

PHD Theses – Thèses de doctorat – Doktorarbeiten

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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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Maria X. CHEN, *Wine in Their Veins: France and the European Community's Common Wine Policy, 1967-1980* – London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)

Supervisor/jury: N. Piers LUDLOW, LSE (supervisor); Andy SMITH, Sciences Po Bordeaux; James ELLISON, Queen Mary University

Field: Contemporary history

Date of the exam: 26.03.2014

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This thesis analyses the impact that the European Community had on table wine growers in the Midi region of France in the 1970s. It is divided into the following parts: the negotiations leading to the creation of the Common Wine Policy (CWP) in 1970, its operation in the early 1970s until its first major crisis in 1975-1976, its drastic transformation from a liberal policy to a regime of restrictive control in the late 1970s, the reaction of table wine producers in Languedoc-Roussillon to these changes over the decade, and the change in political relationships and governance at three levels – Brussels, Paris, and Languedoc-Roussillon – as a result of this process.

It argues that the first decade of the CWP changed relationships between different groups at the European, national, and local level in two major ways: first, national French government institutions voluntarily decreased their power over a key national industry – this was the most marked feature in the French wine industry of this time period. Second, the CWP helped facilitate the rise of sub-national and non-state actors in policy circles from which they were previously excluded. Empowered by the new responsibilities given to them by the French government, particularly via a newly-created national office of wine, French wine growers began attempting to bypass the national French bottleneck to the Community and directly lobby European-level in-

stitutions, either via their own organisations or as part of transnational endeavours. Given the French government's particularly adamant control of who represented the country at the Brussels levels in the 1960s, this change in only a decade was a significant shift. In analysing this process, this thesis also makes broader comments on the integration process as a whole, adding particularly to the literature on the Community's agricultural integration, and is the first comprehensive review of the history of the Common Wine Policy, and the first to make an extensive assessment of the impact on local farmers in the Midi during this time in relation to the European Community's policies.

The thesis drew from documents at over a dozen archives and institutions in Belgium, France and Italy, including the Historical Archives of the European Commission as well as the European Council, the Historical Archives of the European Union, Archives Nationales de France (Centre des archives contemporaines), the Archives diplomatiques de France (Centre de La Courneuve), Archives départementales de l'Hérault, Archives départementales de la Gironde, and the National Archives of the United Kingdom.

Emmanuel COMTE, *The Formation of the European Migration Regime, from 1947 to 1992* – Université Paris-Sorbonne, Paris

Supervisor/jury: Éric BUSSIÈRE, Université Paris-Sorbonne (supervisor); Barbara CURLI, Università degli Studi di Torino; Rainer HUDEMANN, Université Paris-Sorbonne; N. Piers LUDLOW, London School of Economics; Kiran Klaus PATEL, Maastricht University; Catherine WIHTOL DE WENDEN, Sciences Po

Field: Contemporary history

Date of the exam: 30.05.2014

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Bearing in mind the political sensitivity of migration flows in general, and the debates brought about by migration relations among European states in particular, this research is designed to fill a gap in the existing knowledge of European regionalism. Historians have indeed not yet fully explained the formation of the European migration regime. A variety of rules, written or not, relating to residence, the crossing of borders, and the provision of social security for migrants define this regime, which covers both intra-European migration flows and flows between Europe and the rest of the world.

In order to produce a better understanding of the nature of the regime and the underlying political strategies that are related to it, this research is mainly based on the archives of the most powerful immigration states, West Germany and France, and on those of the EU Council of Ministers, the central institution in the definition of the European order, where states display their preferences and bargaining power. The thesis shows that the regime corresponds to the preferences of the Federal Republic of Germany, which was eager to stabilize Western Europe in the context of the Cold War, and which worked to diplomatically unify West Europeans in order to prepare the demise of the Soviet order. Its large labour demand enabled the West German

economy to support this regime. However, the regime finally evolved to favour the movements of skilled labour. An open migration regime in Europe also favoured the penetration of foreign markets by German firms. The study allows developing a new theory of an open migration regime that specifies the most favourable economic and demographic conditions, and outlines the factors that encourage a state to support such a regime.

Francisco ROA BASTOS, *La codification des «partis politiques au niveau européen» dans le traité de Maastricht. Histoire(s) d'un évènement discursif* – Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin

Supervisor/Jury: Patrick HASSENTEUFEL, Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin (directeur); Renaud DEHOUSSE, Sciences Po Paris; Michel DOBRY, Université de Paris 1; Yves POIRMEUR, Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin; Andy SMITH, Sciences Po de Bordeaux; Antoine VAUCHEZ, CNRS.

