

## **An international history symposium to grasp the current challenges of Europe**

The Historical Archives of the European Union, together with the Université Jean Monnet (France), the Università degli Studi di Genova (Italy) and the Jean Monnet European Chair "Eupopa", are holding an international history symposium to better understand the current challenges facing Europe.

This conference will take place on September 8 and 9, 2022  
Sala del Consiglio, AHUE, Villa Salviati 156, Florence



UNIVERSITÀ  
DEGLI STUDI  
DI GENOVA



### **Theme of the symposium: European Defense: "A long history moving forward"**

For a long time, the idea of a European defense has remained unspoken, a blind spot, even a taboo. We tend to forget that today's Europe was born from the ruins caused by a terrible war that has affected its identity as much as its substance and power. The Resistance fighters who, after the fight against liberticidal and agonistic ideologies, had dared to imagine a Europe reconciled on the basis of its humanistic values, had erected peace and democracy as the ultimate political horizon. It is sometimes said, with a certain disdain, that Europe is not the mother of peace, but the daughter of peace. Venus is said to have rejected Mars, which freed it from war once and for all.

The new international balance of power that emerged during the Cold War encouraged this movement of disregard for its destiny. Their effect has been to dispense Europe from thinking about its own defense. Europe's defense would either be Atlanticist or it would not be. This is probably the deep source of the failure of the European Defense Community in 1954. France's secret desire, at the same time, to acquire nuclear weapons may have had something to do with this failure, which delayed the realization of the importance of Europe's strategic autonomy in this field.

The end of the Cold War, the recurrent shadow of the questioning of NATO in Europe and the emergence of new threats are forcing politicians to rethink and go beyond this geostrategic framework. The slogan of the French presidency of the European Union (first half of 2022), "Relaunch, Power, Belonging," is a strong signal of this process of reversal of geopolitical priorities. The new and decisive political fact is that Germany is part of this movement, as the new Chancellor Olaf Scholz indicated during his first visit to Paris on December 10, 2021, evoking the need for a "strategic sovereignty of Europe. Presenting Europe in terms of "sovereignty", assuming the challenge of power as a guarantee of independence and freedom, has a revolutionary scope. A subject that is all the more crucial and fundamental at a time when Russia is invading Ukraine and risks destabilizing the European order that emerged at the end of the Cold War.

We are witnessing the emergence of a new paradigm in European politics that will perhaps mark the second phase of "European construction". Has the time come to finally overcome Europe's geopolitical dwarfism and its dependence on the United States? Are the EU Member States ready to give substance and perspective to the wish for a "common defense" introduced by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, at the very moment when Europe was showing its impotence in the face of the explosion of Yugoslavia? Are we on the verge of a new stage in the overcoming of the state-national culture and in the strengthening of a Union that would be ready to possess all the attributes of power?

We must talk about this, because our future as Europeans depends on it. We must think about it in the long history of the European idea and its slow and difficult political transformation in a world in transition. The failure of the EDC, analyzed from new sources and issues, is a lesson that should allow us to better situate what is at

stake and to enlighten decision-makers as well as public opinion. As the European Commissioner Thierry Breton said in 2021, European defense is "a long story that is moving forward". This is the purpose of this colloquium, the proceedings of which will be published by the journal of the International Centre for European Training: *Europe in Formation*: Professor Robert Belot, Professor Daniela Preda.

