



DAHRENDORF PROGRAMME
at the
EUROPEAN STUDIES CENTRE



ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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Preface

Europe and freedom: two leitmotifs of my own work, as they were for Ralf Dahrendorf throughout his life. This Dahrendorf Colloquium, the last for which I will be principally responsible, is dedicated to exploring the relationship between them, which is not as simple as some Europeans like to believe. The topic has acquired particular urgency because of the war in Ukraine. As the Ukrainian civil liberties activist Oleksandra Matviichuk said in accepting last year's Nobel Peace Prize, 'in this war, we are fighting for freedom in every meaning of the word'.

What are those many meanings? It may seem absurd to suggest that freedom is an under-researched topic, but in a way that is surprisingly true. More precisely: freedom has been extensively analysed and contested as an idea and an ideal, in philosophy, political theory and intellectual history, but much less researched empirically. The two phenomena are probably connected. The complex and contested nature of the idea makes it more challenging to study it empirically.

The following documents, available on <https://europeanmoments.com/changing-world>, are meant to help focus and inform our discussion:

The contested concept of freedom. Olivier de France

Can we measure freedom? Josef Lolacher

A few questions (keyed to conference sessions)

A few indicators (keyed to conference sessions)

We are delighted to have brought together such a remarkable group of individuals for what we trust will be a day and a half of stimulating conversation. Thank you for coming.

Timothy Garton Ash

'What then is the spirit of liberty? I cannot define it; I can only tell you my own faith. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias.'

Justice Learned Hand

Europe and Freedom

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Colloquium Programme

14th Dahrendorf Lecture and Colloquium (2023)

EUROPE AND FREEDOM

Friday, April 28

- 08.00-09.00 Registration. Tea/Coffee
Foyer, Hilda Besse Building
- 9.00-10.45 **1. Europe and Freedom: The View from Outside**
Nissan Lecture Theatre
- Anne-Marie Slaughter (Princeton), Lu Xiaoyu (PKU), Faisal Devji (Oxford)
Chair: Timothy Garton Ash (Oxford)
Rapporteur: Talia Kollek (Oxford)
- 10.45-11.15 Tea/Coffee
Foyer, Hilda Besse Building
- 11.15-13.00 **2. Freedom in Europe: The Last 50 Years**
Nissan Lecture Theatre
- Timothy Snyder (Yale), Andreas Wirsching (Munich), Glenda Sluga (EUI)
Chair: Paul Betts (Oxford)
Rapporteur: Jan Farfal (Oxford)
- 13.00 Lunch
Hall, Hilda Besse Building
- 14.00-15.45 **3. The State of Freedom in...**
Parallel panels
- 1. Britain**
Hadid Room, Hilda Besse Building
Helen Mountfield (Oxford), Fraser Nelson (Spectator), Will Hutton (Oxford)
Chair: Lionel Barber (London)
Rapporteur: Olivier de France (Oxford)
- 2. Germany**
Gateway Boardroom, Gateway Building
Karl-Heinz Paqué (Friedrich Naumann Foundation), Gesine Schwan (Berlin), Jan-Werner Müller (Princeton)
Chair: Patricia Clavin (Oxford)
Rapporteur: Julia Carver (Oxford)

3. East Central Europe

Middle East Centre Boardroom

Karolina Wigura (Kultura Liberalna), Michal Šimečka (European Parliament),
Jacques Rupnik (Sciences-Po)

Chair: Lenka Bustiková (Oxford)

Rapporteur: Reja Wyss (Oxford)

4. Southern Europe

Latin American Studies Centre Seminar Room

Lucia Annunziata (RAI), Charles Powell (Real Instituto Elcano), João Carlos Espada
(UCP)

Chair: Tim Vlandas (Oxford)

Rapporteur: Ladislav Charouz (Oxford)

5. South East Europe

Old Fellows' Dining Room, Hilda Besse Building

Ivan Vejvoda (IWM), Kerem Öktem (Ca' Foscari), Jessie Barton-Hronešová (Chapel
Hill)

Chair: Othon Anastasakis (Oxford)

Rapporteur: Kristijan Fidanovski (Oxford)

6. Ukraine

Pavilion Room, Gateway Building

Yaroslav Hrytsak (Ukrainian Catholic University), Nataliya Gumenyuk (Kyiv),
Marnie Howlett (Oxford)

Chair: Paul Chaisty (Oxford)

Rapporteur: Sofiia Horbachova (Oxford)

7. The European Union

European Studies Centre Seminar Room

Nathalie Tocci (IAI), Charles Grant (CER), Mark Leonard (ECFR)

Chair: Hartmut Mayer (Oxford)

Rapporteur: Jan Farfal (Oxford)

8. European Media

Dahrendorf Room, Founders Building

Sylvie Kauffmann (Le Monde), Katrin Bennhold (NYT), Alan Rusbridger (Prospect)

Chair: Rasmus Nielsen (Oxford)

Rapporteur: Alexandra Solovyev (Oxford)

9. European Universities

Deakin Room, Founders Building

Michael Ignatieff (CEU), Shalini Randeria (CEU), Christoph Marksches (BBAW)

Chair: Roger Goodman (Oxford)

Rapporteur: Josef Lolacher (Oxford)

15.45-16.30 Free Time

16.30 Tea/Coffee
Foyer, Hilda Besse Building

17.00-18.45 **Dahrendorf Lecture**
Nissan Lecture Theatre

'Europe Whole and Free'
Timothy Garton Ash (Oxford)
Chair: Chris Patten (Oxford)

Saturday, April 29

08.00-09.00 Tea/Coffee
Foyer, Hilda Besse Building

09.00-10.45 **4. Freedom in Europe: Dimensions, Dilemmas and Prospects**
Nissan Lecture Theatre

Ivan Krastev (IWM), Anne Applebaum (JHU), Lea Ypi (LSE)
Chair: Kalypso Nicolaïdis (EUI)
Rapporteur: Lucas Tse (Oxford)

10.45-11.15 Tea/Coffee
Foyer, Hilda Besse Building

11.15-13.00 **5. The Future of Freedom**
Nissan Lecture Theatre

Francis Fukuyama (Stanford) (video message)
Initial responses: Zakaria Al Shmaly (WZB/SCRIPTS), Daniel Judt (Yale), Ana Martins (Lisbon)
Debate with current students and alumni of the Dahrendorf Programme and Network
Chair: Rana Mitter (Oxford)
Rapporteur: Carys Howell (Oxford)

13.00 Buffet Lunch
European Studies Centre

Departures

Dahrendorf Colloquium Rules

In order to maximise the time available for debate, chairs of all sessions have been asked to give only the very briefest introductions of speakers. Speakers' biographies are available in this booklet. Panellists have been asked to confine their initial presentations to no more than ten minutes. The chair will be equipped with a yellow card, as in football. After any initial exchanges between the

panellists, sessions will be opened up to the audience for Q&A and discussion. If participants wish to jump in on a particular point, they can indicate their wish to do so by raising both hands ('two-hand rule').

All but the last of the plenary sessions will be live-streamed, with the video subsequently available online. Parallel sessions will not be livestreamed or subsequently viewable online.

Any participants who have not already done so are asked to return a signed copy of the recording consent form already emailed to you to dahrendorf.programme@sant.ox.ac.uk There is a student rapporteur for each session and we intend to publish a conference report.

This Colloquium would not be possible without the generous support of the Mercator Foundation for the Dahrendorf Programme and its Europe in a Changing World project. We also gratefully acknowledge the support of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for this particular Colloquium. We are delighted to partner with the European Council on Foreign Relations for our public opinion polling, and for aspects of this Colloquium.

