Workers from ArcelorMittal protest in front of the Eiffel Tower in Paris. In the past year, Unions have gone on strike across France as a result of the de-industrialization process, which is one of the biggest challenges facing President Francois Hollande.

HOLLANDE, THE EUROPEAN UNION, AND THE FUTURE OF FRENCH INDUSTRY

by Brian Shaev, PhD Candidate
Department of History, University of Pittsburgh

Goodyear tires announced recently that it will close its factory in Amiens-Nord and lay off its 1,250 employees. Petroplus intends to close its factory in Seine-Maritime and lay off its 470 employees. Renault has declared that it will reduce its personnel in France by 15 percent by 2016 and lay off 8,260 workers, closing a landmark factory in Seine-Saint-Denis. The automobile manufacturer PSA Peugeot Citroën envisions reducing its workforce by 11,214 posts by 2014. Lakshmi Mittal, owner of ArcelorMittal, the world’s largest steel producer, plans to close his factory in Florange, which once represented the jewel of French heavy industry in the Lorraine, and lay off the 650 employees at the site.

In the past four years, France has lost a net 384 industrial sites. The number of closures increased 42 percent from 2011 to 2012 and all signs indicate that 2013 will be another painful year for French industry. In the past decade, France hemorrhaged 750,000 industrial jobs. The French government under Socialist President François Hollande is facing the full brunt of an accelerating de-industrialization process and is struggling to formulate a coherent approach to

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Professor Martin Staniland (left) chaired a panel titled “The EU and its Citizens” for the 8th annual Graduate Student Conference on the European Union. Other panelists included Aaron Martin (middle left) of Loyola University of Chicago, Yioryos Nardis (middle right) of the University of Michigan, and Amanda Marziliano (right) of Rutgers University. Held on March 1-2, the Conference’s theme was “A Nobel Price? The Consequences of the European Union in Europe and in the World.” Alexandre Stutzmann, Diplomatic Advisor to the President of the European Parliament, gave a keynote address titled, “The EU on the World Stage: Keeping up with Nobel Standards?”

On Feb. 18, Jon McCourt discussed his participation in the moving and ground-breaking “Theatre of Witness” production, “We Carried Your Secrets.” During his talk, which was co-sponsored by the EUCE/ESC and Global Studies Center, McCourt played portions of the documentary. He also shared his experiences as a peace activist and community worker over the past 30 years in Northern Ireland. He was involved in the events that have come to be known as Bloody Sunday, when British soldiers clashed with civil rights protestors. In 1986, he co-founded the first Victim Support Service in Northern Ireland.

Conversations on Europe

On Feb. 19, the EUCE/ESC continued its monthly virtual roundtable series, Conversations on Europe, with a video conference devoted to “NATO: A Hammer in Search of a Nail.” EUCE/ESC Director Ronald Linden (back row, center) moderated the Conversation. The panel of experts included Marina Skordeli (back row, left), Director of the Jeanne Monnet Center of Excellence at the University of Athens, Greece, Taylor Seybolt (back row, right), an Assistant Professor of International Affairs at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, Ryan Hendrickson, a Professor of Political Science at Eastern Illinois University, and Gulnur Aybet, a Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Kent. There was also audience participation from students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the University of Pittsburgh. This interactive virtual roundtable focused on the turning point NATO faces, with its role in Afghanistan scheduled to end in 2014 and new challenges presented by a recent wave of revolutions in the Arab world.
SEMINAR INSPIRES NEW APPROACH FOR WRITING DISSERTATION

by Katharine Phelps
PhD Student, Department of History

I spent last summer in London immersed in seventeenth-century midwifery treatises for my dissertation research. When I returned to Pittsburgh, I realized just how daunting a task writing a dissertation can be. But then in October, with the help of a Travel Grant from the European Union Center of Excellence/European Studies Center, I participated in the Newberry Library’s Dissertation Seminar for Historians in Chicago, and that experience inspired me to take a different approach to my work.

