

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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Falls Sie ihr Doktorat im Bereich der europäischen Integrationsgeschichte oder einer ihr nahestehenden Disziplin abgeschlossen haben oder demnächst abschließen und eine Kurzfassung ihrer Arbeit veröffentlichen möchten, melden Sie sich bei:

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François DOPPLER, *Civilians and the military: the cultural aspects of the American presence in France, 1944 to 1967* – University of Strasbourg

Supervisor: Bernard GENTON, University of Strasbourg

Jury: Jean KEMPF, University Lumière Lyon 2; Gildas LE VOGUER, University of Rennes 2; Justine FAURE, Strasbourg Institute of Political Studies; André KAENEL, University of Lorraine.

Field: Contemporary Cultural History

Date of the exam: 20.11.2015

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This thesis aims to examine the promotion of the American military presence in France from 1944 to 1967. Following World War II, as the world was slowly drifting into the Cold War, the outcome of the political and ideological confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union was still uncertain. In 1949, France took part in the foundation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); soon after, it entered talks in view of the creation of the European Defense Community (EDC). Its participation in NATO led to the return of US soldiers, the GIs, to French territory. Their return was accompanied by an unprecedented American cultural policy, implemented both at the institutional level and in the day-to-day lives of French citizens. The thesis aims to answer the following questions: Why did both French and American diplomatic circles and military establishment feel the need to develop a strategy to promote the US military presence in France? How were the advertisement campaigns conceived by the US information services in France (USIS-France) in order to develop a relationship between civilians and the military? What image did the French and the Americans have of this military presence on French soil?

Based on US State Department and NATO primary sources, as well as on a set of civilian and military oral history interviews, the thesis argues that Washington's cultural policy was "parabellicist". This notion, derived from the work of French intellectual and writer Jacques Ayencourt, implies that the US cultural policy for the military met both domestic and foreign policy objectives. Indeed, the particular nature of the social structure of the American military helped to maintain the "nation in arms". On the other hand, the US cultural policy in France was instrumental in the creation of sustained interpersonal relationships in French-American relations. This ambivalent "parabellicist" cultural policy, which appropriately characterizes the American policy conduct in France from the arrival of the first GIs in 1944 until the last battalions departed in 1967, aimed structurally and deliberately to keep both the French and the Americans on a war footing. Yet, in spite of growing political tensions on both sides of the Atlantic, the US cultural policy campaigns properly fulfilled their mandate: to increase visibility and support at all levels of society, in order to guarantee the security of the American territory.

Yohann MORIVAL, *Les Europes du Patronat. L'enjeu "Europe" dans les organisations patronales françaises depuis 1948* – École des hautes études en sciences sociales

Supervisor: Michel OFFERLÉ, École normale supérieure.

Jury: Laurence BADEL, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne; Arnaud MIAS, Université Paris Dauphine; Hélène MICHEL, IEP de Strasbourg; Michel OFFERLÉ, ENS; Antoine ROGER, IEP de Bordeaux; Antoine VAUCHEZ, CNRS.

Date of the exam: 19.11.2015

Field: Science politique

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En démontrant que les enjeux européens sont intégrés dans une organisation patronale nationale autant qu'ils y sont produits, ce travail doctoral éclaire le travail mené par les dirigeants de la confédération patronale française, le CNPF-MEDEF, pour se présenter comme les porte-parole du patronat français. Entre 1948 et 2014, plusieurs acteurs s'opposent au sein de plusieurs organisations patronales françaises sur le sens à donner à l'Europe (s'agit-il d'un enjeu global ou sectoriel?). Les débats portent également sur la manière de traiter ce sujet (faut-il des structures dédiées ou faut-il l'intégrer dans des thématiques déjà constituées, comme la politique commerciale?). Pour comprendre ces pratiques et représentations concurrentes de l'Europe, cette thèse se situe au carrefour de la sociologie des organisations patronales et d'une socio-histoire de l'intégration européenne. Elle mobilise les archives du CNPF-MEDEF, celles de différents ministères (Affaires étrangères, Industries), du SGCI et plusieurs archives privées. Des entretiens ont été menés avec des élus et des permanents du CNPF-MEDEF et de plusieurs fédérations sectorielles patronales ayant été actifs entre 1948 et 2014.

