

PHD Theses – Thèses de doctorat – Doktorarbeiten

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Nicolas BADALASSI, *Adieu Yalta? La France, la détente et les origines de la Conférence sur la Sécurité et la Coopération en Europe, 1965-1975* – Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris III

Supervisor/jury: Frédéric BOZO, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris III; Christine MANIGAND, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris III; Marie-Pierre REY, Université Panthéon Sorbonne; Andreas WILKENS, Université Paul Verlaine, Metz; N. Piers LUDLOW, London School of Economics

Date of the exam: 03/12/2011

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A partir de 1965, l'URSS cherche à profiter de la politique de «détente, entente, coopération» lancée par le général Charles de Gaulle auprès des pays du pacte de Varsovie pour obtenir, via une conférence sur la sécurité européenne, le gel de l'ensemble des frontières du continent et la reconnaissance de la mainmise soviétique sur l'Europe de l'Est. Sauf que la France, partisane au contraire d'une détente censée aboutir au dépassement de l'ordre bipolaire issu de la guerre froide, n'entend pas entériner le statu quo politique et territorial européen. Dès 1969, la France décide peu à peu de se servir du projet de conférence pour promouvoir sa vision de l'Europe: la Conférence sur la Sécurité et la Coopération en Europe, qui réunit trente-trois pays européens, les Etats-Unis et le Canada de 1972 à 1975, doit d'une part favoriser le rapprochement entre tous les peuples du continent et d'autre part encourager chaque nation à s'exprimer en son nom propre, en dehors des alliances militaires.

S'appuyant sur les archives de l'Elysée (Archives nationales de France), du Ministère français des Affaires étrangères, de la CSCE (Prague) et de la Maison-Blanche (Gerald Ford Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan), ce travail de recherche montre que la CSCE se veut le prolongement multilatéral de la politique de détente initiée par de Gaulle au milieu des années 1960. On retrouve ainsi dans l'Acte final d'Helsinki

ki les préceptes généraux de la vision gaullienne de la détente. C'est notamment le cas lorsqu'on regarde les principes qu'il contient. Comme de Gaulle en son temps, il développe l'idée selon laquelle la détente est un processus à long terme qui doit être entretenu quotidiennement par la création d'un climat de confiance et de tolérance; il en appelle au droit de chaque Etat à mener sa politique étrangère sous couvert de sa pleine et entière souveraineté; il soutient le principe d'une réunification à terme de l'Europe dans des conditions pacifiques; il proclame le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes; il soutient la coopération entre Etats et entre personnes physiques ou morales.

Surtout, cette étude prouve que, contrairement à ce qu'a pu affirmer une certaine tendance historiographique, les trois premiers présidents de la V^e République n'ont jamais été hostiles à l'idée de voir l'Allemagne un jour réunifiée, au contraire. Lors de la conférence, la France se pose en défenseur acharné du principe de changement pacifique des frontières, allant même parfois plus loin que la RFA elle-même. En outre, les Français et leurs partenaires ouest-européens œuvrent pour que la conférence facilite la coopération culturelle et la circulation des personnes entre l'Est et l'Ouest, le but étant, selon le président Georges Pompidou, de transmettre aux pays communistes le «virus de la liberté» et d'enfoncer un coin dans le système des blocs.

Au final, bien que considéré en 1975 comme un «nouveau Yalta» par l'opinion occidentale éclairée en ce qu'il gèlerait les frontières et confirmerait la mainmise soviétique sur l'Europe orientale, l'Acte final d'Helsinki est brandi par les dissidents de l'Est pour faire valoir leurs revendications. En outre, on se réfère à ce document lors des négociations conduisant à la réunification de l'Allemagne en 1990. Parce que Paris a fait en sorte que sa vision de l'Europe et de la détente transparaisse dans le texte de la CSCE, il n'est pas exagéré de dire que la France a en quelque sorte contribué à la fin de la guerre froide.

Muriel BOURDON, *The Europe of scholars. Birth and development of European policies. The Grenoble University and its networks* – University of Grenoble

Supervisor/jury: Bernard BRUNETEAU, University of Grenoble; Gérard BOSSU-AT, University of Cergy-Pontoise; Sabine SAURUGGER, Institut d'études politiques de Grenoble; Michel CATALA, University of Nantes; Christine MANIGAND, University of Poitiers

Date of the exam: 27/10/2010

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This thesis lies at the crossroads of the history of European Integration and the development of the European idea. It shows the building of Europe from the bottom, highlighting the practical approach of both scholars and members of the European Commission, indeed the pioneers of the Erasmus programme. It also testifies of Jean Monnet's will to call researchers to cooperate in the shaping of the European Communities. Based on more than 110 interviews, this study emphasizes the role of collective ideas carried out by different groups (scholars, politicians, economists). By focusing more on actors than on institutions, it complements the work conducted by

Luce Pepin with the members of the Commission on *The history of European cooperation in the field of education and training* (2006).

The analysis of the Europe of scholars is carried out at two levels. It examines the development of European policy through the spectrum of Grenoble University of social sciences. This long-term history (1949-2011) allows us to identify five generations of scholars committed to Europe showing the shaping of the Union through an interdisciplinary approach.

The Europe of scholars has played a double role in European history. Firstly, it has helped shape European education and university cooperation which are now the keystones of the European Union with the Bologna process and the building of the Europe of knowledge in a globalized world. Secondly, the personal commitment of scholars to Europeanizing their research fields and cooperating with other EU (or future EU) members has conveyed an idea of Europe, which contributed to the enlargement of the Union and to the democratization of former Soviet satellite states.