**Thursday, September 8th, 2022**  
**THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OF DEFENSE: THE MISSED OPPORTUNITY**  
**Location : Sala del Consiglio, HAUE, Villa Salviati 156, Florence**

9:15-9:25 *Welcome remarks*

**Dieter Schlenker**, Director of the Historical Archives of the European Union (Florence, Italy)

9:25-9:30 *Introduction*

**Robert Belot**, Professor at Jean Monnet University (Saint-Etienne, France), Jean Monnet Chair

*Chair of the session: Professor Daniela Preda, University of Genoa, Jean Monnet Chair ad personam*

Languages spoken: French or English

9:35-10:00

**Alfredo Canavero**: The Italian parliamentary discussions on the EDC Project

10:00-10:30

**Denis Lefebvre**: The French socialists facing the EDC

10:30-11:00

**Dominique Mongin**: History of the European dimension of the French nuclear deterrence doctrine

11:00-11:30

**DISCUSSION - COFFEE BREAK**

11:30-12:00

**Gilbert Casaus**: The EDC, the crystallization points of Konrad Adenauer's policy

12:00-12:30

**Jan-Willem Brouwer**: The BENELUX countries and the EDC

12:30-13:00

**DISCUSSION**

13:00-14:00

**LUNCH**

*Chair of the session: Mrs Catherine Previti, Archivist at the Historical Archives of the European Union*

14:30 -15:00

**Daniela Preda**: Defense Community and Political Community: the proposals of Alcide de Gasperi

15:00-15:30

**Robert Belot**: The European Union of federalists facing the failure of the EDC

15:30-16:00

**Matthias Waechter**: The failure of the EDC and the creation of the CIFE in Nice

16:00-16:30

**Antonella Braga:** A body without a head? Ernesto Rossi's criticism of the CED project

16:30-17:00

**Andrea Bosco:** The EDC seventy years later: Stalin, Putin and the creation of a single European defense

*Dinner at Finisterrae restaurant, piazza Santa Croce 12.*

**Friday, September 9th, 2022**  
**THE IDEA OF A COMMON EUROPEAN DEFENSE AFTER THE CED**  
**Location : Sala del Consiglio, AHUE, Villa Salviati 156, Florence**

*Session Chair: Professor Luiz Oesterbeck, Polytechnic Institute of Tomar (Portugal)*

9:00-9:30

**Gérard Bossuat:** Jean Monnet and the Europe of power

9:30-10:00

**Jean Francis Billon:** World federalists and Atlanticists facing the EDC

10:00-10:30

**Jenny Raflik-Grenouilleau:** The EDC, original sin of the European defense

10:30-11:00

**Sara Testaferri:** The debates on common European defense from the Euromissile crisis to the French Presidency of the Council of the European Union

11:00-11:30

**DISCUSSION - COFFEE BREAK**

11:30-12:00

**Dieter Schlenker:** The Historical Archives of the European Union and its resources concerning European defense

12:00-12:15

**Conclusion**

Daniela Preda, Professor at the University of Genoa (Italy), Jean Monnet Chair *ad personam*

12:30-13:00 **Visit of the Historical Archives of the European Union**

**Graduation of the European Master students**  
**ERASMUS MUNDUS DYCLAM+ MASTER**

At the end of the conference, **Friday, September 9th, 2022 at 14:00** (Sala del Consiglio, AHUE), will take place the graduation of international students of the European Master Erasmus Mundus DYCLAM+.

This international and interdisciplinary master's program, funded by the European Commission, is a high-level training program preparing students for careers in the field of heritage: [masterdyclam.univ-st-etienne.fr](https://masterdyclam.univ-st-etienne.fr).

The master is managed by a Consortium, headed by Professor Robert Belot, including: the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the Jean Monnet University (Saint-Etienne, France); the Polytechnic Institute of Tomar

(Portugal); the Faculty of European Studies of the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca (Romania); the Federico II University of Naples (Italy).

On **Wednesday, September 7th, 2022** (Sala del Consiglio, AHUE), the students will present before a jury their internship reports and research papers, to which they have dedicated their 4th and final semester: ALZE, Sonie Bahana, FARIAS DO NASCIMENTO Andreia, GAMBOA JIMENEZ Luis Adolfo, IMOROU Kossi Hervé, KANE Assietou, MANIKWE Monique Laure, MENIA Rim, PORTO MACHADO Carolina, SANTOS PASCOAL Gabriela, SCHUBERT Clare Fuluo, SITNIKOVA Arina, SLAMA Sirine, SY Yaya, TCHIEUDJO NZUKOU Christelle, TOMA Irina Gabriela, VAN VYVE Lionel, WIDER Badreddine, ZOPPO Giuseppe.

