

# BARRIERS and BORDERS

## Empires and States Workshop

Friday, February 24th, 2023

9.00am – 6:00pm EST

### Participants

---



**Karen Barkey**

***Kellogg Professor of Sociology and Religious Studies,  
Bard College***

Karen Barkey is the Kellogg Professor of Sociology and Religious Studies at Bard College. Her current work is on religion and toleration. She has written on the early centuries of Ottoman state toleration and is now exploring different ways of understanding how religious coexistence, toleration and sharing occurred in different historical sites under Ottoman rule and the contemporary Mediterranean. Her main project is on Shared Sacred Sites which is a collaborative program that seeks to develop a rubric for the description, classification, analysis, and publication of work relating to spaces and locations used by multiple, disparate communities for religious purposes.

She has also co-curated two exhibition projects on Shared Sacred Sites in Thessaloniki, Greece and in New York City, New York. These exhibitions have produced two books: *Shared Sacred Sites* (co-edited with Manoël Pénicaud & Dionigi Albera; New York Public Library, CUNY Graduate Center, The Morgan Library & Museum; New York; 2018) and *Shared Sacred Sites in the Balkans and the Mediterranean* (also co-edited, Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art; 2018). An edited book, *Choreography of Sacred Spaces: State, Religion and Conflict Resolution* (with Elazar Barkan), explores the history of shared religious spaces in the Balkans, Anatolia, and Palestine/Israel, all three regions once under Ottoman rule. The project provides the historical antecedents to help us understand the accommodation and contention around specific sites in the modern period, tracing comparatively areas and regime changes. Her new book with Sudipta Kaviraj and Vatsal Naresh is *Negotiating Democracy and Religious Pluralism* (Oxford UP, 2021).



**Richard Bense**

***Gary S. Davis Professor of Government,  
Cornell University***

Richard Bense is the Gary S. Davis Professor in the Department of Government at Cornell University. His primary fields are American political development, comparative state formation, political economy, and political culture. He is the author of, most recently, *The Founding of Modern States* (Cambridge, 2022) and “The Opening Dilemma: Why Democracies Cannot Found Themselves” (*Studies in American Political Development*, 2022). Both of these studies address the problematic assumptions and processes underpinning the embedment of the “will of the people” during the creation of governments.

*The Founding of Modern States* analyses the ancient English Constitution and the late eighteenth-century revolutions in the United States and France, comparing them with the foundings of the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and the Islamic Republic of Iran during the twentieth century. “The Opening Dilemma” contains a detailed analysis of the logical conundrum at the heart of all foundings. His other work includes: *The Political Economy of American Industrialization, 1877-1900* (Cambridge, 2000; Chinese translation, 2008; J. David Greenstone Prize, 2002); *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877* (Cambridge, 1990); *The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2004); *Passion and Preferences: William Jennings Bryan and the 1896 Democratic National Convention* (Cambridge, 2008); and *Sectionalism and American Political Development, 1880-1980* (Wisconsin, 1984; Mark H. Ingraham Prize, 1984). His current research includes the political economy and popular culture of Ku Klux Klan activity in the American South during Reconstruction and regional polarization in the United States over the last half century.



**Michael Braddick**  
**Professor of History,**  
**University of Sheffield**

Michael Braddick is a Professor of History at the University of Sheffield, where he has worked since 1990. Prior to that he was an undergraduate and postgraduate student in Cambridge and worked for two years in Alabama. He has written extensively on the social, economic and political life of early modern England, Britain and the Atlantic, particularly in relation to state formation, popular politics and the English revolution. Braddick’s principal publications are *State formation and social change in early modern England* (2000), *God’s Fury, England’s Fire: a new history of the civil wars* (2008), *The common freedom of the people: John Lilburne and the English revolution* (2018), along with a number of related articles. He has co-edited (with John Walter) *Negotiating power: order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern Britain and Ireland* (2001), (with David Armitage) *The British Atlantic world, 1500-1800* (2002, 2009) and (with Phil Withington) *Popular culture and political agency in early modern England and Ireland* (2017). His most recent book, *A useful history of Britain* (2020) has risen largely without trace, but he likes it. Braddick is currently completing a study of Christopher Hill, the eminent Marxist historian of the English revolution, to be published by Verso in 2024. That is part of his work on the English revolution in British history and historiography as holder of a BA/Wolfson Research Professorship. He is also Principal Investigator of a large research project on The politics of the English grain trade, 1315-1815.



