

## PHD Theses – Thèses de doctorat – Doktorarbeiten

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**Sara BANCHI**, *Le Nazioni Unite alla soglia degli anni '70: la sfida della cooperazione allo sviluppo* – Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa (Naples) – Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane

**supervisor:** Antonio Varsori, University of Padua

**jury:** Carla Meneguzzi Rostagni, University of Padua; Elena Aga Rossi, Scuola Superiore di Pubblica Amministrazione; Agostino Ziino, University of Rome Tor Vergata

**date of the exam:** 23/06/2008

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In the thesis “The United Nations at the threshold of the 1970s: the development cooperation challenge” the UN is chosen as a privileged point of observation to analyse international economic and social cooperation. Official UN documents naturally tend to focus on achievements and on agreements reached. Meanwhile, national records reflect the real position of governments and show the existence of different opinions and points of view. Hence, only by considering these two sides of the same coin, can we fully understand all aspects characterising cooperation in a multilateral context.

The thesis is centred on an analysis of the documents produced by the preparatory committee for the Second Development Decade (1968-1970), which worked towards creating the first international strategy of action against underdevelopment. In order to establish a framework that allows for a better understanding of how and why agreements were reached or failed to come about, the initial chapters of the thesis focus on the UN system, Economic and Social Council activities and the evolution of cooperation theories. As the UN is mainly a

forum for intergovernmental debate, the positions of member states involved are analysed in a long term perspective. The last chapter is dedicated to UNICEF which represents a small-scale model of the entire organisation and provides us with some insight into the complexity of the system.

The thesis shows that the possibility of influencing decisions of the UN General Assembly, mainly constituted of developing countries, depended on member state commitment in the field of economic and social cooperation. The United States did not seize the important opportunity to untie aid from Cold War dynamics and, thus, lost the leadership in the UN.

This finding invited the evaluation of the international role of the European Economic Community. Those years had been fundamental in the definition of Community cooperation policies, the first international community to implement a non reciprocal, generalised system of preferences for industrial products. A progressive harmonisation and coordination of national and Community policies for development became necessary, as member states still managed financial and technical aspects of cooperation while the Community managed trade policy.

Therefore, this thesis addresses not only a central issue in the North-South confrontation, but also a fundamental aspect in the definition of national foreign policies and of East-West relations.

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**Cristina BLANCO SÍO-LÓPEZ**, *The Illusion of Neutral Time: Myths and Perceptions of the Eastward Enlargement of the European Union, 1990-2004* –

European University Institute (EUI), Florence

**supervisor:** Pascaline Winand, EUI and Monash European and EU Centre, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

**jury:** Kiran Patel, EUI; Ariane Landuyt, University of Siena; Mercedes Samaniego Boneu, University of Salamanca

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Whenever I had access to EU documents from the 1990s concerning Eastward Enlargement, I could always observe a pronounced emphasis on “making history”. Such perspective highlighted the apparently special historical implications of the end of the Cold War and its “inherent” possibility of reconciling East and West to finally make “European politics match with European geography” through the “Return to Europe” of the Central and Eastern European countries. This was a discourse which concerned the new definition of a European identity, a narrative that aimed at giving new momentum to the creation of a European political community and at constituting a new guiding myth for European integration in a time of radical change.

The main objective of my thesis is to study, by means of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the induction of historical transition-type time perceptions and turning points contextual expectations by institutional actors to implement long-term political and economic projects through internal and external communicative actions. The thesis presents two main sections: The first section analyses the conceptual tools of the EU's institutional communication strategy on Enlargement during the decade of the 1990s, focusing on two main myths created during this period: The "Return to Europe" slogan in the first conceptualisations of the Eastward Enlargement of the EU (elaborated both by the EU institutions and the candidate countries' new elites) and the arguments in favour of the need to configure a common European identity and citizenship. The second section aims to determine to what extent Germany, chosen as the image in the mirror for the mentioned EU conceptual tools, reacted against or accepted the EU communication and discursive guidelines during the 1990s. This is analysed through two main perceptions: German perceptions of the use of the "Return to Europe" slogan in the prospects of Eastward Enlargement of the EU and their reflection upon the meanings and potential of an inclusive European identity in a "reunified" Europe.

Last but not least, my objective was to shed light on the influence of individual and collective time perceptions in policy decision-making at the EU level and in the design of EU communication strategies focused on the generation of a consensus among European citizens in the specific case of the Eastward Enlargement project.

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**Brigitte LEUCHT, *Transatlantic policy networks and the formation of core Europe*** – University of Portsmouth

**supervisor:** Wolfram Kaiser, University of Portsmouth

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The doctoral thesis is an original study assessing the role of transatlantic policy networks in the formation of core Europe at the Schuman Plan conference based on extensive archival research in governmental records and private papers in twelve archives in five countries. Informed by the innovative combination of the concepts and methodological tools of 'networks' and 'cultural transfer', the thesis sheds new light on how the process of European integration was triggered after 1945. The thesis reconceptualizes the negotiations on the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community in a long-term historical perspective as the outcome of the co-operation of transatlantic policy networks reflecting the interaction of American and European ideas, politico-legal concepts and preferences. It thus makes a significant contribution to overcoming the limits of the traditional

diplomatic history approach to inter-state bargaining of ‘national interests’ in the very conventional historiography of the present-day European Union (EU).

