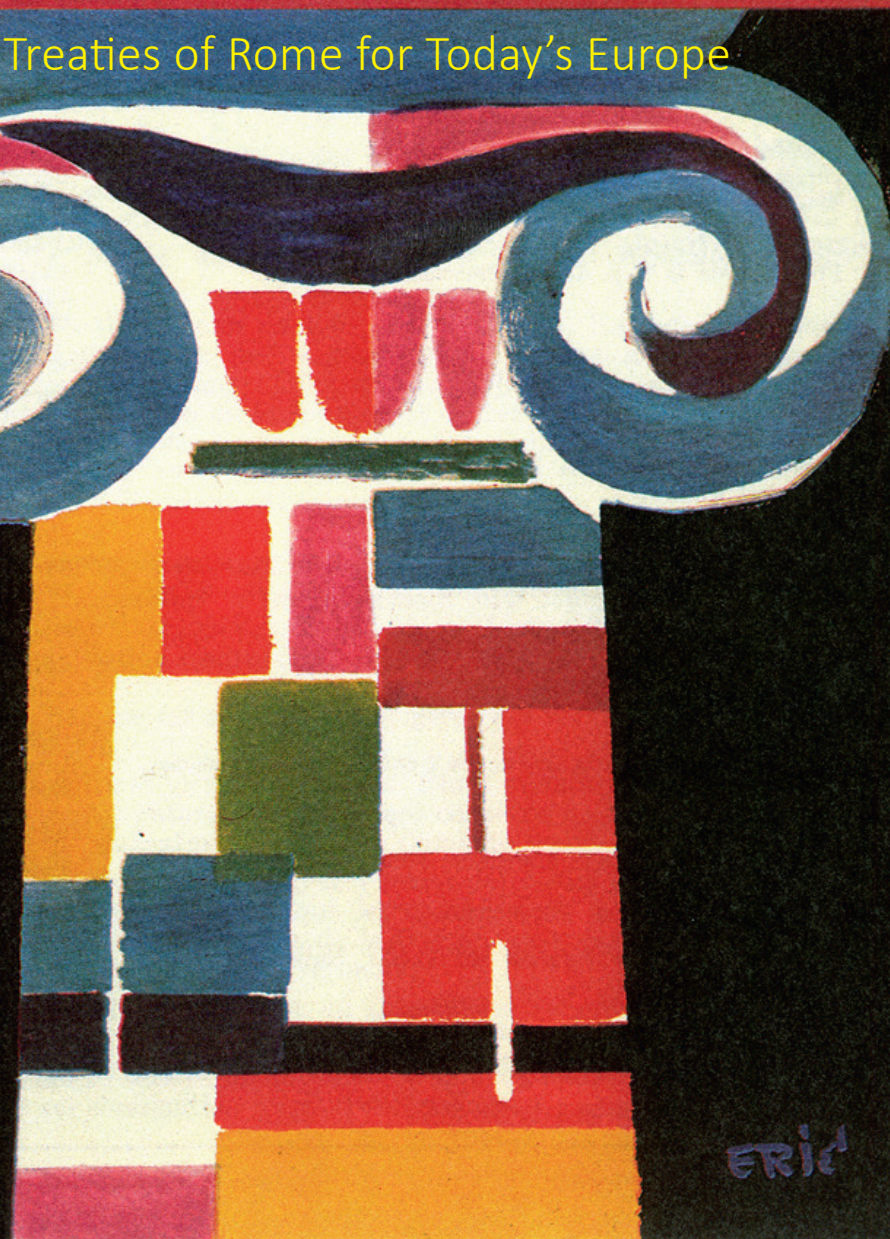


# EVER CLOSER UNION

The Legacy of the Treaties of Rome for Today's Europe

Itinerant exhibition on  
the occasion of the  
60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of  
the Treaties of Rome,  
1957-2017

**60**  
**ROME**



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**In collaboration with:**

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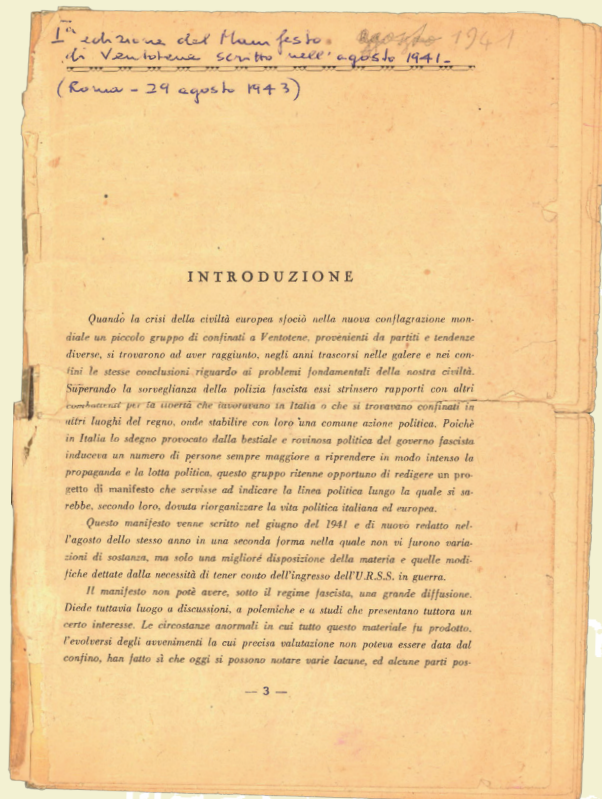
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First edition of "Manifesto di Ventotene", the Manifesto for a free and united Europe was drawn up by Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi in 1941 (HAEU)