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Speakers, Chairs, Alumni and Students of the Dahrendorf Programme and Network

Abid Adonis is a DPhil candidate at the Oxford Internet Institute (OII) and one of the current Dahrendorf Scholars. His research aims to understand digital sovereignty as an idea and practice, by investigating how digital sovereignty reshapes international politics, particularly among great powers. His research interests also include international relations and technology, the politics of cyberspace, and digital statecraft. Prior to joining OII, he studied for a dual master's degree in International Affairs at Sciences Po and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). He earned his Bachelor of Social Science at the Department of International Relations, Universitas Indonesia. He is also a part of *Podcast Bebas Aktif*, a leading International Relations podcast in Indonesia.

Zakaria Al Shmaly is a Doctoral Fellow at the United Nations University - Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (UNU-MERIT). He is a Syrian academic who researches the intersection between governance and asylum policy. He worked in Europe and the Middle East with humanitarian and international organisations such as the International NGO Safety Organisation (INSO), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), and the European Parliament. He holds a B.A. in Liberal Arts and Sciences from the University College Freiburg, an M.A. from the European University Institute, and is currently one of the research associates of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme.

Dr Othon Anastasakis is the Director of the European Studies Centre at Oxford, Director of South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX), Senior Research Fellow at St Antony's College, Associate at the Department of Politics and International Relations and the Faculty of History, and Senior Research Fellow at the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies (OSGA). He is the Principal Investigator of two research projects - *Greek Diaspora Project* at SEESOX and the OX/BER funded *Migration Diplomacy and Turkey-EU Relations* - and a participating faculty member in the Dahrendorf Programme's Europe in a Changing World project.

Lucia Annunziata is a journalist and former chair of Rai, the Italian public television network. She served as foreign correspondent for the Italian newspapers *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della Sera* and *La Stampa* between 1980 and 1996 in the United States, Central and South America, the Middle East and the Balkans. From 1996 to 1999 she served as Editor of TG3 (on Rai3), a daily evening newscast. She was the first woman in Italy to manage a daily news program. She also founded and was the first Editor-in-Chief of Ap.Biscom, an on-line news site in partnership with the Associated Press. She was Editor of the Italian version of The Huffington Post Italy (now Huffpost) from 2012 to 2020. She currently hosts *Mezz'ora in più* (a Half-Hour and More), a weekly, 90-minute domestic political and foreign affairs interview program that airs each Sunday on Rai3.

Professor Anne Applebaum is a journalist, a prize-winning historian, a staff writer for *The Atlantic* and a senior fellow at the SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University, where she co-leads a project on 21st century disinformation and co-teaches a course on democracy. Her books include *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*; *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe 1944-1956*; and *Gulag: A History*, which won the 2004 Pulitzer Prize for non-fiction. Her most recent book is the New York Times bestseller, *Twilight of Democracy*, an essay on democracy and authoritarianism. She was a Washington Post columnist for fifteen years and a member of the editorial board; she has also been the deputy editor of the Spectator and a columnist for several British newspapers.

Lionel Barber is the former editor of the *Financial Times*. As editor from 2005 until January 2020, he helped to transform the FT from a newspaper publisher into a multi-channel global news organisation. He has co-written several books and has lectured widely on foreign policy, transatlantic relations and economics. As editor, he interviewed many of the world's leaders in business and politics, including US President Barack Obama, Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and President

of Iran Hassan Rouhani. He began his career in journalism in 1978 as a reporter for The Scotsman. He then moved to The Sunday Times as a business correspondent and joined the FT in 1985 as a business reporter. During his FT career, he has also served as Washington correspondent, Brussels bureau chief, news editor, European editor, US managing editor and the editor. He serves on the Board of Trustees at the Tate and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Dr Jessie Barton Hronešová is a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Global Fellow with a joint appointment at University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill and Ca' Foscari University in Venice. Her main interests lie in memory, identity politics and transitional justice in Central Europe and the Western Balkans. Her current research project explores how narratives of victimhood play out in ethnopopulist and nationalist politics across Eastern Europe, especially in Serbia, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. She previously held a postdoctoral fellowship at the Oxford Department of International Development. She is a multilingual commentator on politics in Western Balkans and Central Europe and is a prolific writer in academia and beyond. She is the author of monographs on identity - *Post-War Ethno-National Identities of Young People in Bosnia and Herzegovina* - and transitional justice - *The Struggle of Redress: Victim Capital in Bosnia and Herzegovina* - and her research has featured in a number of peer-reviewed journals. Outside of academia, Jessie worked for *Balkan Investigative Reporting Network* in Sarajevo and Belgrade, the *International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia* in The Hague, the *Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe* in Sarajevo, and several consultancies and charities in the UK and the Czech Republic. Jessie is a member of the FCDO Stabilization Unit.

Katrin Bennhold is the Berlin bureau chief for *The New York Times*. A native German who has spent most of her life abroad, she has been particularly interested in exploring the rise of the far right. In 2021, she hosted *Day X*, an audio series on far-right infiltration of Germany's security services that built on an award-winning print series and a 2019 podcast documentary on nationalism and populism in Europe, *The Battle for Europe*. Previously she reported for *The Times* from London and Paris, writing about a range of topics from migration to gender. She covered a string of terrorist attacks in France and Britain and wrote a series of features on the fallout from the 2016 Brexit referendum.

Professor Paul Betts is Professor of European History at St Antony's College, Oxford and Co-Director of the Dahrendorf Programme. His research and publications centre on Modern European Cultural History in general, and 20th Century German History in particular. He is especially interested in the relationship between culture and politics over the course of the century. His recently published books include *Socialism Goes Global: The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the Age of Decolonisation*, jointly written with James Mark et al., and *Ruin and Renewal: Civilizing Europe after World War II*, which was awarded the Jacques Barzun Prize for Cultural History by the American Philosophical Society.

Dr Dominic Burbage is the Founding Director of the Canterbury Institute and a Research Coordinator of the Faculty of Law at the University of Oxford. A graduate of the University of Oxford, who was a Dahrendorf Scholar at St Antony's College in 2010-11, he has held numerous teaching, research and administrative positions across the University. He recently served as a Research Director for the Templeton World Charity Foundation project, *Citizenship in a Networked Age*, and for 2019-21 was Lecturer in Politics for St Peter's College, Oxford. Dr Burbidge is the single author of two books and ten peer-reviewed articles, specialising on social trust.

Professor Lenka Bustiková is Associate Professor in European Union and Comparative East European Politics at the University of Oxford. Her research focuses on party politics, voting behaviour, clientelism, and state capacity, with special reference to Eastern Europe. Her book, *Extreme Reactions: Radical Right Mobilization in Eastern Europe* demonstrates that far right parties mobilize against politically ascendant minorities. It received the Davis Center Book Prize in political and social studies in 2020. She is currently serving as an editor of *East European Politics*, the Cambridge Elements series on *Politics and Society in Eastern Europe and Central Asia* and *Routledge Studies on Political Parties and Party Systems*.

Julia Carver is a DPhil candidate in International Relations at the University of Oxford and one of the current Dahrendorf Scholars. Her research explores the interplay between geopolitical strategic thought, sovereignty, and the development of cybersecurity policy by the European Union. She is particularly interested in understanding how the EU's relationships with other actors (as well as the goals of its own Member States in that policy domain) have shaped relevant EU policy developments in cybersecurity. Her project expands upon the research she undertook while reading for the MPhil in European Politics and Society at Oxford. Prior to graduate studies at Oxford, Julia obtained a BA in Political Studies and World Language Studies at Queen's University, Canada. At present, she leads the Cyber Strategy and Information Working Group at the University of Oxford's Changing Character of War Centre.