My dissertation examines childbirth in seventeenth-century London; specifically, how the production and transmission of knowledge about childbirth changed with the proliferation of midwifery treatises. These treatises, most of which targeted a female audience, were roughly the equivalent of the “What to Expect When You’re Expecting” books of today, only they contained actual step-by-step instructions for labor and delivery. Most of these texts were written by male medical practitioners who had very little experience with childbirth. Therefore, much of their information came from ancient medical sources, such as Hippocrates and Vesalius, or from translations of texts from the European Continent, where male medical practitioners were more involved with the birthing process.

The seventeenth century witnessed a marked increase in the publication of these texts. This century also preceded a period in which actual changes to birthing practices began occurring: rather than giving birth at home with a midwife, surrounded by female relatives and friends, women increasingly began to give birth in lying-in hospitals, under the supervision of male obstetricians. This tremendous change, one that still influences the ways in which we view childbirth, was what first drew me to my dissertation topic. However, I struggled to connect my interest in printed treatises with what historians actually knew of birthing practices. Not much scholarship has been done on the midwifery treatises themselves. Instead, scholars have taken a piecemeal approach, borrowing various sections of texts to describe the scene of early modern childbirth. Few women wrote about their birthing experiences, and those who did tended to gloss over the actual process itself. Therefore, midwifery texts have been used to recreate the events of the lying-in chamber. But, such methods tend not only to inaccurately contextualize these sources, but also to misrepresent their content and function. These books were not written to describe childbirth as it actually happened, but rather how it should happen, according to the prescriptions of their various authors.

Before attending the Newberry Seminar, I struggled with how I could bridge this gap between print and practice. At the Seminar, I connected with fellow graduate students who were writing their dissertations, as well. The Seminar was led by Professors Barbara Rosenwein of Loyola University and Edward Muir of Northwestern University. They facilitated the perfect environment for me to begin drafting my dissertation: not only was I forced to write, but I had a ready-made audience to read my work. The Seminar turned out to be all that I had hoped for and more.

The majority of my colleagues there were medievalists, including Professors Rosenwein and Muir. As such, many of their projects dealt with the production and circulation of handwritten manuscripts from that time period. In reading their work, I began to see the many connections between their work with manuscripts and my work with printed sources. Medievalist manuscript writers, like book publishers of their time, were interested in the production and transmission of knowledge, and this ability to write information down and circulate it to an audience bore a strong resemblance to what I was observing with printed midwifery treatises, albeit on a much larger scale. Prior to the seventeenth century, most infor-

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**Upcoming Grant and Fellowship Deadlines**

**2013 Summer Research Scholar Program**

Through its Summer Research Scholar Program, the EUCE/ESC, in collaboration with the University Library System (ULS) at the University of Pittsburgh, seeks to facilitate and further research on all aspects of European integration and the European Union. The EUCE/ESC and ULS are offering short-term (1-4 weeks) research grants to post-doctoral and senior scholars to be in residence at the University of Pittsburgh. Applicants for the Summer Research Scholar Program should be pursuing a research project on any aspect of European integration or the European Union. Proposals should emphasize how the time in residence at the University of Pittsburgh will advance their research project. Applications will be evaluated based upon the suitability of materials in the EUDC to the proposed research objectives. Questions regarding the EUDC should be directed to the ULS bibliographer who oversees the Collection, Phil Wilkin (pwilkin@pitt.edu). Grant Applications should be sent to euce@pitt.edu, with the subject line: “Summer Research Scholar Program”. **Deadline: April 15, 2013.**

**EUCE/ESC Travel Grants for Graduate Students**

The EUCE/ESC has funds available to graduate students to help defray costs involved in traveling to and participating in regional, national, or international scholarly conferences. In order to be eligible, graduate students must 1) be presenting a paper (i.e. not acting as discussant or chair) and be on the program of the conference; 2) Be presenting a paper that has some aspect of European life, historical or contemporary, domestic or international, or European integration as its main focus. Find other requirements and application procedures visit www.ucis.pitt.edu/euce. **No Deadline.**

**EUCE/ESC Newsletter:**

Director: Professor Ronald H. Linden  
Associate Director: Allyson Delnore  
Editor: Gavin Jenkins  
For newsletter announcements, comments, or submissions, please email eucnews@pitt.edu.