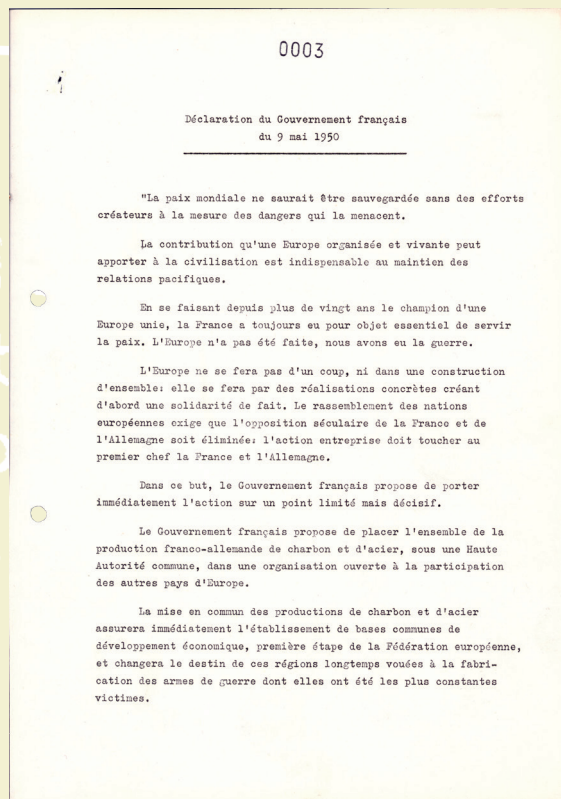
### INTRODUZIONE

Quando la crisi della civiltà europea sfociò nella nuova conflazione mondiale un piccolo gruppo di confinati a Ventotene, provenienti da partiti e tendenze diverse, si trovarono ad aver raggiunto, negli anni trascorsi nelle galere e nei confini le stesse conclusioni riguardo ai problemi fondamentali della nostra civiltà. Superando la sorveglianza della polizia fascista essi strinsero rapporti con altri confinati per la libertà che lavoravano in Italia o che si trovavano confinati in altri luoghi del regno, onde stabilire con loro una comune azione politica. Poiché in Italia lo sdegno provocato dalla bestiale e rovinosa politica del governo fascista induceva un numero di persone sempre maggiore a riprendere in modo intenso la propaganda e la lotta politica, questo gruppo ritenne opportuno di redigere un progetto di manifesto che servisse ad indicare la linea politica lungo la quale si sarebbe, secondo loro, dovuta riorganizzare la vita politica italiana ed europea.

Questo manifesto venne scritto nel giugno del 1941 e di nuovo redatto nell'agosto dello stesso anno in una seconda forma nella quale non vi furono variazioni di sostanza, ma solo una migliore disposizione della materia e quelle modifiche dettate dalla necessità di tener conto dell'ingresso dell'U.R.S.S. in guerra.

Il manifesto non poté avere, sotto il regime fascista, una grande diffusione. Diede tuttavia luogo a discussioni, a polemiche e a studi che presentano tuttora un certo interesse. Le circostanze anormali in cui tutto questo materiale fu prodotto, l'evolversi degli avvenimenti la cui precisa valutazione non poteva essere data dal confino, han fatto sì che oggi si possano notare varie lacune, ed alcune parti pos-

- 3 -



"Schuman Plan", text of the declaration for the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, presented by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Robert Schuman, on 9 May 1950 (HAEU)



# THE HISTORIC ROOTS OF UNITED EUROPE

## Towards the European Economic Community (1941-1957)

After World War II the idea of a **united Europe** was transformed into a more concrete reality. **Jean Monnet**'s idea to use economic integration as an instrument for political reconciliation formed the basis of the decision taken by Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, The Netherlands, Italy and Luxembourg to create, in 1950, the **European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)**. The concept behind this project was not purely economic but also political and symbolic. It paved the way for Franco-German reconciliation, assuming a new system of relations between the European states. Calls for a united Europe were also coming from intellectuals and social groups.

Particularly active were the federalist movements, supporters of an authentic European federation, of which **Altiero Spinelli** was one of the principal inspirational figures.

The first attempt to extend European integration, through the creation of a **European Defence Community (EDC)**, which included **Alcide De Gasperi**'s project for a **European Political Community**, caused a moment of crisis but also of opportunity. The failure of the EDC (1954) was followed by a re-launch of the European integration project. The meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the member countries of the ECSC at **Messina** in June 1955, organised by **Paul-Henri Spaak**, led to the initiation of talks culminating in the signing of the Treaties of Rome on 25 March 1957 which created the **European Economic Community (EEC)** and the **European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom)**.

