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European Society for Defence INPA

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A federal constitution for the United States of Europe

Why and how?

Second edition, revised and expanded

Preface by André Flahaut

This 2nd edition has been revised and supplemented between February 2022 and 31 July 2026. New texts are in bold. They highlight more clearly what Europe owes to ancient Greece and give a fuller account of Charles de Gaulle's pan-European thinking.

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Preface

« A federal constitution for the United States of Europe. Why and how? » recalls why Europe needs federal governance, then answers two of the questions most asked of the author in his **more than 330** presentations since 2015[1]: " What will the United States of Europe consist of?" and "How could it be made a reality?".

This is the third book written by Jean Marsia. His doctoral dissertation, " La clé d'une défense européenne, celle des Etats-Unis d'Europe » (The key to European defence, that of the United States of Europe), was published in 2015 by Academic & Scientific Publishers. The Royal Academy published "The United States of Europe, for our security and our defence" in 2017.

These three works are the fruit of his professional experience, particularly that acquired in the context of his last positions. When I was Minister of Defence, he was Attaché in my Administrative and Technical Secretariat, from 1999 to 2003. He notably contributed to the launch of the A400M transport aircraft program. He became colonel military administrator and director of Academic Education of the Royal Military School (RMS) from 2003 to 2010, responsible for adapting it "to the Bologna process ", he had it positioned in the European Area of Higher Education and Research, then in the Erasmus program. He then focused it on European Security and Defence Policy. He also obtained accreditation for the diplomas which the RMS awards.

Activist for the European cause, in 2004 Jean Marsia participated in the creation of the financing mechanism for the European Union (EU) military operation "Athena"; in 2005, in the foundation of the European Security and Defence College (ESDC); in 2008, in the development of the military Erasmus program and, from 2004 to 2009, in the development of the concept of the "EU Battle Group" (EUBG), inspired by

[1] As of **31/7/2026**.

Operation Artemis, carried out in 2003 by the EU in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

In 2012, he suggested to the President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy that the topic Defence be put on the agenda of European Council meetings. To prepare for this, the Prime Minister Elio Di Rupo appointed Jean Marsia as Defence Counsellor in January 2013. He remained in office until October 2014, which gave him the opportunity to attend the December 2013 European Council and the 2014 Atlantic Council.

The disappointing outcome of these two meetings, the inability of the European leaders to unite Europe in an "ever closer" way, to provide it with a credible defence and to ensure that it is respected on the international stage, their deficiency in the fight against global warming and pollution, and on the other hand, the success of our two federal institutions, the Court of Justice of the EU and the European Central Bank, have forged a conviction: there is no salvation without the United States of Europe.

As set out in Article 2 of the EU Treaty humanism, progressivism and universalism are the bedrock of the European values that unite us. These values form the basis of our moral strengths, but they were not enough to prevent Brexit. We must acknowledge the failure and the loss of substance for the EU: it lost 66 million British citizens. The Europe of 27 has only **452 million inhabitants and its gross domestic product (GDP) for 2024 was fallen to 40.000 € per capita, compared with 80,000 € for an American. The EU can no longer** afford to invest massively to revive the economy and reduce social tensions, achieve a successful energy transition, and ensure both our security and our defence.

The deterioration of the international environment and the disintegration of the EU must encourage European citizens to relaunch the political union of Europe. Only by that can we achieve the capacity to calm relations with our neighbours and partners: this requires a powerful and therefore united Europe. That is what European citizens want. They value their

differences, because they know they enrich them, but, over chaos and helplessness, they prefer unity in diversity and coherence.

To this day, federal Europe remains a utopia. Let us remember that by publishing *De Optimo Reipublicae Statu, deque nova Insula Utopia*, in Louvain in 1516, Thomas More gave the first glimpse of a republican government. May the new work by Jean Marsia help to amplify an increasingly visible movement of opinion. We must quickly convince the leaders of at least two of the EU and NATO member-States to create the United States of Europe and a real, efficient, credible and respected European defence. This would, sooner or later, prompt other countries to join.

This is the aim of the international non-profit association (INPA) European Society for Defence (S€D) - https://www-seurod.eu. It brings together those who share European values and who want to contribute to the creation of the United States of Europe and European defence. It deserves your support!

André Flahaut

Minister of State

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(12/7/1999-21/12/2007)

President of the House of Representatives
(20/7/2010-30/6/2014)

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Table of contents

Preface *3*

Acknowledgements *13*

Introduction *15*

1. The foundations of the United States of Europe *19*

1.1 A Greek heritage 20

1.2 A common historical continuity 30

1.3 European values 34

1.4 One fatherland, one common culture 38

2. 1849-2005, so many dashed hopes of uniting Europe *47*

2.1 Before the First World War 48

2.2 The inter-war 48

2.3 From the end of the Second World War to the Washington Treaty 51

2.4 The foundation of the Atlantic Alliance and Charles de Gaulle's pan-European project 59

2.5 The Six, the failure of the first draft "constitutional treaty" 61

2.6 From Messina to Rome 72

2.7 Adenauer and de Gaulle, the real founders of the united Europe 75

2.8 From the Davignon report to the Single European Act. 88

2.9 From the activation of WEU to the creation of the Eurocorps 91

2.10 The Solana years, the heyday that ended badly. 96

3. From Merkel to Macron, the unravelling of the EU .. 109

3.1 Schäuble pleads in vain for European sovereignty 109

3.2 Putin's declares war to the West, Sarkozy becomes President..... 111

3.3 The « normal » presidency of Mr. Hollande..... 118

3.4 Macron’s first presidency..... 123

3.5 Merkel's record..... 140

4. The world since the high-intensity war in Ukraine ... 147

4.1 The high-intensity war Putin is waging against Ukraine148

The beginning 149

The unfounded fear of nuclear war 155

The drone war..... 170

Trump's prospects for peace: a betrayal 176

What after the war? For when? And how? 180

How should Ukraine prepare for the inevitable return of hostilities?..... 182

4.2 Xi's China, caught in Thucydides' trap..... 184

4.3 The failure of the West's war on Islamist terrorism 211

4.4 The United States of America..... 227

4.5 NATO’s future: secured by Putin, threatened by Trump! 236

4.6 The United Kingdom 240

4.7 In Germany, the "Ampel" coalition disappointed, as did Mr. Merz..... 244

4.8 France, badly governed by Macron 248

4.9 The EU, out of breath, is despised in a world of bullies 253

The EU has been deepening Europe's decline since the end of 2004 254

The EU and defence, only false good ideas 257

Cooperations between various European States are doomed to fail 260

The EU and NATO 262

The Europeans' defence effort is not negligible, it is inefficient 264

The EU's defence industrial policy 265

The EU's poor crisis management..... 267

The shortcomings of Soft Power..... 268

The compass that has lost ones' bearing..... 269

The European Political Community bis 270

The structural cause of our ills: poorly designed institutions 270

A federal Europe, necessary and possible 273

A European federal defence would become possible 281

4.10 Final Considerations..... 284

5. The constitution of the United States of Europe..... 293

5.1 Explanatory memorandum..... 293

5.2 Preamble 301

Article 1. The fundamental dispositions..... 302

1.1. The founding declaration of the United States of Europe 302

1.2. The values and goals of the United States of Europe ... 303

1.3. Modes of expression of the will of the people 304

1.4. The accession of new States 304

1.5. The modification of the external or internal borders ... 305

1.6. The overseas territories ... 306

1.7. The permanence of the United States of Europe ... 306

1.8. The cultural policy of the United States of Europe ... 308

1.9. Neutrality and impartiality of the United States of Europe ... 311

1.10. The right to self-defence of citizens of the United States of Europe ... 313

Article 2. The symbols of the United States of Europe . 314

Article 3. Sovereignty, subsidiarity and allocation of competences ... 321

Article 4. The social contract ... 324

4.1. Citizenship, rights and duties ... 324

4.2. Freedom of association ... 327

4.3. The use of languages ... 327

4.4. Nationality and naturalization ... 328

Article 5. The Executive power ... 329

5.1. The President ... 330

5.2. The government and the Prime minister ... 332

Article 6. The Legislative power ... 333

6.1. The Parliament ... 334

6.2. The Senate ... 343

6.3. The voting and the petition ... 345

6.4. The delegate to the armed forces ... 345

6.5. The advisory bodies ... 346

Article 7. The Judiciary power ... 346

Article 8. International relations ... 349

8.1. Foreign Affairs ... 350

8.2. Diplomatic protection abroad 351

8.3. The external trade 351

8.4. Development cooperation 351

8.5. Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers 352

Article 9. Security and defence 352

9.1. Homeland security 352

9.2. Defence 353

9.3. The industrial and technological base, scientific and technological defence research 357

Article 10. Home, Economic, Social and Environmental Affairs 358

10.1. Home Affairs, Civil Defence 358

10.2. Economic Affairs 358

10.2. Social Affairs 360

10.3. Labour law, social security, social mobility and social dialogue 360

10.4. The preservation of the environment and public health 360

Article 11. Public finances and the budget 361

11.1. The Court of Auditors of the United States of Europe 364

11.2. Transitional financial measures 364

Article 12. Entry in to Force, modification of the Constitution and the fundamental law 365

6. The fundamental law of the United States of Europe367

Article 1er. Article 1. The fundamental dispositions 367

1.4. The adhesion of new States 367

Article 3. Sovereignty, subsidiarity and allocation of competences 368

Article 4. The social contract..... 373

4.1. Citizenship, rights and duties..... 373

4.3. The use of languages 375

4.4. Nationality and naturalization 375

Article 5. The Executive power 375

5.1. The President..... 375

Article 6. The Legislative power..... 380

6.1. The Parliament..... 382

6.2. The Senate 383

6.3. The voting and the petition 384

6.5. The advisory bodies 384

Article 7. The Judiciary power..... 385

Article 8. International relations..... 386

8.1. Foreign Affairs..... 387

8.5. Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers..... 389

Article 9. Security and defence 390

9.1. Homeland security..... 390

9.2. Defence..... 391

Article 10. Home, Economic, Social and Environmental Affairs 397

10.3. Labour law, social security, social mobility and social dialogue 397

Article 11. Public finances and the budget..... 397

List of abbreviations and acronyms 403

Bibliography..... 407

Illustrations..... 465

« Un jour viendra où l'on verra ces deux groupes immenses, les États-Unis d'Amérique, les États-Unis d'Europe, placés en face l'un de l'autre, se tendant la main par-dessus les mers ».[2]

« [*With] unity achieved, Europe could build adequate security and, at the same time, continue the march of human betterment that has characterized western civilization. [...] The establishment a workable European federation would go far to create confidence among people everywhere that Europe was doing its full and vital share in giving this cooperation. [...] If, with our moral and material assistance, the free European nations could attain a similar integration, our friends could be strengthened, our own economies improved and the laborious NATO machinery of mutual defence vastly simplified*. »[3]

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[2] Victor Hugo, *Discours au Congrès de la paix*, Paris, Assemblée nationale, 21/8/1849. "The day will come when we will see these two immense groups, the United States of America, the United States of Europe, facing each other, reaching out their hands over the seas".

[3] Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Address at The English-Speaking Union Dinner at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, London*, 3/7/1951.

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Introduction

"The construction of Europe must be continued. Through its history, through its cornerstone of peacebuilding, through its commitment to building unity in diversity, the EU remains a point of reference for all of humanity."[4] **This** position taken by the bishops of Belgium before the elections of 26 May 2019 can only be welcomed by all Europeans of good will: they are committed to the pursuit of European construction, the peacekeeping, the search for unity in diversity, the ever-closer union of the European peoples, to transparency, to democracy, in short to the values enshrined in Article 2 of the Treaty on EU (TEU).

However, these bishops are wrong to assert that **the EU remains a point of reference for the whole of humanity**. The European Parliament, Commission and Council: these institutions are not capable of formulating a political project "**demonstrating** the capacity to open up to others, to dialogue with all, to generate new models of living together", because transparency and democracy are almost absent in the EU and the European Economic Area[5] (EEA) as they were built from 1950 until present.

In 1979, the direct election of the European Parliament was a short-lived success. Nothing has been done since, to make it a branch of an authentic European legislative power, that has, in the framework of a European federal State, the right of legislative initiative, to levy taxes, to vote a budget, to designate and control a real federal executive power, to develop a

---

[4] Les évêques de Belgique, « Aux chrétiens catholiques au seuil des élections » in *La Libre Belgique*, https://www.lalibre.be/debats/opinions/voici-la-lettre-des-eveques-avant-les-elections-5cc2c2c8d8ad586a5ad4322c, 26/4/2019. « La construction européenne doit être poursuivie. Par son histoire particulière, par sa pierre angulaire qu'est la construction de la paix, par son engagement à construire l'unité dans la diversité, l'UE demeure un point de référence pour toute l'humanité. »

[5] The inclusion of the EEA means that regions, cantons and *Länder* are on an equal footing.

European judicial power which is currently still too embryonic, and to pass the bill defining the federal army contingent.

The priority task of the **European Federal State** will be to fill the gaps in the EU, in the fields of security, defence, coast and border guard, protection of the natural environment and public health. European citizens must be better protected, and so must our businesses. Defence is a tool to protect our interests, our well-being, our way of life, our civilization, our culture, and from this foundation stone, to promote European values, which have a universal vocation.

Creating a **European** army requires federal governance.[6] The vicissitudes of the American War of Independence demonstrated this to George Washington. With the support of James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, he secured the replacement of the Confederal Constitution of 1776[7] with the Federal Constitution of 1787.

To find out whether our efforts to create a European Federation are relevant, Chapter 1 sets out 'The foundations of the United States of Europe'. Chapters 2, '1849-2005, so many dashed hopes of uniting Europe', 3,

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[6] The concept of "governance" refers to the rules, processes and behaviors that influence the exercise of powers at European level, particularly from the points of view of openness, participation, responsibility, efficiency, and consistency. Commission des Communauté européennes, *Gouvernance européenne, un livre blanc*, Bruxelles, 2001, COM(2001)428 final, p. 9, note 1.

[7] **Twenty years after Benjamin Franklin published his cartoon (see p. 219) ' *Join, or Die* ', in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on 9 May 1754, a** Continental Congress met as early as 1754 in Albany, **even** though Massachusetts was Puritan, Rhode Island, Libertarian, Virginia, aristocratic and Episcopalian, Maryland, Catholic, New York, Calvinist of Dutch origin and Pennsylvania, Quaker. **Washington, Worshipful Master of the Lodge in Alexandria (Virginia), used the ability of Freemasonry to unite, by working together, very different people with their respective sensitivities. In this way, thanks to the military lodges, he gave an esprit de corps to his army and trained its cadres. Thanks to the civilian lodges, he united the American people. He obviously opted for the Freemasonry of the Antients, with the support of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and not for that of the Moderns of the Grand Lodge of England.**

‘From Merkel to Macron, the disintegration of the EU’ and 4, ‘The world since the high-intensity war in Ukraine’, will attempt to explain why we find ourselves in the deplorable current situation. To encourage Europe's elected representatives to get to work as a matter of urgency as constituents, to substantially remedy the EU's impotence, we propose in chapter 5 a draft federal constitution for the United States of Europe, and in chapter 6 a draft fundamental law.

1. The foundations of the United States of Europe

The inability of the European Union and the EU Member States institutions to manage crises since the 1990s has led to a resurgence of populist and nationalist parties in Europe. They are even less capable than the democratic parties of dealing with crises, but they arouse fear to prevent reflection and replace it with emotion; they designate scapegoats to serve as an outlet for citizens' frustration. They deconstruct our society. To make it conflictual, divided internally and aggressive externally, they exploit its dualization between the very rich and the very poor, following the crumbling of the middle class.

The citizens that they succeed in deceiving no longer see Europe as anything more than a conglomeration of about 40 States with populations of different origins, cultures, and traditions, which they believe are impossible to unite, without perceiving that none of these States is a world power, capable of ensuring our security and defence, maintaining our well-being, and making an effective contribution to meeting major international challenges.

This powerlessness leaves the European Defence Society INPA (S€D) no choice but to promote an ever-closer union of Europe, stimulating European patriotism, which allows inclusion based on values that we mostly share.

When they are on another continent, European citizens have a better understanding of what they have in common, whether it is freedom of expression, gender equality or respect for human rights; they find each other, recognize each other, and share common points.

They know that the 24 official languages of the EU separate us, but they share liberty and democracy, that they enrich us. They make Brussels the city of dialogue. 120 nationalities live together, in very different neighbourhoods, with very different lifestyles and traditions. Everyone can have a

personal conception of life. These 120 nationalities become aware of the existence of a European civilization, born of a common history, which will be the subject of section 1.1. We will then analyse European values in section 1.2. Finally, section 1.3 will show that we share a common homeland and a common culture.

1.1 A Greek heritage

Since the geographer Hecataeus of Miletus (-550, -475), the lands to the west, northwest and north of Anatolia, the land where the sun rises, Asia Minor, present-day Turkey, have been called Europe. However, our civilization, driven by the desire to understand man and his environment, based on rationality, logic, dialectics, and discourse, was born in classical Greece, which was a collection of cities and settlements scattered around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.[8]

Our cultural roots are therefore European, Asian, and African, but above all Greek. Thanks to these roots, which form the basis of our civilization, Europe has been able to emancipate itself from despotic, absolutist or totalitarian regimes, as well as from fundamentalist or even fanatical religions, which culminated in the wars of religion. Under the impetus of the English, Scottish, French and German Enlightenment, law and the rule of law were able to triumph in Europe, which made it possible to promote tolerance, respect for the law, magistrates and justice, love of freedom, the quest for clarity, progress in science and technology, and a taste for philosophy.[9]

The ideas of justice, freedom, democracy,[10] respect for the law, universalism, civic-mindedness, courage, and support

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[8] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, Paris, Le Livre de poche n° 13549, 1994, republished in 2008, p. 8.

[9] See idem, p. 304.

[10] Classical Greek democracy does not respect the principle of 'one adult and capable human being, one vote'. At the time of Pericles, there were only 65,000 citizens, **considered free because they could participate in**

for the oppressed,[11] the notions of tolerance and political liberalism are of Greek origin.[12]

Greek texts focus on the most revealing features of the human condition, of mankind, of his relationship with death, suffering and justice.[13] They show that the archaic mythical-religious practice gradually evolved towards various customs compatible with the emergence of philosophical thought. In poetry, tragedy, comedy, the sciences of man and the universe, classical Greece favoured the human, general and universal aspect.[14] By researching, teaching and publishing treatises, the Greek scientists founded scientific disciplines that were valid for all, for use by all, for all time.[15] How did this happen?

In Athens, in the 7th century before our era, the landed aristocracy replaces royalty with an oligarchy, but this leads to conflicts between rich and poor. Solon, from -594, frees the farmers by abolishing their debts and protecting them by law. He encourages civic-mindedness and condemns excess, hubris. He teaches that good laws should bring order and discipline to the city, limit injustice and pride, put an end to greed and eliminate excess.[16] Antigone asserts, for the first time, the superiority of unwritten, universal laws, we would say natural law, over formal laws, for us positive law.[17]

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political decisions, out of 400,000 Athenians, because women, 70,000 meticas and 200,000 slaves had no rights.

[11] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, op. cit., p. 286-287.

[12] Idem, p. 114-115. The Greeks respected people's attachment to their own religious beliefs, **and accepted agnosticism, even atheism, while favouring a civic religion specific to the city (polis). For the historical context, see Lambros Couloubaritsis, *Histoire de la philosophie ancienne* et médiévale, Paris, Grasset, 1998, and *La philosophie face à la question de la complexité*, 2 volumes, Brussels, Ousia, 2014.**

[13] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, op. cit., p. 93.

[14] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, op. cit., p. 286-287.

[15] Idem, p. 179-183.

[16] Idem, p. 58-42 et 99-101.

[17] Idem, p. 184-187.

Pisistratus, from -561, relies on the popular classes, develops the economy, extends foreign relations, and strengthens social ties. He had many architects, sculptors and painters working on the construction of temples. Poets and scholars shone at his court. He is said to have published the two founding works of Greek culture, composed in the preceding centuries, which are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Attributed to Homer, they express humanism, the desire for universality and openness to others. The heroes are described by their essential traits, they have only the most basic emotions and gestures, such as anger and pity, honour and tenderness.

Homer does not analyse or judge the characters from a moral point of view. They are human in scale, they experience doubt and hesitation, they suffer and die. Homer talks about what happens after death only in the *Odyssey*: he reports on Ulysses' descent into the Underworld where he meets the ghost of his mother; he limits the supernatural to the gods.[18] In the Iliad, he mentions only one miracle: the stopping of time after the death of Patroclus. He does not mention magical objects or metamorphoses.[19] He shows men and even kings trying to reach wise solutions through debate in an assembly.[20]

The *Odyssey* is both mythical and allegorical, scientific and philosophical: although it briefly describes Ulysses' journey in the Mediterranean, it mainly shows the king of Ithaca in search of the good life, going from chaos to harmony, finding his right place in the cosmos, overcoming the fears that make us withdraw into ourselves, that prevent us from thinking freely and opening ourselves to others.

Clisthenes, in -508, founded Athenian 'democracy', i.e. government by the citizens alone, whom it made equal before the law by depriving the Eupatrids, the landed nobility, of their monopoly of access to the functions of

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[18] Idem, p. 15-16, 26-37 et 39-42, and the note 6 p. 64.
[19] Idem, note 21 p. 65.
[20] Idem, p. 58 sv. and note 38 p. 66.

magistrate and priest. Consequently, farmers and craftsmen had the right to intervene in the debates of the assemblies and the duty to sit in the courts. It was in their interest to know how to convince, hence the rise of rhetoric and teaching. Learning to speak discursively implies having learned to think critically, to know how to analyse, reason and argue, in a trial as well as in a political debate or a debate on political and moral philosophy.[21]

From -500 to -448, the Greeks fought wars against the Persian invaders. The Athenian democracy becomes in -479, thanks to Themistocles, the first maritime power. The Greeks were victorious at sea, especially in Salamis, and on land, but then the Greek cities, with different political regimes, ambitions, political opinions and interests, opposed each other.

Classical Greece, all around the Mediterranean, shines in the rational explanation of natural phenomena. Let us mention Thales (-625, -545), Anaximander (-610, -546) and Anaximenes (-585, -525), all three from Miletus, Pythagoras of Samos (-580, -495), Parmenides of Elea in Campania (-590, -450), Anaxagoras (-500, -428) of Clazomenes in Ionia,[22] Empedocles (-490, -435) of Agrigento in Sicily, Euclid of Alexandria (around -300) and Hipparchus (Nicaea, -190, Rhodes, -120). Hippocrates, (Cos, -460, Larissa, -377) dismisses any supernatural explanation in the analysis of the symptoms of diseases, taking into consideration only the nature of man and observation.[23]

The philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus (-544, -480) shows a universe in perpetual becoming (*Everything flows, nothing remains*) and founds dialectical thinking (*The opposite is useful, and from different things is born the most beautiful harmony; all things are generated by discord)*. Protagoras (Abdera in Thrace, -490, Athens, -420) develops the critical

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[21] Idem, p. 99-101, 107-108, 123-124 et 133.
[22] His pupil, Pericles (-495, -429), although an aristocrat, was the leader of the democratic party.
[23] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, op. cit., p. 179-183.

spirit and makes mankind the measure of all things. He is the leader of the sophists who consider that everything is opinion and oppose their interlocutors by all discursive means. The Athenian Socrates (-470, -399) helps each of his interlocutors to search for his truth and then to reach the good. This strengthens democracy because it relies on the judgement of the citizens. Socrates helps to move from the diversity of the concrete to the abstract and then universalizes the concept. Other philosophers, such as the Athenian Plato (-428, -348), tend to guide people towards the acceptance of their own thoughts and encourage or comfort tyrants.[24] In opposing Protagoras, Plato asserts that it is not man but God who is the measure of all things, which will lead to medieval theologies.

Given the focus of this section, a common European history, the birth of historical science is of particular importance. Its founder was Herodotus of Halicarnassus (-480, -425). He travelled from Greece to Persia and from Egypt to present-day Ukraine, recording social customs, methods of warfare and forms of worship with a remarkable sense of tolerance and universality. He publishes his findings in the form of pleasant and instructive anecdotes.[25] He mentions, for example, that an ancient king of Sparta told the Persian emperor Xerxes that the Greeks would not submit to him or any other master, because they had no master but the law. This implies for Herodotus that they feel responsible, prefer

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[24] Idem, p. 249, 262 et 301-302. Plato also has his good points. He contrasts the good and the truth with the art of the sophists, and the latter, who claim to hold the truth, with the philosophers, who seek it. He spreads the thought of Socrates.

[25] Idem p. 148-154 et 159-165. According to Cicero, Herodotus invented history by relating events and presenting characters as accurately as possible. He popularised it through his literary qualities and contributed greatly to the awakening of political awareness and reflection on the fate of peoples, tyranny and freedom, war and peace, of which he said that in the former, fathers bury sons, and in the latter, the reverse is true. For him, the freedoms that democracy grants to citizens enable them to collaborate with all their strength and motivate them to fight to keep them. Thus, it surpasses tyrannies, which sideline the best citizens and kill the spirit of initiative.

simplicity to luxury, effort to softness and reserve to the externalisation of emotions. They do not tremble before their many gods, nor before the priests. They do not consider building palaces to the glory of a king.[26]

From -448 to -429, Pericles ruled Athens, which dominated the Greek world militarily and intellectually, founding the golden age of ancient democracy. While the Sophists set the rules of rhetoric, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides create tragedy, Aristophanes comedy.[27] Pericles launched the construction of most of the monuments on the Acropolis, which Phydias decorated with magnificent statues. But from -431 onwards, Athens' opponents grouped around Sparta. The Peloponnesian War is about to begin.

The strategist Thucydides admires Herodotus but, to understand and expose the exact causes of the events that marked this war, he adds to his method the analytical tools of rhetoric analysis and based himself on precise facts. He uses rationalism to develop historical criticism and to deliver an account that is as objective as possible. He discards anecdotes, preferring to show the violence and selfishness of men and to note that passions cannot be stopped, that war leads to disrespect for law and morality and that only force prevails. He shows positivism, rejecting all explanations based on religions and superstitions: only men act. He verifies information and testimonies with a critical mind. He recounts the war in chronological order,[28] reporting the facts objectively, while presenting the human, general and instructive aspects, without neglecting the role of logistics, economics, and financial issues.[29]

Thucydides wants to know the truth, how people live, what their defences are, their strengths, their resources,[30] and then he draws universal lessons from the facts. Virtues and

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[26] Idem, p. 94-95.
[27] Idem, p. 62-64.
[28] Idem p. 146-151.
[29] Idem p. 168.
[30] Idem p. 154.

weaknesses, passions, and temptations, means and limits of human nature being what they are, he believes that by understanding the events of the past, it is possible to see clearly into those of the future which will present similarities or analogies to them. The factors of success or failure that he emphasises, such as experience, courage, surprise, innate gift, training, fear, can be found everywhere and in all times.

Like his contemporaries, Thucydides appreciated the progress of humanity and deplored the fact that all too often lucidity was replaced by passions, excessive ambition, vanity, the will to power and conquest, fear and the violence inherent in humans, which led people into error.[31] He draws inspiration from Hippocrates, from his scientific analysis, to describe the plague,[32] but also from his oath, when he recommends that politicians do the city as much service as possible, or at least deliberately do it no harm.[33]

Thucydides writes by making personal choices to construct his truth and give his *History of the Peloponnesian War* a universal but nuanced interpretation. He is focused on the present, on politics. He rejects the supernatural and mentions the oracles only to point out their errors. He is only interested in the men, their errors in the conception of operations or the mistakes made in the conduct of the battle. He recounts the various testimonies with a critical mind to distinguish the true from the false, as a judge would do in his court. He knows that causality is complex, that an incident can hasten or hinder the action of the root cause, that a storm can endanger the fleet, that a campaign depends on the success or failure of a landing or battle.[34] He

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[31] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, op. cit., p. 159-160.
[32] See **Jacqueline de Romilly, « Introduction », in Thucydide, Jacqueline de Romilly, Albert Thibaudet, *Histoire de la guerre du Péloponnèse. La Campagne avec Thucydide*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1990, p.** 144-146.
[33] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, op. cit., p. 179-183.
[34] See idem p. 165-167.

is not only a strategist, but also a political scientist, sociologist, psychologist, and political philosopher.[35]

This is how he sees the Peloponnesian War unfolding. The Delian League submitted to Athenian imperialism, which suppressed the autonomy of the allies. The allies had to pay tribute to Athens every year. Pericles did not hesitate to punish very harshly those who rebelled, but he also strengthened the Athenian democracy,[36] by making the functions of magistrate, member of the Council and judge, then member of the Assembly, accessible to the lower social classes.[37]

According to Thucydides, in his Funeral Oration for the First Dead of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles reminds us that in the Athenian political system, things depend not on the few, but on the many. He says: "We practice freedom, in politics and in everyday life. We are tolerant, we let our neighbour act as he pleases. In the public domain, fear holds us back from doing anything illegal, for we pay attention to successive magistrates and to laws, especially those which provide support for the victims of injustice, or which, without being written laws, carry as their sanction an unquestioned shame, such as the observance of oaths. We are generous, following less a calculation of interest than the confidence proper to freedom. These men died fighting for it. »[38]

Pericles also bequeathed to us some maxims that have not lost their relevance: "The qualities of a statesman are sound judgement, clarity of exposition, integrity, constancy, firmness, absence of arrogance and concern for the common good. »[39] « Those who, in the face of misfortune, show in their feelings the least affliction, and in their conduct the

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[35] See idem p. 161-163.
[36] See idem p. 673-675.
[37] See idem p. 99-101.
[38] See idem p. 264-266.
[39] See idem p. 276.

most resistance, are those who prevail. »[40] « In a democracy, it is the first citizen who should govern and not the personally interested and scheming demagogues. »[41]

In -429, many Athenians, including Pericles, die of the plague. His successors stopped applying his principles, the allies revolted. A peace is concluded in -421, then the war resumes.[42] In -415, the Athenians destroyed the city of Melos, which had wanted to remain neutral, stating that "the law intervenes in human judgements to inspire a judgement when pressures are equivalent; the possible, on the other hand, regulates the action of the strongest and the acceptance of the weakest." The inhabitants of Melos invoked tolerance, political liberalism, and respect for human rights, in vain.[43] In -411, he Athenian fleet, blocked in the port of Syracuse, was destroyed. When the Spartan general Lysander occupied Athens in -404, he razed its walls and imposed an oligarchic regime on Athens and the member cities of the League of Delos.[44]

Thucydides has masterfully pointed out the cause of the final disaster: by increasing its power and imperialism over 50 years,[45] Athens gradually ganged up on the other cities, which caused them to join the Peloponnesian coalition, to bring Athens down. The increasing capabilities of this threatening coalition made war inevitable for Athens.[46]

This process, which some call the Thucydides' trap, has been observed in other conflicts. Albert Thibaudet notes that the United Provinces, then England, then the United States of America saw the expansion of their financial and

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[40] See idem p. 277.
[41] See Jacqueline de Romilly, « Introduction », in Thucydide, Jacqueline de Romilly, Albert Thibaudet, *Histoire de la guerre du Péloponnèse. La Campagne avec Thucydide*, op. cit., p. 280.
[42] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, op. cit., p. 693 sv.
[43] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, op. cit, p. 475.
[44] Idem, p. 693 sv.
[45] Idem, p. 161-163.
[46] Idem p. 165-167.

maritime power challenged by a military power.[47] Some fear that this process is at work since Xi Jinping came to power, given the growing tensions between the United States and China.

After the Peloponnesian War, Greek science continued to progress. The Macedonian Aristotle (Stagira -384, Chalcis, -322) mastered all the knowledge of his time. In *Politeia*, he confronts the models of political regimes ranging from democracy to aristocracy, via oligarchy, monarchy, and tyranny, with logic and ethics. He clarifies the role of the city in education, already envisaged by Protagoras and Plato, by analysing the link between education and the political regime. He replaces Plato's abstract justice with equity. He recommends the golden mean, in all human actions and activities, applying practical wisdom (*phonesis*), to adapt each of them to the context in which they take place.[48] He turned out Alexander the Great (-356, -323), who became king of Macedon in -336, and benefited from the latter's expeditions to receive information on plants and animals, making the first discoveries in biology, also developed by his pupil Theophrastus. Through his conquest of the Persian Empire, Alexander opened up the Near and Middle East to Greek culture. He founded especially Alexandria of Egypt, which became the new Athens. It was here that Herophilus (Chalcedon, -325, Alexandria, -250) discovered the circulation of blood by dissection and that Eratosthenes (Cyrene, Libya, -280, Alexandria, -194) estimated the earth's circumference at 39,375 km, which is close to the current measurement: 40,075.02 km.

Archimedes (-287, -212), from Syracuse in Sicily, is as brilliant as mathematician and physicist as engineer. By killing him, the Romans put a brake on science and technology development.

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[47] See Albert Thibaudet, « La Campagne avec Thucydide » in Thucydide, Jacqueline de Romilly, Albert Thibaudet, *Histoire de la guerre du Péloponnèse. La Campagne avec Thucydide*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1990, p. 37-39.

[48] See Jacqueline de Romilly, *Pourquoi la Grèce ?*, op. cit, idem p. 264-286.

The Romans did not kill Polybius (Megalopolis, -208, died on the road around -126), an engineer, general and statesman. They took him hostage. He entered the service of the Scipio family and took part as an adviser in their campaigns in Spain and in the siege of Carthage. In his *Histories*, he proposes a mixture of royalty, aristocracy and democracy reminiscent of Great Britain. Montesquieu, in the second book of *L'Esprit des Lois*, was inspired by this to define "the republic", for us, the State, in which the authority can be royal, aristocratic, or democratic, depending on the number of rulers, and governs by issuing laws, thus distinguishing himself from despotism, in which the whims of the ruler are considered laws.[49]

1.2 A common historical continuity

Caesar implements a mode of governance that inspired many rulers, even *Kaisers* and *Tsars*. In -27, Augustus became the first Roman emperor, with the support of the army and the people, but he maintained the Senate of the *Res Publica*. Considering that the empire is not his property and that his function is not hereditary, he develops the notion of the State. Vitruvius writes the ten books entitled *De architectura*, the bible for architectural engineers up to the invention of artillery, and even beyond for civil engineering. Then Latin culture narrows to the seven liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The emperors Titus, in 70, and Hadrian, in 135, amplified the Jewish diaspora. Their successors are undergoing the rise of Christian thought, which speaks to us of love, equality and humanity.

In the fourth century, the Roman Empire split. The East is Greek and survives for a millennium. **It brings the law, through the codification of Theodosius and then Justinian, to a remarkable level.** The West, Latin, succumbs to the great invasions.

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[49] Idem, p. 145-147.

Three centuries later, the Arabs cut Europe off from the southern shores of the Mediterranean, but the Muslim world preserves Greek culture, from Afghanistan to Spain, and continues to connect us to Persia, India and China.

Charlemagne restores the Western Empire and founds Europe by force of arms. He begins the *Reconquista* of Spain. As in ancient times, his empire consisted of very different peoples, but they were perceived as European, in contrast to the Muslim peoples in the south and the Slavic peoples in the east. In spreading his concept of the Christian faith, he bequeathed to us the concept of human dignity[50] and the principle of separation of church and State.[51] By calling on Armenian and Visigoth architects, he prepared the Romanesque style. By founding an Academy in his palace in Aachen, led by Alcuin,[52] where he brought together the best scholars and artists of his time - Franks, Italian, Visigoth, Irish or English - by spreading throughout the empire the use of Latin and Carolingian calligraphy, and by promulgating in 789 the *Admonitio generalis*, which instituted an education based on the seven liberal arts, the emperor sparked the Carolingian Renaissance. He collected and transmitted the heritage of ancient Greece across the empire. He invokes Roman law. Like the imperial court, the feudal courts, cathedrals, and monasteries are the conservatories of Greco-Latin culture.

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[50] **See Paul's letter to the Galatians verse 28: "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male or female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus », Association épiscopale liturgique pour les pays francophones, https://www.aelf.org/bible/Ga/3, consulted on 15/12/2021.**

[51] **In practice, Charlemagne oscillated between Caesaropapism and submission, especially when he asked the pope to crown him emperor.**

[52] Alcuin defended the idea that the quest for happiness and truth must be mankind's main quest. See Florence Close, *La pensée théologico-politique de Charlemagne*, Université de Liège, https://culture.uliege.be/jcms/prod_957278/en/la-pensee-theologico-politique-de-charlemagne?part=4, September 2012.

In 1054, the three Eastern Christian patriarchs became Orthodox, that of Rome, Catholic. On the border between Croatia and Serbia, this caesura is still sensitive.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, the University of Bologna is born from of local law schools, that of Montpellier is founded by Jewish doctors expelled from Spain by the Almoravid sultans; the Paris *studium generale* is the first to be called *universitas*. Within them, the faculties of the arts teach the liberal arts and following a decision by Pope Nicholas IV (1230-1292), award the *licentia docendi*, a diploma allowing teaching throughout Catholic Christendom, which gives universities a pan-European character. After the arts, students can study theology, law, or medicine.

In the 14th century, Turkish invasions drive Muslim Tatars from Crimea to Poland and Lithuania. In the first half of the 15th century, the Portuguese, under the impulse of Henry the Navigator, explore the coasts of Africa. The Ottomans overthrow the Eastern Empire in 1453. Gutenberg perfects the letterpress between 1454 and 1468; it allows mass printing, the enormous fall in the price of books and the dissemination of knowledge throughout Europe. Copernicus revolutionizes astronomy. In 1492, Queen Isabella of Castile and her husband King Ferdinand of Aragon complete the Reconquista, expelling Muslims and Jews from Spain; they move to Constantinople, Sarajevo and Morocco; Christopher Columbus discovers America and opens the colonial era.

In 1516, Thomas More publishes, in Louvain, *Utopia*, an innovative political community project. On 31 October 1517, Protestantism came into being, whose ethics support the development of modern capitalism. Erasmus, the colleges of ancient languages of Leuven, Alcala de Henares, Paris and Vienna develop classical philology. Vesalius recreates anatomy, Mercator renews geography. The treaties of Westphalia put an end to the wars of religion in 1648. **They** founded the nation States, which gradually democratized. Descartes begins the decline of magical thinking. The failures

of the sieges of Vienna in 1529 and 1683 starts the ebb of the Ottoman Empire.

The Glorious Revolution in England marks the beginning of political liberalism. Locke, Hobbes, Newton, Leibnitz and Montesquieu found thought, science and modern law.

Peter the Great ties Russia up with Europe. Kant uses the expression of the Latin poet Horace *Sapere aude*, "Dare to know! ", to give its motto to the Enlightenment: "Have the courage to use your intelligence!". He also founds critical, republican, and humanist thinking, by going beyond communitarianism. The independence of the United States of America, the American constitutions of 1776 and 1787, inspire the leaders of the French Revolution, who adopt the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, before sinking into the Terror, then the Napoleonic dictatorship. This puts Europe at war, but it leaves us the Civil Code, which gives social, family and heritage relations common to many European peoples.

The Treaty of Vienna and the Restoration open the 19th century, meaning Romanticism, the rise of nationalism, the first industrial revolution, coal and railway. Tocqueville theorizes democracy. Germany and Italy unify. Then come the rise of socialism, trade unionism and Christian democracy, which reinforce the efforts of the liberals to obtain from the conservatives the humanization of the economic rise, in particular by the establishment of universal suffrage or by access to accommodation, like at Grand Hornu, Bois du Luc, New Lanark, or Guise.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire had a dozen nationalities, ethnicities, and cultures, but it unified by promoting free trade, establishing a common citizenship and army, imposing a single administration, judiciary, and school policy, prohibiting linguistic and confessional discrimination, and abolishing regional borders.[53]

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[53] See Pieter M. Judson, *L'Empire des Habsbourg. Une histoire inédite*, Paris, Perrin, 2021.

Naive pacifism fails to stop the First World War. During this time, medicine and surgery try to limit somewhat the appalling loss of life, caused, among other things, by the rise of chemistry. The end of the Russian, German, Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires, the excesses of the Treaty of Versailles, favour the rise of totalitarianisms and brings the Second World War into their midst. The promoters of the United States of Europe, Coudenhove-Kalergi, Churchill, Briand and Stresemann fail to establish them.

Charles de Gaulle helped conceive the tactics that enable Guderian and Rommel to break through the French lines in 1940. The cowardice of the democratic leaders vis-a-vis the Nazis, at the time of the militarization of Rhineland, of the occupation of the Sudetenland and then of Austria, the von Ribbentrop - Molotov pact, lead to conflict **from Poland to Finland**, then it becomes widespread and paves the way for the second industrial revolution, that of oil, jet engines, antibiotics, radio, radar and the atom.

At the end of the Cold War, begins the third industrial revolution, that of telecommunications and data processing. The fall of the Soviet empire frees millions of Europeans. The Chinese renaissance, while lifting hundreds of millions of Chinese out of poverty, prolongs the reign of communist totalitarianism. China, a rising power,[54] and the American hegemon, a declining power, are caught in Thucydides' trap.

1.3 European values

Today's Europe[55] is based on common but cross-cultural values. It was built on the desire for peace and cooperation,

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[54] Becoming a power depends on geography, demography, technical and scientific innovation, economy, international trade and military capabilities.

[55] See Chantal Delsol, *La fin de la Chrétienté. L'inversion normative et le nouvel âge*, Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2021. For Ms Delsol, Europe has become pluralist, no longer accepting the domination of one belief or ideology. Believing it held the truth, Christianity, supported by the authority of the State since the Lower Roman Empire, imposed it on society through its hierarchical structure, by coercion, subjugation and lies. Except under Pope John XXIII, it has opposed the Enlightenment,

democracy, freedom of thought and freedom of association, the balance between the individual and the group, between freedom and organization, between protection and the freedom to experiment.

Since the Treaty of Lisbon, the values of the EU have been enshrined in Article 2 TEU, which declares: “The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the member-States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail”.[56]

Europe must continue to project them throughout the world, by being strong, by speaking with one voice, by being a reliable partner for our allies. Europe will then be better able to defend our interests and protect us. If it does not do so, it will encourage the resurgence of various forms of barbarism.

The text of Article 2 TEU is comprehensive and balanced, but difficult to understand for twelve-year-old’s who are starting to acquire citizenship, and for an uneducated recruit who enlists in the security services or the army. Yet the shared values in our society underpin the moral strength of **our** soldiers, policemen or firemen. Therefore, it is useful to summarize them in **three** words: humanism, which is based on tolerance and ethics, progressivism, and universalism. Europe

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liberalism, the emancipation of women, the disenchantment of the world, ... This is why sixteen centuries of Christianity are coming to an end. A new normative and philosophical inversion reopens the pagan era, restores the ancient wisdoms, mainly Stoicism and Epicureanism.

[56] These values were first affirmed by the treaty of Maastricht in 1992. With the treaty of Lisbon, the Charter has become binding on the member-States (Article 6 TEU). The rights set out can therefore be invoked by European citizens against an act of the EU which is contrary to them. See Direction de l’Information légale et administrative, Vie publique, "Quelles valeurs l’Union européenne défend-elle ?" http://www.vie-publique.fr/decouverte-institutions/union-europeenne/ue-citoyennete/definition/quelles-valeurs-union-europeenne-defend-elle.html, consulted on 19/7/2014.

values the spirit of openness and free discovery, which leads to pluralism. This implies the separation of the State and religions as philosophical conceptions. Everyone has the right to autonomy, dignity, and the esteem of others; he also has duties. It is neither consumerism nor fundamentalism that can link the members of our society together. Europe is multi-ethnic, multicultural, multi-religious, tolerant, and secular. This implies that its citizens work for progress, cultivate benevolence and even brotherhood between them, reject violence and combat barbarity.

The disenchantment of the Western world described by Max Weber has two consequences. On the one hand, religious influences are no longer preponderant in public opinion: atheists (40%) and "believers without religion" (30%) are now largely in the majority in Europe.[57] On the other hand, according to Marcel Gauchet, religion no longer structures society. It is therefore preferable for citizens to deal with the metaphysical questions they legitimately ask themselves in their private sphere.[58]

Neutrality should therefore be substituted for communitarianism, which juxtaposes different metaphysical conceptions.

The "Greek miracle" **discussed in section 1.1** produced a "secular spirituality" which is a quest and a definition of good, successful living, of wisdom. It makes no reference to metaphysics or religious faith.[59] Since antiquity, the wise man is defined as the one who achieves a good life, to be himself, who accepts human finitude, aging and death. He knows

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[57] According to the 2010 Eurobarometer and 2012 WIN/Gallup International surveys. See Leila Marchand, " Plus de la moitié des Français ne se réclament d'aucune religion " in *Le Monde*, http://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2015/05/07/une-grande-majorite-de-francais-ne-se-reclament-d-aucune-religion_4629612_4355770.html, 7/5/2015.

[58] See Marcel Gauchet, Marie-Claude Blais, Dominique Ottavi, *Conditions de l'éducation*, Paris, Stock, 2008.

[59] See Paul Danblon, Lambros Couloubaritsis (dir.), *Humanisme ou barbarie, actes du colloque Europe, Terre d'humanisme*, Bruxelles, Éditions Espace de libertés, 1997.

himself; he adopts moral rules and ethics. He develops a vision of the world, and he gives meaning to his life.[60] He seeks the truth. He manages to reveal and overcome contradictions between opinions on a given subject. He can face fears, whether psychic or social, and to live the present as if it were eternity, without nostalgia and without hope: he does good for the sake of good itself, and not for a hypothetical reward.

Such wisdom is by no means antinomic to the various metaphysical convictions, including agnosticism and atheism, but complementary. It corresponds to scientific practice in the philosophical world.[61]

Since everyone being considered capable of choosing in conscience his conception of the good,[62] this wisdom, this humanism, is addressed to, and respects, all human beings, of all convictions.

The cardinal values of humanism were born from the confrontation of the Greco-Roman tradition with Judeo-Christianity, without neglecting the contribution of Islam and Buddhism: freedom of expression, thought and conscience, the supreme degrees of human freedom; immanence, which postulates that history follows the natural course of events, without outside intervention; the moral of progress, the search for the least evil in place of the absolute good; human rights,

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[60] This meaning can be of religious origin, and this conception in no way prevents a metaphysical reflection, for example on what exists before and after human life.

61 According to Renan, quoted by Paul Robert, « Abstraction » in *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, Paris, Société du nouveau Littré, 3e éd., 1977, p. 8, « Le principe essentiel de la science, c'est de faire abstraction du surnaturel » - The essential principle of science is to disregard the supernatural. Hélie de Saint-Marc said : «Under the uniform, I ask you neither your name nor your religion... but only what is your courage.» Hélie de Saint-Marc, *Les sentinelles du soir*, Paris, Les Arènes, 1999, quoted by Henri Bentégeat, *Aimer l'armée, une passion à partage*r, Paris, Du Mesnil, 2012, p. 140.

62 By analogy with the political conception of justice developed by Rawls: individuals with conflicting opinions, but reasonable and reconcilable by compromise, agree to regulate the basic structures of society. See John Rawls, *Libéralisme politique*, trad. Catherine Audard, Paris, PUF, 1995.

equality and respect for the dignity of the human person; tolerance; social protection; creativity and responsibility which, together with freedom, constitute the presuppositions of democracy. This system of values is combined with a set of methods: free inquiry, applied to all fields of human activity; the scientific or experimental method; democracy, as a means of managing the public affairs; and technology, considered as the application of science. At the foundation of democracy are principles such as equality of right, dignity and treatment for all citizens, exclusion of all forms of racism and xenophobia, rejection of all discrimination based on social origin, ethnicity or religion, and of course freedom, understood at the same time as responsibility, free enjoyment of one's rights, protection against all forms of arbitrariness or exploitation, and participation in political life.[63]

1.4 One fatherland, one common culture

Geographically, Europe is bounded by its coasts to the north, to the west, to the south. To the east, geographers established the border with the Urals and the Caspian Sea, which includes the western part of Russia. To the southeast, the continent stops at the Bosphorus Strait and the Black Sea.[64] But this continent has no other political expression than the EU, which is not a State**, only an association of States**.[65]

The EU is criticized for expanding so rapidly to the east during the implosion of the Soviet Union, but there were many reasons

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63 See Jean Marsia, « La spécificité de la fonction militaire", in André Flahaut, Luk Sanders, Hervé Broquet (éd.), *Citoyenneté, Pour devenir citoyen du monde*, Bruxelles, École royale militaire, syllabus LM 199/999–21, 2003, p. 3.

64 This continent received the name of the princess of Tyre kidnapped by Zeus, whose name, of Semitic origin (ereb) refers to the sunset.

65 Let us remember that the French departments of Algeria were part of the ECSC, the EEC and Euratom until Algeria gained independence in 1962; a Moroccan candidacy justified by this fact had to be rejected. Greenland, the Canary Islands, the Azores, Madeira and the French Overseas Departments or Territories are, for various reasons, partly European, whether in a geographical, political or cultural sense. Finally, Malta is in the EU, although geographers locate it in Africa.

for doing so: historical, economic, security and above all geopolitical. It should be noted that the EU was able to avoid the disproportionate size of the Council of Europe, enlarged by the addition of the Russian Federation, including Siberia, and Turkey, while most of the Russian and Turkish territories are in Asia.

Some Western Balkan states, Ukraine, **Moldova** and Georgia are candidates for accession. Switzerland, with 26 cantons with four different ethnic groups, and Norway, whose inhabitants use three different languages, have a strong cohesion and vision of their future which has led them to turn down EU membership, at least formally, because they are in the EEA. In practice, these two countries, their citizens and their businesses have the rights and duties of Europeans, except that **their** citizens do not vote in elections to the European Parliament or in local elections in another member-State and **their** governments do not sit in the European Council. They nevertheless apply European law, pay their share of the EU budget, participate in the European Defence Agency and their contribution to European culture is undeniable.

The Athenian Isocrates (-436, -338) taught us that "People who participate in our education are called Greeks, rather than those who have the same origin as we do." We are European because we share a culture. So let us begin by defining culture, figuratively speaking, based on Renaud Denuit's work,[66] **for** Plato said, in the Republic, that 'the perversion of the city-State begins with the distortion of words'.

In common parlance, culture is the set of values, traditions and works of art specific to a broad social group.[67] Throughout life, in the family, through primary, secondary, and higher, basic and continuing, continuous education, through reading and through

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[66] See Renaud Denuit, *Politique culturelle européenne*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 2016 ; Renaud Denuit, *Capitales européennes de la culture, un rêve de Melina*, Bruxelles, Académie royale de Belgique, 2018.

[67] In Germany, *Kultur* designates the constitutive elements of a people's identity, its specific genius, its *Geist*, what the French express by "civilization".

the "fine arts", culture develops in close connection with aesthetics, innovation, artistic creation, imagination, while scientific and technological development is conceived in terms of the accumulation of knowledge and experience. Public authorities stimulate the development of literature, the arts, sciences, and technology.

The public who considers himself cultivated and the professionals of culture have a more restricted perception of it: they are only concerned with literature in all its forms, but above all novel or fiction, and with the arts which generate the largest turnover and the greatest number of jobs: cinema, radio, television, and the written press.

Social anthropology, on the other hand, has a much broader concept of culture: it is the set of means used by a community to ensure its existence. These are gestures, language, norms regulating to group life, including sexual relations, clothing, knowledge, including cooking, education, myths, religious traditions, means of transport, leisure, sports activities, armaments, etc. These elements give this community its identity.

Culture, in its broadest sense, is regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. In addition to the arts and letters, it encompasses ways of life, fundamental human rights, value systems, traditions, and beliefs.[68]

Cultures are therefore as numerous as human groups of a certain size. But not all of them integrate the fundamental rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 in the same way, when these should be the same for all humans, since there is only one only human race.

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[68] Culture, in its broadest sense, is considered to be the set of distinctive features, spiritual and material, intellectual and affective, that characterize a society or a social group. In addition to the arts and letters, it includes lifestyles, fundamental human rights, value systems, traditions and beliefs. See UNESCO, *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*, Mexico City, World Conference on Cultural Policies, 26 July - 6 August 1982.

Philosophically and legally, fundamental human rights cannot vary from one culture to another, especially when it comes to respect for the human person. But many cultures, depending on their more or less patriarchal conception of the family, religion or dominant political and religious orientation, tolerate discrimination, particularly based on gender and sexual orientation. Yet cultural diversity cannot be used as an argument for transgressing fundamental human rights.

Europe is made up of peoples with very diverse traditions, languages, religions, and political systems. Since the end of Charlemagne's empire, they have opposed each other, fortunately by less belligerent means since 1945, if we exclude the tragic tearing apart of the former Yugoslavia and the Russian invasions in Georgia and Ukraine. China and India, however, have a history as tumultuous as ours; they have a cultural diversity comparable to ours. The United States of America, Russia and Brazil have not always been federated; they are as vast and diverse as Europe, if not more. This did not prevent them from gradually developing a common culture.

By travelling outside Europe, we get a better sense of the European *habitus*.[69] We have similarities with the United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Chile, and Israel, which are overwhelmingly populated by European immigrants, but we have more in common with Europeans. In the USA, there is a noticeable lack of ancient history, the architecture is more functional, the town planning too: there are hardly any winding alleys there, charming little squares, nor places dedicated to gastronomy. In Japan, China, India, Africa, we are clearly foreigners. A European, on the other hand, can feel at home, from Palermo to St. Petersburg and from Edinburgh to Athens.

The whole world understands what it means to "dress European". The existence of this culture first came to prominence under Charlemagne, who ruled over a large part of

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[69] The word *habitus* means, in sociology, the way of being of an individual, linked to a social group, a disposition of mind, expressed through clothing, speaking, gestures, codes, hierarchy of values, etc.

the continent and achieved the first renaissance, known as the Carolingian Renaissance. It is not only the supporters of the project of a unified Europe who participate in the development of our culture, but all citizens do so, each in his or her own way. We are not just from this family, this neighbourhood, this city, this province, this region; our passport, both national and European, characterizes us only partially, because our identities are multiple.

European's relationships with nature, the city, the State, and authority are, if not identical, at least very similar. From the Greeks they inherited philosophical and scientific thought, from the Romans, the art of war, the organization of the State and the law, and from the Judeo-Christian religion, a particular conception of the world, including the separation of Churches and State. The Enlightenment, the experimental scientific spirit and the industrial revolution were added to this cultural heritage. However, it does not protect against confrontations: the links forged between us unfortunately also stem from the eleven centuries of internal conflict that ravaged Europe between the Treaty of Verdun of 843 and **the German capitulations of 8 and 9 May** 1945.

Since the extension of the EU towards the East, according to the biannual Eurobarometer, there is a growing convergence between the cultures of the peoples of East and West. We are witnessing the emergence of an increasingly common habitus, a "European society" that shares the same values, the same indignations, the same dreams. For the younger generations, the European fact is obvious. The removal of border controls and all kinds of barriers to freedom of movement and the right of establishment is a major factor. The possibility of travel stimulates intellectual curiosity for other peoples; business, friendships and families are becoming increasingly transnational.

The Bologna Process is bringing higher education systems together. The abolition of the death penalty, social security, compulsory basic education and solidarity are common to all EU countries and are part of our European culture.

Cathedral builders, painters, musicians, philosophers have travelled from all times; they have been inspired by each other. The cross-fertilization of intellectual currents, the mixing of ideas, the sharing of techniques, cross-reading and nomadism gave our culture a European character, long before the project of a political Europe was born. It is not for nothing that Europe is the first tourist destination in the world. Leonardo da Vinci, Erasmus, Mozart, Nietzsche, Schiller, Beethoven and Victor Hugo are above all Europeans.

Since 1949, the Council of Europe, our Human Rights Convention, since 1954 the European Cultural Convention, which has helped to safeguard and promote Europe's cultural heritage, are both part of our culture. The European Heritage Days, the European Cultural Routes, the European Audiovisual Observatory, the Eurimages Fund,[70] which subsidizes cinema, are too.

The European Commission has been forced to take an interest in the audio-visual sector regarding standards and technology. Since 1985, 55 cities have been European Capitals of Culture. In 1989, the "television without frontiers" directive was adopted. The MEDIA program supports the production of European films. A "Culture" article appears in the Maastricht Treaty. For Americans, culture is only one aspect of the entertainment industry, for Europeans, cultural products must be protected. Copyright is another major issue for European culture if we want to protect ourselves against American cultural imperialism.

This is particularly important in the field of defence, as it benefits from the powerful relay provided by NATO. Nevertheless, European military personnel working in the European External Action Service (EEAS) or the European Defence Agency (EDA), or on missions for the EU, are developing a common strategic culture.[71] They are no longer

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70 Eurimages is since 1989 the Cultural Fund of the Council of Europe. See https://www.coe.int/fr/web/eurimages, 25/2/2020.

[71] See Samuel B. H. Faure, *L'émergence d'une culture stratégique commune*, Balma, Éditions Athéna, 2015.

only at the service of their State, but also of the European institutions, which use particular working methods. This common strategic culture is disseminated within the European armed forces, but also in various civilian environments, by the military institutions of higher education in Europe, and in particular by the European Security and Defence College (ESDC) of the EEAS.

European integration is not comparable to either that of the formation of the United States of America, Switzerland, the Federal Republics of Austria or Germany, etc. While European nation States have tried in the past to erase their regions, the EU protects the diversity of cultures within the member-States: budgets are earmarked for the preservation of minority languages and cultures.

Europe's diverse languages and cultures are in no way an obstacle to its unification, nor are the constituent parts of the landscape in conflict with its aesthetic unity. Our greatness is best expressed by our multiculturality. Trying to replace the 24 official EU languages with bad English makes no sense. On this point, let's not imitate the United States of America, which now has only one official language at the federal level, while it was still running its presidential campaigns in 16 languages in 1912.

The Ancient Greek language withered and died having been adopted and then emptied of its meaning because, in the Empire of Alexander, poor quality Greek became the common language. This does not contradict the observation that it is futile to prevent a language from evolving.[72] **To prevent current European languages from being stripped of their meaning, like ancient Greek, which is already happening but is leading to a return to barbarism, the State in the broadest sense must ensure that the use of the language in all spheres of public life is meticulous, so that it sets an example for the whole of society.**

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[72] See Andrea Marcolongo, *La lingua geniale. 9 ragioni per amare il greco*, Gius, Laterza & Figli, 2016, trans. Béatrice Robert-Boissier, *La langue géniale, 9 bonnes raisons d'aimer le grec*, Paris, Les belles lettres, p. 234.

Chapter 2 will remind that, despite the pleas of Victor Hugo, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, Dwight D. Eisenhower, among others, Europeans have failed to unify Europe, politically and militarily. This has cost us millions of deaths and international downgrading.

2. 1849-2005, so many dashed hopes of uniting Europe

After establishing in the first chapter the existence of common European history, **values,** culture, and patriotism, and knowing what the single market, open borders and a common currency have brought to our well-being, we have a foundation on which to build a democratic and transparent, federal[73] Europe that is truly capable of protecting**: the United States of Europe. This concept** was first stated by Victor Hugo, **as will be explained in the first section. That is why this story begins in 1849. He took the United States of America as his model. On George Washington proposal, they became in 1787 a federation[74] because of the institutional dysfunctions of a confederation the War of Independence revealed. The Helvetic Confederation did the same in 1848, after the *Sonderbund* civil war, and Germany follow suit in 1949, after the confederal errors of the First, Second and Third Reichs.**

To understand why this long-standing project was not realized, a review of the history of Europe is necessary from before the First World War until 1949.

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[73] Lucien de Sainte Lorette, in *L'idée d'union fédérale européenne*, Paris, Librairie Armand Collin, 1955, p. 9-20, shows that since the 14th century, the precursors of Hugo, Pierre Dubois, Georges Podiebrad, Erasmus, Henri IV and Sully, William Penn, the abbot of Saint-Pierre, Montesquieu and Immanuel Kant only envisaged confederations. **That is why this story begins in 1849.**

[74] George Washington had a federal constitution adopted by a Convention meeting in Philadelphia in 1787. It established a republic based on the separation and balance of powers of power, as advocated by Montesquieu, as well as their collaboration (*checks and balances*); an executive power, the President of the United States; a legislative power, the Congress, composed of the House of Representatives of the citizens, and the Senate, which represented the federated States; and the judiciary. with the Supreme Court at its top, which ensures that the Constitution is respected by laws, the federated States and the organs of the federal State. To have it ratified by the 13 states, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay published 85 articles in 1788, *The Federalist Papers*.

The beginning of European integration will follow, with the creation of the Atlantic Alliance, Charles de Gaulle's pan-European project, the beginnings of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) then the failure of the European Defence Community (EDC) and of the first draft constitutional treaty, **which was supposed to establish** the European Political Community (EPC).

The Treaties of Rome on the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) **opened the golden period, the work of Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer. After their departure, a period of stagnation followed, from the Davignon Report to the Single European Act. The latter inspired a series of significant but insufficient advances, such as the activation of the Western European Union (WEU), the creation of the Eurocorps, the Schengen zone, the single market, the single currency, the European Security and Defence Identity and the concept of the EU Battle Group.**

In 2005, the failure of the 3rd draft "Constitutional Treaty" was already a sign of the EU's disintegration.

2.1 Before the First World War

On 21 August 1849, in Paris, in his speech to the Congress of Friends of Universal Peace, Victor Hugo called for the creation of the United States of Europe.[75] Neither the text of this magnificent speech, published two days later by the newspaper *Le Siècle*, nor the calls for peace by Jean Jaurès, will prevent the wars of the end of the 19th century and the First World War.

2.2 The inter-war

After this terrible massacre, the idea of the United States of Europe was taken up again in 1923 by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972), when he noticed in 1922 that the USA did not join the League of Nations (LoN). He created the Pan-

[75] Victor Hugo, *Discours au Congrès de la paix*, op. cit.

European Movement. He wanted a confederation of States, a community, which would pursue common foreign, economic and defence policies.[76] In 1923, he published *Pan Europa*, a title that expresses the political concept of Europe as opposed to the geographical concept. The work is prefaced by Churchill.

Coudenhove-Kalergi is seeing clearly: "If Europe does not learn from history, it will suffer the same fate as the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic nation. Politically and militarily, it will become the world's chessboard, the object of the world politics of which it was once the subject. It will be forgotten in the allotment of markets and raw material-producing countries. Like China or Turkey yesterday, Europe will tomorrow be divided into spheres of influence".[77]

The Pan European Movement has the support of many European personalities: economists and businessmen, diplomats and writers, politicians too, such as Edvard Beneš, Paul Painlevé, Edouard Herriot, Gustav Stresemann, who in 1925 got the idea adopted by the congress of the German socialist party held in Heidelberg and finally Aristide Briand, who **finally** in 1929 introduced his intention to "make the United States of Europe" into the program of his government, then before the assembly of the LoN in Geneva, where he was received with enthusiasm.

Briand was honorary president of the pan-European movement but respected the sovereignty of the States. **In a memorandum he sended to the 26 European governments on 17 May 1930, he proposed only that "a body be set up which would be able to assert the European specificity within the LoN permanently and effectively". T**he Quai d'Orsay published a White Paper and the LoN set up a Study Commission on the European Union, chaired by Briand himself. The commission met several times until the death of its president and was buried

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[76] Erich Schenk, “Interview mit Richard Coudenhove- Kalergi”, Wien, Österreichische Mediathek, https://www.mediathek.at/frauenstimmen/suche/detail/atom/15E9DB6C-003-000AC-00000EBC-15E91EC7/pool/BWEB/, 19/11/1971.

[77] Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan-Europa*, Verlag, 1923, p. 25-26.

at the same time as him. Unfortunately, all the European States, except the Netherlands, then considered that their union should maintain the sovereignty and independence[78] of the participating States.

Coudenhove-Kalergi failed to convince the decision-makers or mobilize the masses, but reading *Pan Europa* gave Konrad Adenauer and Charles de Gaulle the will to build Europe.[79]

In 1938, Winston Churchill pleaded in the American press in favour of Coudenhove-Kalergi's theses, specifying what Britain's role should be: *The attitude of Great Britain towards European unification or "federal links" would, in the first instance, be determined by her dominant conception of a united British Empire. Every step that tends to make Europe more prosperous and more peaceful is conducive to British interests. (...) We rejoice at every diminution of the internal tariffs and the martial armaments of Europe. We see nothing but good and hope in a richer, freer, more contented European commonalty. But we have our own dream and our own task. We are with Europe, but not of it. We are linked, but not comprised. We are interested and associated, but not absorbed.* »[80]

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[78] Arthur Salter, *The United States of Europe, and other papers*, New York, Reynal and Hitchcock Inc., 1933. Sovereignty is only the theoretical freedom to do what one wants, even to attack one's neighbors. Independence allows one to develop freely, hence the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, signed by all the delegates to the Congress.

[79] **In 1942, Maurice Schumann spoke to de Gaulle about Coudenhove-Kalergi. The General knew his ideas and agreed with them in general terms. See Alain Larcan, « Relations et convergences de Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi et Charles de Gaulle, « deux réalistes courageux inspirés par des idéaux modernes » in Alain Larcan, *Coudenhove-Kalergi - de Gaulle. Une certaine idée de l'Europe*, Paris, Cahier n° 6 - 1999 de la Fondation Charles-de-Gaulle, p. 92. From 1943 to 1970, Coudenhove-Kalergi wrote 44 political letters to the General, who replied with 25 letters. The correspondence between Richard Niklaus de Coudenhove-Kalergi and Charles de Gaulle between 1943 and 1970 is preserved in the Vaud cantonal archives.**

[80] Winston Churchill, "Why not 'The United States of Europe'?" in T*he Saturday Evening Post* and in *The News of the World*, 9/5/1938. An abridged

2.3 From the end of the Second World War to the Washington Treaty

We know what it has cost Europe to maintain absolute sovereignty and political independence of States, in terms of millions of deaths, millions of wounded, destruction of cultural and material heritage and downgrading on the international stage, notably.

Americans generally believe that their federal Constitution of 1787 allows people from all over the world to live together, recognizing themselves as nationals of a universal power. John Foster Dulles is one of those who, aware of Europe's diversity and multiculturality, wanted to transpose the American model there. After Roosevelt and Churchill signed the Atlantic Charter on 14 August 1941, this jurist, who was Secretary of State to President Eisenhower from 1953 to 1959, supported a European federalism, because he deplored the fact that Articles 2 and 3 of the Charter, sought to re-establish the division of the European continent and to guarantee the security of the United Kingdom by means of a balance of power.

Dulles considered that "the cost of this old policy of human misery and economic waste has now become prohibitive".[81] He feared, like Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804), one of the founding fathers of the federal United States of America, that "to seek the pursuit of harmony between a number of independent and unrelated sovereignties in the same neighbourhood would be to disregard the uniform course of human events and to defy the accumulated experience of past centuries." [82]

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version, “A Great Big Idea,” appeared in *John Bull* the same day. See https://winstonchurchill.org/publications/finest-hour/finest-hour-130/the-united-states-of-europe/, 11/5/2019.

[81] “There is abundant evidence that the English people realize that the cost of this old policy in human misery and economic waste has now become prohibitive.” John Foster Dulles, « Peace Without Platitudes » in *Fortune*, vol. XXV, n° 1, Jan. 1942.

[82] “To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent unconnected sovereignties, situated in the same neighbourhood, would be to

Dulles could have quoted the observation and solution of Abbot Gabriel Bonnot de Mably: "Neighbouring nations are naturally enemies of each other, unless their common weakness obliges them to join a confederal republic and their constitution prevents neighbourhood quarrels, extinguishing the secret jealousy that disposes all States to enlarge at the expense of their neighbours".[83]

In 1941, the anti-fascist activists Altiero Spinelli, Ernesto Rossi and Eugenio Colorni, exiled on Ventotene, a small island in the Tyrrhenian Sea, wrote 'For a free and united Europe. Draft Manifesto'[84], which was circulated within the European resistance movement by Ursula Hirschmann, Colorni's wife. This *Ventotene Manifesto* argued, in the midst of the war, for the political union of Europe in the form of a federal state. It was adopted as a programme by the European Federalist Movement, founded in August 1943 in Milan.

On 21 October 1943 in London, the governments of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed a monetary agreement. It was supplemented on 5 September 1944 by a customs convention establishing a common tariff and providing for the creation of a Benelux economic union,

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disregard the uniform course of human events, and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages." Alexander Hamilton, "Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States" in *The Independent Journal* (Federalist Papers No. 6), al. 2, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed06.asp.

[83] « Neighbouring nations are naturally enemies of each other, unless their common weakness forces them into a confederal republic and their constitution prevents neighbourly (quarrels), extinguishing that secret jealousy which disposes all states to grow at their neighbours' expense.». Gabriel Bonnot de Mably (1709-1785), *Des principes des négociations pour servir au Droit public fondé sur les traités*, The Hague, 1757, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k93799c.image, quoted by Alexander Hamilton, "Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States", op. cit.

[84] See Altiero Spinelli et Ernesto Rossi, préface d'Eugenio Colorni, *Il Manifesto di Ventotene / Le Manifeste de Ventotene*. Présentation d'Enrico Letta et introductions de Lucio Levi et Pier Virgilio Dastoli, Genoa-Ventotene, 2021.

the forerunner of the European Economic and Monetary Union.[85]

On 31 March, 29 April, 20 May and 6 and 7 July 1944, protestant minister Willem Visser 't Hooft brought together in Geneva representatives of resistance movements from Denmark, France, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, as well as a group of German anti-Nazi activists, to prepare for the advent, after the war, of a federal and democratic Europe such as that proposed by *Ventotene Manifesto*. The *Manifesto of the European Resistance*,[86] which resulted from their work, declared that the aims of the Resistance could only be achieved if all countries agreed to go beyond the dogma of the absolute sovereignty of States and accepted to integrate into a federal organisation, the only one capable of guaranteeing democracy, social justice and respect for human rights, but also of ensuring the peaceful participation of the German people in European life. The *Manifesto of European Resistance* advocates the creation of a federal union between the European peoples, the establishment of a government accountable to the peoples of the member countries of the federation, an army under the orders of this federal government and a supreme court competent to judge questions relating to the interpretation of the federal constitution and to settle any disputes that may arise between the member States of the federation.

The Paris Federalist Conference, organized from March 22 to 25, 1945 by Altiero Spinelli and chaired by Albert Camus, tried unsuccessfully to influence the decision-makers who, following

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[85] This agreement and convention were extensions of the Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union treaty (BLEU) of 25 July 1921, which led to a monetary and fiscal union on 23 May 1935.

[86] See sn, « La Résistance et l'idée européenne » Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and digital History, https://www.cvce.eu/collections/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/81649a8e-0558-4721-b443-d609f19dfa24.

the Yalta conference the previous month, were considering the political reorganization of the continent.

In 1946, from 15 to 22 September, former federalist resistance fighters from fourteen countries met in Hertenstein, on the shores of Lake of the Four Cantons.[87] On 19 September, in Zurich, Churchill developed his wish of 1938: *We must build a kind of United States of Europe. (...) There is no reason why a regional organisation of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organisation of the United Nations. (...) And why should there not be a European group which could give a sense of enlarged patriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this mighty continent? (...) In order that this may be accomplished there must be an act of faith in which the millions of families speaking many languages must consciously take part. (...) Let there be justice, mercy and freedom. The peoples have only to will it and all will achieve their heart's desire. Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the United Nations Organisation. Under and within that world concept we must re-create the European family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe, and the first practical step will be to form a Council of Europe. If at first all the States of Europe are not willing or able to join a union, we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and who can. The salvation of the common people of every race and every land from war and servitude must be established on solid foundations and must be created by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than to submit to tyranny. In this urgent work France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America - and, I trust, Soviet Russia, for then indeed all would be well - must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live. Therefore, I say to you: "Let Europe*

[87] See **Robert Belot, *Henri Frenay. De la Résistance à l'Europe*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2023, p. 523.**

arise![88] **On 15 and 16 December, the European Union of Federalists (UEF) is founded in Paris.**

Considering prosperity as the first remedy against communism, General Marshall, the American Secretary of State, invited in June 1947 the European nations to unite to receive American aid; the Marshall Plan was implemented in 16 European countries outside the Soviet zone by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) from 1948 onwards.

From 27 to 31 August, the UEF held its first congress in Montreux. It called for a European federal authority, including a government, a supreme court to settle any disputes between Member States, and an armed force, but it did not provide for a parliamentary assembly or a constitution.[89]

The many positive responses to the questionnaire on the establishment of a European federation within the framework of the United Nations, which he sent in October 1946 to more than four thousand parliamentarians in Western Europe, led Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi to organise the first congress of the European Parliamentary Union (EPU) in Gstaad from 8 to 10 September 1947. It brought together 114 European MPs and senators from ten countries to discuss the most effective way of promoting European federalism. Unfortunately, no draft European Constitution establishing executive, legislative and judicial powers, or a common European currency, was drawn up by the UPE, which nevertheless had at its disposal the draft Constitution for the United States of Europe, drawn up by the Legal Commission of the Fifth Pan-European Congress, which met in New York from 1943 to 1945, in collaboration with the Centre for the Study of a Post-War European Federation at New York University, because Richard

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[88] Winston Churchill, *Speech delivered at the University of Zurich*, 19/9/1946, https://rm.coe.int/16806981f3.