<https://masterdyclam.univ-st-etienne.fr/fr/index.html>



## ABSTRACTS OF THE INTERVENTIONS

### 1. “The EDC, the original sin of European defense”

The European Defense Community project was particularly ambitious. Perhaps too far-reaching. By analyzing the project, the initial disagreements it generated between European and Atlantic partners, and the reasons for its failure, it becomes clear that the EDC episode allows us to identify the structuring issues in the history of European defense.

*JENNY RAFLIK, Professor of history of international relations, CRHIA, Nantes University*

### 2. “The EDC, the focal point of Konrad Adenauer’s policy”

The European Defense Community represented a unique opportunity for Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. It corresponded perfectly to his Westbindung strategy, i.e. to his priority of tying the Federal Republic of Germany, newly created on 23 May 1949, to the Western camp under American tutelage. In the eyes of the West German government, the EDC was thus a decisive step in establishing the international recognition of the FRG. The failure of the European Defense Community was then perceived as an outrage against the chancellor, whose entire responsibility rested on France in general, and on Pierre Mendès France in particular.

*GILBERT CASASUS, Franco-Swiss politician, professor emeritus in European Studies at the University of Fribourg, specialist in Germany and Franco-German relations*

### 3. “The SFIO and the EDC”

From 1950 to 1954, the SFIO experienced a crisis of extreme harshness, around the EDC: allowing German rearmament in a European army integrated into NATO. A small majority, behind Secretary General Guy Mollet, believed that the EDC was the basis for the creation of a supranational authority and that the EDC was a mitigating measure to prevent German autonomous rearmament. Other socialist leaders condemned a project that they felt contradicted the idea of controlled general disarmament. While emotions took hold of French society, the socialists

tore themselves apart with force, through press articles, congresses and various meetings. They even divided in the decisive (and final) vote of August 30, 1954. The crisis of the Socialist Party reached its peak, against the background of the exclusion of members of parliament, who were reinstated the following year.

*DENIS LEVEBRE, journalist, historian of socialism and freemasonry, is secretary general of the university University Office of Socialist Research created in 1969 by Guy Mollet; editor-in-chief of the OURS publications, he is director of the journal "Histoire(s) socialiste(s)"*

#### **4. "A body without a head": Ernesto Rossi's criticism of the CED project**

In the early 1950s, together with Altiero Spinelli, the Florentine economist Ernesto Rossi (1897-1967) promoted the activity of convincing Italian political leaders, in particular Alcide De Gasperi, to include a constitutive mechanism in the EDC Treaty (art. 38), which should have led to the establishment of a European Political Community (EPC). However, this initiative did not entirely convince Rossi, because the Article 38 mandate was extremely vague. During the campaign for the ratification of the EDC, Rossi displayed symptoms of intolerance towards a political action that now seemed unproductive, especially after the change in the international situation following the death of Stalin (5 March 1953). On August 30, 1954, the refusal of the French National Assembly to ratify the treaty establishing the EDC marked a new defeat for the federalists and a setback in the integration process, shattering Rossi's hopes of a short-term realization of the European federation.

*ANTONELLA BRAGA, PhD in History of Federalism and European Unity at the University of Pavia, is a member of the "Ernesto Rossi-Gaetano Salvemini" Foundation in Florence. Her publications include: "Un giacobino federalista. Ernesto Rossi, pioniere degli Stati Uniti d'Europa" (il Mulino, 2007) and "E. Rossi, L'Europa di domani, ovvero gli Stati Uniti d'Europa" (Aragno, 2021).*

#### **5. "World federalists and Atlanticists facing the EDC"**

Positions, oppositions and polemics between the various currents of the international federalist movement ("European", "Atlantic" and "worldwide") through the study of European and American journals and archives, books, from the founding Congresses of the immediate post-war period to the mid-1950s and the failure of the European Defense Community and the European Political Community.