Against the backdrop of Franco-German rapprochement and the emerging Cold War, transatlantic policy networks of a variety of academic and other experts, civil servants and state and non-state actors, assumed a vital function in determining the negotiation objectives and tactics of various stakeholders at the Schuman Plan conference, 1950-51. Mediating between American and European ideas and politico-legal concepts, these networks crucially contributed to shaping the first supranational European institutional framework and anti-trust law. The institutions that transatlantic policy networks helped to establish are the precursors of the institutions of the present-day EU. The anti-trust provisions, in turn, provided one important model for the competition rules of the European Economic Community, which ultimately played a crucial role in the European integration process and in the construction of a common market. Thus, transatlantic policy networks helped to create important path dependencies for the process of European integration with crucial long-term effects.

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**Katja SEIDEL, *Administering Europe. Community officials and the bureaucratic integration of Europe (1952-1967)*** – University of Portsmouth

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This thesis makes a significant contribution to the historiography of the European integration process by combining the study of the origins of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community and the Commission of the European Economic Community with an analysis of the biographies and careers of European civil servants. The study is based on extensive archival research in ten archives in seven countries and on semi-structured interviews with former officials of the High Authority and the Commission.

The thesis covers three main themes. It firstly sheds new light on how the European administrations emerged and which structures, staff recruitment mechanisms and working methods they adopted. The recruitment patterns in particular invite the analysis of the role of external influences of member state governments and interest groups on the European administrations which could undermine their independence. The thesis thus unfolds the conflicts and difficulties faced by the High Authority and the Commission and their officials. It reveals that many decisions concerning the administrations and staff recruitment were guided not by considerations of practicality and pragmatism but by the aim of gaining legitimacy for the supranational administrations. Secondly, the study examines the

biographical background of the first European high officials. Here, the concept of generations helps to highlight and put into perspective similarities and differences between officials and contributes to explaining why these individuals chose to invest their careers in the European integration process. The thesis also studies socialisation mechanisms within the administrations which facilitated a European identity formation among the civil servants. By focusing on administrative cultures that emerged in the Commission, the third theme combines the study of administrative structures with that of individuals. The thesis examines the examples of the common agricultural policy and competition policy and shows how administrative cultures and actor socialisation can impact on preference formation and ultimately influence the shape of Community policies. It thus demonstrates that analysing administrative cultures and socialisation processes are crucial for understanding Community policies.

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**Nils Christian WENKEL**, *Auf der Suche nach einem anderen Deutschland. Die Beziehungen Frankreichs zur DDR im Spannungsfeld von Perzeption und Diplomatie / A la recherche d'une autre Allemagne. Les relations de la France avec la RDA entre représentations et diplomatie* – Institut d'études politiques de Paris / Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (co-tutelle)

**supervisor:** Horst Möller, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München; Maurice Vaïsse, Institut d'études politiques de Paris

**jury:** Etienne François, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne; Joëlle Timsit, ministre plénipotentiaire, ancienne ambassadrice en RDA; Andreas Wirsching, Universität Augsburg

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Les rapports entre la France et la RDA ont été particulièrement intenses si on les compare avec ceux qui ont pu exister entre d'autres Etats occidentaux et la RDA. La thèse s'interroge sur l'intérêt français pour le deuxième Etat allemand, en retraçant la genèse des relations franco-estallemandes sur la base d'un vaste dépouillement d'archives françaises. Elle part à la fois d'une analyse des origines historiques d'une perception française de l'Allemagne qui faisait de la RDA cette «autre Allemagne», une meilleure Allemagne par rapport à la République fédérale et d'une étude du principal acteur dans les relations avec la RDA, l'association des Echanges Franco-Allemands. L'importance de ce réseau a été d'autant plus grande, que ces relations se sont développées dans presque tous les domaines à partir des contacts privés: dans le domaine économique, ceux-ci ont été établis à la foire de Leipzig, dans le domaine culturel, le Théâtre des Nations à Paris fournissait le cadre pour une amorce de relations. Dans le domaine politique, les premiers contacts ont été établis par des parlementaires en quête d'un rapprochement Est-Ouest.

Mais contrairement aux relations économiques et culturelles, il n'y a jamais eu de vraies relations politiques. La thèse démontre en effet que l'ouverture de relations diplomatiques est restée sans effet sur l'évolution des relations franco-estallemandes en général, puisque la France n'a jamais admis la division de l'Allemagne. Et la continuité frappante de la politique étrangère française des années 1950 aux années 1980 s'explique à cet égard en bonne partie par la conception française de l'Europe. Du fait de son double appartenance à l'Allemagne et à l'Europe de l'Est, les relations avec la RDA se situaient pour la diplomatie française au croisement de la guerre froide et de l'intégration européenne (qui ne se limite pas a priori à la partie occidentale de l'Allemagne). Il en résulte leur caractère fortement contradictoire, mais elles servent également d'excellent objet d'étude pour le rapport entre la guerre froide et l'intégration européenne.