[89] See **Robert Belot, *Henri Frenay. De la Résistance à l'Europe*, op. cit., p. 527.**

Coudenhove-Kalergi's preface was dated in Gstaad, on September 1, 1947. He wrote that it was established on 25 May 1944, to serve as a basis for discussion of a European Constituent Assembly.[90]

The Prague coup in February 1948 and the Berlin blockade in May reinforced the perceived threat of the Red Army, to which the airlift responded. On March **17**, the Western Union treaty between Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg (Benelux), France and the United Kingdom was signed in Brussels. **It was a mutual defence pact, but in addition to the traditional defence guarantees, there was a formal commitment to economic, social and cultural cooperation. The treaty recognised that these nations have a "common heritage" consisting of "the democratic principles of civic and individual freedoms, constitutional traditions and respect for the law."**[91] **The Western Union is one of the rare successes of the Benelux, along with the Messina Conference in 1955 and the abolition of internal borders in 1975. This treaty was intended to show American public opinion and Congress that Europe was organising itself and making a defence effort, but what could the 10 divisions of these five countries do without the atomic weapons of the United States in the face of 150 to 175 Soviet divisions?**[92] On 6 July,

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[90] **This 14-page draft has been transferred to the Strasbourg archives under the reference 2 Z 48, https://archives.strasbourg.eu/archive/fonds/FRAMC67482_0077_2Z/n:537. Quoted by Edouard Bonnefous, L'Europe en face de son destin, Paris, Presses universitaires de France et Éditions du Grand siècle, 1955, p. 92-93.**

[91] **Robert Bichet, *Le drapeau de l'Europe*, Besançon, Jacques et Demontrond, 1985, p. 6.**

[92] Belgium contributes 70,000 men, Luxembourg 1,200; the Netherlands has the bulk of its forces in Indonesia; the 400,000 British soldiers are scattered throughout the *Commonwealth*; the French army has 110,000 men in Indochina, 115,000 in North Africa, another 45,000 elsewhere overseas, 65,000 in Germany, 190,000 in mainland France. The equipment dates from the Second World War and is obsolete. In terms of the number of divisions, which are incomplete, this gives 1 Belgian, 2 American, 2 British and 5 French. At the rate of one front of 36 km per division, it was possible to hold the Ijsselmeer – Switzerland line, but without any reserves. At best, Europe

the preparatory discussions for the North Atlantic Treaty began in Washington between the American State Department and the ambassadors of Canada and the member States of the Western Union.

From 7 to 10 May 1948, an international congress of Europe was held in The Hague under the honorary presidency of Winston Churchill. The International Committee of the Movements for European Unity brought together nearly 800 personalities from most of the countries of Western Europe: politicians (parliamentarians and ministers), employers' and trade union leaders, journalists, intellectuals, etc. Seventeen countries were represented; there were observers from Eastern Europe and the United States in the audience. During the debates, the British and Scandinavians, led by Churchill, wanted an intergovernmental European Union, led by national governments and parliaments. They rejected the federalists' demand for a common defence, which was supported by most of the French, Belgians, Italians and Dutch, as well as most trade unionists.

The federalists were unable to agree on the definition of federalism.[93] The democrats, led by Spinelli,[94] said they wanted an American- or Swiss-type constitution. **Unfortunately, they did not draft it.** The "philosophical" or "integral" federalists

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can be defended on the Pyrenees. See Jean-Michel Sterkendries, *La Belgique et la sécurité de l'Europe occidentale, 1944-1955*, ULB, doctoral thesis, 2003, p. 123-128 et 160.

[93] **Robert Belot, *Henri Frenay. De la Résistance à l'Europe*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2023, p. 533.**

[94] Spinelli is not a federalist in the sense of the Federalist Papers of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison of 1788. Those American federalists followed Montesquieu, who spoke out in Book XI of *L'Esprit des Lois*, Chapter 4, against the risk of corruption and despotic drift inherent in the republic and democracy. He posited that, in order not to be abused, power must be stopped by the disposition of things, which for him implied a monarchy "à l'anglaise". The Federal Convention founded a republic that dissociates the sovereign source of political authority, the people, from the power to make laws, given to its representatives at the various levels of power: local, regional, national, federal.

had Henri Brugmans and Alexandre Marc as spokespersons.[95] With the technocrats inspired by Monnet,[96] they wanted to entrust power to economic, trade union and intellectual elites, by rejecting democracy and universal suffrage. [97]

The Congress of Europe **made to forget the idea of drafting a federal European Constitution, until now**; it was only able to agree on the pooling of certain sovereign rights of the States, on the urgency of a political and economic union, on the

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[95] Philosophical or integral federalist thought is close to personalism, Christian-inspired and anti-communist. It is a guarantee of solidarity, a dispenser of the presence of men; it manifests itself by associating free efforts, by combining wills: only in this way can peace be assured and organized. See Henri Brugmans, *Panorama de la pensée fédéraliste*, Paris, La colombe, 1956, p. 10 ; Robert Aron, Alexandre Marc, *Principes du fédéralisme*, Paris, Le portulan, 1947, p. 146-147, **Gianfranco Martini, « Fédéralisme et pensée politique d'inspiration chrétienne » in *Le fédéraliste, revue de politique*, XXXe année, 1988, n° 1, https://www.thefederalist.eu/site/index.php/fr/notes/1748-federalisme-et-pensee-politique-dinspiration-chretienne, p. 30 sv.**

[96] For various researchers, Monnet wanted to keep people out of the decision-making process as much as possible. He was never elected, but merchant and banker, civil servant in France and internationally. He distrusted politics, democracy and especially the people, whom he considered versatile. Wanting the end of the nation States, which were too warlike, he practiced the method of small steps, binding them together by treaty, to take away their powers, sector by sector, to limit sovereignty almost irreversibly. He reduced politics to the application by supranational institutions of the rules laid down by the treaties on which they were founded, or established by themselves. See Coralie Delaume, *Europe, les États Désunis*, Paris, Michalon, 2014. http://blogdenico.fr/entretien-avec-coralie-delaume-sur-leurope-de-monnet-a-draghi/.

[97] In France, the term "federalism" can refer to the Girondins, to the principles of Proudhon, Littré, Le Fur and Scelle, or even to the federates of the Paris Commune**, the 200 battalions of the National Guard who opposed the entry of the Germans into Paris and who on 3 March 1871 organised themselves into the Republican Federation.** In the 1950s, "La Fédération", a monarchist movement, close to the French Social Party, La Cagoule, Pétainists and Catholic employers spread the ideas of the conservative revolution of the 1930s and of the National Revolution of the Vichy regime. See Antonin Cohen, *De Vichy à la Communauté européenn*e, Paris, PUF, 2012, p. 291 et 293-298 ; Denis de Rougemont (dir.), François Saint-Ouen (éd.), *Dictionnaire international du fédéralisme*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 1994, p. 67-91.

integration of Germany and on the establishment of a European Court, responsible for drafting a European Charter of Human Rights.

On 28 September, Spaak expressed the European feeling at the UN General Assembly in the Palais de Chaillot in Paris: the basis of European policy is "fear. Fear of the USSR, of its government, of its policies". His speech had an enormous impact, because it revealed a diffuse feeling.[98]

On 30 December, Charles de Gaulle, sensing the coming submission of the Western European States to their great ally, wrote to Coudenhove-Kalergi, "No one is more convinced than I am of the need to build Europe.[99]

2.4 The foundation of the Atlantic Alliance and Charles de Gaulle's pan-European project

In 1949, on 4 April, with the Treaty of Washington, Western Europe becomes subservient to the United States of America, in exchange for its protection from the Soviet Union. On 5 May, the Council of Europe is created by the Treaty of London. **From the preamble, the member States affirm their shared inspiration by declaring themselves: 'unwavering in their attachment to the spiritual and moral values which are the common heritage of their peoples, and which give rise to the principles of individual freedom, political liberty and the rule of law, principles which form the basis of all true democracies'.[100]** On 23 May, the *Grundgesetz* of the Federal

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[98] See Albert Crahay, *Le Roi et la défense du pays de 1831 à nos jours*, op. cit., p. 268-273 ; Jean-Michel Sterkendries, *La Belgique et la sécurité de l'Europe occidentale, 1944-1955*, op. cit., p. 11, 19-22, 109-114 and 116-122 ; Jacques-Henri Pirenne, « L'évolution des relations internationales de la Belgique de 1914 à nos jours », in *Histoire de Belgique des origines à nos jours*, t. *, 1914-1970, op. cit., p. 225-226 ; Michel Dumoulin, *Spaak*, op. cit., p. 421.

[99] **See Alain Larcan, « Relations et convergences de Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi et Charles de Gaulle, « deux réalistes courageux inspirés par des idéaux modernes », op. cit., p. 96.**

[100] **Robert Bichet, *Le drapeau de l'Europe*, op.cit, p. 9.**

Republic of Germany[101] is published. Articles 23 and 24 do not provide for the Federal Republic of Germany to become part of a European (con)federal State, to avoid any return to the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. Great Britain rejects a European federation and, on 18 September, confirms its lack of solidarity by devaluing the pound sterling by 30.5%. In his press conference on 14 November, General de Gaulle castigates the fact that a member country of the Council of Europe devalues without any consultation, causing serious prejudice to the other members of this institution and demonstrating its complete lack of solidarity. The equally shocked Americans urged Paul-Henri Spaak to take the unification of Europe from Churchill's hands.

For Charles de Gaulle, the construction of Europe was a **cardinal** objective. On 11 November 1942, on the anniversary of the armistice of 1918, when the *Wehrmacht*, by occupying the **unoccupied zone of France**, erased the last vestiges of French sovereignty on the European continent, de Gaulle declared in London: "From now on, France wishes to do everything possible to ensure that in Europe those whose interests, concern for their defence and the needs of their development are combined with her own, unite with France as she with them, like herself to them, in a practical and lasting way. Feeling the Liberation approaching, in March 1944, from Algiers, he called for "a Western grouping [of which] the English Channel, the Rhine, the Mediterranean [would be] the arteries". In October 1945, in Koblenz, during his first visit to the French zone of occupation in Germany, he invited the Rhinelander "to mutual understanding, [because] we are Europeans and Westerners".

During the activities of the *Rassemblement du peuple français*, the political party he founded on 14 April 1947 and chaired until its dissolution in 1955, Charles de Gaulle often spoke of the future of Europe, notably in 1949 in the form of a confederation of the peoples of Europe, or by stating

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[101] See *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany*, https://www.bmi.bund.de/EN/topics/constitution/constitutional-issues/constitutional-issues.html.

that "A referendum must give birth to the European federation".[102] He saw the federation succeeding the confederation, as in the United States of America.

2.5 The Six, the failure of the first draft "constitutional treaty"

On 9 May 1950, five years to the day after Germany's capitulation to **USSR**, prompted by Jean Monnet, the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman proposed a Europe of six, without the British: the ECSC which, in accordance with their political conceptions,[103]would be an independent, functionalist, technocratic and supranational[104] legal entity.

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[102] **Alain Larcan, « Relations et convergences de Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi et Charles de Gaulle, « deux réalistes courageux inspirés par des idéaux modernes », op. cit., p. 98-99.**

[103] For Antonin Cohen, Monnet thinks the High Authority project according to the corporatist conception of the Vichy regime. Schuman, who voted full powers to Pétain in 1940, nowhere mentions the creation of any assembly, although it is to achieve "the first concrete foundations of a European Federation essential to the preservation of peace ". See Antonin Cohen, *De Vichy à la Communauté européenn*e, op. cit., p. 112. The Community model of the ECSC is based on five logics of legitimization: that, functional, of a technocratic body, that, classic international, of an intergovernmental body, that, democratic, of a transnational Assembly, that, formalist, of a Court and that, corporatist, of the Consultative Committee. This makes the originality of the project. The balance on the national / supranational axis is also unprecedented. The undertaking is based on a cardinal value, peace, and on the substitution of cooperative attitudes for the traditional rivalries it induces. This can be seen in the institutional balance, which is based on modes of legitimacy specific to a Community of States. For example, the Council is not a simple classic intergovernmental body, since it sometimes decides otherwise than unanimously, showing a form of nascent "collegiality". See Paul Magnette, *L'Europe, l'État et la démocratie, Le Souverain apprivoisé*, Bruxelles, Éditions Complexe, 2000, p. 49-50. See also R. Mossé, « La démocratie dans l'élaboration des décisions » in *Actes officiels du Congrès international d'études sur la CECA, vol. V, Les Interventions de la Haute Autorité,* Milan, Giuffré, 1957, p. 185-195. Mixing the two orders of legitimization, Mossé asserts that the "democracy" proper to the ECSC lies in the combination of five values: collegiality, legality, multiplicity of bodies, publicity and technicality.

[104] **Jean Monnet falsely asserts supranational means federal.** He reduces the common market to free competition, the abolition of quotas, customs

By evoking a "first stage of the European Federation" as laid out, firstly in the 6th paragraph of its declaration: "The pooling of coal and steel production will immediately lay the common foundation for economic development, the first stage towards the European Federation... " and secondly in the 10th paragraph, "By pooling basic production and establishing a new High Authority, whose decisions will bind France, Germany and the countries that will join it, this proposal will lay the first concrete foundations of a European Federation, which is indispensable for the preservation of peace", Schuman, like Monnet, has in fact misled the Europeans. The 15th paragraph of his declaration states: "The principles and essential commitments defined above shall be the subject of a treaty signed between the States and submitted to the ratification of the parliaments". This shows indeed that he did not intend to federate the States because it requires a federal constitution and not a treaty, as it has been known since 1787.

On 25 June, the Korean War puts European defence back on the agenda, as well as the acceptance of Germany and Italy in the Western camp. **At his press conference on 9 August, de Gaulle declared: "The only practical solution that presents itself to us is that of the federation."**[105] **Nevertheless, on 24**

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duties, producer cartels, the equalization of transport tariffs, measures to benefit of workers, notably by protecting employment, free movement and access to housing, and consumers, in particular by raising the standard of living, the fall in prices as a result of the rationalization of production, and of businesses, through increased productivity and lower interest rates, thanks to a $100 million loan placed by the ECSC in the United States at a very favorable rate and amortization terms, which makes possible to finance the investments of companies on better terms than those on the European financial markets. See Jean Monnet, *Les États-Unis d'Europe ont commencé*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1955, p. 80-82.

[105] « L'Europe, en tant qu'entité responsable et souveraine, n'existe absolument pas, faute que l'on ait, d'ailleurs, fait ce qu'il faut pour qu'elle existe. [Il affirme que c'est] seulement dans le cadre, les liens, les obligations, d'une Europe confédérée que nous appelons de nos vœux, que les diverses armées du continent, y compris celle de l'Allemagne, pourraient être, dans de bonnes conditions, non confondues, mais conjuguées. » Charles de Gaulle, press conference of 9 August 1950, quoted by Bertrand

October, based on the ECSC, René Pleven and the French government proposed the European Defence Community (EDC).

The aim of the EDC Treaty was to establish a supranational organization, entrusting it with the exclusive responsibility for the defence of the European territories of the member States, for arms production and for having it participate on their behalf in NATO. The EDC armies were not to be coalition forces, but units of homogeneous nationality, unable, however, to conduct operations alone. The ***Supreme Allied Commander Europe*** **(SACEUR)**, by definition an American general, would have had the power (art. 18) to ensure that the armies had been organized, equipped, instructed and prepared in a satisfactory way, to recommend how the forces have to be stationed and deployed .The treaty required unanimity among member States to recruit forces, decide on their size and nature, raise the necessary funds, command them, or decide where and when to be stationed. The EDC could not have acted to ensure the safety of the troops in the event of disturbances, or in the event of disaster or calamity, such as floods. The EDC would have had to implement an arms and equipment production program, but with significant budgetary and legal constraints: it could not have spent less than 85% or more than 115% of a State's financial contribution in the currency area of that State. The EDC could not have established a code of military justice, but it could have prohibited the production, import and export of war material as well as any research of military interest in the member States (art.107).[106]

The Treaty of Paris of 18 April 1951 on the ECSC is the "original sin" of European integration: it set up

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Vayssière, *Vers une Europe fédérale ? Les espoirs et les actions fédéralistes au sortir de la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, Bruxelles, Lang, 2007, p. 269.

[106] See *Traité instituant la Communauté européenne de défense (Paris, 27 mai 1952)*, https://www.cvce.eu/obj/traite_instituant_la_communaute_europeenne_de_defense_paris_27_mai_1952-fr-2af9ea94-7798-4434-867a-36c4a256d0af.html, consulté le 20/12/2021.

technocratic, bureaucratic, undemocratic and opaque institutions.

General Eisenhower, who left the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) to run for President of the United States of America, stated on 3 July 1951 that: *[With] unity achieved, Europe could build adequate security and, at the same time, continue the march of human betterment that has characterized western civilization. [...] The establishment of a workable European federation would go far to create confidence among people everywhere that Europe was doing its full and vital share in giving this cooperation. [...] If, with our moral and material assistance, the free European nations could attain a similar integration, our friends could be strengthened, our own economies improved and the laborious NATO machinery of mutual defence vastly simplified.*[107]

On 25 November De Gaulle denounces the fact that "Europe, as a responsible and sovereign entity, does not exist at all, for want of having done what is necessary for it to exist. He states that it is only within the framework, the links, the obligations, of a confederated Europe, that we are calling for, that the various armies of the continent, including that of Germany, could be, under good conditions, not confused, but combined. »[108] **At a press conference at the Palais d'Orsay in 1951, de Gaulle stated: « The European Community must be a confederation, yes a confederation of States constituting among themselves a common confederal power to which each will delegate part of its sovereignty ».**[109]

On 13 September 1952, the ECSC Assembly set up an ad hoc Assembly in Paris, under the chairmanship of Spaak, to work

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[107] See Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Address at The English-Speaking Union Dinner at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, London*, 3/7/1951, op. cit.

[108] For an in-depth analysis of Charles de Gaulle's European thought, see Edmond Jouve, *Le général De Gaulle et la construction de l'Europe 1940-1966*, t. I et II, Paris, R. Pichon & R. Durand-Auzias, 1967.

[109] **Alain Larcan, « Relations et convergences de Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi et Charles de Gaulle, « deux réalistes courageux inspirés par des idéaux modernes », op. cit., p. 98.**

out the political Europe and to draw up the draft European Constitution evoked by Article 38 of the draft EDC Treaty. The American jurists Carl J. Friedrich and Robert R. Bowie, together with 37 Harvard researchers funded by the Ford Foundation, conduct a comparative study of the American, Swiss, Canadian and Australian constitutions, but do not consider that of Austria, nor the very recent one from Germany. On the basis of this study, a group led by Spinelli formulates a series of resolutions, a sort of specification on the basis of which Spaak and the Study Committee for the European Constitution, in which Friedrich and Bowie are consultants, draw up not a draft constitution but a draft treaty establishing the European Political Community (EPC).[110] This text provided for a Parliament composed of a House of Peoples, elected by universal suffrage, and a Senate, designated by the national parliaments, whereas for the ECSC and the EPC, legislative power was exercised by a European College and the Council of National Ministers. The EPC Parliament would have exercised control over the executive, represented by a European Executive Council and a Council of National Ministers. The EPC should have absorbed, in the long term, the ECSC and the CED, coordinate monetary and financial policies and establish the Common Market at six.[111]

Carl-J. Friedrich deplored[112] the fact that the movement for European unification had become bogged down, that many people were satisfied with a weak, vague and non-political integration, such as the Council of Europe or the OEEC. He denounced the fact that « the scepticism and weakness of will and determination of many Europeans after the war got

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[110] Probably after noticing the impossibility of federating the colonial empires of France, Belgium **(Luxembourg was a payee)** and the Netherlands.

[111] See Bertrand Vayssière, *Vers une Europe fédérale ? Les espoirs et les actions fédéralistes au sortir de la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, op. cit., p. 310.

[112] **Voir Carl-J. Friedrich, « Vers le pouvoir constituant du peuple européen » in Mario Albertini, *Qu'est-ce que le fédéralisme ?*, Paris, Société européenne d'études et d'information, 1963, p. 211-220. Discours prononcé à Rome le 22 octobre 1955.**

the better of the adventurous and courageous minds of those who wanted to push the federal organisation of Europe in the direction of a federal constitution ». (…) « As an old specialist in constitutional structures and processes, (Friedrich was) convinced that it is impossible for Europe to have a healthy life unless it has a firm and clear constitutional structure, a constitution freely adopted by the European people, by means of a referendum on a proposal prepared by a representative constituent assembly, freely elected by the people. (...) It is impossible to achieve a modern political order in democratic terms if there is no constitutional basis. (A constitution) is always the result of the putting into action of a constituent power (which wants to organise a political community, which guarantees) freedom to individuals, to groups such as trade unions, and to the people as a whole.»[113]

Friedrich set out "the duties facing those who wish to work effectively for the unification of Europe (...): a plan must be prepared, a constitution drafted, a political force organised, a campaign launched. He lamented that "no plan has ever been prepared indicating what to do. There is no *Manifesto for Europe* which, in simple words, but in a very precise manner and following a profound analysis, sets out the past, the present chaos and the future draft of a European government and (which) can be consulted by anyone who wants to know what is intended. (...) Perhaps the most urgent task is therefore to forge this weapon for the battle of ideas to educate our European contemporaries. (Then we must) draw up the outline of a constitution. »

Carl J. Friedrich abhorred "the shapeless fruit born as a draft of the *ad hoc* Assembly,[114] in whose preliminary work (he had) the privilege (or rather misfortune) of collaborating", saying he was "very disappointed that the

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[113] **Carl-J. Friedrich, « Vers le pouvoir constituant du peuple européen », op. cit., p. 211-213.**

[114] The Enlarged Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community, responsible for developing a European Political Community project.

European Federalist Movement did not reject this monster of a constitution with righteous indignation". As there is only "one way to realise a proposed constitution, namely the development of a genuine constituent political force, (there) must be a group of people who agree on what a constitution should contain and who are prepared to fight to achieve the goal. This requires the organisation of a political force. (It is necessary in a democracy) to win adherents devoted to the programme and the doctrine, (but not as the European Movement does), (by organising) in a national way. What is needed, on the contrary, is a *united European political force* to establish a European programme that is clear, strong, and unequivocally 'federalist', (meaning that) certain basic functions of government should be exercised by a European government, while at the same time certain other basic functions of government should remain the prerogative of individual member governments.[115]

Friedrich proposed to launch a campaign "for a united Europe, for a Europe under one government, capable of realising the aspirations of the people of this old continent to live free and in peace. (Such) ends are not achieved by contemplating the forces of history. (They) are ultimately problems of reason and will, of what we as men decide to do in a given situation. »[116]

On 25 February 1953, de Gaulle repeats: "For there to be the European army, that is to say the army of Europe, Europe must first of all exist as a political, economic, financial, administrative and, above all, a moral entity, which must be sufficiently living, established, recognized, to obtain the congenital loyalty of its subjects, to have a policy of its own and, if necessary, to obtain that millions of men want to die for it. "He opposes the intention to subordinate the EDC "to the (SACEUR), that is to say, without playing on words, to the American commander-in-chief in Europe which makes it one of

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[115] Carl-J. Friedrich, « Vers le pouvoir constituant du peuple européen », op. cit., p. 216-218.
[116] **Idem p. 220.**

the instruments of American strategy,"[117] referring to the nine articles of the treaty of Paris of 27 May 1952 on the EDC which, in Title I, Chapter II, deal with "European defence forces", imposing ten times the agreement of the (SACEUR).[118] Gaullian Europe must be freed from the American protectorate, which has "the defence and hence the policy and even the territory of its allies".[119]

Henry Frenay, who had been successively a Vichy man, a Resistance fighter and then close to the Americans, tried to reply to him. To de Gaulle's assertion that "the EDC is a technocracy", Frenay could only reply that "the EDC High Commission is 'wedged' between the national Council of Ministers and the political Assembly to which it is accountable and by which it will be controlled", evading the fact that these two institutions lacked legitimacy. When de Gaulle noted that the Assembly was "devoid of real powers", Frenay had to concede: "It is true that the Assembly has too few powers".[120] The following year, he attached to a second edition of his brochure a letter to General de Gaulle, from which a single argument stands out: "Whether we like it or not, we are obliged to turn to the USA to ensure our defence."[121]

On 5 March, Stalin dies. On 9 March, Spaak submits to the French government the project for a EPC approved by the *ad hoc* Assembly. Spinelli criticizes the fact that this EPC, like the

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[117] Laurent de Boissieu, *La querelle de la Communauté européenne de défense (C.E.D.),* Centre d'information sur le Gaullisme, Une certaine idée de l'Europe http://www.gaullisme.net/communaute-europeenne-de-defense.html, 20/5/2011.

[118] Maurice Delarue, « Europe européenne et Europe des États » in *De Gaulle en son siècle, Tome V, L'Europe*, Actes des Journées internationales tenues à l'Unesco Paris les 19-24 novembre 1990 par l'Institut Charles De Gaulle, Paris, La Documentation française – Plon, 1992, p. 88 et note 2.

[119] Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires d'espoir*, t. 1, *Le renouveau (1958-1962)*, Paris, Plon, 1970, p. 217 et 254-255.

[120] **Henry Frenay, *La Communauté Européenne de Défense. Réponse au Général de Gaulle*, Paris, Union française des fédéralistes, 1954, p. 18.**

[121] **Idem, p. 18 et 25.**

previous Communities, includes a Council of National Ministers, which could alter its supranational form.[122]

In November, de Gaulle proposed European institutions: a "periodic and organic Council of Heads of Government, deliberating by a simple majority and having common services to prepare their decisions in the areas of : political, economic, cultural, military; a deliberative Assembly, proceeding by universal suffrage, endowed with the power of co-decision; an "act of democratic sovereignty" via a referendum organized in all countries in order to involve the people in the concept and give the confederation the explicit decision of a huge mass of Europeans; an Assembly representing the regions[123] and the economic and social forces of the member States; a European Court of Justice.[124] This concept is inspired by both the structure of the Federal Republic of Germany and that of the Fifth Republic. It is a long-term objective, which is rather vague both geographically and legally: de Gaulle uses the terms "confederation" (18 April 1948, 1 May and 10 July 1950, 22 June 1951) or "federation" (12 February 1949, 21 December 1951 and 6 July 1952) interchangeably.[125]

On 30 August 1954, the Gaullists, supported in particular by the Communists and half of the Socialists,[126] ensured, for very

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[122] For a detailed recension of the attempts to achieve, during the period 1945-1953, a political union, confederal or federal, of Europe, and a European army, see Edouard Bonnefous, *L'Europe en face de son destin*, op. cit., p. 70-200.

[123] The status of European regions, their organization, funding and powers differ greatly.

[124] Laurent de Boissieu, *Conférence de presse tenue à l'hôtel Continental, 12 novembre 1953*, Centre d'information sur le Gaullisme, Une certaine idée de l'Europe, http://www.gaullisme.net/europe-federale.html, 11/6/2011.

[125] Switzerland misleads by having since 1848 a federal constitution of the Swiss Confederation.

[126] Pierre Mendès France does not like the EDC: Article 107 of the treaty, which prohibits any party from producing more than 500 grams of fuel per year, is incompatible with the pursuit of the French nuclear program which he has encouraged.
See Jean-Michel Sterkendries, *La Belgique et la sécurité de l'Europe occidentale, 1944-1955*, op. cit, p. 295 and Georges-Henri Soutou, « La politique nucléaire de Pierre Mendès France » in Maurice Vaisse (dir.), *La*

different reasons,[127] that the French National Assembly refused to take into consideration the ratification of the treaty

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France et l'atome. Études d'histoire nucléaires, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 1994, p. 83-100.

[127] For Marie-Thérèse Bitsch, *Histoire de la construction européenne de 1945 à nos jours*, Bruxelles, Éditions Complexe, 1996, 2001 edition updated, p. 94, « Le débat s'engage à l'Assemblée nationale fin août, plus de deux ans après la signature du traité. Convaincu que le traité sera rejeté faute d'avoir obtenu de nouvelles garanties, mais personnellement peu favorable à une Communauté supranationale sans les Anglais, M. Mendès France n'a pas l'intention de poser la question de confiance qui ferait éclater son gouvernement partagé entre pro- et antis-CED. Le 30 août, la CED est écartée, sans débat de fond, sur le vote d'une question préalable adoptée (par 319 voix contre 264) par une coalition où se mêlent sentiment national, antiaméricanisme, méfiance à l'égard de l'Allemagne et hostilité à l'Europe supranationale. Après le vote, tandis que les députés MRP quittent la séance pour protester contre le «crime du 30 août», communistes et gaullistes entonnent la Marseillaise. Ce refus prévisible, voire inévitable, tant les passions s'étaient déchaînées, fait échouer un projet que la France avait elle-même inventé en 1950. Sans doute peu crédible dès le départ, imaginé comme un moindre mal, pour limiter les inconvénients d'un réarmement allemand nécessaire, ce plan paraît prématuré, de l'avis même de ses promoteurs. Touchant un point sensible - l'armée, symbole de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance nationales - il est vite ressenti comme inacceptable dans une France engagée dans la guerre d'Indochine qui ne voulait pas voir limiter sa liberté d'action. ».

The debate begins in the National Assembly at the end of August, more than two years after the signing of the treaty. Convinced that the treaty would be rejected for lack of new guarantees, but personally not very much in favor of a supranational Community without the English, Mr. Mendès France does not intend to raise the question of confidence that would break up his government, which is divided between pro and anti-EDC. On 30 August, the EDC is set aside, without any substantive debate, on the vote on a preliminary question adopted (by 319 votes to 264) by a coalition of national sentiment, anti-Americanism, mistrust of Germany and hostility to supranational Europe. After the vote, while the MRP deputies left the session to protest against the "crime of 30 August", Communists and Gaullists sing the Marseillaise. This foreseeable, even inevitable refusal, as the passions had been unleashed, thwarted a project that France had invented itself in 1950. Doubtless not very credible from the outset, imagined as a lesser evil, to limit the disadvantages of a necessary German rearmament, this plan seems premature, in the opinion even of its promoters. Touching on a sensitive point - the army, the symbol of national sovereignty and independence - it was quickly felt to be unacceptable in a France engaged in the Indochina war which does not want to see its freedom of action limited.

establishing the EDC. **The President of the Council, Pierre Mendès-France, removed it from the agenda of the National Assembly.** The absurd idea of creating a European army before having defined a European security policy is abandoned. This failure led to rearm Germany and Italy within the framework of both the Washington Treaty, modified to create the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the modified Brussels Treaty to create the Western European Union (WEU).[128] The latter is endowed with permanent institutions[129] to make the public believe that a European pillar balances the North American pillar within NATO, which is politically desirable in Europe, whereas NATO is given, in law (new Article IV of the treaty) and in fact, a monopoly on the means of military action.[130]

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[128] By the addition to the Brussels Treaty of a new article IV: "In the execution of the treaty, the High Contracting Parties and all bodies created by them within the framework of the treaty shall cooperate closely with the Atlantic Treaty Organization North. In order to avoid any duplication with the NATO headquarters, the Council and the Agency shall seek information and advice on military matters from the appropriate NATO military authorities. See Alfred Cahen, «L'Union de l'Europe occidentale et la mise en œuvre de la future défense commune de l'Union européenne» in *Revue du Marché commun et de L'Union européenne*, janvier 1996, p. 23-27, http://www.cvce.eu/viewer/-/content/34ed220e-bc07-49f9-89fd-a287269bd8e6/fr, 1/9/2012. For Marie-Thérèse Bitsch, *Histoire de la construction européenne de 1945 à nos jours*, op. cit., p. 96, WEU will remain in the shadow of NATO, while its cultural and social activities are transferred to the Council of Europe in 1960. Its modest role is reflected in numerous press articles which punctuate the twentieth, twenty-fifth and thirtieth anniversary of the organization and deplore the failure of various attempts to reactivate it.

[129] Its Parliamentary Assembly, which sits in Paris, is composed of the delegates of the member-States to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, which sits in Strasbourg, is supported by the Institute for Security Studies. The Military Committee, responsible for drawing up defence plans, inventorying assets and coordinating the military, is in London. The Joint Staff, headed by Marshal Montgomery, is in Fontainebleau. It had only one Belgian, four British and four French divisions.

[130] See Alfred Cahen, "The Western European Union and NATO. Building a European Defence Identity within the Context of Atlantic Solidarity", Brassey's, *Atlantic Commentary n° 2*, London, 1989.

NATO is a classic alliance of national armies, funded from national budgets and administered by national staffs, **which leads to low efficiency in defence spending. The Alliance generally reduces Western security policy to the endorsement of US decisions.**

The WEU only had a vegetative existence until 1987. Its Council of Foreign Ministers met in London, its Parliamentary Assembly in Paris. The latter gives opinions to the Council and the national parliaments. A WEU agency monitors the stocks of arms of the member States and their production; a commission promotes cooperative production.[131]

2.6 From Messina to Rome

In 1955, on 26 January, the Soviets end the state of war with Germany; on 15 May, it signs a peace treaty with Austria and withdraw its troops, provided it remained neutral. Mr. Monnet founds the Action Committee for the United States of Europe and publishes *Les États-Unis d'Europe ont commencé*, "The United States of Europe has begun",[132] while the ECSC is just a supranational organization. He only envisages reviving the construction of Europe through sectoral economic integration,[133] but fortunately Mr. Beyen, Dutch Foreign Minister, proposes to his colleagues in the Benelux on 10 March a horizontal integration on a supranational basis: economic union, via a free trade area and then a customs union. Belgium, for its part, proposes a European authority for the industrial applications of atomic energy. On 2 June, at the Messina conference, the Six accept both Euratom and the common market; they instruct the Spaak Committee to prepare draft treaties to be submitted to the Six and to Great Britain.

On 26 February 1956, Mr. Macmillan, Chancellor of the Exchequer, declares "the common market will kill our trade,

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[131] See Jean-Michel Sterkendries, *La Belgique et la sécurité de l'Europe occidentale, 1944-1955*, op. cit., p. 296-303.
[132] Jean Monnet, *Les États-Unis d'Europe ont commencé*, op. cit., p. 22.
[133] This businessman very close to the Anglo-Saxons puts Marxist theory into practice; he got married in Moscow...

and we will fight it". The British propose a free trade zone with the Six, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and the Scandinavians. On 5 November, the Soviet atomic ultimatum against the Franco-British military operation on the Suez Canal and Eisenhower's decision not to support his allies, left them with a humiliating feeling of powerlessness and reinforced the federalists' conviction that only union could bring "prestige, independence and progress".[134] On 11 December, Mr. Spaak is elected Secretary General of NATO.

In 1957, the draft treaties establishing the EEC and Euratom were tabled on 10 January, signed in Rome on 25 March and ratified in July.[135] They amputate the legislative power of the European Council of the right of initiative, which is reserved for the Commission, not elected but appointed. On the other hand, **it establishes** a control by the European Council of the use of the financial resources of the ECSC by the High Authority.

The EEC and Euratom institutions moved to Brussels. The British then created the European Free Trade Association and

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[134] See Jean Monnet, *Mémoires*, Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1976, p. 623-624.

[135] Walter Hallstein, in *Der unvollendeter Bundesstaat*, Düsseldorf, Econ Verlag, 1969, Trad. Pierre Degon, *L'Europe inachevée*, Paris, Ed. Robert Laffont, 1970, p. 45-46, asserts that: "The EEC is a part of the construction leading to the Federation", what is impossible according to the letter of the treaty. He writes: " It is already federal by virtue of its constitutional structure." On the other hand, p. 52-66, he recognizes that the Community is neither a federation, because it is not a state, nor a confederation, because it exercises public power directly over the citizen. It is obvious to us that the EEC does not have a constitution, and that its legislative, executive and jurisdictional powers are very unperfect. The "Founding Fathers" led Europeans to believe that they were establishing the USE when it was a Community, a *Gemeinschaft*, inspired by the ideology common to the Nazis and the Vichy regime, technocratic, undemocratic and unparliamentary. They wanted to create a large market, neglecting the development of European culture. Hallstein could not ignore what a European federal constitution could have been in 1950, one year after the adoption of the first federal constitution in German history. He knew that it prohibited the Federal Republic to become a federated state.

the USA joined the OEEC, which became the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).[136]

For Spaak, "the men of the West, this time, did not lack audacity and did not act too late. (...) They did a great thing, and they did it, which is remarkable and perhaps unique, by repudiating all use of force, all coercion, all threats. That is the only appeal to intelligence, wisdom and solidarity that gives our work its true meaning.[137]

Together with Konrad Adenauer, we can safely say that Paul-Henri Spaak has performed well for Europe.[138]

However, it is worth mentioning some weaknesses in the founding treaties of the current European institutions. The first indented line of the preamble to the Treaty of Rome of 25 March 1957 on the EEC expresses the political will to achieve "an ever-closer union" among the peoples of Europe, **but what** the High Contracting Parties have legally established among themselves does not meet this objective. The EEC is not a democratic federal State, it is a supranational and technocratic Community, which at the time does not even have a directly elected parliamentary assembly. It can create a customs union and a common market, but not a union between peoples: it is only a Europe of merchants.

Professor-Senator Fernand Dehousse wrongly asserted that fundamental European treaties are acts of international constitutional law, subject to ratification by national

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[136] See Jean Monnet, *Mémoires*, op. cit., p. 629 et 644.

[137] « Les hommes d'Occident, cette fois, n'ont pas manqué d'audace et n'ont pas agi trop tard. [...] Ils ont fait une grande chose et ils l'ont faite, ce qui est remarquable et peut-être unique, en répudiant tout usage de la force, toute contrainte, toute menace. C'est cela, ce seul appel à l'intelligence, à la sagesse, à la solidarité qui donne son véritable aspect à notre œuvre. » Michel Dumoulin, *Spaak*, 2ème éd., Bruxelles, Racine, 1999, p. 526-527.

[138] Konrad Adenauer, *Mémoires, 1956 - 1963,* Paris, Hachette, 1969, p. 94. Spaak is backed by the Americans, who "strongly support the Common Market against the Free Trade Area, seen in Washington as an instrument invented by the British government to curb integration." See Marie-Thérèse Bitsch, *Histoire de la construction européenne de 1945 à nos jours*, op. cit., p. 128.

parliaments,[139] even though the terms "treaty" and "constitutional" are incompatible: the first is an act external to the State, the other refers to the highest internal act **of the State** in the hierarchy of norms.

At the end of 1957, the three Communities existed in law, but the Customs Union had to be put into concrete form. As early as the fall of 1958, de Gaulle and Adenauer set to work.

2.7 Adenauer and de Gaulle, the real founders of the united Europe

Michel Debré's assessment of the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) was much more negative than de Gaulle's, which led Adenauer to fear that de Gaulle would denounce the treaty after his return to power. De Gaulle knew that a return to protectionism within national boundaries would jeopardise France's prosperity and influence, and that general free trade would lead to the absolute domination of the United States of America; bilateral ties would leave too many economic differences and protectionism.

De Gaulle saw the Common Market as an opportunity to modernise the French economy. The economic and monetary recovery measures taken at the end of 1958 allowed France to apply the provisions of the Treaty of Rome without a safeguard clause, which surprised everyone at the time. President de Gaulle was therefore partly responsible for opening the French economy to international competition.[140]

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[139] See Comité d'étude pour la Constitution européenne, *Projet de statut de la Communauté politique européenne. Travaux préparatoires.* Bruxelles, Mouvement européen, novembre 1952, p. 203.

[140] **François-Xavier Ortoli, « De Gaulle et la construction européenne », in Fondation Charles de Gaulle (dir), *La politique économique et financière du Général de Gaulle, 1958-1969*, Cahiers de la Fondation Charles de Gaulle, Paris, 2005, pp.73-86. Under de Gaulle (1958-1969), the annual GDP growth rate was 5.1% on average for the Six, higher than that of the United States (4.1%) and Britain (2.7%). Between 1958**

He considered national independence to be the only valid position for France, while waiting for Europe to become a (con) federation of States. His European policy is based on the postulate of German reunification, which he enunciates on 25 March 1959. He considers “probable” the implosion of the "totalitarian Eastern bloc", which he announces in 1964. Because of the Common Market, he projects a defence solidarity between Europeans. He wants to strengthen the cohesion of the Six, both economically and politically.[141] He invites Adenauer to Colombey-les-Deux-Églises, from 14 to 15 September 1958, to tell him the following:[142]

1. « Europe must become a reality on the political, economic and cultural levels.
2. The implementation of the Common Market and Euratom treaties will be continued; on this basis, cooperation could be developed in a broader framework than that of the Six, while avoiding, however, that the development would cause serious difficulties in this or that country.
3. European cooperation must also assert itself outside Europe, with regard to major world problems such as, for example, that of the Middle East. This cooperation may manifest itself in the political and economic fields.

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and 1970, intra-EU trade increased sixfold. During the Kennedy Round from 4 May 1964 to 15 May 1967, the EEC emerged as the world's leading trading power, ahead of the United States, Japan and Great Britain. In June 1967, to bring the Kennedy Round to a successful conclusion and to avoid a fragmentation of the Atlantic Pact, the US government gave priority to political considerations and accepted concessions on the economic front.

[141] Marie-Thérèse Bitsch, *Histoire de la construction européenne de 1945 à nos jours*, op. cit., p. 129.

[142] According to Raymond Cartier, *Les 19 Europes*, Paris, Plon, 1960, p. 654, Adenauer said he went to this first interview (in) a state of anxiety, convinced that his European dream was about to be shattered. (He) was reassured within minutes.

4. To achieve the above-mentioned objectives, regular consultations will take place between the governments concerned. This consultation mechanism may take on a somewhat organic character as it develops."[143]

Charles de Gaulle assesses that it is a matter of "making all of Europe, or there will be no Europe".[144] He explained "the prime interest of the union of Europe, a union which requires above all the cooperation of Paris and Bonn", to promote peace and progress. He] proposes that the Six should consult each other regularly on all political questions; he asked for and obtained Germany's support on two points: to enlarge the EEC to include agriculture and to reject Great Britain's candidacy if it "remains economically and politically what it is". He announces the future end of France's participation in the military component of the Atlantic Alliance. The two countries then "establish direct and preferential relations in all areas".[145]

General de Gaulle considers that the Atlantic Alliance is merely the military and political subordination of Western Europe to the United States of America. He considers it "rather improbable that on the Soviet side, one undertakes to conquer the West". As "the Soviets have acquired what it takes to destroy America", Western Europe is no longer protected by NATO. Nevertheless, de Gaulle keeps France in the Alliance, but he either wants an American French British triumvirate to lead it, or he wants to take his army out of the American command. He wants an autonomous atomic deterrent force and

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[143] Charles de Gaulle, « Note pour les Affaires étrangères, 13 août 1958 » in *Lettres, Notes et Carnets,* juin 1958-décembre 1960, Paris, Plon, 1985, p. 73, quoted by Raymond Poidevin, « De Gaulle et l'Europe en 1958 » in *De Gaulle en son siècle, Tome V, L'Europe*, Actes des Journées internationales tenues à l'Unesco Paris les 19-24 novembre 1990 par l'Institut Charles De Gaulle, Paris, La Documentation française – Plon, 1992, p. 83.

[144] Entretiens franco-allemands, 14 septembre 1958 (AE, Secrétariat général 26, C. 58) quoted by Raymond Poidevin, « De Gaulle et l'Europe en 1958 » op. cit., p. 83.

[145] See Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires d'espoir*, t. 1, *Le renouveau (1958-1962)*, op. cit., p. 223-227. France and Germany then launch production of the Transall C-160, a medium-range military transport aircraft.

to undertake détente, then agreement, then cooperation with Russia, then cooperation with China. As early as 14 September 1958, he addresses a memorandum to the American and British governments to this effect and receives only an evasive reply. [146]

On 23 November, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi wrote to Charles de Gaulle to propose a bold and spectacular initiative: to establish an indissoluble Franco-German political union well before Adenauer left office.[147]

On 26 November, de Gaulle reminds the Chancellor of the need to have a European organization to create a new policy of peace, strength, power and influence, which would not be an American policy, and which would not be hostile to Eastern Europe either, in the secret hope of one day attracting it towards us. Between a dangerous Russia, against which we must not disarm, and an America that is another world, anxious to play its game and nothing else, de Gaulle thus imagines a third force.[148] This meeting makes it possible to bury the British project of a free trade area.[149]

On 1 January 1959, France applies the first measure provided for in the Treaty of Rome: a 10% reduction in customs duties. While France is protectionist, de Gaulle declares that "something positive has been done, [the EEC]; little by little, the customs barriers between the Six are disappearing. »[150]

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[146] Voir Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires d'espoir*, t. 1, *Le renouveau (1958-1962)*, op. cit., p. 211-212 et 255-260 ; Michel Dumoulin, *Spaak*, op. cit., p. 633 ; Tony Mortier, *Het plan Pleven: een geïntegreerd Europees leger*, afstudeerwerk, Brussel, Koninklijke Militaire School, 1987, p. 102-103.

[147] **Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi to Charles de Gaulle, 23/11/1958, Vaud Cantonal Archives PP 1000/33 12 1958, envelope n° 12 (letter of 23 November 1958)**.

[148] sn, « Entretiens du 26 novembre 1958 » (AE, Secrétariat général 46, C. 58), quoted by Raymond Poidevin, « De Gaulle et l'Europe en 1958 » op. cit., p. 83.

[149] Edmond Jouve, *Le général de Gaulle et la construction de l'Europe, Tome premier*, op. cit., p. 457.

[150] The Customs Union existed on 1 July 1968, a year and a half before the planned date, thanks to the hard work put into its implementation from 1958

Despite the tension in Berlin and the fact that the French "A" bomb is not yet available,[151] de Gaulle withdraws the Mediterranean fleet from NATO and expels American atomic weapons from France. The air force and air traffic control become national again. On 3 November, he announces the creation of the "strike force" to the École de Guerre (War College).[152] The École militaire's strategic studies services receive new directives concerning the security of the country, which must defend itself.[153]

In 1960, on 31 May, de Gaulle envisions "organized cooperation of (EEC member) States, while awaiting perhaps an imposing confederation". On 5 September, at a press conference at the Élysée Palace, he envisages as "possible and desirable the regular cooperation of Western Europe" in the fields of politics, economics, culture and defence. He provides for "a regular concert of responsible governments", specialized bodies in each of the four fields and subordinate to the governments, a deliberative Assembly consisting of delegates from the national parliaments. Finally, a solemn European referendum should bring broad popular support.[154]

In 1961, on July 18, political Europe was born in Bad-Godesberg: henceforth, the Foreign Ministers met regularly to

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onwards. However, Adenauer was only able to work on it for five years, while de Gaulle continued the effort for a decade. See Paul Magnette, *L'Europe, l'État et la démocratie*, op. cit., p. 50.

[151] General de Gaulle created the Atomic Energy Commission on October 8, 1945, for civil and military purposes. See André Martel (dir.), Claude Carlier, Jacques Frémeaux, Claude Hesse d'Alzon, Philippe Masson, *Histoire militaire de la France*, *tome IV – De 1940 à nos jours*, Paris, PUF, 1994, p. 240.

[152] The first French nuclear test took place on 13 February 1960 in what is now Algeria.

[153] See Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires d'espoir*, t. 1, *Le renouveau (1958-1962)*, op. cit., p. 211-212 et 255-260 ; Michel Dumoulin, *Spaak*, op. cit., p. 633 ; Tony Mortier, *Het plan Pleven: een geïntegreerd Europees leger*, afstudeerwerk, Brussel, Koninklijke Militaire School, 1987, p. 102-103.

[154] Charles de Gaulle, *Discours et messages, Volume III : Avec le renouveau (1958-1962)*, Paris, Plon, 1970, p. 244-246.

consult each other.[155] At the end of the year, following the launch of the first Soviet intercontinental rocket, Kennedy replaced Massive Retaliation's strategy with Flexible Response, limiting the use of nuclear weapons to a response to an atomic attack.[156]

In 1961-1962, de Gaulle unsuccessfully proposed three successive versions of the Fouchet Plan on intergovernmental political cooperation with the Six, in the fields of foreign policy, cultural affairs and defence, with a view to establishing a confederation of States, pending a federation. The Foreign Ministers, Spaak for Belgium, and Luns for the Dutch, wanted Britain to join the Common Market before proceeding with the Fouchet Plan, which de Gaulle refused to do,[157] not least because by accepting Kennedy's offer to equip the Royal Navy's ballistic missile submarines with American Polaris rockets carrying the British A-bomb, the United Kingdom made an independent European atomic force impossible.[158]

In the absence of a six-party agreement, Adenauer and de Gaulle sign the Franco-German Élysée treaty with Adenauer, which should have established intergovernmental political cooperation between the two, but when it is ratified, the Bundestag adds a preamble to it,

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[155] See Jean Monnet, *Mémoires*, op. cit., p. 641 ; Tony Mortier, *De Frans-Brits-Duitse troika, vooruitgang of stagnatie voor een Europese Defensiegemeenschap*, eindverhandeling, Brussel, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 1992, p. 64.

[156] The new strategy shows its relevance during the Cuban crisis in 1962, it becomes the doctrine of NATO in 1967. See Luc De Vos et Jean-Michel Sterkendries, *Les grands problèmes géopolitiques après la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale*, Bruxelles, École royale militaire, cours HI005, s.d., p. 62 et 168.

[157] **See Bino Olivi, Alessandro Giacone, *L'Europe difficile : histoire politique de la construction européenne*, Paris, Gallimard, 1998, 2007 edition recast, updated and expanded, p. 72-74.**

[158] See Jacques-Henri Pirenne, « L'évolution des relations internationales de la Belgique de 1914 à nos jours » in Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique des origines à nos jours*, t. *, 1914-1970, Bruxelles, La Renaissance du Livre, 1975, p. 244-245 ; Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires d'espoir*, t. 1, *Le renouveau (1958-1962)*, op. cit., p. 276 ; Jean Monnet, *Mémoires*, op. cit., p. 645 ; Tony Mortier, *Het plan Pleven: een geïntegreerd Europees leger*, op.cit, p. 99-106.

not negotiated with France, making it subordinate to the 1949 Washington Treaty. Although General de Gaulle was 'less enthusiastic' about European affairs after these disappointments, he continued to pursue the Common Market.

De Gaulle comes into conflict with the European Commission chaired by Hallstein, which aims to strengthen its powers and those of the European Parliament.

In 1965, Mr. Hallstein fails in his attempt to manage the proceeds of customs duties under the sole control of the Parliamentary Assembly: de Gaulle blocks the European Council and the Commission, but obtains the merger of the High Authority of the ECSC, the Commission of the EEC and that of Euratom, to enable a single Commission to represent the Six, define a common policy on energy, industry or transport, facilitate the grouping of companies or closer cooperation in the field of scientific research.[159]

In 1966, the Luxembourg arrangement[160] limited the supranational aspects of European integration and redirected it in an intergovernmental sense: when, even in the case of decisions likely to be taken by majority on a proposal from the Commission, very vested interests important to one or more partners are at stake, the members of the Council will endeavour, within a reasonable time, to arrive at solutions which can be adopted unanimously.[161]

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[159] Edmond Jouve, *Le général de Gaulle et la construction de l'Europe, t. I*, op.cit., p. 389.

[160] Maurice Couve de Murville, who was the negotiator, recalls in his book, *Le Monde en face* (Paris, Plon, 1989), that there was no compromise, but the assertion that disagreement on the decision-making procedure should not prevent the Community from functioning. See Maurice Delarue, « Europe européenne et Europe des États » in *De Gaulle en son siècle, Tome V, L'Europe*, op. cit., p. 92, note 1.

[161] See Laurent de Boissieu, *L'Europe des intérêts nationaux : 1958-1969*, Centre d'information sur le Gaullisme, Une certaine idée de l'Europe, http://www.gaullisme.net/traite-de-rome.html, 22/5/2011 ; Michel Dumoulin, *Spaak*, op. cit., p. 645-664.

On 20 June 1967, Hallstein must resign, and is replaced by Jean Rey, the Commissioner for External Relations. On 27 November 1967, de Gaulle again blocks Britain's entry into the EEC to protect it from an internal enemy led by the Americans. He knows that it is thanks to the EEC, and above all to Rey, that the trade agreement resulting from the Kennedy Round puts Europe on par with the Americans.

In January 1969, President Nixon and his National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger took office. From 28 February to 2 March, they were received in Paris by General de Gaulle. The two presidents knew each other: when de Gaulle visited the USA in 1960, Nixon was Eisenhower's vice-president. Nixon was received by de Gaulle in Paris in 1963 and in 1967. Kissinger is no stranger: when, in his Phnom Penh speech of September 1966, de Gaulle strongly condemned the American intervention in Vietnam and predicted their defeat, he was reviled in the US, but not by Kissinger, who denied that de Gaulle was anti-American, because during the strong tensions with the USSR in 1960, 1961 and 1962, he had unreservedly supported the US. Kissinger explained that there were no differences between the USA and France as to the attitude to adopt towards the USSR, but that for de Gaulle, Europe had to be independent, autonomous.[162] Nixon appreciated the General's courage, vision and wisdom and Kissinger counted on de Gaulle to help them implement the three axes of Nixon's foreign policy: strengthening the transatlantic relationship through bilateral ties, especially with France, pursuing a policy of détente with the USSR, which de Gaulle also wanted, and initiating a rapprochement with Mao's China, which France had recognised in January 1964. During the ten hours of talks between Nixon and Kissinger with de Gaulle, the latter asked Kissinger why the USA did not withdraw from Vietnam, because this war weakened them; they lost thousands of men and their moral authority. A month later,

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[162] **See Henry Kissinger, « The Illusionist: Why We Misread de Gaulle", *Harper's*, mars 1965.**

at Eisenhower's funeral, de Gaulle urged Nixon to end the Vietnam conflict quickly, but Nixon and Kissinger felt that two or three years were needed to make the allies understand that this did not mean the end of the fight against the spread of communism.[163] The inglorious fall of Saigon on 29-30 April 1975 showed how right de Gaulle was.

The false image of Charles de Gaulle as the gravedigger of European integration has been spread in Europe, notably by Monnet and Hallstein. The correspondence between Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and Charles de Gaulle shows the age and continuity of their relations, as well as the emergence of their conception of a "European Europe", first confederal and then federal,[164] as proposed in the Fouchet plan. Charles de Gaulle wanted to unite Europe by reconciling France and West Germany, then reunify Germany. Few, apart from Paul-Henri Spaak, Willy Brandt, and Helmut Schmidt, have admitted to having corrected their judgement of de Gaulle.[165]

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[163] **See Jérémie Gallon, « Henry Kissinger. L'Européen », Paris, Gallimard, 2021, p. 24- et Yves-Henri Nouailhat, « Nixon-de Gaulle : un épisode original des relations américaines », Revue française d'études américaines, n° 32, avril 1987, American Potpourri, p. 309-318, https://www.persee.fr/doc/rfea_0397-7870_1987_num_32_1_1281, Henry Kissinger, *White House Years*, chapitre IV, European Journey, The Colossus of de Gaulle, https://media.oiipdf.com/pdf/f7f2032a-0f2c-497d-a106-45f3ae0f78b8.pdf.**

[164] **Voir Alain Larcan, "Relations et convergences" in Alain Larcan, *Coudenhove-Kalergi, De Gaulle, Une certaine idée de l'Europe*, Paris, Fondation Charles de Gaulle, Cahier de la Fondation Charles de Gaulle, n° 6, 1999, p. 101. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972) and General de Gaulle (1890-1970) met on many occasions and maintained a regular correspondence, particularly on the subject of the construction of Europe. This was presented at the colloquium organised in Nancy on 14 November 1998 by the Coudenhove-Kalergi Foundation, the Charles de Gaulle Foundation and the University of Nancy II on the theme "Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi-Charles de Gaulle".**

[165] **See Paul-Henri Spaak, *Combats inachevés. De l'espoir aux déceptions*, Fayard, Paris, 1969, and for Helmut Schmidt, see Reiner Marcowitz, *Option für Paris ? Unionsparteien, SPD und Charles de Gaulle, 1958 bis 1969*, Munich, Oldenbourg, 1996, p. 298-299.**

During the first decade of the Common Market, the European expansion rested on two pillars: the Common Agricultural Policy and the establishment of the customs union, the opening of the French market to German industry being voluntarily compensated by German financial support to French agriculture. The Treaty of Rome of 25 March 1957 specified the process of tariff reductions for industry but was virtually silent on the measures to be taken for agriculture. It was not until the agreement of the Six on the principles of the Common Agricultural Policy in mid-January 1962, followed by the decision of December 1964 on the common price for cereals, that the prospect of a truly common economy became a reality. The European agricultural policy was clearly a success. Customs duties within the Community were lowered to 90% in January 1959, to 70% in early 1961 and to 50% in July 1962, three years ahead of the timetable laid down in the Treaty of Rome. The EEC reduced its internal customs duties by a further 10% in 1963, 1965 and 1966 respectively. On 1 July 1967, 15% of the original tariffs were still in place. They disappeared completely on 1 July 1968, when the Common Agricultural Market was also completed. The Six were thus eighteen months ahead of the schedule set in 1957.

De Gaulle regularly denounced supranational Europe, governed by "some technocratic, stateless and irresponsible hovering group". For him, an integrated Europe served as an alibi for unrealistic 'mythomaniacs', 'little gentlemen' who wanted to sit among the big boys, and 'sick people like Jean Monnet'. De Gaulle wanted maximum independence for France, but he accepted that the Commission should represent the EEC vis-à-vis third countries, notably in the Kennedy Round negotiations (1964-1967), and did not oppose the rulings of the European Court of Justice, which in the 1960s laid the foundations of a body of case law giving European law primacy over national law.

De Gaulle's vision went beyond a privileged cooperation between France and Germany: it aimed at the "union" of

the two countries as the core of a European Europe to be created. On 22 January 1963, de Gaulle signed the Élysée Treaty with Adenauer "with a view to achieving, as far as possible, a similar position" in the fields of foreign affairs, defence and education. Despite his disappointment after the signing of the treaty, de Gaulle persisted in the idea of an organic Franco-German cooperation. On 23 March 1964, de Gaulle sent his Minister of Economy and Finance, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, to Bonn to propose a monetary union to the Germans. The French initiative was clearly aimed at abandoning the franc and the mark and creating a new currency. As for the member countries of this monetary union, Giscard d'Estaing proposed to his German counterpart the framework of the Six, or, failing a community consensus, a cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and France.[166]

On 15 November 1965, during a conversation between von Hassel, German Minister of Defence, and Messmer, French Minister of the Armed Forces, the establishment of a European government until 1990, with political, military and even nuclear authority, was mentioned.[167]

On the other hand, General de Gaulle opposed the ambitions of the Hallstein Commission to become the European government in March 1965 and the extension of majority voting in the Council of Ministers, planned for 1 January 1966 by the Treaty of Rome. The text signed on 30 January 1966 in Luxembourg put an end to the crisis of the empty chair, which was the consequence of the refusal of the Five to accept political union. The various attempts to initiate a European political union - the Fouchet Plan in 1961-1962, then the respective proposals of Germany, Belgium, Italy and the Commission in 1964-1965 - had failed to achieve the necessary consensus. For de Gaulle, a

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[166] **See Benedikt Schoenborn, *La mésentente apprivoisée. De Gaulle et les Allemands, 1963-1969*, Paris, PUF, 2007, chap. 3.**

[167] **Kai-Uwe von Hassel, *Militärisches Tagebuch*, Bundesarchiv, Freiburg im Breisgau, BW1/105.**

common position vis-à-vis Washington and the prospect of a European defence were paramount.

President de Gaulle's attitude during the crisis of the empty chair and his refusal to enlarge the Community largely contributed to his image as an anti-European, particularly during his two vetoes of British entry, on 14 January 1963 and 27 November 1967, probably more on form than substance. President Kennedy said at the end of January 1963: "We were aware that Britain might be denied membership of the Common Market, but we were not prepared for the way de Gaulle did it. »[168]

The post-1973 experience showed the relevance of General de Gaulle's position. Willy Brandt, who had been strongly in favour of British membership since 1967, later admitted that he had changed his mind: the special relationship between London and Washington was indeed disrupting the development of Europe. On this point, Brandt admitted, de Gaulle had been right. No French head of State other than the former leader of Free France and stubborn opponent of the Reich could have sealed the Franco-German reconciliation with such irreversibility. Many French people rallied to this reconciliation because Charles de Gaulle was committed to it. The Germans were well aware of this.

After the departure of President de Gaulle from the political scene on 28 April 1969, the Community did not advance any faster than had been imagined. The Hague Summit in December 1969 gave a new impetus to financial cooperation and Georges Pompidou agreed to the enlargement of the Community. But at the latest with the entry of Great Britain, Ireland, and Denmark on 1 January 1973, progress was slowed down.

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[168] **sn, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1961-1963*, vol. XIII, Western Europe and Canada, Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1994, Doc.64, NSC Meeting, 31.1.1963.**

The period from 1973 to 1983 has rightly been called the "stagnant decade" of the European Community. [169] It highlighted the achievements of the de Gaulle decade: [170] the customs union was put into practice and completed more quickly than expected; the common agricultural policy was achieved; the Six all showed that they were committed to the existence of the Common Market as a guarantee of prosperity; the Community institutions were consolidated, the importance of the Council of Ministers strengthened; the Commission established itself as an economic and administrative expert in negotiations with third countries; the Community attracted new applicant countries, even Great Britain, which had initially been very sceptical. [171] The conflict between the proponents of the Community and intergovernmental methods eventually subsided: the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 finally enshrined their coexistence.

To this I add the introduction of freedom of movement for workers, the affirmation of a common commercial policy, the merger of the three European Commissions, the reorientation of European integration in an intergovernmental rather than supranational direction and the creation of political Europe, limited, however, to the regular meeting of Foreign Affairs Ministers.

In 1969, de Gaulle resigns. France and Europe turn a corner.

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[169] **Geir Lundestad, *"Empire" by Integration. The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998, p.109.**

[170] Even Hallstein acknowledged that **by 1968 the Common Agricultural Policy was financed, the Customs Union and the Common Agricultural Market were completed, the movement of workers was liberated, and the Common Commercial Policy existed**. See Walter Hallstein, *Der unvollendeter Bundesstaat*, op.cit., p. 113.

[171] **François-Xavier Ortoli, « De Gaulle et la construction européenne », in Fondation Charles de Gaulle (dir), *La politique économique et financière du Général de Gaulle, 1958-1969*, op. cit, p.73-86.**

2.8 From the Davignon report to the Single European Act.

Elected president in June 1969, Georges Pompidou, a former Rothschild banker, wants to enlarge the EEC, to be able to trade in a larger market and create a European defence within the Atlantic Alliance, through Franco-British cooperation. In December 1969, at the summit in The Hague, with Willy Brandt he unblocks the negotiations between the United Kingdom and the EEC. In 1970, he signs the Franco-British agreements relating to the Jaguar aircraft, the Martel air-surface missile, the Lynx, Gazelle and Puma helicopters.[172]

Pompidou was convinced that France's success and its ability to make history are intrinsically linked to the success of the European project, but he believed in a Europe of nation states, not in a United States of Europe. British membership would be a brake on any pursuit of federalism. Moreover, the British could counterbalance the growing economic weight of the Federal Republic of Germany by contributing their technological, economic and monetary resources. [173]

In 1970, the Davignon Report, adopted on 27 October by the foreign ministers of the Six,[174] relaunches European political cooperation with the aim of harmonizing positions, specifying the appropriate consultations and joint actions, as well as the procedures: semi-annual meetings of the Ministers of Foreign

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[172] See Alice de Lyrot, « Pompidou, la « bombe anglaise » et le Brexit » in *The conversation*, http://theconversation.com/pompidou-la-bombe-anglaise-et-le-brexit-126381, 22/1/2020.

[173] **See Jérémie Gallon, *Georges Pompidou, L'intemporel*, Gallimard, 2025, p. 125-133 et 164.**

[174] See *Le rapport Davignon*, Luxembourg, Office des publications officielles des Communautés européennes, Bulletin de la Communauté économique européenne, novembre 1970, n° 11, p. 9-14, http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/4/22/4176efc3-c734-41e5-bb90-d34c4d17bbb5/publishable_fr.pdf.

Affairs and quarterly of the directors of the Politics, who form the Political Committee.[175]

Great Britain enters the Common Market on 1 January 1973, together with Ireland and Denmark. Prime Minister Edward Heath notes the lack of a focus of authority and, with Monnet, draws up a proposal for a Council of Heads of Government[176] to succeed the occasional summit. In the spring, Henry Kissinger, adviser to President Nixon (before heading the State Department between September 1973 and January 1977) declares the year of Europe open. He believes that changes in the international situation since 1949 require a new form of cooperation, including Japan alongside the USA and Europe. It stresses the need for the Allies to share the burden, particularly financial, which has become too much for the Americans to bear, while preserving their leadership. Europe welcomes these views with reservation, even hostility. In October, during the Yom Kippur war, the Americans support Israel, the Europeans stay out of the conflict to safeguard their oil supply.[177]

Pompidou dies on 2 April 1974, before the Alliance recognizes "the contribution of French and British nuclear forces to the common defence" in the Ottawa Declaration of 19 June 1974.

In December, Chancellor Schmidt and President Giscard convene the first Council of Heads of State and Government (joined by the President of the European Commission). **The Council** decides that unanimity is no longer required for all matters and that the European Parliament is to be elected by universal suffrage from 1979 onwards. It instructs the Belgian

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[175] See Geneva Centre for Security Policy, European Security and Defence College, *History and Context of the European Security and Defence Policy, Autonomous Knowledge Unit n° 1*, http://adlunap.ro/esdc/ilias.php?baseClass=ilSAHSPresentationGUI&ref_id=841, 13/9/2011.

[176] See Jean Monnet, *Mémoires*, op. cit., p. 757-778. Monnet considers (p. 778) that his method of delegating sovereignty to common institutions is the only good one, while the Council concretizes the Europe of States advocated by de Gaulle to from the failure of the Fouchet plans.

[177] See Marie-Thérèse Bitsch, *Histoire de la construction européenne de 1945 à nos jours*, op. cit, p. 200-201.

Prime Minister, Leo Tindemans, to write a report on the **Political Union of Europe**, which asserts that **it** "will remain incomplete as long as it lacks a common defence policy".

Genscher, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, responds with a draft Single Act, unifying the Communities and adding to European powers the maintenance of European independence as well as the protection of its vital interests and its security.

In 1984, on 14 February, Spinelli had his draft Treaty on European Union (EU), **in fact a second draft "Constitutional Treaty",** approved by the European Parliament by 237 votes to 31, with 43 abstentions, and then by the European Commission. The text was then rejected by the European Council, but the latter and the Commission extracted enough to complete the draft Single Act. The EU wants to play a role on the international scene which corresponds to its economic importance and its political ambitions. The WEU is charged with contributing to this ambition by taking charge of the military aspects of the common security policy. The Rome Declaration of 27 October by the WEU Foreign and Defence Ministers leads to the creation of a European security identity.[178]

In 1985, the Schengen Convention **gradually** extends the opening of the internal borders carried out for ten years within the Benelux to France and Germany.[179] Unfortunately, these countries don't set up a corps of border guards and coastguards to control the external borders of the Schengen area. Jacques Delors becomes President of the European Commission. With the support of President Mitterrand, Chancellor Kohl[180] and industrialists, he achieves the single European market,

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[178] See Alfred Cahen, « L'Union de l'Europe occidentale fait partie de la construction européenne » in *La Libre Belgique*, 2/2/1993.

[179] This agreement was supplemented in 1990 by an implementing convention and did not enter into force until 1995. In 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam incorporated it into the EU's common policies. In **July 2026, 29** States, including 4 non-EU member-States, are part of the Schengen area.

[180] **Mr Mitterrand was President of the French Republic from 21 May 1981 to 17 May 1995, Mr Kohl was German Chancellor from 1982 to 1998, Mr Delors chaired the European Commission from 1985 to 1995.**

including the free movement of capital. He begins preparations for a single currency.

2.9 From the activation of WEU to the creation of the Eurocorps

In 1986, the Single European Act is signed, requiring majority decision-making in order to complete the single market before the deadline. The Belgian diplomat Alfred Cahen, Secretary-General of WEU, assigns to his organization a dual role in the federalist magazine *L'Europe en formation* (Europe in the making),[181] that of an element of European construction and that of the European pillar of the Alliance Atlantic. He gained permission to move his services from London to Brussels.[182] In 1987 and 1988, Operation Cleansweep, the first example of a concerted operation within the WEU, made it possible, to clear mines in the Persian Gulf to restore the freedom of navigation that had been disrupted by the war between Iran and Iraq.

In 1987, Chancellor Kohl suggests to President Mitterrand the creation of a Franco-German brigade on 25th anniversary of the Élysée Treaty, and furthermore that France and Germany undertake to defend any European State that is attacked, including with French nuclear weapons.

In 1989, the collapse of the Soviet Union forced Vladimir Putin to flee Dresden. The end of the Cold War led to increasing insecurity due to the failure of multiple States and various terrorist movements.

As early as 1990, for NATO Secretary General Wörner, the Atlantic Alliance had to "project stability from the West to the East" following the collapse of the soviet empire.[183] **In reality,** the ill-considered and uncoordinated elimination of

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[181] See Alfred Cahen, « Un rôle nouveau pour l'UEO ? » in *L'Europe en formation*, 1986, p. 53-66, http://www.ena.lu/ 13/02/2011.

[182] **It was not until 1992 that the WEU Secretariat-General moved to Brussels. Wim Van Eekelen already succeeded Alfred Cahen. See Jean De Ruyt, *Le privilège du diplomate*, Presses universitaires de Louvain, 2021, p. 71.**

[183] **Idem, p. 66, 68.**

military capabilities reduced the efficiency of defence spending in Europe: multiple capability gaps came to light, but still without reducing duplication. Moreover, equipment was acquired, within NATO and the EU, based on national considerations, justified by prestige, history, budget limitations, industrial or local political interests. In operations, the fragmentation of expeditionary forces into micro-detachments from multiple States increases the cost of logistic support.

From 25 June 1991, Yugoslavia tears itself apart. Slovenia, Croatia and then Bosnia- Herzegovina proclaim their independence and are recognized indiscriminately and without consultation by the EU member States. This results in hard fighting, abuses against civilians, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Several European observers are killed, as well as soldiers from EU and NATO member States. On 19 June 1992, these tragic events prompt the WEU Council of Ministers to adopt the Petersberg Declaration.[184] This defines several tasks as European: humanitarian and rescue, conflict prevention and peacekeeping, combat forces in crisis management, including peace-making. The Declaration does not allow the WEU to manage these crises, due to a lack of military capabilities, but it does create new needs in terms of satellite imagery.[185] Education and training must open the minds of the military to Europe.

In December 1991, Ukrainian citizens vote "en masse" for independence of their country, which leads to the end of the USSR a week later. The West won the Cold War. The Russia-NATO partnership is established. In 1992, Russia joined the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, obtaining tens of billions of dollars in loans. It joined the Council of Europe in 1996 and the G7 in 1997, which thus became the G8. When Russia defaulted on payment in 1998, it received financial support from the USA and the EU.

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[184] The WEU Council met in Bonn at the Petersberg Hotel.
[185] The WEU Satellite Center was founded in 1992, it became an EU agency in 2002. See EU Satellite Centre, https://www.satcen.europa.eu.

In 1992, the Maastricht Treaty launches the establishment of a European Monetary Union to take place in 1999 but accepts that not all EU member States should be part of it from the outset. It reaffirms the existence of common values. It structures the EU into three pillars: Community Affairs; Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP);[186] Justice and Interior. The CFSP must lead to a common defence, based on the WEU,[187] responsible for drawing up and implementing EU decisions having defence implications. Mission impossible: Mr. Mitterrand refused political Union. Mr. Kohl explained to him, but to no avail, that federalism is the only relevant form of supranational political integration. "This would have closed our internal rifts, brought us a shared destiny, a fate that implies common responsibilities for defence and security."[188]

On 2 June, the Danish 'no'[189] to the Maastricht Treaty and the weak 'yes' of the French in the 20 September referendum reduced the credibility of European integration. As the *deutsche Mark* was overvalued against other currencies, on Black Wednesday, 16 September 1992, speculation pushed the pound sterling and the lira out of the European Monetary System, and the peseta was devalued.

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[186] The CFSP does not constitute the entire EU external relations policy, which includes trade, development or humanitarian policy, but also the external aspects of internal Community policies (agriculture, environment, transport) as well as judicial and police cooperation in criminal matters. All of these components of the EU's foreign policy have their own way of working.

[187] See Article J.4. § 2 of the Maastricht treaty of 7 February 1992: "The EU requests the WEU, which is an integral part of the development of the EU, to elaborate and implement decisions and actions of the EU which have defence implications. The European Council, in agreement with the WEU institutions, adopts the necessary practical arrangements." "Article J.4.4 states that the EU policy "shall respect the obligations of certain member-States under the North Atlantic Treaty and be compatible with the common security and defence policy established within that framework."

[188] See Henri Bentégeat, « Quelles aspirations pour la défense européenne ? » in Álvaro de Vasconcelos (dir.), *Quelle défense européenne en 2020 ?*, Paris, IESUE, 3e ed., March 2010, p. 105.

[189] **On 1 June 2022, in a referendum, 67% of Danes approved their participation in the CFSP, reversing their 1992 decision.**

Exchange rate adjustments unfortunately create imported inflation for devaluing countries, which in turn affects wages and thus competitiveness.

In 1993, the fluctuation margins within the European Monetary System were increased to 15%, to put an end to speculative attacks, which had jeopardised the common market. These attacks strengthened the determination of the member States to achieve Economic and Monetary Union. Governments knew, notably from the publications of Professor Robert Mundell (24/12/1932-4/4/2021), that a single currency was a disadvantage for them: the abolition of exchange rates in monetary union deprives states of the possibility of devaluation or revaluation to cope with asymmetric economic shocks. To restore competitiveness and macroeconomic balance, they have no choice but to carry out structural reforms, which lead to unpopularity if they are not able to convince their voters that they are acting for their own good.