Dr Annabelle Chapman is a Europe-based journalist. Her articles have been published in leading international publications including *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Financial Times*, *Prospect* and *Monocle* magazine. In 2015-2022, she was the Poland correspondent for *The Economist*. Before that, she was based in Kyiv. She is a winner of the Timothy Garton Ash Prize for European Writing awarded by *The Spectator* and the Sylke Tempel Essay Prize awarded by the German Council for Foreign Relations and Women in International Security Deutschland, for an essay on nationalism and gender. She holds a doctorate on post-war Poland from the University of Oxford, where she was a Dahrendorf Scholar at St Antony's College in 2012-13.

Professor Paul Chaisty is Professor of Russian and East European Politics at the University of Oxford and Head of the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies. His research interests cover legislative, party and interest group politics in post-communist Russia; political attitudes in Russia; nationalism in Russia and Ukraine; and comparative presidentialism. His most recent publications include *Coalitional Presidentialism in Comparative Perspective: Minority Executives in Multiparty Systems* and (with Stephen Whitefield) *Consolidation and Contestation: How Russians Understand the New Russia*.

Professor Patricia Clavin is Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford, and a Professorial Fellow of Worcester College. Her recent books are *Securing the World Economy. The Reinvention of the League of Nations; Internationalisms. A Twentieth-Century History* (edited jointly with Glenda Sluga); and *Keynes Economic Consequences of the Peace after 100 Years* (edited jointly with Maurice Obstfeld, Giancarlo Corsetti and Adam Tooze). She is a Fellow of the British Academy, a Foreign Member of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences and Letter. She serves on the editorial board of *Past & Present*. Her current research explores how economic, social and even environmental issues took on as much importance as familiar concerns of border protection and weapons' control in the search for security after 1918. She is interested in questions of global order and disorder from ca. 1850 to the present day, and in the history of food law and global governance. She is a Project Director of the Oxford Martin School Research Programme, Changing Global Orders.

Dr Adele Curness is the Research Manager for the Dahrendorf Programme and Coordinator of the Europe in a Changing World project. A Byzantinist, her research focuses on the experience of empire in tenth- and eleventh-century southern Italy. More broadly, she is interested in the history of spatiality, ecocriticism, and Italian diaspora experience.

Olivier de France is a Dahrendorf Scholar at St Antony's College. Educated at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in France, his doctoral research explores international political theory through the lens of Benedict Spinoza's radical and iconoclastic philosophy—which sets out an alternative to early modern Hobbesian assumptions that still largely hold sway today. His recent book entitled *The Geopolitics of Europe* was published by Eyrolles and shortlisted for the Jacques Delors Prize for the Better Understanding of Europe.

Professor Faisal Devji is Professor of Indian History at the University of Oxford and Fellow of St Antony's College, where he is also Director of the Asian Studies Centre. He is an intellectual historian

working on violence in the global arena as well as the meaning and possibilities of non-violence. He is the author of four books, on militant Islam, global politics, Gandhi, and post-colonial nationalism.

Professor Patrizia Dogliani is Professor of Contemporary History at the Department of History, University of Bologna. She has been Jean Monnet Fellow at the EUI, Fellow at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University, Visiting Scholar and Professor at NYU, the University of Sydney, the University of Western Australia, the University of British Columbia, and the Freie Universität, Berlin. She has always maintained teaching and research contacts in Paris: with EHESS, ENS d'Ulm, and the Centre d'Histoire de SciencesPo. She is a member of the Scientific Board of the German Historical Institute in Rome, and of several others in Italy. She is currently involved in research projects in Spain and in France, and is the author of more than 100 essays and books on comparative European history in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Professor Joao Carlos Espada is the director and founder of the Institute for Political Studies at the Universidade Católica Portuguesa. He has taught at Brown, Stanford and Georgetown Universities in the US, as well as in the College of Europe, Natolin/Warsaw, where he held the Bronislaw Geremek/European Parliament Chair in European Civilisation. He is the editor of the quarterly journal *Nova Cidania*, and president of the Portuguese section of the *International Churchill Society/Churchill Centre*, as well as a member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Democracy*. He has contributed regular opinion columns to the press since 1985, presently having a fortnightly column at the daily digital newspaper *Observador*. He was political advisor to President Mário Soares and to President Aníbal Cavaco Silva. He has edited ten books and authored another ten, the latest being *The Anglo-American Tradition of Liberty: A View from Europe*. He earned his DPhil from the University of Oxford, under the supervision of Ralf Dahrendorf.

Jan Farfal is a DPhil candidate in Area Studies (Russia and East Europe) at the University of Oxford and a research associate of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme. His project examines the ways in which emigré journals addressed their home societies behind the Iron Curtain, with a focus on the most prominent Polish, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav democratic centre-left emigré journals in the post-war period, including their legacies in the post-socialist transition. Jan's broader interests include intellectual history related to the 'Iron Curtain' and the contemporary identity disputes experienced in the former Eastern Bloc. Before starting his doctoral studies, he was awarded an MPhil in Russian and East European Studies at the University of Oxford (2016-2018). He is the secretary of St Antony's International Review journal and works as a teaching assistant at the Faculty of History and the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford.

Kristijan Fidanovski is a doctoral student at the Department of Social Policy and Intervention at the University of Oxford. He is working on pro-natalist policies and discourses in the Balkans and Eastern Europe. He has worked with the Dahrendorf Programme on both the Europe's Stories and Europe in a Changing World projects.

Professor Francis Fukuyama is the Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow at Stanford University's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), and a faculty member of FSI's Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law (CDDRL). He is also Director of Stanford's Ford Dorsey Master's in International Policy, and a professor (by courtesy) of Political Science. He has written widely on issues in development and international politics. His 1992 book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, has appeared in over twenty foreign editions. His latest book, *Liberalism and Its Discontents*, was published in May 2022.

Professor Timothy Garton Ash, the Co-Director of the Dahrendorf Programme, is Professor of European Studies at the University of Oxford, Isaiah Berlin Professorial Fellow at St Antony's College, Oxford and a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He is the author of eleven books of contemporary history and political writing which have explored many facets of the history of Europe over the last half-century. They include *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*, *The File:*

A Personal History, In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent, Facts are Subversive: Political Writing from a Decade without a Name and Free Speech. The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, & Prague was recently reissued with a new chapter exploring the period since 1989 in post-communist Europe. His latest book is *Homelands: A Personal History of Europe*, which is currently scheduled to appear in more than eighteen languages. In 2017, he was awarded the International Charlemagne Prize of the city of Aachen, for services to European unity.

Professor Roger Goodman is the Warden of St Antony's College, and Nissan Professor of Modern Japanese Studies at the University of Oxford. In 2004, he was appointed as the inaugural Head of the new School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies (SIAS). For the academic year 2006-7, he was Acting Warden at St Antony's following the retirement of Sir Marrack Goulding. In 2008, he was appointed Head of the Social Sciences Division within the University of Oxford, a position which he held until becoming Warden at St Antony's. He was elected a Fellow of the UK Academy of Social Sciences in 2013, was Chair of Academy's Council between 2015-19 and has been President of the Academy since 2020.

Charles Grant is the director of the Centre for European Reform think-tank, which has offices in London, Brussels and Berlin. He helped to found the CER and became its first (and so far only) director in 1998. The subjects he works on include EU foreign and defence policy, Russia, China, Brexit – and the future of Europe more generally. He started his career as a journalist at Euromoney in 1981, joining *The Economist* in 1986 – where he covered, successively, financial markets, the European Community (as bureau chief in Brussels) and defence.

