Within academic circles, there is a debate over the importance of public attitudes towards the common European currency, the Euro. Some argue that public attitudes do not matter for the monetary governance of Europe, while others purport that public support for the currency is a necessary condition for its long-term survival and for the democratic legitimacy of European economic and monetary institutions. In the spring of 2010, it became clear, perhaps for the first time since the introduction of the common currency, that public attitudes matter for the survival of the Euro. The governments of the European Monetary Union (EMU) member states, and indirectly their voters, were faced with the dilemma of letting Greece default on its debt or agreeing on a financial aid package that would stabilize, at least in the short term, the Euro. Underlying differences in economic governance philosophies between member states, and particularly between France and Germany, resurfaced in public discussions over the best response to the Greek debt crisis.

The French government, press, and public were in favor of the Greek bailout. However, the majority of Germans were against granting financial help to the Greek state, even at the risk of destabilizing the European currency. The German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, intensified the existing uncertainty in the markets by adopting a discourse that was fit for domestic consumption but not for calming down investors, thus putting at risk the EMU project. Finally, the fear of a serious contagion to the other peripheral EMU member states and thus a currency crisis convinced the German Chancellor to agree to a financial aid package for Greece (of the unprecedented amount of 110 billion Euros), with the condition of International Monetary Fund and European Central Bank involvement.

The recent European debt crisis raises questions about the survival of the EMU and renders public attitudes towards the single currency potentially critical to the common currency’s future. In a paper I wrote with Dr. Dionysia Tamvaki from Reading University and presented in Lisbon in the spring of 2009, we showed that public support for the Euro has not increased over time; if anything, it has decreased. In addition, we found that there are still tensions between countries, as well as between socio-economic groups, regarding the perceived benefits of the Euro. Specifically, the majority of respondents in Greece, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands believed that the Euro did not benefit their country. In addition, we found that professionals were the most supportive of the Euro (although not in all countries) while manual workers and the unemployed were the least supportive. This differentiation in public attitudes towards the Euro simply confirmed existing findings in the literature. What we sought to find out was to what extent knowledge of the EMU increased the perceived benefits of the Euro for one’s country, irrespective of one’s socio-economic status and nationality.

The role of knowledge in public attitudes towards the European currency is not straightforward. Generally, knowledge is thought to increase support for the EU project.
Thursday, December 9th


Dr. Michael Göring, Chief Executive Officer, ZEIT Foundation. Dr. Göring has studied educational systems in the U.S., China, India, and Europe. Participants will explore how education affects economic competitiveness internationally and how different countries are shaping their education policy. The event will also include time for networking and discussion. Registration is $10, which includes beer, wine, and hors d’oeuvres. A small number of complimentary tickets are available—please contact Amiena Mahsoob at amiena@worldaffairspittsburgh.org. Please register online at www.worldaffairspittsburgh.org or by calling 412-281-7970. 6:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m., Bricolage Theatre, 937 Liberty Avenue. Sponsored by: World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh.

Wednesday, January 26th

Lecture: “Loyalism and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland Today”

Professor Tony Novosel will present this lecture. Dr. Novosel has taught History at the University of Pittsburgh since 1990. In 2004, he designed and now teaches a course on Conflict in Northern Ireland, focusing on the years 1969-1994. Dr. Novosel has traveled to Northern Ireland regularly since 1974 and conducted work with statutory agencies and organizations representing both unionist and nationalist communities in Belfast. His current research work focuses on the political thinking of the Ulster Volunteer Force & the Red Hand Commando and their political representatives between 1972-1982. 12:00 noon, 4130 Posvar Hall. For more information, please contact Tom Allen at tfa3@pitt.edu. Sponsored by: European Union Center of Excellence, European Studies Center.

Thursday, January 27th

Pizza & Politics: “Tolerance and Its Borders: Citizen Responses to Civil Liberties Disputes in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands”

Aaron Abbarno, PhD Student in Political Science, will present this lecture. Pizza will be provided. 12:00 noon, 4130 Posvar Hall. For more information, please contact Tom Allen at tfa3@pitt.edu. Sponsored by: European Union Center of Excellence, European Studies Center.

