

PhD Theses – Thèses de doctorat – Doktorarbeiten

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Francisco José RODRIGO LUELMO, *España y el proceso de la CSCE: la Conferencia de Helsinki (1969-1975)* [Spain and the CSCE Process: The Conference of Helsinki (1969-1975)] – Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Spain)

Supervisor: Juan Carlos PEREIRA CASTAÑARES, Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Jury: Juan Pablo FUSI AIZPURÚA, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Jury President); Antonio MORENO JUSTE, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Jury Secretary); Pilar FOLGUERA CRESPO, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid; Montserrat HUGUET SANTOS, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid; Massimiliano GUDERZO, Università degli Studi di Firenze

Field: History

Date of the exam: 06.02.2015

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The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) that took place in Helsinki and Geneva between 1972 and 1975, was the most important multilateral meeting held in the Old Continent since the Congress of Vienna of 1815. All European countries – with the exception of Albania and Andorra -, the USSR, United States and Canada took part in it. This meeting has gone down in history as the “Conference of Helsinki” because the Final Act of the CSCE – which had a key role in the evolution of Eastern Europe in the late 1980s – was signed there.

This doctoral thesis studies the participation of Spain in that pan-European meeting, a subject rarely dealt with by the historiography to date. The time frame of the dissertation ranges from 1969 – when the Warsaw Pact proposed the CSCE in the Budapest Appeal – and 1975, the year the conference was concluded. The research is based on primary sources from the Archives of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign

Affairs; the CSCE/OSCE Archives, located in Prague; the Centre des Archives Diplomatiques (La Courneuve, Paris); the French Archives Nationales; and The National Archives of the United Kingdom.

The thesis was able to demonstrate that, firstly, Franco's regime used this international stage eloquently to defend itself and as an opportunity to facilitate the integration of Spain into the "European concert". Secondly, this country shared some principles with the Warsaw Pact states such as the respect of all "socio-political realities" and the prohibition of "interferences or coercions" in internal affairs. Thirdly, Madrid tried to use the CSCE to solve – with mixed fortunes – its challenges in foreign affairs. Fourthly, the Spanish diplomats took the initiative when faced with the slowness of their superiors and emphasized technical issues in the negotiations instead of pursuing the big deals. Still, their military proposals were accepted. In addition, despite its weak international position, Spain had a leading role concerning the Mediterranean region topics. Finally, the CSCE was a tool for dialogue for Francoist Spain; however, the fruits planted in the Helsinki process only paid off after Franco's death, when the foreign policy of the country was adapted to a democratic regime.

Matthew BROAD, *Joining Europe: The British Labour Party, Danish Social Democrats and European integration, 1958–1972* – University of Reading

Supervisor: Linda RISSO, University of Reading

Jury: N. Piers LUDLOW, LSE; Patrick MAJOR, University of Reading

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Field: History

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In 1958, Britain and Denmark advocated closer European cooperation through the looser framework of the proposed Free Trade Area (FTA) rather than membership of the nascent European Economic Community (EEC). By 1972, however, the situation had changed dramatically. The FTA was a long-forgotten concept. Its replacement, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), seemed economically and politically inept. Now, at the third time of asking, both countries were on the verge of joining the EEC as full members. This thesis seeks to explore the developing responses of the British Labour party and the Danish Social Democrats (SD) amid this environment, based on a reading of various archives in Britain, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands.

On one level, the thesis aims to compare how the Labour and SD leaderships each reacted to the shifting dynamics of the integration process amid varying domestic, international and wider Cold War constraints. Beyond this, however, the thesis investigates the reciprocal influence of informal cross-border cooperation between the leaderships of Labour and the SD amid this environment. The start and end point is describing and explaining a series of political decisions made by the Labour and SD leaderships at the domestic level; what David Reynolds (*From World War to Cold War: Churchill, Roosevelt, and the International History of the 1940s*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, p.351) has called the 'life and death' decisions of political

life. Without denying insights brought by recent transnational studies, and all the time considering cross-border phenomena as essential elements in the background, underscoring the argument of the thesis is the idea that socialist party networks worked in circumstances and contexts dominated by the action of the state at the political level. The thesis therefore draws on the concept of networks to better understand state power politics in the domestic realm. Combined, the thesis is an exercise in writing transnational comparative history.

The result is illuminating. First, it highlights the relative importance of informal socialist party links in the much wider conduct of party European policy-making and reveals this contact as a lever used by parties to achieve traditional domestic ends. Second, it reveals the importance of strategic Cold War issues to break some of the integrationist logjams of the period. Third and perhaps most important, it demonstrates how Scandinavian actors have been able to influence, shape and constrain British foreign policy-makers to a far greater degree than is often considered the case precisely because of contact between the two socialist parties.

Romana SĂLĂGEANU, *Regional Participation within European Multi-level Governance – Saxony-Anhalt: regional parliament, regional government, stake holders – Influences for Central and Eastern Europe* – Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca (Romania) and Otto-von-Guericke University, Magdeburg (Germany)

Supervisors: Nicolae PĂUN, Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of European Studies, Cluj-Napoca (Romania) and Wolfgang RENZSCH, Otto-von-Guericke University, Faculty of Humanities, Magdeburg (Germany)

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Field: International Relations and European Studies

Date of the exam: 29.09.2015

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Multi-level governance was a highly debated topic within European integration literature in the 1990s, especially with regard to the EU Cohesion Policy. Initially, it was merely introduced as an approach to the way the EU is functioning but it was further developed and it is currently part of the institutional understanding of EU governance at the European level. The regional level is one of the levels involved in multi-level governance. The European integration created incentives, which firstly enabled member states and their regions to develop economically, and secondly

favoured the mobilisation for active participation of political entities, both national and subnational, within the EU.

The doctoral thesis undertook the analysis of regional participation within EMLG from a regional perspective based on the case study Saxony-Anhalt. The research applied a qualitative analysis of mobilisation processes of Saxony-Anhalt within European multi-level governance and developed a strategic activity constellation from which regions from new member states can learn in order to enhance their own participation and contact with European multi-level governance processes. The empirical analysis was based on institutional document analysis that expanded over three legislative periods of Saxony-Anhalt starting with 2002 onwards. The empirical analysis followed the engagement of Saxony-Anhalt and its contribution to EU policy-making processes in the field of the European Chemicals Policy, especially through the activity of the European Chemical Regions Network, and in the field of developing the European Cohesion Policy for the periods 2007-2013 and 2014-2020.

The empirical contribution of this research is relevant to the literature on subnational participation within European multi-level governance especially since governance research regarding MLG has been low in Central and Eastern Europe. The research provides a constellation of variables that can be regarded as best-practice, which is provided by the case study of Saxony-Anhalt. The empirical exploration highlights the complexity of European multi-level governance processes and the need for subnational actors to understand how these work and when to act in order to identify the suitable access channels. Learning opportunities for a more effective development of the subnational level are provided for other regions in Central and Eastern Europe, especially for Romania.