Telegram of congratulations by Joseph Bech, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, to Jean Monnet, President of the High Authority of the ECSC, in occasion of entry into force of the European Coal and Steel Community (HAEU)

6

MONSIEUR JEAN MONNET PRESIDENT  
DE LA HAUTE AUTORITE DE LA  
COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE DU CHARBON  
ET DE L'ACIER, LUXEMBOURG

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TRES SENSIBLE AUX SENTIMENTS QUE VOUS ET VOS COLLEGUES DE LA HAUTE  
AUTORITE AVEZ BIEN VOULU M EXPRIMER A L OCCASION DE L OUVERTURE DU  
MARCHÉ COMMUN J AI A COEUR DE FELICITER LA HAUTE AUTORITE POUR  
L OEUVRE ACCOMPLIE SOUS VOTRE PRESIDENCE. J ESPERE AVEC VOUS QUE  
LA COLLABORATION CONFIANTE DE LA HAUTE AUTORITE ET DU CONSEIL  
SPECIAL DE MINISTRES NOUS PERMETTRA D ACCOMPLIR NOTRE MISSION  
COMMUNE POUR LE GRAND BIEN DE NOS PAYS

BECH MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES

No 336 - 1953

13FEV1953

Postcard commemorating the foundation of the EEC and EURATOM sent from the European Federalist Movement to the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gaetano Martino (Archivio Storico Diplomatico Ministero Affari Esteri, Rome - ASMAE)





## From Rome to Maastricht (1958-1992)

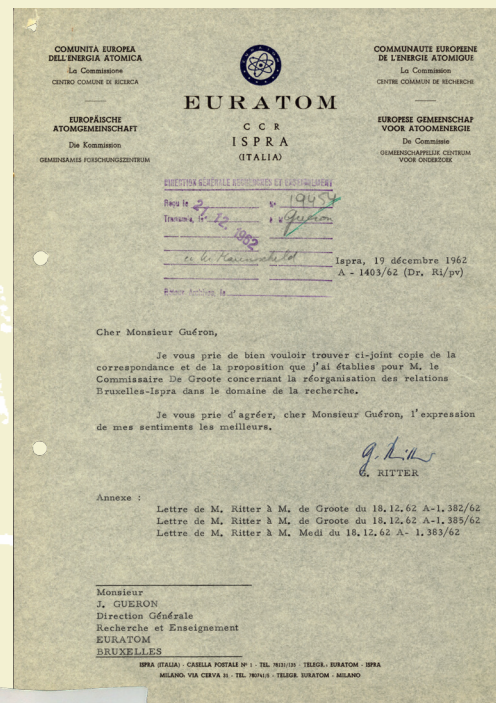
On 1 January 1958 the official activities of the EEC and Euratom and their principal institutions - the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly and the Court of Justice - got underway.

The first decade of European integration saw a strong growth of the Community's market and institutions with the launching of the **Common Agricultural Policy** and the completion of the **Customs Union**, in 1968. Simultaneously, within the framework of Euratom, the first cooperation projects were initiated in the field of nuclear research. The EEC confirmed its role in the domain of international trade and, through the Yaoundé Convention (1963), laid the groundwork for the introduction of a Community policy for **development cooperation**.

On the political level the 1960's were characterised by the French veto of Britain's application to join the EEC and by differences of opinion between the intergovernmental vision promoted by Paris and the supranational vocation of the European Commission.

The economic success of the Community and the radical social and political changes of the late 1960's encouraged the leaders of the Six to meet at The Hague in December 1969, to open discussions on **enlargement** and the rolling-out of new policies in the **monetary, social, environmental and regional** spheres. The European Parliament reinforced its democratic legitimacy by means of its first direct election in 1979. The completion of the **Single Market** and the re-launching of the concept of **monetary integration** were the main accomplishments of the EEC during the 1980's. The realisation of the **Single European Act** in 1986 served as the basis for a more integrated Europe, both politically and economically. It opened the way for the creation of the **European Union**, which took place in the post Cold War era, with the entry into force of the **Treaty of Maastricht** on 1 November 1993.

# DECLARA RELA







## The European Union after Maastricht (1993-2017)

The **Single Market** and **Economic and Monetary Union** were the main actions completed by the EU in the decade following the signature of the Maastricht Treaty.