**Mary-Rose Cheadle**  
**Administration and Research Officer,**  
**Centre for History and Economics**

Mary-Rose Cheadle is a graduate of the University of Exeter where she read French and Spanish and also trained to be a teacher. She has worked at the Institut Français d’Ecosse, Edinburgh, and the British Council, Paris where she managed scholarship programmes and events. In Cambridge Mary-Rose first

worked at CRASSH in its formative years before coming to the Centre for History and Economics in 2005. At the Centre she is the coordinator of the Barriers and Borders project and of the Centre for History and Economics in Paris. She provides research and editorial assistance on Centre projects and related publications. These have included: *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought, Religion and the Political Imagination*, *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought*, *French Empires*, and the managing of the *Ariane de Rothschild Fellowship*.



**Sabine Dullin**  
***Professor of History,***  
***Sciences Po***

Sabine Dullin is Professor of History at Sciences Po Paris. Specialized in modern Russia and the USSR, her work has ranged from the political history of the Soviet State to the international and transnational dimensions of communism and border studies. She is one of the founding editors of the French journal in global and transnational history *Monde(s). Histoire, espaces, relations*. Among her books, *L'Ironie du destin. Une histoire des Russes et de leur Empire, 1853-1991* (Payot, 2021) and *La frontière épaisse. Aux origines des politiques soviétiques 1920-1940* (EHESS Editions, 2014) which was published in Russian.

Her current research investigates the federal dimension of the Soviet Union and focuses on the resources of sub-state sovereignty. She develops a case study on the Republic of Yakutia-Sakha from the 1980s to the 2020s.



**Franziska Exeler**  
***Research Fellow,***  
***Centre for History and Economics, Magdalene College;***  
***Lecturer of History,***  
***Freie Universität Berlin***

Franziska Exeler is Assistant Professor of History at Free University Berlin. She is also a research fellow at the Centre for History and Economics at Magdalene College, University of Cambridge. Her research interests include East European, Russian, and German history; war and society; (international) legal history and war crimes trials; myth, memory, and trauma; and migration, borders, and borderland studies. Her book *Ghosts of War. Nazi Occupation and Its Aftermath in Soviet Belarus* appeared in 2022 with Cornell University Press. It is the recipient of the Ernst Fraenkel Prize awarded by the Wiener Holocaust Library in London. Franziska is currently developing a new project on the Russian-Habsburg-Prussian/German border, from 1815 to 1921, which examines how empire, nationalism, and globalization shaped the development of modern border regimes in East-Central Europe.



**Paul Frymer**  
**Professor of Politics,**  
**Princeton University**

Paul Frymer is a Professor of Politics at Princeton University. He is the author of three books, most recently *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion* (Princeton University Press, 2017), which was the recipient of the J. David Greenstone Prize of the American Political Science Association and the best book in Political Sociology by the American Sociological Association.



**Victoria de Grazia**  
**Moore Collegiate Professor Emerita of History,**  
**Columbia University**

Victoria de Grazia, Moore Collegiate Professor of History, was educated at Smith College, University of Florence, and Columbia University where she received her Ph.D. in history with distinction in 1976. Before joining the Columbia faculty in 1994, she taught at Rutgers University. Her research interests lie in contemporary history, with longstanding commitments to studying western Europe and Italy from a gendered perspective and to developing a global perspective on commercial revolutions. Her publications include: *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth Century Europe* (2005); *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (ed., 1996); *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945* (1992); *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (1981). She is currently writing a book about intimacy and power in Fascist Italy.