Sara LAMBERTI, *Helsinki disentangled (1973-75): West Germany, the Netherlands, the EPC and the principle of the protection of human rights* – School of International Studies – University of Trento

Supervisor/jury: Mark F. GILBERT, University of Trento/John Hopkins University; Antonio VARSORI, University of Padua; Daniel C. THOMAS, University College Dublin

Date of the exam: 13/02/2012

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This thesis is situated at the intersection of the historiographies on European integration, the Cold War, and human rights. Based on numerous archival sources from the EU archives in Florence as well as a range of archives in Germany and the Netherlands, it scrutinizes the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE, 1973-1975) from the specific angle of the history of European integration. According to a narrative that has become standard in historiography, the EC countries achieved remarkable cohesion in the CSCE process through the newly-created European Political Cooperation (EPC), an informal intergovernmental mechanism set up in 1970.

The thesis argues instead that the EPC was less successful in achieving cohesion and a common position of the EC's member states than has been claimed so far. Human rights was a divisive issue, and ideas of détente differed widely in the West European camp. The thesis emphasizes the political fault lines among the nine member states, and in particular between West Germany and the Netherlands, two countries that stand out for their quite different negotiating style and equally different political goals. The author argues that while West German and Dutch foreign policy eventually achieved a degree of coordination, common understanding was lacking. West Germany and the Netherlands often fought for very different goals. In the case of West Germany, its key goal at the CSCE was human relief, a long-standing goal

of West German policy that had marked Ostpolitik since its very beginnings: the conspicuous sufferings of German people and the personal experiences of German leaders had a powerful impact on West German foreign policy. The Dutch, by contrast, thought of human rights as a principle of international law to be used in an ideological confrontation. The work emphasizes the multifaceted nature of the domestic discussions about human rights at the time, points out that the very idea of human rights needs to be historicized, and highlights the role played by domestic influences and by individuals, with a specific focus on domestic political actors, like the Dutch Foreign Minister Max van der Stoep, who emerges as a staunch – and relatively poorly known – key-advocate of human rights.

Eirini KARAMOUZI, *Greece's path to EEC membership, 1974-1979: The View from Brussels* – London School of Economics and Political Science

Supervisor/jury: N. Piers LUDLOW, London School of Economics; Anne DEIGHTON, University of Oxford; Kiran Klaus PATEL, University of Maastricht

Date of the exam: 09/12/2011

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Greece's accession to the EEC represents a fascinating case-study of the history of enlargement, of European integration and finally of the Cold War in the late 1970s. Karamouzi's thesis is the first detailed archives-based study of the second enlargement. It is based on an extensive multi-archival and multinational research, including records of the Greek, American, British, French and German governments, of the EEC institutions (Commission, Council of Ministers) and a collection of personal papers.

The conventional account of the second enlargement focuses solely on Greece and its policy towards the EEC. In contrast, this thesis casts new light on the way in which the Nine as a whole responded to the challenges posed by the Greek accession. Through this Community-based approach, this thesis challenges traditional views of the reasons that led Greece to apply for EEC membership, the rationale behind the Nine's acceptance of the Greek application, and generally casts new light on the way in which the Nine thought and finally acted regarding Greece's membership during the actual accession negotiations. Looking at these actors can tear down common misconceptions or, indeed, confirm existing beliefs about the communautaire behaviour of the Nine in the second enlargement. It also allows new conclusions to be drawn about the internal development of the Community in the 1970s, especially in relation to the perennial dilemma of widening versus deepening, while highlighting important aspects of the mechanics of the enlargement process. Last but not least, this thesis aims to place the details of the Greek negotiations within the context of regional and international considerations dominated by the realities of the Cold War, thus underlining the linkage between the two parallel developments of European integration and the Cold War.

Matthieu OSMONT, *The French Ambassadors in Bonn (1955-1999)* – Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris

Supervisor/jury: Maurice VAÏSSE, IEP Paris; Guillaume DEVIN, IEP Paris; Wilfried LOTH, University of Essen; Hélène MIARD-DELACROIX, Paris IV; Bernard de MONTFERRAND (diplomat); Sylvain SCHIRMANN, IEP Strasbourg.

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"The Franco-German relationship is doing so well that one might ask oneself what the point is of having ambassadors in Bonn and Paris". This sentence, pronounced in June, 1960, by Ambassador François Seydoux, epitomizes the challenge of this thesis. Since France and Germany developed increasingly close relations between the 1950s and the 1990s, the place of the permanent representatives in the relationship between the two countries has to be examined. Do the ambassadors still have a role to play when the heads of state and of government, the Ministers, but also the French and German senior officials meet frequently and occupy the centre stage? The close examination of the action of the French ambassadors in Bonn however contradicts the thesis of a "decline of the embassies". Accompanying the institutionalization of the Franco-German partnership, the twelve French diplomats who worked in Bonn between 1955 and 1999 do not cease to perform their traditional functions of information, negotiation and representation. However, they constantly reinvent this role. This thesis also casts a new light on the recent evolutions of an important administration, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Despite the weight of certain traditions and the persistence of a certain idea of Germany, the diplomatic corps is far from being immovable and the vision of the international relations or the conception of their mission are not the same from one diplomat to another. In particular, the thesis brought to the fore many different ways of considering the European integration process among the French ambassadors in Bonn that had their consequences on the decision making process in Paris. This research is mainly based on the French and German diplomatic archives as well as on private archives and interviews.