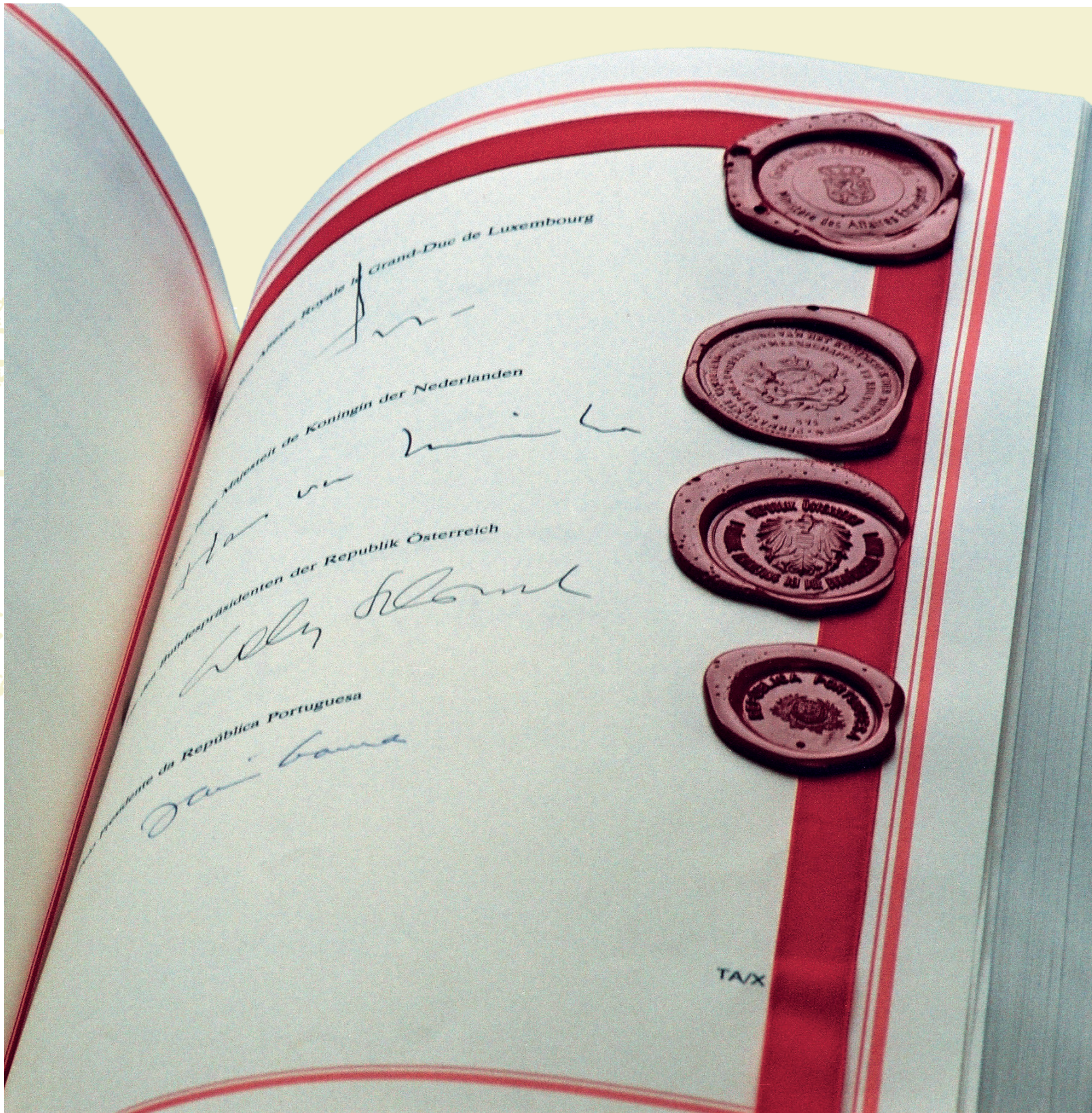
After Maastricht, the European integration process was characterised by successive waves of enlargement that, from 1995 to the present, increased the number of member countries from 12 to 28. This process reinforced the unification of the European continent after the political and ideological divisions of the Cold War and its aftermath.

The evolution of the EU after 1992 required a new set of reforms to the founding treaties, designed to improve the functioning of the institutions and the decisional process. The Treaty of Maastricht was thereby reformed by the Treaties of **Amsterdam** (1997) and **Nice** (2001), which were subsequently followed by the proposal for a treaty establishing a **Constitution of Europe** (2004). While this treaty was never ratified as a result of its rejection in referendums held in France and The Netherlands in 2005, it formed the basis of the **Treaty of Lisbon** (2007). Amongst the principal innovations introduced by this Treaty, which came into effect on the 1 December 2009, were the strengthening of the role of the European Parliament, a deeper cooperation in the field of foreign relations and common security and extended Community competences on external border controls, immigration, judicial and police cooperation.

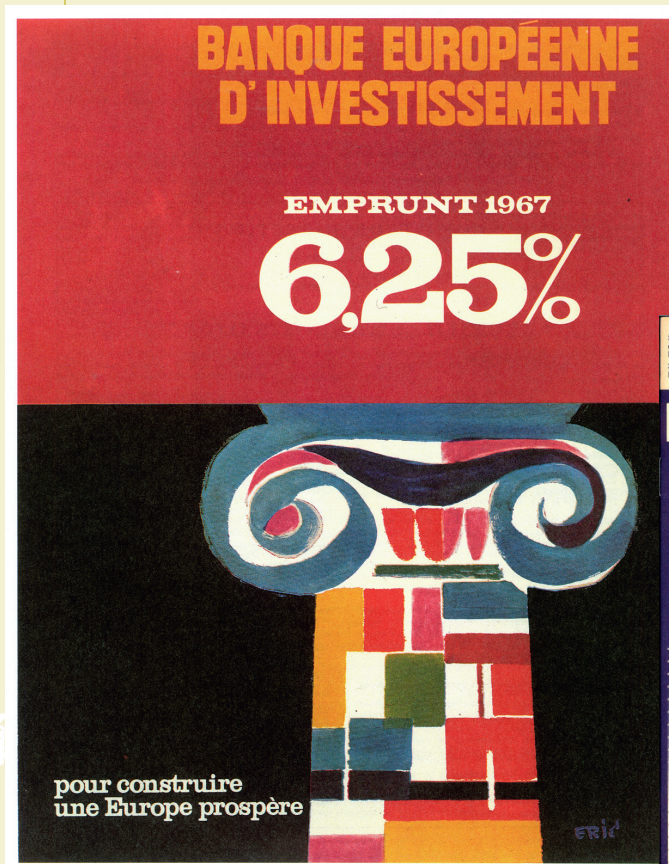
→

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, proclaimed by the EU Parliament, Council and Commission during the European Council held in Nice on 7-9 December 2000, was given a legal status by the Treaty of Lisbon in 2007 (Archives of the Council of the European Union)