Money is a question of psychology. Mr Mundell has shown that a floating exchange rate system is perceived by economic agents, to absorb the effects of asymmetric shocks, as superior to fixed exchange rates or a common currency, because they suffer from a monetary illusion: they accept a fall in real wages, as long as it is achieved by a rise in prices, leaving their nominal wages unchanged, but they reject a fall in nominal wages unless the leaders explain the need for it. Economic analysts have long supported governments' opposition to the single currency, noting that Europe does not fully meet the criteria Mundell set out in 1961[190] as a prerequisite for successful monetary union.[191] Then

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[190] **See Robert A. Mundell, "A Theory of Optimum Currency Areas" in *American Economic Review*, November 1961. For this theory he was awarded the "Bank of Sweden Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel" in 1999, the year the € was launched.**

[191] **Alexandre Swoboda, « Robert Mundell et les Fondements Théoriques de l'Union Monétaire Européenne », Fonds monétaire international,**

Europeans gradually realised that analysts had lost sight of the fact that no currency zone is optimal. The French, the Germans, the Italians, etc. realised that the franc, the deutschmark, or the lira could not simultaneously suit for each of their regions or *Länder*.

The European governments finally listened to Professor Mundell, who supported the introduction of the single currency,[192] even though Europe only partly met his criteria, because he, like the Americans, Australians, Canadians, etc., knew the advantages of a single currency: the elimination of exchange costs and risks, greater liquidity, greater mobility of labour and capital, and the prospect of solidarity, of transfers, within the monetary zone. Most Europeans had perceived this intuitively: this is why some elections were unfavourable to those who advocated an exit from the € zone.

From 1993 onwards, the war in Bosnia gave NATO a new reason to exist: European crisis management. In 1994, under a **UN** mandate and with the intervention of American forces, NATO intervenes militarily for the first time,[193] leading to the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995.[194]

The Americans, especially the Republicans who dominated the Senate, did not want this commitment to go too far. They prompted the Berlin Agreement between the WEU and

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https://www.imf.org/fr/News/Articles/2015/09/28/04/54/vc121399, 13/12/1999.

[192] **His 1970 "Plan for a European Currency" was published under the title "Uncommon Arguments for Common Currencies". See H.G. Johnson and A.K. Swoboda, eds., *The Economics of Common Currencies*, London, Allen&Unwin Ltd, 1973.**

[193] See Luc De Vos et Jean-Michel Sterkendries, *Les grands problèmes géopolitiques après la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale*, op. cit., p. 282-292.

[194] **The Dayton Peace Accords have instituted bad governance, with any decision requiring the consent of Catholic-Croats, Orthodox-Serbs and Muslim Bosnians. In April 2021, Slovenia, Hungary, Poland and Croatia proposed to revise the borders on an ethnic basis. See Caroline de Gruyter, "Morrelen aan de fundamenten van de Europese Unie" in *De Standaard*, https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20220113_98107654, 14/1/2022.**

NATO in June 1996: NATO agreed that there would be WEU-led operations and "separable but not separate" capabilities would be identified and made available to the WEU, as well as elements of NATO headquarters or command structures.[195]

In 1993, France, Germany and Belgium form the Eurocorps headquarters, which signs a cooperation agreement with SACEUR. Spain joins the Eurocorps in 1994, which reached full operational capability in 1995, both for so-called "Article V" defence operations under the Atlantic Pact and for European missions.

2.10 The Solana years, the heyday that ended badly

In 1994, NATO and WEU define the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI).[196] France assigns the 42nd Signal Regiment and the 10th Engineer Regiment, the 1st Armoured Division, the 6th Materiel Regiment to the Eurocorps, Germany the 10th Panzer Division, comprising the 12th Mechanized Brigade and the 30th Armoured Brigade, Belgium the 1st Mechanized Division with three brigades (1, 7 and 17), Spain a division, incomplete until 1998, Luxembourg a reconnaissance company. **In the Bucharest Memoranda of Understanding signed with the UK, Russia and, respectively, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan, the USA undertook to guarantee the territorial integrity and security of these three countries in exchange for their renunciation of nuclear weapons. In 2009, the USA and Russia confirmed the validity of these three memoranda.**

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[195] **See Jean De Ruyt, *Le privilège du diplomate*, op. cit., p. 97-98.**

[196] « According to the Final Communiqué of the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council held in Berlin [in 1996], the ESDI would "permit the creation of militarily coherent and effective forces capable of operating under the political control and strategic direction of the WEU. » Geneva Centre for Security Policy, European Security and Defence College, *History and Context of the European Security and Defence Policy, Autonomous Knowledge Unit n° 1*, op. cit.

In June 1996, the NATO Ministerial Conference confirmed the WEU as an essential element of the ESDI.

Reflection on NATO's transformation began in July 1997, to consolidate the organisation's peacekeeping capabilities and to meet the aspirations of the Central and Eastern European States, which were candidates for membership, without angering Russia, with whom NATO was trying to establish a positive relationship, to replace the 1990 Paris Agreement on the Balance of Conventional Forces in Europe. In the early months of 1997, NATO Secretary General Solana and Russian Foreign Minister Primakov negotiated a Founding Act for a relationship based on cooperation, joint decision and joint action. The Act provides that NATO will not deploy nuclear weapons or station troops in its new member States. It was concluded on 27 May 1997 in Paris by the Atlantic Council and Russian President Yeltsin, who had been re-elected in 1996. According to Jean De Ruyt, the Founding Act is, in addition, an unequal pact like the Treaty of Versailles, imposed on Germany after the First World War. It encourages Russia to take its revenge.[197]

The treaty of Amsterdam of 22 July 1997 provides that the EU may call on the WEU for the execution of Petersberg tasks. The WEU Declaration of 22 July 1997 annexed to the Amsterdam treaty harmonizes the respective presidencies and secretariats; it includes a security agreement. NATO makes its command structure available to the WEU.[198]

In 1998, Yeltsin made Vladimir Putin director of the Federal Security Service. On 4 December 1998, in Saint-Malo, **President Chirac convinced Prime Minister Blair of**

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[197] See Jean De Ruyt, *Le privilège du diplomate*, op. cit, p. 89-90.
[198] See André Dumoulin, Éric Remacle, *L'Union de l'Europe occidentale, Phénix de la défense européenne*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 1998.

Great Britain that the EU "must have an autonomous capacity for action, supported by credible military forces".[199]

In 1999, on 1 January, the fluctuations between the national currencies disappeared: the common currency, the euro or €, was created, in a virtual, digital form. The 11 States participating in the € zone yielded to the European Central Bank (ECB) in their sovereign right to mint money, and their monetary policy. The national banks are no longer under the supervision of the States, they are part of the Euro system and have a common mandate, to maintain price stability in the euro zone. Decisions are taken by the Board of Governors and not by governments. This unprecedented progress strengthens Europe's credibility on the world stage, enables banks and businesses to consolidate their cross-border activities in Europe, and reinforces the single market and the freedom of movement of people, goods, services, and capital. Unfortunately, the European Commission and the Council tolerate that some member States do not join the € zone, although the Treaty establishing the Economic and Monetary Union obliges them to do so, because they fulfil all the conditions for entry.

Although they consider the common interest of the EU, the member States remain sovereign in their economic, budgetary, and fiscal policies as well as in the management of their public debt; European budgetary rules are poorly respected. The ECB does not have a European federal executive as a partner, but member States whose positions and interests often diverge. Finally, the division of powers in the field of supervision and regulation of markets,

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[199] See Jacques Chirac, Lionel Jospin et Tony Blair, conférence de presse conjointe, XXI^{e} sommet franco-britannique de Saint-Malo, 4/12/1998, http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actial/evenements/stmalo.html, 12/12/2005. European defence then seemed to take shape: "battlegroups, a European gendarmerie force, a European defence and armaments agency, a planning and command cell, as well as joint programs: the A400M, the Meteor missile, Galileo, the NH90 transport helicopter, the Tiger combat helicopter and [unmanned aerial combat vehicles] demonstrators. See Michèle Alliot-Marie, *Le chêne qu'on relève*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2005, p. 77-78.

particularly financial markets, between the ECB and the member States is not sufficiently precise. Indeed, the ECB is responsible for supervising banks, within the framework of the *Single Supervisory Mechanism* (SSM) which includes the ECB and the national supervisory authorities of the participating countries, but in the event of a banking crisis, the bank resolution mechanism under the aegis of the SSM still does not benefit from a European deposit guarantee scheme. The supervision of financial markets remains, for far too much, a national responsibility.[200]

On 23 March, Javier Solana, Secretary General of NATO, to put an end to the repression of the Albanian majority (85%) in Kosovo by the Serbian government since 1989, and which was becoming more and more bloodier, orders air strikes against Serbia, without a UN mandate. After 78 days of bombing, the Kosovo Force was able to settle there. On 17 February 2008, Kosovo proclaims its independence. Some of the EU member States follow the USA and recognize it, others do not.

On 29 March, Putin becomes secretary of the National Security Council of the Russian Federation.[201] He concludes that NATO air strikes in Serbia, the lack of a UN mandate, and American efforts in favour of Kosovo's independence would authorise him to do the same, to violate international law as the West, for example by supporting pro-Russian separatists, in order to restore his country's power.

On 24 and 25 April, the Washington Atlantic Council authorised the EU to conduct operations with NATO assets and transformed the Berlin Agreement between WEU and NATO into 'Berlin Plus'.[202]

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[200] **See Paul Goldschmidt, « L'Euro n'est pas une monnaie comme les autres ! » in *Archives Jean Marsia*, 16/12/2021.**
[201] **Bruno Tertrais, *La guerre des mondes. Le retour de la géopolitique et le choc des empires*, Paris, Éditions de l'Observatoire, 2023, p. 9.**
[202] **See Jean De Ruyt, *Le privilège du diplomate*, op. cit, p. 91-92.**

On 1 May, the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam improves the functioning of the EU.[203] The Cologne European Council of 3 and 4 June takes over the Petersberg tasks from the WEU. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) was born. In October, Javier Solana becomes Secretary-General of the EU Council and High Representative for the CFSP until the end of 2009. He is assisted by a European Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit, consisting of specialists from the member States, the Secretariat of the EU Council of Ministers, the Commission or those taken from the WEU. **On 12 June, 3,600 Russian soldiers entered Kosovo from the north and seized Pristina airport, before the NATO Kosovo Force. They remained stationed there until 2003.[204] On 16 August, the Duma appointed Putin as Prime Minister of the Russian Federation.**

The Helsinki European Council in December sets up the Political and Security Committee (PSC) and the Military Committee (EUMC), composed of the Chiefs of Defence of the member States, and defines the Headline Goal 2003, i.e. an autonomous defence capability of 50 000 to 60 000 troops, available within 60 days and for at least one year, capable of carrying out Petersberg tasks; it decides to make the Eurocorps a Rapid Reaction Force Headquarters. **As of 31 December,**

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[203] « In the area of decision-making, the Amsterdam Treaty introduced the concept of constructive abstention. This mechanism makes it possible for an EU member-State to abstain in a CFSP-related vote in the Council without blocking a unanimous decision. The Amsterdam Treaty also introduced a new legal instrument to enhance coherence in the Union's external action: the Common Strategy. These may be used to specify a political objective and the resources needed to achieve the objective(s). To date, a limited number of Common Strategies have been formulated, including one on Russia (1999), Ukraine (1999) and the Mediterranean (2000). » Geneva Centre for Security Policy, European Security and Defence College, *History and Context of the European Security and Defence Policy, Autonomous Knowledge Unit n° 1*, op. cit.

[204] **See Bruno Tertrais, *La guerre des mondes. Le retour de la géopolitique et le choc des empires*, op. cit, p. 10 ;** sn, "Poutine révèle comment la décision d'occuper l'aéroport de Pristina a été prise en 1999" in *Serbin Info*, https://srbin.info/fr/politika/putin-otkrio-kako-je-doneta-odluka-o-zauzimanju-pristinskog-aerodroma-1999-godine/?lang=lat, 14/6/2020.

Putin took over as acting President of the Russian Federation. [205]

On 7 May 2000, Putin was elected President of the Russian Federation. He plunged into restoring Russian power, rebuilding the economy, and concentrating power. Mr Robertson, NATO Secretary General between 1999 and 2004, recalled that at their first meeting, Putin expressed his desire for Russia to be part of Western Europe and asked when Russia would be invited to join NATO. Mr Robertson replied that candidate countries are not invited, but apply for membership, to which Putin replied that Russia was not at the level of states that do not count. In an interview with the BBC, Putin told journalist Frost that he would not rule out joining NATO if, and when Russia's views as an equal partner should be considered.[206]

In June, in Santa Maria da Feira, the European Council took over command of the Kosovo Force from NATO. On 21 November, the Defence Ministers presented a plan to deploy in 2003 a force of 100,000 men, 400 combat aircraft and 100 ships, capable of sustaining a mission of 60,000 men over a period of one year.[207] In Nice, in December, the European Council adopts the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which sets out European values.[208] It transforms the Headline Goal into a "catalogue of forces"[209] and integrates into the EU the Institute for Security

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[205] **Bruno Tertrais, *La guerre des mondes. Le retour de la géopolitique et le choc des empires*, op. cit, p. 11.**

[206] **Jennifer Rankin, "Ex-Nato head says Putin wanted to join alliance early on in his rule" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/nov/04/ex-nato-head-says-putin-wanted-to-join-alliance-early-on-in-his-rule, 4/11/2021.**

[207] See Henry Kissinger, *La nouvelle puissance américaine*, New York, 2001, trad. Odile Demange, Paris, Arthème Fayard, 2003, p. 60.

[208] The Lisbon Treaty makes the Charter legally binding and incorporates it into the TEU.

[209] See Sven Biscop, Jo Coelmont, *Europe, Strategy and Armed Forces, The making of a distinctive power*, London and New York, Routledge, 2012, p. 57-60 ; Fabien Terpan, *La politique étrangère, de sécurité et de défense de l'Union européenne*, Paris, La documentation française, 2010, p. 55-60.

Studies (EUISS),[210] the Torrejon Satellite Centre (SatCen) and the WEU Military Staff, which becomes the EU Military Staff (EUMS), comprising an Operations Centre (OPCEN) supported by a Situation Centre (SitCen) for intelligence, analysis and warning and by the SatCen for space-based imagery.[211]

In 2001, on 28 January, the Convention on the *Organisation conjointe de coopération en matière d'armement* (OCCAr - Joint Organisation for Armament Cooperation) enters into force. It aims to make the management of certain current and future joint armaments programs[212] more effective and efficient, from the acquisition phase to the in-service support of equipment. **After the September 11 attacks, Putin is considering cooperation with the USA, especially in the fight against Islamic terrorism. On 14 and 15 December**, the Laeken European Council adopts the Declaration on the Future of the European Union, for greater democracy, transparency and efficiency and convenes the Convention on the Future of Europe to resolve questions of competence, simplification of the treaties and institutional architecture. It declares the ESDP operational, believing that the EU can conduct crisis

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[210] The EUISS is the EU's Agency analyzing foreign, security and defence policy issues. Its core mission is to assist the EU and its member-States in the implementation of the CFSP, including the CSDP as well as other external action of the Union. See EUISS, *About us*, https://www.iss.europa.eu/about-us.

[211] « The Treaty of Nice [extended the use of qualified majority voting;] formalised European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) by bringing it into the EU's institutional structure [;] tasked the PSC to "monitor the international situation in the areas covered by the common foreign and security policy and contribute to the definition of policies by delivering opinions to the Council" [and] to "exercise, under the responsibility of the Council, political control and strategic direction of crisis management operations.» Geneva Centre for Security Policy, European Security and Defence College, *History and Context of the European Security and Defence Policy, Autonomous Knowledge Unit n° 1*, op. cit. The WEU SitCen has 5 people responsible for open-source analysis.

[212] For example, the A400M transport aircraft; the Boxer armored vehicle; the FREMM frigate; the Tiger combat helicopter; the FSAF ground or sea/air missile; the MUSIS program (aimed at pooling earth observation satellites and ground operating systems at EDA level); the COBRA counter-battery radar.

management operations. It institutes informal meetings of European defence ministers.

In 2002, on 1 January, the €, embodied in banknotes and coins, came into circulation. The banknotes show monuments or architectural elements, doors, bridges, or windows, in Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, Art Nouveau or modern style, representing various European artistic, religious, and philosophical trends. Hundreds of millions of Europeans now carry and daily use symbols of European unification.

The EU and NATO conclude a "Strategic Partnership Agreement" supplemented on 11 March 2003 by the "Berlin Plus" agreement,[213] which extends the EU's access to planning capabilities and the means of NATO. European command of operations is entrusted to the British deputy of SACEUR. The exchange of classified information is regulated.

In 2003, the Treaty of Nice comes into force, renewing the architecture of the EU institutions, making decision-making more flexible and stipulating in Article 17 that: "The CFSP shall include all questions relating to the security of the Union, including the progressive framing of a common defence policy, which might lead to a common defence, should the Council so decide".[214]

On 20 March, at the time of the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the hardline American protectorates distanced themselves from those that were able to free themselves from it: France, Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg. It is worth remembering

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[213] The agreement is neither public nor ratified by national parliaments. The detailed implementing arrangements date from 11 March 2003. See Assemblée de l'UEO, *1999-2009, dix ans de politique de sécurité et de défense commune (PSDC)*, op. cit. The content of the agreements is summarized in the press release « EU-NATO: The Framework for permanent relations and Berlin Plus ». Voir Assemblée de l'UEO, *Les accords « Berlin Plus » UE-OTAN*, Paris, novembre 2009, p. 1-2.

[214] See Assemblée de l'UEO, *1999-2009, dix ans de politique de sécurité et de défense commune (PSDC)*, Paris, December 2009, p. 1-2.

that Merkel[215] took a stand at that time in favour of the American intervention, against the Schröder Government, but also against her own party, in opposition.

On 29 April, Belgian Prime Minister Verhofstadt, French President Chirac, Chancellor Schröder and Luxembourg Prime Minister Juncker propose the creation of a European operational headquarters, the placing of all existing multinational corps under an integrated command, the creation of a European Armaments Agency and a solidarity clause between EU member States. The British reject the operational headquarters and gradually paralyze the ESDP.

In Ituri, north-eastern Congo, a Uruguayan battalion of the UN force (MONUC) was cornered by a rebellion. The UN asked the EU to stabilise the region to allow MONUC to continue its work. Operation Artemis was a rapid success (6 June to 6 September), which allowed the EU to demonstrate its ability to act together, under the leadership of Javier Solana. The experience gained during this operation helped

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[215] Angela, the daughter of protestant minister Kasner, born Kazmierczak in 1926, as his Polish father had chosen to settle in Germany and Germanized his name, and of a teacher, was born on 17 July 1954 in Hamburg. Her family moved to East Germany. In 1978, she married the physicist Ulrich Merkel, from whom she divorced in 1982, but she retained his surname. In 1978, she also began studying physics at the University of Leipzig, which she continued until she obtained a doctorate in 1986. She worked at the Institute of Physics and Chemistry of the Academy of Sciences of East Germany. The Berlin Wall fell on 9 November 1989. In 1990, she joined the political bureau of Demokratischer Aufbruch (Democratic Awakening) and was appointed deputy spokesperson for the last East German government. In October 1990, Germany was reunified. She became a member of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). She was elected to the Bundestag in 1990. She served as Federal Minister for Women and Youth from 1991 to 1994, then as Federal Minister for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety from 1994 to 1998. In 1998, she remarried chemistry professor Joachim Sauer and was elected president of the CDU. In November 2005, she became Chancellor. See Boran Tobelem, "Angela Merkel : biographie de l'ancienne chancelière allemande" in *Toute l'Europe*, https://www.touteleurope.eu/fonctionnement-de-l-ue/biographie-angela-merkel-chanceliere-allemande/, 11/1/2022.

to adapt the politico-military structures in Brussels and the chain of command for operations, but Artemis remains the only EU-led military crisis management operation.[216]

The year 2003, the democratisation of Georgia and the invasion of Iraq by the Americans and their allies, in 2004, the accession of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia to NATO, and, in November, the orange-clad Ukrainian crowds demonstrating for free elections and inspiring from Serbia to Lebanon, from Georgia to Kyrgyzstan, led Vladimir Putin to turn away from cooperation with the West, except in the context of the fight against Islamist terrorism.

At the end of the year, the European Council adopts the European Security "Strategy", "A secure Europe in a better world",[217] the Headline Goal 2010 and the concept for the use of the Battle Groups.[218]

In 2004, Javier Solana set up the Athena mechanism for the common financing of EU military operations.[219] The European Defence Agency (EDA) is created. **Angela Merkel, belonging to the opposition in Germany but influential within the European People's Party, succeeded in June in getting the**

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[216] See Jean De Ruyt, *Le privilège du diplomate*, op. cit, p. 132-133.

[217] European Council, *European Security Strategy*, *A Secure Europe in a Better World,* adopted on 3/12/2003, https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/30823/qc7809568enc.pdf, 6/4/6/2020. The European strategy defines the main threats and the strategic objectives for addressing them, including the strategy against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

[218] The GT1500 or EU Battle Groups - EUBGs consist of 1,500 troops, deployable in less than 10 days for a period of up to 120 days. Since 2007, one or two EUBGs have been operational, but have never been implemented.

[219] The Council Decision 2011/871/CFSP of 19/12/2011 (OJEU L 343/35 of 23/12/2011), establishing a mechanism to administer the financing of the common costs of EU operations having military or defence implications (Athena), replaces the Council Decision 2004/197/CFSP of 23/2/2004 of the same name, as amended in 2005 and 2007. For other costs, the EU applies the principle of costs lie where they fall from NATO: each State pays for the personnel and equipment it deploys.

European Council to appoint Manuel Barroso as President of the European Commission.

Enlargement towards Central and Eastern **Europe from 2004** has not been accompanied, as it was the case earlier for the South and then East Germany, by massive economic aid, at least at the beginning, creating among these Europeans a feeling of second-class citizenship, regardless of the current financial flows. This feeling was reinforced by the hostility that their influx aroused, particularly in France, Italy and the United Kingdom, because, lacking aid and prospects for the future, many migrated, impoverishing their countries of origin.

In 2005, on 24 February in Bratislava, George W. Bush drew Putin's attention to the fact that democracies share the rule of law, protection of minorities, a free press, and a viable political opposition; he expressed concern about the way Russia was applying these universal principles. Putin replied that democracy is not anarchy, state collapse, theft, and impoverishment of the population. On the same day, the European Court of Human Rights condemned Russia for the first time for the abuses committed in Chechnya in 1999 against civilians, who were tortured and then murdered or bombed by the air force. President Bush also expressed concern about the delivery of Russian anti-aircraft missiles to Syria. Nevertheless, Russians and Americans have concluded agreements in the energy sector, the fight against terrorism and nuclear proliferation, particularly in Iran, which has not prevented Russia from supplying it with nuclear fuel.[220]

The referendum to approve the 3rd draft Constitutional Treaty failed in France, as did the popular consultation in the Netherlands, **although 18 member States, including Germany, had approved it.** The European Security and Defence College (ESDC) was established,[221] **but gradually the**

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[220] **AFP, Reuters, AP, "George Bush donne une leçon de démocratie à Vladimir Poutine" in *Le Monde*, 26/2/2005, p. 2.**

[221] The ESDC waited until 2020 to see its budget reach €1.893 million. See Bruxelles2, « Carnet 08/11/2019 » in *Bruxelles 2*,

ambition to unite Europe more closely within the EU's community and intergovernmental framework has diminished.

Merkel, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and leading member of the European Council from 22 November 2005 to 8 December 2021, was unwilling, unable or not allowed to stop the disintegration of the EU. This dark period, during which she shared most of the power at European level with successive presidents Sarkozy, Hollande, and Macron, under Putin's increasingly malevolent eye, is the subject of Chapter 3.

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https://club.bruxelles2.eu/2019/11/carnet-08-11-2019-confidentiels-cops-prets-de-la-bei-a-la-turquie-budget-esdc-operations-missions-onu-darfour-sahara-et-soudan-defense-budget-defense-pays-bas-diplomatie-irak-deplorabl/ , 8/11/2019.

3. From Merkel to Macron, the unravelling of the EU

After the departure of Chancellor Schröder, whose attempt to federate Europe failed, some believed that Merkel would follow in the footsteps of Chancellors Adenauer and Kohl and take over the project with President Chirac. It is to forget that she spent her youth in East Germany and did not experience the Second World War. Her main concerns were to maintain Germany's power and position as Europe's leading nation by preserving its prosperity. For her, Europe and Franco-German friendship were only means to achieve this, as was her complacency towards the Americans and Putin. Successive French presidents do not seem to have realised this.

3.1 Schäuble pleads in vain for European sovereignty

Even the plea for Europe from her leading party colleague Schäuble could not help. In 2006, the then minister of Finances Schäuble,[222] drew a parallel between the governance of the EU and that of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, as described around 1667 by Samuel Pufendorf. Neither an absolute monarchy nor a federation of States, but something in between, the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation was doomed to collapse. It dispersed its institutions to Vienna, Frankfurt am Main, Wetzlar and Regensburg. The EU shares its own between Brussels, Luxembourg, and Strasbourg. The Imperial Diet, comparable to the European Council, was increasingly paralyzed by its disunited members, who preferred their sovereignty. The slowness of the development of imperial law was like that of the European legislative process.[223] The

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[222] See Wolfgang Schäuble, *Speech given by Federal Minister Dr Wolfgang Schäuble on 4 December 2006 at the German Historical Museum in Berlin as part of a lecture series organized in conjunction with the exhibition Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation 962-1806*, Jean Marsia Archives.

[223] The world is changing much faster than it used to. Remember where China was 40 years ago...

treaties that found the EU have become almost as complex and inconsistent as those of the Empire; they have led to a lack of efficiency, transparency, and democratic legitimacy. They are proving insufficient to allow the EU to defend our interests in the **current** context. For Mr. Schäuble, we must therefore consider our sovereignty differently: in Europe, economic, fiscal, employment, environment, migration, and security policies, both external and internal, can only be effective at the supranational level.

Mr. Schäuble then compared law enforcement in the Empire and the EU. In contrast to imperial law, Community law prevails over national law, if it remains within the limits of the transferred sovereign rights. But like the Empire, the EU is faced with a backlog of court cases and lengthy proceedings. However, the EU benefits from the firm interpretation of Community law by the EU Court of Justice (EUCJ), and from the application of the principle of subsidiarity.[224]

Finally, Mr. Schäuble noted that Europe's collective self-image was the result of its diversity, and that the Empire also respected diversity, which would explain why it had lasted almost a thousand years. In conclusion, Mr. Schäuble proposed to establish the foundations of belonging to Europe, of our European identity, which would for him go through accepting the State's monopoly on the use of force and the principle of the majority. He believes that without the will to show solidarity, patriotism, there cannot be a stable liberal order at European level. He judges that Hegel's claim in 1801 that the Empire

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[224] In areas which do not fall within the exclusive competence of the EU, the EU can only act when measures taken by member-States are ineffective. Solving a problem at the lowest possible level is generally more appropriate to local conditions and avoids excessive bureaucracy. On the other hand, working or studying anywhere in Europe requires mutual recognition of diplomas and therefore European norms or standards. Sovereignty is distributed among different levels of regulation, which requires a balance between the need for proximity, which is growing with globalization, and calls for European solutions to common problems, difficult to find due to the lack of an effective, transparent, and democratically legitimate European decision-making mechanism.

lacked a supreme figure, the co-operation of principalities and patriotism, which requires having a say in it and being able to contribute to it, can apply to the EU, which lacks political identity. Mr. Schäuble sees a European public opinion emerging with the help of telecommunications, he stresses the need for an awareness of our European politico-historic identity, which does not contradict national identity, but complements it. **Sadly, time has passed and Mr. Schäuble's vision has not been realized. On the contrary, the EU has been unravelled.**

3.2 Putin's declares war to the West, Sarkozy becomes President

On 9 February 2007, Putin was invited to the Munich Security Conference. He expressed his rejection of liberalism and the expansion of NATO and said that he opposes the Western "model".[225] Since then, he has been waging hybrid war on the West. **It was first hybrid**,[226] **maid of** propaganda, large-scale manoeuvres, more or less close to our borders, incursions of ships or aircraft into our areas of sovereignty, cyber-attacks, dissemination of "fake news", and data looting. **On 6 August, the Russian Air Force bombed a Georgian military radar station near South Ossetia, but the air-to-ground missile did not explode.[227] Informed of the incident, the West did not**

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[225] **See Wladimir Putin: Rede auf der Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pbYDJoR6jwc, 9/2/2007.**

[226] **Russia commits acts of terrorism, sabotage and arson against NATO member States; jams commercial shipping signals; generates cyber and electronic interference; conducts psychological influence operations; interferes in elections and referendums; simulates attacks on key military installations and warships; infringes on freedom of navigation and violates maritime and air space in many places. NATO calls hybrid warfare what General Gerasimov calls the "circumvention of armed struggle". See Dimitri Minic, *Pensée et culture stratégiques russes. Du contournement de la lutte armée à la guerre en Ukraine*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2023.**

[227] **See Svante E. Cornell, David J. Smith, S. Frederick Starr, *The August 6 Bombing Incident in Georgia: Implications for the Euro-Atlantic Region*, Central Asia - Caucasus Institute, Silk Road Paper, https://isdp.eu/content/uploads/images/stories/isdp-main-**

react, even though this established that, instead of improving the lot of the 19 million Russians who live below the poverty line and refinancing public health and education, Putin was going to invest in upgrading his armed forces, not to deter but to attack, while presenting himself as the victim of the West.

On 16 May 2007, N. Sarkozy entered the Elysée Palace. By the end of the year, many American borrowers are unable to pay the interest on their mortgages, which has risen because of rising inflation. The sale of mortgaged houses caused their prices to fall, and lenders became insolvent, including in Europe.

In 2008, between 2 and 4 April, at the Atlantic Council in Bucharest, the last one in which Putin participated, President George W. Bush proposed the accession of Ukraine and Georgia to NATO. Putin expressed a deep sense of insecurity, real or feigned, as this may be a way to hide his desire to maintain power and reconstitute Russian domination over these states. In order not to irritate him, Merkel and Sarkozy force the Council to decide that Ukraine and Georgia "have a vocation" to become members of NATO, without any timetable being set.

On 7 May, Medvedev becomes President of Russia; he appoints Putin as head of government. On 8 August, in South Ossetia, pro-Russian separatists bombed a village and Georgian soldiers, who retaliated, but Russia sent 20,000 soldiers to support the separatists. In five days, the Russians crush the Georgian forces. As they advanced towards Tbilisi, another 20,000 Russian troops invaded Abkhazia, another breakaway region of Georgia. Bush, disillusioned by the German and French vetoes in Bucharest, delegates the management of the crisis to the EU, of which Sarkozy holds the rotating presidency. He obtained a promise of a ceasefire, then the withdrawal of

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pdf/2007_cornell-smith-starr_the-august-6-bombing-incident-in-georgia.pdf, October 2007.

Russian troops, but not from South Ossetia or Abkhazia, which represent 20 % of Georgian territory.[228]

Sarkozy's strange attitude towards Putin during this crisis was eventually explained. As early as 2009, he said that Russia is "not a country that spontaneously tends towards military aggression with its neighbours" and in 2015, he accused the Americans of wishing for the separation of Europe and Russia; he said that if Crimea had chosen Russia, it could not be blamed for it, that the Russian-speaking people of the Donbass must be protected, that Ukraine has no vocation to join the EU and NATO. His Prime Minister Fillon met Putin several times a year, which allowed him to learn, and to write in 2012, in an article in *Le Figaro*, that "the Russian bear is only dangerous when he is afraid".[229] This complacency partly explains why Putin has done it again, in 2014 in Crimea and then in Donbass and much more seriously, since 2022.

On 17 June, the White Paper on Defence and National Security is published, which shows Mr. Sarkozy's lack of foresight: it considers the arc of the crisis starting in Afghanistan and covering the Levant, but neglects Africa.

On 15 September, George W. Bush allows Lehman Brothers to fail, which unbalances the global financial system and leads to the failure of many banks, particularly in Europe. This financial crisis, mismanaged mainly by Merkel, Schäuble and Dijsselbloem,[230] leads to a decade-long

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[228] See Sylvie Kauffmann, " Le scénario ukrainien avait été écrit en Géorgie en 2008. Il suffisait de vouloir lire " in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2022/02/23/le-scenario-ukrainien-avait-ete-ecrit-en-georgie-en-2008-il-suffisait-de-vouloir-lire_6114865_3232.html, 23/2/2022.

[229] See Olivier Faye, Ivanne Trippenbach, "En France, Vladimir Poutine a bénéficié de quinze ans de complaisance politique" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2022/03/02/en-france-quinze-ans-de-complaisance-politique-envers-vladimir-poutine_6115762_823448.html, 2/3/2022.

[230] It took the EU a decade to emerge from the 2008 crisis, while the USA and the United Kingdom did so in one year.

economic depression, particularly in Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

In the second half of the year, the French Presidency of the EU was marked by the adoption of the directives on defence procurement and the transfer of military equipment. In December, the European Council fails to update the 2003 “strategy” and adopted a "Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy - Providing Security in a Changing World". The Council approves the Erasmus military program for non-academic exchanges of young officers between military schools. The proposed attitude to Russia after the war in Georgia divides the member States: those of the East seeing it as a threat and those of the West as a partner. This makes it difficult to define threat priorities, showing the EU as "hesitant and reactive, uncertain of its role on the world stage, internally divided and riddled by institutional blockages."[231]

In 2009, on 26 February, five years after its signature, the Strasbourg Treaty enters into force. Finally, it gives the Eurocorps its legal status; it gives the commanding general the possibility to purchase goods and services, hire staff, deal with all matters relating to the environment, human resources, and the operational area.[232] **At the European Council in June, Mr. Barroso is reappointed as President of the European Commission.**

Putin proposed unsuccessfully a European security agreement to the EU. He would have liked Ukraine, Finland and Sweden to remain neutral, Poland and the Baltic States to be barred from receiving American soldiers, and the

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[231] See Sven Biscop, « Old Couple or Dynamic Duo? The EU and Strategy in times of Crisis » in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2009, n° 14(3), p. 367-384.

[232] See s.n. *Corps européen, une force pour l’Union européenne et l’Alliance atlantique*, http://www.eurocorps.org/home_page/news/news.php?lang_default=FRA&id_news=787 14/2/2011 ; Grzegor Holdanowicz, « Poland to be the sixth pillar of Eurocorps », in *Jane’s Defence Weekly*, 21/12/2011, p. 15.

United States of America to withdraw its nuclear weapons from Europe. His aggressiveness reinvigorated NATO.

On 30 June, the federal Court in Karlsruhe ruled that: "The representation of citizens in the European Parliament is not linked to the equality of citizens of the EU (Article 9 TEU), but to nationality; a criterion which is, in itself, an absolute prohibition of distinction for the EU. [...] The EU thus finds itself in a contradiction of values with the basis of its self-image as a citizens' union, which can only be explained by the character of the EU as an association of sovereign States" and that "even after the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, the EU [lacks] a political decision-making body established by equal election of all citizens of the EU with the ability to represent the will of the people in a uniform manner".

Sarkozy puts his armies under the NATO chain of command, thereby reducing their autonomy with regard to the United States of America. **The general review of public policies has mainly consisted of unreasonable budget cuts that have weakened the French armed forces. Due to a lack of sufficient investment, France becomes less and less sovereign** and more and more dependent on its major ally, particularly its telecommunications, its intelligence acquired by satellites or drones and its strategic means of transport.

On 1 December, after a few twists and turns, the Treaty of Lisbon comes into force. It renames the ESDP "Common Security and Defence Policy" (CSDP) and gives it some legal tools, such as permanent structured cooperation (PSC), which the European Council will only use, and in a minimalist way, at the end of 2017. It strengthens the role of the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and CFSP (HR), a task for which he or she is assisted by the European External Action Service (EEAS), made up of staff from the General Secretariat of the European Council, the European Commission, and national diplomatic services. It makes the HR a Vice-President of the European Commission, who chairs the Foreign Affairs Council and the Management Board of the European Defence Agency. With its text being largely incomprehensible, the

Treaty of Lisbon has disappointed the hopes it raised, **with the creation of the HR function and the EEAS, in particular. This was to be expected, as a treaty could not create a politico-military command unit.**

In 2010, the Greek debt crisis erupted when the new socialist Prime Minister George Papandreou saw a budget deficit three times larger than his conservative predecessor had claimed and a debt reaching 127% of GDP, which was immediately placed in speculative grade by the rating agencies. Merkel's and Schäuble's priority was that aid to Greece should not cost German taxpayers anything. In exchange for three international bailouts, which bring more than €300 billion to the state coffers, which are also bailed out by privatisations,[233] they demanded drastic budget cuts and tax hikes from the Greeks, which leaded to recession. Unemployment soared, despite a minimum wage reduced to just over €500. The reduction in pensions is plunging many elderly Greeks into poverty. Drug shortages and understaffed hospitals were causing the premature death of 90,000 people... Schäuble's subsequent unsuccessful proposal for a Grexit traumatised not only the Greeks, but all those who might have suffered the same fate. When Merkel gave Greece a loan to save the €, she claimed that it would be repaid and that the guarantees of the European Financial Stability Fund would not be exercised, whereas it did intervene from 2011.

Although the TEU and TFEU do not contain any provision with the same force as Article 5 of the 1948 Brussels Treaty, establishing Western European Union and amended in 1954, this treaty was nevertheless denounced by its member States on 21 May 2010.

The "Arab Spring", which began in Tunisia at the end of 2010, spread in 2011 to Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Algeria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Oman, triggering either reforms or more or less brutal repression. These have led to a

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[233] **China has become the majority shareholder of the port of Piraeus.**

migratory movement towards Europe, which peaked in 2015, **at the height of the civil war in Syria and Iraq.** While Merkel said, at least for a few months, she was ready to take in the refugees; the Eastern Europeans, but also those of the South, who were already facing massive migration, did not want them at any price.

In 2011, on 11 March, the main cooling system and then the emergency system of the Fukushima nuclear power plant was disabled by a tsunami. The failure of the plant operator and the public authorities to react adequately to urgently restore cooling led to the meltdown of the cores of reactors 1, 2 and 3 and the overheating of the deactivation pool of reactor 4, resulting in a record emission of xenon 133 gas. The outcry over the disaster prompted Merkel to accelerate the phase-out of nuclear power in Germany and to build thousands of wind turbines, gas-fired power stations and lignite-fired power stations to generate energy, thereby contributing significantly to global warming and increasing Germany's dependence on Russian gas.

In April, Sarkozy, and Cameron, the British Prime Minister, claimed to be enforcing UN Security Council Resolution 1970 of 26 February 2011, condemning Mr. Gaddafi's use of force against his opponents, and implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1973 of 17 March 2011, setting up a no-fly zone to protect the civilian population from Gaddafi's air force, especially in Benghazi. In reality, with the support of President Obama, Sarkozy and Cameron were misusing the "responsibility to protect" to force regime change in Libya. As only the Americans have the capabilities for intelligence, reconnaissance, target acquisition, suppression of enemy air defences and air-to-air refuelling, Mr. Obama launched Operation *Odyssey Dawn*. The Congress put an end to it after a week. With Libyan air defence destroyed NATO was able to take over. Its Operation *Unified Protector* left only chaos in Libya, which has since spread to the whole Sahel and Central Africa. Since then, the UN Security Council no longer gives NATO a mandate, but the US uses ad hoc coalitions. In

Libya, the West has shown Putin that international law is made up of scraps of paper. Russia had the opportunity to gain a foothold in the Central African Republic as early as 2017, and since then in the Sahel.

In August, in an interview with *Der Spiegel*, the German Labour Minister von der Leyen calls for an expansion of political Union in Europe. 'My objective is to create a United States of Europe - based on the Swiss, German or American federal state model', she declared, because a common currency is not enough to impose itself in global competition; for that, a political Union is needed.[234] Obviously, after this declaration, Merkel brainwashed her, because von der Leyen is no longer a federalist.

3.3 The « normal » presidency of Mr. Hollande

In 2012, on March 4, Putin was re-elected president, despite a strong protest, which was quickly suppressed.

In March, with the help of his entourage,[235] I was able to convince the President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy that it would be inappropriate for him to end his term of office without having put the CSDP on the agenda of a next meeting of its Council. He decided to revisit the issue in December 2013. He invited the High Representative, as well as the Commission, to draw up new proposals and actions to strengthen the development of defence capabilities and to strengthen the European defence industry.[236]

In this respect, the British and French governments, the management of BAE Systems and EADS, now Airbus

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[234] See sn, "Von der Leyen fordert die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa" in *Der Spiegel*, https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/schuldenkrise-von-der-leyen-fordert-die-vereinigten-staaten-von-europa-a-782879.html, 27/08/2011.

[235] Particularly his chief of staff Ambassador Frans van Daele and his collaborator Luuk van Middelaar.

[236] See Conseil européen, *Conclusions du Conseil européen des 13 et 14 décembre 2012*, n° EUCO 205/12 du 14/12/2012, http://www.european-council.europa.eu/council-meetings/conclusions.aspx?lang=fr, 22/1/2013.

Industries, as well as its main shareholders, Lagardère (7.5 % of the capital), Daimler (22.5 %) and the French state (15 %), wished to build a company on the scale of American competitors. BAE Systems would have promoted the A330 MRTT tanker and the A400 M transport aircraft at the Pentagon; Airbus is said to have supported BAE in Latin America and Asia. Combining EADS' predominantly civil and BAE's predominantly military products would have stabilised consolidated revenues. Financing the group would have been cheaper. The French state accepted the dilution of its stake, but Merkel wanted Germany to be able to buy 9% of EADS-BAE's capital for €4 billion, so that it could, like France, influence industrial strategy and the location of factories or design offices, which Hollande and Cameron refused in October.[237] Merkel, Hollande, and Cameron have prevented the emergence of a European company capable of being at the forefront of the world market and of unifying the offer on the European market, notably for the air combat system of the future.

The preparation of the December 2013 European Council has sparked since January 2013, intense political-military thinking within the EU and hundreds of publications and non-papers, from official, academic, journalistic and think tank circles, **in the context of President Hollande's decision to reengage France in the Sahel against Islamist terrorists.**

As Eurocorps, when not engaged by NATO, is a deployable European headquarters, but the EU chain of command is still incomplete, the creation of the European Operational Headquarters - Operational Headquarter (OHQ) has been rejected in 2003. The Belgian Prime Minister's office and

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[237] See Michel Cabirol, Fabrice Gliszczynski, "Berlin a torpillé le rapprochement EADS-BAE Systems" in *Ła Tribune*, https://www.latribune.fr/entreprises-finance/industrie/aeronautique-defense/20121010trib000724041/berlin-a-torpille-le-rapprochement-eads-bae-systems.html, 10/12/2012 and Hassan Meddah, " EADS-BAE : les raisons d'une fusion ratée " in *L'Usine nouvelle*, https://www.usinenouvelle.com/article/eads-bae-les-raisons-d-une-fusion-ratee.N183770, 10/10/2012.

the French Defence Staff proposed moving the OHQ from Mont Valérien, west of Paris, to Brussels, on the occasion of the European Defence Council. President Hollande did not accept.

After the chemical attack perpetrated by Bashar al-Assad's army, Mr. Obama, despite prior threats, refrains from intervening in Syria.

In November and December 2013, Ukrainians demonstrated for closer ties with the EU.

The European Council held a thematic debate on 19/12/2013 and identified a number of priority defence actions, which revolve around three axes:

• Making the EU's comprehensive approach even more effective and efficient, including in its delivery of crisis management.

• Intensifying cooperation with global, transatlantic, and regional partners.

• Improving the EU's rapid reaction capacities, in particular by making Battlegroups more flexible and deployable or by improving the system for funding EU missions and operations, as part of the review of the Athena mechanism.

This European Council called in particular for the definition of an EU action framework in the area of cyberdefence; the development of an EU strategy on maritime security by June 2014;[238] and enhanced cooperation to address energy security challenges.[239] It invited member States to increase their investment in cooperative research programs, in particular joint investments, to develop synergies between research at national and EU level, and to further stimulate research on dual-use applications, both civil and military. There was no mention of integration of European militaries and defence industries. The most important take away is the decision of the European

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[238] Considering the actions of pirates towards the Horn of Africa or the Gulf of Guinea, trafficking in drugs, human beings and weapons in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic.

[239] Particularly to escape Russian blackmail on gas.

Council to assess in June 2015 the progress made on all these issues and to provide further guidance, based on contributions from the Commission, the HR and the EDA.[240]

In February 2014, the pro-Putin government of Ukraine opened fire on peaceful pro-European demonstrators, killing dozens. Faced with popular anger, this government had to flee. President Hollande withdrew French troops from Afghanistan. The Juncker Commission's programme for its term of office stated: "We need a stronger Europe in foreign policy".[241] On 28 February, Putin invaded Crimea without encountering much resistance because the population predominantly spoke Russian. Putin thus violated the 1994 Bucharest Memorandum and the 1997 Russian Ukrainian treaty, not to mention the United Nations Charter. The lack of Ukrainian and Western response emboldened him. In April, he gave military support to the secession of part of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts in the Donbass region.

In January 2015, Greece voted for Mr. Tsipras, leader of the radical left, who had promised to end the austerity programmes imposed by the EU, the ECB, and the International Monetary Fund. He had to give it up when the banks closed for lack of cash. In March, Juncker declared his desire to see a European army created, (to) deal with new threats at the EU's borders, defend its values, rationalise military spending and promote the military integration of EU States. Such an army would help us to develop a common foreign and security policy that is really

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[240] See Conseil européen, *Conclusions*, http://www.european-council.europa.eu/council-meetings/conclusions.aspx?lang=fr, 22/12/2013.
[241] See Jean-Claude Juncker, *Un nouvel élan pour l'Europe : mon programme pour l'emploi, la croissance, l'équité et le changement démocratique, orientations politiques pour la prochaine Commission européenne*, discours au Parlement européen, Strasbourg, 15/7/2014, point 9, p. 11-12, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/docs/pg_fr.pdf, 20/7/2014.

taken seriously, he said.[242] In November, the European Council, wanting to give the impression that the EU remains united despite the risk of Brexit and is progressing towards a Defence Union, plans as early as November 2015 a coordinated annual review on defence (CARD) to strengthen the rapid intervention capacity of the EU, in particular by EUBGs, and the launch of permanent structured cooperation (PESCO).[243]

In 2016, on 23 June, most Britons who took part in the vote were in favour of Leave, particularly in the north and south-east of England and in Wales; London, Scotland and Northern Ireland were for Remain.

From then on, the European institutions have multiplied initiatives (PESCO, EDF, etc.) in favour of an inconsistent "European defence". These multiple declarations of intent and beginnings of implementation do not fill up for our capability deficits, because the political will is insufficiently perennial to obtain significant and lasting progress. On 15

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[242] See **RTL, AFP, "L'UE doit avoir son armée, estime Jean-Claude Juncker" in *RTL France*, https://www.rtl.fr/actu/international/l-ue-doit-avoir-son-armee-estime-jean-claude-juncker-7776930411, 8/3/2015 ; Beat Balzli, Thorsten Jungholt, Christoph Schiltz, Andre Tauber, "Juncker will EU-Armee" in *Welt am Sonntag*, https://www.welt.de/print/wams/article138170362/Juncker-will-EU-Armee.html, 8/3/2015.**.

[243] **The serious shortcomings of Permanent Structured Cooperation (PSC) are finally established by a report of the French National Assembly of 27 January 2021. The 20 commitments made by the participating Member States have not been fulfilled. Of the 47 projects selected, 3 have reached their initial operational capability, 6 are likely to reach this phase by 2023, and 11 do not contribute in any way to reducing the capability shortfalls.** See Nicolas Gros-Verheyde, « PESCO. Les recommandations de l'Assemblée nationale : après la bataille ! (v2) » in *Bruxelles2*, https://club.bruxelles2.eu/2021/01/pesco-les-recommandations-de-lassemblee-nationale-apres-la-bataille/?utm_source=mailpoet&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=b2pro-or-newsletter-post-title_2, 28/1/2021 and Michel Cabirol, "Europe de la défense : les trop nombreux renoncements des pays européens (rapport)" in *La Tribune*, https://www.latribune.fr/entreprises-finance/industrie/aeronautique-defense/europe-de-la-defense-les-trop-nombreux-renoncements-des-pays-europeens-rapport-875569.html, 1/2/2021.

December, the European Council approved an EU Global Strategy (EUGS), which is slightly more comprehensive than that of 2003: it includes the list of threats, but it does not set priorities, nor define military capabilities capable of countering them. EU leaders are unable to sketch out, in an intergovernmental way, the outlines of a European army, to collectively answer to the question of whether Europe needs nuclear deterrence, heavy bombers, aircraft carriers, attack submarines, armoured divisions, special forces, etc., or only troops suitable for peacekeeping and humanitarian action. This is because the perception of threats is not the same for all Europeans. From Lisbon, Russian tanks are invisible. For the residents of Tallinn, Daesh and Al-Qaida are concepts foreign to everyday life. African or Levantine migrants are not numerous in Scandinavia. **The intergovernmental European Defence Union is stillborn.**

3.4 Macron's first presidency

On 7 May 2017, Mr. Macron was elected President of the Republic. He presented his project for France in front of the Louvre pyramid and broke new ground, symbolically, by making his entrance to the sound of the European anthem, and by delivering his speech behind a podium bearing the colours of France, but in front of a European flag. He thus raised many expectations and, over time, many disappointments.

On 18 May, Defence Ministers agreed with the CARD[244] in conjunction with the EU Capacity Development Plan (CDP) and the NATO Defence Planning Process (NDPP). The Commission announced the creation of a European Defence Fund (EDF) of € 13 billion, which should be included in the financial framework 2021-2027. A "Preparatory Action for

[244] **By 2020, it has become clear that CARD and CDP are not at the level of the NDPP.**

Research" of € 90 million over 3 years from 2017 should help the defence industry to develop new military capabilities.[245]

From 2017 to 2019, € 500 million financed, 20% of multinational scientific and technological defence research programs, meeting a recognized capability requirement.[246]

On 26 September, at the Sorbonne, knowing that European and even French public opinion is strongly in favour of the concept of European defence, but without realising or wanting to see, that this presupposes a federal governance, President Macron declared: "There is a European sovereignty to build. [...] At the start of the next decade, Europe will need a common intervention force, a common defence budget and a common doctrine for action". He proposed "a European intervention initiative (EII) that would make it possible to better integrate our armed forces at all stages". The EII is a group of "militarily capable and politically willing" countries that envisage joint training, exercises and planning, to create a common strategic culture, to prepare for rapid intervention when needed, whether for high-intensity military operations, such as Serval in Mali in 2013, or for humanitarian intervention following man-made or natural disasters, as was the case in the

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[245] This European funding is not enough to bring about structural change, a significant increase in the efficiency of defence spending. Given the slowness of its implementation and the duration of research and development programs, it will have only limited effects, and only around 2030. The introduction of specific rules on intellectual property rights is envisaged only after having learnt the lessons of the current Preparatory Action. However, the Prodi Commission has already carried out a Preparatory Action under the leadership of Research Commissioner Philippe Busquin, and the European Parliament has learned the lessons from it. See the report of Philippe Busquin & Bogdan Adam Klich « sur la recherche sur la sécurité – les prochaines étapes », Parlement européen, 2004/2171(INI)), http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A6-2005-0103+0+DOC+XML+V0//FR.

[246] For an individual or a company, these amounts are considerable, but they are derisory compared to the turnover of our defence industrial and technological base. Over the period 2017-2027, member-States will spend €2 trillion on our defence, in a very inefficient way.

West Indies after a hurricane in 2017.[247] **Without federal governance, the IEI could only be another expensive gimmick.**

The PESCO launched at the end of 2015 is too inclusive, with 25 member States, and not very ambitious.[248] It is just another bureaucratic construction, incapable of quickly filling the capability gaps of the European pillar of NATO. Since its launch, the member States have ordered or purchased € 21 billion in **American** equipment, such as Reaper drones, C-130 J or E-2 Hawkeye transport aircraft**, and an electromagnetic catapult and landing system for its future aircraft carrier, etc.**

In Florence in 2018, the then President of the European Central Bank (ECB),[249] Mr. Draghi, reminded the origins of the financial crisis triggered on 15 September 2008 by the collapse of Lehman Brothers: our banks had fuelled the build-up of public and private deficits; most of our states

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[247] The EII is not a joint intervention force. The EU has the Franco-German brigade since 1989, but it was only deployed in 2018, in Mali and separately: 1,000 French in Operation Barkhane, 800 Germans in MINUSMA and EUTM-Mali. The EU created EUBGs in 2005; they were never sent in operation. The Franco-British Lancaster House Treaty of 2010 created a Combined Joint Expeditionary Force which has not yet been used. The Framework Nation Concept proposed by Germany in 2014 has been implemented within NATO as a concept. The Lancaster House agreements of 2015 and 2017 between the British, the Baltics, the Scandinavians and the Dutch established an equally theoretical Joint Expeditionary Force. A European Union Force - Crisis Response Operation Core is being developed as part of the PSC. Long-standing military cooperation within BENELUX and the Baltic States survives, despite their inability to develop a common defence policy. within them. All these initiatives do not give the image of great coherence, neither among themselves nor with the SEAS. They increase the inefficiency of defence spending by dispersing efforts.

[248] PESCO is established by Article 46 TEU. In Berlin in 2000, Joschka Fischer proposed that as many States as possible should progress along the path of political integration, without going so far as to federate; Jacques Chirac replied that he wanted a Europe-power, made up of just a few countries. Article 46 TEU therefore remained a dead letter, until Mr. Macron bowed to Merkel and accepted a very unambitious PESCO.

[249] **Established in 1998, the ECB operates on a federal basis, like the EU Court of Justice.**

had insufficient fiscal space to stabilise their economies; the € area had no public risk-sharing and very little private risk-sharing. Supported by the creation of the Banking Union and the European Stability Mechanism (ESM), the ECB restored confidence in sovereign bond markets, helped repair the monetary policy transmission mechanism and stopped the recession by announcing in July 2012 Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT) "whatever it takes", meaning that "Within its mandate, the ECB will do whatever it takes to preserve the €".

In Florence, Mr. Draghi called for increasing the resilience of banks and completing the banking and financial market union. The financial market should be governed by a single set of rules and all players should be able to operate freely. Today, rules and practices, insolvency and judicial systems vary from country to country. Regulatory divergences reduce economies of scale for cross-border banks. In Europe, as in the USA, UK and Japan, the Bank Resolution Fund should be supported by a federal tax authority. Public risk-sharing through safeguards helps to reduce risks in the system, limiting panics in markets in the event of a crisis. A strong resolution framework ensures that when bank failures occur, there is little need for public risk sharing, as the costs are mainly borne by the private sector. Common stabilisation, both at national and €zone level, is needed to strengthen economic convergence and cross-border investor confidence.

Mr. Draghi argued that the ECB's monetary transfer mechanism should be complemented by a sufficient European federal budget, to maintain convergence in the event of major shocks, without having to overload monetary policy. The provision of supranational public goods, such as security, defence, or migration, should be financed by a European tax system. A European federal State could firstly establish inter-State and inter-regional solidarity via its budget, provided it is substantial. In the USA, transfers financed by the federal budget absorb about 10% of

economic shocks. In the €zone, it is the national budgets that contribute to short-term stabilisation.

For Mr. Draghi, only a European federal State could define a common fiscal policy and better integrate the financial market, thus decoupling consumption and income at the local level. If income declines during a recession, but the private sector holds a diversified financial portfolio, people can smooth their consumption with the financial returns they receive in the better performing parts of the currency union. In the USA, 45% of the mitigation of local economic shocks is provided by the integrated capital market, and 25% by the credit market, thanks to the 7-fold increase in the number of multi-state banks over the last decades. Deepening private risk sharing in the € area, both at national and Economic and Monetary Union level through capital and credit market integration, would benefit our macroeconomic stability. Multi-State banks do not have the incentive of local banks to reduce lending to healthy borrowers in a regional downturn, as they offset losses in one region with gains elsewhere.[250]

Merkel didn't improve the €zone in the direction Mr. Draghi has indicated. Answering questions in the Bundestag on 13 May 2020, she simply said: "We can never forget what Jacques Delors said before the introduction of the €. We need a political union; a monetary union alone will not be enough. We have taken some steps forward, but we have not made sufficient progress. That is perfectly obvious. This means that we need more, not less, integration".[251]

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[250] **See Mario Draghi, "Risk-reducing and risk-sharing in our Monetary Union", Speech at the European University Institute, Florence, 11 May 2018, European Central Bank, https://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/key/date/2018/html/ecb.sp180511.en.html.**

[251] **See Stephen Cecchetti, Kim Schoenholtz, "The euro area in the age of COVID-19" in *VoxEU-CEPR*, https://voxeu.org/article/euro-area-age-covid-19, 22 May 2020.**

Mr. Draghi, as Prime Minister of Italy, did not put his Florence speech into practice. On 3 May 2022, at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, he only called for the establishment at European level of a "pragmatic federalism, which would also be a federalism of values", but without specifying these concepts. On defence, he called for a conference to be held as soon as possible so that Europeans could coordinate their military efforts. He spoke of a foreign policy in which decisions would no longer be taken by unanimity, but by qualified majority.

In 2018, the HR proposed to replace the Athena mechanism with a "European Peace Facility". It now finances the common costs of EU military operations and missions and strengthen partner States, mainly Ukraine. On 6 November, Mr. Macron noted: "We will not protect Europeans if we do not decide to have a real European army. In the face of Russia, which is at our borders and (knows) how to be threatening, we must have a Europe that defends itself more alone. ». On 11 November, when asked[252] if his remarks about the European army angered Mr. Trump, Mr. Macron replied that "President Trump agrees with that. (He) is in favour of better burden sharing within NATO. I agree with that. And I think to have better burden sharing, we all need more Europe." Mr. Trump agrees: "I appreciated what you said about burden-sharing. We want a stronger, more efficient Europe".[253] On the same day, Mr. Putin said that this project is a positive development in a multipolar world. For him, "Europe is a powerful economic alliance and (it) is completely natural that these countries wish to be

[252] Fareed Zakaria for CNN, *Interview of President Emmanuel Macron*, https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2018/11/10/emmanuel-macron-fareed-zakaria-trump-tweet-sot-gps-vpx.cnn, 11/11/2018.
[253] Fareed Zakaria for CNN, *Interview of President Donald Trump*, https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2018/11/10/trump-macron-bilateral-meeting-bts-vpx.cnn/video/playlists/intl-latest-world-videos/, 11/11/2018.

independent and sovereign in the field of security and defence".[254]

On 12 November, Mr. Stoltenberg, the Secretary General of NATO, speaks out against a European project " that would compete with the Atlantic Alliance". On 13 November, Merkel replies that the European army would complement NATO, because the days when we could count on others are over. In the European Parliament, she declares that: "We must develop a vision which will one day allow us to arrive at a real European army. [Such an] army would show the world that between European countries there would be no more war. It will be an army that will complement NATO in a useful way, without calling into question this link with NATO. "

On the same day, 13 November, by Regulation (EU) 2018/1092, the EU sets up the European defence industrial development program (EDIDP), which aims to support the competitiveness and innovative capacity of the Union's defence industry.

On 18 November, whilst in the Bundestag commemorating the centenary of the end of the First World War, Mr. Macron advocates "to share, to pool the decision-making capacity, the foreign policy, to build a common defence, so as not to become the toy of the powers".[255] On 20 November, in Louvain-la-Neuve, he pleaded for the EU to allow a few countries to move faster on the road to integration. He seems to ignore that this was decided in 1992 and had been applied ever since.

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[254] sn, « Vladimir Poutine répond en exclusivité aux questions de RT France », 11/11/2018, https://francais.rt.com/international/55305-vladimir-poutine-repond-exclusivite-questions-rt-france-video.

[255] sn, « Transcription du discours du Président de la République au Bundestag à Berlin, cérémonie commémorative du 18 novembre 2018 », https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/11/18/le-president-de-la-republique-a-berlin-pour-la-commemoration-du-18-novembre, 19/11/2018.

On 19 November, the European Council approves military specifications for mobility in Europe.[256] The Commission provides for €6.5 billion, within the financial framework 2021-2027. The ministers specify that "all decisions on infrastructure investment remain sovereign national decisions and will be taken on a case-by-case basis". Moving 74.5-ton tanks smoothly across the EU will remain impossible.

On 20 November, the European Council approves the framework of the Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC), which replaces the OPCEN, with 60 permanent staff, to which up to 94 reinforcements could be added. It empowers it to conduct "executive" (combat) military operations of up to 2,500 soldiers.[257] The Commission approves the first EDIDP, which co-finances joint industrial projects in the defence field, in 2019 and 2020.

In 2019, on 16 January, in front of the European deputies, the Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez told them that he wants to go beyond intergovernmental relations, to move towards a federal Europe and to create a European army, to have the capacity to project forces beyond of our borders, to be credible.

On 22 January, the Treaty of Aachen on Franco-German cooperation and integration supplements that of the Élysée Palace in 1963: it envisages joint deployments, it guarantees aid and assistance in the event of an armed attack on their territories, it strengthens cooperation between the armed forces with a view to establishing a common culture, it promotes joint defence programs and joint investments to fill capacity gaps, it encourages the definition of a common approach to arms exports, it creates a Franco-German Defence and Security Council.

On 4 March, in a letter sent to European citizens as part of the European election campaign, Mr. Macron proposes a defence

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[256] They describe roads, ports, container management capacities, truck loading and access to road and rail networks, train management, tunnels and bridges, airports, multimodal connections, etc.

[257] Until then, the MPCC could only supervise training missions.

and security treaty, which defines our obligations, in relation to NATO and our European allies: increased military spending, a mutual defence clause, a European Security Council involving the United Kingdom in collective decisions. On 21 May, he declares that he wants a European Convention,[258] so that the Heads of State and Government, the European Commission, the European Parliament and the citizens of Europe could take the time to define Europe's strategy for the next five years and the changes to the treaties.

On 17 April 2019 the HR declares: "We have laid the foundations for a strong European Security and Defence Policy. We have used all the instruments of the Treaty. The European Defence Fund, the defence budget review, the joint command centre, the pact for civilian missions. [...] This is a game changer. The EU is now seen as a full player in the area of security and peace". This is clearly not true. From 2014 to 2019, only three missions and operations were launched: in the Mediterranean (2015), the Central African Republic (2016) and Iraq (2017). 10 civilian missions and 6 operations are under way in Africa, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, the Balkans, and Eastern Europe.[259] What is the outcome? The EU has not reduced tensions between Russia and Georgia or Ukraine, Israel and Palestine, the USA and Iran, Libya, Syria, the Sahel, the Horn of Africa, Central Africa, Venezuela, or Colombia. The EU's insignificance on the international scene and the helplessness of European diplomacy are obvious.

Mr. Juncker admitted on 30 April that he had been unable to re-baseline the EU. He did not try to convince most Britons to reject Brexit. He did not solve the migration crisis, nor calm down trade relations with the Trump administration, nor finalize the Banking Union. It has allowed the European austerity policy

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[258] This Convention has since been called the "Conference on the Future of Europe".

[259] EUTM Mali, EUTM Somalia, EUTM RCA, EUNAVFOR MED Sophia, EUNAVFOR Atalanta, EUFOR Althea (Bosnia-Herzegovina). See André Dumoulin & Nicolas Gros-Verheyde, *La Politique européenne de sécurité et de défense commune*, Le Dévoluy, Éditions du Villard, 2017, updated in 2019.

to continue, despite the economic and social devastation it is causing. It has failed to reunify Cyprus and to win Turkey's respect. It has damaged relations between the EU and Switzerland: the draft framework agreement, which was supposed to include all 120 bilateral agreements, is merely an attempt to impose the automatic adaptation of Swiss legislation to the evolution of European law.[260] It has failed to provide the EU with an environmental policy or to put an end to fiscal and social dumping. The European army he announced in 2014 and 2015 does not exist.

In September, the scandalous inefficiency of our defence spending is denounced by the European Court of Auditors. Its analysis[261] of the PESCO, CARD and the EDF shows that after 20 years of ESDP-CSDP, there is no planning process worthy of the name within the EU, which can serve as a basis for developing military capabilities. It also shows that there is a gap between these and what the member States fell they should do. The member States have different threat perceptions and understanding of the EU's role in defence: they have different rules of engagement and very different concepts of the use of military force. It recommends making the EU's planning process as effective as that of NATO in determining European capability requirements, while ensuring that European initiatives are coherent and complementary to those of NATO, to avoid duplication and overlapping functions. It calls for efficient governance, including parliamentary scrutiny equivalent to that exercised in other areas, as well as accountability, because today CSDP bodies, missions and

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[260] This attempt is in vain, because the Swiss refuse to allow the EU to limit protective measures against dumping, expulsion of criminals and revocation of residence permits for those who threaten public security. See Armando Mombelli, « Accord-cadre Suisse-UE : où en sommes-nous ? » in *Swissinfo.ch*, https://www.swissinfo.ch/fre/négociations-entre-berne-et-bruxelles_accord-cadre-suisse-ue--où-en-sommes-nous-/45026344, 12/6/2019.

[261] See sn, *La défense européenne*, Cour des comptes européenne, document d'analyse n° 9, https://www.eca.europa.eu/Lists/ECADocuments/REW19_09/REW_EU-defence_FR.pdf, 12/9/2019.

operations are not subject to the same audit and discharge provisions. In particular, the military missions of the EDA and the EU are not subject to control by the European Parliament, they are governed by specific audit provisions, and they do not fall within the Court's audit mandate. It concludes: "Contributing to improving defence capabilities in Europe requires going beyond rhetoric and requires the effective implementation of concrete initiatives, the aim being to encourage the competitiveness of the European defence industry and to strengthen the military capabilities of the member States, in full complementarity with NATO. Ultimately, the success and future of the EU in the field of defence depends entirely on the political will of the member States."[262]

In his address to the armies on 13 July, Mr. Macron defines European Defence: a strategic culture, common capabilities, and operations. This does not tell who will determine this culture, define what capabilities we need and for what to do, let alone lead operations and assume political, legal, and financial responsibility for them. He would undoubtedly like the Europeans to acquire European weapons, use special forces in operations against Islamist terrorism and finance the French force of nuclear deterrence, whose cost represents 10% of the hexagon’s defence budget. He is unlikely to be heard on the latter point.

At the Munich security conference on 15 February 2020, NATO Secretary General Stoltenberg rejected the call to place France's nuclear deterrent at the centre of European defence strategy, saying that the USA and Britain have for decades provided the ultimate security guarantee for Europe and that it is effective.[263] On the eve of 14 July, the chief of the French Joint Chiefs of

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[262] sn, *La défense européenne*, Cour des comptes européenne, op. cit., § 142-144 p. 69.

[263] Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, "NATO Chief Rejects Macron Call to Put French Nukes at Center of European Strategy" in *defense-aerospace*, https://www.defense-aerospace.com/article-view/release/209729/nato-chief-rejects-macron-call-to-put-french-nukes-at-center-of-european-strategy.html, 16/2/2020.

Staff said: Mr. Macron "appreciates what it brings to him in his international responsibilities to be the leader of a powerful, efficient and complete army".[264] He should deduce from this what Europe needs: a political union, federal governance, a European defence and a European army. That is not what he and his colleagues are proposing. Rather than governing, they are preaching. Having spoken, they believe they have saved the world. They are thus disappointing the vast majority of EU citizens, many of whom end up voting for populists, not out of conviction but out of spite.

By early January 2020 at the latest,[265] Western leaders[266] had known that something serious was happening in China,[267]

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[264] General François Lecointre, Chief of Staff of the French Armed Forces, " Entretien avec Nathalie Guibert", in *Le Monde*, 13 July 2019, p. 4. France has an autonomous deterrent capacity of 300 weapons, "fundamentally political. It is the supreme responsibility of the President of the Republic to constantly assess the nature of our vital interests and the attacks that could be carried out against them. See François Hollande, *Discours sur la dissuasion nucléaire*, prononcé à Istres le 19 février 2015, https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2hlivt.

[265] At the end of 2019, European and American intelligence services knew via the Internet and earth observation satellites, which monitor CO2 emissions, that economic activity was coming to a halt in Wuhan. According to ABC News, as early as the end of November 2019, the National Center for Medical Intelligence warned the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Pentagon, and the White House that a contagion was spreading in the Wuhan region of China, changing lifestyles and businesses and posing a threat to the population. ABC News believes that the U.S. government could have stepped up its mitigation and containment efforts much earlier. On April 8, the Pentagon denied the existence of such a report. See Josh Margolin, James Gordon Meek, "Intelligence report warned of coronavirus crisis as early as November: Sources" in *ABC News*, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/intelligence-report-warned-coronavirus-crisis-early-november-sources/story?id=70031273, 9/4/2020.

[266] The American authorities have long underestimated the danger of the virus to themselves and the situation among some of their allies. See K. M. Cambell et R. Doshi, « The Coronavirus Could Reshape Global Order », *Foreign Affairs*, www.foreignaffairs.com, 18/3/2020.

[267] **"On 3 January the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (was alerted to the disease. Despite that) a day later Trump was insisting the situation was under control. The World Health Organization (WHO) warned about Covid-19 on 10 January. The WHO declared a public health emergency on 30 January." See Peter Beaumont, Julian**

although the latter masked the reality and the extent of the epidemic, notably by arresting of the first doctor who, as early as December 2019, exposed the danger of the virus,[268] so that 4 to 5 weeks were lost to contain its spread. Instead of being content, for the most part, to affirm flippantly, even cynically: "It's not serious, and we are ready", our leaders should have taken the appropriate precautionary measures, taking inspiration from previous pandemics and good practices,

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Borger , "WHO warned of transmission risk in January, despite Trump claims" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/09/who-cited-human-transmission-risk-in-january-despite-trump-claims, 9/4/2020.

[268] According to the Hong Kong South China Morning Post (See https://www.scmp.com), the 1st infected person came to the hospital on 17 November 2019. Two doctors, Li Wenliang and Ai Fen launched the alert. The first died quickly, the authorities erased the traces of his existence before rehabilitating him. See Simon Leplâtre, "Coronavirus: le 1er médecin à avoir lancé l'alerte en Chine réhabilité à titre posthume" in *Radio France International*, http://www.rfi.fr/fr/asie-pacifique/20200320-coronavirus-1er-m%C3%A9decin-avoir-lanc%C3%A9-alerte-chine-r%C3%A9habilit%C3%A9-li-wenliang, 20/3/2020. The second has been strongly reprimanded by the police. See Hannah Devlin, "Has Covid-19 mutated into a more deadly strain? Busting the coronavirus myths" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/05/has-covid-19-mutated-into-a-more-deadly-strain-busting-the-coronavirus-myths et and Brice Pedroletti, « Coronavirus : l'urgentiste chinois Ai Fen révèle les pressions subies pour cacher la gravité de l'épidémie » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2020/03/13/l-urgentiste-ai-fen-revele-les-pressions-subies-pour-cacher-la-gravite-de-l-epidemie_6032920_3210.html, 13/3/2020. Some virologists suspect that the Wuhan National Biosafety Laboratory, the Biosafety Level 4 (BSL4) biological containment laboratory of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Wuhan, has modified the virus' genome to make it more aggressive, so that it is more easily transmitted and reproduces more rapidly inside the body: an assembly of 7 or 8 different coronavirus gene sequences in the same genome has an extremely low probability of natural construction. The virus was identified as early as 7/1/2020, its genome sequenced on 10/1, 13/1, an RT-PCR test allowed its detection. This rapidity pleads for a leakage of the BSL4 virus: the first cases of AIDS were described in June 1981; the HIV virus was only identified in 1983. BSL4 was disclosed by Xia H, Huang Y, Ma H, Liu B, Xie W, Song D, et al., « Biosafety Level 4 laboratory user training program, China » in *Emerging Infectious Diseases Journal*, nr 5, May 2019, https://doi.org/10.3201/eid2505.180220 or https://wwwnc.cdc.gov/eid/article/25/5/18-0220_article.

particularly those in use in Taiwan, which reconcile the fight against the virus, support for the economy and the safeguard of individual freedoms.

Despite its competence in public health matters,[269] the European Commission has failed to take the lead in coordinating the response to the pandemic and defining common standards. The EU and its member States have once again shown themselves to be incapable of managing crises. They have belatedly realized their utter dependence on external supplies of medicines, protective and testing equipment, respirators, and reagents. Member States did not coordinate their protective measures and adopted a national withdrawal attitude, symbolized by the initial refusal by Paris and Berlin to export protective masks and clothing to Italy, or the various control measures introduced at the borders between member States.

The mismanagement of recent years, the lack of consideration for the intelligence services, the unpreparedness for crisis management, the poor appreciation of the scale of the phenomenon, the late and flawed decisions of most of our leaders are undeniable.

Except for Sweden, European governments responded to the pandemic with lockdowns imposed by law enforcement agencies, which led to an economic recession. In response, the ECB increased its emergency debt purchase programme by €500 billion on 10 December 2020 to finance the social solidarity and stimulus measures decided by the EU member States. The European Commission ultimately accepted a budget deficit above 3%.