NOTE: UPCOMING EUCE/ESC FELLOWSHIP COMPETITION DEADLINES

Summer 2011 EUCE Pre-Dissertation Fellowship
The Summer 2011 Pre-Dissertation Fellowship, sponsored by the EUCE/ESC, is a competition for advanced graduate and professional school students at the University of Pittsburgh who are pursuing research or internships related to post-WWII European integration. The award is intended to assist students who need to pursue their research agenda on-site in Europe or to participate in an internship directly related to their research interests. For more information, please visit www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce/students/graduate/EUCE-Pre-Dissertation.html or contact Dr. Thomas Allen (412-624-5404; tfa3@pitt.edu). The deadline for applications is 5:00 p.m., March 1, 2011.

2011-2012 EUCE Dissertation Fellowship
The 2011-2012 European Union Dissertation Fellowship Competition, sponsored by the EUCE, is open to Ph.D. students at the University of Pittsburgh who have completed their courses, passed their comprehensive exams, have approval (or will shortly) of their overview, and are writing a dissertation on a topic directly related to the European Union. The fellowship will support on-site dissertation research or the writing of the dissertation. For more information, please visit www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce/students/graduate/EUCE-Dissertation.html or contact Dr. Thomas Allen (412-624-5404; tfa3@pitt.edu). The deadline for applications is 5:00 p.m., March 1, 2011.

EUC/ESC Newsletter:

Acting Director: Carolyn Ban
Associate Director: Timothy Thompson
Editor: Julie Draper

For newsletter announcements, comments, or submissions, please email eucnews@pitt.edu.

EUCE/ESC would like to thank the European Commission for funds for this issue.
Sixteen years after Spain embarked on its path to liberal democracy, the Soviet Union was facing the realities of its own political bankruptcy and soon collapsed under the weight of deep-seated economic and social tensions and the national ambitions of its constituent republics. In the wake of this global political and social watershed, archives have opened, and documentary collections are available for scholars seeking to fill in the gaps of 20th century history widened by partial source use and Cold War memoirs and autobiographies. Soviet intervention in the Spanish Civil War has remained a case in point for decades, its historiography colored by the political and cultural assumptions of Cold War milieus. That is not to say such studies are now obsolete. On the contrary, they remain pieces of history themselves, lenses through which future historians can view the political cultures of the past.

However, as material becomes available in Spanish and Russian archives, scholars are able to revise prevailing historical interpretations using hard documentary evidence. With the support of an EUCE/ESC summer research fellowship, I was able to spend months on-site in the restful and intriguing city of Salamanca in Castile-Leon, Spain. Salamanca’s vast and information-rich archival collection, housed in the Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española, has been an invaluable resource for my research, which addresses many of the questions left unanswered regarding Soviet intervention in Spain. The project is an exploration of the extent to which Soviet intervention impacted the political topography of republican Spain. What role did international communism play in the reconstruction of the bourgeois republican state? Where can we see corresponding political objectives in this uneasy alliance of liberal democracy and international communism? How do we explain the political affinities and dissimilarities between the two in the Spanish context, and what outcomes did each produce?

Specifically, my work deals with the political trial of the dissident, left-Marxist Partido Obrero Unificacion Marxista (POUM). I will use the trial to examine the dissonant and yet provisionally aligned political cultures of Spanish liberal republicanism and Stalinist international communism. The archive was especially fruitful for this venture. I was able to collect documents that appeared in the official indictment of the POUM executive committee, as well as materials that were consulted in constructing the indictment but not included in published versions presumably for political reasons. Additionally, I was able to collect both the stenographic and officially released transcripts of trial proceedings, the discrepancies of which are both intriguing and revealing of the political relationships I seek to explain.