A European Investment Bank marketing poster for a bond issued in French francs in 1967 with the slogan “building a prosperous Europe”. To support the internal market’s balanced development, the European Investment Bank was established to finance projects that would help economies, particularly in poorer regions (European Investment Bank)



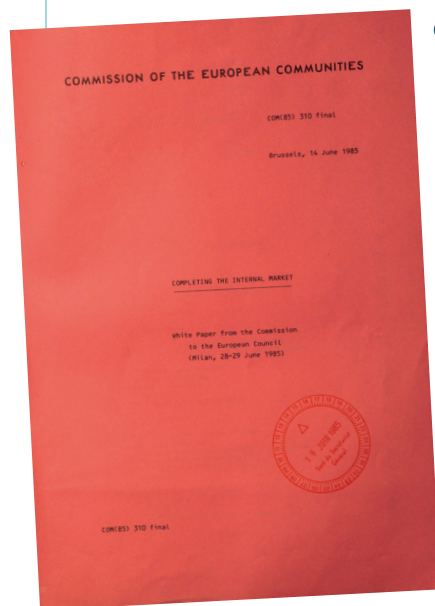
On 1 January 2002 the euro became the European single currency, adopted by the member countries of the EU who had previously joined the Economic and Monetary Union (HAU)

→ Portuguese Prime Minister and President of the European Council, José Sócrates, together with Portuguese Foreign Affairs Minister, Luis Amado, during the signing ceremony of the Treaty of Lisbon at the Jeronimos Monastery, in Lisbon, Portugal, 13 December 2007 (ANSA-EPA/Ignacio Rosa)



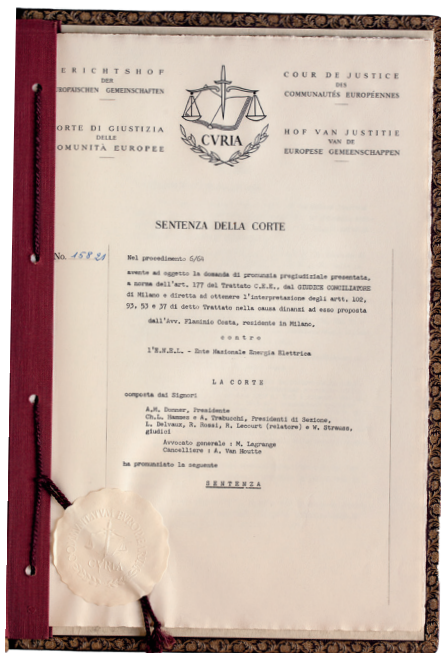
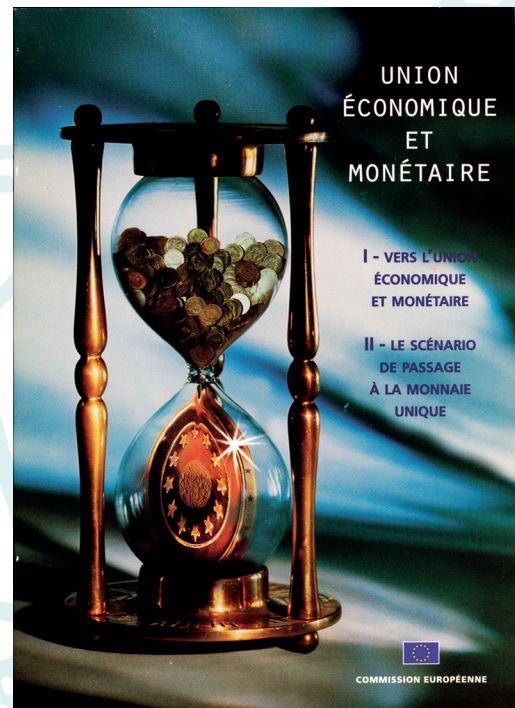






Cover page of Commission "white paper" on the internal market, published for the European Council of Milan (28-29 June 1985) (HAEU)

Information brochure on the Economic and Monetary Union published by the European Commission in 1996, in preparation of the introduction of the single currency (HAEU)



Title page of the European Court of Justice judgement in the case *Costa v. Enel* (1964), that established the direct application of Community law and the supremacy of EEC law over the laws of its Member States (HAEU)

→ A bond denominated in euro issued by the European Investment Bank in 1997 – two years before the launch of EMU - to help raise confidence in the new currency (European Investment Bank)

# AN EUROPE OF LAW AND ECONOMY

The founding countries of the EEC aimed at an internal market based on the free circulation of **people, services, goods and capital**.

During the first years of integration, national vetoes, domestic controls and non-tariff barriers obstructed the complete realisation of the “**four rights**”. However, from the mid-1980’s the challenges caused by globalisation convinced European leaders of the need to strengthen the internal market. **In June 1985** the European Commission led by Jacques Delors published a “white paper” with precise measures to overturn the fiscal and regulatory obstacles, which were fragmenting the EEC. A year later, the **Single European Act** (1986) established the basis for the development of the internal market. Its further consolidation was assured with the **Schengen Agreement** (1985), which created conditions for a free circulation area. The plans for an internal market required also monetary integration, already initiated in the 1970’s with the **European Monetary System**. Jacques Delors and the governors of the national central banks elaborated a project for an **Economic and Monetary Union**, based on the **free circulation of capital**, a **European Central Bank** and a **single currency**. This project was accomplished with the Euro on 1 January 2002, a new foundation stone of the European Union.