**EUCE/ESC would like to thank the Delegation of the European Union for support for the Center.**
This month, EUCE/ESC newsletter editor Gavin Jenkins interviewed Priyanka Kaura, a senior who will graduate this spring with degrees in Economics and Sociology, as well as certificates in West European Studies and the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality. To combine these areas of study, Kaura is completing a Bachelor of Philosophy thesis about research she conducted in Sweden. Kaura grew up in the Philadelphia suburbs, and one of her passions is studying immigration, especially irregular migration and the migration of women and children. She is the co-president of Facilitating Opportunities for Refugee Growth and Empowerment (FORGE), a student organization that tutors and promotes advocacy for refugees in Pittsburgh and around the world.

Q: How did you become interested in Europe and specifically West European Studies?

A: I was born in England, and my family moved here when I was four. Because I had a British passport long before I had an American one, I became really interested in issues of citizenship, migration, and belonging. I visited my extended family in England many times as I grew up, and I began to notice a lot of cultural differences between my two home countries. I especially felt tangible differences in the experience of being a minority, specifically an Indian, in England and the U.S. These differences instilled in me a curiosity that I believe will be a lifelong exploration of West European culture and politics.

Q: You are the only student to complete your language requirements in Swedish. What is it about the language and Swedish culture that you enjoy?

A: I actually became really interested in Swedish culture and politics in a high school European History class, after I was assigned a project to debate the pros and cons of Swedish democratic socialism. Back then, I was really interested in leftist politics. I even started a Green Party club at my school. I learned that many political ideologies which Americans consider radical, such as those concerning gender and environmental sustainability, are in fact moderate in the Swedish political arena. I wanted to learn more, and when I came to Pitt and discovered Swedish language classes, I knew I couldn’t pass up the opportunity to learn Swedish. At the same time, news stories about violence against minorities in Sweden gained my attention, and I realized that not everything about Sweden was as idealistic as I had thought. On the contrary, Swedish demographics are changing rapidly as irregular immigration increases, and what it means to be Swedish is changing as well. I found these processes fascinating, and I set out to study them however I could.

Q: You had to go outside the Pitt Study Abroad options to complete your requirements. What was this process like and what advice would you give other students who are interested in doing this?

A: I directly enrolled in Lund University in the south of Sweden because it was the best way for me to study near the city where I wanted to conduct research (Malmö). This process was a bit difficult. I had to arrange my own transportation, off-campus housing, university programming, and credit-transfer back to Pitt. However, almost everyone in Sweden speaks English and loves Americans, and my Swedish was good enough for me to navigate my Continued on Page 6

EUCE/ESC Editorial Note:
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way around any potential obstacles. There were also tons of foreign exchange students at Lund, so I was able to meet "Swedophiles" from all over the world. I'm really glad I did direct enrollment, because it gave me independence and freedom to conduct research in my free time. For anyone else who wants to directly enroll in a foreign university, I’d say: go for it! I’d also recommend emailing or calling the university’s foreign exchange program and explaining your situation to them - they may allow you to participate in events that are planned for exchange students.

Q: The EUCE/ESC paid for an instructor to teach you Swedish in order for you to complete your requirements. What was this like?

A: I'm very grateful to the EUCE/ESC for funding my Swedish classes. A lot of my friends can't believe that I was able to learn such an uncommon language at Pitt! Learning Swedish has been fun, challenging, and very rewarding, thanks to my awesome professor, Eva Albertsson. The Swedish language has definitely opened doors for me to research and travel. I would say that Swedish language classes have been an integral part of my education, because they solidified my interest in Swedish culture and gave me the confidence to travel to Sweden alone.

Q: What are your plans and goals after you graduate?