Scholars have long understood the POUM trial as an attempted extension of Stalinist show trial tactics abroad through the various Soviet intelligence apparatuses and the Comintern. The prevailing interpretations are quite revealing, not least of their ideological assumptions. The narrative of malicious Soviet interference in Spanish legal and political affairs seems to be informed by a post-hoc, Cold War reading of both the republican administration and the various Soviet apparatuses at work in Spain. Indeed, these interpretations are part of a larger historiographical edifice that seeks to explain the demise of the Spanish Republic not so much as a result of Western non-intervention but rather as a consequence of Soviet imperialistic ambition, political manipulation, and ultimate abandonment of the Republic. Such ideological assumptions, when retroactively applied, help to create a more coherent and perhaps convincing, albeit dubious historical narrative.

After reading many of the materials from the Spanish archives in conjunction with recently released documentary collections of important Soviet documents (see the Annals of Communism series, Yale University Press), I am convinced that this narrative should be modified and systematically debunked. A thorough reading of the documentary material suggests that the trial may have been a last-ditch political stratagem carried out by a desperate republican administration to (among other things) display the restoration of republican legality in Spain. That is, it was intended to be an example of the establishment and solidification of an acceptable political and judicial culture in the eyes of the Western democracies, which at the time were reluctant to intervene on account of suspicion and fear of Soviet influence in Spain. This would explain why none of the implausible charges of “Trotsky-fascism” and espionage reminiscent of the Moscow show trials held up in court.

My findings have led to conceptual and intellectual breakthroughs, laying a sound foundation for future dissertation research. None of this would have been possible without the help of the EUCE/ESC fellowship. With the support of this research grant, my work will be able to provide a more nuanced and comprehensive historical narrative of a politically contentious period as well as contribute to the wider field of European Studies.
The Geographical Compass: The Voyage Account and the Book in England, 1660-1730

by Jacob Pollock
PhD Candidate, Department of History

Jacob Pollock was the recipient of an EUCE/ESC dissertation research fellowship for the summer of 2010.

Over the course of the seventeenth century, numerous accounts of sea voyages brought news of the world to England. These accounts circulated through British society in manuscript form and in letters, and many eventually made it into print and were sold on the London book market. In 1626, Samuel Purchas published a multi-volume collection of voyage accounts, in which he described the cumulative effect of such a collection as a “geographical compass,” which oriented the reader to the world through textual representations. My dissertation takes the “geographical compass” as an organizing metaphor in order to place voyage accounts published between 1660 and 1730 in their intellectual and scientific contexts. These accounts offer an insight into the changing philosophical underpinnings of the British Empire and the role that the commercial book market played in distributing these ideas. Through the history of science, religion, historical thought, and literature, I track the emergence of an imperial mindset through these accounts of the New World. Thanks to a grant from the European Studies Center, I have been able to capitalize on a recent research trip to archives and libraries in London and engage in a sustained period of writing and revision over the summer.

Much of the historiography of early modern travel-writing assumes that there was a straightforward relationship between the author of the account and the text itself. My research shows that the accounts were often part of specific scientific, philosophical, and political projects. For instance, the Royal Society was responsible for the publication of key voyage accounts in the 1690s. Editors and publishers viewed the voyage account as an important genre in remaking the “Republic of Letters” into an “Empire of Knowledge.” Members of the Royal Society, particularly Hans Sloane, Tancred Robinson, and John Ray, used the voyage account to argue for the advantages of exploring certain geographical regions and also for a change in methodological practices for recording voyages. As botanists, Sloane and Ray used detailed visual representations to describe plant species and advocated the inclusion of artists on ships in order to describe the New World in a similar fashion. They also closely linked their scientific methods with the bibliographical history of voyage accounts, paying careful attention to accounts that had been published and their relationship with exploration. The primary research I undertook in the British Library in London allowed me to reconceptualize the ways in which voyage accounts and news of voyages circulated within a society built around the transmission of handwritten and printed texts. I have used letters and manuscripts I found there to show that the publication of voyage accounts was only one part of the circulation of such accounts—Sloane owned many illustrated manuscripts of voyage accounts that never made it into print and received numerous letters describing far-flung regions. When Sloane was in Jamaica in the late 1680s, he exchanged correspondence with Ray and Robinson among others and discussed with them the possibility of publishing an account of his own voyage that demonstrated the relationship between print culture and the writing that took place on board ships in far-flung places.