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[269] **The Treaty on the Functioning of the EU, Title XIV, Public Health, Article 168, confers various health competences on the Commission. These competences date from the Treaty of Paris of 18 April 1951 establishing the ECSC, Article 46, which deals with the living and working conditions of the workforce, and from the Euratom Treaty of 1957, Chapter III of which deals with the protection of the health of the population and of workers against the dangers arising from ionising radiation.**

On 17 December 2020, the European Commission, Parliament and Council agreed on a 2021-2027 budget limited to €1,824.3 billion, or 1.3% of the EU-27's gross domestic product (GDP).[270] The Next Generation EU plan should make the EU greener, more digital, more resilient and better adapted to current and future challenges.[271] The EU allocates, for the first time, 0.7 % of the 2021-2027 budget, or €13.2 billion over seven years, to our security and defence. That is less than €2 billion per year for 440 million people or €5 per taxpayer per year.

On 19 January 2021, expressing his wishes to the armed forces as commander in chief, Mr Macron said that in the Sahel, "the results are there". His Minister of the Armed Forces boasted of "important military successes". Counter-terrorism experts and NGOs noted that the strategy adopted to stabilise the region was ineffective because it did not address the root causes of instability. On 10 June 2020, Mr. Macron announced the end of Operation Barkhane, acknowledging that he could not secure the Sahel because of the lack of political stability, but concealing the fact that the operation has cost 59 French soldiers their lives and a €1 billion annually. Despite tactical successes, which France has been unable to exploit politically due to a lack of unity of purpose between politicians, diplomats, military, and development cooperation services, Barkhane has not managed to neutralise terrorist organisations. The Takuba Task Force of European special forces and the French Special Forces' Operation Sabre were disbanded in 2022 on the same ground of failure, as the Malians no longer wanted them on their soil. The *Mission multidimensionnelle intégrée des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation au Mali* **(MINUSMA - United Nations Multidimensional integrated stabilization Mission in Mali), despite considerable resources, is unable to do anything other than defend itself, thanks to French**

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[270] **The share of the American federal budget in their GDP was 36,3 % in 2022.**

[271] See Commission européenne, "Plan de relance pour l'Europehttps://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/recovery-plan-europe_fr.

support. Local armed forces, except in Mauritania, do not develop after their training by Europeans, Sahelian soldiers are generally no longer properly paid and equipped, nor supported by corrupt local governments and administrations. Terrorist organisations administer the rural areas and administer 'justice' there.[272]

On 16 December 2021, the ECB announced that it would be scaling back its economic support programme, which was set up during the pandemic and is estimated to be worth 1.850 billion €.[273]

It is clear that, since 2017, Mr. Macron's statements and achievements, both in domestic policy and in foreign relations, have not been consistent. Since his 2017 speeches at the Sorbonne and in Athens, Europe's sovereignty has not progressed but regressed. He has said that Europe must be militarily autonomous, but he does not want a federal Europe, which is a necessary condition for this. His illustrious predecessor, Charles de Gaulle, as Chapter 2 above showed, saw the need for a political Europe, capable of defining a European security policy, i.e., a federal Europe, as a prerequisite for a European army.

Mr. Macron wanted a Conference on the future of Europe, to bring Europe out of its slump, but also to support his campaign for the French presidential election. This Conference has produced nothing but sterile chatter: at its conclusion, the European Council brushed aside the 267 proposals for treaty revision formulated by the European Parliament.

Mr. Macron failed to realise that the Franco-German entente only existed from 1958 to 1963, when de Gaulle and Adenauer were in power, and then occasionally when

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[272] **See Michel Goya, « Une analyse de l'engagement militaire français au Sahel » in *La Voie de l'épée*, https://lavoiedelepee.blogspot.com, 16/8/2022.**

[273] **See AFP, « La BCE fait un premier pas vers la sortie de son mode de crise » in *AGEFI Luxembourg*, janvier 2022, p. 12.**

Mitterrand and Kohl managed to get along. The other leaders only communicated to maintain the myth. Macron, who is a reformer, and Merkel, who is a conservative, were bound to disagree on most issues, especially on armaments.[274] They maintained their duumvirate on Europe, while competing for pre-eminence. Merkel relied on its overwhelming economic superiority and Macron on its status as a permanent member of the UN Security Council and the power of its armies, neglecting the fact that France no longer had the financial and human resources for an independent defence policy, or even to fill France's capability gaps. Identified since the first Gulf War in 1990-1991, these have only worsened, with a few exceptions. Mr. Macron has only stopped the loss of power of his armies, he has postponed their recovery to the 2022-2027 legislature.

Due to a lack of economic and military means, Mr. Macron has vainly tried to restore France's standing on the international stage, something that de Gaulle had brilliantly done. Mr. Macron has not been credible either at the UN, or with Mr. Trump or Mr. Biden, or within the EU, with Merkel, Mrs. May or Mr. Johnson, or with our African partners, or in the Levant (Lebanon, Syria, Iraq), or with Mr. Erdogan, or with Mr. Xi Jinping, or, above all, with Putin. Mr. Macron has wrongly denounced NATO as brain dead: it has shown its reactivity after 24 February 2022.

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[274] **In 2017, Macron proposed to Merkel cooperation on the replacement of combat aircraft, heavy tanks, maritime patrol aircraft and artillery systems, on the production of a European "Medium Altitude - Long Endurance" (Male) combat drone, and finally on an improvement of the Tiger combat helicopter. As early as December 2017, Berlin announced the launch of two electro-optical reconnaissance satellites, whereas since 2008, competences had been shared, the electro-optical satellites being for France, the satellites equipped with radar for Germany. A few months later, Berlin prevented the export of French armoured vehicles equipped with German gearboxes to Saudi Arabia, in defiance of EU law on arms exports and the Schmidt-Debré agreement of 1971. In 2019, Berlin forced Rheinmetall into the MGCS programme, which was awarded to KNDS, the product of the merger of Krauss-Maffei-Wegman and the French firm Nexter.**

At most, Mr. Macron can line up a few export contracts for Rafale fighter jets or warships, but he could not avoid the cancellation of Australia's purchase of French submarines, because Mr. Biden's clout was far greater than his own, especially in the Pacific. Despite this poor record, in December 2021, Macron promised that his EU presidency in the first half of 2022 would increase Europe's strategic autonomy and strengthen its place in the world. We will return to this in the next chapter.

3.5 Merkel's record

The Chancellor's ability to reassure German conservatives and the support of their mass media explain her political longevity, which is exceptional in a democracy. She came to power on 22 November 2005 and remained in office until 8 December 2021. Six months after her departure, 33 % of Germans believed that she had done her best, 55 % believe that she had made many mistakes, 12 % believed she had "caused a geopolitical disaster"[275], of which the war in Ukraine is one of the consequences, but also a social and economic one.

Merkel benefited from Chancellor Schröder's 2004 labour market reform. He made German industry competitive, but only low-paid jobs were created. The British were able to develop a world-class financial centre with high added value in London, Frankfurt remained a regional centre. **Merkel made the German economy dependent on Russian supplies of energy, rare metals, and wheat, but also** on exports of luxury cars and machinery to China and the United States of America, the sustainability of which is not assured: German companies did not retain their technological lead for long: they gave their intellectual property to Chinese companies that not only

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[275] **See Hans-Werner Sinn, "Le fiasco énergétique allemand" in *Project Syndicate*, https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/germany-energy-shambles-dependence-on-russian-gas-by-hans-werner-sinn-2022-03/french, 28/3/2022.**

successfully imitated German industry, but also managed to innovate.

Merkel saw globalisation only as a commercial process. She has underestimated the geopolitical ambitions of Chinese, Russian and Turkish autocrats and downplayed the risks inherent in Europe's long supply chains. These are too vulnerable to the closure of Chinese ports during the supposed Covid-19 containment, to endemic piracy in the Straits of Malacca, the Horn of Africa and the Gulf of Guinea, to the grounding of a container ship in the Suez Canal, etc.

The German conservatives' obsession with public deficits has prevented Merkel to invest in correcting Germany's weaknesses in telecommunications and infrastructure, such as railways and motorways. It has made economic growth in Europe much lower than in the United States of America. The lack of public investment has led to the degradation of security and defence capabilities. The various coalitions led by Merkel have amplified the dismantling of the Bundeswehr that began at the end of the Cold War.[276] **It is no longer capable of defending the country, which relies too much on the Americans to keep the peace. By failing to develop an industrial policy, Merkel has ruined the nuclear industry and degraded Germany's automotive, naval, aerospace industries. She opposed the establishment of strong and effective cooperation in Europe in the production of weapons systems, she did not group European shipyards or land weapons systems producers.**[277]

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[276] **By the end of 2021, a quarter of German military equipment was not usable, according to the report of 15/3/2022 by Mrs. Högl, the *Bundestag* Commissioner for the Armed Forces**. See **Wehrbeauftragte, *Jahresbericht 2021 (63. Bericht)* Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 20/900 20, https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/20/009/2000900.pdf et Wehrbeauftragte, *Wehrhaft sein!*“, *Bundesministerium des Verteidigung,* https://www.bmvg.de/de/aktuelles/bundestag-beraet-jahresbericht-2021-der-wehrbeauftragten-5403286, 29/4/2022.**

[277] **See Robert Jules, « L'Allemagne, le maillon faible de l'Europe » in *La Tribune*, https://www.latribune.fr/economie/international/l-allemagne-le-maillon-faible-de-l-europe-912712.html, 4/4/2022.**

During her last visit to Moscow, Putin thanked Merkel for her efforts on Russia's behalf, where she has travelled 20 times,[278] without gaining anything from Putin, especially for Ukraine and for the rightful owners of the victims of flight MI-17, because he only respects violence. The 2015 decision to build the Nord Stream 2 pipeline to bring more Russian gas through the Baltic Sea to Germany, bypassing Ukrainian pipelines, also threatened to strangle Ukraine financially, after annexing Crimea and half of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. This reinforced Putin's sense of impunity. Fortunately, the Americans opposed it became operational.

Merkel allowed Putin to build up his armed forces, then to develop his aggressiveness, verbal in 2007, brutal since 2008. In 2014, after the annexation of Crimea by Russia and the start of the war in Donbass, Merkel and Hollande brought together Russia, Ukraine, Germany, and France on 6 June, on the sidelines of the 70th anniversary of the Normandy landings, to seek a solution to the conflict. The Minsk agreements, reached in February 2015, fell too far short for Moscow and too far beyond what would have been acceptable for Kiev, and were not implemented by either side. Merkel's policy of dialogue with Putin and reaching out to him has led to 24 February 2022.[279]

Merkel's energy policy is a disaster following the Fukushima catastrophe in 2011. As a physicist, she knows that nuclear power plants are better at limiting the production of greenhouse gases than wind turbines and solar panels, but she decided to dismantle nuclear power

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[278] **See Friedrich Schmidt, „Einer unserer wichtigsten Partner“ in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/putin-deutschland-bleibt-einer-der-wichtigsten-partner-17493770.html, 20/8/2021.**

[279] **See Thomas Wieder, « L’Allemagne s’interroge sur la responsabilité d’Angela Merkel dans l’escalade agressive de Vladimir Poutine » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2022/03/29/l-allemagne-s-interroge-sur-la-responsabilite-d-angela-merkel-dans-l-escalade-agressive-de-vladimir-poutine_6119646_3232.html, 29/3/2022.**

plants.[280] She has not taken sufficient account of climatic hazards, particularly drought.[281] She has certainly developed renewable energies, which provide half of Germany's electricity production, but Germany remains the leading emitter of CO2 in Europe, because Merkel has postponed the closure of coal and lignite power stations until 2038. The energy transition has been hampered by the fact that several Länder have objected to high-voltage lines that would allow electricity generated by wind turbines in the North Sea to be transported to industries in southern Germany. She has made Germany too dependent on one producer, one pipeline. It is largely responsible for the rise in gas prices.

Put under pressure by Mr. Erdoğan in 2015, Merkel accepted that a million people presented as Syrian refugees, eligible for asylum, but who were migrants, some from the Levant, but most from Central Asia and Africa, entered Europe. Few of these people were able to integrate by taking up employment. Faced with an outcry in Germany and Central Europe over the mass of arrivals, Merkel demanded that they be distributed among the other EU member States. To achieve this, she made the granting of European structural funds conditional on the reception of a quota of migrants, which has increased disunity within the EU and strengthened the opposition of the governments of Poland and Hungary to certain aspects of Community law. To prevent the arrival of further masses of migrants, Merkel ensured that the EU paid billions of euros to Turkey to keep them on its soil. In doing so, she reinforced Mr. Erdoğan's sense of impunity.

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[280] See **Eckart Lohse, "Das verbotene Thema" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/bundestagswahl/atomkraft-im-wahlkampf-laschet-fordert-die-gruenen-heraus-17538990.html, 21/09/2021.**

[281] **See sn, « Hoe het zover is kunnen komen: waarom uw gasfactuur zo hoog is » in *De Standaard*, https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20220204_95582473, 10/2/2022.**

Merkel did little in 2016 to convince the British to vote against Brexit; she did ensure that the deal negotiated between the EU and the UK preserved the German car industry. Europe's fishermen have not had the benefit of her solicitude.

In 2020, unlike Sweden, Germany did not handle the Covid-19 pandemic any better than other European States. By imposing containment, as in China and almost everywhere else in Europe, the government have caused a recession and upset the population. In 2021, German GDP grew by only 2.9%, France by 7%, Italy by 6.6% and Spain by 5%. In 2021, Merkel pushed through the EU's stimulus package, which deviates from German conservative dogmas on public finances. Its aim was above all to support the demand for German products.

Unlike Chancellor Kohl, Merkel had little ambition for Europe. Only Germany mattered. Trained in East Germany, she applied Brezhnev's doctrine of limited sovereignty in the EU: the Russian Communist Party alone defined the ideological and political framework within which the satellite States of the USSR could operate. In the EU, it was Merkel who set the framework, or rather the carcan. She did everything to ensure that Europe did not have a valid form of governance, to continue to run it in practice, so that Germany could sell its products.

Rather than taking advantage of the Commission's weight in trade relations, Merkel has developed bilateral relations with, for example, the United States of America, Russia, Turkey or China, which are ultimately unsuccessful for Germany and harmful for Europe.

With successive French presidents, Merkel has spoken of European sovereignty and European army, without establishing a European politico-military unity of command by putting in place the indispensable federal governance that she practiced in Germany. Merkel proposed an army of Europeans, which Mr. Macron called a European army, without specifying the concept any further than she did.

These governments have been blowing smoke in the eyes of their voters. It could only be a conglomerate of national armed forces, impossible to equip and train in a uniform manner, let alone send on operations. Who would take this decision and how soon? Who would be responsible politically, civilly, i.e., financially, and criminally, in case of war crimes for example? Merkel has not even respected the Franco-German agreements on arms exports.

Despite the 1963 Elysée Treaty, the French and German legal systems relating to the army remain totally opposed, especially about the individual, political and trade union rights of soldiers. The launching of military operations is the prerogative of the Head of State in France. It is subject to the authorisation of the *Bundestag* in Germany.

Chapter 4 will first review the dramatic events that led to the invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, and then the events that have followed since then, in an attempt to discern what the outcome of this war might be. It will determine the future of Europeans, and in particular our future relations with the Russian Federation, China, Turkey, the United States of America and our other allies. We will then consider other significant geopolitical factors.

4. The world since the high-intensity war in Ukraine

Geopolitical concerns have become the highest priorities of European governments since February 24, 2022. The high-intensity war in Ukraine, the high tensions around Taiwan and the atrocities in the Levant have finally made them and their voters aware of the extreme weakness of our armies, including those of France and the United Kingdom. Their powerlessness and the rise in tensions are pushing our leaders to submit more and more to the United States of America, be it Biden's or Trump's, instead of strengthening themselves by uniting. They increase our defence spending and our imports of American armaments, to the detriment of the least favoured Europeans and our technology companies. However, climate change, and its alternating drought and floods, the insecurity and cost of energy supplies, or socio-economic problems, such as inflation and unemployment, should not be neglected, otherwise extremist movements of all stripes will continue to easily mobilize the discontent of the popular masses. They will play into the hands of both Trump and autocrats. As for the EU institutions, they are overwhelmed, as they always are in times of crisis.

This chapter will present the threats and challenges facing Europe and the way to salvation: the European federation and its defence. It will successively address the war that Russia is waging against Ukraine, China caught in the trap of Thucydides, Turkey, this very special ally, the failures of the West's war on Islamist terrorism, the United States of America under the hold of Trump and others, NATO and its future, the United Kingdom, Germany, France and finally the European Union.

4.1 The high-intensity war Putin is waging against Ukraine

To understand past events and predict the near future, it is worth remembering that Putin's behaviour can be explained in part by the frustrations he experienced during the collapse of the Soviet Union, and not only by Russia's interest. He suffered from the fall of the inhuman system that he had zealously served and which, in turn, had allowed him to rise in rank.

By maintaining troops in Moldova, by attacking Georgia, and then Ukraine, Putin wanted to prevent these states, which had been part of the Soviet Union, from moving closer to the EU and NATO. A maneuverer, a liar by profession, a calculator and a formidable manipulator, he pretends to forget that some fifteen states that were members of the Soviet sphere joined the EU or NATO, without Russia opposing it, after Mr. Gorbachev said in 1989 that he was not opposed to the accession of Finland and Austria to the EU and that on August 25, 1993, Yeltsin has allowed Poland to join NATO.[282]

Putin also pretends to forget that in 1991 Ukraine had more nuclear weapons than Britain, France and China, and that in 1994 Russia, the United States of America and the United Kingdom "guaranteed" Ukraine's territorial integrity, through the Budapest Memorandum,[283] **in exchange for its**

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[282] **See Jane Perlez, « Yeltsin 'Understands' Polish Bid for a Role in NATO » in *The New York Times*, https://www.nytimes.com/1993/08/26/world/yeltsin-understands-polish-bid-for-a-role-in-nato.html, 26/8/1993. Mr. Yeltsin, however, went back on this agreement in a letter dated 15 September 1993 to President Clinton. See sn, "Retranslation of Yeltsin letter on NATO expansion" in *National Security Archive, The George Washington University,* https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16376-document-04-retranslation-yeltsin-letter, sd.**

[283] **France and China joined later.** In 2009, the Americans and Russians confirmed the validity of this memorandum. **None of the signatories of the Budapest Memorandum of 5 December 1994, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France or China, intervened when the**

ratification of the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In 1996, its last nuclear weapons went to Russia for dismantling.

The beginning

Having become an autocrat, Putin didn't want to take the risk of Russians choosing what he rejects: democracy, human rights, European civilization. His world is the world of brutes in which he grew up. Putin rejects multilateralism and international law, including the UN Charter, the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and the 1990 Paris Charter of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Russia's withdrawal from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and the Open Skies Treaty,[284] the halt to nuclear disarmament under the Non-Proliferation Treaty, as well as Russia's rejection of the new Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons have led the European Parliament to call for Russia's exclusion from the international payment system (Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication – SWIFT) and the reduction of imports of Russian oil, gas, iron, steel, aluminium and nickel, but this was hardly done before 2022.

Putin has refused to execute more than a thousand judgments of the European Court of Human Rights. He prevented the return to Poland of the wreckage and black boxes of the Polish government Tu-154 plane, which crashed near Smolensk in April 2010. It incites the Russian armed forces to violate the sea and air space of European countries, especially near the Baltic, North and Black Seas. Cyberattacks have targeted sensitive European infrastructure. Interference has taken place in various elections, including in 2024, on November 24, in the first

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Russian Federation partially invaded Ukraine, twice in 2014 and again in 2022.

[284] The *Treaty on Open Skies* established unarmed surveillance flights on NATO and Russian territory in 1992. The Americans withdrew from it in 2020, the Russians in 2021.

round of the presidential election in Romania, which for this reason was annulled by the Constitutional Court, on December 6.[285] In 2014, Russian intelligence blown up an ammunition depot in the Czech Republic. They carried out assassination attempts in Bulgaria in 2015 and in the United Kingdom in 2018, this time using a nerve agent, as well as an assassination in Berlin in 2019. In 2015, hackers targeted the computers of German parliamentarians, including Merkel's. In Belarus, Putin supports Lukashenko, who in 2021 hijacked a European plane to capture an opponent.

By reacting only weakly to the aggression against Georgia in 2008 and the numerous war crimes committed by the Russian army in Chechnya and Syria, including the bombing of hospitals and the use of chemical weapons against civilians, the West has led Putin to believe that he can by force restore Russia to its former Soviet stature without delay. On 28 February 2014, Putin mimicked Hitler's annexation of the Sudetenland in 1938: he invaded Crimea, without encountering much resistance, except from the Tatars. The Ukrainian navy, mainly based in Crimea, was almost destroyed. Putin supplied the launcher and the Buk missile that shot down Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17 over the Donbass.

The very weak Western reaction has emboldened Putin: in April, he supported the secession of part of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, but the Ukrainian army has prevented dissent from spreading to the rest of Donbas. Putin had to postpone the execution of the plan he described in a video conference on 17 April: the transformation of the industrial part of Ukraine, namely the oblasts of Kharkov, Luhansk, Donetsk, Kherson, Mykolaev and Odessa, into New

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[285] See AP, AFP, " Roumanie : la Cour constitutionnelle annule le premier tour de l'élection présidentielle du fait de graves manipulations sur TikTok" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2024/12/06/roumanie-la-cour-constitutionnelle-annule-le-premier-tour-de-l-election-presidentielle-apres-de-graves-manipulations-sur-tiktok_6433720_3210.html, 6/12/2024.

Russia.[286] Central and western Ukraine would constitute a buffer State between the Russian zone of influence and NATO, without access to the Black Sea, with Lviv as its capital.[287]

Against evidence and common sense, Putin disputes the existence of a Ukrainian identity and considers that there is no place for a sovereign Ukraine, out of ignorance of history or bad faith. In July 2021, in his article "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians" published on the Kremlin's website, Putin claimed that the countries that were integrated into the Soviet Union were linked to Moscow by culture, language and religion, that their current independence comes from a mistake by the Soviets and that he will not allow historically Russian territories and people close to Russia to be used against Russia. To dissuade the West from doing so, he threatened it with war.[288]

That is why it is worth remembering that Kharkiv was founded in 1654 by the Cossacks and not by the Russians. Under the tsars, it enjoyed a certain autonomy, which facilitated the formation of a civil society, a political, artistic and scientific culture, and a Ukrainian identity. The university dates from 1726, the theatre dates from 1840, several institutes of technical studies and specialized

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[286] Grigory Potemkin had given this name to the territories he conquered from the Cossacks and Turks from 1768 to 1774, and which were populated by Russians from the eighteenth century onwards.

[287] See Piotr Żochowski, Rafał Sadowski, Marek Menkiszak, « The Russian military intervention in eastern Ukraine » in *OSW, Centre for Eastern Studies*, https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2014-09-03/russian-military-intervention-eastern-ukraine, 3/9/2014. Other documents also mentioned the oblasts of Kyiv, Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporizhzhia, as well as Crimea and Transnistria.

[288] **This text will be read during the "military-political training" of Russian soldiers. See Paul Gogo, « L'inquiétant article de Vladimir Poutine sur l'Ukraine » in *La Libre*, https://www.lalibre.be/international/europe/2021/07/18/linquietant-article-de-vladimir-poutine-sur-lukraine-HOFONP6JYZCNHBHCZZPRMDE4TQ/, 16/7/2021**

gymnasiums date from the 19th century. The modern style has been established in architecture since 1890.[289] From the mid-19th century to the 1930s, political associations unsuccessfully demanded Ukraine's independence. The Bolsheviks chose to "sovietise" Ukraine, which led in 1919-1921 to the elimination of the Cossacks, in 1932-1933 to the great famine known as the Holodomor, and in 1934-1937 to the elimination of 80% of the intelligentsia, including more than two thousand artists, who were shot.[290] Ukraine thus became the docile Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent of the Soviet Union, until 1991: its Rada (parliament) adopted a declaration of independence on 24 August, which was approved in the referendum on 1 December on self-determination by 92.3% of voters, with a turnout of 84,18 %, including 54 % yes in Crimea, 87 % in Donetsk and 86 % in Luhansk.

In October 2021, the American intelligence services, then well established in the heart of the Russian State, showed unexpected foresight, given their failures, particularly in Iraq, since 2003, and in Afghanistan, from 2001 to August 2021: they perceived that Putin was resuming implementation of his 2014 plan, that he was preparing an attack on Ukraine.[291] Informed, President Biden was more far-sighted than any of his predecessors since Mr. Reagan. He sent the director of the CIA, who was ambassador to Russia, to Moscow to bring Putin to his senses, without success. He has mandated the head of all American intelligence services to warn the allies, gathered at NATO

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[289] **This is why Kharkiv, so close to Russia and predominantly Russian speaking, did not capitulate when it was attacked on 24 February 2022.**
[290] **See Nathalie de Kaniv, " Kharkiv, République populaire de Donetsk. Un retour sur l'histoire" in *La lettre d'EuroDéfense-France*, No 76 - April 2022, p. 12-13, Jean Marsia archives.**
[291] **This information was confirmed in March 2022. The President of Belarus, Lukashenko, explained to his security council, and to his people via television, that he and the Russians would occupy the north, east and south of Ukraine in four days, with the west forming a buffer between Russia and the West. The maps shown by Lukashenko were like those published in the British press in 2014.**

headquarters. France and Germany remained very sceptical, as the Americans lied in 2003 to justify the invasion of Iraq.

Biden has increased, but without risking a conflict between NATO and Russia, deliveries of defensive weapons to Ukraine. To overcome the allies' reluctance, he set up an immediate sharing of the information received, which opened their eyes, but he was unable to do the same with the Ukrainian government, which at the time was too infiltrated by the Russian intelligence services.

On December 17, Putin presented two draft treaties to the United States of America, one to prevent Ukraine, Georgia and other former Soviet states from joining NATO, the other to prohibit Americans from cooperating militarily with Ukraine or any other non-NATO ex-Soviet state and from establishing military bases there. To push the Americans to negotiate and put pressure on Ukraine and the EU, Putin has deployed 105,000 of his soldiers around Ukraine and 30,000 in Belarus. This did not make the Ukrainians, nor the Americans, tremble, because it seemed unlikely that Putin would want to occupy a country with a population of 44 million and larger than France with such a small manpower. An occupying force requires 20 soldiers per thousand inhabitants, or 880,000 for Ukraine.[292] Central and Eastern Europe were nevertheless concerned,[293] especially since Biden said on 22 February 2022 : « We have no intention of fighting Russia », which prompted Putin to attack.[294] NATO has then stationed troops, planes and ships

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[292] **See Norman M. Wade, *The Joint Forces Operations and Doctrine (2nd ed.)*, Lakeland, The Lightning Press, 2009.**

[293] **See Dan Sabbagh, "Ukraine crisis: how Putin feeds off anger over Nato's eastward expansion" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/27/ukraine-crisis-how-putin-feeds-off-anger-over-nato-eastward-expansion, 27/12/2021.**

[294] **See Keir Giles, *Who will defend Europe. An awakened Russia and a sleeping continent,* London, Hurst & Co, 2024, p. 53.** The Americans have always avoided confrontation with the Russians, except in 1962 in Cuba, which is too close to Florida. On May 9, 1945, General Patton entered

in Eastern Europe.[295] **In response, Russia has reinforced its Black Sea fleet by six ships. To avoid a confrontation, the American chief of staff telephoned his Russian counterpart.**[296]

Russia's conventional military capabilities were impressive on paper: 1.1 million active soldiers, 13,000 tanks, 27,000 armoured combat vehicles, 15,000 howitzers or missile launchers, 1,500 combat aircrafts, 2,000 helicopters, 4,000 drones and 440 transport planes, but their operational capability was in doubt due to lack of maintenance, because the Russian defence budget apparently didn't exceed $60 billion a year.

Putin has been unable to remain rational. He greatly overestimated his forces and underestimated the opposing camp. He misjudged the will of the Ukrainian resistance and failed to anticipate Western or Turkish reactions. He neglected the fact that the Ukrainians had stopped the pro-Russian advance in the Donbass since 2014. He seriously misjudged the desire for independence and the military capabilities of the Ukrainians, who know that they have the choice between fighting for their freedom and slavery. He misjudged the determination of the West, particularly the British and Mr. Biden, to support them, because of the pitiful Western withdrawal from Afghanistan in August

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Prague; he was ordered to evacuate it to make way for the Konev army. During the blockade of West Berlin in 1948, the Americans limited themselves to an airlift. NATO intervened only in words during the repressions in East Germany in 1953, in Poland and Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, in Poland in 1970, 1976, 1980 and 1981.

[295] **See Gilles Sengès, « Biden est prêt à tout pour l'Ukraine, sauf la guerre » in *L'Opinion*, https://www.lopinion.fr/international/biden-est-pret-a-tout-pour-lukraine-sauf-la-guerre, 23/1/2022.**

[296] **Agence France-Presse, Press Association, Reuters, "'Things could go crazy quickly,' Biden warns on Ukraine as talks in Berlin fail" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/11/things-could-go-crazy-quickly-biden-warns-on-ukraine-as-talks-in-berlin-fail, 11/2/2022.**

2021. Polish support, particularly for taking in millions of Ukrainian refugees, was also decisive.

The unfounded fear of nuclear war

Biden's fearful side can be explained by the unfounded fear of a nuclear war between Russia and NATO. He should know, however, that Russian threats to use tactical nuclear weapons in Ukraine are hardly credible, even though they have been repeated 200 times since 24 February 2022,[297] and even though we know that Putin neglects nuclear security: he stationed troops at the Chernobyl site until 2 April 2022. Many soldiers were irradiated there. The Zaporizhia plant,[298] which has 6 reactors, making it the largest in Europe, has been occupied by the Russians since March 2022, in violation of Additional Protocol No. 1 of 1977 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The Director General and experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency were able to visit the site in early September 2022 to assess the risk of reactor meltdowns and radiation. The UN secretary-general has asked in vain to demilitarize the area around the plant, because the Russians have installed heavy artillery, including multiple rocket launchers.

As in the Suez (1956), Berlin (1961) and Yom Kippur (1973) crises, the Russians threatened to use tactical nuclear weapons in Ukraine, to put pressure on the opposing camp, because Russia has 6,255 nuclear weapons.[299] The special

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[297] **In an excerpt published on Telegram from a television interview with Russian state television, Putin stated: 'There was no need to use these nuclear weapons... and I hope they will not be necessary.' » See Reuters, « Poetin "hoopt" dat er geen nood is om kernwapens in te zetten in Oekraïne » in *De Standaard,* https://www.standaard.be/buitenland/poetin-hoopt-dat-er-geen-nood-is-om-kernwapens-in-te-zetten-in-oekrane-gewonden-bij-nachtelijke-droneaanval-op-kiev/35173633.html, 4/5/2025.**

[298] **See Drew Hinshaw, Joe Parkinson, "Russian Army Turns Ukraine's Largest Nuclear Plant into a Military Base" in *The Wall Street Journal*, 5/7/2022.**

[299] See Ronan Le Gleut, Hélène Conway-Mouret, *Europe de la défense, le défi de l'autonomie stratégique*, Rapport d'information du Sénat de France,

combat alert for combat, including nuclear deterrence, has impressed many Europeans, who have stocked up on iodine tablets. They know that Russian hypersonic missiles, carrying a 2-megaton bomb, have a range of 6,000 km.[300] They are said to be capable of penetrating Western anti-missile systems, but they seem to be very inaccurate.[301]

Europeans should have remembered that if the conflict in Ukraine remains below the nuclear threshold, it is thanks to deterrence. Since 1945, nuclear weapons have been used for this purpose. Russian doctrine authorises nuclear fire only in the event of a ballistic missile launch against Russia or an ally, the use of a nuclear weapon by an adversary, an attack on a Russian nuclear weapons site or an aggression involving the existence of the Russian state, because everyone knows that a nuclear war cannot be won.

Deterrence is reciprocal, thanks to the capabilities of mutually assured destruction, each being able to annihilate the other, even after having suffered a nuclear strike, thanks to the part of the nuclear forces that is on alert. This is made up of ballistic missile submarines on patrol, i.e. 1 to 2 for France, Great Britain and China, and 5 to 7 or 8 for Russia and the Americans. However, deterrence is not about deploying means, it is above all about persuading the adversary that one is ready to use them.

It is unlikely that Putin and especially his entourage will take the risk of a NATO military reaction on the basis of Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. Even the use of a

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https://www.senat.fr/notice-rapport/2018/r18-626-notice.html, 3/7/2019. According to other estimates, Russia has about 1,700 deployed strategic nuclear warheads and about 2,600 in reserve.

[300] See AFP, « Moscou déploie son "arme absolue", le missile hypersonique Avangard » in *La Libre Belgique*, https://www.lalibre.be/international/europe/2019/12/27/moscou-deploie-son-arme-absolue-le-missile-hypersonique-avangard-U3R7O5VEX5G7NKWNON2NPGLMXQ/, 27/12/2019.

[301] See sn, "Russia deploys first hypersonic missiles" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/dec/27/russia-deploys-first-hypersonic-missiles-nuclear-capable, 27/12/2019.

tactical nuclear weapon against Ukraine would be unacceptable to the West. This would be risking the 4th World War, if we consider the Cold War as the 3rd. It is not impossible, because Putin has become unpredictable. He takes little account of human losses and opinions opposed to his own, and there are some. If his entourage supported his attempt to force the former satellites of the USSR and the neutral states to non-alignment, he does not seem inclined to collective suicide. In January 2021, Mr. Biden and Putin extended the *New START* treaty, an acronym for *Strategic Arms Reduction* Treaty, for five years.[302] The treaty expired on 5 February 2026, marking the end of the last Russian – American binding bilateral nuclear arms control agreement.

Nevertheless, in the face of threats, the West has, more than usual, communicated on the annual exercises of its nuclear forces, to reassure the allies and verify the readiness of the forces, so that their deterrent capacity remains credible. It works well: on October 29, 2022, in front of the Valdai Club in Moscow, Putin put his words on the possibility of using nuclear weapons into perspective. In Russia as in NATO, these weapons are extremely controlled. The risk that a miscalculation or provocation could lead to the use of nuclear weapons is therefore very low.

The outbreak of a high-intensity war

On 24 February 2022, Putin hoped to seize Kyiv in four or five days, force Mr. Zelensky from power and conquer New Russia. He subjected Ukraine to deadly and devastating, but limited, bombing: on the first day of the war, Russia fired 160 missiles at 60 targets. In the first month, the Russians used a thousand ballistic or cruise missiles, i.e. two-thirds of

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[302] See André Dumoulin, « Faut-il s'inquiéter de la menace nucléaire russe ? » in *La Libre,* https://www.lalibre.be/debats/opinions/2022/02/28/faut-il-sinquieter-de-la-menace-nucleaire-russe-YR7UFS7HBZGKXOJY3C3VJ3QS7Q/, 28/2/2022.

their stockpile. In Iraq, in 2003, the Americans fired 850 in one day, 2,500 in seven days.

As early as 2017, Ukraine had asked to join the electricity grid in 2023 and undertook to bring itself up to European standards. On 23 February 2022 at 11 p.m., a few hours before the invasion, it disconnected from Russia. On 26 February, it requested to be synchronised with the European grid as a matter of urgency, which the European Network of Transmission System Operators for Electricity decided on 11 March and implemented on 16 March. The same was true for the Moldovan network.[303] This makes Ukraine more resilient to countless Russian strikes on its energy grids.

Putin proved to be a very poor strategist from the outset. He opted for confrontation instead of realizing the political and economic benefits of his 2021 show of force. He lost sight of the fact that the Russian Federation has only 147 million inhabitants and a gross domestic product of $1.71 trillion, similar to that of Italy, which has only 60 million inhabitants. The very small share of industry and services in the Russian economy, as it is content to exploit its natural resources, does not give Putin the means for his policy of aggression. Its industrial base did not produce enough armoured vehicles, shells, drones, ...

Before launching the ground action, Putin did not ensure control of the air. While the Russian air force has many more aircraft than Ukraine, it remains unable to suppress enemy air defences, conduct strikes over most of Ukraine and provide meaningful air-to-ground support. On the other hand, Ukrainian combat aviation and anti-aircraft

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[303] See Perrine Mouterde, " L'Ukraine a été raccordée en urgence au réseau électrique européen " in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/planete/article/2022/03/17/l-ukraine-a-ete-raccordee-en-urgence-au-reseau-electrique-europeen_6117879_3244.html, 17/3/2022.

defences are being strengthened, thanks to Western systems.[304]

Putin did not organize adequate logistical support: supplies, repairs and maintenance of weapons systems were lacking. He did not put in place the necessary means of planning, command, control and effective and secure communication. In the absence of valid radios, the Russian forces communicated via mobile phones connected to the Ukrainian telephone network, which made it possible to listen to conversations, identify and geolocate transmitters, in particular generals and colonels, who became targets.

For fear of leaks, Putin only gave his orders to his operational staffs at the last moment, but the Americans had known his objectives since 2014. The broad outlines of the Russian plans had been known since mid-2021 and their details since early December. Thus, on 12 January 2022, the Americans were able to communicate to Mr. Zelensky the plan of the Russian paratroopers for the capture of Hostomel airport, near Kiev, headquarters of the Antonov factory, which made it possible to thwart this attack, but not to save from partial destruction the workshops and aircrafts undergoing maintenance. The operational aircrafts, these wide-body aircrafts essential for the mobility of the European armed forces, were able to take off *in extremis* to Leipzig. However, the Americans were unable to persuade the Ukrainians to organise the defence of the south, which explains the rapid advance of the 20,000 Russians massed in Crimea towards Kherson and Melitopol. Most of the bridges were neither mined nor defended, as only 1,500

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[304] Center for Naval Analyses, « Russian Combat Air Strengths and Limitations: Lessons from Ukraine" in *Defense-aerospace.com*, https://www.defense-aerospace.com/lessons-from-ukraine-about-russian-combat-air-strengths-and-limitations/?utm_source=mailpoet&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=les-newslettertotal-derniers-articles-de-notre-blog-11, 25/4/2023.

Ukrainians held the border with Crimea, or about 100 kilometres.[305]

Putin did not take the weather into account: he attacked ten days before the thaw, the Rasputitsa, which makes country roads impassable, preventing heavy vehicles from leaving the asphalt network. It's inexplicable on the part of a Russian. Instead of concentrating his efforts, he dispersed 160,000 soldiers on 21 axes, spread over four fronts totalling 1,000 km, against the 700,000 Ukrainians mobilized. He has not spared its means: instead of exploiting the advances in the oblasts of Kherson and Zaporizhia, he persisted in seizing Kiev, Kharkiv and the Donbass as quickly as possible and whatever the cost. He didn't set up an operational reserve, but in Transnistria he has put the Russian 14th Army on alert, to threaten the Ukrainian rear, which the Belarusian forces are also doing. To break the Ukrainians' morale, he applied Russian military doctrine, which provides for the unbridled use of force, which encourages the commission of numerous war crimes. So far, these atrocities have strengthened the Ukrainians' spirit of resistance and boosted support from Westerners.

Despite the obvious lack of tactical know-how in many Russian units, from 24 February to 11 March, Putin conquered 8% of the country, in addition to Crimea and the part of the Donbass occupied since 2014. In the south, the Russians massed in Crimea thanks to the Kerch bridge were able to break through in early March in two directions: Mariupol and Odessa. The breakthrough was facilitated by the fact that Kherson was taken without a fight, its defenders did not even blow up the bridges over the Dnieper. The Russians were able to deploy 20,000 to 30,000

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[305] See Euheniia Martyniuk, « "I only had one brigade." Ukrainian General explains why Russians rapidly occupied southern Ukraine early in invasion » in *Euromaidan*, https://euromaidanpress.com/2023/09/21/why-russians-rapidly-occupied-southern-ukraine-early-in-invasion/, 21/09/2023.

soldiers on the right bank of the river, but their advance towards Odessa, Kryvyi Rih and Mykolaev was halted.

The Russian navy has seized the islet of Zmiinyi, or Snakes Island, which is only two hectares in size, but which allows to prohibit navigation in the western part of the Black Sea if anti-aircraft and anti-ship systems are installed there. On March 24, the Russian Navy lost three amphibious ships in Berdiansk and a patrol boat in Mariupol. By 13 April, her losses amounted to about fifteen ships, including the cruiser Moskva. Hit by two Neptune missiles, it sank two days later.[306]

On April 5, it became clear that the Ukrainians had defeated five Russian armies, but on 17 May, due to a lack of supplies and reinforcements, the last defenders of Mariupol's last stronghold, the fortified Azovstal plant, surrendered, on the orders of President Zelensky, after wearing down 12 Russian battlegroups.

From war of movement to trench warfare

Once the extent of the war crimes committed by the Russians became known, around fifty countries provided Ukraine with military equipment, lethal or not. On May 9, President Biden signed a "Ukraine Democracy Defense Lend-Lease Act of 2022", inspired by the 1941 Act.

At the beginning of April, Putin withdrew his units, many of which had suffered very badly, from the Kiev region, the northern and northeastern sectors of the country, as well as the Mykolaev region in the south, to Russia or Belarus. He completed their troops and regrouped them in the Volgograd Oblast and then ordered them to complete the conquest of the Donbass. He nevertheless applied one of the

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[306] **See Michel Goya, " Soixante-quatrième jour : état des forces et perspectives " in *Le Grand Continent*, https://legrandcontinent.eu/fr/2022/04/28/soixante-quatrieme-jour-etat-des-forces-et-perspectives/, 28/4/2022 ;**
Michel Goya, " Point de situation des opérations en Ukraine 8 mai 2022 " in *La voie de l'épée*, https://lavoiedelepee.blogspot.com, 8/5/2022.

rules of military art: the maintenance of a certain freedom of action.

Then, the Russians attacked in Luhansk Oblast, on a narrow front, with overwhelming artillery support: they lined up nearly 2,000 howitzers, which fired 50,000 152 mm shells per day, but they were only able to advance very slowly and at the cost of very heavy losses, without being able to destroy the Ukrainian units. The latter evacuated Severodonetsk on 24 June and Lysychansk on 3 July, not without losses. On the Donetsk side, on 9 May, the Wagner Group and the Chechens made a breakthrough in Popasna, which they were unable to exploit.

On 21 April 2022, the Ukrainians received the first American 155 mm howitzers, whose range and accuracy are greater than that of the Russian 152 mm howitzers, thanks particularly to the M982 Excalibur shells from Raytheon and BAE Systems AB, guided by GPS and inertial platform: they strike with precision up to 40 km. This is why the islet of Zmiinyi, or Snakes Island, located 35 kilometres off the Ukrainian coast, was evacuated by the Russians on 30 June. Together with the losses of the Russian navy, this contributed to the partial restoration of freedom of navigation from Ukrainian ports to the Mediterranean and the resumption of the export of agricultural commodities.

The Europeans, Americans and British then provided other howitzers, anti-aircraft tanks equipped with 35 mm cannons and multiple missile launchers, as well as the ammunition that allows these to fire accurately up to 80 km.[307] **Thus equipped, in August 2022, Ukraine seemed**

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[307] **By the end of September 2022, the Americans had given Ukraine more than $17.5 billion worth of defense equipment, including 20 Mi-17 helicopters, 34 HIMARS multiple missile launchers, coastal defense vessels, 146 howitzers and 276 towing vehicles, 155 and 105 mm shells, including Excalibur shells, 200 M113s, 100 armored vehicles, 200 Ambush Protected vehicles, Puma drones, 700 Switchblade drones, 700 Phoenix Ghost drones, HARM anti-radiation missiles, 2 Harpoon coastal defense systems, 8 anti-aircraft systems, 1,400 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, 8,500 Javelin anti-tank missiles, 32,000 anti-tank**

capable of victory: its losses had been much less, it had been able to make up for them and form new brigades. This is why Putin decreed a partial mobilization in October, as the recruitment of volunteers in the spring had attracted only 40% of the 134,000 soldiers desired, which was insufficient to make up for his losses. In an attempt to save face, he annexed the separatist republics of Donbas and other conquered territories to Russia, some of which were quickly liberated.[308]

On 6 September 2022, Ukraine attacked eastwards, 50 km south of Kharkiv, a front where the Russians withdraw

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systems, 10,000 small arms and grenade launchers, 75,000 helmets and bulletproof vests, 50 counter-battery radars, 4 anti-mortar radars, laser-guided rocket launcher systems, electronic warfare systems, 60 million rounds of small arms, Claymore mines, C-4 explosives, secure telecommunications systems, night vision goggles, optical systems, rangefinders, commercial satellite services, demining systems, medical equipment, field equipment and spare parts. See Lee Ferran, "From HIMARS to helos: What the US has given Ukraine" in *Breaking Defense*, https://breakingdefense.com/2022/10/from-himars-to-helos-what-the-us-has-given-ukraine-graphic/?utm_campaign=BD%20Daily&utm_medium=email&_hsmi=228213778&_hsenc=p2ANqtz---XDkFVnaLsa6MQuuW2CanEw1WkWS1vwLSe_mhDJV1IvpT14YQtP4oJJK2-IqdPP0KnMtjb8S6XxJQIujNViamOrPmEg&utm_content=228213778&utm_source=hs_email, 3/10/2022; Joe Gould, "Pentagon sending Excalibur guided artillery, more HIMARS to Ukraine" in *Defense News*, https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2022/10/04/pentagon-sending-excalibur-guided-artillery-more-himars-to-ukraine/?utm_source=sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=air-dnr, 4/10/2022.

[308] **See Reuben Johnson, Aaron Mehta, "Flimsy numbers and sparks of protest: How Putin's mobilization may end up another miscalculation" in *Breaking Defense*, https://breakingdefense.com/2022/09/flimsy-numbers-and-sparks-of-protest-how-putins-mobilization-may-end-up-another-miscalculation/?_ga=2.73888466.1756889272.1663600488-942942739.1625582143&utm_campaign=BD%20Daily&utm_medium=email&_hsmi=226865090&_hsenc=p2ANqtz-9mtxghHgNWP1kFRv7QiD5KkY8Z3IeMcdxUfHj1t8HzIUpHqtQk44v-x79BHcCL9Dek8RafsBOmidq1-qsDmQbTY8HP1g&utm_content=226865090&utm_source=hs_email, 21/9/2022.**

troops to protect Kherson. It broke through the Russian defences, and then, in three days, it liberated Balaklija[309] and then Izium. On October 1, Russian units, most of them already badly strained, were trapped in Lyman,[310] as Putin forbade their withdrawal. The exploitation of the Ukrainian breakthrough made it possible to dislocate the enemy system. On 11 November, the eastern Kharkiv Oblast, more than 12,000 km2, was liberated, but due to a lack of equipment and ammunition, the Ukrainians were unable to continue towards Luhansk beyond Svatove and Kreminna.

In the south, through long-range artillery strikes on the bridges spanning the Dnieper, Ukraine isolated the Russians on the right bank of the river, then destroyed their command posts and stocks, including fuel and ammunition. Then, it pushed them back, cautiously to limit its losses.[311] On 11 November, the Russians having withdrawn the day before from their now untenable positions, the city of Kherson was free. The Russians destroyed the remaining road and railway bridges over the Dnieper, making it difficult to cross the river and continue the Ukrainian advance towards Crimea.

In Russia, resistance fighters, supported by Ukrainian special forces, derail trains more frequently than in previous years or blow-up bridges. Groups of Russians supporting the Ukrainian army are making incursions into the border area, particularly in Belgorod Oblast. In the

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[309] **See sn, "In Kharkiv region, Ukraine Army advances 50 km in three days" in *Ukrinform,* https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-ato/3567530-in-kharkiv-region-ukraine-army-advances-50-km-in-three-days.html, 9/9/2022.**

[310] **See Patrick Schlereth, "Die ukrainischen Truppen haben in der strategisch wichtigen Stadt Lyman im Gebiet Donezk nach eigenen Angaben rund 5000 russische Soldaten eingekesselt" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ukraine-liveticker-offenbar-5000-russische-soldaten-in-lyman-eingekreist-18134628.html, 1/10/2022.**

[311] **See Michel Goya, « L'art opératif à l'épreuve de la guerre en Ukraine – 3. La fabrique des batailles » " in *La Voie de l'Épée*, https://lavoiedelepee.blogspot.com, 26/9/2022**.

occupied zone, dozens of attacks targeted Russian authorities or collaborators.[312] The Saky airbase[313] in Crimea was attacked in September, Russian fighter jets were redeployed further from the front. On 29 October 2022, Ukrainian naval drones attacked the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol. On 26 December 2023, an airstrike sank the transport and landing ship Novocherkassk in the port of Feodosia, Crimea.[314]

To pawn the ultranationalists politically and minimize his military failures, Putin ordered more massive air attacks on cities and especially on electricity and heating networks in the autumn of 2022, to make the winter more difficult for Ukrainians and to encourage the Ukrainian army to protect the troops at the front less. Russia is striking with cruise or ballistic missiles, Iranian Shahed-136s, loitering munitions with an estimated range of 2,500 kilometers, launched from Russian territory and annexed Crimea or by bomber planes, or from Belarus, or from Russian ships operating in the Black Sea. From November 2022, the arrival of Western long-range air and missile defence systems has gradually somewhat limited the effectiveness of Russian air strikes.

At the beginning of the spring 2023 Rasputitsa, the whole world saw the failure of the Russian winter offensive. It was limited to a sector of about 250 km in the Donetsk oblast, while the front is more than 1,000 km long, and to small-scale attacks, but constantly repeated despite very high losses. To complete his conquest of the Donetsk and

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[312] **See Michel Goya, "Vers une guerre de corsaires en Ukraine ?' in *La Voie de l'épée*, https://lavoiedelepee.blogspot.com, 10/8/2022.**

[313] **See Samantha Lock, Dan Sabbagh, "Russian warplanes destroyed in Crimea airbase attack, satellite images show" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/aug/11/russian-warplanes-destroyed-in-crimea-saky-airbase-attack-satellite-images-show, 11/8/2022..**

[314] See **Reuters, "Ukraine carries out air assault on Crimea's port of Feodosia" in *Euractiv*, https://www.euractiv.com/section/europe-s-east/news/ukraine-carries-out-air-assault-on-crimeas-port-of-feodosia/, 26/12/2023.**

Luhansk oblasts, Putin would have had to seize an additional 11,300 km2. He failed, because of a deficient strategy and a tactic that has been obsolete since 1918, also because of a lack of sufficient human and material capacities. Advanced Russian equipment, which is supposed to face Western weapons systems, such as the T-14 Armata tank and the 5th generation Sukhoi-57 fighter jet, are invisible in Ukraine. On the other hand, nearly 800 T-62 tanks, produced from 1962 onwards, have been modernized and returned to service, as well as BTR-50 armoured personnel carriers, which date back to the 1950s, although they are highly vulnerable to Western anti-tank weapons.

The Ukrainian counteroffensives in 2023 were preceded by the donation of 230 tanks and 1,550 armoured vehicles by the West. Ukraine has thus been able to form new brigades that have received ammunition and basic training, which is insufficient for massive attacks.[315] They were poorly prepared in Wiesbaden, where different scenarios have been tested on the computers of the headquarters of the American forces for Europe and Africa: on 2 March, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States of America described these as "wargames" intended to help the Ukrainian General Staff.[316]

The Ukrainian counteroffensive launched on 4 June 2023 did not benefit from a surprise effect. The Russians had time to perfect their defensive system, made up of trenches,

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[315] **See Press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Xavier Bettel, https://www.nato.int/cps/ru/natohq/opinions_214221.htm, 27/4/2023. For example, the 37th Infantry Brigade, equipped with AMX-10 light tanks, was trained at the Canjuers camp in the Var. Its objective was to reach Berdiansk, on the Sea of Azov, but it was unable to break through the Russian lines. See sn, « Sur le front de Donetsk avec la 37e brigade d'infanterie » in *Le Figaro*, 19/7/2023, p. 4.**

[316] **See Cédric Pietralunga, « L'Ukraine prépare sa contre-offensive avec des « wargames » organisés par le Pentagone » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2023/03/08/l-ukraine-prepare-sa-contre-offensive-avec-des-wargames-organises-par-le-pentagone_6164572_3210.html, 8/3/2023.**

minefields, anti-tank ditches, dragon's teeth, held by a large infantry and well supported by formidable artillery. Breaking through the Russian defences proved impossible, even after isolating Russian forces, hitting their command posts, and cutting off their supply lines with artillery fire and medium-range missiles, such as MBDA's Storm Shadow-Scalp.[317] What surprised me the most is that these "wargames" apparently did not take into account the fact that the Ukrainian ground forces have little air support, whereas NATO's 'Air-Land Battle' doctrine calls for air superiority to be obtained before launching ground operations.[318]

After the failure of Ukrainian counteroffensives, the Russians exploited their numerical superiority and that of their fire support in Donetsk Oblast to slowly advance westwards. The Ukrainians have tried to build a small bridgehead on the left bank of the Dnieper, between the partially destroyed Nova Kakhova dam and the delta. They had to realize that the river remains a difficult obstacle to overcome, and that the absence of a bridge would prevent any breakthrough to the south. In northeastern Ukraine, at the beginning of August 2024, the Ukrainians were able to break the opposing front and exploit the breakthrough in the direction of Kursk, but the Russians, supported by North Koreans, were then able to substantially reduce this pocket. In 2025, Ukrainians were forced to withdraw almost completely from Kursk Oblast.

The military stalemate?

As the end of the war remains difficult to predict given the little reliable information available, I refer to the opinion of

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[317] **See Laurent Lagneau, « Le Royaume-Uni va livrer à l'Ukraine des missiles de croisière Storm Shadow / SCALP » in *Zone militaire opex360.com*, https://www.opex360.com/2023/05/11/le-royaume-uni-va-livrer-a-lukraine-des-missiles-de-croisiere-storm-shadow-scalp/, 11/5/2023.**

[318] Norman M. Wade, *The Joint Forces Operations and Doctrine (2nd ed.)*, Lakeland, The Lightning Press, 2009.

two military personnel who are in principle well informed: General Cavoli, commander of the American forces in Europe and supreme allied commander of NATO,[319] and Belgian General Dutron, head of the General Intelligence and Security Service,[320] who recalled that Trump forced Zelensky to make concessions in exchange for military support and that once "victorious" in Ukraine, Putin will probably first focus on Transnistria, Moldova and possibly Belarus, and then will try to cut off the Baltic States from Europe. Dutron notes that cyberattacks have become commonplace in Belgium and believes that it needs to catch up when it comes to protect critical infrastructure.

I share his opinion. Hybrid warfare has been waged on us by Putin non-stop since 2007. Since the beginning of 2024, 11 cables have been damaged in the Baltic, including by ships dragging their anchors on the seabed.[321] Without the unconditional support of the Americans, it would be difficult to dissuade the Russian or Belarusian army from seizing the Narva region in Estonia, the Daugavpils region in Latvia or the Suwalki corridor between Lithuania and Poland.

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[319] See Nikki Wentling, "Top general recommends US maintain current troop levels in Europe" in *Military Times*, https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2025/04/08/top-general-recommends-us-maintain-current-troop-levels-in-europe/?utm_source=sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=air-dnr, 8/4/2025.

[320] Voir Jeroen Van Horenbeek, "Stéphane Dutron, hoofd van de militaire geheime dienst: 'De VS zijn een van de grote winnaars van de oorlog'" (Stéphane Dutron, head of the military secret service: 'The US is one of the big winners of the war') in *De Morgen*, https://www.demorgen.be/oorlog-in-oekraine/stephane-dutron-hoofd-van-de-militaire-geheime-dienst-de-vs-zijn-een-van-de-grote-winnaars-van-de-oorlog~ba4b56ed/, 4/4/2025.

[321] See sn, « Russische kabelaanvallen 'dreigen internet wereldwijd af te sluiten' » (Russian cable attacks 'threaten to shut down the internet worldwide) in *MSN*, https://www.msn.com/nl-nl/nieuws/Buitenland/russische-kabelaanvallen-dreigen-internet-wereldwijd-af-te-sluiten/ar-AA1CEFch, 10/4/2025.

General Cavoli told the American House of Representatives on 8 April 2025 that he was recommending maintaining the American military in Europe, increased from 80,000 to 100,000 troops by President Biden in response to the Russian attack on 24 February 2022, while the Pentagon is reportedly considering reducing their numbers. According to Cavoli, Russian aggression makes our future uncertain and threatens the vital interests of the West. He believes that Ukraine's defensive positions are very solid, that it is very unlikely that they will collapse, but that a liberating offensive no longer seems possible, even if, having lost more than 4,000 tanks, the Russians lack armour and soldiers, although most of the volunteers receive up to six times their annual salary and come from the poorest regions of Russia.

According to Cavoli, both sides have developed long-range strike capabilities, using ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and drones. In 2015, the Ukrainian army was suffering from 30 years of underinvestment. It nevertheless stopped the Russians. The same was true during the massive offensive of 2022. The local industry now produces a large part of the ammunition needed by Ukraine; it is the world leader in attack drones. The Russians have a very high level of competence in certain technical fields. The F-16s are effective for both cruise missile defence and bombing. The Ukrainians quickly mastered the use of Patriot systems, which are essential to counter ballistic missiles and cruise missiles. For Cavoli, in particular, American support remains essential for intelligence and the ability to strike at long distances at command posts, logistics, etc.[322]

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[322] See Thomas Gutschker, "Ohne Amerika wird die Ukraine blind" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ukraine/was-die-fehlende-militaerhilfe-der-usa-fuer-kiew-bedeutet-110335108.html, 4/3/2025; Dan Sabbagh, Luke Harding, "Ukraine has firepower to fight on without US support – for now" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/mar/04/ukraine-has-firepower-to-fight-on-without-us-support-for-now, 4/3/2025.

The drone war

In 2025, the Russian military-industrial complex produced 6 million drones and the factories in Ukraine as well. Drones are replacing increasingly scarce and expensive human resources, as well as weapons systems, such as tanks, warships and combat aircraft, but also small arms. As early as 2022, the Ukrainians used Turkish aerial drones to destroy Russian armour, but the adversary quickly managed to jam their guidance system. In 2025, 80% of Ukrainian deaths and injuries on the front line were victims of a drone. The front has turned into a deadly twenty-kilometre-wide no man's land, where anything spotted is in danger of being quickly put out of action. Thus, at the end of December 2025, in the north of Donetsk Oblast, drones contributed, together with the 3rd Ukrainian Army Corps and the Artan special unit of the Ukrainian Military Intelligence Service (whose Ukrainian acronym is HUR) to neutralize a Russian infantry regiment of 2,000 soldiers. In 2026, the Russian Ukrainian front is characterized, in the air, on land, on and in the sea, by a very high degree of transparency, lethality and transience: drone software is obsolete after a month and a half, drones after a year.

Drones do not yet make it possible to occupy a territory, nor to gain significant ground. Armoured vehicles are not obsolete if they are adapted to the new form of warfare, because they retain their mobility and firepower. In an effort to prevent identification and acquisition by the enemy, the Russians and Ukrainians mainly use radio wave jamming systems, to cut off communication between the drone and its operator, or Global Navigation Satellite System (GNSS)[323] signals, to disrupt its navigation. However, it is difficult to effectively jam large areas and all radio frequencies. The frequencies typically used by drones

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[323] The Global Navigation Satellite System (GNSS) includes the American Global Positioning System (GPS), the European Galileo, the Russian GLONASS and the Chinese BeiDou.

are the most jammed, but some drones use unusual frequencies, or advanced techniques that resist jamming such as adaptive electronic antennas, frequency hopping, etc. Inertial navigation, possibly combined with optical sensors, is an alternative to GNSS navigation.

Aerial drones increase the occurrence of early detection of threats, facilitate the recognition, identification and acquisition of the enemy. This is particularly the case with drones known as "first-person *view*" (FPV), which give the operator almost the same situational awareness as if he were on board the aircraft, thanks to an on-board camera. They increase the probability of shooting first, hitting the target, destroying it, and finally quickly resuming combat. FPV drones often carry a few kilos of explosives, to destroy tanks, infantry armour, artillery pieces, logistics vehicles, bunkers or even isolated soldiers. Some drones are controlled by optic fibre, which measure about 20 km, but some go up to 60 km. They maintain a physical link with the operator, which guarantees perfect communication but limits manoeuvrability and runs the risk that the adversary will cut or follow the fibre to the operator, to eliminate him.

To strike targets at longer distances, such as refineries, fuel depots, air bases and military infrastructure, Ukraine uses heavy lurking munitions such as the Vyriy10 or the Liutyi, designed to resist jamming and bypass anti-aircraft defences, while Russia relies in particular on the ZALA Lancet and drones derived from the Iranian Shahed but produced locally. The attack on the night of December 23, 2025, targeting the grid and power plants in 13 Ukrainian regions, involved 635 drones and 38 missiles.[324]

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[324] See Illia Novikov, The Associated Press, Une attaque aérienne russe fait trois morts et cause des pannes de courant en Ukraine" in *L'actualité*, https://lactualite.com/actualites/une-attaque-aerienne-russe-fait-trois-morts-et-cause-des-pannes-de-courant-en-ukraine/, 23/12/2025.

For its logistics, the Ukrainian army uses unmanned ground and air vehicles,[325] such as the Malloy T150 and T400, which carry between 70 and 150 kg up to 70 km at an average speed of 100 km/h. Other land drones carry up to 300 kg.[326] Software is used to order food, ammunition and fuel. Depending on the position of the unit and the type of supply, a transporter drone is programmed to pick up supplies from the advanced depots and deliver them.[327] Other transport drones have replaced ambulances, which are too vulnerable in the *kill zone*.

Since April 2022, Ukraine, almost devoid of warships, has managed to destroy the Russian Black Sea Fleet. It first sank the guided missile cruiser Moskva, the flagship of Russia's Black Sea fleet, with two land-based R-360 Neptune anti-ship missiles. Then, naval drones, much cheaper, hit Sevastopol, then the Kerch bridge.[328]

The *Security Service of Ukraine* (whose Ukrainian acronym is SBU) developed the *Sea Baby.* Its first version measures 6

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[325] See Christopher Kinsey, Ronald Ti, « Combat Logistics in the Twenty-first Century. Enabling the Mobility, Endurance, and Sustainment of NATO Land Forces in a Future Major Conflict » in Mikael Weissmann (dir), Niklas Nilsson, *Advanced Land Warfare: Tactics and Operations*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2024, p. 14, https://academic.oup.com/book/45784/ chapter/400597938 ?login=false.

[326] See Jack Watling, Nick Reynolds, *Tactical Developments During the Third Year of the Russo- Ukrainian War,* London, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, 2025, p. 17, https://static.rusi.org/tactical-developments-third-year-russo-ukrainian-war-february- 2205.pdf.

[327] See Jack Watling, Si Horne, *Assuring the Tactical Sustainment of Land Forces on the Modern Battlefield*, London, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, https://www.rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/occasional-papers/assuring-tactical-sustainment-land-forces-modern-battlefield, 16/4/2024.

[328] See Leonardo Jacopo Maria Mazzucco, "How Ukraine's Unmanned Surface Vessels Have Reshaped Modern Naval Warfare in the Black Sea" in *Rabdan Security and Defence Institute*, https://rsdi.ae/en/publications/how-ukraines-unmanned-surface-vessels-have-reshaped-modern-naval-warfare-in-the-black-sea, 15/10/2025.

meters and can carry 850 kg of explosives to 1,000 km, to destroy ships or infrastructure, lay sea mines, fire rockets towards the coast or launch anti-aircraft missiles, thanks to autonomous navigation, rocket launchers, FPV drone carriers operated by optic fibre, etc.[329] Its most recent version can carry up to 2,000 kg over 1,500 km.[330] On November 28, 2025, the SBU claimed responsibility for the attack in the Black Sea, near Turkey, by *Sea Babys*, Russian tankers Kairos and Virat.

HUR Group 13 has various types of *Maritime Autonomous Guard Unmanned Robotic Apparatus* (MAGURA) manufactured by *Spets Techno Export*, a subsidiary of the defence industrial group Ukroboronprom. It employs nearly 67,000 workers. The MAGURA V is a 5.5-metre unmanned vessel. Its range is 830 km, its maximum speed is 78 km/hr and its payload is 320 kg. Designed to take on Russian warships or carry out intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance missions, it has become multi-role. On December 31, 2024, a MAGURA V equipped with two launch rails for the "Sea Dragon" infrared-guided surface-to-air missile, a Ukrainian variant of the Soviet R-73 air-to-air missile, shot down two Russian Mi-8 combat helicopters 60 km from Sevastopol. The MAGURA VII is 7 meters long, its redesigned bow gives it better seaworthiness. On May 2 and 3, 2025, MAGURA VIIs shot down two Su-30 fighter jets with infrared-guided AIM-9 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, near Novorossiysk, on the Caucasian shore of the Black Sea,[331] where a Russian naval base, port and oil

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[329] See Pavlo Odnokoz, « Ukraine to Sell Its Sea Drones Internationally — Why It's a Good Deal » in *LinkedIn*, https://stackedpreference.medium.com/ukraine-to-sell-its-sea-drones-internationally-why-its-a-good-deal-39386282505d, 11/11/2025.

[330] See Efrem Lukatsky, Derek Gatopoulos, "Ukraine unveils upgraded sea drone it says can strike anywhere in the Black Sea" in *AP News*, https://apnews.com/article/0719211dd0314f2b9d15422e81ca66e3?, 22/10/2025.

[331] See Mike Mattis,« Black Sea battle: how Ukraine's drones overpowered the Russian Navy » in *Navy Lookout*, https://www.navylookout.com/black-sea-battle-how-ukraines-drones-

terminal are located that have been repeatedly attacked. On December 15, 2025, underwater drones (*Sub Sea Baby)* of the SBU blew up a Russian Project 636.3 *Varshavyanka* diesel-electric submarine there. This type of submarine is armed with four *Kalibr* cruise missile launchers, with which Russia strikes in Ukraine.[332]

On 31 May, the SBU destroyed two railway bridges in the Kursk and Bryansk regions. On 1 June, Operation "Spider's Web" hit the Diaguimevo and Ivanovo air bases near Moscow, Olenla, north of Murmansk, Belaya, near Lake Baikal, and Ukrainka, on the Amur River, near the Chinese border. Drones costing a few thousand euros destroyed or damaged about fifteen Tu95, Tu22M and Tu160 strategic bombers, but also A50 radar planes, which are about ten and are used to coordinate Russian air operations. On 2 June, explosions damaged pillars of the Kerch Bridge, apparently thanks to underwater drones.

According to the governor of the Omsk region in western Siberia, Russia's largest oil refinery, Gazpromneft, was attacked on July 6, 2026, by Ukrainian drones. It is located about 2,700 km from Ukrainian-controlled territory, near the border with Kazakhstan.[333]

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overpowered-the-russian-navy/, 22/7/2025 ; H. I. Sutton, "World First: Ukrainian Maritime Drone Shoots Down Russian Flanker Jet" in *Naval News,* https://www.navalnews.com/naval-news/2025/05/world-first-ukrainian-maritime-drone-shoots-down-russian-flanker-jet/; H. I. Sutton, "First Image Of Ukraine's Sidewinder-Armed Magura V7 Surface Drone" in *Naval News*, https://www.navalnews.com/naval-news/2025/05/first-image-of-ukraines-sidewinder-armed-magura-v7-surface-drone/, 4/5/2025.

[332] See sn, « Kiev affirme avoir frappé un sous-marin russe en mer Noire » (Kiev claims to have hit a Russian submarine in the Black Sea) in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/live/2025/12/15/en-direct-guerre-en-ukraine-apres-sa-reunion-avec-les-negociateurs-americains-volodymyr-zelensky-rencontrera-lundi-des-responsables-europeens_6657241_3210.html, 15/12/2025.

[333] See Jonas Wagner, "Ukraine greift westsibirsche Region Omsk mit Drohnen an" in *Liveblog Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ukraine/ukraine-liveticker-

The nature of war has been fundamentally and durably transformed by drones, and the defence of Europe must be considered differently than it is today, both from the point of view of tactical effectiveness and the efficiency of military spending: taking a missile that costs $1.2 million to shoot down a $2,000 drone is unreasonable. Aerial drones cost much less than artillery shells, M142 *High Mobility Artillery Rocket System* (HIMARS) and *Army Tactical Missile System*s (ATACAMS) and they are easier to deploy accurately. Some anti-tank drones cost less than $500 each, much less than *Javelin* missiles, at €266,000 each,[334] and infinitely less than a battle tank, estimated at €30 million. A *first-version Sea Baby* costs $221,000, a frigate from $600 million to $1.5 billion.

Since 2022, the measures taken in Europe, both to improve defence capabilities and to stimulate the production of weapons and ammunition, have been very late and very insufficient, while Russia and Ukraine have moved without delay to the war economy, but it is more difficult for non-belligerents. According to the Ukrainians,[335] the Europeans should develop their drone warfare skills, satellite communications and electronic warfare capabilities. This includes signal detection and interception, jamming and countermeasures, as well as battlefield digitization, which consists of collecting data from space or sensors, and aggregating it using automated image processing systems, to understand the situation and allow for very precise and rapid targeting.

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buergermeister-moskau-von-mehr-als-400-ukrainischen-drohnen-ins-visier-genommen-faz-110683325.html, 6/7/2026.

[334] In 2025, the US approved the sale of 2,500 Javelins to Poland for €665 million.[334]

[335] See Laure Mandeville, « Les Ukrainiens, instruits par trois années de conflit, pressent l'Europe de se préparer à une future guerre des drones » (The Ukrainians, instructed by three years of conflict, urge Europe to prepare for a future drone war) in *Le Figaro*, 6/8/2025, p. 2-3.

Trump's prospects for peace: a betrayal

In 2024, Trump's supporters in Congress prevented the vote for seven months on the budget that was to finance the Biden administration's delivery of ammunition to Ukraine; many Ukrainian soldiers paid with their lives for the significant reduction in their fire support. This indicates Trump's goal is to make Ukraine capitulate, not to end the war in Ukraine within 24 hours as he promised during his presidential campaign. His victory on 5 November 2024 made the "plan for victory" presented by Mr. Zelensky to NATO on 17 October 2024 obsolete.[336] This plan, based on international law and the United Nations Charter, had received the support of 96 countries and international organizations,[337] but Putin does not care. He makes no

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[336] See Hans Petter Midttun, " Ukraine's Victory Plan Is Not a Call for a Russian Defeat but a Just and Lasting Peace " in *The Kyiv Post,* https://www.kyivpost.com/opinion/40067, 5/10/2024.

[337] See Swiss Confederation, "Summit on Peace in Ukraine: Joint Communiqué on a Peace Framework," https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/home/das_eda/aktuell/dossiers/konferenz-zum-frieden-ukraine/Summit-on-Peace-in-ukraine-joint-communique-on-a-peace-framework.html, 16/6/2024.
As of 10 September 10, 2024, they were Albania, Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Cabo Verde, Canada, Chile, Comoros, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, the Council of Europe, the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, Croatia, Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, The Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, the Federated States of Micronesia, Ecuador, Estonia, the European Commission, the European Council, the European Parliament, Iceland, the Independent State of Papua New Guinea, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kenya, the Kingdom of Tonga, Kosovo, Latvia, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Monaco, Montenegro, New Zealand, Norway, North Macedonia, Netherlands, Organization of American States, Palau, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Botswana, Republic of Korea, Republic of Malawi, Republic of Mauritius, Republic of Panama, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Romania, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Serbia, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Somalia, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Timor Leste, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay and Zambia.

concessions. It wants to achieve all the objectives it has assigned to the "special operation", including conquering the oblasts of Luhansk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia and Kherson, which it only partially occupies, setting up a puppet regime in Kiev, disarming Ukraine, which would become neutral territory, and ending military cooperation between NATO and Ukraine. Despite his military's poor performance, Putin is certain of victory, as he clearly has Xi's support. On April 8, the Ukrainian army captured two Chinese soldiers. Reacting to the announcement, the US State Department spokeswoman recalled that China is supplying nearly 80% of the dual-use items that Russia needs to support the war.

It seems unlikely to me that Trump will be able, if he wants to, to repeat the distinguished action of Nixon and Kissinger, who succeeded in distancing China from the USSR to end the war in Indochina, because Mao and Khrushchev did not get along: Mao had remained Stalinist.

In 2025, as early as 20 January, the second Trump administration showed deep contempt for the United States' long-standing allies, both in Europe and in the Indo-Pacific. On 20 February, Trump accused Ukraine of being the warmonger, even though Russia's invasion of Crimea and then part of the Donbass dates back to 2014 and Russian aggression has continued to escalate. Trump pretends to forget that in 1994, the United States of America "guaranteed" Ukraine's territorial integrity through the Budapest Memorandum. They confirmed its validity in 2009.

Even before the talks with Putin began, Trump ruled out Ukraine's membership in NATO. On 24 February, a very symbolic date, at the UNO, the United States of America lined up behind Russia, North Korea, Belarus and Nicaragua by voting against a resolution prepared by

Ukraine and its European allies, which proposed to end the war while preserving Ukraine's territorial integrity.[338]

On 28 February, the pitiful spectacle of Trump and his vice president, humiliating President Zelensky, in the presence of the televisions, then ordering him to leave the White House, because he had refused to sign a leonine agreement on the exploitation of Ukrainian minerals, was unworthy of a head of State.