**Dina Guesjenova**  
**Associate Professor of International History,**  
**London School of Economics**

Dina Gusejnova is Associate Professor of Modern European History at the Department of International History, London School of Economics. She has previously been Senior Lecturer in Modern History at Sheffield University and has taught at Queen Mary University of London, UCL, and at the University of Chicago. She is the author of *European Elites and Ideas of Empire, 1917-57* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), and the editor of *Cosmopolitanism in Conflict: Imperial Encounters from the Seven Years' War to the Cold War* (Palgrave, 2018). As an intellectual historian originally of German political thought and intellectual history of the Weimar period, she has developed an interest in the relationship between transnational and transimperial intellectual networks of European thinkers and changing concepts of spatial identity in the twentieth century in the context of wars and forced displacement. Her current research concentrates on the cultural and intellectual consequences of the two World Wars,

including the longer-term impact of the internment of scholars from continental Europe in Britain during the Second World War. Dina is also working on a CIVICA-funded research project looking into the practices of integrating academics at risk in contemporary Europe. She is one of the co-founders of the University of New Europe, a collective of academics who seek to facilitate new ways of researching and teaching European history and politics from a global perspective involving academics at risk from war and political persecution.



**Victoria Tin-bor Hui**  
**Associate Professor of Political Science,**  
**Notre Dame University**

Victoria Tin-bor Hui is Associate Professor in Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. She received her PhD in Political Science from Columbia University and BSSc in Journalism and Communications from the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Hui examines the centrality of war in her project “‘China’: Made In Violence.” She has authored *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press), “Genocide, Extermination and Mass Killing in Chinese History” (*Cambridge World History of Genocide*), “Civilizations, Religions, Peaceful and Violent Change in Asia” (*Handbook on Peaceful Change in IR*), “Cultural Diversity and Coercive Cultural Homogenization in Chinese History” (*Diversity and Its Discontents: Culture And Order In World Politics*), “How Tilly’s Warfare Paradigm Is Revolutionizing the Study of Chinese State-Making” (*Does War Make States?*), “Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics” (*International Organization*), “The Emergence and Demise of Nascent Constitutional Rights” (*Journal of Political Philosophy*), among others.

Hui also studies Hong Kong’s struggle for freedom, democracy and autonomy. She has written on “Crackdown: Hong Kong Faces Tiananmen 2.0” (*Journal of Democracy*), “Will China Crush the Protests in Hong Kong?” (*Foreign Affairs*), “Beijing’s Hard and Soft Repression in Hong Kong” (*Orbis*), “Hong Kong’s New Police State” (*The Diplomat*), “The Bad Birth and Premature Death of One Country, Two Systems in Hong Kong” (*Academia Sinica Law Journal*), and “Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement” (*Journal of Democracy*). Hui testified at Congress and was a Council on Foreign Relations fellow with the Congressional-Executive Commission on China in 2021-22.

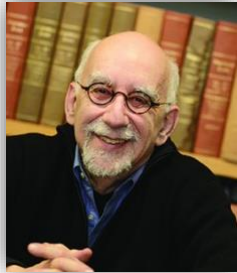


**Ron Kassimir**  
**Senior Advisor,**  
**Columbia World Projects**

Ron Kassimir is Senior Advisor at Columbia World Projects, providing leadership and support for the Research and Engagement portfolio of work. He previously served as Vice President of Programs at the Social Science Research Council and as Associate Provost for Research at The New School, where he was also Associate Professor of Politics. Kassimir has worked extensively in the design and implementation of interdisciplinary research programs, research capacity building efforts, and research



collaborations in the U.S., Africa, and elsewhere. He has written on these topics, as well as on religion and politics, youth and civic engagement, and globalization.



**Ira Katznelson**  
***Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History,***  
***Columbia University;***  
***Deputy Director,***  
***Columbia World Projects***

Ira Katznelson is Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History, and Deputy Director, Columbia World Projects. His 2013 *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time* was awarded the Bancroft Prize in History and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award in Political Science. Other books include *Southern Nation: Congress and White Supremacy After Reconstruction* (2018; co-authored with David Bateman and John Lapinski), and *Liberal Beginnings: A Republic for the Moderns* (2008; co-authored with Andreas Kalyvas).

Professor Katznelson, a fellow of the British Academy, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Philosophical Society, is a former president both of the American Political Science Association and the Social Science Research Council. He earned his BA at Columbia College and his PhD in History at the University of Cambridge, where he served in 2017-18 as Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions. Prior to his arrival at Columbia in 1994, where he also had been an assistant and associate professor, he had taught at the University of Chicago, where he served as chair of the Department of Political Science, and the New School for Social Research, where he was Dean of the Graduate Faculty.