Nataliya Gumenyuk is a well-known Ukrainian journalist and author, specializing in conflict reporting. She is the founder and CEO of the Public Interest Journalism Lab, which, since the Russian invasion, has pivoted to frontline media reporting and launched *The Reckoning Project: Ukraine Testifies*, which documents war crimes. She is the author of several documentaries and books, including *The Lost Island: Tales from the Occupied Crimea* and *The Maidan Tahrir*. Nataliya is based in Kyiv, and regularly writes for *The Guardian*, *The Washington Post*, *The Rolling Stone*, *Die Zeit*, and *The Atlantic*, and provides commentaries for CNN, MSNBC, Sky News, and others. She was the co-founder and for 5 years head of the independent Hromadske TV and Hromadske International, for which she is currently a Board member.

Helen Haft holds a J.D. from NYU Law and recently completed the 2022-2023 Robert L. Bernstein Fellowship in International Human Rights at Human Rights in China, where her work focused on engaging with UN treaty body and special procedure mechanisms, and researching the emergent legal norms promoted by China and Russia through entities such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. She has published articles in NYU Law's *Journal of International Law and Politics*, *The Nation*, *Aeon*, and *Ms. Magazine*, and contributed to reports on worldwide blasphemy laws and freedom of religion for the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, as well as the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She is currently co-editing a collected volume on Russian cinema as a battleground in Russia's information war, to be published by Routledge. Her research and work focus on freedom of speech, separation of church and state, human rights and the rule of law, particularly in Russia. She received her BA from Vassar College in Political Science and Russian Studies, MPhil in Russian and East European Studies from Oxford, St. Antony's College, and MA in Russian language from Middlebury College. She was a Fulbright research scholar in St. Petersburg, Russia from 2014-2015, where she conducted research on the Jewish Soviet dissident movement.

Chenchen Hao is a doctoral student at Peking University, and one of the research associates of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme.

Sofia Horbachova is studying for an MSc in Global Governance and Diplomacy at Magdalen College, University of Oxford. She is a research associate of the Dahrendorf Programme.

Carys Howell is a doctoral student at the University of Oxford and one of the research associates of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme. Her research focuses on British and Swiss responses to Cold War migration from Eastern Europe.

Dr Marnie Howlett is a political scientist and methodologist working on the former Soviet space. She is Lecturer in Russian and East European Politics at the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies (OSGA) and Department of Politics and International Relations (DPIR) at the University of Oxford. Her research centres on the intersection of geopolitics, cartography, and nationalism within the former Soviet Union, particularly Ukraine. She is currently working on book monograph exploring the grassroots consequences of cartography for nationalism and politics in Ukraine. Since February 2022, she has been working on several projects related to nationalism and identity in Ukraine, including running nation-wide public opinion surveys and conjoint experiments. She served as a Deputy Editor for *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 48 and currently sits on the editorial board for *Qualitative Research*. She has additionally volunteered extensively in Ukraine, including with non-governmental organisations working with orphaned and medically fragile children, and as an international electoral observer on three missions with CANADEM during the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2019.

Professor Yaroslav Hrytsak is a Ukrainian historian and public intellectual. He is a professor at the Ukrainian Catholic University (Lviv, Ukraine) where he is the director of the Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Modern Ukrainian History and Society. He has also taught at Columbia, Harvard and the Central European University. He is the founding editor of *Ukraina Moderna*, and author of numerous publications on the modern history of Ukraine including *Prophet in his Native Land: Ivan Franko and His Community*. His most recent publication is *Global History of Ukraine*. Between 2014 and 2022, he served as a co-director of the German-Ukrainian Historical Commission. He has been listed among the top 100 most influential Ukrainians and has various Ukrainian and foreign awards for his academic achievements and public activity.

Yuanxu Huang is a doctoral student at Peking University, and one of the research associates of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme.

Will Hutton is a political economist, author, think tank and academic leader and columnist. He is currently President of the Academy of Social Sciences, a regular columnist for the Observer, and co-chair of the Purposeful Company - a think tank who argues that companies' intrinsic purpose should drive their strategy, values and ultimately profit. He also chairs the advisory board of the Fairness Foundation, and is trustee of the National Institute for Economic and Social Research, a member of the Progressive Economic Forum, and on the editorial advisory board of Prospect magazine. He has written six major books on political economy. His latest, *How the Right Broke Britain – and How to Put It Back Together Again* is planned for publication in 2024.

Professor Michael Ignatieff is a Canadian historian and former politician, currently Rector Emeritus and Professor of History at the Central European University, Vienna. He is the author of many books, most recently *On Consolation: Finding Solace in Dark Times*, *Isaiah Berlin: A Biography*, *The Needs of Strangers*, and *The Warrior's Honor*.

Daniel Judt is a PhD student in history at Yale University. His research focuses on the political economy and labor history of the modern United States. He holds a BA in history from Yale and an MPhil in political theory from Oxford. Prior to beginning his PhD, he worked as a political organizer with UNITE-HERE Local 11, a hospitality-workers union in California and Arizona. With Local 11, he developed and co-directed the Worker Power Campaign School, a month-long political-education program for union members. His public writing on labour politics, the climate crisis, and US history has appeared in *The Nation*, *The Guardian*, *The Forge*, *Point Magazine*, and *The Atlantic*.

Sylvie Kauffmann is editorial director and foreign affairs columnist at the French newspaper *Le Monde*, and a former editor-in-chief. In 2022 she was a fellow of the Robert Bosch Academy in

Berlin. She also contributes to the Opinion pages of the *Financial Times*. She joined *Le Monde* in 1987 from Agence France-Presse as Moscow correspondent. From 1988 to 1993, she covered, as Eastern and Central Europe correspondent, the collapse of the Soviet empire and the transition of new European democracies to market economy. She then moved to the United States, first as Washington correspondent and, from 1996 to 2001, as New York Bureau Chief. She then headed the in-depth reporting section of *Le Monde*. From 2004 to 2006, she held the deputy editor position of the newspaper. For the next three years, she was reporter-at-large in Asia, based in Singapore.

Talia Kolley is a DPhil candidate in Area Studies (Russia and East Europe) at the University of Oxford and one of the current Dahrendorf Scholars. Her research focuses on civil society in Russia and Eastern Europe and how, over the past decade, restrictions around the world have resulted in a 'shrinking space' for civil society. Her master's thesis at the Higher School of Economics in Saint Petersburg was on Soviet hockey, examining the ways in which sport is used to construct broader ideological frameworks. Her undergraduate work at McMaster University in Canada focused on historical narratives in the Russian education system.

Nora Kürzdörfer is a doctoral researcher at the GIGA (German Institute for Global and Area Studies) and a student at the Berlin Graduate School for Global and Transregional Studies at Hertie School and Free University Berlin. She works for The Challenge to the Challenge, a project by the Cluster of Excellence Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS). In her PhD, she studies how the Digital Silk Road is addressed, e.g. in the European Union and the World Trade Organization. Her research interests include global trade, weaponized interdependence and EU external relations. Currently, she is seconded to the German Federal Foreign Office as member of the GIGA knowledge exchange project Transfer for Transformation. She is one of the research associates of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme.

Professor Ivan Krastev is the chair of the Centre for Liberal Strategies and permanent fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna. He is a founding board member of the European Council on Foreign Relations, a member of the Board of Trustees of The International Crisis Group and member of the Board of Directors of GLOBSEC. He was a contributing opinion writer for *The New York Times* and currently is a contributing editor for *The Financial Times*. He is the author of *Is it Tomorrow, Yet? Paradoxes of the Pandemic*, and his book *The Light that Failed: A Reckoning* - co-authored with Stephen Holmes - won the 30th Annual Lionel Gelber Prize. He is the winner of the Jean Améry Prize for European Essay Writing 2020.