Domaine: Science politique

Date de la soutenance : 12.12.2012

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Cette thèse propose une étude sociologique et historique de l'inscription dans le droit communautaire des «partis politiques au niveau européen». Elle se fonde sur l'analyse des acteurs mobilisés en 1989-1992 dans le cadre des deux conférences intergouvernementales (CIG) ayant préparé le traité de Maastricht. Mais elle étudie aussi comment les «partis européens» ont émergé et ont été pensés dans les discours des chercheurs depuis les années 1950.

Différentes données empiriques ont été utilisées. Les mobilisations politiques de 1989-1992 ont été abordées à partir des archives des CIG, des débats parlementaires, et des documents de travail de la commission institutionnelle du Parlement européen. Des fonds individuels privés ainsi que les archives du PPE et du PSE ont été dépouillés. Un corpus de sources journalistiques tirées de 14 journaux nationaux et des archives de l'Agence Europe a aussi été constitué, et 26 entretiens réalisés avec les acteurs principaux.

Les conceptualisations savantes ayant rendu peu à peu pensable la notion de «partis européens» ont été étudiées à partir d'un corpus de 285 références, rassemblant les études à vocation scientifique (principalement en science politique, en histoire et en droit) traitant des «partis européens» de 1954 à 1992. Ce corpus a permis à la fois de faire l'histoire intellectuelle de l'idée de «parti européen» et la sociologie des producteurs de cette notion (et de leurs réseaux).

Cette double approche a montré comment la codification juridique de l'idée de «partis européens» découle concrètement du positionnement de certains acteurs individuels, situés à la fois dans le champ académique et le champ politique, qui leur permet d'articuler l'espace des discours savants et l'espace politique des mobilisations. Elle montre l'influence particulière des savants allemands dans ces processus, du fait d'une structuration spécifique de ce champ académique national et de finan-

cements importants (publics et privés, allemands et étrangers), tout au long de la guerre froide.

Ludwig ROGER, *De l'Europe du Sud-est à la région Mer Noire : Une Süd-Ost politik communautaire? De l'endiguement de l'Union soviétique à l'élargissement de l'Union européenne* – Université de Cergy-Pontoise

Supervisor/Jury: Gérard BOSSUAT, Université de Cergy-Pontoise (supervisor); Christian LEQUESNE, Science Po, Paris; Georges PREVELAKIS, Université de Paris I; Nicolae PAUN, Université de Cluj-Napoca

Domaine: Histoire contemporaine

Date of the exam: 19.06.2014

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Cette thèse vise à analyser l'action de la Commission dans une région critique pour la géopolitique de la Guerre froide et post-Guerre froide, tout en conceptualisant la notion de «périphérie de l'intégration européenne». En effet, il est rare de voir ensemble les termes «géopolitique» et «Commission européenne». Pour mener à bien cette recherche, nous nous sommes basés sur les archives de la Commission européenne, du Conseil, du Département d'État américain, des Ministères des Affaires étrangères français et britannique, des archives entreposées à la bibliothèque de Cluj-Napoca en Roumanie, des Parlements nationaux et européens, de l'Alliance atlantique, du Gouvernement russe et d'entretiens.

Ainsi, en suivant la méthodologie historique nous avons soulevé un pan méconnu de l'histoire de la Commission européenne. Entre Épire et Mer Caspienne, Bruxelles met en place une Süd-Ostpolitik profondément anti-soviétique et anti-russe. Pour cela, l'action de la Commission repose sur une ligne politique cohérente, mise au point dès 1960: c'est la «doctrine de l'Association». Cette doctrine consiste à «inoculer» les valeurs de la «démocratie libérale à économie de marché» via des accords avec les États tiers. Le résultat majeur de ce travail consiste dans la démonstration que la Commission européenne fait aussi de la «high politics» en parallèle avec le Conseil et parfois en opposition. Par exemple, afin de renforcer la présence de la Communauté en Méditerranée orientale, la Commission n'hésite pas à définir Chypre, dès 1963, comme pays à «vocation européenne», alors que le Conseil souhaite un accord d'association sans promesses. Sur les questions des Juntas grecques et turques, la Commission se montre ferme sur la question de la démocratie, là où les États membres, notamment vis-à-vis de la Turquie, se contentent des militaires. Enfin, pendant les Conférences d'Helsinki et celle de Belgrade, elle multiplie les contacts avec les pays de l'Est dont la Roumanie, malgré les hésitations des capitales des États membres. Ces contacts aboutissent en 1979 à l'accord CEE-Roumanie. À la veille de la chute du Rideau de fer, la Commission se trouve donc au centre d'un réseau d'accords avec l'Europe du Sud-Est qui vont lui permettre de jouer un rôle majeur après les événements de 1989-1991.