OFFERING CIRCULAR  
Dated 3rd March, 1997



EUROPEAN INVESTMENT BANK

EURO 300,000,000

5 1/2 per cent. Notes due 2004

to be consolidated and form a single issue with the Euro 1,000,000,000  
5 1/2 per cent. Notes due 2004 issued by European Investment Bank on  
14th February, 1997.

Issue Price 99.606 per cent.

plus accrued interest from and including 14th February, 1997 to, but excluding the  
Closing Date (as defined below).

The EURO 300,000,000 5 1/2 per cent. Notes due 2004 (the “Notes”) will be consolidated and form a single  
issue with the EURO 1,000,000,000 5 1/2 per cent. Notes due 2004 issued by European Investment Bank  
 (“EIB”) on 14th February, 1997 (the “Original Notes”).

Interest on the Notes will be payable annually in arrears on 15th April of each year. The first coupon shall  
be payable on 15th April, 1997 in respect of the period from and including 14th February, 1997 to but  
excluding 15th April, 1997.

Until the introduction of the Euro at the start of the third stage of economic and monetary union pursuant  
to the Treaty establishing the European Community all monetary rights and obligations in respect of the  
Notes shall be performed in ECU at the rate of one ECU for one Euro.

Application has been made to list the Notes on the Luxembourg Stock Exchange.

The Notes will, unless previously redeemed or purchased and cancelled, be redeemed at their principal  
amount on 15th April, 2004.

Offers and sales of Notes, and the distribution of this document, are restricted as mentioned in  
“Subscription and Sale”.

The Notes will be represented by a global note without interest coupons (the “Global Note”) which is  
expected to be deposited with a common depository for Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York,  
Brussels office, as operator of the Euroclear System (“Euroclear”) and CedeL Bank, société anonyme  
 (“CedeL Bank”) on or about 5th March, 1997 (the “Closing Date”) and will be exchangeable for definitive  
Notes in bearer form, with interest coupons attached, in the limited circumstances set out in such Global  
Note and described under “Summary of provisions relating to the Notes while in Global form” below.

CDC MARCHES

PARIBAS CAPITAL MARKETS

SBC WARBURG





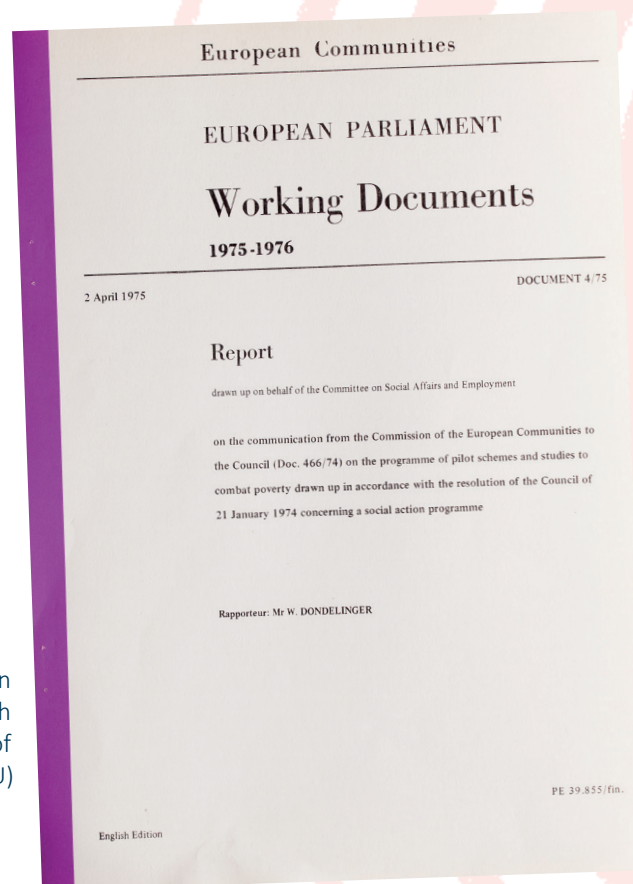


The President of the French Republic, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schmidt, were key players in the proposal for a European Monetary System, aiming to create in Europe “a zone of monetary stability” (EC Audiovisual Services/Jean-Louis Debaize)





Poster for the exhibition “Europe is Female. From the Treaties of Rome to the objectives of 1992, the long road to equality”, 30 January - 28 February 1989, Civic Museum of Contemporary History, Milan (HAEU)



Report by the European Parliament's Commission for Employment and Social Affairs on pilot research projects against poverty, 2 April 1975, as part of the work of the EP on social inclusion (HAEU)