Selma Kropp is a PhD researcher at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence. Her thesis investigates the role of Regional Organizations in the global children's rights regime. Conceptually, she is interested in norm diffusion and contestation processes at the regional level. Before joining the EUI, she worked as Research Manager for the Dahrendorf Programme and as a Carlo-Schmid-Fellow at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Fundamental and Human Rights in Vienna, Austria.

Ellen Leafstedt is a Research and Evidence Officer at the European Partnership for Democracy in Brussels, where she leads the organisation's youth political participation research programme. Prior to joining EPD, she completed a Master of Philosophy in Russian and East European Studies at St Antony's College, where her research focused on protest, legitimacy, and nationalist discourse in former Soviet authoritarian regimes. She is a former Dahrendorf Scholar, whose Dahrendorf essay examined Russian elite discourses on Russia's European civilisational identity.

Mark Leonard is co-founder and director of the European Council on Foreign Relations. His topics of focus include geopolitics and geoeconomics, China, and EU politics and institutions. He hosts the weekly podcast *Mark Leonard's World in 30 Minutes* and writes a syndicated column on global affairs for *Project Syndicate*. Previously he worked as director of foreign policy at the Centre for European Reform and as director of the Foreign Policy Centre, a think tank he founded at the age of 24 under the patronage of former British Prime Minister Tony Blair. He has spent time in Washington, D.C. as a Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and in

Beijing as a visiting scholar at the Chinese Academy for Social Sciences. He was Chairman of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Geoeconomics until 2016. He is a regular speaker and prolific writer and commentator on global issues, the future of Europe, China's internal politics, and the practice of diplomacy and business in a networked world. He is the author of several best-selling books: his latest *The Age of Unpeace: How Connectivity Causes Conflict* was released in September 2021.

Josef Lolacher is a DPhil candidate in Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford, and a research associate of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme. He is particularly involved in coordinating the opinion polling done by the Dahrendorf Programme in partnership with the European Council on Foreign Relations. Before coming to Oxford, he studied political science and psychology at LMU Munich and worked at the Chair of International Relations at the Geschwister-Scholl-Institute for Political Science in Munich. He is particularly interested in the effects of populism on liberal democracy and the state of democracy in the European Union.

Professor Xiaoyu Lu is an Assistant Professor at the School of International Studies at Peking University, and was previously a Research Fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University. He received MSc and DPhil degrees in Politics at St Antony's College, University of Oxford, and previously worked at the United Nations Development Programme. His research focuses on conflict and peace, and International Relations theory, with field experience in Syria, Lebanon, Myanmar and Colombia. He is the founding director of PeaceLab, which promotes conflict and peace studies and dialogues in China. His monograph titled *Norms, Storytelling and International Institutions in China: The Imperative to Narrate* was published in 2021.

Professor Christoph Markschies is president of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, and president of the Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities. In 2004, he was appointed Professor of Ancient Christianity at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. During 2006–2010, he served as president of the university. He was granted fellowships at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University Jerusalem, the Trinity College in Oxford as well as Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. He is a member of the Academies of Sciences in Mainz, Erfurt, Heidelberg, as well as of the European Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Academia Europea. He is member of several scientific advisory councils such as the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology as well as a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI).

Ana Martins is the coordinator of the Policy Research Unit for the Liberal Initiative Party in Portugal, of which she is also Vice-President. She read for the MPhil in Politics–Political Theory at the University of Oxford, with a particular interest in democratic checks on political power in the digital age. As a research associate of the Dahrendorf Programme at Oxford, Ana contributed to the Europe's Stories Project whose podcast she also managed and co-hosted. She was a Europaeum Scholar, researching perceptions of democratic participation and belonging in the EU. Ana previously studied Law and Political Science at the Catholic University (UCP) in Portugal, where she also worked in different capacities for the Institute for Political Studies (IEP), including as teaching assistant and as publications manager.

Dr Hartmut Mayer is Executive Chair of the EUROPÆUM and Fellow and Tutor in Politics at St. Peter's College, Oxford, as well as Adjunct-Professor in European and Eurasian Studies at SAIS Johns Hopkins University in Bologna. He was previously Director of the European Studies Centre at Oxford, from 2018 to 2022. His main academic interests include the international Relations of Europe; EU External Relations; EU politics; Comparative Regionalism; German Politics and Contemporary European History.

Professor Rana Mitter is Professor of the Modern History and Politics of China at the University of Oxford, and Interim Master of St Cross College. He is a former Director of the University China

Centre. He is the author of several books, including *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction* and the award-winning *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*. His most recent book, *China's Good War: How World War II is Creating a New Nationalism*, won the 2020 Medlicott Medal from the Historical Association for Service to History.

Helen Mountfield KC is Principal of Mansfield College Oxford, and a founder member of Matrix Chambers. She has almost 30 years' experience in equality and human rights law, as they relate to employment, education, goods and services and charities. She has been involved in some of the leading equality cases including the first case on the Public Sector Equality Duty and important cases about equality and education, including *Tigere* in the Supreme Court about student fees and discrimination on grounds of immigration status; *Watkins-Singh* about religious dress in schools; the *Al-Hijrah* school case about gender segregation in schools; and the *Jewish Free School* case in the Supreme Court about the definition of a racial group and categorising different forms of discrimination. She was for many years a member of the EHRC panel of counsel and is co-author of the first seven editions of the *Blackstone Guide to the Human Rights Act 1998*.

Professor Jan-Werner Müller is Roger Williams Straus Professor of Social Sciences at Princeton University. He is a co-founder of the European College of Liberal Arts, Berlin (ECLA; today: Bard Berlin), Germany's first private, English-speaking liberal arts college, for which he served as founding research director. He maintains a strong interest in international teaching and research initiatives centred on the liberal arts. His public affairs commentary and essays have appeared in the *London Review of Books*, the *New York Review of Books*, *Foreign Affairs*, *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, and *Project Syndicate*. His most recent book, *Democracy Rules*, was published in 2021.

Fraser Nelson is the editor of *The Spectator* and a columnist for *The Daily Telegraph*. He is also a member of the advisory board of the Centre for Social Justice and the Centre for Policy Studies.

Professor Kalypso Nicolaidis is Chair in Global Affairs at the School of Transnational Governance at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, where she directs the Transnational Democracy Programme. She was previously professor at the University of Oxford, at Harvard University's Kennedy School and at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration. She has worked with numerous EU governments and institutions, including as a member of the European Council's reflection group on the future of Europe. Her research revolves around internal and external aspects of European integration as well as global affairs, theatres of recognition, democratic theory, transnational legal empathy and social solidarity, global governance and international trade, sustainable integration, post-colonialism, myth and politics and the import of new technologies on international relations. Her latest books are: *A Citizen's Guide to the Rule of Law - Why We Need to Fight for the Most Precious Human Inventions of All Time* and *Exodus, Reckoning, Sacrifice: Three Meanings of Brexit*.

Professor Rasmus Nielsen is Director of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism and Professor of Political Communication at the University of Oxford. His research is focused on the changing role of news and media in our societies. He has written extensively about journalism, digital media, the business of news, political communication and related topics in dozens of scholarly articles, edited volumes, and books, including *Ground Wars: Personalized Communication in Political Campaigns* (winner of the American Political Science Association's Doris Graber Award for the best book on political communication published in the last ten years) and *The Power of Platforms* (with Sarah Anne Ganter). In addition, he is co-author of the annual *Reuters Institute Digital News Report*. A frequent speaker at academic, industry, and policy-making conferences, he has provided expert advice to both governments and news media companies in several countries.