**Emmanuelle Saada**  
***Professor of French and History,***  
***Columbia University***

Emmanuelle Saada is Professor of French and History at Columbia University in the City of New York. Her main field of research is the history of French imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries, with a specific interest in law. Her first book, *Les Enfants de la Colonie. Les métis de l'empire français entre sujétion et citoyenneté* was published by La Découverte in 2007 and translated into English as *Empire's Children: Race, Filiation and Citizenship in the French Colonies* in 2012. Emmanuelle Saada is currently writing a historiographical book reflecting on French and European colonization as a history of the present. She is also working on a project on law and violence in Algeria and France in the 19th century.



**Hendrik Spruyt**

***Norman Dwight Harris Professor of International Relations Emeritus,  
Northwestern University***

Hendrik Spruyt is Norman Dwight Harris Professor of International Relations Emeritus at Northwestern University. Prior to Northwestern he was a department member of Columbia University and Arizona State University. He received a Doctorandus from the Faculty of Law, at the University of Leiden, and his Ph.D from the University of California, San Diego. He has also been a visiting fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; Sciences Po (Paris); Cambridge University and the London School of Economics.

Among his publications are: *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton UP, 1994 (J. David Greenstone best book award); *Ending Empire: Contested Sovereignty and Territorial Partition*. Cornell UP, 2005. *Contracting States: Sovereign Transfers in International Relations*. Princeton UP 2009 (Co-author with Alexander Cooley). *Democracy, Religion, and Conflict: The Dilemmas of Israel's Peacemaking*. Syracuse UP 2013 (Co-editor, with M. Elman and O. Haklai). *The World Imagined: Collective Beliefs and Political Order in the Sinocentric, Islamic and Southeast Asian International Societies*. Cambridge UP, 2020 (Co-winner best book award, ISA Theory and co-winner J. David Greenstone best book award). Some recent essays include: "The World Imagined. A Conversation with my Interlocutors." *Millennium*: 2021; "Civil Wars as Challenges to the Modern International System," *Daedalus*, Fall 2017; "Collective Imaginations and International Order: The Contemporary Context of the Chinese Tributary System." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (June 2017); "Unbundling Sovereign Rights through Incomplete Contracting: Empowering European Transnational Networks beyond the State." In *Reconfiguring European States in Crisis*, Desmond King and Patrick Le Galès, eds. 2017.



**Gareth Stedman Jones**

***Director,  
Centre for History and Economics, University of Cambridge;  
Professor of the History of Ideas,  
Queen Mary, University of London***

Gareth Stedman Jones FBA is Professor of the History of Ideas at Queen Mary University of London. Prior to this he was Professor of Political Science, History Faculty; Cambridge from 1997 to 2010. He is a Director of the Centre for History and Economics, Cambridge, and a Life Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He is a Fellow of the British Academy and of the Royal Historical Society.

Significant publications include *Outcast London* (1971), *An End to Poverty?* (2004); *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The Communist Manifesto* (2002); *Religion and the Political Imagination*, co-edited with Ira Katznelson (2010); *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, co-edited with Gregory Claeys (2011) and *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought*, co-edited with Douglas

Moggach (2018). His monograph *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion* was published by Penguin in 2016 and has since been translated into nine languages.

His major research interest is the history of British and European political thought from the aftermath of the French Revolution to the First World War. He is currently working on a study to be called the Victorian Enlightenment which focuses on mid-Victorian England, particularly seen through the eyes of Karl Marx and George Eliot.



**Natasha Wheatley**  
***Assistant Professor of History,***  
***Princeton University***

Natasha Wheatley is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Princeton University. She is a historian of modern European and international history with a particular interest in legal and intellectual history. Her first book, *The Life and Death of States: Central Europe and the Transformation of Modern Sovereignty*, will be published by Princeton University Press in June 2023. She is the co-editor of *Power and Time: Temporalities in Conflict and the Making of History* (Chicago 2020) as well as *Remaking Central Europe: The League of Nations and the Former Habsburg Lands* (Oxford 2020). Her writing has appeared in *Past & Present* and the *London Review of Books*.