On 3 March, a senior U.S. government official, quoted by Fox News, said that Trump had decided to suspend all supplies of ammunition, vehicles and other equipment to Ukraine, including those in transit or in transit through Poland.[339] On 5 March, CIA chief John Ratcliffe confirmed that the sending of information from American satellite networks and intelligence services had been temporarily halted, to make Ukraine more receptive to peace talks with Russia, as without precise target designations, Ukrainian strikes are struggling to contain the pressure exerted by a larger Russian army whose firepower remains formidable and which is not very sensitive to human losses. The

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[338] See **Clara Hidalgo, Fig Data, « «Les États-Unis ont rejoint le camp des brigands» : l'alliance «historique» entre les Américains et les Russes à l'ONU aura-t-elle des conséquences ? » in *Le Figaro*, https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/les-etats-unis-ont-rejoint-le-camp-des-brigands-l-alliance-historique-entre-les-americains-et-les-russes-a-l-onu-aura-t-elle-des-consequences-20250225, 25/2/2025.**

[339] **Voir Piotr Smolar, "Donald Trump gèle brutalement l'aide militaire à l'Ukraine pour soumettre Volodymyr Zelensky à sa volonté" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2025/03/04/donald-trump-gele-brutalement-l-aide-militaire-a-l-ukraine-pour-soumettre-volodymyr-zelensky-a-sa-volonte_6576145_3210.html, 4/3/2025 ; Andrew Roth, "US has suspended all military aid to Ukraine, White House official says, in wake of Trump-Zelenskyy row" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/mar/04/us-military-aid-ukraine-pause-trump-zelenskyy-updates, 4/3/2025; peer/dpa/AFP/Reuters, "Trump stellt Militärhilfe für Ukraine vorerst ein" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/trump-stellt-militaerhilfe-fuer-ukraine-vorerst-ein-110333803.html, 4/3/2025.**

European Union, which has a satellite centre in Torrejon, and its member States, which have some earth observation satellites, are unfortunately not able to provide Ukraine with the intelligence it needs, due to a lack of analytical capabilities equivalent to those of the Americans.

Despite everything, Ukraine continues to resist, with the support of part of the international community. It knew that in the event of defeat, it risked a genocide on a scale comparable to the Holodomor, the famine of 1932-1933, organized by Stalin to break the resistance of Ukrainian peasants to the collectivization of the land. In just over six months, about 4 million Ukrainian peasants, or one in six, died of starvation.

Since 2014, Russians have not respected international law, humanitarian law and the laws of war in Ukraine: tens of thousands of war crimes have been documented by the Ukrainian authorities and international observers, ranging from torture or executions of Ukrainian prisoners of war to attacks on civilian targets. Everyone remembers the tragic end of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17, which was shot down on 17 July 2014 by a Russian Buk surface-to-air missile. The capture of Mariupol on May 20, 2022, by General Mordvitchev's troops was a bloodbath. He did not hesitate to bomb the theatre and the shelter under it, knowing that at least 600 civilians, including many children, had taken refuge there.

Until the end of Mr. Biden's presidency, the West provided material aid to Ukraine, in order to achieve the withdrawal, attrition or annihilation of the Russian expeditionary force, but even after 24 February 2022, Western weapons systems, especially F-16 fighter jets, long-range missiles, armoured vehicles were only delivered in driblets and after much hesitation, which is disastrous from a military point of view. Contrary to the expectations of proponents of economic sanctions against it, Russia appears to be able to generate the economic resources needed to maintain sufficient

military power to wage the war in Ukraine and, in the longer term, to rearm for a protracted confrontation with the West.[340]

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that, until 31 July 2026, the discussions between Russians and Ukrainians under the aegis of Trump have only led to the exchange of prisoners and dead soldiers, and that the front line is only moving a few km, according to the balance of power of the moment. However, Ukraine's long-range strike capabilities, beyond 1,000 km, have made it possible to strike Moscow and St Petersburg, destroy a significant part of Russia's oil refining and transport capacity, creating fuel shortages in Crimea and Moscow, in particular, and limiting export opportunities, as well as making the situation in Crimea untenable, which is now supplied by Russia only by the Kerch bridge.

What after the war? For when? And how?

To shorten the war, the West, instead of committing to the Minsk agreements, should have decided in 2015 to deliver modern vehicles, artillery pieces and combat aircraft, as well as associated ammunition, long-range anti-aircraft, anti-missile and anti-ship missiles, because the control of their use, as well as the implementation of their logistics, take time. This would have allowed Ukraine to better defend itself against ballistic or cruise missiles, long-range bombers and missile ships, as well as the very many infantry attacks supported by artillery.

Let's hope that the Ukrainians will not be abandoned by the Americans to a cruel fate, unlike what happened in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Syria, Kurdistan or Afghanistan, because the West does not line up behind Trump. The Vietnamese obtained the withdrawal of the

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[340] Richard Connolly, "Russia's Wartime Economy isn't as Weak as it Looks" in *RUSI*, https://www.rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/russias-wartime-economy-isnt-weak-it-looks, 22/1/2025.

American armies, the Afghans obtained the withdrawal of Soviet forces, and the Ukrainians at the end will make Russian troops understand that they have to repass the internationally recognized border again in 1991.

Putin will eventually have to leave power, but who knows when and how that will happen? After its defeat in Afghanistan, after the Chernobyl accident, no one imagined that the end of the USSR was very close. Will Putin remain free until his death? On 3 March 2023, the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, with the support of 40 States members of the Court's Charter, opened an investigation into the widespread war crimes committed in Ukraine by the Russians.

Once Putin's successor is installed, as long as he is not a perpetrator of war crimes, Europe's relations with Russia could resume. The West should demand the dissolution of Putin's army, as was done with the *Wehrmacht*, and the adoption by its replacement of the values, democratic and ethical principles that the *Bundeswehr* owes to the Prussian reformer, General Scharnhorst, as well as to General Wolf von Baudissin, the creator of the *Innere Führung*, who in 1955 conceived the German soldier as a citizen in uniform, capable of thinking for himself and for others, and of acting responsibly.

As after the Second World War, war crimes committed in Ukraine must be punished. The International Criminal Court will not be able to allow the tens of thousands of crimes against humanity and war crimes committed by Russian leaders, military personnel and mercenaries to go unpunished. These crimes are documented. They range from the destruction of road, rail and energy infrastructure, including the Nova Kakhova dam, factories, schools, homes, train stations, hospitals, museums and historical monuments, to crimes against people. Oppression in the occupied territories involves torture of resistance fighters, simple opponents, family members of Ukrainian soldiers or Crimean Tatars. The Russians have tortured and murdered

many captured Ukrainian servicemen and civilians. To Russify the occupied territories, hundreds of children and teenagers were torn from their families by a barbaric occupier, who undertook to indoctrinate these young people taken to Russia.

How should Ukraine prepare for the inevitable return of hostilities?

Since Ukraine cannot capitulate without risking genocide, there will only be a short-lived truce. To prepare for the resumption of combat, the Ukrainian army will have to continue to improve. It has so far failed to manage its human resources as effectively as it should and could have been in wartime. It was not as sparing with the blood of its soldiers as the King of the Belgians, Albert I, was on the Yser front during the First World War. As it is never too late, and a ceasefire is not the return of peace, here are some steps that should be taken, because the war will still be long.

The first step is to replace the killed, prisoners, missing and seriously wounded, who constitute just under half of those who are absent from the units. The others should come back: they may be in training or on leave or they are lightly wounded, or deserters of more or less duration. This is the task of recruitment and training centres, which must have material resources, camps and training equipment, and above all human equipment, especially for cadres. They must be informed of developments on the front, which are very rapid. The French army has developed well-known solutions since the First World War.

Then the right people are to be posted to the right places and deal with new needs: the use of drones, for example, requires more and more personnel. Between the units on the front and the General Staff or the Ministry of Defence, divisional or corps staffs manage the operations of the brigades they command and cover their needs in all areas. These staffs know the needs and they are able to express which recruitments and training are the most suitable.

Quality control is carried out by inspectors delegated by the General Staff or the Ministry of Defence.

Particular attention must be paid to the infantry, which conquers, controls and holds the ground. It must be the first to be equipped, as it suffers about 70% of the losses. However, to accumulate combat experience, it is better to survive. This should not lead to the weakening of the indispensable support and support units without which infantry battalions are not very operational, which would reduce the confidence of volunteers in the human resources management system, in case they are assigned to units where they do not want to go, which produces more casualties and desertions than good infantrymen. Without the skills required by infantry combat and without having confidence in comrades they know well, neophytes sent to the front die or collapse psychologically on average four times more than former people placed in the same conditions. Such training should be conducted at the level of divisions or corps and not at the level of brigades.

The creation of new brigades must be done from old ones that are duplicated, and the operational units must be supervised by people who have been put to the test by fire. The courage of the vast majority of Ukrainian soldiers, and the ingeniousness of some units deserve a well-organized and transparent command, as well as courageous political decision-makers.[341]

The Russian system of force generation is largely based on the poverty of a large part of the population accustomed to living in an authoritarian State, plagued by thieves and corruption, where the police and the judiciary do not protect but impose submission to arbitrariness. Its low geographical mobility limits its prospects of escaping it. Substantial enlistment bonuses and high salaries make people accept the deprivations and risks inherent in

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[341] See Michel Goya, "L'Ukraine et la GRH de guerre" (Ukraine and War HRM) in *La Voie de l'épée*, https://lavoiedelepee.blogspot.com, 15/1/2025.

enlisting in the army, which is still characterized by the brutality of the hierarchy and the scorn for human life. The abuses experienced in Russian prisons are such that the inhumane treatment of foot soldiers may seem an attractive alternative to an inmate, or even to a defendant who could become one. Almost exclusively focused on ethnic minorities and the periphery of the territory, recruitment campaigns largely ignore the Westernized and mobile population of large urban centres.

4.2 Xi's China, caught in Thucydides' trap

Mr. Clinton, when he was President of the United States of America, knew that the Chinese regime is inherently dictatorial, that it ignores human rights, our values, and our freedoms, that its technological progress has been based on intellectual property theft and industrial espionage, that China engages in unfair competition and social dumping,[342] challenge the universality and legitimacy of fundamental social standards to the International Labour Organization. He knew that the international community had failed to respond effectively to attacks and serious human rights violations committed on the orders of the Chinese Communist Party. China has been at war with India since 1962.[343] Tibetans have been badly treated since their

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[342] See Aquilino Morelle, *L'opium des élites. Comment on a défait la France sans faire l'Europe* (*The opium of the elites. How we undid France without making Europe)*, Paris, Grasset, 2021, p. 343.

[343] China has published on the 28th of August 2023 a new map that includes Bolshoi Ussuriysk Island, Arunachal Pradesh, and Aksai Chin, 80% of the South China Sea, as well as Taiwan. Malaysia, Philippines, and Vietnam protested after the map was published. Bolshoi Ussuriysk Island (300 square kilometers), at the confluence of the Amur and Ussuri rivers, has been contested since 1929 by Russia and China. In 2004, it was shared with two equal parts. The conflict that has been ongoing since 1962, between Beijing and India, the world's two most populous countries, two nuclear powers, along a 3,500-kilometer border, has its origin in the McMahon Line, defined by treaty between Tibet and the British in 1914, who incorporated into India Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh, a 75,000 square kilometer State bordering Bhutan, which contains significant mineral and water resources and is home to

country was annexed in 1965. The spring 1989 Tiananmen Square protests were harshly repressed. The Uighurs of Xinjiang, who have been trying sporadically since 1954 to regain their independence, have been the subject of measures described by some as genocidal, including by the French National Assembly,[344] since the 2010s. One million members of this minority are believed to be locked up in forced labour camps in Xinjiang. Others would be forcibly sterilized. Hong Kong's Basic Law of 1990 has been repeatedly violated by Beijing. That didn't stop Clinton from saying in 2012, when China joined the World Trade Organization, that it would accelerate its liberalization, both economically and politically.

Xi, who came to power in 2012, has made the communist regime even more intolerant, aggressive, and nationalistic.

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the Galden Namgey Lhatse monastery, the second largest monastery in Tibet after the Potala in Lhasa. Beijing does not recognize the McMahon Line and has occupied since 1962 the Aksai Chin, an area of 37,000 square kilometers in Ladakh. On March 14, 2023, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution declaring the McMahon Line to be the international border between China and India. See Sophie Landrin, « Le dialogue s'enlise entre la Chine et l'Inde sur leur conflit dans l'Himalaya" (Dialogue bogged down between China and India over their conflict in the Himalayas) in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2023/04/29/le-dialogue-s-enlise-entre-la-chine-et-l-inde-sur-leur-conflit-dans-l-himalaya_6171506_3210.html, 29/4/2023 ; Frédéric Lemaître, « La Chine redéfinit ses frontières avec ses voisins, y compris la Russie » (China redefines borders with neighbours, including Russia) in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2023/09/03/la-chine-redefinit-ses-frontieres-avec-ses-voisins-y-compris-la-russie_6187600_3210.html, 3/9/2023 and the *Standard Map of China* https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202308/28/WS64ec91c2a31035260b81ea5b.html and https://www.wionews.com/world/explained-china-releases-distorted-standard-map-what-exactly-is-the-controversy-630264.

[344] See S.V., AFP, « L'Assemblée nationale adopté une résolution dénonçant le « génocide » des Ouïghours par la Chine » (The National Assembly adopted a resolution denouncing the 'genocide' of the Uyghurs by China) in *BFMTV*, https://www.bfmtv.com/politique/l-assemblee-nationale-adopte-une-resolution-denoncant-le-genocide-des-ouighours-par-la-chine_AD-202201200244.html, 20/1/2022.

Deng Xiaoping had abrogated ideological control over the people, and state and party control over the economy. Xi said this has led to an unprecedented gap between rich and poor, and allowed the Americans to infiltrate China and control part of the Chinese economy. Xi has thus restored ideological control. Under his leadership, the Chinese Communist Party[345] has become increasingly repressive, strictly monitoring the population, including through facial recognition techniques and internet oversight, both for political reasons and to deal with the disastrous effects of the failing development model.

Xi said he wants to fight corruption, combine power, wealth and national renaissance, make people happy and develop the New Silk Roads. However, after ten years in power, corruption persists and if it has reduced poverty and pollution in China, 900 million Chinese still live on less than 2,000 yuan (270 €) per month.

The Chinese Communist Party celebrated its 100th anniversary in 2021 by promising to "smash the head and spill blood" of all those who would intimidate it.[346] Its imperialism is facilitated by the laxity of our political leaders and the short-sightedness of Western economic elites, which led us to an excessive dependence that appeared during the Covid-19 pandemic and when the container ship *Ever Given* temporarily blocked the Suez Canal.

Under Xi, China is trying to dominate Unites Nations governance. It violates the territorial integrity of the South

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[345] According to Pierre Servent, *Le monde de demain* (The world of tomorrow), Paris, Robert Laffont, 2022, p. 219, under Xi, the party runs the government, military, society, and academia. It would have 90 million members for a population of 1.4 billion.

[346] See Frédéric Lemaître, « Xi Jinping a de nombreux ennemis parmi les cadres du parti, mais ils n'ont pas réussi à se coaliser » (Xi Jinping has many enemies among party cadres, but they have failed to coalesce) in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2021/09/15/xi-jinping-a-de-nombreux-ennemis-parmi-les-cadres-du-parti-mais-ils-n-ont-pas-reussi-a-se-coaliser_6094758_3210.html, 15/9/2021.

China Sea littoral States, namely Vietnam, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Brunei, by building multiple islets which it is over-militarising, to monopolize the exclusive economic zone that surrounds them. It is threatening the liberal States of the Indo-Pacific, especially Australia. In this area, it contests the presence of Europeans, including France in New Caledonia, by supporting the Kanak separatists. Japan, Vietnam, Singapore, the Philippines, and Indonesia saw their sea lines of communication to Europe controlled by the Chinese navy. France, which has the second largest maritime domain in the world, perceived a threat to freedom of navigation in the Indo-Pacific, as did Great Britain, but they were disarmed.[347] In Nepal, the Kingdom of Bhutan, and Kashmir, India and China are vying for control of access to water, economic corridors, areas of military deployment, with money, development aid, promises of political support, and armaments.[348] Canada, Denmark, and Norway are taking umbrage at China's continued presence in the Arctic.

Xi also wants to annex Taiwan. On June 16, 2022, after a meeting between Chinese and U.S. defence ministers, a Chinese spokesperson said, "If anyone dares to separate Taiwan from China, the Chinese military will not hesitate for a moment to start a war, no matter the cost."[349] Taiwan is of interest to Westerners. His democratic regime contrasts with communist totalitarianism. Through the Taiwan Strait

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[347] sn, "La Belt and Road Initiative : une stratégie maritime chinoise" (The Belt and Road Initiative: A Chinese Maritime Strategy) in *Brèves marines*, No. 246, https://cesm.marine.defense.gouv.fr/images/breves/BM-246---BRI-2.pdf, January 2022.

[348] China has deployed in Xinjiang and Tibet, facing India, 33-ton light tanks, capable of operating above 4,300 m altitude and armed with a 105 mm gun. See Gabriel Dominguez, "Type 15 light tank enters service in Xinjiang" in *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 10/02/2021.

[349] AFP, "La Chine "n'hésitera pas à déclencher une guerre" pour Taïwan" (China 'will not hesitate to start a war' for Taiwan) in *La Libre*, https://www.lalibre.be/international/asie/2022/06/10/la-chine-nhesitera-pas-a-declencher-une-guerre-pour-taiwan-7QLGNYW7SBCXVAXJ3SAT7VYZYE/, 10/6/2022.

passes traffic from South Korea and Japan to Europe. The island accounts for 63% of the world's semiconductor production. Its eastern coast provides access to deep waters, the only ones where Chinese ballistic missile submarines are safe, which is hardly the case of 14,000 km of Chinese coastline.

In the rest of the world, China exerts multiple pressures, for example to prevent the organization of an exhibition on Mongolia in France. It carries out numerous cyberattacks, it practices disinformation and hacking. It ignores democracy, the separation of powers, the rule of law, fundamental freedoms, particularly those of the press, expression and worship, and universal, free and multi-party suffrage.[350]

Xi helped show that globalization is not necessarily synonymous with world peace, widespread prosperity, and the development of democracy, that economic liberalization does not necessarily lead to political opening-up. Improving the living standards of China's middle class **does not elicit** a strong demand for freedom. This middle class can use social media, under surveillance: it is forbidden to use it politically. It can travel abroad and does not take advantage of it to stay there, especially because capital outflow is difficult. On the other hand, the free competition of ideas other than political is a fact, **because it helps to strengthen Chinese power. China's skewed partnership with the West has allowed it to multiply its GDP 30-fold in 40 years, giving Xi the economic, technological, and military means to promote a new autocratic-friendly international order and to pose the greatest threat to the West.**

China's defence effort, which is about 2% of GDP, has grown faster than its GDP, rising from $5 billion in 1989 to $224 billion in 2023. [351] **China and its allies challenge the**

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[350] See Aquilino Morelle, *L'opium des élites. Comment on a défait la France sans faire l'Europe*, op.cit., p. 398-400.

[351] According to the American Enterprise Institute, China spends $711 billion a year on its military. In March 2024, the Chinese authorities

West's supremacy in cyberspace and near-Earth space. China would substantially increase the number of missiles capable of striking the American mainland.[352] Mr. Smith, the director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), told the *Agence France-Presse* that China has increased its stockpile from 350 to 410 nuclear warheads. India, Pakistan, North Korea, and Russia increased their stocks by 4.477 to 4.489 warheads, while the other nuclear powers have kept them stable.[353]

The People's Liberation Army is two million strong. It has the largest air force in the Indo-Pacific region, with more than half of its aircraft being fourth or fifth generation.[354] Since 2014, China has built the equivalent of the British and French navies, outclassing those of Russia and India, but if the Chinese fleet has more ships[355] than that of the United

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announced a 7.2% increase in defence spending. See Mitch McConnell, "The Price of American Retreat" in *Foreign Affairs*, January / February 2025, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/price-american-retreat-trump-mitch-mcconnell?utm_medium=promo_email&utm_source=fa_edit&utm_campaign=pre_release_mcconnell_b&utm_content=20241216&utm_term=ESZZZ004D4, 16/12/2024.

[352] See Gabriel Dominguez, « China to field more nuclear weapons that can target the United States, says report » in *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 20/01/2021.

[353] See AFP, " La Chine a augmenté son arsenal nucléaire dans un contexte de tensions globales croissantes " in *Connaissance des énergies*, https://www.connaissancedesenergies.org/afp/la-chine-augmente-son-arsenal-nucleaire-dans-un-contexte-de-tensions-globales-croissantes-230612, 12/6/2023.

[354] See Voice of America News, "China Expands Defense Budget 7.2%, Marking Slight Increase" in *Defense-aerospace.com,* https://www.defense-aerospace.com/china-expands-defense-budget-7-2-marking-slight-increase/?utm_source=mailpoet&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=les-newslettertotal-derniers-articles-de-notre-blog-11, 5/3/2023.

[355] United States of America retain the first force projection capability; they have 11 aircraft carriers of 100,000 tons. China has only two aircraft carriers (the Liaoning and the Shandong), and one aircraft carrier, Fujian, which is comparable to American aircraft carriers Ford and Kennedy, except that it is not equipped with a nuclear power

States of America, the latter has 11 aircraft carriers of 100,000 tons. China is only beginning to acquire the technology needed to construct and operate these complex ships.

To deploy its fleet, China needs ports and airports elsewhere than in countries that its rise and aggressiveness worry and unite against it, such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, the European territories of the Indo-Pacific zone, India, and the United States of America. In addition, Tuvalu, Marshall, Palau and Nauru recognize Taiwan. That is why, in 2013, Xi launched the Belt and Road Initiative, allegedly to ensure the security of sea lanes to the Middle East and guarantee energy supply. It is turning against China because trade is unbalanced, and Chinese loans are too high. Many countries that have received Chinese funding or investment are now developing strong anti-Chinese sentiment.

That is why the Chinese Foreign Minister visited East Timor, Papua New Guinea, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa from 2 6May to 4 June 2023, to sign bilateral security and economic agreements. These include agriculture, which allows the Chinese to settle on land, fishing, humanitarian assistance, disaster response, which allows ships to be sent, and investment, which helps to take control of telecommunications, ports, or airports.[356] China has also established two major military bases, in Cambodia and Djibouti. All that is needed is sufficient logistical arrangements to support expeditionary operations, due to a lack of reliable partners.

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source. See sn, "Armed to the teeth" in *Jane's Defense Weekly*, https://emagzines.janes.com/webviewer, 31/01/2023.

[356] See Nathalie Guibert, « Le but de la Chine est de bouter les Etats-Unis hors du Pacifique » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2022/06/03/le-but-de-la-chine-est-de-bouter-les-etats-unis-hors-du-pacifique_6128852_3210.html, 3/6/2022.

Xi wants before the centenary of the Maoists' coming to power in 1949, to erase with his *Hard Power* the humiliation **that China** has suffered since the first Opium War (1839-1842) **and therefore to bring it to the** forefront economically, strategically, and ideologically. He sees China's "socialist" ideology crowding out the Western model, **whereas totalitarian communis seemed a few years ago doomed to wither away.**

This probably explains why his position within the Communist Party was confirmed by the 20th Congress in October 2022, despite his disastrous management of the Covid-19 pandemic and the economy. He won a third presidential term on 9 March 2023, a first since Mao, but the Chinese, although accustomed to totalitarianism, ended up in November 2022 by indignant at the government's inability to effectively vaccinate vulnerable elderly people, to provide pharmacies with antiviral drugs and fever remedies, as well as to learn from the experience of other countries and the territory of Hong Kong. The imposition of the Chinese vaccine, which is less effective than Western vaccines, and the clear gap between propaganda and facts, have turned outrage into anger, which has been amplified by the finding that authorities punish those who tell the truth, as was the case in Wuhan when the pandemic broke out. Xi had to abandon his zero-Covid policy. On the other hand, in response to the wish of the Chinese Communist Party, which aspires to control the media, political systems, populations and access to natural resources, Xi closes China in on itself, increases protectionism, watches helplessly as its foreign trade is reduced, tries in vain to develop domestic demand and represses supporters of political liberalism, and the Uyghur minority.[357] Li Qiang, a close associate of Xi Jinping, was appointed China's premier on March 11, despite his chaotic handling of the lockdown in Shanghai, where he was in charge of the Communist Party.

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[357] See Kevin Rudd, « Sur la Chine, les Américains n'ont pas de stratégie » in *Le Monde*, 11-12/8/2019, p. 2.

There is little opposition to this in China. Since Confucius, the rights of the community have taken precedence over those of the individuals who compose it, while our social life is based on the balance between individual human rights and its duties vis-à-vis the community. This debate is not only cultural, it also concerns the economic and social sphere, with China challenging in the International Labour Organization the universality and legitimacy of fundamental social norms.

Xi's new economic concept of decoupling China from the West and regaining control of big business has undermined investor confidence, particularly in the technology sector, which is most resistant to control and repression.[358] This does not help address the structural problems that make China vulnerable.[359] The ageing of the Chinese population is the most serious on earth, because the one-child policy has been maintained too rigorously and for too long. The number of Chinese of working age is already decreasing.

Municipalities and the real estate sector are over-indebted. The Central Bank cannot therefore support growth with accommodative monetary policy. The Chinese government has to do with indecisive measures, such as reducing the first down payment on mortgages and mortgage rates. This will not be enough to revive the real estate market, which accounts for about a quarter of China's economy. Two years after the problems encountered by the developer *Evergrande, Country Garden* is struggling to pay the interest on its bonds which could contaminate the financial sector and the rest of the Chinese economy. To help banks, the central bank has reduced the foreign exchange reserves they must hold to 4% of the capital instead of 6%, which helps

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[358] See Céline Boulenger, "Les nombreuses faiblesses de l'économie chinoise" (The many weaknesses of the Chinese economy) in *AGEFI-Luxembourg*, June 2022, p. 12.

[359] See Toshi Yoshihara, Jack Bianchi, "Seizing on Weakness: Allied Strategy for Competing With China's Globalizing Military" in *Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessment*, https://csbaonline.org/research/publications/seizing-on-weakness-allied-strategy-for-competing-with-chinas-globalizing-military, 4/1/2021.

support the yuan and grant new mortgages, but risks undermining the confidence of savers.

To hide his domestic failures, Xi is active on the international stage. He denounces the acts of hegemony, despotism, and intimidation by Westerners and particularly by Americans. He helps North Korea increase its strategic forces, both in terms of missiles and nuclear weapons.[360] In the Middle East, he obtained, on 10 March 2023, the resumption of diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran, after a break of 7 years. He does not condemn Putin's aggression in Ukraine, as he considers that it is part of the Russian sphere of influence.[361] He supports Russia, politically and economically. It is costing him dearly, because President Biden has kept the trade sanctions decided by Trump and he has added new ones. *The Executive Order* signed in July 2023 prohibits Americans from investing in China in artificial intelligence, quantum computers and semiconductors. On 7 October 2022, President Biden banned the export of advanced semiconductors to China. As a result, Hewlett Packard is investing to produce in Thailand, Vietnam, and Mexico. Dell wants to get out of China. Sony has done the same for 90% of its cameras, now producing in China only for the domestic market. Apple is going to India and Southeast

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[360] See Gabriel Dominguez & Dae Young Kim, "North Korea expands number of ballistic missile units, says Seoul" in *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 10/02/2021.

[361] The war in Ukraine has made Russia increasingly dependent on China, especially economically: more than 40% of Russian imports come from China, which provides raw materials and electronic components essential to the war effort. Chinese imports of Russian oil increased by 8% in 2022, Russian gas imports by 50%. This partly explains why Western sanctions have had less effect on the Russian economy than expected. Russia's budget deficit, however, widened after the West set price ceilings and imposed embargoes on Russian oil and gas exports. See Pjotr Sauer, Amy Hawkins, " 'Good old friend': Putin offers praise for Xi ahead of first trip to Russia since Ukraine invasion " in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/mar/20/xi-set-to-visit-russia-in-trip-that-will-reaffirm-ties-with-putin-china, 20/3/2023.

Asia. These divestments are in addition to the 80% decline in 2022 in the amounts invested in China by American venture capital funds. In retaliation, China restricts its exports of gallium and germanium, which are needed to produce certain electronic components.[362]

China's economy is weakened by more than two years of "zero Covid" policy. At the beginning of the second half of 2023, it tipped into deflation. The price index declined 0.3% in July. In the 1st half of the year GDP growth was limited to 0.8%. The economy is no longer driven as in the past years by Huawei, Alibaba, Tencent, TikTok and real estate. Exports fell 14.2% in July, due to weak international demand and the effect of sanctions imposed on the West over its support for Russia. The real estate sector is in crisis. Domestic demand is weak, especially for cars and housing. The Chinese are saving as a precaution, because what they have invested in real estate is depreciating outside Beijing, Shenzhen and Shanghai, and social security is ungenerous. Most of the 290 million migrant workers are excluded.[363]

The over-indebtedness of local authorities prevents the government from taking stimulus measures to compensate for the fall in foreign investment. The youth unemployment rate has reached 21%, double what it is in the United Kingdom and almost three times the American rate. The annual graduation of 11-12 million students over the summer exacerbates the difficulties of finding suitable employment, as most jobs are in the informal economy and are low-paid and low-skilled, compared with the better-quality jobs in manufacturing and construction. Under Xi Jinping's leadership, China has generated a mountain of bad loans, not useful or unprofitable transport infrastructure and real estate, excess production capacity, for example in the coal, steel, solar panels, and electric

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[362] See Claudia Cohen, Lucas Mediavilla, « Les États-Unis intensifient leur « guerre de la tech » contre la Chine » in *Le Figaro,* 14/8/2023, p. 22.
[363] See Armelle Bonheust, « La Chine encalminée plonge en déflation » in *Le Figaro*, 10/8/2023, p. 22.

vehicle sectors. Productivity is no longer growing, and China has one of the highest levels of inequality in the world.[364]

China, however, benefits from its past investments in scientific and technological research. It leads the United States of America in the technology race in 37 of 44 critical and emerging areas, it shines in electric batteries, hypersonics, nanoscale materials and manufacturing, hydrogen and ammonia for energy, synthetic biology and 5th and 6th generation communications. Americans are now leading in only seven technologies, such as vaccines, quantum computing and space launch systems. India, the United Kingdom, South Korea, Germany, Australia, Italy and Japan keep only a few strong points.[365]

Former US Secretary of Defence Robert M. Gates estimated in 2023 that China had more warships than the Americans, that it had modernized and restructured its conventional forces, that it had almost doubled its strategic nuclear forces, that it had improved its command and control system, that it was strengthening its capabilities in space and cyberspace, that it was the largest trading partner of more than 120 countries, including almost all of the countries of South America, that it was involved in the development of infrastructure in more than 140 countries, that it owned, managed or had invested in more than 100 ports in some sixty countries, that it had an extensive propaganda network to highlight the decline of the West,

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[364] See George Magnus, "China's recent economic woes suggest there is something seriously amiss" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2023/aug/11/china-economic-problems-show-things-are-seriously-amiss, 11/8/2023.

[365] See Daniel Hurst, "China leading US in technology race in all but a few fields, thinktank finds" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/mar/02/china-leading-us-in-technology-race-in-all-but-a-few-fields-thinktank-finds, 2/3/2023.

erode trust in international institutions and praise China's model of development and governance.[366]

China is challenging American hegemony economically, scientifically, and militarily, as Germany did vis-à-vis Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century. There is therefore a real risk of confrontation, which could come from a series of uncontrolled incidents.[367] President Biden's closest aides are doing everything they can to reduce tension with China, while remaining firm, including on export controls on advanced technologies. On 20 July 2023, Henry Kissinger was received in Beijing by Xi Jinping, Wang Yi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Li Shangfu, the Minister of Defence, much more warmly than previous American visitors, Janet Yellen, Secretary of State for the Treasury, Anthony Blinken, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, John Kerry, Special Envoy for Climate and Bill Burns, CIA Director. Li Shangfu recently refused to receive Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin. Yellen recently pointed out that the U.S. and Chinese economies remain highly interdependent, and that decoupling would be irresponsible. On 27 April, Biden's national security adviser, Jake Sullivan, proposed a New Deal-inspired new U.S. strategy encompassing politics, geopolitics, national security, economics, and trade, to replace the strategy of the 1980s, which based American power on economic liberalization, free trade and reducing the role of the State. Mr. Sullivan proposes much stronger State intervention in the economy, including industrial policies linked to the national security strategy, particularly vis-à-vis China. This will force Europe, Japan, South Korea, etc., to develop their own industrial policies.

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[366] Voir Robert M. Gates, "The Dysfunctional Superpower. Can a Divided America Deter China and Russia?" in *Foreign Affairs*, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/robert-gates-america-china-russia-dysfunctional-superpower?, 29/9/2023.

[367] See Martin Bernier, "Pour Kissinger, il y a un vrai risque de confrontation entre Américains et Chinois" in *Le Figaro*, 1/8/2023, p. 19.

What attitude to adopt towards M. Xi?

China, a rising power,[368] challenges the American hegemon. As Pericles taught us, the hegemon has no choice but to destroy the challenger or submit to him. This is Thucydides' trap, which Xi invoked to warn Trump during his state visit to China on 14 May 2026.[369]

The conditions are ripe for escalation. The Americans want to remain the sole superpower. In Washington, some politicians want a trade war, to force the Chinese to respect intellectual property, to stop illegal technology transfers, to limit state subsidies to companies, to guarantee the military status quo. Others want to cut China off from financial markets, limit its companies' access to financial centres, restrict bank credit, as is the case with Venezuela and Iran, to prevent China from rising further. Still other Americans aim to block China's Silk Roads and territorial claims in the South China Sea, including through naval operations and banning U.S. and allied firms from aiding Chinese technological development.

Xi is questioning maritime rules, curbing freedom of navigation and seeking to control key straits essential to shipping between Southeast Asia and Europe. As a result, U.S. ships accept calculated tactical risks and a more assertive stance in day-to-day operations, to stop aggression, expansionism and violations of international law, especially in the South China Sea.[370] Confrontation is likely in the coming decade, but it is not inevitable, as America may choose to make Mr. Xi understand that restoring his economic growth requires him to moderate his

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[368] Becoming a power depends on demography, technical-scientific innovation, economy, international trade, and military capabilities.

[369] See Célian Boulens, « Donald Trump a-t-il compris le « Piège de Thucydide » ? » in *Revue de Défense nationale*, https://www.defnat.com/e-RDN/affiche_breve.php?cid=949, 18/5/2026.

[370] See Helen Davidson, "US Navy to adopt 'more assertive posture' against China and Russia" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/dec/18/us-navy-to-adopt-more-assertive-posture-against-china-and-russia, 18/10/2020.

military spending and aggressiveness and then, as Nixon and Kissinger did, to pit China against Russia.[371]

President Biden has improved the preparedness of his armed forces, including the Coast Guards and National Guards, for future military conflicts, as U.S. operations in recent decades have mostly clashed with jihadists and not a modern military like China's. He knew that, in the conflict between the West and the bloc formed by China, Russia, North Korea, Pakistan and Iran, the Americans will need, in particular, Canada, Japan, Australia, India, and Europe.[372] That is why he has revitalized its network of allies and partners, undermined by the priority that the former American presidents have given to their national interest, to the detriment of the Indochinese, Iranians, Somalis, Iraqis, Afghans, Kurds, etc., who had trusted them. Trump is reviving this old practice.

Like the United States of America, Europe must redefine its relations with China. On 30 March 2023, von der Leyen said that in the face of China's desire to become the most powerful nation in the world, Europe must take note of the fact that China has become more repressive at home and more aggressive abroad. Nevertheless, knowing that China accounts for 9% of our exports and more than 20% of our imports, the President of the European Commission was counting on China to curb climate change and improve nature protection while claiming to have a firmer attitude

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[371] See Marc-Olivier Bherer, Guerre en Ukraine : « Nous avons quitté l'ancien monde dans lequel l'économie a, pendant trente ans, dominé le politique » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2022/05/02/guerre-en-ukraine-nous-avons-quitte-l-ancien-monde-dans-lequel-l-economie-a-pendant-trente-ans-domine-le-politique_6124404_3232.html, 2/5/2022.

[372] See Jean-Yves Heurtebise, « Pour être sûr que la troisième guerre mondiale n'aura pas lieu, il faut voir qu'elle est en train de commencer et savoir s'y préparer » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2021/07/16/pour-etre-sur-que-la-troisieme-guerre-mondiale-n-aura-pas-lieu-il-faut-voir-qu-elle-est-en-train-de-commencer-et-savoir-s-y-preparer_6088399_3232.html, 16/8/2021.

towards it.[373] She presented China as a rival, partner, and competitor. von der Leyen believed she could dissociate the political, economic and climate fields in her relations with Beijing and distance herself from Biden, by accompanying Macron in their useless, even harmful, visit to Xi on 6 and 7 April 2023 because, unlike Biden, neither Macron nor her, do not have the demographics and military capabilities of their policy. Like Scholz and Sánchez, their visit to Xi made him to believe he can divide the West.

In 2019, in the first edition of this book, I suggested that China's leaders, rather than maintaining, like Kaiser Wilhelm II, a potentially suicidal revanchist attitude, should reinstate Deng Hsiao-Ping's precepts: individual freedoms within the framework of the socialist market economy at home and appeased relations with the rest of the world and complement them with a move towards political and economic democracy, **in order to** make China a developed, liberalized and open country. **Unfortunately, Xi has chosen to close this country, which is reducing** its foreign trade; he is **increasing** protectionism, trying to **develop** domestic demand and **repressing** the supporters of political liberalism, **particularly but not only** in Hong Kong**, as well as the Uighurs and Tibetans**.[374] **The Chinese economy is suffering of it: productivity is stagnating because of the party's fussy control over companies and the demotivation of the population, in particular because of the collapse of the real estate sector.**

Nevertheless, Xi has chosen to escalate; he has sanctioned 14 European companies, including Rheinmetall, banning the sale of dual-use goods to them, in response to EU

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[373] See **Nicolas Gros-Verheyde, "Il faut définir une attitude plus ferme avec la Chine. Dixit U. von der Leyen" in *Bruxelles2*, https://club.bruxelles2.eu/2023/03/actualite-il-faut-definir-une-attitude-plus-ferme-avec-la-chine-dixit-u-von-der-leyen/?utm_source=mailpoet&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=b2pro-notif-article, 30/3/2023.**

[374] Kevin Rudd, « Sur la Chine, les Américains n'ont pas de stratégie » (On China, the Americans have no strategy) in *Le Monde*, 11-12/8/2019, p. 2.

sanctions against 14 firms from China and Hong Kong, because of their support for the Russian military industry.[375]

The Americans and their allies should oppose Xi's ambitions, otherwise he will feel free to conquer Taiwan, then the Western Pacific, and then impose himself in the Middle East.[376] By responding vigorously to Chinese expansion, the Americans and their allies can force Beijing to allocate its resources, which remain limited. They should credibly demonstrate their ability to endanger Chinese forces and economy and conduct a coordinated diplomatic and information counteroffensive. They should draw the attention of States doing business with China to the risks of dependence on it and demonstrate their ability to protect them through multinational naval exercises in the nearby seas, showing that Chinese aggression would be countered by a coalition response. With the unpredictable Trump, will this be possible?

4.3 Turkey, with one foot in each camp

Erdoğan, born in 1954 in Istanbul, was elected mayor in 1994. In 2002, he won the legislative elections and in 2003 he became prime minister. This populist has been able to rally pious and disadvantaged voters, the business community, the Kurds and people disappointed by the Republican People's Party (CHP) founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the father of modern Turkey. It is facing rural exodus and population growth: in 1954, Istanbul had 1.5 million inhabitants, in 2023, 16 million.

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[375] **See AFP, " En soutien à Poutine, la Chine sanctionne les Européens" (In support of Putin, China sanctions Europeans) in *Blick*, https://www.blick.ch/fr/monde/ukraine-en-soutien-a-poutine-la-chine-sanctionne-leurope-id22132310.html, 24/7/2026.**

[376] **See Gabriel Dominguez, "China authorises coast guard's use of firepower against foreign vessels" » in *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 25/01/2021.**

Turkey has been a candidate for EU membership, unofficially since the 1960s and officially since 1987, but the EU did not grant it candidate status until 1999. M. Erdoğan has therefore set out to seduce the Belgian and German leaders of the European People's Party. As early as 2003, they considered him a "Muslim-democrat". They considered welcoming his Justice and Development Party (AKP) into the "European People's Party", one of the seven political groups in the European Parliament, made up of MEPs from fourteen centre-right parties, six of which call themselves Christian Democrats. However, Mr. Erdoğan refused to recognise the Republic of Cyprus and did not question the Turkish army's occupation of the north of the island of Cyprus, which dates back to 1974, nor the existence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which Turkey created in 1983 but has not been able to have internationally recognised.

After Cyprus' entry into the EU in 2004, relations between Turkey and the EU deteriorated. Erdoğan became increasingly intolerant, authoritarian and imperialist. He seems to have taken as a model the sultan and caliph Suleiman II the Magnificent (1494-1566). Having conquered part of Hungary, the latter besieged Vienna in 1529, but in vain. This did not prevent him from adding the title of Emperor of Europe to his titles the following year,[377] which frightened Europeans, and in particular the humanist and pacifist Erasmus.[378] In his opus of 1530, *De bello turcico* (On the War against the Turks),[379] he vainly exhorted the sovereigns of the West to unite their efforts to drive the Ottomans out of our countries.[380] "No political

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[377] **Jean-Pierre Vanden Branden, *Érasme et son temps. Trente essais d'études érasmiennes*, Bruxelles, Rotary club Bruxelles Érasme, 2022, p. 21.**

[378] **Erasmus is born in Rotterdam in 1469 and died in Basel in 1536.**

[379] **A copy of this work published in Basel in 1530 is kept in the splendid Erasmus House in Anderlecht. See https://collections.heritage.brussels/fr/objects/55255.**

[380] **Jean-Pierre Vanden Branden, *Érasme et son temps. Trente essais d'études érasmiennes*, op.cit., p. 21.**

event [has] shaken [Erasmus] so much as the advance of the Turks. In hundreds of letters,[381] he wrote that rivalries between Christian princes are ruining Christendom. [He] tirelessly repeats that it is becoming more and more urgent to unite European forces. But no one listens to Erasmus because no one wants or can understand the language of reason. ".[382]

From July 14 to September 12, 1683, the Ottoman army besieged Vienna again, until a Polish army, led by King John III Sobiewski, routed it. This began the withdrawal of the Turks from Central and Eastern Europe, but the Ottoman Empire did not collapse until 1917. The Treaty of Sèvres of 1920, which carved it up, was replaced, following the Greek rout of 1922, by the Treaty of Lausanne of 24 July 1923, which was very advantageous for Turkey, but which kept most of the islands of the Aegean Sea in Greece, thus severely restricting the Turkish maritime domain. That is why Erdoğan rejects it. He also challenged the sovereignty and integrity of Bulgaria, Greece and Cyprus, as he sought to monopolize part of Thrace and the Aegean islands.[383] He wants to exploit a portion of the resources of the Greek exclusive economic zone. He does not hesitate to put pressure on his neighbours thanks to his military capabilities. Its armies have 425,000 soldiers out of 84 million inhabitants and a budget twice as large as that of the Greek forces,[384] although the latter have 142,000 soldiers,

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[381] They contain one hundred and sixty allusions to the Turkish threat. See in particular sn, *Correspondance d'Érasme*, vol IX, L 2366 and 2399, Brussels, Université Libre de Bruxelles & Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Institut Interuniversitaire pour l'Étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme.

[382] Jean-Pierre Vanden Branden, *Erasmus and his time. Trente essais d'études érasmiennes*, op. cit., pp. 123-124, 128, 129.

[383] Nicolas Bourcier, Marina Rafenberg, " Entre la Grèce et la Turquie, les tensions s'accentuent " in *Le Monde*, , https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2022/11/14/entre-la-grece-et-la-turquie-les-tensions-s-accentuent_6149805_3210.html, 14/11/2022.

[384] See sn, « Le français Nexter vise l'acquisition du grec ELVO pour le remplacement du segment médian de l'Armée de Terre hellénique » in

out of a population of 10.6 million, and obtain 3.6% of the GDP.

The fact that since 2011 the reception of 4 million Syrian refugees despite an unemployment rate of 10% has not pleased the Turks. The Kurdish community has partly turned away from Erdoğan, because he treated it very badly in Turkey, Iraq and Syria. As of 2013, Erdoğan has blurred his image: he has shown himself to be close to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, while presenting himself as the political leader of the Turkish speakers, hence his alliance with Azerbaijan, even though it is of the Shiite faith. However, the Sunni Arabs do not envisage a new era of Turkish dominance and the Turkish speaking Shiites are not going to submit to a Sunni. Erdoğan's popularity has therefore plummeted. Private investment has decreased. Economic growth has become uneven. Nevertheless, Erdoğan was elected president in 2014. In 2015, he used Syrian refugee flows and illegal migration movements to put pressure on Europeans, which significantly distanced Turkey's prospect of EU membership.

In July 2016, a coup d'état, either failed or feigned, led to the increase of presidential powers, the weakening of the judiciary, the press and parliament, and the repression of tens of thousands of opponents, real or perceived, including members of the Gülen brotherhood,[385] soldiers, magistrates, teachers and journalists. The number of people detained has doubled in Turkey since 2011, it is the second highest in

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***Meta-Defense.fr*, https://meta-defense.fr/2023/04/04/le-francais-nexter-vise-lacquisition-du-grec-elvo-pour-le-remplacement-du-segment-median-de-larmee-de-terre-hellenique/, 4/4/2023.**

[385] See Charlotte Oberti, " Turquie : la confrérie Gülen, entre secte et franc-maçonnerie" in *France24*, https://www.france24.com/fr/20131227-turquie-confrerie-guelen-entre-secte-franc-maconnerie-erdogan, 27/12/2013. Mr. Gülen passed away on 20/10/2024. See Daren Butler, "Gulen, the powerful cleric accused of orchestrating a Turkish coup, dies" in *Reuters*, https://www.reuters.com/world/us/turkish-us-based-cleric-gulen-has-died-media-says-2024-10-21/, 21/10/2024.

Europe per thousand inhabitants, after Russia, and it is triple the European average.

The 2016 agreement between the EU and Turkey, which allowed for a strong limit on the arrival of migrants in Greece and Bulgaria in exchange for the payment of €3 billion in 2016 and another €3 billion in 2018, has been poorly implemented. The EU has been slow to pay, not least because Turkey's cumbersome municipal and government bureaucracies, those of the World Food Programme, the World Organization for Migration and the EU have slowed down procedures.[386] The negotiations on the modernisation of the EU-Turkey customs union and its extension to services, as well as accession negotiations, have been frozen by the EU.[387] Nevertheless, the EU remains Turkey's leading trading partner, with 41% of trade, but this is declining.

Turkey has been in NATO since 1952, but its geostrategic positioning has changed a lot. For a long time, the faithful ally of the United States of America, it now appears as a free electron. In 2017, it bought Russian S-400 anti-aircraft missiles, which Mr. Biden sanctioned in 2020: it lost the production of 900 parts of the F-35 fighter jet, including the central part of the fuselage. Turkey depends on Russia for energy, wheat, steel, tourists, etc.

Erdoğan was re-elected president in 2018, with increased powers that allowed him to take control of the central bank and support economic growth through the expansion of cheap credit and public spending, which benefits the construction sector. Nevertheless, in 2019, the AKP lost local elections in the big cities. The Turkish military

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[386] See Leonor Hubaut, "Où sont passés les six-milliards promis par l'Europe à la Turquie ? " in *Bruxelles2*, https://www.bruxelles2.eu/2020/03/ou-sont-passes-les-six-milliards-promis-par-leurope-a-la-turquie/?utm_source=mailpoet&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=les-newsletter-total-derniers-articles-de-notre-blog_2, 17/3/2020.

[387] A chapter on financial and budgetary provisions had been opened, as provided for in the migration pact.

intervention against the Kurds in northern Syria questioned our common successes in the fight against Daesh.

While UN member States must cooperate in monitoring inspections of the embargo on arms shipments to Libya decided by the Security Council, Turkey has repeatedly denied the EU operation "EUNAVFOR MED IRINI" permission to board and inspect vessels suspected of violating the embargo. This facilitated the conclusion of an energy deal between Turkey and Libya, establishing new maritime borders from southwestern Turkey to northeastern Libya, through an area claimed by Greece and Cyprus. Ankara, which is not a signatory to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, disputes that some Greek islands have exclusive economic zones. This point is a source of contention even more acute as the Eastern Mediterranean is rich in hydrocarbons.[388] Erdoğan had also oil and gas drilling carried out in Cypriot waters.

From February 24, 2022, Erdoğan helped Ukraine, firstly by banning the passage through the straits of Russian warships from the Northern and Pacific fleets to reinforce the Black Sea fleet. He then supplied many combat drones to Ukraine. Erdoğan has also helped Ukraine resume food exports.

On 3 September 2022, Erdoğan threatened to strike Athens with the "Tayfun" missile[389] and recalled the Greek defeat of 1922.[390] The EU High Representative (HR) limited himself to calling for the disputes to be settled peacefully.

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[388] See Nicolas Bourcier, Marina Rafenberg, "Entre la Grèce et la Turquie, les tensions s'accentuent », op. cit.

[389] dpa, "Erdogan droht Athen indirekt mit Raketenangriff" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/erdogan-droht-athen-indirekt-mit-raketenangriff-18527687.html , 11/12/2022.

[390] See *TRT World*, https://www.trtworld.com/video/social-videos/erdogan-to-greece-if-you-go-further-you-will-pay-a-heavy-price/63135d2adfcf4c0017524f83, sd.

During the February 2023 earthquake in Turkey, thousands of buildings collapsed, causing an estimated 50,000 deaths. One million inhabitants were displaced. An area the size of Germany was in ruins. Many Turks hold Erdoğan responsible for this situation. More voters want more effective governance. Due to the poor political and economic situation, the number of young Turks with higher education who apply for political asylum in Belgium has tripled in one year, the number of applications for economic reasons has doubled.[391]

In the presidential elections of 14 May 2023, Kılıçdaroğlu, the candidate of the opposition, a coalition of six parties, disappointed. After relying on a message of hope rather than fear, compromise rather than confrontation, he then blurred his image by adopting xenophobic language towards refugees, mainly Syrians, to rally far-right voices. His defeat also stems from what he neglected to make a campaign in Europe and particularly in Germany, where 3 million Turks reside, of whom only 732,000 voted, 67% of them for Erdoğan. Kılıçdaroğlu didn't even try to convince the others to vote for him. Although a second round was necessary, for the first time in 20 years, but Erdoğan won, by 52.2% of the vote. His party also won the legislative elections. The Turks have preferred to be subject to an autocratic regime, where dissent is absent, the economy is sluggish and corruption is growing, instead of being members of a democracy in which the people is sovereign. The centenary of the Turkish Republic, in 2023, did not mark a return to the values that were those of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.[392]

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[391] See Kubra Mayda, "Aantal Turken dat in België asiel aanvraagt, is verdrievoudigd" in *From Standaard*, https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20230508_95824900, 09/05/2023.

[392] On 5 November 2023, Mr Kiliçdaroglu was stripped of his mandate as chairman of the Republican People's Party, and replaced by Mr Ozel, 49, MP for Izmir, supported by the mayor of Istanbul, Mr Imamoglu. See Nicolas Bourcier, "En Turquie, l'opposition tourne la page Kiliçdaroglu avec l'élection de Özgür Özel, candidat « au

Erdoğan has polarized his country, but he has strengthened Turkey's position as a regional military power, not only in Asia, but also in the Balkans. It is in this capacity that, on 3 June 2023, Turkey announced that it would send commandos to Kosovo, in response to a NATO request to join the peacekeeping operation, following the unrest in the north of the country since ethnic Albanian mayors took office in the Serb-majority region, because the Serbian population boycotted the April elections.[393]

Erdoğan appointed his new cabinet on June 3, 2023, the day it took 21 Turkish liras to buy one dollar.[394] The Turkish lira has lost 80% of its value against the dollar since 2003, because foreign exchange reserves have been depleted, and Erdogan has refused to admit that lowering interest rates is not a cure for inflation. This was estimated at 85.5% per year in November 2022 and 44% per year in April 2023. As Turkey has to import many goods and raw materials, the price of which rises due to the depreciation of the pound, imported inflation increases.

The Turkish economy today is characterized by macroeconomic imbalances and investor flight. Since 2022, Botas, the state-owned oil and gas transmission and distribution company, has not paid its bills to Gazprom, which granted it a $20 billion loan. That is why Erdoğan decided on the return of economist Şimşek, who is known for his good management of economic and financial policy. He was Minister of Finance and Deputy Prime Minister

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changement »" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2023/11/05/l-opposition-turque-tourne-la-page-kilicdaroglu-avec-l-election-de-ozgur-ozel-candidat-au-changement_6198367_3210.html, 5/11/2023.

[393] See Lisa O'Carroll, "Turkey to send commandos to Kosovo in response to NATO peacekeeping call" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/03/turkey-send-commandos-kosovo-response-nato-peace-keeping-call-serbia, 3/6/2023.

[394] See Ruth Michaelson, "Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan announces new cabinet" *in The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/03/turkish-president-recep-tayyip-erdogan-announces-new-cabinet, 3/6/2023.

between 2009 and 2018.[395] The appointment of Fidan, who headed Turkey's National Intelligence Organisation for 13 years, as foreign minister, replacing diplomat Çavuşoğlu, indicates that diplomacy will be tougher. The new governor of the central bank, Hafize Gaye Erkan, surprised on 24 August 2023 by raising her key rate, from 17.5% to 25% to *bring inflation down*.[396]

Shortly before the Atlantic Council on 11 July 2023 in Vilnius, Erdoğan has announced that he will no longer block Sweden's NATO membership, provided his country joins the EU.[397] However, it was not until 23 October 2023, i.e. 17 months later, that he submitted the request for ratification to his parliament.[398] The pusillanimity of the leaders of NATO and the EU in the face of Erdoğan is regrettable. He is no longer a reliable ally in NATO. His place is not in Europe. His values are not those enshrined in Article 2 of the EU Treaty. He persecutes Armenia, he is playing a harmful game in Libya, he has even prevented assistance to Syrians affected in 2022 by an earthquake.[399]

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[395] See Reuters, "Erdogan signalisiert ökonomische Kehrtwende" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/neuer-finanzminister-erdogan-signalisiert-oekonomische-kehrtwende-18940161.html, 4/6/2023.

[396] See AFP, « En Turquie, l'inflation repart à la hausse, au plus haut depuis décembre 2022 » in *La Tribune*, https://www.latribune.fr/economie/international/en-turkey-inflation-rises-at-highest-since-december-2022-974789.html#xtor=CS3-33-[Article]-[]-[]-[], 4/9/2023.

[397] See Corry Hancké, " Erdogan geeft toe: Zweden mag lid worden van de Navo » in *De Standaard*, https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20230710_96768973, 10/7/2023.

[398] The Hungarian parliament only ratified Sweden's accession to NATO on 26 February 2024.

[399] According to Pierre Servent, *Le monde de demain,* op. cit, p. 206, Erdoğan did not recognize Putin's annexation of Crimea, he supplied Bayraktar drones to Ukraine, but he continues to trade with Russia. Erdoğan has put the judiciary and the Central Bank at the behest of the government, muzzled the press, civil society and the military, and enriched the oligarchs devoted to him. He imprisons opponents,

The European Parliament's 2023 report on Turkey finds that it is impossible to resume the EU accession process and therefore calls for a closer partnership, as Turkey remains a candidate country. It stresses that one country's NATO accession process can in no way be linked to another country's EU accession process. It was adopted by 434 votes in favour, 18 against and 152 abstentions.[400] This courageous stance taken by the European Parliament shows that the EU is, for once, not only the Europe of the merchants, makes it more complicated to normalize the EU's relations with Turkey, which some on the other side of the Atlantic and in NATO envisage for just geopolitical reasons. Those neglect on the one hand the widening gap between EU values and those promoted by Erdoğan and on the other hand the fact that several of our interests are diametrically opposed to those of the Turks, especially in Thrace, the Aegean Sea, Cyprus, and Libya. This presages Erdoğan's renewed blackmail of the EU in 2015-2016, as he knows that she is still helpless in the face of a massive new influx of migrants, given the failure of **the Sophia naval operation, the relocation mechanism and the Agreement on the Asylum and Migration Pact**.

In the face of Erdoğan, only force combined with an outstretched hand allows negotiation. In February 2023, Greek rescuers responded immediately to the earthquake in Turkey. Since then, there have been no more violations of Greek air and sea space by Turkish planes and ships. There has been no more drilling in the Aegean Sea, nor any threat to push masses of migrants towards Europe. Erdoğan reacted quickly to a deadly train accident in central Greece. But more than goodwill, it was Greece's rearmament that

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especially Kurds. Because of the absurd monetary policy he conducts, inflation would have been 79% in July 2022.

[400] See sn, "Les députés demandent à l'UE et à la Turquie de chercher d'autres moyens de coopérer" in *Actualité du parlement européen*, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/fr/press-room/20230911IPR04914/le-pe-demande-a-l-ue-et-a-la-turquie-de-chercher-d-autres-moyens-de-cooperer, 11/9/2023.

bore fruit. Finally emerging from the 2010 currency crisis, it has bought frigates and F-16 fighter jets of the latest generation. It could acquire F-35s and Rafale, which Erdoğan is denied.[401]

On 7 December 2023, he was in Athens to sign a declaration with the Greek Prime Minister, Mr Mitsotakis, on good neighbourly relations that could initiate the settlement of disputes over underwater energy resources and Cyprus and, above all, increase trade. It was agreed that they would be doubled, from $5 billion to $10 billion per year. Greece hopes Turkey, a market of 80 million people, will become an important trading partner, while Erdoğan is trying to attract foreign investors again and repair Turkey's relations with the EU and the West. In addition, 15 agreements were signed in Athens by Greek and Turkish ministers, including a 12-month automatic visa system that will allow Turkish nationals to visit the Greek islands without applying for a visa. Illegal migration flows have also been the subject of an unprecedented agreement under which Greek coastguards will be stationed in Smyrna and Turkish coastguards will be sent to Lesvos.[402]

However, this visit did not erase the differences over the continental shelves, the airspace over the sea, the underwater oil and gas deposits that the two countries claim in the Aegean Sea, and in Cyprus. Let us note that Greek firmness has paid off, and that it contrasts with the weakness of the EU, but also of NATO and the United Kingdom.

On 23 March 2025, Mr İmamoğlu, the mayor of Istanbul, and around 100 people were imprisoned, on the orders of

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[401] See Alexia Kefala, « Le président Erdoğan en ami à Athènes » in *Le Figaro*, 6/12/2023, https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/le-president-turc-erdogan-en-ami-a-athenes-20231206.

[402] See Helena Smith, "Erdoğan hails 'new era' of friendship with Greece on historic visit to Athens" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/dec/07/erdogan-hails-new-era-of-friendship-with-greece-during-historic-visit-to-athens, 7/12/2023.

the Istanbul Prosecutor General's Office, which accuses them of terrorism and corruption. Mr Özel, the leader of the Republican People's Party,[403] sees this as an attempt to prevent Mr İmamoğlu from being the opposition candidate against Erdoğan in the next presidential election, scheduled for May 2028. On the other hand, in October 2025, the outgoing President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, a Turkish nationalist opposed to the reunification of the island and supported by Ankara, was defeated by the opposition candidate, Mr. Erhürman, a Social Democrat and supporter of a federal solution. The worst is therefore not inevitable.

4.3 The failure of the West's war on Islamist terrorism

After September 11, 2001, the Americans invaded Afghanistan, ostensibly to fight Al Qaeda, but with a too small contingent: they could not completely encircle the mountains of Tora Bora where bin Laden and 300 of his followers had been hiding. The necessary reinforcements, two companies of infantry, were refused, President George W. Bush's priority having become the invasion of Iraq. Bin Laden was able to cross into Pakistan,[404] then, with the support of the Pakistani military intelligence service, strengthen Al Qaeda and spread it, particularly in the Sahel.

The Americans then changed their objective. While they had failed to establish democracy by force in Cuba, Vietnam, Somalia, Iran, Iraq, Libya and Syria, they wanted to create a stable, democratic Afghan State that respects human rights, without taking into account the difficulty of building a nation in this country fragmented by mountainous terrain and populated by various ethnic groups. In 2003, the United States of America activated

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[403] **Özel and 90 other deputies formed the New Party (Yeni Party) on 24 July 2026, it is now the main opposition force in Parliament.**

[404] The *Navy Seals* finally neutralized bin Laden on May 2, 2011, near **the Pakistani military academy** in Abbottabad.

Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which states that if one member State suffers an armed attack, all consider themselves under attack. Members of the NATO and 10 other allies, including Japan, complied, providing up to 130,000 personnel in 2013. Most of the time, they have ratified American decisions on the ground, without a critical mind, without measuring the achievement of the political objective and without a scenario for exiting the theatre of operations.

The allies mistakenly thought that the Afghans would approve the project, but only a portion of the city-dwellers adhered to it. The rural people, who are very conservative, have remained close to the Taliban, because neither the Americans nor the allies have ensured that a valid governance is put in place. Westerners have tolerated the corruption of many politicians, civil servants, police and military personnel. The Americans paid soldiers and policemen who did not exist. Stocks of fuel and ammunition were often sold to the Taliban.

The Europeans, even less than the Americans, have ensured the proper use of the considerable resources given to Afghanistan, which was the main beneficiary of EU development aid, with some positive results: in1998, there were no Afghan women in secondary and higher education. In 2020-2021, 40% of children in school were girls. At **university, they were 20% of students, 22% of women were in paid employment, including in the police force, and 20% of civil servants were women, despite the efforts of fundamentalists to curb this development. They murdered women journalists, doctors, police officers, artists. They massacred schoolgirls, attacked maternity hospitals.**

The Taliban's victory was inevitable[405]: the West did not destroy Al Qaeda in 15 of the 34 Afghan provinces. They did

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[405] General Scaparrotti, then Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, said in February 2018 that "the Taliban could not win on the battlefield"! The Americans and the Allies had little contact with the

not correctly assess the balance of forces involved, nor measured the failure of the construction of a Western-style State, nor noted the weakness of the Afghan army and security forces. They let Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Qatar finance the Taliban to the tune of €1.2 billion per year. They did not prevent them from controlling drug trafficking. They therefore had the means to equip themselves, to recruit and to regain their influence, through terrorism, but above all through their social action and corruption.

NATO lost 3,500 people in Afghanistan; non-governmental organizations lost 444; 72 journalists were killed. The Afghans have had 66,000 soldiers and 48,000 civilians killed, many of them women and children, three-quarters massacred by the Taliban, the others were victims of collateral damage from allied bombing; 75,000 Afghans have been wounded. According to the UN, the Taliban had 75,000 fighters in 2020 and 51,000 have died in 20 years.

Mr. Biden, when he was vice president, had judged the victory of the Taliban preferable to the continuation of the stalemate. He knew that 52 percent of his fellow citizens wanted an end to the war, especially given the 2,500 American soldiers and 3,846 contractors killed and the 20,000 wounded, many of them amputated, but also the $2 trillion spent for a poor result. President Biden did not anticipate in 2021 that 74% would blame the way he implemented the agreement brokered by Trump, which freed 5,000 Taliban to obtain, on 29 February 2020, the Doha agreement on the withdrawal of American forces. On 14 April 2021, the Atlantic Council endorsed the withdrawal of American forces.

After Biden's decision, the Americans stopped paying salaries, providing intelligence and air, medical and logistical support, and supply with gasoline and ammunition. At the end of June, only a quarter of the

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units at the front. They relied on information provided by the Afghan Ministry of Defence.

contractors responsible for maintaining the Afghan army's aircraft remained on site.[406] On July 2, 2021, the overnight evacuation of Bagram Air Base by the Americans without notice signalled to Afghans the victory of the Taliban. The American intelligence services estimated that the Afghan government would collapse within 6 to 12 months. This was done in 15 days, because in the Afghan army, desertions were numerous, due to the living conditions and the incessant fighting, the lack of fire and logistical support as well as air means of medical evacuation.

American forces evacuated 82,300 people, Europeans 24,000 and the United Kingdom 15,000. The French brought their refugees to the United Arab Emirates, the Germans to Uzbekistan, the Poles to Georgia, the Belgians, Luxembourgers, Dutch and Romanians to Pakistan, the Italians to Kuwait, the Spanish to Dubai.[407] How many people with ties to the West have remained in Afghanistan? It is known that only 4,500 of the 20,000 Afghans who worked for the German forces are in Germany.

The inaction of European governments from mid-April to mid-August to prepare for evacuations can be explained by their usual inability to manage crises, whether financial, health or military, but also because their priority was to avoid an influx of Afghan refugees and migrants similar to that of Syrians in 2015, who are 6.7 million worldwide, including 1,100,000 in Lebanon, 900,000 in Germany, 630,000 in Jordan, 57,000 in Sweden, 12,000 in the Netherlands and Denmark, 10,000 in Switzerland, 5,000 in France and Belgium, and 3,000 in Spain.

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[406] See Gabriel Dominguez, « Growing demands take toll on Afghan Air Force fleet" in *Jane's Defence Weekly*, https://emagazines.janes.com/webviewer/#janesdefenceweekly11august2021/growing_demands_take_toll_on_afghan_air_force_fleet, 11/8/2021.

[407] See Nicolas Gros-Verheyde, "Les premières leçons de la 'crise de Kaboul'" in *Bruxelles2*, http://www.bruxelles2.eu/2021/09/les-premieres-lecons-de-la-crise-de-kaboul/?utm_source=mailpoet&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=les-newsletter-total-derniers-articles-de-notre-blog_2, 1/9/2021.

There are 2.6 million Afghan refugees in the world, including 1,400,000 in Pakistan, 780,000 in Iran, 148,000 in Germany, 41,000 in France, 40,000 in Austria and 27,000 in Belgium. In the past, less than 13 per cent of Afghan refugees arrived in Europe.

The Chinese have begun to cooperate with the Taliban. The latter will have no difficulty in maintaining themselves in power by repressing opponents, as the Iranian mullahs have been doing since 1979. The Taliban have weapons systems abandoned in good condition by Western forces, including helicopter gunships and armoured vehicles, in greater numbers than those available in the German army in 2021.

Many Western veterans have been amputees or suffer from post-traumatic mental illness. These are revived and amplified by the feeling that their commitment has been useless, that they, or the beneficiaries of those who have fallen on the field of honour, are not being helped financially by the EU, but that the Taliban are, to avoid aggravating the situation of the Afghans.[408] In reality, an additional aid of €200 million was decided by the European Commission on 24 August 2021, which triples the aid already allocated by €57 million. It is paid to NGOs or international organisations and not to the Taliban.

The Afghans have shown the Americans that they cannot reshape the world by force of arms and that their hegemony resulting from the fall of the Soviet empire has ended. Neither Biden nor the Atlantic Council anticipated the disappointment or even anger of allies, particularly the British and Germans, whose human losses and financial sacrifices were among the greatest. They did not sense the shock of the Indian, South Korean, Japanese and Ukrainian authorities when they saw the flight of the Westerners. They did not foresee that the morale of Islamist terrorists would reach a peak everywhere, particularly in the Sahel, but also

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[408] Voir Corry Hancké, "Het was allemaal voor niets" in *De Standaard*, https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20210903_94067963, 3/9/2021.

from Nigeria to Mozambique, when they saw on television or on social networks the humiliations that the West had to endure during a chaotic withdrawal.

In the Sahel, the West has also failed to defeat Islamist terrorists, whose ingrafting was facilitated by NATO's ill-fated intervention in Libya in 2011. The Americans were content to weakly support France and the EU, which failed and had to withdraw in 2023. The United Nations, as in the Democratic Republic of Congo, in particular, has been ineffective. This is unfortunate for the local populations, caught between al-Qaeda and Daesh, who are trying to control them through terror, the Russians who are trying to establish themselves militarily and the Chinese who are monopolizing local wealth. Since 2013, the area of action of Islamist terrorists has extended from Mali to the Gulf of Guinea and Mozambique.

In the Gaza Strip, Israel believed it had calmed its relations with Hamas. The attack of 7 October 2023 surprised and the ferocity of the attackers stunned. They killed 1,400 people and kidnapped 240 hostages.[409] Some[410] describe the raid carried out from Gaza as bestial. Personally, I do not know

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[409] See Guillaume Ancel, « Ukraine : enlisement du front, prolongation de l'offensive et collision avec le Proche-Orient » in *Ne Pas Subir*, https://nepassubir.fr/2023/11/01/ukraine-enlisement-du-front-prolongation-de-loffensive-et-collision-avec-le-proche-orient/, 1/11/2023; sn, "Washington sollicité pour fournir à Israël des munitions destinées à l'Ukraine" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/live/2023/10/19/guerre-en-ukraine-en-direct-le-point-sur-la-situation-en-fin-de-journee_6195347_3210.html#:~:text=Facebook-,Washington%20sollicité%20pour%20fournir%20à%20Israël%20des%20munitions%20destinées%20à,au%20site%20d%27information%20Axios, 19/10/2023.

[410] See Guillaume Ancel, " La « non-stratégie » d'Israël, en matraquant le peuple palestinien, met en danger l'équilibre de nos sociétés " in *Ne pas Subir*, https://nepassubir.fr/2023/11/04/la-non-strategie-disrael-en-matraquant-le-peuple-palestinien-met-en-danger-lequilibre-de-nos-societes/, 4/11/2023.

any animal that behaves as despicably as some of these terrorists.

Since then, the Israeli practice of "disproportionate retaliation", previously implemented in Lebanon against Hezbollah and then again from October 2024, has been applied. The Gaza Strip has been subjected to a ruthless bombardment and a near-complete blockade. It seems to me that "disproportionate retaliation" cannot be an intelligent response to a terrorist act. They are generally a sign that those who were in charge of managing the crisis did not show restraint, but reacted excessively, under the influence of emotion and pressure exerted by the *mass media* and public opinion, when they should have been inspired by the experience accumulated in particular by the British in Northern Ireland. They have come to understand, because they had forgotten the lessons of the war against Maoist guerrillas in Malaysia, that the response to a terrorist act must be cautious and spread over a period of months or even years, because hasty action leads to mistakes, collateral damage and loss of public sympathy.[411]

On January 30, 1972, in Londonderry, after several months of violence and bombings in Northern Ireland, while on a law enforcement mission, the *Parachute Regiment* opened fire on non-violent demonstrators, killing 13 and wounding 15. This day has since become known as *Bloody Sunday*. It has exacerbated the violence. It was not until 1998 that a peace process was able to reduce the unrest. The détente was only effective in 2010 and remains fragile.

More lucid was the reaction of Golda Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister, to the murder of eleven Israeli athletes by

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[411] See Tim Willasey-Wilsey, "Why Restraint in Counterterrorism is So Important, Yet So Hard to Achieve" in The Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security, https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/why-restraint-counterterrorism-so-important-yet-so-hard-achieve?&utm_campaign=Central%2BRUSI%2BNewsletter%2B03-11-23&utm_medium=email, 31/10/2023.

Palestinians during the Munich Olympics in 1972. She instructed the intelligence and action services to eliminate one by one, avoiding collateral damage, those who had ordered or carried out the terrorist action. This was done in 1992.

In October 2008, General Eisenkot has set out a course of action for *Tsahal* (*Tsva HaHagana LeYisrael*, the Israel Defence Forces - IDF) that contravenes the laws of war, as it does not distinguish between civilians and soldiers. Its doctrine, *Dahiya*,[412] named after a Shiite residential district of Beirut, *Dahieh Janoubyé*, razed by the Israeli air force in 2006 for having sheltered Hezbollah, advocates a disproportionate use of force, reprisals against civilian areas used as bases for attacks, with the aim of deterrence. The doctrine considers that civilian villages that serve as launching bases for rockets that hit Israel are military bases, because according to Eisenkot, the only way to deter Hezbollah is to terrorize civilians to dissociate them from the fighters or to consider them as fighters. Israel is thus embracing total war.

As there appear to have been repeated violations, by Israel and the United States, in Gaza, the West Bank, Lebanon and Iran, of the Hague Conventions, adopted in 1899 and 1907, which prohibit certain means and methods of warfare, as well as the Geneva Conventions of 1864, 1949 and 1977, that protect persons who are not or are no longer taking part in hostilities, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by "war crimes".

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[412] See Benjamin Barthe, « Israël et le Hezbollah, des ennemis de trente ans » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/proche-orient/article/2015/12/20/israel-hezbollah-trente-ans-de-guerre-par-intermittence_4835413_3218.html, 20/12/2015; Reuters, "Israel warns Hizbullah: war would invite destruction" in *Yediot Aharonot*, https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3604893,00.html, 10/3/2008; Rachid Achachi, "«Dahiya» et «Hannibal», les deux doctrines de Tsahal" in *Le Monde*, https://fr.le360.ma/monde/dahiya-et-hannibal-les-deux-doctrines-de-tsahal_4JD4VVD5SZFH7KJAQ62FPLG3T4/, 23/11/2023.

The following violations of the above-mentioned Conventions by certain military personnel would constitute war crimes if they were proven: wilful killing; intentionally causing great suffering or serious harm to body or health; the destruction of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out on a large scale in an unlawful and arbitrary manner; the deportation of populations from the occupied territory; and unlawful detention of persons.

Other serious violations of the laws and customs of war appear to have been committed by some Israeli and American military personnel since October 7, 2023. These include attacks on the population and property that is not military objectives, in particular buildings dedicated to religion, education, art, science, charity and humanitarian work, historical monuments, hospitals and medical transport, as well as personnel bearing the distinctive signs provided for in the Geneva Conventions, in particular the cross or the red crescent; starving civilians, including by preventing the delivery of the relief provided for under the Geneva Conventions.

Atrocities apparently committed by Hamas on October 7, such as intentional killing; intentionally causing great suffering or serious harm to body or health; hostage-taking and unlawful detention of persons; the fact that it has been using the Gazan population since 2007 to prevent certain points, areas or armed forces in Gaza from being targeted by Israeli military operations, for example by burying its operational headquarters under a hospital, would also constitute war crimes if proven.[413]

Since 1919, Palestinian terrorists opposed to Zionism have attacked Jews in Palestine. Since 1949, fighters for the liberation of Palestine have carried out hundreds of attacks around the world, which have killed nearly 10,000 people in Israel alone and wounded three times as many.