Professor Kerem Öktem is Associate Professor of Politics and International Relations at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. Before his call to Venice, he held the chair of Southeast European Studies and Contemporary Modern Turkey at the University of Graz where he studied and taught Turkey's politics and international relations and Islam and Muslims in the Balkans. He was the principal investigator on

the Dahrendorf Programme's Freedom in Diversity project. His recent work examines Turkey's autocratisation under successive Justice and Development Party governments, for instance, *Exit from Democracy: Illiberal Governance in Turkey and Beyond* (with Karabekir Akkoyunlu) and the shrinking space for non-Muslim communities in AKP Turkey in the collection *Turkish Jews and Their Diasporas* (with Ipek Yosmaoğlu). He currently works on a project with the title *Concrete Empire. Turkish mosques and neo-imperialism in Southeast Europe*. He is the founding Chair of the Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey (CEST) and an alumnus of the Mercator-IPC Fellowship Programme. He serves as an editorial board member of the Journal of Muslims in Europe and the Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, and he recently joined the advisory board of the series 'New Directions in Turkish Studies' at Berghahn Books.

Professor Karl-Heinz Paqué chairs the Board of Directors of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. He studied economics at the Universities of Saarbrücken, Kiel and Vancouver, British Columbia (Canada). After a research fellowship at the Center for Study of Public Choice in Blacksburg (Virginia) he received his doctoral degree in economics at the university of Kiel, continuing to work in different positions such as Director and Professor at the Kiel Institute of World Economics. Since 1996, he has held the chair of International Economics at the Otto von Guericke University Magdeburg. From 2002 to 2008, he was an elected Member of the State Parliament of Saxony Anhalt, serving as State Minister of Finance, from 2002 to 2006 and thereafter leading the parliamentary faction of the Liberal Party until 2008. He returned to Magdeburg University in 2008 and served as Dean of the faculty of Economics and Management from 2010 until 2018. He received an honorary doctorate from Miskolc University (Hungary) in 2012. In 2018, he was appointed Deputy President of Liberal International after serving as their Vice President since the beginning of 2017.

Lord Chris Patten is Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He was born in 1944 and educated at St Benedict's School (Ealing) and Balliol College (Oxford). He was Director of the Conservative Research Department (1974-79), MP for Bath (1979-92), a Minister (1983-92), and Chairman of the Conservative Party (1990-92). From 1992-97 he was Governor of Hong Kong; and from 1998-99 Chairman of the Independent Commission on Policing in Northern Ireland. He was European Commissioner for External Affairs (1999-2004); and Chairman of the BBC Trust (2011-2014). He was made a Companion of Honour in 1998, and a Life Peer in 2005. His latest book, *The Hong Kong Diaries* was published in June 2022. He is a board member of Bridgepoint, Hutchison Europe and Vontobel Asset Management.

Professor Charles Powell has been the director of the Elcano Royal Institute, Spain's leading international relations think tank, since 2012, and a professor of Contemporary History at CEU San Pablo University since 2001. He read History and Modern Languages at the University of Oxford, which also awarded him a Doctorate in History for a thesis on Spain's transition to democracy. While at Oxford, he was a lecturer at Corpus Christi College, a J. A. Pye Fellow at University College, and a Junior Research Fellow at St. Antony's College. He has also been a visiting professor at the Catholic University of Lisbon and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has published six books and dozens of articles on Spanish political history and foreign policy, European integration, and the so-called liberal international order. He is an Officer of the Order of the Star of Italy (2015), a Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St Michael and St George (2017), a Commander of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Romania (2020), and a Knight of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland (2021).

Professor Shalini Randeria was elected as president and rector of Central European University in 2021. She is the first woman, and the first person from the Global South, to take up this position since the founding of the university 30 years ago. Randeria has had a distinguished academic career as a sociologist/social anthropologist at institutions of higher education across Europe. She was rector of the Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, and a professor at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, where she directed the Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy. Randeria holds the Excellence Chair at the University of Bremen, where she leads a research group on "soft authoritarianisms." She is deputy chair of the Class of Social and Related Sciences, Academia

Europaea and a distinguished fellow of the Munk School, Toronto University. Randeria has published widely on the anthropology of globalization, law, the state, and social movements with a regional focus on India. Her influential podcast series, *Democracy in Question*, goes into its fourth season in spring 2022

Professor Jacques Rupnik is currently Research Professor at CERI-Sciences Po in Paris, as well as visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges. Since he joined CERI, Sciences Po in 1982, he has been writing and lecturing about East-Central and Balkan European history and politics and their process of European integration. He was advisor to President Vaclav Havel in the 1990s, Executive director of the International Commission for the Balkans, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1995-1996) and drafter of its report *Unfinished Peace* (1996), as well a member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999-2000) and co-drafter of *The Kosovo Report*. He has been a visiting Professor at several European universities and at Harvard.

Alan Rusbridger was Editor in Chief of *The Guardian* from 1995-2015. He is currently editor of *Prospect Magazine* and Chair of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Until 2021 he was Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. During his time at *The Guardian*, both he and the paper won numerous awards, including the 2014 Pulitzer Prize for Public Service Journalism. *The Guardian* grew from a printed paper with a circulation of 400,000 to a leading digital news organisation with 150m browsers a month around the world. He launched now-profitable editions in Australia and the US as well as a membership scheme which now has 1m Guardian readers paying for content. His latest book, *News and How to Use It*, was published in 2020.

Professor Gesine Schwan is a former Professor of Political Science at the Free University Berlin, and former president of the European University in Frankfurt. She was twice a candidate for the SPD and the Greens for the presidency of Germany, presently chair of the Commission for Fundamental Values of the SPD.

Dr Michal Šimečka has been a Member of the European Parliament (Renew, Slovakia) since 2019 and one of its Vice-Presidents since January 2022. His responsibilities as the Parliament's Vice-President include Democracy and Human Rights, the House of European History, and the European Parliament Research Service, and he is also a full member of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality. He is currently the Party Leader of Progresivne Slovensko. He has previously worked as a senior researcher at the Institute of International Relations in Prague, has served as an advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic and has also worked as a journalist for the Slovak daily *SME* and the *Financial Times*. He holds a DPhil in political science and international relations from Oxford University.

Professor Anne-Marie Slaughter is the CEO of the New America Foundation and the Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor Emerita of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. From 2009 to 2011 she served as the director of Policy Planning for the United States Department of State, the first woman to hold that position. Prior to her government service, Dr. Slaughter was the Dean of Princeton University's School of Public and International Affairs (formerly the Woodrow Wilson School) from 2002 to 2009 and the J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor of International, Foreign, and Comparative Law at Harvard Law School from 1994-2002. She has written or edited seven books, including *The Chessboard and the Web: Strategies of Connection in a Networked World*, *Unfinished Business: Women Men Work Family*, and *The Idea That Is America: Keeping Faith with Our Values in a Dangerous World*. She is also a frequent contributor to a number of publications, including *The Atlantic*, *The Financial Times*, and *Project Syndicate*. In 2012, she published 'Why Women Still Can't Have It All' in *The Atlantic*, which quickly became one of the most read articles in the history of the magazine and helped spark a renewed national debate on the continued obstacles to genuine full male-female equality.

Professor Timothy Snyder is the Richard C. Levin Professor of History and Global Affairs at Yale University, and a permanent fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna. His most

recent books are *Road to Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America* and *Our Malady: Lessons on Liberty from a Hospital Diary*. His work has appeared in forty languages and has received a number of prizes. He has appeared in documentaries, on network television, and in major films. His books have inspired poster campaigns and exhibitions, films, sculpture, a punk rock song, a rap song, a play, and an opera. His words are quoted in political demonstrations around the world. He is currently finishing a philosophical book about freedom.