*JEAN FRANCIS BILLON, Independent researcher, author of the book "Mondialisme, fédéralisme européen et démocratie internationale", published in 1997 by Fédérop, Lyon, Institut d'études fédéralistes Altiero Spinelli. Author and compiler of various books on federalism. President of the editorial association "Presse fédéraliste".*

#### **6. "The European Defense Community (EDC) in the Italian Parliament"**

Although the discussion on the European Defense Community (EDC) has remained at the center of the political debate for some years, no debate has been specifically dedicated to it in the Italian Parliament. Discussions must be sought in the debates that follow the presentation of new governments or during the discussion of the budget of certain ministries such as foreign affairs or defense. These are, however, debates with preconceived and repetitive positions that rarely go beyond mere propaganda.

*ALFREDO CANAVERO, former professor of contemporary history, University of Milan*

#### **7. "The BENELUX countries and the EDC, 1950-1954"**

In the early days of European construction, cooperation within the Benelux framework was an attractive but complex prospect. How did Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands try to reconcile their divergent interests? The case of the European Defense Community (1950-1954) is a good example. Various considerations competed

for attention: the fear of Franco-German domination, objections to a "small Europe" (without the United Kingdom), and the fact that the security of Western Europe laid with the United States and NATO. In the end, practice showed just how complicated European defense cooperation was.

*JAN WILLEM BROUWER, Researcher at the Centre for Parliamentary History, Radboud University, Nijmegen, the Netherlands, and Visiting Professor at the Interfaculty School of European Studies, UCLouvain, Belgium*

## **8. “Alexandre Marc, the failure of the EDC and the origins of CIFE”**

The French intellectual and European federalist Alexandre Marc hoped that the EDC would be a decisive step towards a political Europe. When the project failed, he changed his strategy: a federal Europe could only succeed if it was promoted by public opinion, by the people. In 1954, he founded the CIFE to train the elites of a future federal Europe.

*MATTHIAS WAECHTER, Associate Professor at the University of Freiburg-in-Breisgau and professor of international relations at EDHEC in Nice*

## **9. “Jean Monnet and projects for peace”**

What did Jean Monnet, one of the most interesting actors on the scene of international and European relations, as well as transatlantic relations, think about international security and peace? How can this ambition be read in the different projects he imagined to unite Europe? On the basis of historical archives, this contribution will attempt to answer the following question: Did Monnet have innovative projects to install peace in international relations?

*GERARD BOSSUAT was a professor at the University of Cergy, Jean Monnet Chair ad personam in the history of European integration (1993, Paris-1, and 2000 Cergy-Pontoise); elected member of the steering committee of the University of Cergy-Pontoise.*

## **10. “History of the European dimension of French nuclear deterrence”**

The French Parliament's rejection in August 1954 of the European Defense Community (EDC) project was motivated in part by the fact that, if this project had been implemented, it would have prevented France from being able to freely launch and develop its nuclear defense programme, a programme that was effectively launched independently at the end of that same year 1954. And, emblematically, a similar debate arose in the first version of the EURATOM project. However, having become a nuclear power, France has, in one way or another, put forward the European dimension of its nuclear deterrent. Tracing this history allows us to measure the extent to which this European dimension has been progressively considered in French doctrine and to underline the extent to which the construction of a European defense cannot evade the issue of nuclear deterrence. For the record, on the French side, the roots of this history go back to the Second World War and in particular to the role of the "atomic experts of Free France".