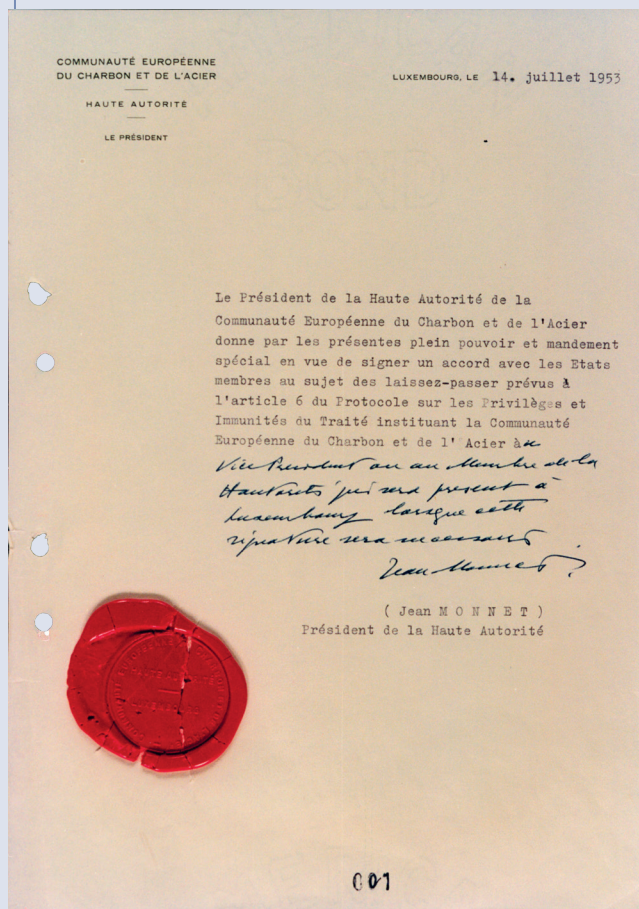
# THE SOCIAL DIMENSION AND EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP

The EC strived towards a **European social policy** from its very inception. References to the social aspects of European economic integration were already present in the treaties which established the ECSC (1952), and the EEC and Euratom (1957). The Treaties of Rome envisaged the creation of an **Economic and Social Committee** and a **European Social Fund**. Nevertheless, it was only from the beginning of the 1970's that the EEC really began to elaborate programmes to deal with the social implications of a market that was integrating rapidly. The health and welfare of workers, their free circulation, professional training, equal pay, and a campaign to end poverty were among the principal issues the Community institutions concentrated on.

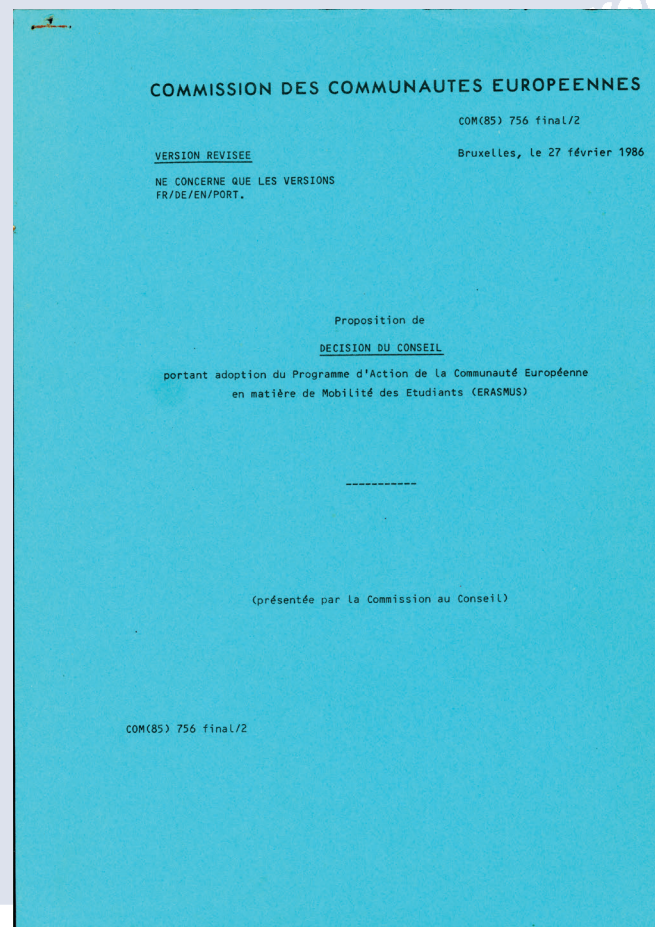
The **European Parliament** participated actively in the creation of a European social policy, especially in conjunction with the strengthening of its powers within the European decisional process. The increasing importance of the European Parliament favoured a greater level of democratisation within the EEC. **Direct elections**, held for the first time in June 1979, represented the first step towards a more democratic Europe.

The willingness to create a real **European demos** led the Community institutions to promote programmes directly linked to new generations. The **ERASMUS programme**, launched during the 1980's alongside the **Action Jean Monnet** and **COMETT programmes**, is one of the most successful initiatives of the EEC/EU. Support for training and incentives for European mobility aim even today not only to satisfy the needs associated with the existence of a single market, but also to the diffusion of a European identity.





First example of a European passport from 1953, issued by the President of the High Authority of the ECSC, Jean Monnet, to Community personnel (HAEU)



Proposal for a Council decision on the adoption of the ERASMUS Programme, 1986 (HAEU)

# EUROPE IN THE WORLD

The EEC was from the outset open to **new member states**. Gradually it became a privileged partner of **developing countries** and a leading actor in the field of **international trade**.

From support for the democratic transitions in Greece, Spain and Portugal in the 1970's to the widening of its membership to democratic regimes in Central and Eastern Europe after the end of the Cold War, the enlargements of the EEC/EU contributed to the maintenance of peace on the European continent. For its contribution to peace, reconciliation, democratisation and human rights in Europe, the EU was awarded the **Nobel Peace Prize** in 2012.