Alexandra Solovyev is a DPhil candidate in History of Art at the University of Oxford and one of the current Dahrendorf Scholars. Her doctoral research is focused on the visual culture of the British railways in Ottoman Anatolia during the nineteenth century. She is interested in policy around the repatriation of artworks and cultural artefacts and in the historical origins of these contemporary issues. She received a BA in Art History and Archaeology with a concentration in Philosophy from Columbia University in 2018 and an MSt in History of Art and Visual Culture from the University of Oxford in 2019.

Samuel Sorokin is a doctoral student at the European University Institute, and one of the research associates of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme.

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Lucas Tse is a DPhil candidate in History at the University of Oxford and an Examination Fellow at All Souls College. He is one of the research associates of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme.

Professor Ivan Vejvoda is a Permanent Fellow and Head of Europe's Futures project at the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna. From 2010 to 2017, he was Senior Vice President at the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) in Washington D.C. From 2003 to 2010, he was the Executive Director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, a project of GMF. In 2002- 2003, he was the senior advisor on foreign policy and European integration to the Serbian Prime Ministers Zoran Djindjić, and then Zoran Zivkovic. He was executive director of the Belgrade-based Fund for an Open Society from 1998 to 2002. He was involved in the democratic opposition movement in Yugoslavia through the 1980s and 1990s and, in 2007, was a candidate for Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia. He was awarded the French National Order of Merit, in the rank of Officer, in 2006 and the Italian Order of the Star of Italian Solidarity, in rank of Commander, in 2007.

Professor Tim Vlandas is Associate Professor at the Department of Social Policy and Fellow of St Antony's College, both at the University of Oxford. His main area of expertise is comparative political economy, with a particular interest in the relationship between electoral politics, public policies and socio-economic outcomes. His research has been published in over 25 academic journals and has received awards from the American Political Science Association and the European Network for Social Policy Analysis. He has recently co-authored a book entitled *Foreign States in Domestic*

Markets: Sovereign Wealth Funds and the West, published by Oxford University Press. His research has been cited by the UK House of Commons, World Bank, International Labour Organisation, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, European Commission, and the United Nations.

Dr Karolina Wigura is a historian of ideas, sociologist, and journalist. She is member of the Board of the Kultura Liberalna Foundation, which publishes *Kultura Liberalna* weekly, Poland's leading online political and cultural weekly. Wigura is a Research Associate at the Freie University Berlin. She is also a lecturer at Warsaw University's Faculty of Sociology. She focuses on the political philosophy of the 20th century and emotions in politics, as well as sociology and the ethics of memory, particularly transitional justice, historical guilt, and reconciliation. From 2016 to 2018, she was a co-director of the Polish Programme in St Antony's College at University of Oxford. In the academic year 2021-22 she was a Fellow with the Robert Bosch Academy in Berlin. In 2008, she received the Grand Press prize for her interview with Jürgen Habermas 'Europe in death paralysis'. Her work has been published in *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, and others. Her latest book, co-authored with a conservative and catholic intellectual Tomasz Terlikowski, *Polish Atheist vs. Polish Catholic* recently became one of the bestsellers in Poland.

Professor Andreas Wirsching is the Director of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte München–Berlin (Leibniz Institute for Contemporary History) and Full Professor for Modern and Contemporary History at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich. His research focuses, among others, on the History of Germany and France in the 20th century, and the History of Communism, Fascism and National Socialism as well as on German and European History since the 1970s. He served as Visiting Professor at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, the Institut d'Études Politiques in Paris, the Université de Montréal in Canada, and Sorbonne Université in Paris. Among numerous other academic functions, he is serving as a full member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Munich and as a member of the Academic Committee of the House of European History in Brussels. From 2015 to September 2020 he also served as the German Co-Chairman of the German-Russian Historical Commission.

Reja Wyss is a DPhil Candidate in Sociology at the University of Oxford and one of the research associates of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme. She holds a BA degree in History and Political Science from the University of Basel, as well as an MPhil in Russian and East European Studies from St Antony's College, Oxford. Her research focuses on the relationship between science, technology and politics, ranging from the situation of Polish academia under a populist government to scientific arguments in abortion debates. In her DPhil she studies how populist parties and their supporters interact with processes and phenomena of the post-industrial society, more specifically, climate change and digitization.

Professor Lea Ypi is Professor in Political Theory at the London School of Economics and Political Science and an Honorary Professor in Philosophy at the Australian National University. She is the author of *Global Justice and Avant-Garde Political Agency*, *The Meaning of Partisanship* (with Jonathan White), and *The Architectonic of Reason*. Her latest book, *Free*, won the 2022 Royal Society of Literature Ondaatje Prize, the Slightly Foxed First Biography Award and was shortlisted, among others, for the Baillie Gifford Prize and the Costa Prize. Her academic work has been recognised with the British Academy Prize for Excellence in Political Science and a Leverhulme Prize for Outstanding Research Achievement.

Mikhail Zabotkin is a doctoral researcher at the Freie Universität Berlin, Cluster of Excellence Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS), and a research associate of the Europe in a Changing World project of the Dahrendorf Programme. He earned his Bachelor's degree in Political Science from Moscow State Institute of International relations (MGIMO) and his double Master's degree in International Relations from MGIMO, Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt University of Berlin, and University of Potsdam. His current research involves theorizing the causes of democratic decay, in

particular the different constellations of political conditions that create the strategic motivation for incumbents to undermine liberal-democratic institutions.

Antonia Zimmermann is a reporter with POLITICO Europe in Brussels covering sustainability and climate policy. She joined the publication as an Axel Springer Academy trainee in 2021. Prior to moving to Brussels, she was a research associate of the Dahrendorf Programme's Europe's Stories project, working mostly on public opinion polling. She also briefly worked as a policy adviser at the German Bundestag. She holds an undergraduate degree in Philosophy and International Relations from the University of St Andrews in Scotland, and an MPhil in European Politics from the University of Oxford. At Oxford, she specialized in migration policy and citizenship laws in several European countries. She gathered first reporting experience on the opinion desk of *Der Tagesspiegel*, Berlin's leading newspaper, and the Paris office of the German Press Agency (DPA).

Ruihan Zhu is an MPhil student in Development Studies at Jesus College, University of Oxford and one of the current Dahrendorf Scholars. Her research interests include the political economy of development, sustainable development, and rural-urban linkages. Her current research focuses on the ontological debates around climate change and the critique of mainstream development ideas. For her MPhil study, Ruihan plans to study the impact of green transformation on local communities in China, especially its interconnection with gender equality, poverty reduction, and the digital economy. She used to work as a research assistant at the Institute of International Development Cooperation, CAITEC and graduated with a Bachelor's degree in International Politics (International Political Economy) from Peking University.