*DOMINIQUE MONGIN, PhD in history (University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne). His thesis, defended in 1991 under the direction of Professor Maurice Vaïsse, was entitled: "The genesis of French nuclear armament (1945/58)"; it was the first doctoral thesis in history on the subject in France. He was the rapporteur of the White Paper on Defense and National Security Commission of 2008. Today, he is a researcher and teaches at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) and at the École Normale Supérieure (ENS-Ulm). Last book published: « Histoire de la dissuasion nucléaire depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale », Paris, Archipoche, 2021*

## **11. “Defense Community and European Political Community: Alcide de Gasperi's proposals”**

In August 1951, after reading the Interim Report drawn up by the EDC Conference, European federalist Altiero Spinelli pointed out the fundamental contradiction inherent in the objective of building a European army without creating the state in whose service the army would have to fight. In December 1951 the Italian Prime Minister, Alcide De Gasperi, during the meetings in Strasbourg of the Council of Europe and the European heads of state and government, proposed to link the European army to the creation of a political community and therefore to the birth of a "European fatherland". While the initial common defense project focused solely on military aspects, his proposal - which would lead in 1953 to the drafting, by the ad hoc Assembly (the enlarged ECSC Assembly), of the first European draft treaty establishing a European political community - aimed rather at the creation of an autonomous state. The lesson of the Fifties could help us today to break the deadlock again.

*DANIELA PREDA, Professor of Contemporary History at the Department of Political Science of the University of Genoa and holder of the Jean Monnet Chair ad personam "History and Politics of European Integration". Latest book published, co-edited with Robert Belot: Visions of Europe in the Resistance. Figures, Projects, Networks, Ideals, Brussels, M.I.E. Peter Lang, Euroclio vol. 112, 2022, 560p.*

## **12. “The European Union of Federalists and the failure of the European Defense Community”**

In 1954, the European Union of Federalists (UEF) was the largest and most influential non-governmental organization federating federalist groups in Europe. It was intensely involved in promoting the idea of a common European defense, which it saw as the promise of a federal Europe. The non-ratification by the French parliament was a shock. How was the UEF to react? Thanks to unpublished archives, it is proposed to enter into the heart of the debates that agitated its Central Committee and divided the UEF for a long time.

*ROBERT BELOT, professor of contemporary history, Jean Monnet EUOPA European Chair, Jean Monnet University (Saint-Étienne, France). Last book published: La Resistenza e la rinascita dell'idea europea (1942-1947), Il Mulino, collana "Fonti e studi sul federalismo e sull'integrazione europea", 2022*

## **13. “Debates on common European defense from the Euromissile crisis to the French Presidency of the Council of the European Union”**

In the 1980s, the countries of Western Europe relaunched cooperation in the field of defense to remedy the weaknesses revealed by the Euromissile crisis. The debate raised strategic and political issues that the governments of the time were unable to address. Despite the change in the international system that occurred with the end of the Cold War and the progress in European defense, these issues were not resolved to the end. In this perspective, the French presidency of the Council of the European Union and the war in Ukraine have provided an opportunity to rethink the issue of strategic autonomy.

*SARA TESTAFERRI, PhD student in European Studies University of Fribourg (Switzerland)*

## **14. “The EDC seventy years later: Stalin, Putin and the creation of a single European defense”**

This paper compares European plans for the creation of a single European army in the context of Stalin and Putin's attempts to establish continental supremacy. The European plans will be analyzed in the broader context of the Atlantic process of economic, military and political integration, leading to the creation of the core of a world government.

*ANDREA BOSCO, Director of the Lothian Foundation, London*

## **15. “The Historical Archives of the European Union and its resources on European defense”**

In the aftermath of World War II, the vision of a united Europe was developed to bring lasting peace to the continent. Shortly after the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, it was confronted with the rise of the Cold War and the need to address security and defense issues; the project of a European Defense Community was born in these conditions. The Historical Archives of the European Union preserves and makes accessible for research the historical documents on this project, as well as the archives of other organizations that worked on defense and security in Europe, notably the Western European Union, created in 1954 to coordinate defense, security and military cooperation issues in Europe. The presentation will highlight the main resources available in the archives and outline strategies for consulting them.

*Dieter SCHLENKER, Ph.D. in History from the University of Heidelberg, is Director of the Historical Archives of the European Union (Florence, Italy)*