The enlargement process went in parallel with the strengthening of the international dimension of the EEC/EU. Between 1963 and 2000, the agreements concluded at **Yaoundé**, **Lomé** and **Cotonou** made the EU one of the principal global actors in the field of cooperation and development. From the 1960's, using the **Common Commercial Policy** as its basis, the EEC/EU signed commercial agreements directly with third countries and participated in international trade negotiations. In the sphere of foreign policy, since the 1970's Europe has cultivated the ambition to speak "with one voice". After the end of the Cold War, this ambition was enhanced by the failure of European diplomacy to deal with the Yugoslav crisis as it unfolded in the 1990's.

The establishment of the **Common Foreign and Security Policy** (1992) and the **Common Security and Defence Policy** (1999) aimed to enhance the collective security of member states, by strengthening beyond the EU's borders the rule of law and human rights, and helping to prevent international conflicts by sharing strategic interests with international organisations, such as the **United Nations** and the **North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)**. The creation of a European diplomatic service (**European Service for External Action**) with the **Treaty of Lisbon** is the outcome of a decade long effort to transform the EU into a unique player in the international arena.







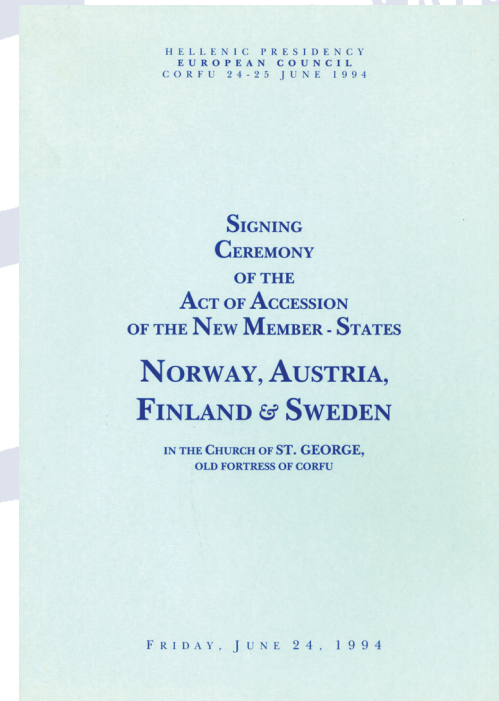




↑ *previous two pages*: 10 December 2012: The President of the European Council, Herman van Rompuy, the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, and the President of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz receiving the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the EU (EC Audiovisual Services/Georges Boulougouris)



Celebrations held on 1 May 2004 in Dublin for the biggest enlargement of the EU to include 10 new members, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary (HAEU)



On the 24 June 1994, Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway signed the EU Accession Treaty. However, Norwegian membership was rejected in a subsequent national referendum. The other three candidates became full members on 1 January 1995 (HAEU)

→ 15 November 1962: The President of the European Commission Walter Hallstein receiving a visit from a Japanese delegation headed by Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda. Since its foundation, the EEC was recognised by third countries as a key actor in international trade (EC Audiovisual Services)









# FUTURE CHALLENGES

The Treaties of Rome handed down a precious legacy of political and economic cooperation between European countries.

Radical geo-political changes occurred in Europe since 1957, and a closer union among the peoples of Europe, set out by the EEC founding Treaty has been developing despite many challenges. The EU is currently facing some complex issues, and the fate of a united Europe depends on the EU responses to these challenges.

The European Neighbourhood Policy is presented with delicate issues in its relations with the Russian Federation and with countries on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. Political instability in Africa and the Middle East directly affects the EU, as the flux of migrants from these areas is heading for Europe.

In the international arena, the strength of the EU will depend on the capacity of its member states to coordinate their voices within the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. On the internal front, the protracted economic and financial crisis necessitates a continued response from the EU and its member countries to find the right equilibrium between growth and austerity. In this context, the fight against unemployment and the development of an internal market capable of balancing social and economic aspects have become crucial questions for the EU.

In order to promote, in a harmonious way, the foundations of a Union close to the peoples of Europe, it is essential to take in account the political realities and development in member states. To give a better answer to the future challenges, the European Union launched a Global Strategy in 2016 based on a shared vision and common action for a stronger and united Europe.



Rescue operation conducted by the European Border and Coast Guard (FRONTEX) along the Libyan coast (ANSA/ Giuseppe Lami)











↑ *previous two pages*: Informal summit of the Heads of State and Government of the 28 member states of the European Union at Valletta (Malta), 3 February 2017. At the conclusion of the meeting, which focus on the strengthening of cooperation in dealing with illegal immigration to the EU, the President of the European Council, Donald Tusk, launched an appeal for unity between member states: “United we stand, divided we fall” (EC Audiovisual Services/Etienne Ansot)

“Porta d’Europa” in Lampedusa Island, by the artist Mimmo Paladino. The work was inspired by the dramatic events faced by thousands of immigrants and asylum seekers who brave adverse conditions to reach Europe in the hope of a better life (ANSA/Tiberio Barchielli)







# Itinerant exhibition on the occasion of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, 1957-2017

This exhibition marks the 60th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome. The Treaties, signed on 25 March 1957, were a turning point in the process of European integration, giving birth to the European Economic Community and Euratom. The purpose of the exhibition is to trace, through archival documents and images, the history of European integration from the signing of the Treaties of Rome to the challenges facing Europe today.

Organized by:



In collaboration with:

