

PHD Theses – Thèses de doctorat – Doktorarbeiten

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Alice CUNHA, *O Alargamento Ibérico da Comunidade Económica Europeia: A Experiência Portuguesa (The European Economic Community's Iberian Enlargement: The Portuguese Negotiations)* – Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal

Supervisor/Jury: Maria Fernanda ROLLO, Universidade Nova de Lisboa; Maria Manuela Tavares RIBEIRO, Universidade de Coimbra; Manuel Lopes PORTO, Universidade de Coimbra; António Goucha SOARES, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa; António Martins da SILVA, Universidade de Coimbra; Nuno Severiano TEIXEIRA, Universidade Nova de Lisboa; Pedro Aires de OLIVEIRA, Universidade Nova de Lisboa; and Maria Fernanda ROLLO, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Date of the exam: 03.01.2013

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This thesis looks at the record of the Iberian enlargement from the Portuguese point of view. It focuses on the Portuguese accession negotiations to the European Economic Community (EEC) between 1977 and 1985. In particular the political and diplomatic efforts made by the Portuguese government are under scrutiny, analysing how it coped with the many obstacles and setbacks created by member states and community rules. It shows that there were several constraints, designed by the Council as a whole and particularly by the member states, which used the prospect of enlargement on their own behalf as a way of achieving particular goals, such as the reform of the CAP, budgetary changes and the implementation or the creation of new policy programmes.

The thesis begins by setting out the Portuguese foreign policy options, with an emphasis on the relationship with Europe and the first two attempts of establishing a closer relationship with the EEC. It then deals with the evolution of Portugal-EEC relationship after the fall of the authoritarian regime in 1974, where Europe is still

not considered as the main option, although the EEC was willing to support, politically and economically, the new Portuguese democracy, on the basis that it would really become a democratic state. The last chapters introduce and examine thoroughly the accession negotiations, examining institutional procedures and mechanisms, national and community actors, common policy and institutional reforms, and member states' bargains.

This thesis is a detailed archives-based study of the third or Iberian enlargement, examining the documentation regarding the Portuguese negotiations. It is based on extensive research conducted in the Portuguese *Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático*, and in the Council of the European Union Central Archives, the Historical Archives of the European Commission and the Historical Archives of the European Union.

Aline SIERP, *Constructing the Past, Shaping the Future. From a National to a European Memory Framework* – University of Siena

Supervisor/Jury: Maurizio COTTA and Paul CORNER, University of Siena; Oliver SCHMIDTKE, University of Victoria; Marco MARAFFI, University of Milano; Pierangelo ISERNIA, University of Siena

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The doctoral thesis is an original work that aims at questioning the presupposition voiced by many historians and political scientists that political experiences in Europe continue to be interpreted in terms of national history and that a European community of remembrance still does not exist. Its central claim is that despite apparent differences in the memory constructions in different countries some kind of convergence on the European level can be discerned. The underlying scope of the thesis is to examine if the increasing efforts of the EU to create a European memory framework are supported by corresponding developments on the national level. Following from that the question is raised if this might justify a greater involvement of European institutions in a field that until now has been the exclusive domain of the nation states. It thus analyses an aspect of European integration that is still under-researched, namely the integration not only of European histories but also of European memories, where experiences of liberation and resistance stand next to the trauma of aerial bombardments and the recollection of German and Soviet occupation. By tracing the evolution of specific memory cultures in different countries and the impact of structural changes upon them, the thesis investigates wider democratic processes concerning particularly the conservation and transmission of values and the definition of identity on different levels. It argues that the creation of a transnational European memory culture does not necessarily imply the erasure of national and local forms of remembrance. It rather means the creation of a further supranational arena where diverging memories can find their expression and can be dealt with in a different way. Through the triangulation of agents of memory construction, constraints and opportunities and actual portrayals of the past, it explores the difficulties faced by a multi-

national entity in reaching some kind of consensus on such a sensitive subject as history.

Suvi KANSIKAS, Trade blocs and the Cold War. The CMEA and the EC Challenge, 1969-1976 – University of Helsinki

Supervisor/Jury: Seppo HENTILLÄ, University of Helsinki; Juhana AUNESLUOMA, University of Helsinki

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The coherence of the Soviet bloc was seriously tested at the turn of the 1970s, as the Soviet Union and its allies engaged in intensive negotiations over their relations with the European Communities. In an effort to secure their own national economic interests many East European countries began independent manoeuvres against their bloc leader. Much of the intra-bloc controversy was kept out of the public eye, as the battle largely took place behind the scenes, within the organisation for economic cooperation, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

This study investigates the negotiating positions and powers of the CMEA member states in their efforts to deal with the economic challenge created by the EC, which advanced towards establishing its customs union. The CMEA negotiations over its policy toward the EC began in 1970, and a policy was finally adopted in 1974. This was followed by the first official meeting between the two organisations in early 1975. The story ends in 1976, when the CMEA's efforts to enter into working relations with the EC were frustrated by the latter.

The first finding is that the Soviet Union was not in a hegemonic position vis-à-vis its allies, but had to use a lot of resources to tame their independent manoeuvring. The main Soviet goal was that the bloc would have a cohesive policy on relations with the EC. This provided the USSR's allies with an opportunity to try to secure the inclusion of their own goals into that policy. The other finding of the study is that the CMEA – a largely neglected actor in prior integration history – was able to have an effect on EC policy-making: because the CMEA members did not acknowledge the EC's supranational authority, the EC had no choice but to refrain from implementing its Common Commercial Policy in full. The study uses as primary sources official documentation of various CMEA bodies such as the Session and the Executive Committee as well as Soviet and GDR policy-making documents.

Francesca ZILIO, *Roma e Bonn fra Ostpolitik e CSCE, 1969-1975 / Rom und Bonn zwischen Ostpolitik und KSZE, 1969-1975* – Sapienza Università di Roma / Freie Universität zu Berlin

Supervisor/Jury: Georg MEYR, Università degli Studi di Trieste; Oliver JANZ, Freie Universität Berlin, Christian JANSEN, Universität Münster, Antongiulio De ROBERTIS, Università di Bari, Lorenzo MEDICI, Università di Perugia.

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Anhand von Akten über 84 diplomatische Begegnungen auf verschiedenen Ebenen untersucht die Arbeit den Dialog zwischen Rom und Bonn über die Ost- und Entspannungspolitik und die KSZE. Weiter werden die Haltungen beider Länder auf der KSZE bezüglich der Themen der Unverletzlichkeit der Grenzen und der Achtung der territorialen Integrität dargestellt. Die deutsche Haltung auf der multilateralen Ebene gilt als Prüfstein der Versicherungen über die Vereinbarkeit zwischen Ostpolitik und Westpolitik, welche die BRD Italien und den anderen Alliierten gegeben hatte.

Die detaillierte Analyse der KSZE Verhandlungen zeigt Widersprüche in der deutschen Position aufgrund von Unterschieden zwischen den Ostpolitik-Verträgen im Einzelnen und in ihrer Gesamtheit und den offiziellen westlichen Positionen auf der KSZE. Folglich wurde nicht nur die deutsche Glaubwürdigkeit gemindert, sondern auch der Zusammenhalt des Westens und besonders der EWG-Länder geschädigt. Dies ist insbesondere der Fall als die Bundesregierung sich entschied, die Frage der friedlichen Grenzveränderungen außerhalb der Konferenz und hinter dem Rücken der meisten Alliierten zu lösen, obwohl die EWG-Länder im Hinblick auf eine mögliche europäische politische Integration eine gemeinsame Haltung zum Thema anstrebten. Einerseits werden damit einige Befürchtungen Italiens und anderer Alliierten bezüglich der Prioritäten Bonns im Rahmen der Ostpolitik bestätigt. Andererseits zeigen die Ergebnisse der Arbeit, dass die Auslegung der KSZE als Erfolgsfall der europäischen politischen Zusammenarbeit partiell revidiert werden muss, da letztere gerade in der wichtigsten Frage der Konferenz wegen nationaler Interessen ignoriert wurde.

Folgende Quellen liegen der Arbeit zugrunde: die Bestände AV-Neues Amt, B1-MB, B150-AAPD, B26 und B40 im Politischen Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts. Die noch unzugänglichen Akten des italienischen Außenministeriums werden teilweise durch die Nachlässe Moros und Nennis im Archivio centrale dello Stato ergänzt. Die Untersuchung basiert insbesondere auf dem privaten Archiv des Botschafters Luigi Vittorio Ferraris, ehemaliger Bürochef für die Beziehungen zu Osteuropa im italienischen Außenministerium und später zweiter Chef der italienischen Delegation bei der KSZE und später italienischer Botschafter in Bonn.