

The Scientific Construction of Europe: Comparing the Birth and Development of European Integration Studies across Nations (1945-1975)

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The aim of my research project is to understand the birth and development of European integration studies in the United States and in Europe by comparing the postwar academic fields on both sides of the Atlantic from 1945 to 1975. This is part of a larger book project on the institutionalization of supranational Europe. It is also part of a more collective research project on the institutionalization of a European transnational academia since World War II.

European integration studies emerged in very different academic fields, and this, I argue, accounts for the different paths and paces of development of European integration studies in France, the United Kingdom and the United States (Keeler 2005). On both sides of the Atlantic, legal scholars played a central role, not only in shaping postwar European organizations, but also in framing European integration studies. What differed was the variable part played by diplomatic historians and political scientists here and there, and therefore the specific structure of the academic field in the social sciences in Europe and in the United States from 1945 to 1975. Whereas political science institutionalized long before World War II in the United States, it only institutionalized right after World War II in the United Kingdom and in France (Adcock, Bevir and Stimson 2007), aggregating scholars from the neighboring social sciences, and defining different approaches of supranational processes.

In this context, one important difference was the central role played in the United States by refugee scholars from Germany and Eastern Europe (Coser 1984, Fermi 1968,

Fleming, and Bailyn 1969), not only in fostering the development of a comparative approach to the study of European nation-states (Loewenberg 2006), but also in developing a theory of supranational integration beyond the nation-states for Europe, that would later to be transposed to other continents or sub-continents (the so-called regional integrations). One of the key questions addressed by early European integration studies was indeed the fate of the nation-state (Haas 1964), and more so, of nationalism, in a transatlantic dialogue between Europeans who had quite different experiences of and opinions on the matter. Among the key characters of early European integration studies in the United States were indeed the well-known figures of Karl W. Deutsch and Ernst B. Haas, Carl J. Friedrich and Eric Stein, Stanley Hoffmann, and Daniel Lerner, who all had experienced emigration to the United States.

The progress of my research led me to the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) when I realized that the biographies of the early pioneers of the field intersected in many ways, and in particular regarding the intellectual and material support they directly or indirectly received from the Rockefeller Foundation (RF). The policies and programs of the RF for the social sciences in the United States and in Europe are well documented, for instance through the works of Giuliana Gemelli, (1995, 2000, 2003) Darwin H. Stapleton, (2003) and the various reports posted on the RAC website. Recent publications have more specifically emphasized the RF's impact on the social sciences in France (Tournès 2011). The role of the RF also seems very clear in the postwar development of International Relations theory (Guilhot 2011). However, no research has been done so far on the role of the RF in the birth and development of European integration studies. At a later stage of their development, European integration studies benefited from funding from a wide array of public and private agencies, including the European Union itself. In the 1950s and 1960s, however, the RF is rather a unique example, as is the Ford Foundation.

As previously mentioned, one of the main purposes of my research is to understand the different theoretical paths taken in analyzing the process of European integration in the United States (where the field was dominated by international relations theorists) and in Europe (where it was dominated by traditional diplomatic historians). In both cases, the RF played a substantial role in financing research projects or academic conferences on European integration, but more so in financing institutions which dedicated part of their funding to the development of European integration studies, like the *Fondation nationale des sciences politiques* in France, or the University of Oxford in England. Actually, European integration studies were at the crossroads of various academic interests of the RF: international relations theory, area studies, comparative politics, political behavior, and, more generally, the social function of the social sciences. Although the archives tend to show that there was no program *per se* at the RF to specifically develop the study of supranational integration processes, they offer impressive material to help understand the ambitions and relations of those who did have such a program on both parts of the Atlantic.

Two types of records from the RAC were therefore targeted through the online collections database of the RF Archives: on the one hand, records concerning research projects or research grants in which the name of prominent scholars in the field of European integration studies appeared, either in the archives of the RF itself, as in the cases of Robert R. Bowie, Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, Karl W. Deutsch, Ernst B. Haas, Stanley Hoffmann, Hajo Holborn, Uwe Kitzinger, Daniel Lerner, Leon W. Lindberg, or in the records of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), as in the cases of Donald J. Puchala and Stuart A. Scheingold. On the other hand, records concerning European integration and European studies with no prior restrictions to their relevance, either in the RF archives (for instance relating to the organizations of a conference on European Organizations at the Villa

Serbelloni), or in the records of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF) (for instance, relating to the activities of the American Committee on United Europe).

More generally, records concerning the research policy of the RF in the social sciences in Europe and in the United States after World War II were necessary to review. These included: RF, Administration, Program and Policy Records, series 900 (General Program and Policy); Series 2, (General Correspondence); Projects, Series 500.R (France—Humanities and Arts), 500.S (France—Social Sciences), 401.R (England—Humanities and Arts), 200.S (United States—Social Sciences), and 100.S (International—Social Sciences); as well as selected Officers' Diaries.

Finally, the reels of the Ford Foundation were also reviewed. As in many other fields, the Ford Foundation indeed took over from the RF, and was a key player in financing a transnational federation of European research centers working on European integration, that ultimately led to the creation of the European University Institute in Florence.

Going through the archives of the RF, the Ford Foundation, and of the related records of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, while also going through other archives in the United States (Hoover Institutions) and in Europe (*Fondation nationale des sciences politiques*), therefore proved to be a crucial step in my research.

I therefore wish to express my deepest thanks to the Rockefeller Archive Center for the award of a grant-in-aid, and to all the staff for a warm welcome, and their invaluable help throughout this research, both off and on site.

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