

PHD Theses – Thèses de doctorat – Doktorarbeiten

If you are about to complete or have recently completed a PhD in European integration history or a related field, and would like to see your abstract published here, please contact:

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Pauline BONINO, *France and the European Convention on Human Rights 1949-1981* – Université de Cergy-Pontoise

Supervisor: Gérard BOSSUAT, Université de Cergy-Pontoise (France).

Jury: Birte WASENBERG, Université de Strasbourg; Jenny RAFLIK, Université de Cergy-Pontoise; Antoine VAUCHEZ, Université Paris 1; Charles BARTHEL, Archives nationales de Luxembourg; Anne-Marie AUTISSIER, Université Paris 8.

Field: History

Date of the exam: 09.12.2016

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On 4th November 1950 the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) was signed by all the members of the Council of Europe. This Convention was the first international Human Rights treaty which held governments responsible in front of an international court. This court could be referred to by either another state or citizens (even if this was under an optional clause). However, the Human Rights protected in the ECHR were not revolutionary as they corresponded to civil and political rights in Western European countries at the time. Afterwards, the ECHR has been quickly ratified by eight of the signatory countries and entered into force in 1953, even though the court was only created in 1959. The latest country among the first signatories to ratify the Convention was France, who did it in 1974 without the optional clauses. The complete ratification was done only in 1981. This thesis focuses on the explanation of this delay. It is based mainly on institutional archives: ministerial archives

(foreign affairs, home affairs, justice), French presidencies and parliament, Council of Europe, the EU and on private archives from the main actors and associations.

The thesis has two aims. The first is to explore factors explaining the delay in the ratification, which, as the thesis shows, depended on the period and the domestic political context. The main reasons were secularism and colonialism under the Fourth Republic, the Algerian conflict and de Gaulle's vision of French sovereignty under the Fifth Republic. The second aim is to explain the factors leading to the ratification of the Convention: the evolution of the judicial system in France and more specifically the development of the constitutional law, European integration (EEC and ECJ) and the growing interest of civil society in Human Rights in the 1960s and 1970s. Those factors were converging at the beginning of the 1970s and, combined with a political window of opportunity (mainly due to the renewed French interest in European integration and the development of a global movement for Human Rights) and a campaign from French jurists and politicians, explain the first incomplete ratification in the mid-1970s followed by the complete one (with the optional clauses) in 1981.

Jouan QUENTIN, *L'eupéanisation des syndicats belges et allemands (1972-1985). Entre droit, imaginaire et politique* – Université Catholique de Louvain

Supervisor/Jury: Vincent DUJARDIN, Université catholique de Louvain (supervisor); Pierre TILLY, Université catholique de Louvain (co-supervisor); Michel DU-MOULIN, Université catholique de Louvain; Pierre REMAN, Université catholique de Louvain; Sylvain SCHIRMANN, Université de Strasbourg

Field: History of European integration; Labour history

Date of the exam: 13 October 2017

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Ma recherche doctorale vise à comprendre l'impact et les conséquences de l'existence de la Communauté économique européenne sur les sociétés nationales et leurs acteurs, en prenant le cas particulier des syndicats belges et allemands entre 1972 et 1985. Dans une approche résolument pluridisciplinaire, ce travail s'ancre sur un travail théorique autour du concept d'eupéanisation, défini comme un processus au cours duquel les acteurs nationaux a) prennent en considération la réalité européenne, son passé et son futur; b) exploitent, profitent ou subissent des décisions de la CEE; c) s'impliquent au sein du système politique européen, considéré comme une plateforme d'opportunité et un lieu de débat, permettant ou pouvant nuire à la réalisation de leurs objectifs tels que définis au niveau national. L'étude de ce processus multi-directionnel a été rendue possible par la consultation de nombreux fonds d'archives en Belgique (KADOC, AMSAB, Archives de la Commission, ...), en Allemagne (FES), en France (OCDE), en Italie (AHUE) ou encore en Suisse (FJME).

Cette recherche montre, tout d'abord, que la perception syndicale de la Communauté européenne est fortement empreinte d'une rhétorique de la nécessité. L'intégration européenne est jugée indispensable pour pallier les insuffisances des structures nationales qui sont de moins en moins à même de résoudre par elles-mêmes les défis de leur temps, qu'ils soient structurels (concentration du capital et développement

des entreprises multinationales) ou conjoncturels (crise énergétique et économique). La rhétorique de la nécessité ne débouche pas sur une approbation béate. Si la Communauté n'est pas contestée en elle-même, les syndicats regrettent vigoureusement le tournant qu'elle aurait amorcé, le jugeant trop favorable au patronat et aux multinationales. D'autre part, lorsque les syndicats nationaux s'impliquent sur la scène européenne ils le font d'abord et avant tout par la Confédération européenne des syndicats (CES), sur laquelle les organes de décision nationaux se déchargent énormément, faisant montre d'une très faible appropriation des enjeux européens. L'Europe reste un objet distinct et extérieur. Si l'europanisation dépend fortement des impulsions provenant de la CES ou de la Commission, elle n'en présente pas moins une dimension nationale prononcée, que ce soit par sa récupération en fonction d'enjeux nationaux ou encore le fait que les possibilités de dialogue varient énormément au gré des éléments caractéristiques de l'État dans lequel ils opèrent.