La première partie analyse la définition de plusieurs prises de position sur l'intégration européenne au sein du CNPF-MEDEF. Elle montre qu'il n'existe aucun es-

pace stable où sont produites ces décisions sur la période étudiée. Ces nombreuses évolutions, en partie liées à des concurrences entre dirigeants patronaux, compliquent la production d'une voix patronale française unifiée sur l'Europe. La thèse met l'accent sur les différentes modalités d'obtention d'un consensus parmi les membres du CNPF-MEDEF.

La seconde partie explicite la constitution de différentes légitimités pour traiter des sujets européens. Au sein des organisations patronales, les chargés Europe, qui promeuvent une approche transversale de l'Europe, sont contestés par des experts développant un traitement plus «technique». Différentes légitimités à produire des positions européennes existent également au sein des groupes patronaux européens. La coexistence de ces pratiques distinctes participe de la labilité de l'Europe dans les groupes patronaux.

Silvia Giulia PIROLA, *Making Sense of Europe: Amici, Compagni and the first direct elections to the European Parliament, 1969-1979* – Aarhus University

Supervisors: Ann-Christina LAURING KNUDSEN, Rosa MAGNUSDOTTIR, Leonardo CECCHINI, Aarhus University

Jury: Hagen SCHULZ-FORBERG (Chair), Aarhus University; Maud BRACKE (Glasgow University), N. Piers LUDLOW (London School of Economics)

Field: European integration history

Date of the exam: 12.02.2016

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In the years preceding the first European elections, political parties discussed issues related to European integration with the aim of giving meaning to this core European event. In Italy, this was a defining moment for the two strongest political parties, the Christian Democratic Party (Democrazia Cristiana, DC) and the Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano, PCI). European Parliament elections constituted a key European symbol because they promoted the value of democracy, and a common European tradition, because they constituted a customary practice within all Member States.

The thesis used the DC and the PCI party presses as sources to explore how the first EP elections were narrated. By using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, the dissertation traces the strategies of political actors, and the contents, scope and receivers of political messages. The thesis illustrates the ways in which political actors in a given national setting engage with Europeanisation and supranational institutions in their own right, and how such engagement and positioning has a logic of its own, not always necessarily aligned with domestic political issues.

In contrast to what has been argued by research, both parties gave great attention to the event. The DC and the PCI press examined similar themes and issues, but the DC press presented an approach that supported the contemporary historical situation, while the PCI presented itself as an innovative party that could bring change to the elected EP.

This dissertation sits at the crossroads between historiography, European integration studies, and media analysis. It also addresses a topic that sheds light on questions currently in the spotlight of new political history. While looking at national media sources, it reads these media in both national and transnational ways simultaneously, importantly not constructing the National and the transnational as mutually exclusive categories, but as interlocked spaces.

Martin THEAKER, *Britain, Europe and Atomic Energy, 1945-62* – Trinity Hall, University of Cambridge

Supervisor: David REYNOLDS, University of Cambridge

Jury: David EDGERTON, KCL; Martin DAUNTON, University of Cambridge

Date of the exam: 13.03.2015

Field: Contemporary History

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This dissertation identifies the role of civil atomic energy in Britain's interaction with Europe between 1945 and Harold Macmillan's 1961 EEC application. Arguing that Britain was prevented from using its nuclear prowess to influence its neighbours by a blend of political, technical and economic factors more complex than has hitherto been appreciated by historians, it demonstrates how Britain was often *unable* rather than *unwilling* to countenance international nuclear exchanges. As such, it advances Alan Milward's (2002) notion that post-war Britain needed to 'cash in' its remaining advantages to secure a beneficial international economic arrangement by applying it to nuclear power.

Beginning with the legacy of war, the study analyses how Britain's atomic influence in Europe was restricted (but not terminated) by a need to restore information-sharing relations with Washington, and discusses how Winston Churchill's zeal for grand statesmanship led him in 1953 to commit to Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace project, in turn forcing Britain's nuclear establishments to contribute men and uranium they could scarcely afford to an international atomic agency. Subsequently, the analysis evaluates how a voracious domestic construction programme weakened Britain's attempts to export technology to the continent, and discusses how Britain struggled to find a model of multilateral atomic co-operation in Europe which conformed to Whitehall's macroeconomic preferences. The conflict between the OEEC's intergovernmental approach and the supranational integration proposed by the Six Messina powers is examined. Finally, the thesis demonstrates how political support for British atomic sovereignty collapsed in 1962 as Whitehall offered its nuclear prowess to incentivise Britain's admission into the economic community which was by now of far greater relevance.