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[413] See sn, "War crimes" in *United Nations*, *Definitions*, https://www.un.org/fr/genocideprevention/index.shtml, sd.

In response, even before the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, three Zionist terrorist movements were rampant. The *Haganah*, the "Defence", the Zionist militia, recruited in 1920 from the Jewish community of Palestine, assassinated the anti-Zionist Jewish writer Jacob Israel De Haan in 1924 in Jerusalem. In 1937, the split of the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* ("the Organization"), led by Menachem Begin, prime minister of Israel from 1977 to 1983, detonated bombs and grenades in Arab markets or on buses. In 1939, the *Haganah* and the *Irgun* decided to support the United Kingdom against Nazi Germany, giving rise to a new dissent, that of the *Lehi*, the Hebrew acronym for "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel" also known as *Stern*. Yitzhak Shamir, who was prime minister of Israel from 1983 to 1984 and again from 1986 to 1992, was its leader.

On November 6, 1944, in Cairo, Lord Moyne, British Minister of State for the Middle East, was assassinated with his driver by two Lehi terrorists. Prime Minister Winston Churchill condemned "gangsters worthy of Nazi Germany". Lord Moyne's two assassins were hanged in Cairo on 22 March 1945. In 1975, the Labour government of Yitzhak Rabin negotiated with Egypt an exchange between the remains of Lord Moyne's murderers and about twenty Palestinian fedayeen. Military honours were paid in front of the two coffins, in the presence of Mr. Shamir.

On 22 July 1946, the *Irgun* carried out an attack on the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, the headquarters of the British army, which killed 91 people, including 28 Britons, and wounded 46. In 2006, the sixtieth anniversary of this attack was the occasion for a conference organized at the King David to celebrate the heroism of the commando, with the participation of one of the terrorists who had smuggled explosives into the hotel. On **this occasion, a plaque was unveiled, in the presence of Benjamin Netanyahu, Prime Minister from 1996 to 1999, from 2009 to 2021 and since 2022, whose father was an active supporter of the *Irgun*.**

In 1947, Resolution 181, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, divided Palestine into a Jewish State and an Arab State.

During the first Arab Israeli war, in May 1948, the United Nations appointed a mediator, Folke Bernadotte, a Swedish diplomat who had saved, in February-March 1945, more than 20,000 prisoners from the Nazis, including more than 6,000 Jews. In June 1948, Bernadotte obtained a four-week truce, then proposed a peace plan based on the neutralization of Jerusalem and the return of hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees. This plan was rejected by the Israeli army, which had just been founded from the *Haganah*, with the absorption of the *Irgun*. The *Lehi* has kept its operational autonomy under the authority of, among others, Shamir. On September 17, 1948, in Jerusalem, four *Lehi* militants, in *Tsahal* uniforms, assassinated Bernadotte, as well as Colonel André Sérot, the French commander of the UN observers in that city, who had come to thank Bernadotte for having saved his Jewish wife from the Ravensbrück camp in 1945.

International emotion forced Israel to dissolve the *Lehi*, which was described as a terrorist organisation, but only two members of the commando were tried and sentenced to a few years in prison in February 1949. They were released immediately afterwards as part of a general amnesty. This did not prevent Israel from becoming a member of the UN, in May 1949, as a "peaceful" State. Bernadotte's assassination is commemorated in Tel Aviv in a museum to the glory of *Lehi* and dependent on the Israeli Ministry of Defence.[414] On 9 April 1948, the *Lehi* massacred 254 Palestinians living in *Deir Yassin*, which facilitated the

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[414] See Jean-Pierre Filiu, "En Israël, les extrémistes juifs de l'Irgoun et du Lehi progressivement réhabilités après les attentats de 1944-1948" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/un-si-proche-orient/article/2025/01/12/en-israel-les-extremistes-juifs-de-l-irgoun-et-du-lehi-progressivement-rehabilites-apres-les-attentats-de-1944-1948_6493883_6116995.html, 12/1/2025.

***Nakba*, the "catastrophe," the deportation of 700,000 Palestinians from Israel to neighbouring countries.[415]**

The return of Palestinian refugees, decided by UN General Assembly Resolution 194 of 4 November 1948, has still not taken place. Jewish terrorism has continued to claim victims, especially among Palestinians and moderate Jews, the most famous of whom is Prime Minister of Israel Yitzhak Rabin. His death in 1995 meant the end of the peace process that had led to the Oslo Accords in 1993. Signed by Rabin and Arafat under the aegis of President Clinton, the Palestine Liberation Organization having recognized Israel and renounced violence, they created the Palestinian Authority and gave it partial control of the West Bank and Gaza.

The Abraham Accords are a collateral victim of 7 October 2023. Signed in 2020 under the aegis of Trump, these strengthen diplomatic, economic and security relations between Israel **and the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Morocco and Sudan, on the model of previous agreements with Egypt and Jordan. A common front was thus established against Iran, but the Palestinian question remained unresolved. Growing anger, in Arab-Muslim countries, but also in the West, against Israel's policy towards Gaza and the illegally occupied territories in the West Bank, as well as Lebanon, has dampened the prospects for lasting peace.[416]**

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[415] See Sir Gerald Kaufman, *Speech to the Commons on the war in Gaza in 2009*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xEYz00MqCx0, 21/1/2001; Thibault Finet, *De la Haganah à Tsahal, histoire et perspective du terrorisme israélien*, Comité de solidarité de Trois-Rivières, https://www.cs3r.org/7868-de la haganah à tsahal histoire et perspective du terrorisme israélien.-copie, sd.; sn, *17 septembre 1948 : assassinat à Jérusalem par une milice sioniste de Folke Bernadotte, médiateur de l'ONU, et du français André Sérot* in Association France Palestine Solidarité, https://www.france-palestine.org/17-septembre-1948-assassinat-a-Jerusalem-par-une-milice-sioniste-de-Folke, sd.

[416] Israel and Saudi Arabia have quietly moved closer together.

Bashar al-Assad's supporters have been weakened by Israeli strikes in Syria and on Hezbollah, as well as by the war in Ukraine as far as the Russians are concerned. In ten days, the Islamist group Hayat Tahrir Al-Sham, which says it wants a Syria where all faiths coexist peacefully, where justice prevails and where the law is established, and its allies in the Syrian National Army but also Kurds, Turks and Americans, put an end on 8 December 2024 to 50 years of oppression and 13 years of civil war.

On 22 June 2025, 125 U.S. aircraft bombed Iran's uranium enrichment sites of Fordow and Natanz, a submarine launched Tomahawk missiles at Isfahan. This campaign lasted 12 days. On 24 June Iran attacked an American base in Qatar.

Since 28 February 2026 and for 40 days, helped by Palantir Technologies' Maven Smart System, which merges available data, classifies targets, recommends weapon systems and generates legally motivated attack orders thanks to Anthropic's "Claude" artificial intelligence, the United States of America and Israel bombed Iran more than 25,000 times, killing nearly a hundred political leaders, including Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, soldiers, police, Islamic Revolutionary Guards, striking barracks, air defence, the navy, 43 of whose ships were sunk, missile and drone manufacturing and launching facilities, and sites developing a nuclear weapon. This did not shake the regime, but the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps became stronger than the clerics. Among the collateral damage, 168 people were killed. More than 100 of them were under 12 years old, because on 28 February, a Tomahawk cruise missile hit an elementary school in southern Iran, which had been part of an Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps naval facility until 2016. The targeting had used outdated information.

Iran retaliated by asking Hezbollah to attack Israel, which responded with very intense bombing of Shiite and occupied southern Lebanon. Iran has also launched thousands of

missiles and drones against 17 countries including Israel, Cyprus and Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. These were attacked by 1,440 drones, 8 cruise missiles and 253 ballistic missiles. Ukrainian drone operators shot down several Shahed-136 drones on March 12, 2026, which were targeting Dubai. The Strait of Hormuz has been closed to navigation several times, by the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps or by the Americans, disorienting the world oil and gas market. Negotiations between the Americans and Iranians on the reopening of the strait and the dilution of Iran's stockpile of enriched uranium are stalling.

Since 7 October 2023, *Tsahal* has had 900 soldiers killed and 18,500 wounded or suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder, and the ultra-Orthodox, or 15% of the population, are exempt from military service, *Tsahal* is short of at least 15,000 soldiers, including 7,000 fighters, while never in Israel's history has its army fought so many wars ahead: in the West Bank, Gaza, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, ...[417]

***Tsahal* has been able to draw some lessons from the analysis of the reasons for its failure before October 7, 2023, which caused 1,200 deaths, and which are: a misreading of Hamas' intentions and underestimation; the inability of intelligence to interpret warning signals that are nevertheless available and the priority given to technology over human intelligence; the gradual abandonment of the "Jericho Wall" defence plan; the weakening of the operational culture; the persistent gap between the scenarios envisaged and the actual preparation of the units; and, finally, inappropriate decisions in crucial hours: several alerts had been collected the previous night without triggering a general alert.[418]**

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[417] See Stanislas Poyet, " L'armée israélienne n'a plus les moyens de ses guerres " (The Israeli army no longer has the means of its wars) in *Le Figaro*, 28/3/2026, p. 7.

[418] See Stanislas Poyet, "Israël limoge plusieurs hauts gradés en raison des défaillances mortelles du 7 Octobre" (Israel sacks several high-

To relaunch the peace process, it would be useful to draw inspiration from General de Gaulle, who knew the Middle East well, having served there in the interwar period. He was in favour of returning to the pre-Six-Day War borders of 1967, in exchange for the recognition of the existence of the State of Israel by the Arab states. His position was adopted by the UN and transcribed, albeit clumsily, in Security Council Resolution 242.[419] In his press conference of 27 November 1967, in which de Gaulle spoke of an elite people, sure of itself and domineering,[420] he said that he wanted above all to prevent "the Arab world from falling into a dangerous bitterness". When in February 1969, he received Richard Nixon, he warned him against Israel's expansionism, because, he said, "the madmen will come to power in the Arab capitals".

Today, in order to ensure its long-term existence, Israel should renounce the conquest of the Palestinians' little remaining territory, the expulsion or extermination of the 1.5 million Gazans and 2.5 million West Bankers. As the President of the Munich Security Conference had recently recalled, the occupation of the Palestinian territories was a flagrant violation of international law, which provided for a two-State solution.[421]

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ranking officers due to the fatal failures of 7 October) in *Le Figaro*, 26/11/2025, p. 10.

[419] In its French version, point 1. i) of Resolution 242 of 22 November 1967 provides: "Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the territories occupied during the recent conflict". Unfortunately, the English version, "Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict," apparently required only a partial withdrawal. See sn, "Resolution 242", in *United Nations*, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/90717?ln=fr, 1967.

[420] See sn, "Charles de Gaulle, "Les Juifs... Un peuple d'élite, sûr de lui-même et dominateur" », INA, https://www.ina.fr/ina-eclaire-actu/video/i19073226/charles-de-gaulle-les-juifs-un-peuple-d-elite-sur-de-lui-meme-et-dominateur, 27/11/1967.

[421] See Peter Carstens, "Kritik am Chef der Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz" (Criticism of the head of the Munich Security Conference) in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*,

Israel is not taking this path: its army has displaced more than a million inhabitants of southern Lebanon and is devastating a 10 km deep strip along its border, but this glacis is not going to stop Hezbollah's drones and missiles. Saudi Arabia and Pakistan concluded a mutual defence agreement on September 17, 2025, which includes Pakistan's nuclear umbrella covering Saudi Arabia, ending Israel's monopoly on the possession of nuclear capabilities in the region.[422]

« Fortunately, in Israel and in the Arab-Muslim world, there are women and men who have the courage to stand up against the majority and to put forward our common humanity, to show us that, despite all the horrors, there is still a fragile light at the end of the tunnel, that reason and our humanist values allow us to resist and think about the future. The future will necessarily have to take into account the rights of the two peoples in a context of mutual recognition and allow them to build a coexistence, [according to the formula] that they will decide by common agreement. »[423]

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https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/nahost-konflikt-kritik-am-chef-der-muenchner-sicherheitskonferenz-19270196.html, 26/10/2023.

[422] See AFP, "L'Arabie saoudite passe sous la protection du parapluie nucléaire du Pakistan" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2025/09/22/l-arabie-saoudite-passe-sous-la-protection-du-parapluie-nucleaire-du-pakistan_6642384_3210.html?search-type=classic&ise_click_rank=1, 22/9/2025; Riad Kahwaji, "Saudi-Pakistan defense pact brings new nuclear player to region" in *Breaking Defense,* https://breakingdefense.com/2025/09/saudi-pakistan-defense-pact-brings-new-nuclear-player-to-region/?utm_medium=email&_hsenc=p2ANqtz-9ADHNX9ZTZeS7kLouFgGI4SSTqQX5OPVxKm8ddxk1jVGBdgwP5baYh6E4gsE5YgVjYvjiTXKYvb90C1k35iEcWoJedgg&_hsmi=381933049&utm_content=381933049&utm_source=hs_email, 22/9/2025.

**[423] Dominique Eddé, « Le "nous contre eux" signe fatalement le début de l'obscurantisme et de la cécité » in *Le Monde,* *https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2023/10/31/l-ecrivaine-libanaise-dominique-edde-sur-la-guerre-israel-hamas-le-recours-au-nous-contre-*

4.4 The United States of America

Between 1981 and 1989, President Reagan played a major role in the West's victory in the Cold War, which was one of the causes of the implosion of the USSR. This has made the United States of America hegemonic. The values of freedom and progress, the opening of borders and markets, free trade spread almost everywhere, but from 2003 onwards, the disastrous invasions of Afghanistan and then Iraq ordered by President George W. Bush undermined American military power. It is above all Apple, Google, Microsoft, Facebook, Amazon and the mastery of the financial markets that have reinforced the country's international status.[424]

This *soft power* is jeopardized by Trump, while he claims to put his country back in the military, technological and economic first place. For the author of this concept, Joseph Nye, it is very likely that Donald Trump will fail to compete with China if he weakens the allies' trust in the United States of America, by formulating imperial aspirations, by weakening the US Agency for International Development (US Aid), by silencing Voice of America, by questioning the laws of his own country and withdrawing from United Nations agencies. Indeed, using coercion with democratic allies such as Denmark or Canada is to weaken confidence in our alliances. To threaten Panama is to awaken the fear of Yankee imperialism in Latin America. To weaken US Aid is to damage its reputation as a charity. Silencing Voice of America is a gift to its authoritarian opponents. Imposing tariffs on your friends is to appear as an unreliable partner. To try to stifle freedom of expression in one's own country is to undermine one's credibility. »[425]

***eux-signe-fatalement-le-debut-de-l-obscurantisme-et-de-la-cecite_6197490_3232.html*, 31/10/2023.**

[424] **See Jean De Ruyt, *Le privilège du diplomate*, op. cit., p. 190.**

[425] **See Joseph Nye, "« Le soft power culturel des Etats-Unis survivra-t-il au déclin de leur soft power politique ? » : les dernières réflexions de Joseph Nye, mort début mai" in *Le Monde*,**

How did the United States of America get here?

On 20 January 2017, Trump became president. In his first term, he forced the EU, Central and South American States and Pacific States to reduce their trade surpluses and buy US weapons systems.[426] **He promised to defeat the Islamist terrorists, but he did not succeed anywhere. On 6 October 2019, he even tolerated the Turkish offensive against the Syrian Kurds, the West's allies in the fight against Daesh, to appease Erdogan.**[427] He tightened economic sanctions against Iran and in 2018, he denounced the Vienna agreement on Iran's nuclear program (*The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action* - JCPOA). In 2019, he listed the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps as a terrorist organization. He has responded militarily to acts of war by the Iranians and their allies, the Houthis,[428] Hezbollah and Iraqi Shiite militias, such as the bombing of Saudi refineries, the attack on oil tankers near Hormuz and the

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https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2025/05/24/le-soft-power-culturel-des-etats-unis-survivra-t-il-au-declin-de-leur-soft-power-politique-les-dernieres-reflexions-de-joseph-nye-mort-debut-mai_6608179_3232.html, 24/5/2025.

[426] In addition, on February 14, 2020, our "ally" increased customs duties from 10% to 25% on Airbus aircraft. Wine, cheese, coffee and olives have been taxed at 25% since October 2019. Let us console ourselves by thinking that he mistreats South Korea just as badly. See Reuters, "US to put 9,000 South Korea workers on leave as military funding row deepens" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/29/us-to-put-9000-south-korea-workers-on-leave-as-military-funding-row-deepens, 29/1/2020.

[427] See Michel Cabirol, " Syrie : "Les Américains ont renoncé à assurer la sécurité collective" (Jean-Yves Le Drian) " in *La Tribune*, https://www.latribune.fr/economie/international/syrie-les-americains-ont-renonce-a-assurer-la-securite-collective-jean-yves-le-drian-831238.html, 22/10/2019.

[428] The Houthis targeted around 100 merchant ships using missiles and drones between 7 October 2023 and the end of 2024. The Houthis seized one ship and sank two. Four sailors were killed. See Jon Gambrell, The Associated Press, "Two US Navy pilots shot down over Red Sea in 'friendly fire' incident" in *Military Times*, https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2024/12/22/two-us-navy-pilots-shot-down-over-red-sea-in-friendly-fire-incident/?utm_source=sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=mil-breaking, 22/12/2024.

bombing of a US military base in Iraq. **In February 2020, he reached an agreement with the Taliban on the American withdrawal from Afghanistan, without consultation with his allies and the Afghan government.**[429]

During his first term, Trump has damaged his country's soft power by stripping its traditional values of credibility, **including the release of 5,000 Taliban,** the pardon of American war criminals and the failure to close the Guantanamo Bay prison. He denounced the agreement with Russia on medium-range nuclear missiles. He restored the pre-1914-1918 Balance of Power, the law of the strongest, the instability of alliances and the arms race. It has made the world much less safe. **The Americans understood this, so he was not re-elected at the end of 2019.**

President Biden, in his 4 February 2021 speech at the State Department on "America's place in the world",[430] **said he wanted diplomacy focused on defending democracy and freedom, as well as on respect for universal rights and the rule of law, in order to encourage States, in particular Allies, to face global challenges together, from the pandemic to climate change, from nuclear proliferation to the advance of authoritarianism. He announced an increased effort in the field of cybersecurity and the suspension of the withdrawal of troops from Germany. As early as 23 January, a naval air exercise in the Black Sea demonstrated the American desire to protect Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey, but also Georgia and Ukraine from Russian aggressiveness, as well as to**

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[429] See Eugene Kiely, Robert Farley, "Timeline of U.S. Withdrawal from Afghanistan" in *FactCheck.org*, https://www.factcheck.org/2021/08/timeline-of-u-s-withdrawal-from-afghanistan/, 17/8/2021; Aila Sisco, "Donald Trump Holds Responsibility for Afghanistan Withdraw, Ex-Adviser Says" in *Newsweek*, https://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-responsible-afghanistan-withdraw-ex-adviser-1944696, 26/8/2024.

[430] See President Biden, "Remarks on America's Place in the World" in *White House*, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/02/04/remarks-by-president-biden-on-americas-place-in-the-world/, 4/2/2021.

guarantee freedom of navigation at sea, in the air and in space.[431] This increased pressure may have contributed to Putin's five-year extension of the US-Russia Strategic Nuclear Weapons Reduction Treaty, but by the end of 2021, Biden must have seen Putin's growing aggressiveness towards Ukraine. To avoid an attack on Taiwan by China, Biden has increased the strength of American alliances in the Indo-Pacific. This area includes territories and a very important maritime area that depend of NATO member States; it is also covered by the so-called *AUKUS alliance*, between Australia (AU), the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (US), as well as the *Quad*, which includes the United States of America, Japan, Australia and India, and includes allied countries such as South Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Former US Secretary of Defence Robert M. Gates believed in 2023 that dysfunction in the United States of America has made American power erratic and unreliable. He noted that Western leaders have failed to formulate a long-term strategy to ensure that democratic values prevail, while Russian and Chinese autocrats are convinced that democracies are in irreversible decline. These two leaders have already made major miscalculations: Putin in Ukraine, Xi three times: by being aggressive, he has encouraged the United States of America to curb China's growth, modernize its military and strengthen its military partnerships in Asia; by reinserting the party into the management of private companies and privileging State-owned enterprises, Xi has harmed the Chinese economy; his "zero COVID" policy has also slowed the economy. Putin and Xi seem likely to make even bigger mistakes, which

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[431] See sn, "U.S. Navy Conducts Interoperability with NATO in the Black Sea", *US Naval Forces Europe-Africa / US Sixth Fleet Public Affairs*, https://www.c6f.navy.mil/Press-Room/News/News-Display/Article/2479674/us-navy-conducts-interoperability-with-nato-in-the-black-sea/, 23/1/2021.

could have catastrophic consequences for their countries and the world.[432]

Under Biden's leadership, the United States of America and NATO have not given Ukraine the means to achieve victory, even though it would have increased European security, by forcing Russia to accept a just and lasting peace. Biden has given Israel excessive support.

During Biden's tenure, the United States of America became the world's No. 1 oil producer and the largest exporter of liquefied natural gas. GDP growth was 2.3%, while productivity growth was 2.2%. Inflation was reduced to 1.8% from 9.1% in June 2022, but interest rates remained high. Unemployment has fallen to 3.4% of the labour force, the lowest level in half a century. Wages have increased, especially the lowest wages, but too many quality jobs have been lost due to globalization, particularly in industry. Biden praised the 12 million new jobs created in two years, something no other president has achieved in four years. Its *Inflation Reduction Act* has led to massive public investment in energy, semiconductors, microprocessors and artificial intelligence, as well as in new infrastructure, from airports to high-speed internet.

This has not been enough to make Biden popular, as the United States of America have committed to decarbonization, which has upset coal producers and miners. Biden has also alienated large airline, pharmaceutical, leisure companies, by fighting their abuses. Billionaires like Mr. Musk (PayPal, SpaceX, Tesla, OpenAI, Neuralink, Twitter/X) have therefore supported Trump. Biden has regulated artificial intelligence, which has turned Silicon Valley against him, including Luckey, founder of Anduril, which produces sensors and drones that use artificial intelligence, among other things, or Palantir's Thiel, which produces big data management software, such

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[432] See Robert M. Gates, "The Dysfunctional Superpower. Can a Divided America Deter China and Russia?" in *Foreign Affairs*, op. cit.

as satellite imagery or telecommunications. The disenchantment of more than 10 million Democratic voters has prompted them to abstain from voting in 2024, particularly in the 7 *Swing States*.

Many Americans no longer want their country to be the "policeman of the world", having not won the Korean War or the Vietnam War; having failed to prevent the conflicts between India and Pakistan since 1948, in the Levant, in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1986; nor between India and China since 1962, nor the genocides in Cambodia from 1975 to 1979 and in Rwanda in 1994; having been unable to regain a foothold or in the China since 1949, nor in Iran since 1979, having failed in Afghanistan, Congo, Somalia, Iraq and Libya, and having obtained only a flawed agreement in the former Yugoslavia.[433] They have tended to trust Trump, who presented himself as the champion of peace, while Biden had increased the number of US troops stationed in Europe by 20,000, bringing their number to 65,717, who were spread over nearly 40 bases. More than half were barracked at 13 bases in Germany.

A majority of Americans voted for Trump on November 5, 2024, and even a majority of women, African Americans, and Latinos, despite 91 criminal charges against him, which did not lead to any final criminal convictions, two impeachment attempts, one coup attempt, and the theft of secret documents.[434] This is because many Americans believed in Trump's promises. First, to quickly end the wars in Ukraine and the Levant, but both conflicts continue, because Putin is demanding that Ukraine demilitarize, "denazify" itself, neutralize itself, become a buffer zone, cede territories, and the West, that it lifts sanctions against Russia and completely cease military aid and intelligence

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[433] See Gérard Araud, *Passeport diplomatique*. 40 ans au Quai d'Orsay, Paris, Grasset, 2019.

[434] See Robert Reich, "Yes, Trump is dominating the primaries. That doesn't mean he'll beat Biden" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/jan/23/trump-primaries-election-biden-robert-reich, 23/1/2024.

provision to Ukraine, while Netanyahu continues to crush the Palestinians. Second, stop immigration, and he got a sharp drop in illegal border crossings; reduce the federal deficit, because voters are worried about the burden of the debt: it has risen from $17,000 billion in 2014 to $33,000 billion in 2023, because of the tax cuts decided by Trump in 2017, but also because of Biden's support for the economy during and after the pandemic,[435] so much so that in 2024 the interest on the US debt ($870 billion) exceeded defence spending, which was $822 billion according to the *Congressional Budget Office*. Trump has also promised to reduce the trade deficit. On his "liberation day", 2 April 2025, a sharp increase in customs duties, raised to an average of 25%, was announced, which had not happened since the establishment of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1947, which was succeeded by the World Trade Organization in 1995. As a result, the *bond vigilantes*, the underwriters, who punish inflationary policies by selling off bonds on a massive scale, caused bond price to fall and interest rate to rise. In less than a week, Trump has reduced the tariff hike to an average of 17%. His voters did not foresee that Trump would stop fighting climate change and development aid, with the consequent fall in US agricultural exports, because they were largely financed by *US aid*. Trump's second term could be one of deepening American decline in the world and growing internal chaos.[436]

Chaos also reigns on the international scene. On 14 February 2025, the American Vice President, during his speech at the Munich Security Conference, claimed to be talking about our common values, because "the threat that worries him most vis-à-vis Europe is not Russia, nor China,

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[435] See Aimee Picchi, "U.S. interest payments on its debt are set to exceed defense spending. Should we be worried?" in CBS news, https://www.cbsnews.com/news/federal-debt-interest-payments-defense-medicare-children/?ftag=CNM-00-10aac3a, 1/3/2024.

[436] See Alfred W. McCoy, "Requiem for an empire" in *Counterpunch,* https://www.counterpunch.org/2024/11/20/requiem-for-an-empire/, 20/11/2024.

nor any other external actor. What worries him is the internal threat, Europe's retreat from some of its most fundamental values, such as the defence of democracy, the freedom to surprise, to make mistakes, to invent, to build. He criticises the cancellation of the presidential election in Romania, the control of social media by the European Union, the limitations on freedom of expression, or religion, in some European countries. He announced that the Trump administration would fight to maintain freedom of opinion and expression in the public square, for a better consideration of the voice of citizens, through freedom of expression and that of the press. He said that of all the challenges facing the nations represented in Munich, there is nothing more urgent than mass migration. He recalled that democracy is based on the sacred principle of the importance of the voice of the people, that there is no place for firewalls and that if we refuse to listen to this voice, even our most fruitful struggles will not achieve much. ».

During the altercation between the American and Ukrainian presidents in the Oval Office on 28 February 2025, in front of the media, to force Mr. Zelensky to sign an agreement on the exploitation of Ukrainian minerals by the Americans, the latter was able to calmly re-establish the truth about the concrete situation in Ukraine. He recalled that Ukrainians are fighting for their sovereignty, for democracy, for international law. By refusing to humiliate himself, to allow himself to be vassalized under the eye of the cameras, Mr. Zelensky has won a moral victory. He has revealed to the world that Trump is not all-powerful; his conception of governance is similar to a television show, like *The Apprentice*, to which he owes his fame in part. It is tragic that Ukraine's survival and the maintenance of peace in Europe depend largely on Trump, due to the shortcomings of European governments.[437]

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[437] See Marion Dupont, " Cécile Alduy, sémiologue : "La séquence entre Donald Trump et Volodymyr Zelensky n'était pas un dérapage, mais une proclamation» " » in *Le Monde*,

Although Europe remains its largest trading partner and the largest investor in the United States of America, these would likely provide Europe with only limited nuclear deterrence assistance in the event of a Russian attack, as they want to focus its forces on a possible conflict with China in Taiwan, according to Secretary of Defense Hegseth's *Interim National Defense Strategic Guidance* disclosed on March 29, 2025 by the *Washington Post*.[438] Europeans, even those who have long and blindly trusted NATO, are gradually becoming aware of the risk that the new Trump administration poses to us. Since they are not fulfilling their obligations under the 1994 Budapest Memorandum, by which the Americans and others "guaranteed" Ukraine's territorial integrity, it is possible that they will decide to deny their duties that flow from the North Atlantic Treaty.

The United States of America therefore risk losing their allies and having to face in isolation a bloc that challenges their hegemony, composed at least of China, Russia, Iran and North Korea, but which will undoubtedly be much larger, because China has woven a global network.

In the midterm elections in November 2026, the Republican Party is expected to suffer losses, whilst it holds only a narrow majority of 220 to 213 in the House of Representatives.[439] This could be a first step towards restoring the transatlantic link.

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https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2025/03/04/cecile-alduy-semiologue-la-sequence-entre-donald-trump-et-volodymyr-zelensky-n-etait-pas-un-derapage-mais-une-proclamation_6576155_3232.html, 4/3/2025.

[438] See sn, "Secret Pentagon memo on China, homeland has heritage fingerprints" in *The Washington Post* , https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2025/03/29/secret-pentagon-memo-hegseth-heritage-foundation-china/, 29/3/2025; sn, « Uitgelekt document: VS zouden Europa beperkt steun bieden bij Russische aanval" (Leaked document: US would offer limited support to Europe in case of Russian attack)in *De Morgen*, Live Ukraine, 2/4/2025.

[439] David Smith, "Trump feels tug of political gravity as economy falters and polls plunge" in *The Guardian* https://www.theguardian.com/us-

4.5 NATO's future: secured by Putin, threatened by Trump!

On 4 April 2024, the Foreign Ministers of the 32 NATO member countries commemorated the Alliance's 75th anniversary in Brussels. On 4 April 1949, twelve countries, including Belgium, signed the Washington Treaty, to create a "shield against aggression," according to American President Harry Truman. This shield resisted until the end of the Soviet Union, but instead of dissolving like the Warsaw Pact, the Alliance survived, because Russia retained a very high number of weapons of mass destruction. NATO then expanded eastward, as countries liberated from Soviet grip rightly feared a resurgence of Russian imperialism. The war declared on the West by Putin in 2007, then waged by Russia on Georgia since 2008, and then on Ukraine since 2014, justified *a posteriori* the sustainability of the Alliance and its extension.

For nearly 8 decades, the Americans have protected Europe with nuclear deterrence and conventional forces, but they have maintained the confusion between NATO's defence spending and NATO spending.

NATO's defence spending is the sum of the defence budgets of the member States, and it is true that the American budget for 2025 (980 billion $) far exceeds the spending of the other allies (657 billion $), but in 2020, the Americans allocated only $35.8 billion to the defence of Europe, slightly less than France's 2020 defence budget.

NATO spending was in 2019 limited to €2.345 billion, including €1,395 million for the integrated command structure,[440] €700 million for common military capabilities:

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news/2025/may/04/trump-popularity-voters-economy-immigration, 4/5/2025.

[440] The Military Committee and the International Military Staff in Brussels; the strategic commands, including SHAPE in Mons, and their command, control and information systems; Alliance agencies, operations and missions; the NATO Defense College in Rome; the

early warning and air traffic control aircraft, reconnaissance drones, heavy transport aircraft; €250.5 million for the politico-military headquarters in Brussels. The United States of America's share of this expenditure is only 23.1%, whereas according to the official distribution key, GDP, it should be around 50%.

NATO bases its deterrence capability on conventional forces, but also on strategic nuclear weapons, American, British **and French**, as well as tactical weapons. It seems that in 2019, in addition to the 40 B61 bombs that the *US Air Force* would have at its disposal in Aviano in Italy and Incirlik in Turkey, the Americans were storing in Europe 140 B61 bombs,[441] equipped with the double key, one for the American support unit, one for Germany, Belgium or the Netherlands. Germany assigned to this mission the 33rd Tornado PA-200 fighter-bomber wing, which also equipped the Italian *6th Stormo*; Belgium, the 10th *Wing* equipped with F-16s, as well as the 312th and 313th squadrons of the Netherlands.[442] Unless we renounce our participation in nuclear deterrence, the replacement of these

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NATO Science and Technology Organisation and the Centre for Maritime Research and Experimentation in La Spezia, among others.

[441] During the Cold War, the United Kingdom and Greece were also host countries. The number of weapons, which ranged from intermediate-range missiles to shells, is said to have exceeded 7,000. After 17 years of work, the *National Nuclear Security Administration* (NNSA), which is part of the Department of Energy, completed on 18/12/2024 the upgrade of older versions of the B-61 gravity bombs to the B61-12 standard, at a cost of about $9 billion. They can be dropped by F-15E, F-35, F-16, B-2, B-21, as well as German and Italian Tornado. The NNSA developed a B61-13 version, more powerful than the B61-12: 360 kilotons instead of 50 kilotons. See Aaron Mehta, "US completes $9B B61-12 nuclear warhead upgrade" in *Breaking Defense*, https://breakingdefense.com/2025/01/us-completes-9b-b61-12-nuclear-warhead-upgrade/?utm_medium=email&_hsenc=p2ANqtz-9o-ZCSXk0YmcUqDORJqXI9xf5vH-PWQ_2dVt29BrI5KAe40yRZ9JnZ3V9sp0g3sNQDtvQBHZPL6wEwd3xi9H9aZw2kOQ&_hsmi=341538588&utm_content=341538588&utm_source=hs_email, 7/1/2025.

[442] See Emmanuelle Maitre, « Forces aériennes européennes et mission nucléaire de l'OTAN », Paris, *Défense & Industries*, No. 13, June 2019.

aircraft can only be envisaged by aircraft deemed B61-compatible by the Americans, for example the F-35.

Within NATO, standardization should make it possible to operate together, with the same procedures, the same tactics and the same communication networks. From **1958 onwards, the *NATO Air Defence Ground Environment* (NADGE) system improved NATO's ability to detect, identify and intercept aircraft and, where necessary, destroy enemy aircraft.[443] NADGE was made up of 84 radar stations monitoring the eastern border of Western Europe, from Norway to Turkey.**

Since the resurgence of the Russian threat and the emergence of Iranian, Chinese and North Korean threats, NATO has failed to establish a common command and control system, covering Central and Eastern Europe, capable of planning, conducting and protecting our airspace, in the context of a much larger number of sensors, on the ground and in the air, while potential enemies are strengthening their capabilities and have hypersonic cruise missiles, which are faster than ours.

The threats have not disappeared: North Korean missiles, which can carry nuclear weapons, can hit almost our entire continent: only Portugal and western Spain are out of range. In response to the Iranian threat, NATO is deploying a ballistic missile defence system that includes a radar in Turkey, sites in Romania and Poland, and *Aegis anti-missile frigates* in Spain. This arrangement has degraded our relations with Russia, which considers it prohibited by the 1988 treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces, i.e. from 500 to 5,500 km. In response, but in contradiction to the same treaty, according to the North Atlantic Council, Russia has produced 9M729 missiles. The Russians and Americans finally denounced this treaty. They are modernizing and increasing their arsenal, as are China, India, Pakistan and Israel.

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[443] See sn, « Air Defence in a supersonic age" in *NATO*, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/declassified_147357.htm, 2/6/2025.

In 2024, NATO's European allies, including Turkey, have together allocated $476 billion to defence, or about 2% of GDP, the target set in 2006 and confirmed in 2014.[444] These allies have, since 2022, purchased more than $185 billion worth of U.S. weapons systems.[445] However, the increase in budgets has not necessarily translated into an improvement in military capabilities. In some countries, high inflation reduces the purchasing power of defence spending and absorbs nominal increases.

NATO has failed for 75 years to make European defence spending more efficient. Since 1992 and the Maastricht Treaty, the EU has not been able to do better. The European defence effort amounts to more than 400 billion € per year, which is mainly used to pay nearly one and a half million soldiers, of whom less than 50.000 are actually operational. NATO's new doctrine stipulates that in the event of an attack, European countries must mobilise 300,000 soldiers within one month and 500,000 within six months, without specifying how to do so. By spending half of the US defence budget, the Europeans get less than a tenth of their military capabilities.

At the Atlantic Council in The Hague on 24 and 25 June 2025, its members, under pressure from Trump, decided to allocate, by 2035 at the latest, 3.5% of their GDP to defence and 1.5% to security. In return, Trump reaffirmed his readiness to fulfil the assistance clause under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. Ukraine was hardly discussed.

The Atlantic Council met in Ankara on 7 and 8 July 2026, in a tense context, because of Greenland, Iran and European defence budgets. European allies have shown their progress

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[444] See sn, « Dépenses de défense : onze pays ont atteint les 2% du PIB requis par l'OTAN, qui espère que 18 pays atteignent ce palier en 2024 » in *RTBF*, https://www.rtbf.be/article/depenses-de-defense-onze-pays-ont-atteint-les-2-du-pib-requis-par-l-otan-qui-espere-que-18-pays-atteignent-ce-palier-en-2024-11344160, 14/3/2024.

[445] See Mitch McConnell, "The Price of American Retreat" in *Foreign Affairs*, January / February 2025, op. cit.

towards 5% of GDP and found that NATO is weakened by Trump's lack of clear commitment and leadership. Nevertheless, all Allies reaffirmed their unwavering commitment to collective defence under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty and to the transatlantic bond. Ukraine's successful drone offensive since this spring that has significantly reduced the supply of fuel, ammunition and other supplies to Crimea and hit up to two thousand km inside Russia on refineries and fuel or ammunition depots, which has caused significant fuel shortages across Russia and reduced the supply of Russian troops on much of the front line, has been described by Trump as a positive escalation, because it could hasten the end of the war. It seems unlikely that the Atlantic Council will meet next year in Albania, as no date has been set.[446] This proves the humourists right when they say that NATO stands for *No Action, Talks Only*.

4.6 The United Kingdom

During the campaign leading up to the Brexit referendum, pro-European Labour deputy Jo Cox found herself alone in the face of the anti-European lies of Mr Farage, Mr Johnson and others and then she was murdered. The Juncker Commission and European governments have not even tried to convince the British that remaining in the EU is in their material and cultural interest. No one has proposed a form of European patriotism. Disoriented, 36% of Britons voted in favour of Brexit in 2016. The United Kingdom separated from the EU on 31 January 2020. Since then, the trade deficit with the EU has continued to widen, particularly in the food and other agricultural products sector. According to the *Centre for European Reform*, GDP has been reduced by 5.5% compared to what it would have been if the UK had remained in the EU. In 2025, only 30%

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[446] See Atlantic Council Experts, « Eleven takeaways from the NATO Summit in Ankara » in *Atlantic Council*, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/dispatches/eleven-takeaways-from-the-nato-summit-in-ankara/, 9/7/2026.

of Britons still think Brexit was a good idea.[447] Brexit has on both sides of the Channel, accelerated downgrading, amplified social tensions and accentuated internal divisions, but it does not mean a disengagement of the United Kingdom from the security and defence of Europe.[448]

The *Treaty of Lancaster* of 2 November 2010, between France and the United Kingdom, mainly produced a 40 mm gun intended to arm armoured fighting vehicles and the *Brimstone* medium-range anti-tank missile. The *Trinity House Agreement* signed on 23 October 2024 in London between the United Kingdom and Germany provides that the two armies will train together more often in order to strengthen NATO's eastern flank. German P8 maritime patrol and anti-submarine warfare aircraft will operate from the Scottish base at Lossiemouth to help protect the North Atlantic.

The British defence industry remains considerable, but military capabilities suffer from understaffing, the inoperativeness of many weapons systems and low stocks.[449] The United Kingdom nevertheless has 225 nuclear weapons, deployed by the *Royal Navy* by means of 4 *Vanguard* submarines, carrying Trident ballistic missile, and which will be replaced by 4 *Dreadnought* submarines from 2028; it depends on the United States of America for the

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[447] See Laetitia Commanay, « Cinq ans après le Brexit, visualisez comment le divorce avec l'UE a changé le Royaume-Uni » in *France Télévisions* https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/europe/la-grande-bretagne-et-l-ue/infographies-cinq-ans-apres-le-brexit-visualisez-comment-le-divorce-avec-l-ue-a-change-le-royaume-uni_7045133.html, 31/1/2025.

[448] See Toby Helm, Robin McKie, James Tapper et Phillip Inman, "'What have we done?': six years on, UK counts the cost of Brexit" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/jun/25/what-have-we-done-six-years-on-uk-counts-the-cost-of-brexit, 25/6/2022.

[449] See Tim Ripley, Fenella McGerty, " UK defence secretary wants to end 'hollow force' " in *Jane's Defence Weekly*, https://www.janes.com/article/91684/uk-defence-secretary-wants-to-end-hollow-force, 3/10/2019.

maintenance of *Trident* missiles, as well as for some of the high-tech equipment.

The *Royal Navy* now has only two 65,000-ton aircraft carriers, without a *Hawkeye* aircraft for air surveillance and command, an essential element of any embarked air flotilla, because it makes it possible to monitor an airspace with a radius of 500 km, to broadcast the air situation to the entire naval air force, thanks to NATO's secure, jam-resistant *Link 16* radio network, and to wage electronic warfare. The force projection capacity of these aircraft carriers is limited: they carry only a dozen F-35B aircraft with short take-off and vertical landing, which gives them limited autonomy and capacity to carry weapons, in addition to a few helicopters. The *Royal Navy* is using 7 *Astute* attack submarines; it will be equipped with new frigates: 8 Type 32, 8 Type 26, 5 Type 31, as well as support ships.

The army has been reduced to 72,500 soldiers in 2025, the lowest number since 1714. It will have only 148 Challenger III tanks, all of which will be modernized, in 10 years.[450] Artillery will be replaced by long-range, precision-guided rocket launchers, as well as combat drones.[451]

The *Royal Air Force* operates about a hundred *Eurofighter Typhoon* fighter jets, as well as helicopters and transport, training or reconnaissance aircraft, of about twenty

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[450] See Michael Tong, 'Challenger 3: Third Time Lucky for British Armoured-vehicle Programmes?', IISS, 21 May 2021, https://www.iiss.org/online-analysis/military-balance/2021/05/challenger-3-armoured-vehicle-programme/.

[451] See Dan Sabbagh, "UK army, navy and RAF all to be cut back, defence review confirms" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/mar/22/uk-army-navy-and-raf-all-to-be-cut-back-defence-review-confirms, 22/3/2011; Cécile Ducourtieux, « Plus d'Asie et moins d'Europe : Boris Johnson définit la nouvelle stratégie « Global Britain » du Royaume-Uni » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2021/03/17/plus-d-asie-et-moins-d-europe-boris-johnson-definit-la-nouvelle-strategie-global-britain-du-royaume-uni_6073391_3210.html, 17/3/2021.

different types, which makes the maintenance of the aircraft and the training of pilots very expensive.

The British Special Forces have 5,000 highly professional soldiers.

In June 2025, the United Kingdom announced the construction of 12 nuclear-powered but conventionally armed attack submarines; the modernization of the nuclear warheads of ballistic missile submarines; as well as the purchase of 12 F-35A aircraft, to strengthen its deterrence capability as part of the NATO *dual capable aircraft* program; they will be based in Marham, Norfolk and will carry American B61-12 nuclear bombs, as the British WE177 bombs were withdrawn from use in 1998. The B61-12 is of four types according to the *Federation of American Scientists*: 0.3 kilotons (kt), 1.5 kt, 10 kt and 50 kt. The bomb that killed between 70,000 and 140,000 people in Hiroshima was a 15kt.[452]

On 22 June 2026, Mr Starmer announced that he was stepping down as Labour Party chairman. He led his party to victory in the 2024 parliamentary elections but then lost the confidence of his parliamentary group. Among the criticisms levelled at him is the inadequacy of defence spending. His successor, Mr. Burnham, appointed as Prime Minister on 20 July, has economic and social issues as his priorities. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom, Japan and Italy confirmed their desire to complete the Global Combat Air Programme by 2035, which has resulted in an

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[452] See AFP, "Le Royaume-Uni va se doter d'avions capables de transporter l'arme atomique, renforçant la dissuasion nucléaire de l'OTAN" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2025/06/25/le-royaume-uni-va-se-doter-d-avions-capables-de-transporter-l-arme-atomique-renforcant-la-dissuasion-nucleaire-de-l-otan_6615692_3210.html, 25/6/2025 ; Aletha Adu, Dan Sabbagh and Kiran Stacey, "UK to expand nuclear deterrent with US fighter jets capable of carrying warheads" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2025/jun/24/uk-to-expand-nuclear-deterrent-with-us-fighter-jets-capable-of-carrying-warheads, 24/6/2025.

investment of several billion € over four years.[453] On 21 July 2026, Canada became an observer to this programme.

4.7 In Germany, the "Ampel" coalition disappointed, as did Mr. Merz

In December 2021, the reading of the coalition agreement for the 2021-2025 legislature,[454] coalition known as "Ampel" (traffic light), because it brought together the reds, socialists, yellows, liberal democrats and greens, gave hope that this government would do a little more to Europe than those of Merkel. The agreement provided for strengthening the European Parliament by granting it the right of initiative, supporting the EU accession process of the six Western Balkan States and radically reforming the decision-making processes within the EU, going as far as federalism if possible. The coalition wanted to replace the unanimity rule in the EU Council of Ministers in the field of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) with qualified majority voting. This pleased the Germans, 47% of whom were of the opinion that Germany can only have international influence within the framework of the EU, 29% thought the opposite, 43% were in favour of the creation of a common European army, 29% against.[455] They were disappointed, like many Europeans, to see that none of this came to pass.

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[453] See Nicolas Madelaine, « Le projet d'avion de combat britannique rival de l'ex-SCAF obtient enfin des financements » in *Les Échos*, https://www.lesechos.fr/industrie-services/air-defense/le-projet-davion-de-combat-britannique-rival-de-lex-scaf-obtient-enfin-des-financements-2240827, 5/7/2026.

[454] sn, *Mehr Fortschritt wagen. Bündnis für Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit und Nachhaltigkeit. Koalitionsvertrag 2021 – 2025 zwischen der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (SPD), BÜNDNIS 90 / DIE GRÜNEN und den Freien Demokraten (FDP)*, 24/11/2021, Jean Marsia archives.

[455] See Thomas Petersen, " Mehrheit wünscht sich ein starkes Europa " (Majority wants a strong Europe) in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/allensbach-umfrage-zu-ukraine-krieg-wunsch-nach-starkem-europa-18117629.html, 22/6/2022.

Due to a lack of investment during the Merkel era, which was obsessed with debt containment, the "Ampel" coalition inherited transport infrastructure, but above all a Bundeswehr in a pitiful state. Reading the report on the state of its armament published on June 29, 2022[456] remains appalling. First of all, by the unsaid: the availability of equipment was not mentioned, except for some: the Army's NH90 helicopter is insufficiently available to cover operational needs, because the delivery times for spare parts and repaired assemblies are excessive;[457] the delay in the delivery of new helicopters is estimated at 134 months; the Navy's NH90 "Search & Rescue" aircraft were put into service six months after their delivery, their availability is insufficient. The same applies to the Army's Tiger attack helicopters, supplied by *Airbus Helicopters*. The disaster spreads over pages and pages, all types of equipment, land, air or naval are targeted.

Although lacking the means to intervene militarily, Chancellor Scholz delivered a firm reaction to the invasion of Ukraine in the Bundestag on 28 February 2022. He expressed a new German security and defence doctrine. He said he wanted a free and open, fair and peaceful Europe. He said he wanted to defend it and support Ukraine, including by supplying weapons, and he delivered more than any other country except the United States of America, but he refused to deliver Taurus medium-range air-to-

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[456] See Thomas Wiegold, "Der 15. Rüstungsbericht: Ein detaillierter Blick" in *Augen geradeaus!*, https://augengeradeaus.net/2022/07/der-15-ruestungsbericht-ein-detaillierter-blick/, 4/7/2022; sn, *15. Bericht des Bundesministeriums der Verteidigung zu Rüstungsangelegenheiten*, https://www.bmvg.de/resource/blob/5456944/a2db4dc6bd4c5873113e39ad9292f269/20220629-download-15-bericht-des-bmvg-zu-ruestungsangelegenheiten-data.pdf, juin 2022.

[457] The intergovernmental management of this programme led to a failure both for the NH Industries consortium, which brings together Airbus Helicopters (62.5%), Agusta-Westland (32%) and Stork Fokker (5.5%), and for the NATO agency NAHEMA (NATO Helicopter Design and Development, Production and Logistics Management Organization).

surface missiles, overlooking the fact that 59% of Germans believed that Putin should be resolutely opposed, while 30% offered to start a dialogue with him. In 2014, 41% saw Russia as a European country, 29% thought it was for Ukraine. After the invasion, it became 28% for Russia, 50% for Ukraine; 45% were in favour of Ukraine's accession to the EU, 29% against; 32% were in favour of Ukraine's accession to NATO, 10% more than in February 2021.[458]

To modernise the German army Mr Scholz created a "special fund" of 100 billion € but took ten months to buy 35 F-35A aircraft (9.9 billion €) to replace the Tornados used for nuclear deterrence; 20,000 digital transmission devices (1.4 billion €); 140 snow removal vehicles (552 million €) and 120,000 assault rifles (273 million €). One billion € should be used to repair Puma's armoured infantry fighting vehicles, half of which were out of service in 2023. All this represents only 10% of the "special fund", due to the cumbersome German acquisition procedures. The *Ampel* coalition has not allocated 2% of its GDP to defence, which explains why many warships remain unavailable.[459]

The *Ampel* coalition raised expectations, then disappointed, because of Scholz's pacifism, the dismal state of the German army, the lack of support for Ukraine and the announcement of massive job cuts in industry, which has become uncompetitive since the rise in energy prices.[460] In the early elections of 23 February 2025, the CDU-CSU led by Mr. Merz had 28.5% of the vote, 4.4% better than in

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[458] See Thomas Petersen, ""Mehrheit wünscht sich ein starkes Europa" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, op. cit.

[459] See Thomas Wieder, "Allemagne : la mue de l'armée, plus lente qu'annoncé" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2022/12/15/allemagne-la-mue-de-la-bundeswehr-plus-lente-qu-annonce_6154601_3210.html, 15/12/2022.

[460] See Gerhard Gnauck, "Deutschland will den Aufbau eines IV. Reiches" (Germany wants the construction of an IV Reich) in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/polens-regierung-schlaegt-schaerfere-toene-gegenueber-deutschland-an-17663655.html, 2/12/2021.

2021; *the Alternative für Deutschland* won 20.8%, +10.1%; the SPD fell sharply to 16.5%, -9.2%; the Grünen won 11.9%, -2.8%; *Die Linke* 8.7%, +3.8%; the *Bundnis list Sarah Wagenknecht*, 4.97% and therefore did not have any seats, as well as the liberals of the FDP, 4.3%, who suffered a heavy penalty: -7.1%.[461] This gives 208 + 16 seats to the CDU-CSU and 120 to the SPD, i.e. an absolute majority in the Bundestag, but this is not enough to modify the *Grundgezets* in order to remove the debt brake, to be able to invest a thousand billion € in defence and infrastructure. Mr Merz succeeded, with the agreement of the Federal Court in Karlsruhe, in having this amendment adopted by the *Bundestag* on 18 March and by the Bundesrat on 21 March, just before the end of the legislature.

With the new majority having approved a possibility of borrowing €1,000 billion to invest in transport infrastructure and the Bundeswehr, Mr Merz was able to meet Trump on 5 June 2025 by showing that he was open to the objective set, namely, to devote 5% of GDP to defence. Trump has said he will take a tough stance on Russia. Merz's first visit to the White House was a success.[462]

A year later, Merz has only 20% of favourable opinions. He raised the retirement age to 67, reformed taxation, and strengthened the competitiveness of companies. He wants to build the most powerful conventional army in Europe by increasing the number of professional soldiers from 185,000 to 260,000 by 2035, but there are few volunteers, only 530 from January to May 2026, for a population of 83.6 million, whose average age is 45.7 years. Its investments only consider its national needs: the S*atComBw* constellation will

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[461] See Seán Clarke, "German election opinion polls – who's leading for 2025" in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2024/dec/12/german-election-opinion-polls-whos-leading-for-2025, 12/12/2025.

[462] sn, « Trump lobt Merz – der Kanzler sei „schwierig" und „großartig" » (Trump praises Merz – the chancellor is "difficult" and "great") in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/, 5/6/2025.

include 100 satellites for the Bundeswehr's secure telecommunications, and *Riss* will operate 40 satellites for Earth observation.

By 2027, Germany's defence spending will reach the combined level of that of France and United Kingdom – and it is expected to be significantly higher by 2030. The German government's goal was to have the most powerful conventional army in Europe and outclass Poland. France and Britain have nuclear weapons, they have less money to spend on conventional defence.

The recently announced withdrawal of 5,000 (or more) American troops from Germany reinforces the decision to sharply increase the Bundeswehr's budget, which raises fears that Germany's military build-up is as in the past a threat to all of Europe, that it is the foundation of a Fourth Reich.

4.8 France, badly governed by Macron

In 2017, Macron said he wanted to eliminate the far right, but the National Rally found itself facing him in the second round of the presidential election. In the legislative elections that followed, the latter obtained only 8 seats, but in 2022, it was in the second round of the presidential election and then it increased the number of its deputies tenfold, while the number of Macron's elected representatives was halved.[463] Although she does not have an absolute and stable majority in the National Assembly, Prime Minister Borne has been remarkably good at governing from May 16, 2022, but Mr. Macron replaced her with Mr. Attal on January 11, 2024. No doubt it was becoming too popular.

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[463] See Abel Mestre, , « Élections législatives 2022 : la recomposition politique se confirme » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2022/06/11/elections-legislatives-2022-la-recomposition-politique-se-confirme_6129798_823448.html, 11/6/2022.

It took Macron a long time to understand that only a defeat of the Russian army would open the door to the emergence in Russia of a democracy and an army that shares European values. This is the condition for a lasting peace agreement for Ukraine and a peaceful neighbourhood for us. The French president's stubbornness in discussing with Putin in 2022, without obtaining anything, has jeopardized his re-election, which he owes only to the astounding inadequacy of the French right and left: he found himself almost alone in the face of two extremists who were clearly unsuitable to become head of State and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. All he gathered by going to Moscow on 7 February 2022 as rotating president of the European Council was humiliation: he had to sit in front of a statue of Alexander I, the Tsar who in 1814 entered Paris at the head of his army.[464] Subsequently, France supported Ukraine voluntarily, but within the limits of its possibilities.

In the European Parliament elections on 9 June 2024, Macron's party won only 14.6% of the vote, barely more than the 13.83% of the Social Democratic-Socialist list, and much less than the 31.37% of the Rassemblement national. That same evening, president Macron dissolved the National Assembly. After the second round of the early legislative election, on July 7, the Rassemblement national totalled 32.05% of the vote and 88 seats, the Union of the Left 25.68% and 146 seats, Macron's party, 23.14% and 148 seats, the other seats going to no less than 11 very diverse parties. Having become Prime Minister on 21 September, Mr Barnier did not have an absolute majority in the National Assembly and his government fell after three months. On December 13, Mr. Bayrou succeeded him and on September 8, 2025, it was Mr. Lecornu's turn, still without an absolute majority, which aggravates France's

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[464] See sn, « Emmanuel Macron à Vladimir Poutine : « Un dialogue sincère n'est pas compatible avec une escalade » » in *BFM TV*, https://www.bfmtv.com/international/asie/russie/emmanuel-macron-a-vladimir-poutine-un-dialogue-sincere-n-est-pas-compatible-avec-une-escalade_VN-202202120217.html, 12/2/2022.

downgrading. Mr. Macron's activism on the international scene feeds his communication but does not extend the list of his achievements. International cooperation in the defence and space sectors has made little progress.

Macron, in Europe and in the world, is paying the price for his inconsistencies. He insists that the EU establish a European preference for the acquisition of weapons systems, while he multiplied, like all European States, the acquisitions of American military equipment. On July 14, 2022, in Paris, the Franco-German squadron of Evreux took part in the air parade. It is not equipped with Airbus A400-M aircraft, but with American C130-Js! Without the cooperation of the Americans, the future "France libre" aircraft carrier will be, as it is today, the "Charles de Gaulle", blind, but also incapable of catapulting and landing aircraft: it will carry three E-2D Hawkeye aircraft[465] at a cost of €600 million per aircraft; it will be equipped with American aircraft catapult and landing stop systems.[466]

Macron should realize that his 290 nuclear weapons only serve to protect France, thanks to his four nuclear powered submarines, which can fire M51 missiles at more than 8,000 km, and around 50 *Rafale* fighter jets that carry air-to-surface missiles. Nevertheless, uncertainties regarding the deterrence provided by the United States of America led Macron to agree on closer coordination on nuclear

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[465] See Laurent Lagneau, "La commande de trois E-2D Hawkeye destinés a la Marine nationale notifiée à Northrop Grumman par le Pentagone" in *Zone militaire open.360.com*, http://www.opex360.com/2021/12/23/la-commande-de-trois-e-2d-hawkeye-destines-a-la-marine-nationale-notifiee-a-northrop-grumman-par-le-pentagone/, 23/12/2021.

[466] The U.S. State Department approved the sale to France, for $1.3 billion, through *Foreign Military Sales*. See Giacomo Cavanna, « Catapulte elettromagnetiche ed AAG alla Francia per 1,3 miliardi di dollari » (Electromagnetic catapults and AAG to France for 1.3 billion dollars) in *Ares Osservatorio Difesa*, https://aresdifesa.it/catapulte-elettromagnetiche-ed-aag-alla-francia-per-13-miliardi-di-dollari/, 22/12/2021.

deterrence with the United Kingdom, and then to announce, on 2 March 2026, on Île Longue, a strengthening of France's nuclear deterrent and its extension to European allies. Germany, Poland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece, Sweden and Denmark reacted positively to the French offer. On 27 May 2026, France and Norway concluded a defence agreement including a mutual assistance clause in the event of an attack. It does not seem to be a nuclear umbrella equivalent to that of the Americans. The "French nuclear deterrent of first appeal", particularly in the face of the Russian threat, only sets up a nuclear steering group; it could allow partners to participate in French nuclear exercises;[467] it involves the sharing of information. In addition, French strategic weapons could be temporarily transferred to certain allies, as the Americans do.[468]

France's conventional military capabilities are very limited. In 2022, in the context of a high-intensity conflict, it would have been able to commit only 15,000 soldiers, or two brigades or six regiments, 45 fighter jets and its single aircraft carrier, which is much smaller than those of the US Navy. French stocks, particularly of ammunition, did not exceed two weeks of consumption in high-intensity conflict. Without medical and logistical chains, it would not be

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[467] The Strategic Air Forces conduct 70 exercises a year, from testing nuclear order transmission networks to attaching live bombs to aircraft on the ground. Operation Poker is managed from an underground command centre, either in Taverny or in Lyon. It operates five A330-MRTT tanker aircraft, an AWACS and 40 Rafales carrying the ASMPA-R nuclear missile. The fictional enemy has almost as many planes as the attacker and jamming and electronic warfare capabilities.
[468] See sn, "Norwegen rückt unter Frankreichs nuklearen Schutzschirm" (Norway passes under the French nuclear umbrella) in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/norwegen-rueckt-unter-frankreichs-nuklearen-schutzschirm-accg-200874325.html, 28/5/2026; AFP, " La Norvège, dernier pays à se rallier à la « dissuasion nucléaire avancée » instaurée par la France" in *Le Parisien*, https://www.leparisien.fr/politique/la-norvege-dernier-pays-a-se-rallier-a-la-dissuasion-nucleaire-avancee-instauree-par-la-france-28-05-2026-SJACCRLQHZEHHO2NEFOCIES6PY.php, 26/5/2026.

possible to evacuate and treat many wounded soldiers, or to quickly repair a large amount of damaged equipment.[469] This explains the failure of Operation Barkhane, which did not have the means to impose itself in the Sahel, from which France, Europe and the West have been virtually absent since July 2022.

On 2 July 2026, the Minister of the Armed Forces welcomed the final adoption of the military programming law, which increased the budget to €436 billion by 2030, which represents a doubling compared to the 2017 budget and will make it possible to fill certain gaps, notably in ammunition stocks and the operational readiness of the forces. It has postponed the adaptation of forces to the current threats until after the presidential and legislative elections in 2027.[470]

According to a YouGov poll in June 2026, 82% of French people are dissatisfied with Macron's action. They were 73% at the end of Hollande's term of office and 62% at the end of Sarkozy's term.[471] The fires that ravaged the southwest of France in July 2026 will increase the unpopularity of Macron. In July 2022, after the fires that devastated 32,000 hectares in Gascony, Macron promised to order 16 Canadair water bombers to be delivered by 2028. In June 2025, only 2 Canadair were acquired by France, to be delivered in 2028. The maintenance of the Canadair and Dash 8 water bombers, which is deficient due to a lack of adequate funding, severely limits their availability. A first Airbus A400M equipped with a kit allowing the release of

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[469] See Michel Goya, « Vers une guerre de corsaires en Ukraine ? » in *La Voie de l'épée*, https://lavoiedelepee.blogspot.com, 10/8/2022.

[470] See Nicolas Barotte, Tristan Quinault-Maupoil, "Catherine Vautrin : « En dix ans, nous aurons doublé le budget des armées »" in *Le Figaro*, 2/7/2026, p. 7.

[471] See sn, « Emmanuel Macron stabilise sa popularité à un bien bas niveau pour son dernier été à l'Élysée » in *Huffington Post*, https://www.huffingtonpost.fr/politique/article/emmanuel-macron-stabilise-sa-popularite-a-un-bien-bas-niveau-pour-son-dernier-ete-a-l-elysee_282593.html, 3/7/2026.

water or fire retardant intervened on July 26, 2026, but its flight envelope only allows it to limit the progression of the fire, not to fight it. On 27 July 2026, 42,000 hectares had been ravaged in Gironde.[472] Only 5 to 8 Canadair out of 12 were operational in the previous days.

4.9 The EU, out of breath, is despised in a world of bullies

The Prodi Commission (1999-2004) had perceived the downgrading of Europe and proposed the Lisbon Strategy to counter it, but in vain: the governments of the member States remained passive. They knew that Europe had launched GSM[473] and the *World Wide Web*, but that it imported the Internet, the smartphone, e-commerce, cybernetics, digital mass data processing,[474] artificial intelligence, 5th generation combat aircraft and drones.[475]

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[472] See Guy Dutheil et Aline Leclerc, "Pour lutter contre les incendies depuis le ciel, la France ne dispose que de 12 Canadair qui ont « 30 ans de moyenne d'âge »" in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/economie/article/2025/08/06/pour-lutter-contre-les-incendies-depuis-le-ciel-la-france-ne-dispose-que-de-12-canadair-qui-ont-30-ans-de-moyenne-d-age_6620504_3235.html, 6/8/2025 ; sn, « EN DIRECT - Incendies : le feu en Gironde "stabilisé" mais "pas fixé", Emmanuel Macron se rend sur place cet après-midi » in *TF1Info,* https://www.tf1info.fr/environnement-ecologie/en-direct-incendies-plus-de-325-000-refugies-du-feu-en-france-et-en-espagne-la-situation-reste-tres-defavorable-en-gironde-les-informations-lundi-27-juillet-2026-2455222.html, 27/7/2026.

[473] GSM stands for "Global System for Mobile Communications", a mobile telephony standard originally initiated by the « Groupe spécial mobile » (Mobile Task Force) established in 1982 by the European Conference of Postal and Telecommunications Administrations.

[474] Lacking sufficient databases, European researchers are missing the train of artificial intelligence.

[475] The high-altitude, long-endurance observation drones are American and Chinese. NATO has been able to adapt five American *Global Hawks* so that they can fly in Europe. Drones that operate at medium altitudes with long endurance can be used for intelligence or fire support. The Israeli *Heron* and the American *Reaper* have been purchased by nine European countries. For small, mini and nano drones, the European industrial offer includes more than 120 devices. In the United States of

The EU has been deepening Europe's decline since the end of 2004

The EU's bad governance has had catastrophic consequences for Europe for more than twenty years, it is no more than an impotent spectator of the struggle for global supremacy between Trump, Putin, Xi, Modi, etc. Chapter 2 already referred to the Barroso Commission (2004-2014), Chapter 3 to the Juncker Commission (2014-2019) and the von der Leyen I Commission (2019-2024), which had done little to address the EU's structural problems. Von der Leyen's main achievement since 2019 has been the concentration of power in her hands, to the detriment of the presidency of the Council of the EU and the High Representative. The Green Deal, which is supposed to be the Commission's major achievement for 2019-2024, is limited to a package of additional binding standards that have made energy more expensive, and that the current Commission wants, at the very least, to simplify. In 2019, von der Leyen set up the Directorate-General *for Defence Industry and Space* (DEFIS) to develop and implement defence industrial policy, but it has hardly been active outside of research and development.

In July 2024, von der Leyen was much better confirmed in her position by the European Parliament than in her first term, even though she seems to lack any coherent vision. She divided up the portfolios assigned to the vice-presidents of the European Commission so that they could not act in any major area without consulting her first. In the field of migration, she distributes tens of billions of euros to Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia, so that they prevent migrants from leaving their countries for Europe; she proposes to send

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America, the number of drones increased by 4,400% between 2001 and 2013; in 2012, they accounted for a third of military aircraft. In 2017, the global military drone market reached $2.8 billion. It is expected to grow from $16.07 billion in 2024 to $47.16 billion by 2032 according to *Fortune Business Insight*. The United States of America funds 77% of research and development in this field.

asylum seekers to Rwanda, like the British, or to Albania, like the Italians.

The von der Leyen II Commission had promised the European Parliament security, prosperity, protection and power to be confirmed, but on 21 January 2025, in front of the *World Economic Forum* in Davos, von der Leyen cited[476] her three real priorities: a Capital Markets Union, to direct the 1,400 billion in European household savings towards investment; the simplification of rules on sustainable finance and due diligence reasonable, because companies are confronted with 27 national laws on company law, insolvency, labour law and taxation; security of energy, clean and cheap. She wants to deregulate in the social, environmental and digital fields, but she no longer mentioned security and defence.

So far, von der Leyen has failed to increase the financial resources of the European institutions or to strengthen the cohesion and capacity for action of the Union. It has not been able to renew the Next Generation EU operation and borrow significantly on a European scale, this time to deal with the energy crisis caused by the wars against Ukraine and Iran (Repower EU), to counter the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (Global Gateway) and to revive the European defence and defence industry (Rearm Europe). The European multiannual budget 2028-2034 is likely to be even narrower than the previous ones, as it will have to include the repayment of Next Generation EU loans. Mrs von der Leyen does not seem to understand that the absence of security and defence forces, the poorly controlled arrivals of refugees and migrants, the fragility of the euro zone and the banking sector, the non-implementation of climate agreements, the persistence of social dumping are fuelling

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[476] See sn, "Special Address by President von der Leyen at the World Economic Forum" in *Commission européenne*, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/speech_25_285, 21/1/2025.

the development of populist, extremist and authoritarian movements.

On 18 April 2024, Mr Letta released "Much more than a market", a forward-looking view of the future of the single market. On 9 September, Mr Draghi disclosed "The Future of European Competitiveness". Both denounce Europe's industrial, economic and financial decline. The Letta report offered few therapeutics; it appears to have been archived prior to any follow-up. The Draghi report proposed various measures to help the EU end our economic and scientific lag behind the United States of America and China. As of June 2026, only 30% of its recommendations had been implemented, exclusively in the economic and scientific fields. The reform of governance, the end of the EU's strategic dependencies and the completion of the capital market are in a secret dungeon.[477] Unfortunately, the latter is not on the agenda of the European Council, because for fifteen years Ireland and Luxembourg have been reluctant to cede control of clearing houses, central securities depositories, service providers for crypto assets, etc. Every year, between 300 and 600 billion euros of European savings are placed in the American equity or bond markets.[478] In 2025, 85% of global oil transactions were carried out in dollars, as well as 88% of international financial transactions, despite a growing mistrust of the dollar, because of Trump's unpredictability. The status of American Treasury bonds as the ultimate safe haven asset is being questioned, particularly in Japan and China, which hold many of them.

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[477] **See François Chimits, Jeanne Lebaudy, Énora Morin, Eve Talkowski, « Rapport Draghi : l'Europe au rendez-vous ? » in *Institut Montaigne*, https://www.institutmontaigne.org/publications/rapport-draghi-leurope-au-rendez-vous, June 2026.**

[478] See **Anne de Guigné, "Union des marchés de capitaux : six pays européens accélèrent" in *Le Figaro*, 28/5/2026, p. 27.**

The EU and defence, only false good ideas

The Strategic Agenda 2024-2029 adopted by the European Council at its meeting on 27 June 2024 aimed to strengthen security and defence. Presented on 30 October 2024, Mr Niinistö's report on the EU's preparedness for crisis management, Safer Together: Strengthening Europe's Civilian and Military Preparedness and Readiness, highlighted Europe's growing dependence on security and defence. The financing of the remedies it proposes must wait for the implementation of the next Multiannual Financial Framework, i.e. 2028. The question that arises within the European Court of Auditors is whether the EU will manage to get out of the implementation deficit that it has too often suffered in the past.[479]

While Article 4(2), last sentence, of the TEU states that "national security remains the sole responsibility of each member State", the European Commission and the European Parliament, but not the European Council, claim to gradually establish a European Defence Union (EDU),[480] basing it on the TEU, Articles 23 to 46, relating to the EU external action and the CFSP, Article 16 on the protection of personal data, including in the field of defence; Articles 49 to 62 on the right of establishment and services, which has an influence on defence procurement; Articles 101 to 109 on competition in the defence industry; Article 114 on the approximation of the laws, regulations and administrative provisions of the member States which have as their object the establishment and functioning of the internal market, including legislation on defence

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[479] See Jean-Louis de Brouwer, « Towards a Preparedness Union Strategy? Show us the money! » in *Journal of the European Court of Auditors*, n° 1/2025, https://www.eca.europa.eu/ECAPublications/JOURNAL-2025-01/JOURNAL-2025-01_EN.pdf#page=32, p. 32-34.

[480] See Elsa Bernard, Quentin Loïez, Stéphane Rodrigues (dir.), *L'Union européenne de la défense. Commentaire article par article*, Brussels, Bruylant, 2024. 998 pages of texts and commentaries to describe a non-existent UDE!

procurement; Articles 170 to 172 on trans-European mobility, particularly military mobility; Article 173 on defence industrial policy; Articles 175 to 178 on economic policy, which influences the defence sector; Articles 179 to 190 on research and development policy for defence and space, as well as space policy; Article 196 on cooperation in the field of civil protection; Article 207 on the common commercial policy, which has an influence on defence procurement, Article 212 on economic, financial and technical cooperation actions, which was the basis for the European defence industrial development programme (EDIDP). Article 222 contains the solidarity clause. Article 275 provides that the CJEU is not competent in matters of the common foreign and security policy and therefore of defence, except to monitor compliance with Article 40 of the TEU, which provides that the CFSP is not in contradiction with the provisions of the TFEU, Articles 308 and 309 of which deal with the European Investment Bank, who can act in favour of the defence industry; Articles 346 to 348 relate to the security of the member States and form part of the legislation on defence procurement. The Euratom Treaty lays down nuclear, civil and military law. Various secondary acts also apply in the field of defence.

This approach to European defence through law does not answer the first question that the military asks, namely who is in charge, and the first question that industrialists ask, namely who signs the purchase orders. The EDU will never be able to deter a potential aggressor, since it does not create any credible military capability, due to the lack of a complete chain of command, which requires a head of state – commander-in-chief.

Mr Kubilius, a member of the European Parliament and a former Lithuanian prime minister, was appointed in 2024 by von der Leyen as the EU's Commissioner for Defence and Space, "responsible for developing investment in defence industrial capabilities and the European Defence Union". His competence is vague, overlapping with the responsibilities of member States, as well as those of other

EU commissioners, in particular those of Ms Kallas, the EU High Representative (HR), to whom the TEU assigns the EU's foreign and defence policy, as well as the presidency of the Councils of Foreign and Defence Ministers and the Management Board of the European Defence Agency (EDA). During his hearing[481] in front of the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Industry, Research and Energy on 6 November 2024, Mr Kubilius said that he wanted the EU, without competing with NATO, to contribute to the development of the capabilities and resources necessary for the implementation of NATO's military deterrence and defence plans. On 19 March 2025, he presented a White Paper on the future of European defence, which he drafted with the High Representative, and which encourages the increase in defence spending in order to develop or acquire essential defence capabilities. In the speech that Mr. Kubilius gave at the Tocqueville Conversations, on 28 June 2025,[482] he rightly considered that the time when we could live without a common European defence is over, Europe being caught "between the MAGA revolution and Russian revisionism". Unfortunately, he is considering the path of the European Defence Union (EDU) to create it. Mr Kubilius' unrealism does not stop there: he hopes that our leaders will show real collective *leadership* to ensure the independence of Europe and the *Pax Europaea*. In my opinion, this collective leadership will come on the Greek calends, that is to say never.

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[481] See sn, « Audition du commissaire désigné Andrius Kubilius » in *Parlement européen*, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/fr/press-room/20241029IPR25043/audition-du-commissaire-designe-andrius-kubilius, 6/11/2024.

[482] See sn, *Speech by Commissioner Kubilius at the Tocqueville Conversations: "The Future of Europe: From Pax Americana to Pax Europeae"*, Brussels, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/speech_25_1661, 28/6/2025.

Cooperations between various European States are doomed to fail

The inability of Europeans to adopt efficient federal governance has prevented some of the most promising cooperation between European States from producing all the benefits that could have been expected. Here are three examples.