In addition to the Fellows of the Royal Society and their broader intellectual circles, the wealthy of early modern English society read voyage accounts. The second chapter of my dissertation focuses on two elaborate compilations of voyages, published in 1705, and sold by subscription. The publishers of these compilations worked within a square mile of each other in the City of London and targeted a similar market of wealthy readers. In analyzing the subscription list of one of these texts, I discovered that the audience was in fact much more diverse than the merchants and landed gentry than previous historians have assumed. In addition to the gentry, professionals and craftsmen in London, as well as high-ranking members of the Church of England, are to be found amongst the subscribers. Despite the wider appeal of these compendiums than has usually been assumed by modern historians, they have generally been looked upon with disdain by scholars eager to celebrate editors of canonical accounts, such as Richard Hakluyt, whose Principals Navigations, Voyages, Traffics and Discoveries of the English Nation (1599) is looked upon as an achievement in early English nationalism and empire building.

Part of the reason twentieth century historians dismissed these compilations in preference for Hakluyt is the unusual historical claims made in their introductions. Both compilations feature introductions that elaborate on histories of navigation, and both draw upon the history of the ancient Phoenicians as a precedent for a maritime and commercial empire in modern Britain. These Phoenician histories of Britain have historical precedents from the 1670s, as well as an antecedent in the form of Daniel Defoe’s General History of Trade [POLLOCK Continued on page 7]
Fellowships and Opportunities

Call for Papers: University of Pittsburgh Sixth Annual Graduate Student Conference on the EU
The Organizing Committee of the Sixth Annual Graduate Student Conference on the European Union welcomes papers addressing the theme “Taking the European Union into the 21st Century: History, Challenges, and Debates.” Submissions are welcome from all disciplines on a variety of topics including, but not limited to, EU politics, governance, economics, history, security studies, and institutions, as well as policies covering enlargement, immigration, development, trade, transatlantic relations, and foreign policy. For more information, please visit http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce/events/gradconf/. Please submit abstracts by December 10, 2010.

Call for Papers: Interdisciplinary Conference at the University of Pittsburgh: “The Idea of France” / “L’Idée de la France”
Submissions of abstracts are welcome from all fields (literature, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, law, religion, art, music, cultural studies, film studies, gender studies, etc.) that treat the question of the idea of France or Frenchness in any time period from the middle ages to the twenty-first century. Papers may be delivered in English or French. Please send 150-250 word abstracts (English or French) to idfr@pitt.edu. The conference will be held on November 10-12, 2011. For more information, contact Todd Reeser, conference coordinator, at reeser@pitt.edu. The deadline is January 10, 2011.

Nationality Rooms Summer Study Abroad Scholarships
The Nationality Rooms Summer Study Abroad Scholarship Program was established to provide University of Pittsburgh graduate and undergraduate students with the opportunity to add an international dimension to their education. The purpose of these awards is to give an in-depth immersion experience of another culture for at least five weeks. For more information about specific scholarships and eligibility, please visit http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/natrooms/. Undergraduate applications are due at 12:00 noon, January 19, 2011. Graduate applications are due at 12:00 noon, January 20, 2011.

Funded Summer Internship in Berlin in Journalism or Communications
Freie Universität Berlin and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) are pleased to announce the fourth year of an intensive scholarship-supported summer seminar/internship program in Berlin for American journalism and communications students. The program is targeted primarily at currently enrolled undergraduate students, but a limited number of graduating seniors, recent graduates and Master’s students may be accepted as well. Applicants must have at least “advanced intermediate” German skills to take part in the program. For more information, please visit http://www.daad.org/page/internexchange/. The deadline is January 31, 2011.