Clémentine ROTH, *Why narratives of history matter: Serbian and Croatian political discourses on European integration* – Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS) – University of Bremen

Supervisor/Jury: Klaus SCHLICHT, University of Bremen (supervisor); Jelena SUBOTIC, Georgia State University (supervisor); Ulrike LIEBERT, University of Bremen (supervisor); Martin NONHOFF, University of Bremen; Elizaveta GAUFMAN, University of Bremen; Linda MONSEES, BIGSSS/University of Bremen

Field: Political science, European Studies

Date of the exam: 06.07.2017

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Based on a comparative study of Serbia and Croatia, this dissertation investigates the role of narratives of history in the integration process of candidate countries in the European Union (EU). This work offers an innovative framework to transform history into an observable phenomenon but also develops an original model to analyse the structure and political use of narratives.

People make sense of the reality through narratives. The latter connect past, present and future: Based on representations of the past, narratives shape our perception of the present and so doing have implications for our future actions. At the political level, narratives do not cause political action but influence its conditions of possibility. They delineate the range of possible, desirable and appropriate behaviours. I argue that the way Croatian and Serbian political actors narrate the EU impacts the range of policy options that are available to them.

This research mainly consists in a discourse analysis of political documents including parliamentary debates and speeches of individual political actors as well as interviews with experts. I analyse how Serbian and Croatian political actors speak about Europe, the EU and the European accession process and examine the narratives they develop.

I find that Croatian political actors develop highly convergent narratives that depict the EU as a helper and promote EU integration whereas Serbia is characterized by strong narrative divergences. Serbian EU-critical narratives portray the EU as a harmful opponent and incite opposing further European integration. In this work I highlight the role of topoi that political actors employ and (de)activate in their narratives. Furthermore I show how political actors make different usages of history in Serbia and Croatia but also within the two countries. I notably find that both conservative and EU-critical actors tend to make far more historical references than liberal and pro-EU actors.

Marta STACHURSKA-KOUNTA, *Norway and the League of Nations 1919-1939. A Small State's Quest for International Peace* – University of Oslo

SUPERVISORS: Helge Ø. PHARO, University of Oslo; Sven G. HOLTSMARK, Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies

JURY: Patricia CLAVIN, Oxford University; Karen GRAM-SKJOLDAGER, Aarhus University

FIELD: International history

Date of the exam: 22.09.2017

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The thesis analyses Norway's declared support for peace and international order in the interwar period and challenges the country's traditional image as an especially active member of the League of Nations. Norway's engagement in the League is presented as a reflection of a broader foreign policy project, inspired by a Cobdenite version of liberalism. The thesis is based on extensive research in the National Archives of Norway, the Archives of the Norwegian Parliament, the League of Nations Archives in Geneva, the National Archives in Kew and in the League's records deposited in the library of the Norwegian Nobel Institute.

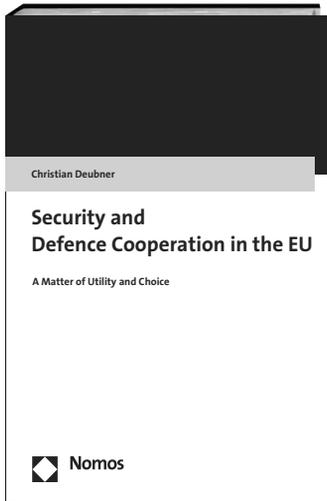
Despite the numerous declarations of support for the League's peaceful mission, Norwegian governments had internalized neither bonds of solidarity founded on the League's collective security system nor the universal character of international law. Their outspoken support for peace fell silent whenever the country's security and economic interests were endangered. Contrary to existing perception, Norway also was remarkably passive in promoting international disarmament through the League. By referring to two different views on the function of law in the international community – the common law and the civil law traditions – the thesis contributes to a more nuanced assessment of Norway's perception as a prominent champion of the principle of compulsory and unconditional arbitration.

Of special interest for European integration history is Chapter V. It explores the Prime and Foreign Minister Johan L. Mowinckel's initiative leading to the Oslo Convention of 1930, which promoted closer customs cooperation between the Nordics and the Low Countries, and Norway's reserved attitude to the French plan to establish a United States of Europe, apparently strengthened by Great Britain's resistance to European integration tendencies. In this regard, the thesis shows that

Norwegian advocacy of peace, including efforts in favour of liberalization of international trade, was rooted in visions of stability based on the international order established and maintained by Great Britain's global dominance.

Pragmatism instead of Idealism

New Security and Defence Policy in the EU



Security and Defence Cooperation in the EU

A Matter of Utility and Choice

By Dr. Christian Deubner

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Against the backdrop of past and present challenges, the author of this book probes the comparative utility of the EU Member States' principal cooperation options in security and defence in terms of their scope, institutions and procedures, and the EU Member States' choices in this respect over the past two decades. EU Member States have not demonstrated a preference for cooperation in that policy area so far and are not likely to do so in the near future either. There is no specific common purpose that would justify a significant effort to strengthen future EU cooperation on its Common Security and Defence Policy in 2017.

NATO, ad hoc coalition forming and UN peace-keeping appear and will appear more useful and important for EU Member States in the medium term.

In recent years observers have been struck by how much internal security threats, radical Islamist terror attacks and the Member States' discord over migration have influenced the reorientation of the EU Member States' external security and defence policies. In that increasingly important nexus, the author proposes ideas for a more systematic approach to research.



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