A: For the next two years, I’ll be working for Teach for America in New York City. I’m pretty sure that in NYC, I can find some sort of Swedish conversational club or a tutor to help me keep up my Swedish. If not, I’ve seriously considered applying for a job at IKEA. After that, I would like to go back to school to get my PhD in Sociology, and I would also like to travel back to Sweden. Who knows - maybe I can combine the two by studying in Sweden again! €

Note to EUCE/ESC Alumni:
Please keep in touch! We would love to hear about and celebrate your accomplishments. Send news of awards offered, grants received, books recently published, job appointments accepted, etc., to the Newsletter Editor at eucnews@pitt.edu.

As I complete a chapter of my dissertation on the role of the French Socialist and German Social Democratic Parties in the creation of the European Coal & Steel Community, I have been struck by news that factories and heavy industrial companies that were so important to European reconstruction in the initial postwar period have been closing. Some of the last coal operations recently came to a halt in the Saar and Ruhr regions of Germany. Liège and Luxembourg have bid farewell to flagship industries, and the Lorraine and other industrial regions of France have suffered a series of closures and are now centers of structural unemployment.

Pittsburghers know this process all too well. The industrial crises that shook western Pennsylvania in the 1970s and 1980s were paralleled in Europe, resulting in layoffs, mergers, and state intervention in the coal and steel industries there, and the effects are still felt today. President Hollande is facing the anguish, division, and self-doubt that has marked the French left’s approach to the processes of globalization, outsourcing, and the contradiction that often emerges between efforts to preserve living standards while maintaining competitiveness in the global economy.

There is much at stake, as President Hollande and his handpicked Prime Minister, Jean-Marc Ayrault, seek to craft a response to the wave of factory closures and the demand from unions that the government intercede to preserve jobs. The predecessor to today’s Socialist Party lost support among industrial workers to the Communist Party because it was seen as hostile to industrial workers’ interests. Heavy industry remained a bastion of the Communist Party for much of the postwar era. As electoral support for the French Communists collapsed, industrial workers’ votes have migrated to the far right, fueling the rising strength of the Front National (FN). With the replacement of Jean-Marie Le Pen as leader of the FN by his daughter, Marine Le Pen, the FN has accomplished an about-face, shifting from a neoliberal economic ideology to protectionist policies designed to appeal to disaffected industrial workers.

The French Socialist Party could not help but be affected by these developments. After Socialist Prime Minister Lionel Jospin allowed a factory to close under his government in 1998, announcing that “the government
cannot do everything,” the French Socialists received their most humiliating electoral result of the Fifth Republic in the 2002 presidential elections. The party came in third behind President Chirac’s UMP and Le Pen’s FN, as voters fled to the far right and left.

In a shock to the party, the young and brash Arnaud Montebourg placed third in the French Socialist primary in 2011 after campaigning on an explicitly protectionist platform. Montebourg represents a political space once inhabited by Jean-Pierre Chévenement that argues the French government must pursue aggressive policies to stem or reverse the social and economic effects of market liberalization. This is the wing of the party that has been most critical of the current European Union. Their votes were decisive in the 2005 referendum in which French voters rejected the proposed European Constitution.

During the 2012 presidential campaign, French media was mesmerized by the efforts of the Florange workers to prevent the closure of their factory. Hollande visited the site and promised that if elected his government would pass a law requiring that owners cede an industrial site to an operator willing to continue its operations if the site was deemed competitive enough by the government. Upon defeating Nicolas Sarkozy in the election, Hollande appointed Montebourg Minister for Industrial Recovery. However, the Hollande government has had difficulty crafting the law it promised workers during the campaign, as it has come up against legal problems related to the guarantee of property rights in the French Constitution and EU law. The law appeared moribund through much of 2012. In recent weeks, though, Hollande has promised that the “Florange Law” will be taken up by the National Assembly before this summer.

This situation leaves the fate of the Florange workers (and workers elsewhere in France) uncertain. The French government has heavily intervened in negotiations between unions and management and has scouted hundreds of potential buyers for a number of the sites. Some of the potential buyers come from seemingly unlikely sources: Libyan and Egyptian nationalized enterprises and Iranian oil firms. Meanwhile, unions have gone on strike across France, leading to several clashes with police, temporary factory occupations, and a media campaign that has pitted workers against a French government they view as overly hesitant in fulfilling its promises.