MPIfG Postdoctoral Fellowships
The Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (MPIfG) invites suitable candidates to apply for up to four postdoctoral fellowships and one Central and East European postdoctoral fellowship in economic sociology and political economy. Applicants must hold a PhD in political science, sociology, organization studies, or related field by June 2011. Fellowships usually start on October 1 and are awarded for one year. For more information, visit http://www.mpifg.de/forschung/postdoc_program_en.asp. The deadline is January 31, 2011.

Hannes Androsch Prize 2011
Submissions are welcome for the 2011 Hannes Androsch Prize, which will be awarded for a scientifically sound contribution to the following issue: “A Global Challenge to our Social Future: The Design of a Social Security System which can Cope with the Dual Threat of Demographic Developments and Financial Market Risk.” The award is € 100,000. For more information, please visit http://www.oeaw.ac.at/hannesandroschprize. The deadline is January 31, 2011.

Boren Scholarships and Fellowships
The applications for the 2011-2012 National Security Education Program’s David L. Boren Scholarships for undergraduate students and Fellowships for graduate students are available at http://www.borenawards.org. Scholarships provide up to $20,000 for an academic year’s study abroad. Fellowships provide up to $30,000 for language study and international research. The Fellowship application deadline is February 1, 2011; the Scholarship application deadline is February 10, 2011.

Call for Papers: 9th Annual Claremont-UC Undergraduate Research Conference on the EU
Paper proposals are invited for the 9th Annual Claremont-UC Undergraduate Research Conference on the EU, to be held at Scripps College in Claremont, CA on April 7-8, 2011. Papers may deal with any aspect of European integration or transatlantic relations. For more information, visit http://eucenter.scrippscollege.edu/events/conference.php. The deadline is February 14, 2011.

[FELLOWSHIPS Continued on page 7]
in general and for the Euro more specifically. However, the only study that has looked at the role of knowledge in groups with divergent views towards the Euro is that of Hix and Gabel (2005). The authors found that knowledge did not increase support for the Euro; instead, it crystallized pre-existing attitudes. In other words, those who were negatively predisposed towards the Euro became less supportive when they had more knowledge about it while those who were positively predisposed became more supportive. However, Hix and Gabel did not investigate if knowledge has a similar reinforcing effect in socio-economic groups with divergent attitudes towards the common currency. Moreover, their important findings are specific to British public opinion, and it is hard to know how generalizable they are.

Our study, which employed a novel dataset on EMU attitudes spanning from 2003 to 2006 (Flash Eurobarometer), resolved the ambiguity regarding the role of knowledge on public support of the Euro. The driving question of our study was: does knowledge increase EMU support irrespective of perceived and received economic benefit? It was shown that while knowledge about the EMU highly correlates with an increased probability of positively evaluating the single currency, it fails to minimize existing differences between socio-economic groups regarding their cost-benefit evaluation of the Euro.

In order to be able to separate the two effects of knowledge and skills on public support for the Euro, given that usually more knowledge highly co-exists with more education and thus increased capacity to benefit from further integration, we developed and tested interactive hypotheses. If knowledge increased Euro support among those who were negatively predisposed to the Euro (i.e., manual workers), then there would be evidence that knowledge alone can change attitudes towards the Euro and that support for the Euro is likely to increase as information about the common currency increases. If, on the other hand, support decreases when respondents have more information, then there is evidence that knowledge does not change attitudes; instead, it is a proxy of higher skills among those who benefit more from the Euro and simply crystallizes pre-existing views, as argued by Hix and Gabel.