Space has been a shared competence between the EU and the member States since the Lisbon Treaty. Over the period 2021-2027, almost €15 billion is allocated by the EU, including €9 billion for the Galileo satellite positioning system. The EU has entrusted the implementation of the project to the European Space Agency, while the operator is the EU Agency for the Space Programme. The commercial operation of Galileo was planned for 2008, but it was not until 2024, with 30 satellites put into orbit, including 6 spares, that the constellation became fully operational. Galileo's technological lead over competing systems has been lost. The European Court of Auditors, in its Special Report 7/2009, denounced inadequate governance: responsibilities were poorly distributed, which delayed decision-making, the commercial objective was not specified, and funding was initially inadequate.[483] Europe in space still has shortcomings, particularly in secure space connectivity in low Earth orbit, human spaceflight and the capacity for military action in orbit. Odin's Eye, the European early warning project to detect the take-off of ballistic and hypervelocity missiles, discussed since 2021, is making little progress.

In July 2000, discarding the Lockheed-Martin Antonov An-70 and C-130 J, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Belgium, Luxembourg and Turkey chose the A400M aircraft to replace their Transall and C-130 Hercules military transport aircraft. In December 2002, a

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[483] **In 2007, the public/private partnership complicated by the "fair return" rule was replaced by an allocation included in the EU budget.**

Memorandum of Understanding set the order at 180 aircraft at a price of 20 billion € and designated the OCCAr as the contractor. Under pressure from engine manufacturers Snecma, Rolls Royce, MTU Aero Engines and ITP, who have come together in the Europrop International consortium to develop the TP400-D6 turboshaft engine, the participating States have unfortunately given up on ordering proven turboprops from Pratt & Whitney of Canada. Canada did not order the aircraft. The development of the TP400-D6 was very laborious: while the first A400M left the factory in 2008 in Seville, it was only certified in 2013, once equipped with more or less reliable engines. Malaysia, Kazakhstan and Indonesia have ordered 4, 2 and 2 aircraft respectively, which does not make up for the reduction in their orders by Germany and France, which were forced to buy C-130 J's to replace the Transall that have reached the end of their life. South Africa, Denmark and Chile did not place the order they were considering. The participating States have suffered 11 billion € in additional costs and Airbus has incurred a loss of 10 billion €. The first aircrafts delivered will not be brought up to the final standard until 2027. Due to a lack of new orders, Airbus is considering stopping production in 2028 because there are only a few aircraft left to build. The Embraer KC-390 is a credible alternative even if it does not have the same military capabilities.[484]

Another "European" programme, the NH-90 helicopter, has not been a great success, for the same reason: the absence of a European authority capable of ensuring that the general interest prevails over individual interests. Belgium withdrew its 4 NH-90s for troop transport in September 2025, after only 12 years of service, due to excessive operating costs (€15,000 per flight hour) and too low availability, as the delivery times for spare parts are

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[484] sn, "Multi-mission airlift/tanker aircraft: The C-390 offers unique advantages" in *Breaking Defense*, https://breakingdefense.com/2025/06/multi-mission-airlift-tanker-aircraft-the-c-390-offers-unique-advantages/, 26/6/2025.

intolerable. They were purchased in 2007 for €292.5 million along with four other NH-90s for *Search and Rescue* at sea and anti-submarine warfare when they are on board the frigates. Norway retired its NH-90s in 2022 and Australia in 2023.

The EU and NATO

Since 1949, most European countries have relied on the United States of America, via NATO, for their security and defence, but the second Trump administration has cast doubt on the reliability of the American military commitment to support Europe, through its statements and through the trade war it has declared against its allies. Yet our intelligence services still depend on satellites, servers and high-tech computers *made in the USA*.

Many are becoming aware that it has become unreasonable to rely on NATO, i.e. on the **United States of America, and some mistakenly imagine** that they can count on France. Presidents Chirac and Macron **wanted to** open the French nuclear umbrella to cover Europe, but Putin believed and still believes that France will not risk the destruction of Lyon, Bordeaux or Lille to protect Tallinn, Riga or Vilnius. **His** reasoning also applies to Great Britain.

The Atlantic Council of 24 and 25 June 2025 in The Hague confirmed the vassalisation of Europe, whose leaders feared the American disengagement from NATO and a further increase in customs duties. The decision of these leaders to increase their security and defence spending to 5% of GDP is not accompanied by any vision of what Europe's security and defence should be in the medium and long term. No defence industrial policy has been envisaged. The social spending of European States will necessarily be reduced to finance the increase in defence spending, given the current level of public deficits and debts. Europe has shown its division and weakness, while China has not been afraid to show its strength in the face of Trump's brutality. At the same time as the Europeans were beginning talks with the Iranians, Trump was launching his bombers to strike

nuclear sites in Iran, wanting to complete what Israel had been unable to do during its 12-day war with Iran because it did not have the necessary weaponry.

On 3 July 2026, just before the Atlantic Council in Ankara on 7 and 8 July, Trump considered American support for NATO ridiculous, as his country's relationship with the Alliance is not reciprocal.[485] Trump reiterated in Ankara that he had been "disappointed" by NATO during the war in Iran and over Greenland and that he could withdraw all his soldiers from Europe. Rutte replied that the Europeans and Canadians have spent an additional $258 billion on their defence in two years; that the Europeans could, for $4.5 billion, by 2030, replace aerial surveillance Awacs with Saab's 10 Global Eye; that, for an additional $54 billion, 7 countries will order new A400-M from Airbus, which would also provide a tenth A330 MRTT; that Denmark, Finland, Germany and Norway have planned to acquire five MQ-4C Triton high-altitude surveillance drones from Northrop Grumman; that Denmark will buy two Boeing P-8A Poseidon maritime surveillance aircraft, while Trump reaffirmed in Ankara that Greenland should be controlled by the United States and not by Denmark. Other countries will invest in precision strikes, anti-drone or anti-missile defence. The United Kingdom is committed to Lockheed Martin's PrSM ballistic missile program, hoping for the first deliveries as early as 2027. The Elsa (European Long-Range Strike Approach) project, launched in 2024, brings together Germany, France and the United Kingdom. Germany has been asking for months to be able to produce Tomahawk cruise missiles under license with Raytheon, as well as Patriot PAC-3s. Rheinmetall and Lockheed Martin will manufacture ATACMS tactical missiles in Germany. However, the EU intends to limit the share allocated to American firms and to favour European suppliers.

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[485] **Voir AFP/OL, « Trump et l'OTAN: «Ils n'étaient pas là pour nous!» » in *L'Essentiel*, https://www.lessentiel.lu/fr/story/tensions-trump-et-l-otan-ils-n-etaient-pas-la-pour-nous-103595749, 3/7/2026.**

Zelensky insisted that Europe urgently needs a ballistic missile defence system. He got Trump to allow Ukraine to produce Patriot PAC-3 missiles. The Europeans will also give Ukraine an additional 70 billion in 2027, and at least as much in 2027, in addition to the 90 billion already granted.[486]

The Europeans' defence effort is not negligible, it is inefficient

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine has pushed European countries to significantly increase their defence budgets, but the capability gaps remain very large. The military capabilities of the European States are considerable in terms of numbers, but the equipment of our million and a half military personnel is disparate and the operationality of our units is doubtful, in particular because of the vacuity of our ammunition depots and insufficient training, but also because of the lack of application of the Lisbon Strategy adopted in 2000: technical-scientific innovation is much less in Europe than in China or the United States of America, particularly in the field of armaments, but also in Ukraine.

The EU is militarily insignificant and powerless, because it is not a State; it does not have a head of State who can command in chief the European armed forces. The EU defence effort remains very limited: in 2020, for the first time, the EU allocated to our security and defence 0.7% of the 2021-2027 budget i.e. €13.2 billion over seven years. This is less than €2 billion per year for 440 million inhabitants or €5 per taxpayer per year. This is 0.07% of the EU's GDP, €18,000 billion in 2025; this represents 3.8% of EU member

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[486] See **Florentin Collomp, « Otan : les Alliés regarnissent leurs arsenaux dans l'urgence » in *Le Figaro*, 8/7/2026, p. 6 ; Peter De Lobel, Jorn Van Thillo, « Opvallende uitkomst Navo-top: Oekraïne mag zelf Amerikaanse Patriot-raketten bouwen » in *De Standaard*, https://www.standaard.be/buitenland/opvallende-uitkomst-navo-top-oekrane-mag-zelf-amerikaanse-patriot-raketten-bouwen/158442919.html, 8/7/2026.**

States' defence spending, which has increased from €190 billion in 2014 to €343 billion in 2025.[487] The EU military missions command would consist of 60 of the planned 74 personnel, while NATO member States, 21 of which are EU members, recently increased the number of NATO command structures by 1,200 to 8,800 posts.

In the face of Russian aggressiveness, it is urgent to act. **In 4 years of war, Putin has threatened us with nuclear attack 200 times. He no longer has any respect for international law, and in particular the integrity of borders.**

The EU's defence industrial policy

Public procurement and capacity development remain fragmented in both the EU and NATO. The European defence industry is undersized and organised according to the member States. The EU has limited tools to help develop defence production, encourage joint research and development, and promote joint procurement, but current funding does not lead to major changes.

The sum of European defence budgets is close to half of the American defence budget, but of the million two hundred thousand European soldiers, only a few tens of thousands are sufficiently formed, equipped, and trained to intervene in high-intensity operations. Because **of the waste induced by the multiplicity of decision-makers, European weapons systems are now produced in small numbers, making them more expensive to acquire, implement and maintain. Our armed forces use 178 types of weapon systems compared to 30 in the United States of America. This penalizes our operationality and our defence industrial and technological**

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[487] See sn, « Défense : l'Union européenne crée-t-elle une armée européenne ? » in *Parlement européen, Thèmes,* https://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/fr/article/20190612STO54310/defense-l-union-europeenne-cree-t-elle-une-armee-europeenne#:~:text=Les%20expenditure%20de%20défense%20parmi,à%20147%20milliards%20d'euros, 31/3/2025.

base. The latter, weakened by three decades of underinvestment, can no longer respond quickly to needs.

The EU's defence industrial policy will inevitably remain incomplete, since there is no European defence policy, nor a single market for defence goods and services. The financing of the defence industry has been severely hampered by European requirements in terms of sustainable development. In the absence of effective governance and decision-making processes, the EU was only able to produce half of the one million 155 mm shells it had promised Ukraine in 2023. Our defence industrial and technological base should be rationalised: Europe has four submarine manufacturers (Naval Group, ThyssenKrupp Marine Systems, Navantia and Kockums) and a dozen tank producers, while the Americans have only one.

According to the French High Commission for Planning, Europeans bought 53% of their military equipment from the United States of America between 2020 and 2024, compared to 41% between 2015 and 2019.[488] Another part of **our** equipment is acquired in South Korea or Turkey, which reduces our GDP and employment in Europe. **The European giants are middleweights compared to Lockheed Martin, Raytheon Technologies, Northrop Grumman, General Dynamics and Boeing. The British BAE Systems comes in 7th place, the Italian Leonardo, Airbus and Thales in 11th, 12th and 14th place.**[489] **EU competition policy has not allowed for the creation of a European champion other than**

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[488] **See Nicolas Barotte, "Défense : inquiétude face à la dépendance européenne" in *Le Figaro*, 2/7/2026, p. 7.**

[489] **See Jean-Michel Bezat, « L'Europe dispose d'une force de frappe industrielle pour répondre aux besoins des armées, mais ne peut la mettre au service d'une stratégie supranationale inexistante » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2024/04/08/l-europe-dispose-d-une-force-de-frappe-industrielle-pour-repondre-aux-besoins-des-armees-mais-ne-peut-la-mettre-au-service-d-une-strategie-supranationale-inexistante_6226558_3232.html, 8/ 4/2024.**

Airbus.[490] Companies like Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple, Microsoft, Baidu, Alibaba, Huawei, Tencent, Xiaomi, Tik Tok, etc., have no European equivalents. They plunder our data with impunity; they sell it to us and their profits in Europe are exempt from tax.

The EU's poor crisis management

Europeans have had to note the mediocre ability of the EU institutions to manage the crises (financial, monetary, migration, health, war in Ukraine, conflict in Middle East) that have occurred for more than 20 years. For example, it took six weeks in April-May 2020 to finally implement the emergency package that Italy was urgently demanding. However, this mechanism had been organised in 2002 by Council Regulation (EC) No 2012/2002 of 11 November 2002 establishing the *European Union Solidarity Fund*, subsequently clarified on 13 March 2020 by the European Parliament and the Council "*in order to provide financial assistance to member States seriously affected by a major public health emergency* ». This episode is, among many

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[490] **Since the signing of the agreement between purchasing countries in December 2002, Airbus and its customers have suffered from the weaknesses of the OCCAr, the negligence of the Spanish branch of Airbus, the arrogance of its Franco-German senior management, the irresponsibility of political decision-makers and national defence staffs which have led to an insufficient consolidation of demand. as well as the choice of a European turboprop to be developed, rather than the proven turboprop from Pratt & Whitney of Canada. This has led to the loss of the Canadian A400-M order, resulting in very significant delivery delays, additional costs for customers and significant operational shortcomings**. Over the period 2015-2018, Airbus has set aside €5.5 billion for the A400M. See AFP, Reuters, « Plombé par les amendes et l'A400M, Airbus annonce une perte nette de 1,36 milliard d'euros en 2019 » in *Ouest France*, https://www.ouest-france.fr/economie/entreprises/airbus/plombe-par-les-amendes-et-l-a400m-airbus-annonce-une-perte-nette-de-1-36-milliard-d-euros-en-2019-6735109, 13/2/2020. Shareholders are not the only ones affected. See Isabelle Chaperon, « Airbus supprime 2.362 postes dans sa division défense-espace » in *Le Monde*, https://www.lemonde.fr/economie/article/2020/02/20/airbus-a-la-peine-dans-la-defense-et-le-spatial-supprime-2-362-postes_6030207_3234.html, 20/2/2020.

others, a striking manifestation of the inability of the EU institutions to take urgent decisions.

The shortcomings of Soft Power

In addition to its division, it is its aversion to force that has confined the EU to a role of *soft power*. **As a result, Europe's strategic autonomy does not exist. The only real decision-maker in the West is the President of the United States of America. The EU** is incapable of ensuring our security, making its external borders inviolable, stabilising its neighbourhood, guaranteeing the maintenance of peace. In the absence of military power, the EU is as inadequate in the face of terrorists and autocrats as the League of Nations was in the face of totalitarianism. It is incapable of facing an increasingly unstable multipolar world, where nationalist, xenophobic, intolerant and authoritarian forces are on the rise, where the great powers have turned their backs on multilateralism and now consider only the balance of power. The EU, compared to the United States of America, Russia and China, stands for nothing, except in trade matters, the only area of competence that the ember States have completely renounced since the Treaty of Rome of 1957.

Since the end of the Cold War, our governments have, under the pretext of budgetary consolidation, dismantled many public services, in the fields of security, defence, health, education, justice, etc., without any vision of the future, without coordination at European level. Rather than seeking illusory synergies and economies of scale between small groups of States, these matters should have been federalized.

Our shortcomings expose us to poor responses to pandemics, poorly controlled migration, Islamist terrorism inspired by Daesh and Al Qaeda, as well as violent extremism, from both the right and the left, as the Covid-19 pandemic and its economic and social consequences have increased the polarisation of our society.

The compass that has lost ones' bearing

On 21 March 2022, the European Council on Foreign Affairs and Defence approved the "Strategic Compass on Security and Defence - For an EU that protects its citizens, values and interests, and contributes to international peace and security".[491] It lists threats, conflicts and instabilities that can have repercussions on peace in the EU, as well as areas that Europeans need to pay attention to, but our leaders have been unable to prioritise them and indicate what military capabilities they believe they need to counter them. The compass is misleading when it affirms the unity and decision-making autonomy of the EU: fundamental disagreements persist between the member States. The European Council of 24 and 25 March 2022 said it was "determined to accelerate work on defence",[492] but action has been delayed. The Compass announced that the "*Groupements tactiques 1500*" or *EU Battlegroups*, which have been available since 2007 but have never been deployed, will become a multinational rapid reaction force of 5,000 soldiers. What could it do in the face of 200,000 Russian soldiers? Macron has not been able to validate his voluminous but vague plan to implement the Compass,[493] which will remain a non-binding declaration of intent. The compass called for spending more and better on defence, while all the tools put in place to improve the efficiency of our defence spending have proved ineffective, in particular, since 2004, the European Defence Agency, due to a lack of sufficient resources.

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[491] See sn, *Une boussole stratégique*, https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-7371-2022-INIT/fr/pdf, 21/3/2022.
[492] See sn, *Conclusions European Council meeting 24 & 25 March 2022*, https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/55082/2022-03-2425-euco-conclusions-en.pdf, 25/3/2022.
[493] See E. Macron, *Discours inaugural du salon Euro Satory à Villepinte*, https://www.elysee.fr/front/pdf/elysee-module-19745-fr.pdf, 13/6/2022.

The European Political Community bis

Since the European Council of 23 and 24 June 2022, a new European Political Community (EPC) has periodically brought together European Heads of State or Government that want to contribute to the security, stability and prosperity of our continent,[494] i.e. the 27 EU member States, the 4 member countries of the European Economic Area, 9 EU candidate countries, including Turkey, and 7 other countries, including Azerbaijan. The EPC met in 2022 in Czechia, in 2023 in Moldova and Spain, in 2024 in the United Kingdom and Hungary, in 2025 in Albania and Denmark, where Greenland and the Faroe Islands were represented for the first time, and in 2026 in Armenia, where Canada participated for the first time. The EPC does not seem to decide on anything other than a few new memberships, the date, as well as the location of the next meeting. It is hardly more useful than the EPC of the years 1952-1954.

The structural cause of our ills: poorly designed institutions

Even more than its failing leaders, it is its baroque governance, not in accordance with the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers advocated by Montesquieu in The Spirit of Laws, which has led the EU to paralysis,[495] financial mismanagement, operational impotence, and the absence of political credibility. The EU incoherently combines supranational, intergovernmental, confederal and federal elements of governance. The

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[494] See Nicolas Gros-Verheyde, "La future communauté géopolitique européenne : but, contenu et fonctionnement" in *Bruxelles2*, https://club.bruxelles2.eu/2022/06/decryptage-la-future-communaute-geo-politique-europeenne-but-contenu-et-fonctionnement/?utm_source=mailpoet&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=b2pro-or-newsletter-post-title_2, 16/6/2022.

[495] Hungary, Greece and Slovenia have prevented or rendered meaningless proposals for European Council decisions that go against China, particularly on territorial disputes in the South China Sea or on human rights.

Commissioner for Foreign Trade is supranational. The European Council is intergovernmental, as is the Council of the euro area or Eurogroup, which **is made up** of the finance ministers of the States that have adopted the euro as their currency.[496] Among the confederal elements: the EU is based on treaties, which can only be modified unanimously, it is also by unanimity that a good number of decisions are taken; the EU does not have the competence of competence; a member State can leave the EU (Article 50 TEU). However, the basic competences of the confederations are external relations and defence, with internal affairs remaining with the member states, but in the EU, it is the other way around! Partially federal elements include the Court of Justice of the EU and the General Court of the EU; the European Parliament; directly applicable EU law; qualified majority voting in the European Council at ministerial level, by 55% of the member States if they represent at least 65% of the European population.[497] **The European Central Bank operates federally, but only the 20** governors of the central banks of the euro zone have the right to vote in its executive board.

Since 2005, the European Commission **yielded** to the European Council. She is a master of political doublespeak and is a champion of running on the spot. By announcing that something is going to happen, it leads us to believe that it is done.

The European Council, made up of the Heads of State or Government of the member States, is charged by Article 15 TEU with "*giving the Union the necessary impetus for its development and defining its general political orientations and priorities*". In reality, in the absence of a vision for the future, it is failing in its duty, set by the European treaties, which is to give the EU broad guidelines, in the medium and long term. **It ensures that national governments and parties retain real**

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[496] Since 1 January 2026: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain.

[497] See **Aquilino Morelle, *L'opium des élites. Comment on a défait la France sans faire l'Europe*, op. cit., p. 235-236.**

power, as demonstrated by the absence of supranational political parties, for lack of a legal basis to create one, as Volt has experienced. This prevents any transnational European public debate and makes it difficult for a European public opinion to emerge, which can only express itself through Eurobarometer polls. The European Council has become, as a result of an abuse of power, a parliamentary system, which is by definition ineffective **and uncontrolled: it is** not accountable to any assembly **whatsoever**. To decide unanimously, he needs endless meetings, but he is not able to communicate with one voice on his decisions. Our governments, for their part, communicate full-time, but they remain silent when it comes to setting rationally, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, the powers of the European authorities, those of the member States, those of the regions and those of local authorities**, so that each level of government can act effectively, without fear of excess of power or legal vacuum. Its members care little about the general interest of Europeans, but a lot about the interests of the governments of the member States. The European Council reminds me of the Assembly of Notables of the Kingdom of France, which showed no sense of responsibility in the face of the size of the public deficit at the beginning of 1787, which led to the end of the *Ancien Régime* in 1789.**

Since the beginning of the 2024-2029 legislature, the European Parliament has appeared increasingly marginalised. The debates are becoming more and more inconsistent. Work on legislation is compromised by Omnibus emergency procedures. The pro-European majority is divided, with the EPP having repeatedly formed an alternative majority with far-right groups. The structural flaw of the European Parliament is that it is deprived of some of the essential rights of a legislative assembly: to vote on taxes and the budget of revenue and expenditure, to **entrust** and control the government, to take the legislative initiative. It is not **responsible for the Common**

Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)[498] or for monetary matters. The Federal Court in Karlsruhe ruled in 2009 that its election did not respect the equality of citizens enshrined in Article 9 of the EU Treaty. **She added that the EU is not a federal state, but an association of sovereign states. She noted that, even** after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the EU, when examined in relation to the requirements of a constitutional state, lacks a political decision-making body constituted on the basis of an election by universal suffrage and endowed with the capacity for unitary representation of the will of the people.

In short, the EU institutions are illegitimate, technocratic and anti-democratic. Indecisive, lacking vision, courage, ambition and political unity, incapable of solving our concrete problems, the EU has been satisfied **for several decades** with fragile compromises and misleading texts,[499] drafted by obscure committees, in places conducive to negotiations, speculation, concessions, renunciations and even betrayals. Compromises between member States rarely lead to an ambitious common policy, very often to the lowest common denominator.

A federal Europe, necessary and possible

Since 1648, States have had a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. Because it is **only** an association of states, the EU is not in a position to ensure our security and defence, nor would it be able to do so after a **reform of the European treaties. However, the challenges are increasingly pressing – from climate to health, migration, the development of digital technologies, nuclear proliferation and the war in our neighbourhood. This implies that Europe must cease to be**

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[498] See Carolyn Moser, Steven Blockmans, *The extent of the European Parliament's competence in Common Security and Defence Policy*, Brussels, European Parliament, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2022/702559/EXPO_IDA(2022)702559_EN.pdf, June 2022.

[499] The International Monetary Fund judged on 29/6/2018 that the agreement on Greek debt relief has only improved its sustainability in the medium term, not in the long term.

an essentially normative power, which limits itself to legislating. We must respect the separation of powers advocated by Montesquieu and set up federal State institutions, composed firstly of a bicameral legislature, secondly of an executive capable of efficiently constituting and implementing, among other things, in an effective way, European armed forces, capable of deterring possible aggressors and defending us in case of need, and thirdly, a justice system that is more extensive than that of the EU, to name only the essential components, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

Almost 30 years after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, it is time to admit that the EEAS is of little use but very costly, that the CFSP and the CSDP are both failures and that the € remains fragile, because the EU is too divided to be effective and therefore credible. The question posed by Henry Kissinger in the 1970s has still not been satisfactorily answered, as the EU's external representation is not the prerogative of any of its institutions; rather, all of which hold ave a fragment of it, which constantly leads to confusion among its interlocutors.

Lacking democratic legitimacy, the EU is not a State, and it has no government. It is only an association of States that constitutes a free trade area. For nearly seven decades, politicians' communication has misled us. They have imposed on European citizens *ersatz* democratic institutions, such as a European Parliament deprived of a substantial part of the normal powers of a legislative assembly. A flag, an anthem, a motto are not enough to establish a European State.

The EU cannot become a political actor, nor can it restore Europe to a position worthy of it and its 440 million citizens, in a multipolar world where democracies and authoritarian regimes face each other. What Europe needs most is a legitimate, democratic federal government, controlled by the European Parliament**. It would be easy to obtain it if the latter, who has been the most legitimate representative of**

the citizens since 1979, declared himself a constituent, inspired by the pioneers of European unification. He had this courage only once, in 1984, but instead of drafting a constitution, misguided by Altiero Spinelli - who nevertheless had tried to mobilise Europeans in favour of a real constitution - he wrote a second draft of a so-called constitutional treaty on the model of that of the EPC in the 1950s, which the European Council rejected.

European governments are incapable of keeping us at peace. Instead of outsourcing this mission to the Americans, they should work to build up European federal armed forces, which presupposes a European federal State. As they do not do so, more and more Europeans want national borders to be returned, believing, but wrongly, that nation States protect them better, especially against uncontrolled migratory flows, unfair competition and disease. The most valid argument of the sovereigntists is the carelessness of the EU. For example, it is not even capable of substantially improving military mobility, which it took over in 2018, as NATO has proven powerless to do so in two decades. However, military mobility means facilitating the movement of military equipment in the EU, which is appreciable in deterring an aggressor and would be essential in the event of a conflict. On 5 February 2025, the European Court of Auditors deplored the fact that there is no single point of contact at EU level for military mobility, not even for the simplification of administrative formalities at border crossings. Rail and road infrastructure, intermodal terminals, do not allow for proper mobility. The EU has earmarked €1.7 billion between 2021 and 2027 to finance works, but this modest amount was already fully used by the end of 2023. The Commission did not correctly estimate the necessary funding.[500]

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[500] See Belga, "La mobilité militaire en Europe toujours "problématique", pointe un rapport" in *La Libre*, https://www.lalibre.be/international/europe/2025/02/05/la-mobilite-

That is why we need a federal constitution for the United States of Europe; a European Parliament elected in accordance with the principle of equality between Europeans and with the full powers of a parliamentary assembly; a Senate validly representing the member States; a President who is commander-in-chief of the armed forces; a government accountable to Parliament; a federal judiciary that goes beyond the Court and the Court of Justice in Luxembourg; an international representation that is more credible than the European External Action Service, because it is supported by a federal European defence; and a federal budget of 20 to 30% of GDP, to strengthen the € and revive our economy.

To lift Europe out of its industrial, economic and financial downgrading, and to free it from its dependence on defence, a reform of the treaties would be ineffective. Our ambition must be to relaunch the project of Western civilization that was carried out by Charlemagne, the Humanists and the Enlightenment. It will be a source of creativity, inventiveness, progress and accomplishment. The difficulty is psychological more than political. Stanford professor of social psychology Festinger (1919-1989) wrote that people prefer to defend positions "that are known to be false but generally accepted in order to blend in with the masses. It's not that people are stupid, but they have too much to lose: their reputation, their political group, their place in the pack.[501] This is particularly observable when politicians have the primary objective of surviving socially and politically, which involves submission to the party that got them elected. He who isolates himself is lost. The aim of

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militaire-en-europe-toujours-problematique-pointe-un-rapport-NP72NJFCNFEAVJRIJ5OLVGMNQ4/#cxrecs_s, 5/2/2025.

[501] David Vaidis, Séverine Halimi-Falkowicz, « La théorie de la dissonance cognitive, une théorie âgée d'un demi-siècle » (The theory of cognitive dissonance, a theory aged half a century) in *Revue électronique de Psychologie Sociale*, 2007, N°1, p. 9-18, https://psychologiescientifique.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Vaidis-et-Halimi-Falkowicz-2007-La-théorie-de-la-dissonance-cognitive-une-théorie.pdf.

parties is not the search for truth, but the conquest of power. Lying is one of the ways of seducing voters, who often prefer not to face reality, which is too distressing. This is why our leaders, like those before 1914 or 1940, are sleepwalking and guiding us towards catastrophe.

As was the case recently in Hungary, the leap forward should come from the citizens. They should demand what Europe lacks: it is "the decisive leader of Jean Bodin, the one who deliberates on *public safety*."[502] The European federal State (and its constitution) must be "determined on the basis of politics and [according to Carl Schmitt], of *Macht-Welt-Politik*. [In the] incessant clashes of interests, opinions and forces [on the international scene, the [federal] Constitution must make it possible to] establish a line of demarcation between friend and foe[503] [and then] to lead the struggle for power and the settlement of conflicts.[504]

[The] enlightened 18th century had adopted a conception oriented towards progress which ranged from fanaticism to freedom, from dogma to criticism, from superstition to the enlightenment of minds. With the emergence of a de-westernized and hostile world, this path has been reversed. We pass from enlightenment to superstition, from criticism to dogma, and from freedom to fanaticism. This inversion has a fixed and unavoidable target: the West, the object *a priori* of absolute hatred. [This conflict] does not eliminate, but is superimposed on the *Macht-Politik*, on the strategic and geopolitical logics of the major players on the world

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[502] « Pour une Europe restaurée » : de la « Constitution » européenne à la Macht-Politik. Une relecture de Carl Schmitt » in Irnério Seminatore (éd.), Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, etc., *Constitution européenne et sécurité internationale*, Paris, Economica, 2004, p. 302.

[503] Mr. Seminatore does not envisage the personal and private enemy, the *inimicus*, but the *hostis*, the one who opposes our collective and Western conception of life and remains the bearer of an irreducible and immeasurable conception of existence and culture.

[504] Irnério Seminatore, « Pour une Europe restaurée » : de la « Constitution » européenne à la Macht-Politik. Une relecture de Carl Schmitt » in Irnério Seminatore (éd.), Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, etc, *Constitution européenne et sécurité internationale*, op. cit., p. 303-305.

stage. [The Federal Constitution of the United States of Europe should] help to revive the now mature geopolitical consciousness and imaginary of Europe, a return to the original political intentions of the founding countries and the emergence of a new era, that of a restored and therefore recasted Europe on a planetary scale. A Europe that has a strength of its own, because strength is indispensable for political groups that want to live on the world stage. Force remains the main resource for strategic action. Only the achievements of power prevent us from entrusting our destiny to the dreams of peace, which is elevated to an absolute value and instituted as a regulator of international competition. This choice between ideas-values is a choice of destiny and therefore a radical political choice that belongs to the primacy of political deliberation and therefore of sovereign power. [The] condition for the survival of a group of peoples, bound by a constitution, is to provide for exceptional cases and figures of sovereignty who deliberate extreme cases in extreme situations. In reality, if politics is destiny, Europe's destiny passes first and foremost through the politicisation of its constitution and the militarisation of its power, which is now *civil.* [Europe needs one] constitution in which there is authority; an authority by which a decision is forged; a decision that is imposed by a will and is asserted by strength, finality and hope. »[505]

South Korea has shown us the importance of applying the basic principles of political science when developing defence policy and defence industrial policy. The sustainability of political will plays a crucial role. It is the only way to set relevant priorities, and therefore consensual, and therefore stable. Only a State organization allows this. Coalitions of States, associations of States and confederations bring together only disparate and fluctuating wills. They do not allow the general interest to take precedence over individual interests.

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[505] Idem., p. 311-312.

James M. Buchanan wrote: "*A constitution that will embody the terms of the contract that the peoples of Europe must make, one with another, individually and as members of separate national-cultural communities, is a "sine qua non" of the whole enterprise*".[506]

Following the example of **the Ukrainians, Europeans should find the courage to face up, to dare, to undertake, to innovate and to invent a Europe that is ambitious, proud, open to the world and ready to defend its values and interests. They should act urgently to restore peace in Europe, to become sovereign, autonomous, independent and respected again, and to do this, they should put pressure on their representatives to base the political union of Europe on a federal model, starting with a small nucleus, as was done for the Schengen and € areas. As the EU has incorporated the Western European Union, the United States of Europe will be able to absorb what is valid in the EU.**

Past crises should have imposed to provide Europe with a federal State, better able to face such challenges. So far, this has not been the case, but a first government could be persuaded to initiate the process of federating Europe and establishing a European defence, ensuring the predominance of the European common good over the particular interests of the national States. Only the political will is still lacking to initiate the federative process that would allow Europe to exist geopolitically in a world that has become explicitly and resolutely hostile. A federal State, governed by a constitution clearly and democratically establishing the respective competences of its organs, in whatever area, would eliminate encroachments and prevent abuses of power, unless a European Trump succeeded, like

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[506] **James M. Buchanan, "Nobel" Prize in Economics in 1986, « for his development of the contractual and constitutional bases for the theory of economic and political decision-making ». See James M. Buchanan, "Introduction" in James M. Buchanan, Karl Otto Pöhl, Victoria Curzon Price, Frank Vibert, *Europe's Constitutional Future*, London, Institute of Economic Affairs, 1990, p. 2-3.**

the American since 2025, in controlling at the same time the executive, the legislative and the judiciary.

Establishing a federal Europe requires only sufficient political will. In Europe, we already have the indispensable bicameral legislative power, which is still imperfect but can easily be improved. The same applies to the judiciary. What we lack chiefly is executive power. Our security requires the appointment of a European federal head of State, who would also be our commander-in-chief, democratically legitimized by universal suffrage.

A federal Europe **would gradually make us more powerful, autonomous, sovereign and independent. It could better ensure the influence of our values and our culture, the protection of our interests, the maintenance of peace, the guarantee of the future of future generations of Europeans. A European federal government could develop an innovative tax system that would generate significant own resources, financing a substantial federal budget, which would allow for an economic and fiscal policy that would support the monetary policy pursued by the ECB. It would have a significant and autonomous borrowing capacity, in order to be able to make transfers among member States in the event of asymmetric economic shocks, to support growth and the currency, to finance the green transition, to develop social justice and to improve the efficiency of security and defence spending. It could influence international relations, to contribute to the solution of global problems of a security, migration, economic, monetary and environmental nature.**

Let us hope that the governments of a few small States will eventually be persuaded to federate them. Their deputies, the most legitimate representatives of the citizens, should declare themselves constituents, inspired by the *Manifesto of the European Resistance*[507] of 1944, and draft a

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[507] See sn, "La Résistance et l'idée européenne", Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and digital History, https://www.cvce.eu/collections/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/81649a8e-0558-4721-b443-d609f19dfa24, n.d.

democratic federal constitution. This would lead to a change in the political model, in governance, in the dimension for Europe. This would respond to the will of the European people for a federal, democratic, legitimate, transparent Europe capable of guaranteeing our security. The people of Europe expect an innovative political project, capable of generating a movement of opinion, of mobilising the most conscious citizens, of speaking to their minds and hearts, of arousing enthusiasm, highlighting our common interests and the values we share, those mentioned in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union.

Like the Schengen area or the eurozone, this federation would gradually expand and gain in power, thus becoming increasingly adept at deterring aggression. It could be called the United States of Europe, as proposed on 21 August 1849 by Victor Hugo. How much blood and tears have been shed since then because he was not listened to?

A European federal defence would become possible

Defence should take a more important place in the European project. This should include an army that has a strong, reliable and effective chain of command, implementing a rapid but legitimate decision-making process because it is democratic, adapted to an evolving, dispersed and complex operational environment. This army should generate sufficient deterrence and defence capabilities, and valorise training, doctrine and professional training. To achieve this, our armed forces should prioritize investing in personnel, education, training and infrastructure to support personnel in garrisons and operations. Second, we should avoid strategic surprises, and to do so obtain technological superiority, to deter anyone from starting a conventional war. However, defence procurement processes are too long to adapt our forces to current and future challenges and to enable them to deal with unexpected circumstances. Our Defence Industrial and Technological Base should adjust its business models and

become more agile and robust, cooperation-oriented, defragmented, so that it can experience technological growth.

This is why our defence spending should become efficient. The concepts of pooling and sharing in the EU framework, and smart defence in NATO, have failed for many years to increase our land, sea, air, space, cyber and intelligence capabilities. We have 178 types of weapon systems, many of which are redundant and some of which are obsolete. We should put in place more European programmes that respond to common needs. We need interoperability.

Only a federal Europe could establish a valid defence in Europe. Our political, military, diplomatic and industrial institutions must understand this,[508] which would benefit the defence industrial base. It seems utopian, but didn't Cavour and Garibaldi unify an Italy that had been fragmented since the fall of the Roman Empire?

From a military point of view, for an effective, credible and therefore deterrent defence of Europe, a federal political power, democratically constituted at European level and therefore legitimate, will have to constitute a European chain of command capable of making up for a shortcoming in NATO, if possible by extending the Berlin agreements to the United States of Europe, which would avoid duplicating structures NATO military personnel; create federal armed forces, responsible for providing Europe with a deterrent capability and filling the capability gaps of national armies, to constitute with them a solid European pillar of NATO.

In the event of an American withdrawal from NATO, or inaction in the face of a crisis deemed not a priority in Washington, federated Europe could be able to protect itself, with or without the support of the United Kingdom and/or Canada, and without a massive increase in its

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[508] See Admiral Dragone, "The Future of Italy's Armed Forces" in *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, https://www.csis.org/analysis/future-italys-armed-forces, 11/5/2022.

defence spending, because it would gain in effectiveness and efficiency by putting an end to the current duplications. This would make it possible to finance capabilities for air and missile defence, air transport, in-flight refuelling, satellite telecommunications, earth observation from space, artificial intelligence, new technologies that are more respectful of the environment, protection of our cables, oil and gas pipelines undersea, strategic means of transport, air and sea, and cyber defence.[509]

The United States of America, where the *US Army, US Navy, US Marines, US Air & Space Force, US Cost Guards,* but also the *National Guards*, coexist, can inspire the distribution of competences in Europe in terms of defence. The national armed forces have the merit of existing, but we must fill their capability gaps and avoid duplication. To do this, a single Defence Staff and a single Ministry of Defence should express the needs for re-equipping European armies, including those of the member States, supervising their conditioning and, if necessary, in the event of aggression, implementing them.

After setting up the chain of command, the president of the European Federation will develop a deterrent capability, because prevention is better than cure. Let us keep in mind that deterrence is not only about deploying means of mass destruction, but also above all about persuading the adversary that the "we" are ready to use them. This "we" must necessarily, in order to be credible, be a natural person, a legitimate leader, democratically invested by the European people, because an Areopagus of 27 leaders cannot convince Putin, Xi, Erdoğan or Trump of its resolve. It would take some time for the 27 to work out, if they succeed, a compromise solution in response to the crisis, and this solution would necessarily be lame and fragile. This

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[509] **sn, "Secretary General urges continued close NATO-EU cooperation to support Ukraine and face growing threats" in *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_232120.htm, 13/1/2025.**

would allow Europe to take on more responsibility for its security, in its neighbourhood and beyond, respond to crises and contribute to scientific and technological research and reindustrialisation, which are two of the keys to the security of our supplies.

Such a Europe would rebalance the transatlantic bond, by eradicating all ties of vassalage, guarantee our security, peace, freedoms and fundamental rights, stabilise our neighbourhood, eradicate Islamist terrorism, stimulating good governance, respect for the rule of law and the environment, and economic and social development.

4.10 Final Considerations

The aim of this book is to stimulate a movement of opinion, by defining a clear objective, by proposing a politically appropriate method, by realistically considering a modest number of pioneer countries and a small number of competences to be transferred to the **United States of Europe,** as well as by presenting two drafts of a constitution and a fundamental law, to encourage MEPs to get to work.

The objective is to rebuild Europe, to transfer democratically and in application of the principle of subsidiarity, to the **United States of Europe**, the matters that the member States can no longer manage validly due to a lack of human and financial resources. This is particularly the case for security and defence.

Europe knows the method**, that** of the extensible core. The Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union, then the **Benelux, were the precursors of the Europe of the Six. The Benelux** abolished its internal borders in 1975. Ten years later, in Schengen, France and Germany joined the initiative. The € zone has experienced a similar evolution.

It is very small States, not imbued with their sovereignty, because they are members of NATO, the EU and the euro zone, which should take the initiative to constitute the nucleus of the United States of Europe, by fixing the share of sovereignty, the missions and the means to be transferred.

The MEPs elected in these States would form the Constituent Assembly. These Sates will be more motivated than the European middle powers, because they are more aware of the limits of their current sovereignty. In addition, the efficiency of their public spending will increase more and faster than in the latter.

Articles 23 and 24 of his *Grundgesetz* will prevent Germany from integrating into a European state for a long time to come. France will remain a permanent member of the UN Security Council for as long as possible. However, it is in the interest of these two States to consolidate the European defence industrial and technological base on the demand side; they will integrate the United States of Europe when enough very small and small countries have joined forces.

The main areas of competence of the **United States of Europe** would be **the part of international relations, security and defence that is common to Europeans**, in application of the principle of subsidiarity. The **United States of Europe** would assume the political, military and industrial aspects of defence, acting on all levers, from defence planning to armaments programmes, including their financing and the development of human resources, to binging the forces up to operational readiness.

European citizens should overcome the opposition of political parties and diplomats, who are reluctant to cede new sovereignty to the European level, fearing to lose a crumb of power or their jobs. They should oblige their leaders to federate, in a cooperative sense,[510] a few States, to form a nucleus. Even Mr. Védrine understood this: "Given the gravity of the moment, we would have to convince its peoples that if it does not become

[510] Swiss federalism is cooperative: Article 3 of the constitution states that the cantons are sovereign as long as their sovereignty is not limited by the federal constitution. In Germany, the *Länder* lost their sovereignty to the *Bund* by accepting, formally or tacitly, the *Grundgesetz* in 1949.

a power, Europe will be powerless and dependent on others, incapable of defending its way of life, its civilization."[511]

As it is urgent to counter the centrifugal forces that make Europe incapable of defending our interests, of making our values shine, of asserting ourselves, Europeans should remember that it is "not necessary to hope in order to undertake, nor to succeed in order to persevere", as the Taciturn said. Each of them should say, like Raymond Aron, "I am ignorant of the future, I am fighting as best I can, by pen or by word, so that it resembles, as far as possible, our hopes."[512] Aron also said, "False ideas are fought with true ideas."[513] The great historian Marc Bloch, after having implacably analysed the "strange defeat" of 1940, joined the Resistance. **Mr. Macron is satisfied with having him entered the Pantheon, it remains to take advantage of his lessons.**

Like them, let's get involved. Let's ~~denounce~~ the fact that European leaders no longer believe they are capable of defending us **and are giving up on it**. They implore the United States of America to ensure our security. In this way, they work not only for our debasement, in terms of the balance of forces, but more seriously, for our decadence, that is to say, for a regression that is difficult to reverse, because it goes hand in hand with moral degradation.[514] Only France, from 1958 to 1969, thanks to Charles de Gaulle, was able to emancipate itself from NATO, while remaining a reliable ally. The strategy pursued by Pompidou, Giscard, Chirac, Sarkozy, Hollande **and Macron** has failed: **there is still no European pillar** within the Atlantic Alliance. Mitterrand's dream of a Eurasian empire quickly dissipated.[515] How could we want to establish a new

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[511] Interview by Alain Salles and Marc Semo: Hubert Védrine, « Soyons déterminés face aux puissances indifférentes ou hostiles à nos valeurs » in *Le Monde*, 30-31/12/2019, p. 14.
[512] Raymond Aron, *Plaidoyer pour l'Europe décadente*, Paris, Éditions Robert Laffont, 1977, p. 28.
[513] Idem., p. 17.
[514] Idem, p. 23-24.
[515] At the 1991 Prague Conference, Mitterrand proposed a confederal Europe, including Russia and cut off from the Atlantic Alliance. "Vaclav

European empire? Those who attempted **to** do so after Charlemagne left behind little more than tombs and ruins.

We want to reunify Europe to maintain peace, **both internally and externally**. There **can** be no question of a centralising European constitution, but of federal institutions that are efficient, legitimate and transparent. The process of establishing the **United States of Europe** requires the composition of a Constituent Assembly, [516] **by** the **most lucid and courageous European governments that want to** be part of the core of the **United States of Europe**.

The core governments would mandate the members of the European Parliament elected in these States **to** draft and adopt a federal constitution, meeting the needs of the **United States of Europe,** which implies that it shares competences **between** the European federation, **its** Member States, **their** regions, and **the** European people, made up of the peoples of these member States. These governments and the parliaments of these member States would have to ratify this constitution and obtain the consent of their citizens, by referendum, for it to have indisputable legitimacy. The European senators would represent the member States. The establishment of the European executive and judicial powers would follow.

The other heads of government, who still believe themselves to be sovereign, would follow, sooner or later. They know that Europeans are tired of waiting for concrete answers to important questions: how to guarantee the guard of our coasts and borders,

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Havel, who chaired the opening meeting, (has) cried out: 'This Europe, never! We don't want it. Simone Veil, "Une Vie", Paris, Éditions Stock, 2007, p. 256.

[516] On June 20, 1789, Mirabeau declared to the 300 deputies to the States-General that they formed the National Assembly and that they would not leave the *Jeu de Paume* in Versailles except by the power of bayonets; they took an oath never to separate, and to assemble wherever circumstances required it, until the constitution was established and consolidated on solid foundations. See Auriane de Viry, "20 juin 1789: Proclamation du Serment du Jeu de Paume" in *Revue des deux mondes*, https://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/article-revue/n-a-spanel-avocat-de-la-france/.

our security in the face of Islamist terrorism, our defence against aggressive autocrats, our international influence to counter a dehumanised and environmentally disrespectful globalisation, our health in the event of a pandemic.[517] They know that without these answers, their re-election will be more problematic.

From the outset, the **United States of Europe** would replace the technocratic governance of the EU, which has been in the hands of the European Council, diplomats and Eurocrats, with a representative and legitimate democracy, because it is based on elections in accordance with the European Constitution and the European Basic Law.

They would ensure a peaceful life for their inhabitants, a promising future **for** Europeans. They would promote a secularized, tolerant society, ensuring respect for the individuals who make it up and their differences. They would live on good terms with their **neighbourhood**. They would help to calm the Western Balkans, **Ukraine**, the Sahel, the Middle East, to reduce tensions **on the world stage**.

By giving itself security and defence as priority missions, and in particular the establishment of an efficient and credible European army and security forces, the **United States of Europe** would not be taking a militaristic approach. They would simply achieve the unity of politico-military command required for efficient defence spending, providing Europe, at a reasonable cost to the taxpayer, with the instruments capable, together with the forces of the member States, of maintaining peace, of supporting the rule of law, of protecting our freedoms, of guaranteeing our well-being, our security, our defence, our autonomy, our independence and our sovereignty, to protect our vital interests. These include the security of our supplies, the guarding of the coasts and borders, the control of migratory flows and various forms of trafficking.

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[517] The Covid-19 pandemic **has been** fought more difficult in Europe than in Taiwan, South Korea or Singapore: at least 32 different public health policies were in force in the EU, with 9 ministers shared this competence in Belgium.

This *hard power* is essential to stabilize our neighbourhood. This requires the eradication of Islamist terrorism, by stimulating good governance, respect for the rule of law and economic and social development, aiming as in the **United States of Europe** to make society more egalitarian and united, within the framework of a social market economy.

This *hard power* is just as essential to rebalance the transatlantic bond, to finally restore Europe's place in international relations, in order to contribute to the solution of global problems of a security, migratory, economic, monetary and environmental nature. This requires the preservation of important treaties, including trade agreements and the one on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. The **United States of Europe** would negotiate a new treaty on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. They would be able to encourage the other powers to adopt a cosmopolitan, multilateral world governance, based on international law, in accordance with the Kantian hope for a global domestic policy.

The United States of Europe would be financed by its own revenues, including taxes, loans and miscellaneous **incomes**. The base, rate and manner of levying the United States of Europe taxes by the member States would be determined by the Basic Law of the United States of Europe. Taxes would be levied in proportion to consumption, pollution, income and wealth. A percentage of the VAT would be paid by the member States. A tax would be levied on greenhouse gas emissions, particularly in the field of transport. A tax on multinationals, particularly those in the information, telecommunications and IT sectors, which operate in Europe but evade taxation by the member States, would put an end to this abusive tax exemption. A Tobin tax would be levied on stock market transactions. A wealth tax would be inspired by the Swiss model. Among the miscellaneous products, contributions would be paid by the member States according to their gross domestic product, in order to establish solidarity between them.

The European defence budget would make it possible, as in the United States of America, to support the least favoured regions,

to reduce the gaps in competitiveness and unemployment between them, among other things through the recruitment and training of the military. It would stimulate innovation, economic growth and full employment, through better coordinated and targeted dual scientific and technological research, for example in communication and information technologies, but also through the improvement of trans-European transport infrastructure for troops and military equipment.

The **United States of Europe** would give Europeans the best chance of enjoying material well-being, through an efficient and innovative economy, creating quality jobs, guaranteeing the sustainability of efficient social protection systems, which for a century have blurred social cleavages more than anywhere else in the world. They would strengthen the €, protect our companies from fiscal or social dumping, as well as from unfair economic and technological competition from American, Chinese and Indian companies.

To benefit from all this, let us finally become aware of the "original sin" committed by Europe: the recommendation made in 1950 by Eisenhower to constitute a federal Europe, without internal borders, to facilitate the movement of troops, was not followed. The result is disastrous. It is at the beginning that we must resume work.

It is the "ever closer union" of the European people that we must aim for: to move from the disunity of the EU to a federation, to the **United States of Europe**. It is imperative to reverse what has become, because of Mrs Thatcher, and the weakness of the other leaders of the time, the logic of the EU: each member State seeks its advantage, to the detriment of the common interest. The solution **to the current challenges and threats** can only be found in a project with a high political value.

Calling for federalism **at a time when, under the pretext of the pandemic or illegal migrations, European governments have closed the borders** is undoubtedly utopian, but utopia is less deadly than the inaction, conformism, selfishness and narcissism of these governments. We know that viruses and

totalitarian ideologies know no borders and thrive as soon as the ground is right.

The next two chapters propose, for information purposes, a federal constitution and a fundamental law for the United States of Europe. The aim is to encourage the States that are part of the coalition of the willing to get to work, because the drafting of the constitution and the fundamental law will be the exclusive prerogative of a democratically legitimate constituent assembly.

5. The constitution of the United States of Europe

5.1 Explanatory memorandum

War has been our past for eleven centuries, let's make sure it won't be our future again. Therefore, Europe should be powerful, sovereign, independent and peaceful. It is only for lack of political courage that it has no federal governance, that we don't have a European defence, that essential elements of our strategy are missing, that our security and military capabilities are woefully inadequate and that we remain vulnerable to terrorist attacks, cyberattacks and pandemics. There is no lack of human and financial resources, but they are very poorly used.

When a State is unwilling or unable to defend itself, it is conquered or protected. In both cases, this has an economic, but also a political cost. We urgently need effective security and defence, not to wage war on Russia or China, but to maintain peace, to stabilize our neighbourhood, to respond to security, health, migration, climate and environmental challenges, to weigh on the international stage. By refusing to give more sovereignty to Europe in matters of international relations, security and defence in particular, our heads of State and governments are making it impossible to set up efficient European army, civil protection and security forces. They render us powerless; they unbalance the Atlantic Alliance, and they demotivate the Americans to remain our allies. The European NATO States have not been valid partners of the USA since 1949, but protectorates, militarily[518] and politically, but

[518] The Americans have much greater capabilities than we do for strategic transport, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance by satellites or drones, and air-to-air refueling. According to the President of the Munich Security Conference, "We are blind, deaf and incapable without our American partner. ». Wolfgang Ischinger, « Interview » in *Ouest France*, 9/2/2019. **The Lisbon Treaty has contributed to this, as President Sarkozy has categorically opposed intelligence becoming a shared competence between the EU and its member States.**

also economically.[519] This is unworthy of European economic power and civilization. Europe must regain its rightful place on the international stage, without aiming for world supremacy as China and the United States of America do.

In December 2001, the Laeken European Council convened the Convention on the Future of Europe. He asked it to bring the citizens closer to the European project and institutions, to structure European political life and to make the Union a factor of stability in the world. He even asked whether the way should not be paved for the adoption of a constitutional text.

Unfortunately, in 2003, Mr. Giscard, Mr. Amato and Mr. Dehaene led this Convention and 18 EU member States to **propose**, not a constitution, but a **fourth** draft "Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe", which was rejected in 2005 by a referendum in France and by popular consultation in the Netherlands.

Europe must stop sticking to the path of the constitutional treaty. Without credibility, it is incapable of winning the support of the electorate. **Four** vain attempts make Mr. Verhofstadt's proposal to make a **fifth** one irrelevant. As a jurist, he should know that a "constitutional treaty" is an oxymoron, a *contradictio in terminis*: a treaty is external to the State and multilateral in nature, while a constitution is an act of internal, unilateral public law, which aims to establish the fundamental rights of citizens, the fundamental principles on which the legitimacy of political power and the general architecture of institutions are based. **It is necessary to establish European legislation on a more solid and democratically legitimate basis than treaties between national governments, whose loyalty to the common project of union is constantly being called into question.**

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[519] The privileged status of the dollar in the international monetary system penalizes our importers and exporters: Airbus pays its workers in € but sells its planes in dollars. Former U.S. Treasury Secretary John Connally said in 1971: "The $ is our currency, but it's your problem.

The constitution is at the top of the hierarchy of legal norms of the State.[520] This is not the case with a treaty. It is on another, democratic, basis that Europe can assert itself as the homeland of human rights and sustainable development, security, defence and multilateral foreign policy. It could thus take greater account than it does today of migration, social, health and cultural issues... Four paths are possible: cooperation, integration, confederation and federation.

- Cooperation is about States taking joint decisions. This was the case within the framework of the OEEC, which became the OECD in 1960, or within that of NATO. General de Gaulle envisaged on 31 May 1960 an "organized cooperation of (EEC member) States, pending the possibility of an imposing confederation". On the following 5 September he specified that this cooperation of governments would cover the political, economic, cultural and defence fields and that it would be controlled by a deliberative Assembly, made up of delegates from the national parliaments, after having received popular support through a European referendum.[521] Intensified cooperation between EU member States, their military, their magistrates, their intelligence and law enforcement services, as well as with our international partners, would be useful, but not enough to achieve a European State.
- Integration is achieved by States which agree to submit to the rules laid down by supranational institutions, such as the ECSC, the EEC or Euratom, which they found and whose decisions are directly applicable. A change in the EU institutions, such as the extension of the powers of the European Parliament, would have only a marginal effect. The creation of technocratic bodies does not make it

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[520] See Jean-Louis Quermonne, « L'Union européenne en quête d'institutions légitimes et efficaces » in *L'Union européenne dans le temps long*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 2008, https://www.cairn.info/Union-europeenne-dans-le-temps-long--9782724610765.htm, p. 143 à 157.

[521] See Charles de Gaulle, *Discours et messages, Volume III : Avec le renouveau (1958-1962)*, Paris, Plon, 1970, p. 244-246,

possible to build a policy and a sovereignty. An undemocratic federal institution, on the model of the Economic and Monetary Union, would not be appropriate: to satisfy their thirst for well-being, freedom, progress, justice and happiness, the citizens must exercise continuous and effective control over those in power.

- The confederation is an association of States which pool certain political and economic means while retaining their sovereignty. History shows that confederations either transform themselves into federations or dissolve. The Swiss Confederation, founded in 1291, became federal in 1848 after the *Sonderbund* civil war. The USA in 1787 replaced the articles of Confederation of 1776 with a federal constitution, having experienced inadequate governance during the War of Independence. Germany became federal in 1949, having finally learned from its bloody past and the centuries-old agony of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. As for the Confederation of Independent States, conceived by Mr. Gorbachev in 1990 as the successor to the highly centralized Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, it became very quickly dysfunctional and then broke up.
- To influence the world, to face up to the current threats and challenges, the only route for Europe is federalism. This is a union of States, which transfer to it or share with it a portion of sovereignty by drafting a constitution.

Only a federal Europe is capable of making Europe a power, by substantially improving the efficiency of defence spending, by achieving unity of command, and thus giving us an area of security and peace, while reconciling security with the guarantee of fundamental rights and freedoms. It would conduct the budgetary policy essential to the sustainability of the € and would effectively advocate at the global level for the safeguarding of the natural environment.

To finally achieve efficient and democratic governance, the European federal constitution that we are proposing is inspired in particular by the Constitution of the United States of America, the Federal Constitution of the Swiss

Confederation and the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, but also the Constitution of the French Fifth Republic, for its exemplary chain of command politico-military.[522] It will be up to the Constituent Assembly to choose the name (Federal Republic of Europe or, what seems to us preferable, United States of Europe,..) of the new federal State, and to define the areas of competence transferred. These should be at least part of external relations, security and defence, as well as the currency. The proposed federal constitution maintains the sovereignty of the people and establishes the delegation of powers emanating from the people, as well as the balance between the federation, the federated States, and local authorities. A federal State achieves from the outset the unity of politico-military command that allows for effective crisis management, conferring the ability to assess the situation, to decide and to act accordingly, for as long as necessary, in the widest possible spectrum.

Political will is the key, because creating a State is a political act. The Declaration of Independence of 4 July 1776 gave birth to the United States of America. The Republic of Yemen was declared on 22 May 1990, without the need for a treaty between North and South Yemen. The Republic of Southern Sudan came into being on 9 July 2011, by proclamation of the speaker of its Parliament. Free France was born from the appeal made by Charles de Gaulle in London on 18 June 1940. For half a century, we have been missing this great man, his determination, his courage, his lucidity, his probity, his concern for the general interest, his breadth of vision and his vast culture. His deep knowledge of history enabled him to project

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[522] The Constitution of the United States of Europe, which appears below, is based in particular on the work of Robert R. Bowie and Carl J. Friedrich, "Introduction" to Volume II of *Studies on Federalism*, Brussels, European Federalist Movement, January 1953 and on *the comparative study on la place de la force publique dans les structures fédérales des USA, de la Suisse et de l'Allemagne*, carried out at the Centre for Public and Constitutional Law of the University of Liège, carried out with the financial support of the French Community of Belgium, the Wallonia-Brussels Federation., Jean Marsia archives.

himself into the future, in the medium and the long term, to develop a valid project for France and for Europe. He knew how to respond to the challenges identified within the framework of our humanist and progressive conceptions. He knew how to make our values radiate universally, through his talent as a speaker and author.

Like Charles de Gaulle, let's set goals[523] and describe the processes to achieve them. Like him, let us be both visionary and realistic. Let's anticipate changes in our environment, so that we can deal with them before it's too late. Let us not wait for the next pandemic, **or the next aggression committed by one of the too many autocrats raging in the world,** as the EU and its member States are doing. Let us work tirelessly for the greatness, sovereignty, influence, independence, security and defence of Europe.

To become stable, and therefore social, every human group needs institutions recognized by its members and a legal order composed of norms, which set rules of conduct with or without sanctions.[524] As soon as several European States have taken the political decision to federate, a new social group will *de facto* exist. This group will tend to organize itself, to install institutions. Its representatives will provide it with norms, starting with a constitution that meets the specific needs of this group. A legal order will come to life.

To be legitimate, a European government will need the confidence of a democratically elected European legislative power. This one will be bicameral: on the one hand, a true European Parliament,[525] finally endowed with all the prerogatives of a people's chamber: to raise taxes, to vote the budget, to fix the contingent of the army, to take legislative

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[523] Let us remember the Fifth Republic, the decolonization, the Common Market, the Common Agricultural Policy, the Striking Force...

[524] See Santi Romano, *L'Ordinamento Giuridico* (1918), *L'Ordre juridique*, trad. Pierre Gothot et Lucien François, Paris, Dalloz, 2002, p. 36-37.

[525] The European Parliament costs us €2 billion a year, including €250 million for the monthly Brussels-Strasbourg transhumance and return, for a very meagre contribution to our well-being.

initiatives; on the other hand, a Chamber of States, a European Senate, which would replace the European Council and express the point of view of the federated States. European justice would be more substantial than the current EU Court of Justice and the Court of First Instance in Luxembourg.

The realization of this ambitious project, which would substantially contribute to the desire for ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, expressed in 1957 by the signatories of the Treaty of Rome establishing the EEC, requires that we stop considering the politics as the art of the possible only, which corresponds to a level of ambition close to zero. The international context and the **pitiful** state of the EU require a Constituent Assembly to do what is perfectly possible, absolutely necessary and very urgent: to endow the part of Europe that would choose for itself with a full legal personality, this of the United States of Europe, to allow it to assume the destiny it would have chosen for itself.

A constitution **involves** a social contract, it initiates a process of unification of peoples, of progressive formation of a civic spirit and a common culture, because the existence of a “central” political power is necessary for the foundation of the "city", **of the « *polis* »**, of the State.

Following the Continental Congress in June 1776, Thomas Jefferson, along with John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, was given the mission to draft a Declaration of Independence, intended on expressing the essential notions, the feelings common to the greatest number of his fellow citizens, to give substance to the nascent American spirit and to strengthen the union of the 13 colonies. He let mankind know that the principles of the American people are those of the Enlightenment: men are born equal; they enjoy inalienable rights: life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. He showed that these rights give the American people the freedom to separate from the British Crown, which was opposed to them.[526]

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[526] In drafting the Declaration, Thomas Jefferson drew inspiration from the constitution of the Persian Emperor Cyrus II, who abolished slavery in his

Our approach being thus motivated in law and in fact, we hereby propose a federal constitution for Europe. This text contains only twelve articles, as concise as possible, in order to make it accessible to all Europeans from the age of twelve. It is supplemented by a draft fundamental law, which lays down the other standards, **more detailed,** that are indispensable for a State organization.[527]

More and more, Europeans reject "particratie", even if it means supporting populists, for lack of anything better. The priority objective of the **United States of Europe** will be to mobilize hearts and minds, to fire their citizens with enthusiasm, by highlighting the values that we share, the objectives that we pursue and the processes that must lead to their achievement, otherwise the **United States of Europe** will fail as the EU does. This one is based only on an unfulfilled promise of ever closer union, **but it is scarcely more than** a single market **endowed with** a currency. It contributes to well-being, but it does not utter dreams. In order to gain popular support, the **United States of Europe** will have to constitute a public space and to create a strong sense of solidarity among Europeans, so that they perceive better than today that they are part of the same people, of a same *demos*.[528]

States 2,500 years ago, but the Second Continental Congress did not follow him on this point, as well as the Act of The Hague, by which the States-General of the Netherlands proclaimed the independence of the seven United Provinces on 26 July 1581, and also the *Two Treatises of Government* of John Locke (1690), but replacing the right of ownership with **the right to seek happiness.**

[527] To this end, France has instituted organic laws. See https://www.vie-publique.fr/fiches/19512-loi-organique-loi-ordinaire-quelles-differences.

[528] **See Céline Spector, "No demos ? Souveraineté et démocratie à l'épreuve de l'Europe", Paris, Seuil, 2021.**

5.2 Preamble

United in diversity, we, representatives of the peoples (**or** of the Republic ..., of the Kingdom ..., of the Grand Duchy ...), elected by them to the European Parliament in **June 2024 or currently members of the European Council**;

Mandated by our respective governments, through their representatives, with full powers recognized in due form and meeting in a Constituent Assembly in the city of Brussels;

Determined to live together our diversity, with respect for others and equity;

Considering that international relations are once again dominated by the balance of power;

Conscious of the achievements made in common since 1950, that have created trust between us, but also of the shortcomings of the European Union, particularly in the fields of security and defence, as well as of our duty to assume our responsibilities towards future generations;

Convinced that a militarily powerful federal Europe could better contribute to the influence of our civilization and our values, to the defence of our essential interests, to the keeping of peace and freedom, to the restoration of our autonomy, our independence and our sovereignty, to the progress of the fight against climate change and the degradation of the natural environment, to the upholding of democracy, of the social market economy and of social concertation;

Assured that by combining their manpower, natural resources and scientific and industrial capabilities, federated States would be more efficient in the use of defence resources, would more easily fill capability gaps and avoid duplication noted today;

Determined to replace our age-old rivalries with a collective defence of our essential interests, by establishing federal institutions based on democracy, parliamentary representation, solidarity and the rule of law, capable of assuming the common destiny we have chosen and of ensuring Europeans peace,

sovereignty, independence, freedom and lasting prosperity, in a spirit of solidarity and openness to the world;

Determined to eventually welcome, into this federation, the other European peoples who are animated by the same ideal;

Propose for ratification by the parliaments and governments of our respective States, and by other European States when they wish to join them, the present Federal Constitution of the United States of Europe, **drafted and adopted by the current members of the European Council and the European deputies elected by the States from which we come,** and the fundamental law which supplements it, that we approved in plenary session this XX / XX / 202X.

Article 1. The fundamental dispositions

1.1. The founding declaration of the United States of Europe

Explanatory memorandum

The principles which flow from the declaration of the founding declaration of the **United States of Europe** are on the one hand the cooperative sharing of sovereignty between the people, the **federated** States and the regions,[529] as well as republicanism, federalism, representative democracy and **semi-presidential** rule.

Provision

The **United States of Europe** are a federal, democratic, independent and **semi-presidential** republic whose people, **federated** States and regions remain sovereign as long as their sovereignty is not limited by this constitution; **they** exercise all rights not delegated to the **United States of Europe** by this constitution.

[529] "Region" means "Land" in Germany and "canton" in Switzerland.

1.2. The values and goals of the United States of Europe

Explanatory memorandum

The values of the **United States of Europe** are those set out in article 2 of the Treaty on European Union. These values can be summed up in three words: humanism, progressivism and universalism. Humanism is based on ethics, pluralism and tolerance. Progressivism stimulates and values the spirit of openness and free discovery, because progressives are driven by three strong ideas: freedom against the arbitrary powers and for the security of persons; rational organization as a substitute for the weight of tradition and anarchy; equality as a substitute for the privilege of birth or wealth. Universalism has been a component of European culture since ancient Greece: Stoics proclaimed the unity, universality and dignity of human nature.

The aims of the **United States of Europe** are the keeping of peace, security and defence, as well as the protection of Europeans, their interests and the natural environment.

Provision

The **United States of Europe** are based on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the **federated** States in a society characterized by pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men. **The United States of Europe prohibit all forms of use of mental and physical torture; as well as any form of exceptional procedure likely to undermine the principles of a fair trial.**

The primary aims of the **United States of Europe** are to uphold and promote these values, to prevent war, to maintain peace and to control borders and coastlines. The **United States of Europe** will not wage any war for the sake of conquest and will never use their forces against the freedom of any people. They protect themselves and all federated States and regions from any form of aggression or the threat of aggression. They provide security

and defence for their inhabitants; they protect European interests and, as much as possible, their expatriate citizens. They protect the natural environment and fight particularly against global warming and pollution.

1.3. Modes of expression of the will of the people

Explanatory memorandum

The modes of expression of the will of the people are defined by the constitution and by the fundamental law. They include representative democracy, the popular initiative voting and the referendum on a proposal emanate from the head of State. Charles de Gaulle considered it insufficient that the European Parliament and the national parliaments vote the European federal constitution: the universal suffrage of the citizens of Europe is necessary to make it legitimate.

Provision

Sovereignty belongs to the people, who exercise it through their representatives, by referendum or by voting. Suffrage is universal, equal and secret. It can be direct or indirect, compulsory or optional.
The fundamental law determines the modalities of the referendum and the voting.

1.4. The accession of new States

Explanatory memorandum

The criteria and procedure for accession are laid down in the Constitution and the fundamental law of the United States of Europe, which also determine the legal consequences of accession.

Provision

Any European State which meets the criteria defined by this constitution and by the fundamental law may apply to join the **United States of Europe**. A candidate country must share the values as well as the legal, social and economic principles of the

United States of Europe: it has a constitutional, democratic and parliamentary regime based on free elections; it respects the rule of law, human rights and public freedoms; it applies the principles of the social market economy and social concertation. Accession may not disturb security, nor peaceful international relations, **or** within the **United States of Europe. However, any integration will be conditional on the ability to assimilate new members, while maintaining the efficient functioning of the institutions and decision-making procedures and not calling into question the common policies and their financing.** No derogation from this Constitution, the fundamental law and the legislation of the United States of Europe is granted to the candidate country; prior to accession, it must meet all the accession criteria. The legislation of the United States of Europe is fully applicable in the candidate State upon accession.

The fundamental law specifies the conditions for the accession of new States and fixes the partnerships that the United States of Europe, their federated States and the regions may establish with the countries that are geographically, culturally or economically close.

1.5. The modification of the external or internal borders

Explanatory memorandum

The consent of the populations concerned, given by referendum, is required for a cession, exchange or addition of territory. Any modification of border between **federated** States requires the agreement of the legislative authorities of the **United States of Europe** and those States.

Provision

No cession, exchange or addition of territory is valid without the consent of the populations concerned, given by referendum.

No change of border between federated States may take place without the concordant decision of the legislative authorities of

the **United States of Europe** and those of these States, by simple majority.

1.6. The overseas territories

Explanatory memorandum

Equality of **United States of Europe** citizens is guaranteed in the overseas territories.

Provision

United States of Europe citizens residing in their overseas territories have the same rights and duties as those in Europe.

The fundamental law fixes, considering the provisions of the treaty on the EU and of the treaty on the functioning of the EU, compensatory measures for the inconveniences due to the remoteness of Europe and the insularity. It fixes the extent to which the **federated** States remain responsible for the overseas territories, their defence, their administration and their development.

1.7. The permanence of the United States of Europe

Explanatory memorandum

In accordance with the general principles of international law, the **United States of Europe** are indissoluble, and their powers are irrevocable; the right of secession from United States of Europe does not exist.[530] **Federated** States and regions are

[530] No federation has opened the right to secession to its member-States. A right of secession would give each State a right of veto within the federation. The constitution of the United States of Europe does not prohibit it. because it is a principle of law. Article 1 § 2 of the UN Charter mentions among the purposes of the United Nations that of "developing friendly relations among nations based on respect for the equal rights and self-determination of peoples...", the Charter does not, however, define what a people is, nor determine the content of the right to self-determination. However, the International Court of Justice (of the United Nations) has classified the right to self-determination as one of the general principles of international law, which States must respect, including by refraining from recognizing

subject to the law of the **United States of Europe**. They bring disputes before the Supreme Court of the **United States of Europe**.

The sustainability, the cultural identity, the constitutional order, the internal cohesion, the natural environment and the internal and external security of the **federated** States and regions are guaranteed by the **United States of Europe**. They can intervene in a **federated** State, in a region and vis-à-vis their authorities if they fail to fulfil their obligations.

Provision

The powers of the **United States of Europe** are irrevocable. The creation of the **United States of Europe** entails a permanent commitment, within the framework of this constitution, which subjects the **federated** States to the law of the **United States of Europe. Federated** States, regions, natural and legal persons may not contest the legitimacy of the

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violations. The question is still to know under what conditions can this right to self-determination be exercised. In the jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice (and UN resolutions), this right has only ever been recognized for colonized peoples (or peoples settled, for example, in territories declared non-autonomous by the United Nations, such as Western Sahara or "peoples subject to alien subjugation, domination or exploitation"). ICJ Advisory Opinion on Kosovo, § 82. In the same opinion, the Court did not consider it necessary to decide whether "a right of secession - remedy" existed in the case of Kosovo. That said, it should be recalled that the Western military intervention in Serbia twenty years ago was notably due to the ethnic cleansing carried out by the Serbs in Kosovo, which justified the indictment of Serb leaders before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. It can therefore be concluded that this right to self-determination currently exists legally in international law only in very specific circumstances, which have been found only in countries or territories that have been colonized or subjected to foreign subjugation, domination or exploitation and which are obviously not found in our democratic States. May I add that from the right to reality, there may be time? Indeed, the right to self-determination of the Saharawi people has still not been able to be exercised, although recognized by the International Court of Justice in 1975. See Melchior Wathelet, "Existe-t-il un droit à l'indépendance et à l'autodétermination ? " in *La Libre Belgique*, 17/10/2019, p. 40-41.

laws of the **United States of Europe**, except by means of an appeal to the Supreme Court of the **United States of Europe.**

The United States of Europe guarantee the sustainability of the federated States and the regions. While promoting the spontaneous, never imposed, development of European culture, they maintain their cultural diversity, their constitutional order. They safeguard their internal cohesion. They protect their natural environment. They ensure their internal and external security, in particular within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty.

The government of the **United States of Europe** may intervene in a **federated** State, in a region, and vis-à-vis their authorities, if they fail to fulfil their obligations, in accordance with the arrangements laid down in the fundamental law.

1.8. The cultural policy of the United States of Europe

Explanatory memorandum

Even if it is powerless to guarantee peace, the eleven centuries of wars in Europe, from the Treaty of Verdun from 843 to 1945, bear witness to this fact, "Culture can constitute the cement of the European continent".[531]

To arm themselves morally against the threats hanging over them from the outside, and to counter its internal disintegration, the **United States of Europe** develop and deepen the multicultural model, drawing inspiration from the Erasmus exchange program, the Bologna process and the European Research Area, much more effective in promoting our values than the European External Action Service of the EU.

Furthermore, "The true school of command [is] general culture. [...] No illustrious captain who did not have the taste and the

[531] Peter de Caluwe, director of La Monnaie in Brussels, in the program "De Afspraak" in *Canvas* on VRT, https://www.vrt.be/vrtnws/nl/2019/09/16/de-munt-directeur-peter-de-caluwe-europees-commissaris-voor-de/, 16/9/2019.

feeling of the heritage of the human spirit. At the bottom of Alexander's victories, we always find Aristotle."[532]

Unlike the Salafists, who see the 7th century AD as the golden age, the **United States of Europe** act for a better world, in accordance with their values, especially in the fields of culture and education. Culture, for the EU, **has** a budget of 150 million **€** per year, it is derisive. The cultural policy of the **United States of Europe** involves the development of European public opinion and awareness, through the Europeanization of the mass media (press, radio and television), as well as social networks. It encourages them to cover transnationally the elections to the European Parliament and to monitor its work, to organize citizens' debates and to distribute monthly special pages on the implementation of the European budget: citizens have the right to quality European information.