En effet, les actions de la Commission dans la région sont menées dans le but de préserver l'équilibre des forces autour des Détroits tout en permettant à la CEE/UE

d'aménager sa propre «sphère d'influence». La chute de l'Union soviétique ne change pas la donne. Construisant sur l'expérience accumulée pendant la Guerre froide, la Commission utilise sa «doctrine de l'association» qui se retrouve aujourd'hui dans le Partenariat oriental. Les événements d'Ukraine sont l'exemple de cette lutte entre «sphère d'influence européenne» et «étranger proche russe».

Brian SHAEV, *Estrangement and Reconciliation: French Socialists, German Social Democrats and the Origins of European Integration, 1948-1957* – University of Pittsburgh

Supervisor/jury: William CHASE, University of Pittsburgh (adviser); Seymour DRESCHER, University of Pittsburgh; Alberta SBRAGIA, University of Pittsburgh; Gregor THUM, University of Pittsburgh; Wolfram KAISER, University of Portsmouth

Field: Contemporary history

Date of Exam: 03.04.2014

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The dissertation is based on archival research in four countries. Its source base includes public documents, internal government memoranda, internal party documents, and the correspondence and notes of important party officials. The methodological approach is to surpass comparative history in favour of an “entangled history” approach. The dissertation argues that French Socialist (SFIO) and German Social Democratic (SPD) responses to early European integration initiatives indicate that there was a post-war generation of SFIO and SPD leaders who were informed by experiences rooted in memories, policy proposals, and outcomes from the interwar period. SFIO and SPD policies towards the integration of heavy industry were quite close in 1946-1948. They came into conflict when each party was unable to realize its maximum vision and fell back onto defensive policies, macroeconomic in nature for the SFIO, and regional for the SPD. Hence an intra-party dispute developed around the SFIO's support for and the SPD's opposition to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community.

Despite such conflicts, the minority view in one party often shared the view of the majority of the other party, as the raucous debate over the European Defence Community demonstrates. By 1954, SFIO and SPD deputies in the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community had achieved a working relationship increasingly marked by mutual respect. Inter-party cooperation at the supranational level created a form of Socialist consensus politics. This facilitated a SFIO-SPD entente on European economic integration as embodied in the Treaties of Rome. Decisive for their support was a shared view that trade liberalization within an organized market was a precondition for peace, economic expansion, and international competitiveness. Hence the SFIO and SPD developed a common approach to European economic integration in 1955-56 that created opportunities and conditions necessary for the ratification of the Treaties.

Benedetto ZACCARIA, *For the Sake of Yugoslavia. The EEC's Yugoslav Policy in Cold War Europe, 1968-1980* – IMT Institute for Advanced Studies Lucca

Supervisor/jury: Antonio VARSORI, Università di Padova (supervisor); Vladislav M. ZUBOK, London School of Economics; Silvio PONS, Università degli Studi di Roma “Tor Vergata”; Giovanni ORSINA, LUISS Guido Carli. **External referees:** Dr Svetozar RAJAK, London School of Economics; Silvio PONS, Università degli Studi di Roma “Tor Vergata”.

Field: Contemporary history

Date of the exam: 10.07.2014

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This thesis treats the relationship between the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between 1968 and 1980. It highlights the political importance of EEC/Yugoslav relations within the Community's broader strategies towards the Socialist bloc and the Mediterranean arena given the wider context of the Cold War and European integration. Based on a Community-centred approach, it focuses on the complex interaction between EEC and Yugoslav representatives in Brussels and Belgrade.

The Community's Yugoslav policy during the 1970s has commonly been described as a policy of neglect and ignorance of the country's fragile internal situation, based on the idea of Yugoslavia as a simple trading partner and exporter of labour. It seems that the story of this relationship does not even deserve to be told. Indeed, the number of studies devoted to EEC/EU policy towards Yugoslavia after the outbreak of the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s contrasts with the almost total lack of historical analysis regarding the preceding years.

This thesis offers a new interpretation of EEC/Yugoslav relations during the 1970s. It argues that, from 1968 to 1980, the EEC established firmly based political relations with Yugoslavia, which were primarily determined, and constrained, by the need to prevent the expansion of Soviet influence in the Balkans and to foster détente in Europe. This is the first historical study of EEC/Yugoslav relations based on primary sources from the archives of the EEC institutions, the French, British, German, Italian and former Yugoslav archives, as well as on several collections of personal papers stored in public and private institutions. It represents an important case study examining the evolution of the EEC's role in the international arena during the 1970s. This work also offers an essential basis for the study of EEC/Yugoslav relations during the 1980s, i.e., the decade which led to the end of the Cold War and the collapse of Yugoslavia.