To measure support for the Euro, we used the following question: “In your opinion, for our country, is the adoption of the Euro an operation that is advantageous overall and will strengthen us for the future, or rather the opposite, an operation that is disadvantageous overall and will weaken us?” The possible answers are: 1) Advantageous overall, 2) Disadvantageous overall, 3) Neither one nor the other, and 4) Don’t Know/No Answer. On average, sixty percent of the respondents found the Euro advantageous for their country, and thirty percent find it disadvantageous. The answers for “neither one nor the other” as well as the “do not know/no answer” are less than ten percent, respectively, so we ignored them without losing much information. The question we used to capture knowledge about the Euro was the following: “do you know about the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP)?” The respondents could answer that they did not know, that they had heard about it, or that they knew about it. Despite the fact that this is only an imperfect question to measure knowledge about the Euro, it allows us to test the impact of varying levels of knowledge (knowing of versus knowing about the Euro).

We tested our conditional hypothesis by interacting the indicator of knowledge with the different socio-economic groups. The socio-economic groups were workers (defined as blue-collar workers), employees, professionals (defined as employed and self-employed lawyers, doctors, accountants, etc), the unemployed, students, housewives, and pensioners. The interactions revealed that knowledge can reverse negative pre-existing evaluations of the Euro; however, it does not lead to uniform views among the distinct socio-economic groups. Both workers and the unemployed are more in favor of the Euro when they know about it, but they are still less supportive of the EMU institutions. In other words, knowledge of and about the Euro makes all groups more supportive of the Euro, but this does not make the groups equally likely to support the Euro. As Graphs 1 and 2 show, the probability of workers or of professionals approving the Euro goes up when they know about the SGP. However, the “distance” between the groups (between workers and non-workers, which include all the other socio-economic groups) does not decline as knowledge increases. The results are similar for professionals and non-professionals in Graph 2.

[ALEXIADOU Continued from page 1]
Our findings are more optimistic for the future of the Euro than those shown by Hix and Gabel, as we found that knowledge allows people to formulate an opinion about the monetary governance of their country and view such arrangements in a more positive way. Workers, for example, recognize that they might benefit more from the Euro when they know more about it. However, knowledge alone does not reduce the distance in view between workers and professionals. Thus, our findings help resolve the contradictory findings in the literature: yes, knowledge increases support for the common currency, but it does not affect the different evaluations between socio-economic groups.

In overall terms, both socio-economic resources and the level of knowledge play a critical role in public attitudes across the Eurozone. Due to differences in attitudes toward the single currency between socio-economic groups in the Euro area (workers and the unemployed being less supportive versus professionals and students being more supportive), we could argue that the EMU accentuates the distributional struggle within countries. If these intergroup differences are large, then the “monetary technocracy” cannot be justified on efficiency grounds and the EMU lacks potentially critical public support. Knowledge can help EU citizens appreciate the benefits of the common currency for their country, but it cannot alone minimize the differences in support for the currency between those who gain more and those who gain less.

---

CES Pre-Dissertation Research Fellowships

The Council for European Studies (CES) invites eligible graduate students to apply for its 2011 Pre-Dissertation Research Fellowships. Designed for students in the early stages of the dissertation process, each fellowship includes a stipend of $4,000, travel support for attending the CES International Conference of Europeanists, and the opportunity to publish in Perspectives on Europe, a semi-annual publication of the Council for European Studies. For more information, please visit http://www.ces.columbia.edu/awards/fellowship_info.html. The deadline for applications is February 15, 2011.
CALENDAR IN BRIEF

- December 9 - World Affairs Council Event: “Who Will Run the 21st Century?” 6:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m., Bricolage Theatre, 937 Liberty Avenue.
- January 27 - Pizza & Politics: “Tolerance and Its Borders: Citizen Responses to Civil Liberties Disputes in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands” 12:00 noon, 4130 Posvar Hall.

If you would like to be added to the EUCE/ESC newsletter’s electronic distribution list, please email the Center at euce@pitt.edu. Include the subject line “Newsletter” and your name, address, and affiliation. You can also call us at 412-648-7405 or send a fax to 412-648-2199. The latest edition of the newsletter and a list of upcoming events can always be found at our website: www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce/euce.html.