The conflicts have led to polemics between the ministers within Hollande’s government, which are representative of the current factionalism within the Socialist Party. In November, when Montebourg threatened to nationalize the Florange factory and said that “We don’t want [Lakshmi] Mittal in France,” he faced a public rebuke that evening from Prime Minister Ayrault. Montebourg had to step back from his position but he remains in the cabinet, and the current factionalism is currently at a stalemate. Ayrault explained his reluctance to nationalize Florange by claiming that it would cost the government over a billion euros. Ayrault and Hollande have recently said that nationalization remains an option, but it appears that it may be no more than a tactic by the government in its negotiations with the owners. The next months will reveal whether the suspicion that the government is bluffing in placing nationalization on the agenda is accurate.

Despite Socialist in-fighting, support for the nationalization of struggling industries has continued to grow in France. Politicians on the left and right have come out in favor of nationalizing Florange, and a recent poll showed this policy had the support of 63 percent in France. As approval for Hollande and Ayrault slipped in December, Montebourg’s rating climbed 7 points to 60 percent. The French government has faced a continuous assault from the unions, which have deftly used the media to place a spotlight on their plight. Édouard Martin, the leader of the CFDT in Florange has become a ubiquitous presence in French media, alternating between private meetings with top government officials and public statements from the factory site that “I feel betrayed.”

Hollande and Ayrault face a real dilemma. The global economic crisis and the lackluster European recovery have led to unprecedented losses for many industries. The Renault layoffs are part of a conscious business strategy to open factories in Eastern Europe and Northern Africa, where wages and production costs are significantly lower. Such developments have fueled a “made in France” public campaign to encourage French consumers to buy French. The problems of PSA and ArcelorMittal relate less to the firms’ industrial policy. Purchases of automobiles have shrunk by 20 percent in Europe since the crisis hit, depressing the steel-producing industries as well. Hardest hit by the crisis were the PSA’s central markets in the southern European countries. French carmakers have also lost a significant share of the market in recent years to

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Volkswagen. Hollande’s push to make France more competitive has already created significant tensions between his government and the unions.

The French government has turned to the EU for potential solutions. In a deal announced in early December, ArcelorMittal agreed to take part in an EU competition to create an “Ulcos” system on the Florange site that would produce steel with markedly lower emissions of carbon dioxide. An outcry erupted several weeks later when ArcelorMittal withdrew from the competition, but the government admitted that there had been insufficient time for the company to construct a compelling proposal. ArcelorMittal is a leading steel producer in Luxembourg and Belgium as well, and proposed layoffs across the three countries have caught the attention of EU officials. Pressure increased when an international coalition held a mass protest at the European Parliament in Strasbourg to press the EU to intervene.

The French left has criticized the EU over the last decades for privileging market liberalization and free trade over efforts to harmonize wages and working conditions between the member states. Calls for an alternative Europe, a “Social Europe” were prevalent during the “Non” campaign during the 2005 referendum on the European constitution. The EU has until recently shown little sign that it would take up these calls. Yet just last week Antonio Tajani of the European Commission made an announcement that came as a surprise to everyone. Calling steel “a crucial sector for growth in Europe” and noting that “every sector has a need for steel,” he called on ArcelorMittal to delay its plan to close the factories for two to three months while the European Commission investigates a method for saving the European steel industry. Ironically, the European Commission has come to the assistance of the euro-skeptical Montebourg, who heaped effusive praise on the Commissioner’s announcement. This marks the first time a European Commissioner has appealed directly to an individual firm in this manner. The next months and years will reveal whether Tajani’s announcement will be little more than a footnote in the history books, or rather is a sign of a new willingness of the European Commission to address de-industrialization among its member states. The fate of Hollande and Ayrault’s government may well rest on the outcome of these multi-level negotiations.