Other Colloquium Participants

Eric Abraham

Professor Roy Allison, University of Oxford

Alec Ash, China Books Review

Dr Tanya Baldwin, St Antony's College, Oxford

Ezgi Basaran, St Antony's College, Oxford

Anthony Barnett, Open Democracy

Dr Dimitar Bechev, University of Oxford

Leonard Benardo, Open Society Foundations

H.E. Miguel Berger, Ambassador of Germany to the UK

Professor Anna Chimenti, St Antony's College, Oxford

Sophina Clark

Dr Guy Collender, University of Oxford

Professor Sir Paul Collier, University of Oxford

Lady Christiane Dahrendorf

Daphne Dahrendorf

Lady Ellen Dahrendorf

Nicola Dahrendorf

Professor Anne Deighton, University of Oxford

Annette Dittert, ARD

Professor Marguerite Dupree, University of Glasgow

Professor Peter Eigen

Natasha Fairweather

Danuta Garton Ash

Professor Petra Guasti, Charles University, Prague

Katharina Hasewend, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna

Professor Andrew Hurrell, University of Oxford

Professor Robert Illiffe, University of Oxford

Leszek Jazdzewski, Liberté

Dr Mehmet Karli, Galatasaray University

Professor Alex Kuo, University of Oxford

Professor Margaret MacMillan, University of Oxford

Sir David Madden, South East European Studies at Oxford

Professor Giuseppe Marcocci, University of Oxford

Professor Pascal Marty, Maison Française d'Oxford

Annalena McAfee

Ian McEwan

Luisa Melloh

Professor Anand Menon, UK in a Changing Europe

Professor Gabriele Metzler, Humboldt University

Professor Andrew Moravcsik, Princeton University

Dr Eamonn Noonan, European Parliament

Richard Ovenden, University of Oxford

Dr Ann Pasternak-Slater, University of Oxford

Joanna Plucinska, Reuters

Professor David Priestland, University of Oxford

Nigel Purse, The Mary Rose Trust

Gideon Rachman, Financial Times

Dr Craig Raine, University of Oxford

Sophie Rau, Stiftung Mercator

Dr Sigrid Rausing

Professor Adam Roberts, University of Oxford

José Maria Robles Fraga, Embassy of Spain to the UK

Dr Wolfgang Rohe, Stiftung Mercator

Professor Francois-Joseph Ruggiu, Sorbonne

Dr Dorian Singh, University of Oxford

Professor David Siroky, University of Essex

Professor Glenda Sluga, European University Institute

Wouter te Kloeze, St Antony's College, Oxford

Professor Adam Tooze, Columbia University

Professor Sir Rick Trainor, Exeter College, Oxford

Dr Katarzyna Walecka, European University Institute

Professor Zbig Wojnowski, University of Oxford

Stuart Williams, Bodley Head

Peter Wilson, Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office

Martin Wolf, Financial Times

Ada Wordsworth, University of Oxford

Sylvie Zannier

The Dahrendorf Programme: The First 15 Years

The programme dates its origins to an event I organised in 2009 for the 80th birthday of Ralf Dahrendorf, the leading British-German social thinker and third Warden of St Antony's. He and I both knew that he was dying. Public tributes were paid by Jürgen Habermas, Fritz Stern and myself, followed by a small workshop at which a group of intellectuals associated with Ralf debated the future of liberty and liberalism in the immediate aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis. A record of what was in effect the first Dahrendorf Colloquium can be found in the booklet [*On Liberty: The Dahrendorf Questions*](#).

Ralf died shortly thereafter. Michael Göring of the Hamburg-based Zeit Foundation, with which Ralf was closely associated, then suggested to me that we should repeat this every year. The Dahrendorf family was very happy with the idea. And so the programme was born, finding its natural and highly congenial home in the European Studies Centre. The birth of the Dahrendorf Programme therefore coincided with what I call the 'downward turn' for liberal Europe after 2008

The programme has three interlinked elements:

The annual Dahrendorf Lecture and Colloquium. Dahrendorf Lecturers have included Ronald Dworkin, Martha Nussbaum, Gesine Schwan, Michael Ignatieff, Timothy Snyder and Catherine de Vries. (For a full list, see <https://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/research-centres/dahrendorf-programme-study-freedom/dahrendorf-lecture-and-colloquium-0>.) The Colloquium sometimes take the form of a workshop, as in 2009, and sometimes, as this year, a larger conference. Often, these are closely linked to the current research project.

Dahrendorf Scholars. Three graduate students every year are selected in an open competition, to work with the programme on its current research projects, prepare the annual Colloquium and write a Dahrendorf Essay on a subject of their choice. So far we have had forty-two Dahrendorf Scholars, many of whom have gone on to do interesting and important things in their own chosen spheres. They are listed at <http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/research-centres/dahrendorf-programme-study-freedom/dahrendorf-scholars-and-essays>, where you can also find the texts of many of their essays. We are delighted that some of our alumni are with us again this year.

Research projects. Our first major project looked at the challenge of combining freedom and diversity, in a comparative study of Britain, Canada, France, Germany and the United States. The final report, co-authored by Kerem Öktem, Edward Mortimer and myself, was published as [*Freedom in Diversity: Ten Lessons for Public Policy from Britain, Canada, France, Germany and the United States*](#).

Our second project was even more ambitious, a global, transcultural investigation of free speech, documented on a 13-language website Free Speech Debate: <http://www.freespeechdebate.com>. More than a hundred graduate students were involved, working in all these languages. It contributed significantly to the writing of my book [*Free Speech: Ten Principles for a Connected World*](#). The book, and the larger project behind it, were recognised with the British Academy Prize for Global Cultural Understanding.

In 2019 we launched a project examining how Europeans in general, and young Europeans in particular, see Europe – and what they want and expect from the EU. Our in-depth interviews, expert interviews, seminars and EU-wide opinion polling are documented on the Europe's Stories website: <http://www.europeanmoments.com>. A group of participating students produced a challenging final report, [*Young Europeans Speak to EU*](#), which was presented in several European capitals, including Berlin, Prague and Brussels.

In 2021, I was very glad to be joined as co-director of the programme by the historian Paul Betts. Together, we have initiated a new project called Europe in a Changing World. Having looked at Europe from inside in the Europe's Stories project, we have reversed the gaze. Now we are examining Europe as perceived by, and in its complex historical, cultural, social and political relations with, five major non-European powers, China, India, Turkey, Russia and the United States. (Hence the acronym CITRUS, a group identification disliked almost equally by all of them.) For this enterprise, we have partnered with major universities and institutes of advanced study in continental Europe and the CITRUS countries: [Ashoka University](#), Delhi; [European University Institute](#) (EUI), Florence; [Higher School of Economics](#) (HSE), Moscow; [Institute for Human Sciences](#) (IWM), Vienna; [Peking University](#) (PKU), Beijing; [Sabanci University](#), Istanbul; [Remarque Institute at NYU](#), New York; [Stanford University](#), California; and, in Berlin, the Cluster of Excellence '[Contestations of the Liberal Script](#)' (SCRIPTS) at the Freie Universität Berlin and the WZB Berlin Social Science Centre.

Beside monthly Zoom webinars across fifteen time zones, with the participation of students and faculty from all these places, and expert research on particular themes, we have partnered with ECFR to do opinion polling both in Europe and in the five CITRUS countries. Last year's Dahrendorf colloquium was a launch conference for this project. Almost all participating institutions are holding related conferences of their own. All details can be found on the Europe in a Changing World website via <http://www.europeanmoments.com>. A book publication is planned for 2024.

Next year, the programme will start a new phase of the Europe in a Changing World project, focused on drawing lessons for European strategies in this changing world. I will remain as Chair of the programme, and of its steering committee, and I'm very glad to say that the political scientist Hartmut Mayer will be taking over from Paul and me as Director of the programme.

Needless to say, none of this would have been possible without the generous support of many funders. They are listed on the relevant websites and publication pages, but on this occasion we would particularly like to thank the Zeit Foundation, which supported the programme for many years, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, which remains an important partner, and the Mercator Foundation, which provides substantial core funding for the Dahrendorf programme and its Europe in a Changing World project.

If you would like to know more, or be involved in any way, please email our research manager, Adele Curness, on dahrendorf.programme@sant.ox.ac.uk, or the College's development director, Wouter te Klouze, on wouter.teklouze@sant.ox.ac.uk.

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