The results are important. Firstly, this dissertation highlights the opportunity presented to British Ministers to use nuclear co-operation to incentivise a European settlement more conducive to London's aims. Secondly, it defines Whitehall's civil nuclear diplomacy as a positive strategy with clear goals, rather than an attempt to disrupt the contemporary movement towards European integration. Finally, it demon-

strates the ability of technical experts to persuade government to show greater flexibility towards international collaboration.

Roberto VENTRESCA, *Technical tests for integration. Italy and the OEEC during the first stages of the Republic (1947-1953) [Prove tecniche d'integrazione. L'Italia e l'OECE negli anni della prima legislatura repubblicana (1947-1953)]* – University of Padova

Supervisor: Antonio VARSORI, University of Padova

Jury: Federico ROMERO, European University Institute; Elena CALANDRI, University of Padova; Maria Eleonora GUASCONI, University of Genova

Field: Contemporary History

Date of the exam: 04.12.2015

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This doctoral thesis investigates Italy's participation in the OEEC (Organisation for European Economic Cooperation) between the late 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, coinciding with the early European integration process and Italy's first steps as a Republic. The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the influence of these integration experiences on both the shaping of Italy's economic reconstruction process and Rome's international strategies in the post-1945 era.

The OEEC, born in 1948 to manage the distribution of Marshall Plan funds in Western Europe, represented one of the first European institutional arenas where, after the end of Fascism, Italy aimed at achieving both international political legitimization and financial support to drive its internal post-war economic recovery. The lowering of inflation rates and the opening of internal markets to international trade flows were two of the main goals that Italy intended to pursue through tight deflationary macroeconomic pattern. Although the reactivation of external trade was partially achieved, even though several Italian economic sectors remained protected by national trade barriers, manpower surplus was not significantly reduced.

The thesis relies on a vast range of primary sources from the Foreign Ministry archives of Italy, France, UK; Italian Central Bank archives; the Historical Archives of the European Union and private paper collections. The analysis of these sources demonstrates that Italy's experience in the OEEC was basically characterised by two aspects. Firstly, Western European powers (in particular the UK and France) did not support Italy's requests – for instance in the field of movement of labour –, which often clashed with their own interests. Secondly, Italy's role in the OEEC was undermined not only by its traditional economic and diplomatic weaknesses, but also by ineffective political and bureaucratic coordination between central government and its OEEC staff, which constantly perceived and criticised its deep political "detachment" from Rome's central authorities. This interplay between internal conflicts and international obstacles contributed in our opinion to isolate the Italian delegation at the OEEC and affected Italy's broader involvement in the early European integration process.

Andreea Maria ORŞAN ACÎRNĂRESEI, *Systemic crisis in the European Union.*

An historical prospective analysis – Babeş Bolyai University, Cluj – Napoca

Supervisor: Nicolae PĂUN (Babeş Bolyai University)

Jury: Giorgiana-Waldtraudt CICEO (Babeş Bolyai University), Toader NICOARĂ (Babeş Bolyai University), Bathory LUDOVIC („G. Baritiu” History Institute), Mircea BRIE (Oradea University)

Field: Political science

Date of the exam: 27.02.2015

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The doctoral thesis is an original study assessing the role of integration in the context of the euro zone crisis. The research analyses the relationship between European integration and the feeling of European identity and assesses the way in which the euro crisis has affected this relationship. The thesis is based on qualitative research that analyses key EU documents such as treaties, press declarations, Eurobarometer statistics and records which are contextualised with the social, political and cultural context where they emerged.

The research focuses on the causal relationship between the euro crisis and the global economic crisis, the structural problems of economic convergence and regional discrepancies in the EU. It shapes the effects generated by the EU's legitimacy issues and correlates the aspect of Europeans' loss of confidence in the EU with the increase in Euroscepticism. One of the major arguments is that the continued institutional development of the EU has failed and, on the contrary, has contributed to the increase of Europeans' dissatisfaction with the supranational political construction whose citizens they should be. The dimension of the crisis has done nothing but emphasize a series of problems that the integration process has already experienced: a legitimacy crisis, the lack of a "one size fits all" policy making model in the context of Member States' heterogeneity and the fragility of some supranational institution such as the European Central Bank. The questions that are guiding the approach are informed by concepts such as: EU democratic performance, EU institutions' transparency and Europeans' identification with the institutions of the EU.

The crisis effects have highlighted the need for a more coordinated EU intervention, which could be reflected in some changes in the European institutional architecture. The persisting conclusion is that the European leaders have to quickly understand the benefits of a joint economic cooperation that can be inserted into the European institutional governance.