information has been the core principle of almost every intergovernmental organization for more than a century.

In 1919, at least among liberal western states, the postwar ideal of the national-state was as closely identified with social policies that protected the rights of workers and held up the prospects of cooperation with employers and governments. This same ideal was enshrined in the «social justice» imperatives of the International Labour Organization (ILO), which also owes its existence in major part to the United States, and still exists today. In 2020, as the world faces the fallout of a systemic crisis of capitalism, the ILO's view of a «postwar» future rarely makes headlines, but the organization has elaborated a vision of the need for a new deal, once again through its tripartite system of cooperation: states, worker confederations, and employers, world-wide.

Even as national patriotism has encouraged competition for scarce medical resources (even within nation-states as well as between them), there has been a strange relative silence about the extent to which, in the past, at moments of global crisis, the world has gone in search of global answers. While the Financial Times recently invoked the spirit of 1945 that led to the establishment of the UN and finance-focused «Bretton Woods» system, we have heard less about aspirations for postwar global social justice, for sharing resources, scientific and material. Yet the lessons of history tell us that the world has known and applied more than one version of a global community. What we think of as globalization, with its trade- and market-obses-



Paris, 1918. Source: <https://www.bius-ante.parisdescartes.fr/histoire/images/index.php?refphot=04565>

sed parameters (some sustained by specially-designed international institutions and laws), is only the most recent and reduced version of a global future we need to imagine.

There are more versions of a global and globalized world than either the liberal economist Keynes or neo-liberal Hayek dreamed of. Where national polities no longer have an interest in sharing expertise or obligation, we find ourselves however in a more challenging situation that demands more radical solutions. Among these is the call for a «global commons», a new vision that might address, for example, the more uncomfortable implications of the environmental pollution created by the digital world, or that could transform global health by bringing the voices of experts into the political arena.

If we are stuck with analogies of war, then these same histories warn us not only that we cannot wait for the pandemic to be «over», but also that during each major war extensive political and social movement supported intertwined national and multilateral responses to the global

dimensions of health and economic challenges. But where invocation of war, of battles against the virus enemy, might offer comfort precisely because they posit a moment of victory – a V-Day – the intersecting global challenges of pandemic, capitalism and planetary destruction we now face allow us no such complacency. We have arrived at a moment of existential global crisis without precedent, and without history's promise of narrative closure.

Glenda Sluga, Professor of International History at the European University Institute and the University of Sidney and Madeleine Herren, Director of the Institute for European Global Studies and Professor of Modern History, University of Basel

TEPSA European Student Contest Winner 2020

In April 2020, the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA), Europe's oldest network of research institutes, bringing together 43 think tanks from 36 European countries, organized the second edition of its Student Contest on the theme of «solidarity in the EU». Participants were given the opportunity to choose from a range of topics connected to this issue, e.g. migration, defense and security, or climate change and environmental protection.

Solidarity in the European Union is a highly topical issue, given that the process of European Integration has been increasingly challenged over the last two decades, especially in the wake of the financial and migration crises and the subsequent rise of populist parties as

well as authoritarian regimes and their call for nationalist agendas. Furthermore, the current pandemic has unambiguously illustrated the relevance of transnational solidarity and cooperation in times of crises.

This week, TEPSA announced that Arun Mahato, a student and member of our Institute, has been chosen as the winner of this year's contest in the Graduate category for his policy brief on the complex challenge of intergenerational solidarity in connection with climate change and environmental protection. His piece suggests policy-solutions that implement economic, legal, as well as knowledge-based measures.

Pol Vila Sarria, a Project Officer at TEPSA who led the organization

of this year's Student Contest, said «Arun's paper reflected the current state of affairs regarding EU climate policies and provided extensive, bold, and up-to-date recommendations».

As a reward, Arun Mahato is invited to join the four-day TEPSA Seminar on Climate Action taking place in Brussels in October 2020. Congratulations to Arun Mahato for his successful participation in the Student Contest!

The policy brief is accessible via the following link: http://www.tepsa.eu/category/tepsa_voices/tepsa-student-papers/

Veranstaltungen

29.09.2020, 18:15-19:45 Uhr: Europakolloquium with Raquel Varela (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa): «Colonialism and Migration in the Portuguese Lusophone World: A Global History»

28.10.2020, 18:00-20:00 Uhr: Podiumsdiskussion anlässlich des 75 jährigen Jubiläums der Sendung «Echo der Zeit»

30.11.2020, 18:15-19:45 Uhr: Europakolloquium with Nicholas Delalande (Paris): «United against Capital. European Workers and the Practice of Transnational Labour Solidarity (c. 1860-1914)», in cooperation with the Department of History

01.12.2020, 9:30-13:30: Workshop «Histoire mondiale de la France» with Nicholas Delalande (Paris) (registration required)

Impressum

Der Newsletter erscheint vierteljährlich und wird in elektronischer Form versandt. Zum Abonnement, oder falls Sie Ihr Exemplar weiterhin gedruckt erhalten möchten, schreiben Sie bitte eine E-Mail an europa@uni-bas.ch.

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Über das Europainstitut

Das Europainstitut ist ein interdisziplinäres Forschungsinstitut der Universität Basel. Es untersucht die Entwicklung Europas im globalen Kontext. In den übergreifenden Forschungsfeldern Gesellschaft, Recht, Geschichte und Wirtschaft werden Herausforderungen und Chancen der globalen Vernetzung Europas aufgezeigt. Die Ergebnisse werden in Büchern, Aufsätzen und dem E-Journal «Global Europe - Basel Papers on Europe in a Global Perspective» publiziert sowie bei Veranstaltungen präsentiert.

Der Masterstudiengang European Global Studies befasst sich mit Europa in globaler Perspektive und kombiniert Themen und Methoden der Rechts-, Wirtschafts-, Politik- und Geschichtswissenschaft. Das Programm bietet eine wissenschaftliche und zugleich praxisorientierte Ausbildung, die für Tätigkeiten im privaten und öffentlichen Sektor, insbesondere in der nationalen und internationalen Verwaltung, in Wirtschaft und Politik sowie in der Forschung qualifiziert.

Getragen wird das 1993 gegründete Institut von der Universität Basel und unterstützt von Persönlichkeiten aus Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur. Direktorin des Europainstitutes ist die Historikerin Prof. Madeleine Herren-Oesch.