The **United States of Europe** will encourage artists and craftsmen to create a composite European style, expressing, through its symbols and forms, on the one hand the cultural diversity of Europe, rich in peoples different by language, religion, customs and habitat and, on the other hand, the unifying force of their constitution.

They can draw inspiration from **the Viennese secession, and the** sword of a new genre made by Pierre Giner to symbolize the work of the French academician Barbara Cassin: she is a philosopher, philologist, poet and painter. The pommel reproduces a Hittite female statuette which is 5 thousand years old, it is pre-Homeric and barbaric. The guard evokes the digital era: it consists of a flexible and connected screen, which contains virtually all the texts and all the images of the world. The luminous polymer blade, inspired by Star Wars, is non-lethal. Fiber optics make it possible to read Ms. Cassin's motto: "More than one language". It means that there is no universal

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[532] Charles de Gaulle, *Vers l'armée de métier,* Paris, (Librairie Berger-Levrault, 1934), Plon, 1971, p. 151.

language, no unique *logos*, that, if there were a language of Europe, even of the world, it would be the translation.[533]





534

Provision

The **United States of Europe** are inspired by their humanist, universalist and progress-oriented values. They contribute to scientific and technological research and to the dissemination of knowledge. They encourage the exercise of the scientific research method. They promote access to culture and cultural and intellectual exchanges between its citizens, as well as with the rest of the world.

They encourage artists and craftsmen to create a composite European style, expressing, through its symbols and forms, on the one hand the cultural diversity of Europe, rich in peoples different by language, religion, customs and habitat and, on the other hand, the unifying force of their constitution. They promote the development of European public opinion and conscience.

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[533] See Barbara Cassin, « Discours de réception à l'Académie française, le 17/10/2019 » in *Le Monde*, 19/10/2019, p. 25.

[534] See https://www.wien.info/fr/art-culture/art-nouveau/sécession-357952 and Frédéric Stucin in *Libération*, https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2019/10/15/barbara-cassin-armee-pour-l-academie-francaise_1757808, 15/10/2019.

In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, the United States of Europe contribute to ensuring that children have the right to free and compulsory primary and secondary education and that young adults have equal opportunities to access higher education or vocational training. Learning and practical skills are valued.

The fundamental law lays down compulsory education and the conditions of access to learning.

1.9. Neutrality and impartiality of the United States of Europe

Explanatory memorandum

The impartiality of public powers, the founding principle of democracy, an essential element of **peaceful coexistence for the citizens**, has its rightful place at the heart of the fundamental norms: this principle is, together with that of the separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers, one of the principles of State organization essential to the development of a democratic political system. This principle is not an option or an opinion among others, but rather the condition which makes possible the life in common in the respect of all.

The impartiality of the public authorities postulates the capacity of human beings for autonomy.

It leads to the non-recognition by the State of philosophical and religious communities, as the State knows only citizens. **The public authorities make no distinction between believers and non-believers.**

It assures to every human being the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms, irrespective of origin, convictions, beliefs or any other distinction.

It provides a societal framework conducive to the exercise of free examination in all matters, which allows decisions to be made independently.

It conditions the exercise of freedoms and contributes to the fight against discrimination, for equality and for the

implementation of solidarity policies, which ensure social cohesion and the emancipation of citizens, in particular through access to knowledge and freedom of information.

Europe, like the whole world, faces threats such as Islamist or neo-fascist terrorism, challenges such as autocratic regimes, abuses of power by digital multinationals and uncontrolled migration caused by socio-economic or climatic disorders. Europe is witnessing the questioning by fundamentalists and extremists, driven by religious, philosophical or political motives, of the progress made over the past half-century on the levels of ethics and law.

Because it provides answers of universal scope, independent of particularisms, the impartial State is best able to establish and protect the values of freedom, equality and solidarity; to guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms, to make possible the peaceful coexistence of philosophical or religious opinions and conceptions; to ensure respect for gender equality, to establish and protect the freedom to believe, the freedom to disbelieve and the freedom to change of belief.

Consequently, the **United States of Europe** are neutral and impartial with regard to philosophical and religious conceptions. They recognize citizens, not communities. They separate, at all levels, the public powers from philosophical and religious conceptions.[535] They ensure freedom of worship for believers as well as freedom not to believe.

Provision

In accordance with their values, the **United States of Europe** are neutral and impartial with regard to philosophical and

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[535] Separation, neutrality, impartiality rather than “laïcité”, an ambiguous and untranslatable French term. Robert Schuman, a fervent Catholic, recalled in 1950 that: "For a century, public law has been secular." Quoted by the Comité d’étude pour la Constitution européenne, *Projet de statut de la Communauté politique européenne. Travaux préparatoires.* Bruxelles, Mouvement européen, novembre 1952, p. 203. One of the contributions of Christianity is the adage "Give to God what is God's and to Caesar what is Caesar's."

religious conceptions. **They make no distinction between believers and non-believers.** They recognize citizens, not communities. They ensure freedom of worship for believers as well as freedom not to believe. **The United States of Europe rely on the federated States and regions for religious matters, as well as for the support of religions and their ministers. The federated States shall ensure that the principles contained in this Constitution are respected in the exercise of their competence in religious matters.**

The fundamental law separates, within the **United States of Europe**, at all levels, the public powers from philosophical and religious conceptions.

1.10. The right to self-defence of citizens of the United States of Europe

Explanatory memorandum

In a democratic State governed by the rule of law, the protection of physical integrity, human life, fundamental freedoms and human dignity is the cornerstone of the social contract. While the State is the principal guarantor of public security, it cannot ignore the need for every individual to have the right to protect his or her own life and that of others in the face of an unlawful and immediate threat, especially when the intervention of public forces is materially impossible or delayed.

Far from establishing an unlimited right to use a weapon or to attack, this provision aims, on the contrary, to guarantee that each citizen does not find himself in a passive attitude when an illegitimate and illegal attack poses a direct danger to his life or that of others. This provision aims to provide a framework in a democratic, reasonable and humane context for a fundamental right to the life and security of citizens.

The purpose of this provision is therefore to enshrine in the fundamental law the right to self-defence, including the use of arms within the limits provided for by law, in accordance with the principles of necessity and proportionality.

Provision

The right to defend one's own life or the life of another person, even with the use of a weapon, is guaranteed under the conditions established by the fundamental law, in the event that no competent authority is in a position to guarantee their safety. The right to self-defence is guaranteed only in cases where the life of a person is in direct danger, and this right must be exercised in a manner that is strictly proportionate and necessary to the threat posed by the attack on the lives of others.

Article 2. The symbols of the United States of Europe

Explanatory memorandum

People, and even more so members of security forces and armies, need symbols: these help them to perceive the world as much as they do themselves and to know why they are risking their lives and their health, and why, if necessary, they are fighting.

The first symbol is the name of our continent: Europe. [536] Its representation can be inspired by **works of art depicting Zeus taking Europa from Lebanon to Crete.**

[536] Leaving from the Levant towards the west, Europe symbolized the course of the sun, the search for light, knowledge, wisdom, but also, since the 18th century and the abbot of Saint-Pierre, the Enlightenment, the *Aufklärung* and peace.

[537]

Inspired by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's proposals,[538] **on 25 October 1955, after five years of discussion, the Assembly of the Council of Europe recommended the blue flag featuring the Western sky, with twelve golden stars, representing the peoples of Europe and forming a circle as a sign of union,[539] to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. The latter adopted it on 8 December**

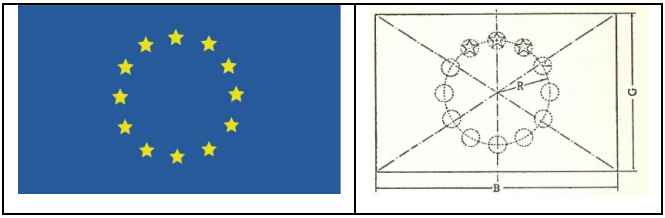
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[537] **Fresco of Pompeii, probably a copy of a Greek original. See https://www.lankaart.org/article-enlevement-d-europe-pompei-123153105.html. The scene exudes great serenity and calm. It is not a kidnapping, much less a rape. Europa, daughter of Agenor, king of Tyre, was walking on the beach. Zeus saw her. She told him about her dream: to go from the Levant to the Sunset. Enamoured by her beauty, Zeus turned into a white bull. He lay down at her feet. Europe sat on her back in an amazon. The bull swam to Crete where Zeus united with the beauty under a plane tree that legend places in the south of the island, in Gortyn. Europa became the first queen of Crete. From their union were born Minos, future king of Crete, Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon. Moving from the Levant towards the Sunset, Europa symbolised the course of the sun, the search for light, knowledge and wisdom, but also, since the eighteenth century and the Abbot de Saint Pierre, the Enlightenment, the *Aufklärung* and peace.**

[538] Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Paneuropa*, Vienne, Verlag, 1923. **He proposed an azure flag bearing a gold circle and a gules (red) cross.**

[539] The number twelve is a very ancient symbol of perfection, of plenitude, present in the zodiac, mythology (the labours of Hercules), Christianity (the apostles), etc.

1955. The emblem was inaugurated on December 13. Here is its heraldic description: "Azure with a circle composed of twelve gold stars with five rays whose points do not touch". The circle of stars allows the possible insertion inside of a symbol specific to another European organization and this flag is therefore that of the whole of Europe. These stars represent neither countries nor States. Their number will remain invariable: twelve is the symbol of perfection and plenitude, as the union of our peoples should be.



Geometrically, the emblem is made up of a blue rectangle whose body (B) is one and a half times the length of the hoist (G). The twelve golden stars are arranged in a regular pattern along an invisible circle, the centre of which lies at the point where the diagonals of the rectangle meet. The radius of this circle (R) is equal to one-third of the height of the hoist. Each of the five-pointed stars is inscribed within an invisible circle, the radius (t) of which is equal to one-eighteenth of the height of the hoist. All the stars are arranged vertically, that is to say with one point facing upwards and two points resting on an invisible line perpendicular to the shaft. The stars are arranged like the hours on the dial of a watch. The heraldic azure is represented by the light ultramarine blue. Heraldic gold is represented by dark chrome yellow.[540]

In 1972 the Council of Europe adopted the European anthem, Beethoven's Ode to Joy, in its instrumental version. The Milan European Council in 1985 appropriated these symbols, adding to them the motto "United in diversity".

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[540] **See Robert Bichet, *Le drapeau de l'Europe*, op. cit, p. 26-31.**

For the United States of Europe, it is essential - if the anthem is to express European values – that it combines Schiller's text, modified by Beethoven, with his music, in order for, as the Ode to Joy, the 4th movement of the 9th symphony, was composed with choir. As early as 1792, Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) considered setting to music part of the poem composed in 1785 by Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805). In 1803, he retained the first 36 verses and had them reworked by its author. It was not until 1823 and 1824 that Beethoven composed the 9th symphony. Schiller had written: « *Freude, schöner Götterfunken, Tochter aus Elysium, wir betreten feuertrunken, Himmlische, dein Heiligtum! Deine Zauber binden wieder, was die Mode Schwert geteilt. Bettler werden Fürstenbrüder wo dein sanfter Flügel weilt.* (Joy, beautiful divine lightning, daughter of Elysium, we enter, drunk with fire, O Blessed One, into your kingdom! Your magical power reunites what the sword of fashion separates. Beggars become brothers with princes, where your gentle wing dwells.) ». Beethoven humanizes and universalizes Schiller's idea. He replaces: « *was der Mode Schwert geteilt* » (what the sword of fashion cuts apart) with « *was die Mode streng geteilt* » (what rigid customs divide) and « *Bettler werden Fürstenbrüder* » (Beggars become brothers with princes) with "*alle Menschen werden Brüder*" (All human beings become brothers). His text is more in line with the values of the United States of Europe than the original, it expresses the very essence of European cultural identity**: humanism**.

Bringing together the voices of men and women, the choir symbolizes all of humanity. After the masterful signal from the orchestra, the soloist unveils the theme, the European anthem. Then, around the 7th minute, the choir takes up the theme once more, singing it with enthusiasm, with the breadth, fervour and power that suit this message of peace, explicitly egalitarian, humanist and internationalist. The Ode to Joy overcomes personal and social divisions; it generates a fraternity called to become universal. With the choir, the work is at its peak. It calls upon the resources of aesthetics and ethics to reach the sublime and stir the crowds, so that the Enlightenment triumphs, so that

the world may finally be the one we dream of: a globalization with a human face.[541]

It contrasts with poems, bucolic or martial, of questionable quality, national anthems, which are designed to venerate a monarch, like *God Save the **King*** or the *Marcha Real*, or to make patriots ready to spill their blood, such as the *Marseillaise*, *Fratelli d'Italia* or *Bella Ciao*, or to stimulate nationalism.[542] Charles de Gaulle distinguished nationalism, which is hatred of others, from patriotism, which is the love of the fatherland, of the land of his parents or of his adopted land.

Article I-8 of the draft of Constitutional Treaty **rejected in 2005** was intended to **add to the symbols adopted in 19852** the € and Europe Day, **set for 9 May, which is not appropriate: it should be reserved for the anniversary of the capitulation of Nazi Germany. The founding speech of the ECSC, voluntarily delivered by Mr Schuman five years later, was unfortunately lying, insofar as it claimed to establish the European Federation by means of a treaty, an expression of the sovereignty of the States.** As this article was not included in the Lisbon Treaty, a declaration was annexed to the Treaty on European Union, by which 16 federated States **confirmed** their attachment to these symbols. **As Mr. Sarkozy refused to allow France to sign this declaration, it was not until 19 October 2017 that Mr. Macron repaired this anomaly.**

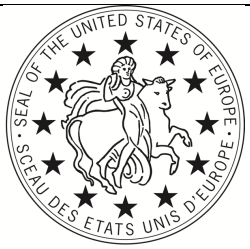
The United States of Europe fix Europe Day on 21 August, the anniversary of Victor Hugo's speech at the Peace Congress of 1849; they adopt the other symbols mentioned above; **they join to it arms and a seal:**

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[541] A good interpretation of the Ode, for example by the orchestra and choir of the Wiener Philharmoniker conducted by Leonard Bernstein, will probably convince you.

[542] See Renaud Denuit, « Symboles : rendons ses paroles à l'hymne européen ! » in Agence Europe, *Repères*, https://agenceurope.eu/fr/bulletin/article/12246/1, 3/5/2019.





Designer Andy Jacobs.

They complete the list with three bowsprit flags for ships. These bear the twelve yellow stars on a blue background, symbolizing united Europe, as well as the Scandinavian cross. It appears on the oldest European colours and flag, as it was hoisted for the first time in 1219: the *Dannebrog sø*, the Danish stuff, with a white cross on a red background. This cross symbolizes the Baltic and Northern Seas, its red colour symbolizes the Mediterranean.

For combat vessels, the background is yellow, the cross red.



For the auxiliary fleet, the background is blue, the cross red.



For the merchant fleet, the background is red, the cross yellow.



The roundel for aircraft and military personnel will be that of the European Union Force (EUFOR), established in May 2003:



Article 2 of the constitution of the United States of Europe finally endows Europe with a single capital, Brussels, which does not prevent deconcentrating of certain institutions, but the executive and legislative powers must be brought together to facilitate the control of the one by the other.

The ultimate symbol of the United States of Europe will be their Head of State, whose powers are set out in Article 5.1.

Provision

The symbols of **the United States of Europe** are:
The flag, twelve golden stars in a circle on a blue background. **The bowsprit flag is in the shape of the *Dannebrog sø*, with the cross framing the twelve yellow stars on a blue background; for combat ships, the back of the flag is yellow, the cross is red; for the auxiliary fleet the back of the flag is blue, the cross is red; for the flags of the merchant navy the back of the flag is red and the cross yellow.**
The hymn: Ode to Joy, 4th movement of the 9th symphony, with chorus, text by Schiller and Beethoven; music by Beethoven.
The motto: "United in diversity".
Europe Day, 21 August.
The currency, the €, the United States of Europe being members of the European Monetary Union.
Weapons and seals: **Europe and Zeus**.
The capital of the **United States of Europe** is Brussels.

The President of the United States of Europe is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. It symbolises the European Federal State. He takes the following oath: "I swear to observe the constitution and the laws of the European people, to maintain the independence of the United States of Europe and the integrity of its territory."

Officers of the armed forces, police and security services, diplomats and civil servants swear loyalty to the President of the United States of Europe, obedience to the constitution and the laws of the European people.

The fundamental law determines the formulae for the other forms of swearing in.

Article 3. Sovereignty, subsidiarity and allocation of competences

Explanatory memorandum

Considering the diversity of political cultures among Europeans, and in order to ensure respect for the identity and specific interests of each people that make up the European mosaic, the United States of Europe adopts a federal political system, allowing for a large degree of autonomy for the federated **States and their constituent entities. Sovereignty is shared** among the Member States, the regions and the people of the **United States of Europe, subject to the limits set out in the Constitution of the** United States of Europe **and that of the** federated **State to which they belong**.

The **United States of Europe** have international legal personality and enjoy the legal capacity necessary for the exercise of their functions and the achievement of the goals set out in this Constitution. Federated States and regions retain their legal personality to the extent necessary to enable them to maintain, with foreign States and regions to which they are close geographically, economically or culturally, as well as international organizations, relations which do not go beyond this constitution.[543]

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[543] « The member States are sovereign, in so far as their sovereignty is not limited by the United States of Europe's constitution and exercise all those rights which have not been transferred to United States of Europe's institutions." David McKay, *Designing Europe. Comparative Lessons from the Federal Experience*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 148.

Within the exclusive competence of the **United States of Europe**, the federated State and the region have the power to legislate only insofar as they are expressly authorized to do so by a law of the **United States of Europe** and only in the sense indicated by that law.

In the field of concurrent legislation, the **United States of Europe** have the right to legislate; the federated State and the region have legislative competence as long as, and insofar as, the **United States of Europe** have not made use of their right to legislate. **In this area,** in the event of a conflict, the law of the **United States of Europe** takes precedence over the law of the federated States. Within the limits of the competences of the federated States, in the event of a conflict, the law of the federated States shall take precedence over the law of the regions.

Fall within the exclusive competence of the **United States of Europe**: legislation relating to the defence industry, the production of war materiel, its import and export, and the education, instruction, training and deployment of the armed forces.

Provision

The **United States of Europe** have a federal structure of the cooperative type, which gives them the international legal personality and the legal capacity necessary for the exercise of their functions and for the achievement of the goals set by this constitution, without depriving the federated States and the regions of their own legal personality, so as to be able to maintain the necessary relations with foreign States and international organizations.

The **federated** States, the regions and the people of the **United States of Europe** are sovereign, **in the exercise of their respective powers, as** long as their sovereignty is not limited by the constitution of the **United States of Europe** or by that of the federated State to which they belong.

Within the exclusive competence of the **United States of Europe**, the federated State and the region have the power to

legislate only insofar as they are expressly authorized to do so by a law of the **United States of Europe** and only in the sense indicated by that law, **or in order to implement the acts of the federal State**.

In the field of concurrent legislation, the **United States of Europe** have the right to legislate; the federated State and the region have legislative competence as long as, and to the extent that, the **United States of Europe** has not exercised its right to legislate. **In this area, in the event of a conflict, the law of the United States of Europe takes precedence over the law of the** federated **States. Within the limits of the competences of the** federated **States, in the event of a conflict, the law of the** federated **States shall take precedence over the law of the regions.**

In the area of shared competence, the principle of subsidiarity governs the distribution of competences between the different levels of power. In the event of a conflict over competence, the Constitutional Court shall settle the dispute.

Falling within the exclusive competence of the **United States of Europe**: legislation relating to the defence industry, the production of war materiel, its import and export, and the education, instruction, training and deployment of the armed forces**, as well as to nationality and the federal civil service**.

Defence and foreign affairs are competences in their own right according to the field in which that competence is exercised, guaranteeing the autonomy of the federated **States by allowing them to exercise their own competence in their own areas of action.**

The fundamental law allocates competences and lays down the system for the arbitration of disputes within the **United States of Europe**, as well as the sanctions necessary to maintain the unity of the **United States of Europe**.

Article 4. The social contract

4.1. Citizenship, rights and duties

Explanatory memorandum

This article defines **firstly** citizenship of **United States of Europe**; it confers on their citizens political and other rights as well as the customary freedoms in Europe; it prescribes their duties; it establishes equal rights and treatment between the citizens of the different federated States, regions and municipalities; it opens a right of appeal to the courts of the **United States of Europe**. It requires the **United States of Europe** to ensure equality, solidarity and the emancipation of their citizens; to ensure respect for democratic principles, the impartiality of the legislative, executive and judicial powers, the primacy of the civilian over the military; to respect the rule of law, fundamental freedoms and human rights; to apply the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, as well as Additional Protocols; to proscribe all discrimination, all forms of forced labour and abuse.

It prohibits a citizen of the **United States of Europe** from being forced against his or her conscience to serve as an armed combatant.

The law of the **United States of Europe** promotes equal access of women and men to electoral mandates and elective functions, as well as to professional and social responsibilities, without establishing positive discrimination. **Temporary special measures to accelerate the achievement of sex equality will be governed by federal law; however, such measures must in no way result in the perpetuation of unequal or distinct standards; these measures must be repealed as soon as the objectives of equal opportunity and treatment have been achieved.**

This article gives citizens of **United States of Europe** the right to bring a complaint before the Defender of Rights.

Provision

The citizens of the **United States of Europe** federated States are citizens of the **United States of Europe**; they enjoy the political and other rights established by this constitution and by the fundamental law of the USE; they fulfil the duties prescribed therein. The citizen of the **United States of Europe** is a citizen and voter of the municipality where he or she resides, as well as of the region and the federated State of which this municipality is a part. Citizens have the freedom to move, work, train, reside and settle anywhere in the United States of Europe. Anyone who settles in another municipality enjoys all the rights of the citizens of that municipality. Federated States, regions and municipalities grant all citizens the same treatment as their nationals. Disputes between citizens of different federated States may be brought before the courts of the United States of Europe once all remedies have been exhausted at local level. Citizenship of the **United States of Europe** entails freedom of movement and establishment, the right to work, to have social protection and to enjoy civil and political rights throughout the **United States of Europe**.

The **United States of Europe** ensure equal rights, solidarity and emancipation of their citizens. They ensure respect for democratic principles, the impartiality of the legislative, executive and judicial powers and the primacy of the civilian over the military. They respect the rule of law, fundamental freedoms and human rights. The **United States of Europe**, their federated States and the regions apply the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed in Rome on 4 November 1950, and its Additional Protocols. Within the **United States of Europe**, no one should be discriminated based on origin, sex, age, language, social status, lifestyle, religious, philosophical or political convictions, or physical, mental or psychological disability. The **United States of Europe** shall combat all forms of forced labour and abuse.

No citizen of the **United States of Europe** should be forced against his or her conscience to serve as an armed combatant.

The law of the **United States of Europe** takes precedence over religious rules; it promotes equal access of women and men to electoral mandates and elective functions, as well as to professional and social responsibilities, without establishing so-called positive discrimination. **Temporary special measures to accelerate the achievement of sex equality will be regulated by law, but such measures must in no way result in the maintenance of unequal or distinct standards; These measures must be repealed as soon as the objectives of equal opportunity and treatment have been achieved.**

Any citizen of the **United States of Europe** has the right to address a complaint to the Defender of the rights of the **United States of Europe**, concerning a competence of the **United States of Europe**. The mission of the Defender of Rights is limited by the fundamental law to the conciliation of disputes between the administration and a citizen. If he considers the complaint unfounded or in case of non-conciliation, he terminates his mission and notifies the complainant. No appeal can be brought against this decision. Under no circumstances may the Defender of Rights intervene in cases pending before or decided by the courts or the Council of State.

The fundamental law states:

- the rights of citizens of the **United States of Europe**, including political, individual and diplomatic protection abroad, as well as their duties, in particular fiscal, and possible national service, whether civilian or military;
- the conditions to take up of residence, nationality, status and capacity of persons, matrimonial regimes, inheritance and gifts;
- civil rights and the fundamental guarantees granted to citizens for the exercise of public freedoms; the freedom, pluralism and independence of the media; the constraints imposed by the defence on citizens in their person and in their goods;
- the manner in which the electoral duty is exercised by citizens of the **United States of Europe** enjoying their civil and political rights for elections to the Presidency and Parliament of the **United States of Europe**;

- the status and powers of the Defender of the rights of the **United States of Europe**.

4.2. Freedom of association

Explanatory memorandum

Freedom of association is guaranteed, in particular to promote the development of European culture and citizen action. **It is a fundamental civic right, distinct from the freedom of enterprise.**

Provision

Political parties and groups contribute to democratic life and the expression of suffrage. They form and exercise their activity freely. The law of the **United States of Europe** guarantees the pluralist expression of opinions and the equitable participation of parties, trade union and cultural, political or economic groups in democratic life.

Any person may defend his or her rights and interests through trade union action and may join the trade union of his or her choice. The right to strike is exercised under the laws that regulate it. Every worker participates, through his delegates, in the collective determination of working conditions and, to the extent fixed by law, in the co-management of his or her firm.

The fundamental law of the **United States of Europe** fixes the status of political parties, unions, associations and companies.

4.3. The use of languages

Explanatory memorandum

Local traditions and the use of the various European languages are protected, but French is the priority working language for legal or conceptual issues, while English is the priority working language for operational issues. **This is in line with what is the rule at the UN, NATO and the Council of Europe.**

Like Barbara Cassin, the **United States of Europe** resist the use of the Globish, Global English, which reduces language to communication for trade. They reject linguistic nationalism,

which affirms the superiority of an idiom and participates in the development of hatred of others. "German is not an authentic language, rooted in a people and a race, as Heidegger said. French is not more, by a unique privilege, naturally universal, all reason, as Rivarol said. (...) The singularity of a language, the strength of its genius, the richness of its works does not lead to the closure on itself of this language or of the people who speak it. Like Umberto Eco, we must argue that the language of Europe - and perhaps the language of the world - is translation."[544]

Provision

The **United States of Europe**, the federated States and the regions preserve local traditions and the use of the various European languages, official and non-official.

The working languages of the institutions of the **United States of Europe** are French, which has priority for legal or conceptual matters, and English, which has priority for operational matters.

The fundamental law fixes the use of languages in administrative matters, in the courts, in health care, in diplomacy and in the military.

4.4. Nationality and naturalization

Explanatory memorandum

The nationality of the **United States of Europe** is acquired exclusively at birth, or by naturalization.

Provision

Nationality is a set of rights and duties which bind a natural or legal person to the public authorities.

The nationality of the **United States of Europe** is acquired at birth, or by naturalization.

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[544] Barbara Cassin, « Discours de réception à l'Académie française, le 17/10/2019 » op. cit., p. 25.

The fundamental law sets the conditions for access to naturalization.

Article 5. The Executive power

Explanatory memorandum

The organization of executive power stems from the desire to ensure for the **United States of Europe** a balance between unity and diversity, as well as between coordination and decentralization. A transnational presidential election by universal suffrage provides a strong symbol for the **United States of Europe**. It avoids local candidacies and strengthens the political authority of the head of State.

In defence matters, following the model of the Fifth French Republic, the President commands the armies and decides in the fields of defence and international relations. To this end, he relies on the Prime Minister, who manages interdepartmental matters, on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and on the Minister for Defence, respectively, for matters falling within their ministries.

In the event that the Government and the parliamentary majority do not have the same political orientation as the President, the latter must deal with the Prime Minister and his majority. The government does not have a free hand since it cannot commit forces, sign or ratify international agreements, or appoint military personnel or ambassadors without the signature of the President.

In the event that the President refuses to sign or ratify a treaty or to appoint military personnel or ambassadors, the Prime Minister may override the President's decision by a 3/5th majority vote in Parliament.

The President's decisions on defence matters are taken in the Defence Council or the Restricted Defence and Security Council. The first meets once or twice a year and to discuss the military programming law, which gives the general guidelines and budget forecasts over 5 years and to determine the structural

reforms of the armies. The second provides weekly updates on planned or ongoing operations and topical thematic issues.

These councils, chaired by the Head of State, bring together the Prime Minister, the ministers concerned, intelligence officials and the Chief of the Defence Staff.

The Parliament is informed within 48 hours of the launch of an operation but does not pronounce on its opportuneness. The government is required to report regularly to the Defence Committees of Parliament and the Senate on the progress of operations. If an operation continues beyond 4 months, the Parliament votes for or against any prolongation.

Provision

The executive power of the **United States of Europe** ensures a balance between unity and diversity, as well as between coordination and decentralization.

5.1. The President

Explanatory memorandum

The President of the **United States of Europe**[545] is the head of the f**ederal** State; he or she presides over the executive power and is commander in chief of the armies. He or she guarantees compliance with the treaties and ensures compliance with the constitution of the **United States of Europe**. He is or she elected for a seven-year term in accordance with a procedure similar to that used in France for the election of the President of the Republic.

The election of the President by universal, direct and simultaneous suffrage in all the **United States of Europe** has two advantages for democracy: it achieves equality of suffrage and respects the equal treatment of citizens, without discrimination according to nationality; it responds to the need for direct democracy felt by the populations. Furthermore, it

[545] The masculine title obviously does not prejudge the **sex** of the holder of the office.

gives the President an indisputable legitimacy and credibility on the international stage.

To avoid coinciding his election with the elections for the Parliament, which have the same single electoral college, the newly elected President calls the election for the Parliament within 40 to 80 days, if possible, without pairing it with national and/or regional elections: Europe deserves a debate in its own right.

Provision

The President is elected for seven years by direct universal suffrage in two-rounds election from among eligible citizens of the **United States of Europe** in accordance with the rules laid down by the fundamental law. **When he takes office, he** or she takes **the oath**.

He or she embodies and represents the **United States of Europe**, is their spokesperson and ensures its cohesion.

He or she is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, guarantees the independence of the **United States of Europe** and the integrity of their territory as well as the supremacy of civilian over military power. He or she embodies the principle of unity of command. He or she chairs the Defence Council, the Restricted Defence and Security Council and the Higher Defence Committees.

He or she decides on policy and its implementation in the fields of defence and international relations, within the framework of the budget adopted by the government and voted by the Parliament of the **United States of Europe**. He or she relies on the Prime Minister, who manages inter-ministerial issues, and on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Defence, for matters within their respective ministries.

He or she is the guarantor of the respect of the treaties which bind the **United States of Europe**.

He or she ensures the respect of this constitution.

Within 40 to 80 days of his election, the newly elected President convenes the election of Parliament.

The fundamental law specifies and supplements the constitutional rules relating to the President, in particular by the measures to be taken in the event of the death, resignation or incapacity of the President to perform his duties.

5.2. The government and the Prime minister

Explanatory memorandum

This article sets out the responsibilities of the government as well as the status and powers of the Prime minister and the seven ministers. It determines certain aspects of the relations between the executive and legislative powers. It lays the foundations for the status of the civil service in the broadest sense. It regulates the interactions between the executives of the **United States of Europe**, the federated States, the regions and the municipalities.

Provision

The government consists of seven ministers. **Six are appointed by the President on the proposal of the Prime Minister, from among the eligible citizens.** These appointments are subject to the assent of the Parliament by a simple majority vote of confidence. No one may be appointed Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister for Defence or Minister for Internal Security unless he or she has applied for and obtained a security clearance of the highest level. **Only the Prime Minister can dismiss a member of his government or grant his resignation.**

The Prime Minister directs the government's action. He or she is accountable to the President and to the legislative power for the implementation of the government's decisions on defence. He or she ensures the execution of laws. He or she exercises regulatory power and appoints civil and military posts, with the exception of those filled by the President. He or she may delegate some of their powers to ministers.

The government determines and conducts the policy of the **United States of Europe**. It has at its disposal the administration and, upon express delegation by the President,

of the armed force. In times of crisis or in a state of defence, the government ensures the coordination of military defence and civil defence.

The government is accountable to the Parliament, which can force it to resign by passing a censure motion.

The composition of government reflects the social and geographic diversity of the **United States of Europe** and strives for sex balance.

The members of the government are independent of the federated States. They do not exercise any other activity, paid or not.

The fundamental law **clarifies and supplements** the constitutional rules on the Prime minister and the government. It determines the arrangements for replacing deputies and Senators of the **United States of Europe** appointed as ministers of the government of the **United States of Europe** or of the federated States.

Article 6. The Legislative power

Explanatory memorandum

The legislative power of the **United States of Europe** is bicameral, but the existence of Parliament and the Senate does not deprive the people of the right of legislative and constitutional initiative. The two assemblies are equal, but specialized: Parliament deals primarily with domestic policy, the Senate primarily with international relations.

This article determines certain aspects of the relations between the executive and legislative branches, as well as the basis of the status of parliamentarians and the legislative procedure.

Provision

The legislative power includes the Parliament, the Senate and the people of the **United States of Europe**, which have, like the government, the right of legislative and constitutional initiative. The two assemblies vote ordinary, budgetary or fiscal laws. **They** set the army contingent. They monitor the application of

laws. They authorize the President to declare war and ratify a treaty. They have the right to give advice to the government. They work in coordination. They are equal, but **do not have the same powers. Only Parliament votes for confidence and censure of the government. The budget is examined by the Senate, which has powers limited by the fundamental law.**

The President can veto a law passed by the Parliament and the Senate. **In the field of defence and foreign affairs, an absolute majority of 3/5 is needed to override this veto; while in all other areas the threshold for overriding the veto is absolute majority voting in Parliament.**

On taking office, deputies and senators swear allegiance to the constitution of **United States of Europe**. They have immunity. They vote individually, according to their conscience, without receiving any instruction from anyone.

The Parliament and the Senate each draw up their own rules, which may authorize the delegation of votes, but no one may receive more than one proxy.

The fundamental law specifies the rights and duties of deputies and senators; it determines the parliamentary and senatorial committees, their competences and the rights of the groups formed within the two assemblies; it sets the rules for the presentation of draft laws and proposals before the Parliament or the Senate.

6.1. The Parliament

Explanatory memorandum

The purpose of this article is to put an end to the painful observation that elections to the European Parliament have never respected democratic principles or the provisions of the fundamental treaties. Article 21(3) of the ECSC Treaty of 1950, and subsequently Article 138(3) of the EEC Treaty of 1957, provided that their Parliamentary Assembly "shall draw up plans for elections by direct universal suffrage in accordance with a uniform procedure in all EU member States". This not having been done, the governments adopted in 1976 the act

allowing the first election of the European Parliament by universal suffrage in 1979, regulating the representation of citizens in a degressively proportional way, with a minimum threshold of six members per member State and a ceiling of 96 seats. This provision became Article 14(2) TEU. This article, in contradiction with the values, in particular that of equality, which appear since 1999 in article 2 TEU, perpetuates the fact that the electoral weight of a Maltese or a Luxembourger is twelve times higher than that of a German.

Eligibility is acquired at 18 years in 14 member States; at 21 in 10 others; at 23 in Romania and at 25 in Italy and Greece. European citizenship (Art. 20 para. 2b TFEU) allows to vote in the country of residence, if it is part of the EU, in accordance with the rules in force in that country (Council Directive 93/109/EC). Nationals residing abroad can vote in their own country, by post and/or at the embassy, or even electronically, but Bulgarians, Greeks and Italians can only do so from a EU member State and it's forbidden for Czechs, Slovaks, Irish and Maltese. In Belgium, Bulgaria, Luxembourg, Greece and Cyprus, voting is compulsory, elsewhere, no. The right to vote is acquired everywhere at 18, except in Austria where it is 16.

Article 14(2) TEU does not provide for an electoral threshold, which 12 member States apply, but others do not, without being penalized: Cyprus has a threshold of 1.8%, Greece 3%, Italy, Austria and Sweden 4%; 10 countries have a threshold of 5%. Unfortunately, only the Karlsruhe **federal** Court issued on 30 June 2009 that article 14(2) TEU contradicts article 9 TEU, which provides: "In all its activities, the Union respects the principle of equality of its citizens, who receive equal attention from its institutions, bodies, offices and agencies. A citizen of the Union is any person having the nationality of a member State. Union citizenship is in addition to and does not replace it."

In most member States, but not in France, Germany, Spain, Hungary, Romania and Portugal, lists drawn up by the different parties are in competition and voters have to vote for a single candidate. In Luxembourg, on the other hand, voting for several

candidates from competing lists is allowed. In Belgium, Ireland, Italy and Poland, the electoral college is divided into constituencies. Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Malta practice a single transferable vote in multi-member constituency elections.[546]

So far, members of the European Parliament have been elected as members of parties in the member States. Even when they have ties that bind them to the large political families, these parties differ greatly from one member State to another. **They don't have a common programme.** They hardly get along except to weigh within this assembly, in particular to distribute the functions within the Bureau or in the committees.

Mathematics shows that classifying candidates collectively by aggregation of their ranking of candidates by voters depends essentially on the chosen method of aggregation. Neither the work of the French mathematicians Borda and Condorcet, nor that of the American Arrow have given an optimal solution to the question: "How to decide together?". This is fortunate, because "what would be a world entirely managed by algorithms, including to deal with situations as imprinted with human dimension as the decision-making by a community of individuals?"[547] Fortunately, voters have their share of free will, they act more or less reasonably. If there are sometimes many who listen to populists of all stripes, it is because they have been disappointed by more moderate but overly ineffective or corrupt politicians. Many remain those who, when voting, are inspired by European values and tend to promote the general interest.

In the virtual absence of a truly European political party with candidates in all member States,[548] suitable electoral procedures

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[546] See Renaud Denuit, « De quelques inconfortables vérités relatives à l'élection du Parlement », janvier 2019, inédit, archives Jean Marsia.
[547] See Philippe Vincke, *Discours du Recteur prononcé à l'occasion de la séance de rentrée*, Bruxelles, ULB, 15 septembre 2006.
[548] On 26 May 2019, Volt, the only party claiming to be pan-European, won only one member of the European Parliament, in Germany. **On 9 May 2024, Volt obtained three members of the European Parliament in Germany and two in the Netherlands.**

have to be proposed for the presidential and parliamentary elections in the **United States of Europe**. **The election must therefore be organised in such a way that it represents both a mode of political expression for the citizens that places them on an equal footing with each other but also ensures that they are adequately represented.**

A proportional representation system has the advantage of correctly representing the aspirations of all, and of giving each citizen the opportunity to be represented in a coherent way, ensuring true equality. However, this voting method applied to large constituencies tends to reduce the representation of the inhabitants of certain geographical areas and de facto to deprive some citizens of adequate representation and therefore of their mode of political expression. Citizens of small States from a demographic point of view such as the Republic of Malta, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the Republic of Cyprus, and others, would risk being deprived of representation, through integration into large transnational constituencies, to the advantage of their neighbours. This is why, in order to ensure the cohesion of citizens and their representation, it is necessary to counterbalance the harmful effects of proportional representation by establishing local constituencies that allow their political aspirations to be adequately expressed.

The ballot is organised in such a way that it allows for the proper appointment of representatives via two distinctive votes in the election of Parliament. A vote is used to appoint representatives in local constituencies with a first-past-the-post system. The second vote is used to elect representatives on the basis of a multi-member proportional representation system in larger constituencies, sometimes spilling over into several regions or countries. One third of the representatives are elected on the basis of the majority local constituencies, while the rest of the representatives are elected in multi-member proportional constituencies.

The Single Transferable Vote system, in multi-member constituency elections, as practised in Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Malta, guarantees proportional and independent representation. It gives the voter the certainty that his vote will not go to a candidate he rejects. It allows him to express his secondary preference in favour of a candidate from a party different from that of the first choice and thus to influence the formation of coalitions.[549]

The election of the Parliament by universal, direct and simultaneous suffrage of all citizens of the **United States of Europe** achieves equality of suffrage and respects the equal treatment of citizens, without discrimination according to nationality. It gives it undisputable legitimacy.

The Parliament represents the people. Its main responsibility is internal policy: it is it which provides the **United States of Europe** with own resources, by voting on revenue, taxes and duties, which authorizes the expenditure and the investments, which fixes the contingent of the **armed forces of the United States of Europe**. This is in line with the principle of "no representation without taxation", "no legislative assembly without fiscal power". It is the corollary of the fundamental principle of representative democracy which justified the

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[549] The voter must indicate on his ballot an order of preference between the candidates. After counting all the ballots, the quotient, called Droop, required for the election of a candidate is determined by dividing the number of valid votes by the number of seats to be filled plus one. Candidates who have obtained a number of first choice votes greater than or equal to the Droop quotient are elected. The votes obtained by these candidates beyond the quota are distributed among the unelected candidates who had been positioned in second choice. The distribution is done according to a mechanism that may vary from country to country. If no candidate has reached the quotient, then the candidate with the fewest first choice votes is eliminated. His votes are then redistributed to the candidates who had been positioned as second choice by his voters. The process continues until all seats are filled. This voting system was developed in the 19th century by Thomas Hare (1808-1891) in Great Britain, as well as by Carl Andrae (1812-1893) in Denmark. Outside Europe, it is used in Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania.

creation of the United States of America: "no taxation without representation", no tax without the consent of a parliament.

With the support of the Court of Auditors, the Parliament controls the action of the government, it evaluates the public policies, and it formulates useful recommendations. It approves the revenues and spending account for the past financial year and the balance sheet of the **United States of Europe**.

The Parliament fixes the status of military personnel and veterans. In the event of disagreement with the executive on its defence decisions, it can reduce the funding of the armed forces or refuse the additional funding required by armed conflict.

It votes his distrust of a minister by a simple majority vote.

The Parliament may, on the initiative of a majority of its deputies, move a motion with reasons to remove the President, or any other member of the executive, from office on account of a manifest violation of the Constitution or the laws of the United States of Europe. The decision must be approved by a majority of the deputies. In this case, the case is referred to the Supreme Court, which decides the matter by a two-thirds majority. In the event of a conviction, the Supreme Court's decision is limited to dismissal without excluding possible criminal proceedings if necessary. If the Supreme Court finds guilty, any person removed from office loses the right to stand for election for the next fifteen years, unless the conviction is lifted.

The electoral threshold **is** 5%, **in districts where the vote is held on a multi-member proportional basis,** to improve political stability within the **United States of Europe**.

Provision

Parliament represents the people. It deals with domestic policy. It controls the action of the government. It evaluates public policies.

The committees of the two assemblies have autonomous powers of investigation in all fields, including intelligence.

With the support of the Court of Auditors, the Parliament controls the action of the government, it evaluates the public policies, and it formulates useful recommendations. After receiving the opinion of the Court of Auditors, it approves the revenue and spending account for the past financial year and the balance sheet of the **United States of Europe**.

If the resources and expenditure budget for a financial year is not tabled in time to be promulgated before the beginning of that year, the government urgently presents to the Parliament a finance law authorizing it to collect taxes and opening the necessary appropriations during the course of the financial year, at the rate of one twelfth of the budget of the previous year per month.

The Parliament annually fixes the contingent of the armed forces. It determines the status of military personnel and veterans, which may not be inferior to that of civil servants, particularly in monetary terms.

In the event of disagreement with the executive on its defence decisions, the Parliament may reduce the financing of the armed forces or refuse the additional financing that an armed conflict requires.

After the general elections, the President appoints one or more people in charge of forming a government, considering the new political balances and the weight of the political parties. If somebody is unable to carry out his mission, the President may dismiss them and appoint a replacement.

Parliament expresses its confidence in the government when the new government is sworn in and when the Prime Minister asks for confidence. In the event of a rejection of the confidence requested by the Prime Minister or in the case of the rejection of the confidence during the investiture, the Parliament shall present by a simple majority of the votes, within 7 days after the rejection of the confidence, a candidate for the post of Prime Minister to the President. If no candidate is put forward by Parliament, the President

may appoint a Prime Minister candidate to form a new government. If the candidate for Prime Minister appointed by Parliament or the President does not obtain the confidence of Parliament at the time of his investiture or if he is unable to gather a majority in Parliament within 6 months of his appointment, Parliament is dissolved by operation of law, new elections must be held within 40 to 60 days after the dissolution.

Parliament can express its distrust of the government by voting a motion of censure by an absolute majority. Censure must be proposed by a motion signed by one-fifth of the parliamentarians; it may be accompanied by a proposal for the post of Prime Minister. If no candidate for the post of Prime Minister is nominated; a simple majority vote within 7 days of the vote on the motion of censure makes it possible to appoint a candidate for Prime Minister. In the absence of a nomination by Parliament of a candidate Prime Minister, the President may appoint a candidate Prime Minister. If the candidate for Prime Minister appointed by Parliament or the President does not obtain the confidence of Parliament at the time of his investiture or if he is unable to gather a majority in Parliament within 6 months of his appointment, Parliament is dissolved by operation of law, new elections must be held within 40 to 60 days after the dissolution.

The vote on the motion of censure requires an absolute majority of the votes, while the vote on the motion of confidence or confidence at the investiture requires only a simple majority of the votes. In the event of a rejection of confidence by Parliament or during the vote on a motion of censure, the government as a whole is considered to have resigned immediately.

In the event of the Prime Minister's resignation, the entire government is considered to have resigned, and Parliament then appoints a candidate for Prime Minister within 7 days by a simple majority. In the absence of a nomination by Parliament of a candidate Prime Minister, the President

may appoint a candidate Prime Minister. If the candidate for Prime Minister appointed by Parliament or the President does not obtain the confidence of Parliament at the time of his investiture or if he is unable to gather a majority in Parliament within 6 months of his appointment, Parliament is dissolved by operation of law, new elections must be held within 40 to 60 days after the dissolution.

Parliament votes it's no confidence in a minister by a simple majority vote.

The Parliament may, on the initiative of a majority of its deputies, move a motion with reasons to remove the President, or any other member of the executive, from office on account of a manifest violation of the Constitution or the laws of the United States of Europe. The decision must be approved by a simple majority of the deputies. In this case, the case is referred to the Supreme Court, which decides the matter by a two-thirds majority. In the event of a conviction, the Supreme Court's decision is limited to dismissal without excluding possible criminal proceedings. In the event of recognition of guilt by the Supreme Court, any person who is dismissed loses the right to stand for election for the following fifteen years, unless the conviction is lifted.

In the event of persistent disagreements and the failure of conciliation between Parliament and the Senate, Parliament has the last word, except in areas where the Senate has been expressly granted this right.

At least one year must elapse between each legislative election.

The fundamental law organizes the election of the Parliament by direct universal suffrage, by **a first-past-the-post system and, in the case of elections with transnational constituencies, a proportional multi-member system, with an electoral threshold of 5%.**

The fundamental law organizes the election of the Parliament by means of direct universal suffrage, by **a single-member,**

first-past-the-post single-round election, and, **within the framework of** elections with **transnational** constituencies, a multi-member proportional representation system, with an electoral threshold of 5%. It contains the necessary provisions for balancing the current expenditure budget. It provides the **United States of Europe** with their own resources.

It distributes **fiscal power** between the levels of government, from **the United States of Europe** to the municipality, including the federated States and the regions, to guarantee their autonomy and distribute the tax burden, without discrimination between citizens. It organises the gradual harmonisation of taxes.

6.2. The Senate

Explanatory memorandum

The Senate is responsible for international relations, the representation of the federated States, the safeguard of their interests and those of the regions against any discrimination on the part of the government of the **United States of Europe**.

Senators may not hold any other office, mandate or function; they are appointed by each federated State from among its eligible citizens and in accordance with the legislation of that State.

The laws approving the treaties and those having for main object the organization of the territorial collectivities are tabled by the government in the Senate, which discusses them, approves them or not then transmits them to the Parliament, which discusses them and approves them or not. If Parliament amends a text, it is subject to a second reading by the Senate, which has the final say.

The Senate approves or rejects any appointment to the senior public, civil and military service, proposed by the President of the **United States of Europe**.

The Senate may, on the initiative of a majority of senators, move a motion with reasons to remove the President, or any other member of the executive, from office on account of a

manifest violation of the Constitution or the laws of the United States of Europe. The motion must be approved by a simple majority of the senators. In this case, the lawsuit is referred to the Supreme Court, which decides the matter by a two-thirds majority. In the event of a conviction, the Supreme Court's decision is limited to dismissal without excluding possible criminal proceedings if necessary. If the Supreme Court finds guilty, any person who is removed from office loses the right to stand for election for the next fifteen years, unless the conviction is lifted.

Provision

The Senate represents the federated States and deals with international relations. It ensures that the government of the **United States of Europe** does not injure a federated State or a region in the exercise of its powers.

The senators are appointed by each federated State from among its eligible citizens and according to the law of that State. Senators may not hold any other office, mandate or function.

The laws approving the treaties and those having for main object the organization of the territorial collectivities are tabled by the government in the Senate, which discusses them, approves them or not then transmits them to the Parliament, which discusses them and approves them or not. If Parliament amends a text, it is subject to a second reading by the Senate, which has the final say.

The Senate approves or rejects any appointment to the senior public, civil and military service, proposed by the President of the **United States of Europe**.

The Senate may, on the initiative of a simple majority of the senators, move a motion with reasons to remove the President, or any other member of the executive, from office on the ground of a manifest violation of the Constitution or the laws of the United States of Europe. The decision must be approved by a simple majority of the senators. In this case, the lawsuit is referred to the Supreme Court, which decides the matter by a two-thirds majority. In the event of

a conviction, the Supreme Court's decision is limited to dismissal without excluding possible criminal proceedings if necessary. If the Supreme Court finds guilty, any person who is dismissed loses the right to stand for election for the next fifteen years, unless the conviction is lifted.

The fundamental law fixes the number of senators per federated State.

6.3. The voting and the petition

Explanatory memorandum

Revisions of the constitution, as well as membership of collective security organizations or supranational organizations are subject to a vote by the people, the regions and the federated States.

The right to address a petition to the Parliament, on a matter falling within a field of competence of the **United States of Europe** is open to all citizen of the enjoying civil and political rights.

Provision

The revisions of the constitution, as well as membership of collective security organizations or supranational organizations, are subject to a vote by the people, the regions and the federated States.

Any citizen of the **United States of Europe** enjoying civil and political rights has the right to address a petition to the Parliament, on a matter falling within a field of competence of the **United States of Europe**.

The fundamental law sets the rules for voting and petitions.

6.4. The delegate to the armed forces

Explanatory memorandum

The Delegate for the armed forces has a twofold mission: on the one hand, to annually, or on request, inform Parliament and the Senate on the state of the armed forces and, on the other hand,

to protect the fundamental rights of the military.

Provision

The Delegate to the armed forces reports annually to Parliament and the Senate on the state of the armed forces. He protects the fundamental rights of the military. In addition, the Defence Committees of the Parliament and the Senate may instruct him or her to investigate certain events or findings.

The fundamental law fixes the status of the Delegate for the armed forces.

6.5. The advisory bodies

Explanatory memorandum

The main consultative bodies of the **United States of Europe** are the Council of the Regions and the Economic, Social and Environmental Council.

Provision

The fundamental law fixes the attributions, the composition and the operating rules of the Council of the regions as well as of the Economic, social and environmental Council; it may make some of their opinions binding.

Article 7. The Judiciary power

Explanatory memorandum

This article organizes the independence of the judicial power, in particular through the irremovability of judges, and fixes the essential standards of criminal justice: imposition of habeas corpus, rejection of the death penalty, execution of sentences in conformity with human rights, detention that protects society while contributing to the social reinsertion of convicted persons, in particular through the development of their skills and employability.

It provides that the judicial power of the **United States of Europe** is competent in matters of public services, including the armed forces, to hear disciplinary disputes and appeals from

persons linked to the **United States of Europe** by a service and loyalty report under public law, as well as crimes and offenses related to the security and defence of the **United States of Europe**.

It establishes the composition of the Supreme Court of the **United States of Europe**, its attributions and its field of competence.

It states that the President has no right to grant pardons to individuals for crimes and offences committed against the **United States of Europe** laws and punished by courts and tribunals of the **United States of Europe**.

Provision

The President guarantees the independence of the judicial authority. He is assisted by the Judiciary Council.

The magistrates of the Bench are irremovable.

In criminal justice, no one can be arbitrarily detained, nor sentenced to the death penalty. The execution of sentences, and particularly sentences of deprivation of liberty, respect human rights. Detention is organized so that it protects society by preventing those who are in danger from being harmed. It also aims to contribute to the social reintegration of convicts, in particular by developing their skills and employability. Judgments and hearings shall be kept public, except in cases of threat to public order.

The independence of the Public Prosecutor's Office in the conduct of individual investigations and prosecutions is ensured, and all judges have immunity in criminal matters, which can only be waived by a decision of the Judicial Council. In the event of flagrante delicto, the judge may be arrested, but the Judicial Council, meeting urgently within two days, decides whether or not to lift the immunity.

The judiciary power of the **United States of Europe** is competent in matters of public services, including the armed forces. Courts and tribunals take cognizance of crimes and

offences related to the security and defence of the **United States of Europe**.

The Supreme Court of the **United States of Europe** consists of the Constitutional Court, the Court of Cassation and the Council of State of the **United States of Europe**. **The Supreme Court judges the violation of the Constitution or the law of the United States of Europe by a member of the executive or the President.**

The Constitutional Court judges the compatibility with the constitution and the fundamental law of the laws of the **United States of Europe**, those of the federated States and those of the regions.

The Council of State hears acts of the executive powers of the **United States of Europe**, the federated States and the regions with regard to the constitution, the fundamental law and the laws of the **United States of Europe**.

The Court of Cassation of the United States of Europe does not judge the merits of cases; it does not re-examine the facts underlying the dispute. Its mission is to verify that the courts and courts of appeal of the judicial order have correctly applied the law.

The control of the conformity of the laws of the federated States and of the regions with regard to the constitution, the fundamental law and the laws of the State concerned, belongs to the courts of the federated States.

The Constitutional Court hears violations, by the authorities of the **United States of Europe** or by the federated States, of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed in Rome on 4 November 1950, and its Additional Protocols. It repeals any law of the **United States of Europe**, federated States or regions, as well as any decision of the governments of the **United States of Europe**, federated States or regions that violates these **rules**.

It is competent in the event of violation of diplomatic prerogatives and immunities by the government of the **United**

States of Europe, or those of the federated States, or those of the regions. It is competent in the fields of civil, criminal and public law, including military law, falling within the competence of the **United States of Europe**.

It **monitors compliance** of the constitutional and legal provisions relating to the armed forces, in particular the conformity of the laws of the **United States of Europe** and the decrees of the government of the **United States of Europe** with the present constitution and the fundamental law, as well as confirming the respect of the rights of the Parliament in this matter by the executive power.

The fundamental law defines the federal crimes and offences and the penalties applicable to them, the federal criminal procedure and amnesty; it establishes the right of natural and legal persons, as well as institutions, to act before the Supreme Court; it fixes the attributions of **the Constitutional Court, the Court of Cassation and the Council of State** of the **United States of Europe**; it fixes the administrative and financial status of the magistrates of **United States of Europe**; it may establish other courts and it organizes the Council of the Judiciary. It organizes the Federal Courts and Tribunals which hear disciplinary disputes and appeals from persons linked to the **United States of Europe** by a public law relationship of service and loyalty, and the Courts and Tribunals hear crimes and offences relating to the security and defence of the **United States of Europe**.

Article 8. International relations

Explanatory memorandum

The **United States of Europe** apply the principle of subsidiarity, apply a comprehensive approach and respect the principles and objectives set out in Article 21 TEU, as well as those of the United Nations Charter and international law in their relations with foreign States and international organizations.

Provision

The **United States of Europe** conduct relations with foreign States and international organizations by applying the principle of subsidiarity, by practicing a global approach and by respecting the following principles and objectives: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, equality, solidarity, those of the United Nations Charter and international law, and the fundamental law.

8.1. Foreign Affairs

Explanatory memorandum

The security of the **United States of Europe** depends on good relations with our neighbourhood, through credible and respected European security and defence capabilities.

As in all matters in the **United States of Europe**, the principle of subsidiarity governs the allocation of powers in the field of foreign policy. The President, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of the **United States of Europe** ensure, in accordance with the fundamental law, the coherence of the international relations of the **United States of Europe**, their federated States and their regions with the foreign States, regions, cantons or Länder, as well as with international organizations. **A** federated **State or a region cannot conduct a foreign policy that is in contradiction with that of the United States of Europe.**

Provision

The President of the **United States of Europe** determines, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, the foreign policy of the **United States of Europe**, in all their fields of competence. The federated States and regions do the same in their areas of competence. The Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the **United States of Europe** ensure, in accordance with the fundamental law, the coherence of the international relations of the **United States of Europe**, of their federated States and their regions with the foreign States and regions as well as with international organizations. **A** federated

State or a region cannot conduct a foreign policy that is in contradiction with that of the United States of Europe.

8.2. Diplomatic protection abroad

Explanatory memorandum

The **United States of Europe** provide diplomatic protection abroad for their nationals.

Provision

The fundamental law organizes the diplomatic protection abroad of natural and legal persons who are nationals of the **United States of Europe**.

8.3. The external trade

Explanatory memorandum

The European Union has exclusive competence over external trade of his Member States.

Provision

External trade of his Member States belongs to the exclusive competence of the European Union.

8.4. Development cooperation

Explanatory memorandum

The development cooperation and humanitarian aid policy of the **United States of Europe** is in line with their values.

Provision

The fundamental law organizes development cooperation and humanitarian aid. The aim of humanitarian aid is to contribute, by means of preventive or relief measures, to the safeguarding of human life when it is threatened and to the alleviation of suffering; in particular, it is intended for populations that are victims of natural or man-made disasters.

8.5. Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers

Explanatory memorandum

The reception of refugees and asylum seekers, as well as the immigration policy of the **United States of Europe** are in line with their values.

Provision

The fundamental law fixes, in accordance with humanitarian principles, the reception of refugees and asylum seekers and immigration policy.

Article 9. Security and defence

Explanatory memorandum

The art of war, from Sun Tzu to de Gaulle, via Thucydides, Jomini, Clausewitz, Mahan and **Svetchine**, but also total war and revolutionary war, Mr. Solana's comprehensive approach, **Putin's hybrid war**, the fight against Islamist terrorism, have shown the artificial nature of the distinction between the internal and external security of the State, which has become classic since the treaties of Westphalia of 1648. Nevertheless, this article maintains this distinction, because the different aspects of maintaining or restoring security and peace belong to different professions and means.

9.1. Homeland security

Explanatory memorandum

The responsibility for policing is allocated between the **United States of Europe**, the federated States and the regions, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity.

In order to guarantee security, the **United States of Europe** collect data and information necessary for the prevention and prosecution of crimes and offenses.

Provision

The services involved in policing in the broad sense include the police forces of the **United States of Europe**, those of the

federated States, those of the regions and those of the local authorities. Police forces operate primarily within the **United States of Europe**, against crime and other internal threats, including terrorism.

The federated States are responsible for maintaining internal order, but the **United States of Europe** may intervene in the event of a threat against the constitutional order in a federated State, in the event of a threat which targets the **United States of Europe** themselves, or several federated States or which requires the deployment of technical or human resources beyond the capabilities of the member States concerned.

The **United States of Europe** ensure personal, economic, environmental, food, physical, political, community and cyberspace security. To this end, the **United States of Europe** collect, in accordance with the fundamental law, data and information necessary for the prevention and prosecution of crimes and offences.

9.2. Defence

Explanatory memorandum

"Sometimes nations agree to respect the law, but just saying it is not enough to impose it. Whatever direction the world takes, it won't take it without arms. Without denying any hope, where can we see that the passions and interests, from which armed conflicts emerge, silence their demands, that someone willingly renounces what he wants, and that men, at last, cease to be men?"[550]

The **United States of Europe** attend to their external security, because threats will continue to reappear. **The armies of the**

[550] « Il arrive que les nations acceptent de respecter le droit, mais il ne suffit pas de le dire pour l'imposer. Quelque direction que prenne le monde, il ne se passera pas des armes. Sans désavouer aucune espérance, où voit-on que les passions et les intérêts d'où sortent les conflits armés taisent leurs exigences, que quelqu'un renonce de bon gré à ce qu'il désire, et que les hommes, enfin, cessent d'être des hommes ? ». See Charles de Gaulle, *Le Fil de l'épée*, Paris, (Berger-Levrault, 1932), Plon, 1973, avant-propos, p. 10.

United States of Europe do not diminish the sovereignty of the federated States, they strengthen it by filling their capacity gaps. They get Europe out of the status of protectorate. They make the **United States of Europe** a power capable of better contributing to the influence of our civilization and our values, to the defence of our essential interests, to the peacekeeping, to the maintenance of security and freedom, to the restoration of our autonomy, independence and sovereignty.

The **United States of Europe are established** by NATO and EU member States. European military activities, envisaged in the framework of the Petersberg tasks, are complementary to those of NATO: the **United States of Europe**, like the EU, are intended to intervene when NATO is unable or unwilling to do so. From the outset, the **United States of Europe** meet the three D's (no duplication, no decoupling, no discrimination) requirement formulated by Madeleine Albright in 1998.

The **United States of Europe** have the full range of sovereign functions at their disposal. They are able to finance, recruit, train and, having established (in self-defence) or rendered (in an alliance) legitimate the use of force, employ their armies. They assume the risks, the political, legal and economic responsibility for possible human and material losses, as well as for collateral damage to their action. They report to public opinion for the failure or success of operations.

The **armed forces** of the **United States of Europe**, like those of the federated States, works in an integrated manner within NATO. **They use common procedures, have interoperable telecommunications resources and know** how to operate together. The language issue is not a problem: English has gradually established itself in multinational operations as the main working language. The Benelux has only one admiralty, common schools and naval logistics chains; its air defence is only coordinated, while the **United States of Europe** allow a complete integration of the defence effort, which guarantees greater efficiency.

This article sets out the missions of the armed forces of the **United States of Europe**, within them or in external operations. It specifies the duties of the federated States in the field of defence.

Provision

The armed forces of the **United States of Europe**, together with the armed forces of the **federated** States, ensure the defence of the **United States of Europe** against external threats They contribute to border and coast guards. They contribute to the influence of our civilization and our values, to the success of the foreign policy of the **United States of Europe**, particularly to the prevention of armed conflicts, as well as to peacekeeping and restoration of peace. In times of crisis or in a state of defence, the government of the **United States of Europe** ensures the coordination of military and civil defence.

To support or protect humanitarian action, to combat terrorism, to maintain or restore peace, elements of the armed forces of the **United States of Europe** may be sent abroad by the President of the **United States of Europe**.

Federated States don't affect the competence of the **United States of Europe** in the field of defence, but facilitate their task, in particular in the case of the establishment of military installations on their territory.

The armed forces of the United States of Europe are committed in times of peace and war to respect and ensure respect for international humanitarian law. Any violation of international humanitarian law by the Defence Forces of the United States of Europe in the context of an external or internal operation will be prosecuted by the competent courts; no form of amnesty or pardon may be granted to members of the Defence Forces of the United States of Europe for war crimes or crimes against humanity, as defined by the four Geneva Conventions relating to the Law of Armed Conflict.

The fundamental law fixes the additional and complementary missions of the army; it determines under what circumstances

the armed forces can and must act on the territory of the **United States of Europe**; it fixes in general terms only, in order to preserve military secrecy, the organization of the Ministry of Defence of the **United States of Europe** and their armed forces, whose missions it determines.

It authorizes the Defence of the **United States of Europe** to own and the minister of Defence of the **United States of Europe** to acquire, build and manage the infrastructure necessary for his department.

It organizes the cooperation between the armed forces and other security services; it authorizes the intervention of the armed forces of the **United States of Europe** in support of other services of the **United States of Europe**, of federated States and regions in a situation of internal crisis; it fixes the rules relating to the state of war, serious crisis, tension or defence and the safety of the armed forces of the **United States of Europe**; it fixes possible derogations in such cases from the ordinary rules, in particular in legislative, judicial or internal and external security matters; it organizes the intervention of the **armed forces** in the event of a particularly serious disaster, of natural origin or caused by man.

It organizes a national, military or civil service to which all citizens are possibly required.

Within the framework of the applicable international conventions, it fixes legal, financial, logistical and administrative questions arising from the temporary dispatch of military personnel of the **United States of Europe** abroad or the temporary stay of foreign military personnel in the **United States of Europe**, in particular as regards responsibility for case of damage, without derogating from the rights of the citizens of the **United States of Europe**.

It allocates competence for the prosecution of penal or disciplinary infractions.

It regulates the import and export of military equipment and goods, as well as essential materials and consumables, including food, medicines, health care equipment, combustibles

and motor fuels.

9.3. The industrial and technological base, scientific and technological defence research

Explanatory memorandum

This article sets out the attributions of the minister of Defence of the **United States of Europe** with regard to the manufacture, transport and sale of armaments, as well as in the development of the industrial and technological base of European defence, in particular its technological and industrial capacities; to this end, it entrusts him with the protection of the essential security interests of the **United States of Europe** in the event of the importation or exportation of military equipment.

Provision

The Minister of Defence of the **United States of Europe** authorizes the manufacture, transport and sale of armaments, in the **United States of Europe** and for export, in particular within the context of State-to-State contracts with allied countries. He strengthens the European defence technological and industrial base, so that it enables the **United States of Europe** to determine their own defence policy, guarantee the technological level of the armaments of the **United States of Europe** and enhance the credibility of their armed forces. He ensures that the European defence industry is able to carry out the technical activities necessary for the defence of the **United States of Europe** and their federated States. He facilitates access by the European defence technological and industrial base to funding for its activities, research and investment. He encourages and coordinates the efforts of the federated States in the field of defence scientific and technological research, in order to maintain and increase the European technological and industrial capacities. He ensures industrial and technological return in the event of the importation of weapons systems, considering the essential security interests of the **United States of Europe**.

Article 10. Home, Economic, Social and Environmental Affairs

10.1. Home Affairs, Civil Defence

Explanatory memorandum

In the field of civil defence, the government of the **United States of Europe** coordinates the action of the **federated** States and provides advice and financial assistance.

Provision

Civil defence is the responsibility of the **federated** States. If necessary, the government of the **United States of Europe** coordinates the measures taken or to be taken and provides advice and financial assistance. In times of crisis or in a state of defence, the government of the **United States of Europe** also ensures the coordination of military defence and civil defence.

10.2. Economic Affairs

Explanatory memorandum

Almost everywhere in Europe, for the past 30 years, public services have been reduced to a bare minimum, industry dismantled, borders open with little control, especially to China. Ports or airports, water, gas and electricity supply networks have become its property. Too much of the manufacture of pharmaceuticals and medical equipment, and even of goods necessary for security and defence, has been entrusted to China, without guarantees of an adequate supply, in quantity as in quality**, and in due course**.

The Covid-19 pandemic brought to light some of the most catastrophic results of this policy in the health field. Almost everywhere in Europe, protective equipment, respirators, medicines were lacking. There has been a shortage of reagents to test caregivers, people with challenging symptoms, and the general population. However, it is necessary to separate the sick from uninjured people, especially those at risk, to avoid contagion, but also to identify the recovered, potentially

immunized people, so that they can reinforce the services which fight against the disease or can take charge of the revival of public services and economic activity. All these products have become scarce and expensive: China has made the crisis it triggered pay for itself. In addition, their quality is only guaranteed on paper. Europe's strategic autonomy will have to start with the security of our sources of supply.

It was also noted that there was a lack of beds in the emergency and intensive care units in certain regions. This is why the **United States of Europe** redistributes economic resources between the federated States, to ensure solidarity, equity and inclusion. They guarantee security of supply; they encourage circular economy and fair trade.

Following the example of the Swiss constitution, this article makes it possible to penalize the abuse of economic power.

Provision

Economic matters, agriculture, trade and transport are the responsibility of the European Union and the federated States.

In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity and within the framework of the social market economy, the **United States of Europe** redistribute economic resources between the federated States, to improve their social standards, based on solidarity, equity and inclusion; they encourage the circular economy and fair trade.

The fundamental law fixes the rules governing the regime of property, real rights and civil and commercial obligations. It fixes the rules concerning the creation of categories of public establishments, the nationalization of enterprises and the transfer of ownership of enterprises from the public to the private sector.

The law of the **United States of Europe** penalizes the abuse of economic power. Any property or firm, the exploitation of which has or acquires the characteristics of a national public service or a de facto monopoly, becomes the property of the community, in accordance with the rules of transfer of property fixed by the fundamental law.

10.2. Social Affairs

Explanatory memorandum

This article requires the **United States of Europe** to ensure the harmonization of social rights, in order to provide citizens of the **United States of Europe** and residents with a minimum income and health insurance**, while avoiding social dumping**.

Provision

The **United States of Europe** ensure the harmonization of social rights. The citizens of the **United States of Europe** and permanent residents are entitled to a minimum income and to health insurance. The **United States of Europe** ensure that citizens and permanent residents have access to medical treatment, social security and social protection, as well as access to decent housing.

The fundamental law organizes the sustainable development of the well-being of the population, through the expansion of the economy and employment, through greater social justice and equal opportunities.

10.3. Labour law, social security, social mobility and social dialogue

Explanatory memorandum

Labour law, social security, social mobility and social dialogue concretize the values of the **United States of Europe**.

Provision

The fundamental law fixes the rules on labour law, social security, social mobility and social **concertation.**

10.4. The preservation of the environment and public health

Explanatory memorandum

The EU has so far been unable to respond to this concern of European citizens: to effectively preserve the environment and the public health, because it lacks powers and resources. It can

only formulate intentions. Only a federal, united, democratic and sovereign Europe could mobilize the resources necessary for the conversion of the economy and society, for its protection against pandemics. This requires investments in scientific and technological research, in industry, in housing, in hospitals, etc. Only a federal Europe would have the credibility needed to convince the world to commit itself to saving the planet, to overcome the resistance of the great powers currently reluctant.

A European policy on climate change could play the same role as the Coal and Steel Community: to contribute to the progressive elimination of fossil fuels, in particular by ending the subsidies granted to this industry, by setting standards reducing emissions and introducing a carbon tax. Public and private investment in renewable energy and green jobs must also be supported, in particular by the creation of a European Climate Bank or a European Fund to support the ecological transition in Europe.

Provision

The **United States of Europe** are part of a proactive international approach to the protection of the natural environment and humankind. The fundamental law fixes the rules for the preservation of the environment and public health.

Article 11. Public finances and the budget

Explanatory memorandum

In the absence of a political Union, the € zone could not be supported, before the foundation of the **United States of Europe,** by a budgetary policy, by its own taxation system and by a borrowing capacity, making it possible in particular to support growth and the €, to finance the ecological transition, to develop social justice and to improve the efficiency of security and defence spending.

A major transfer to the **United States of Europe** of defence competences and the corresponding considerable spending would bring substantial relief to the **federated** States: **their defence budgets have increased from 1% in 2014 to 2% of**

GDP in 2025 and could rise to 3.5% of GDP in 2035, with an additional 1.5% of GDP for security spending.

The European defence budget would, like the United States of America, support the less favoured regions, reduce the gaps in competitiveness and unemployment between them, inter alia through the recruitment and training of military personnel. It would stimulate innovation, economic growth and full employment, through better coordinated and targeted dual scientific and technological research, for example in communication and information technologies, but also through the improvement of trans-European transport infrastructures for troops and military equipment.

In order to be able to fulfil the tasks entrusted to them, the **United States of Europe** establish and collect, or get collected by the **federated** States, taxes, levied in proportion to consumption, pollution, income and assets.

The payment of taxes and the contribution to public charges are a duty, in accordance with a fair and equitable regime. The fight against corruption and money laundering as well as tax and social fraud are priorities of the United States of Europe.

The taxes in the **United States of Europe** focus primarily on greenhouse gas emissions, particularly in the area of transport, on stock exchange transactions and on multinational companies in the information, computer and telecommunications sector. The wealth tax **considers the difference in wealth between each federated State where individuals are established, taxation will be proportional and progressive, it can relate to income as well as to capital**. Customs duties are a competence of the European Union.

When the circumstances warrant it, the **United States of Europe** provide themselves with the necessary extraordinary resources, especially through borrowing.

Provision

The resources of the **United States of Europe** come from own revenue, which includes taxes, loans and miscellaneous

incomes; contributions paid by the **federated** States according to their gross domestic product, in order to establish solidarity between them; from payment by **federated** States of a percentage of VAT and from a wealth tax.

The **United States of Europe** may hire, acquire, own and **yield** movable and immovable property, this does not limit the right of federated States to do the same.

The accounts of the public administrations of the **United States of Europe** are regular and accurate. They give a true and fair picture of the results of their management, their assets and their financial situation.

The **United States of Europe** and the **federated** States coordinate their tax policy, before the establishment of a new tax. The tax legislation of the **United States of Europe** cannot establish any discrimination between the citizens of the different **federated** States.

The Minister of Finance of the **United States of Europe** is responsible for taxation, debt service and the budget. He or she may instruct federated States and their tax administrations to levy and collect taxes voted by the legislature of the **United States of Europe**.

The laws on the financing of social security determine the general conditions for its financial equilibrium and, considering revenue forecasts, set spending limits.

The fundamental law fixes the rules concerning the basis, the rate and the methods of collection of all kinds of taxes, as well as the rules relating to investments, subsidies and asset accounts. It fixes the budgetary principles to be observed, contains the provisions necessary to balance the current expenditure budget, as well as the rules relating to the execution and control of the budget. It establishes administrative and budgetary control within the administrations of the **United States of Europe**. **It also lays down the legislative procedure to be followed for the vote on the budget.**

11.1. The Court of Auditors of the United States of Europe

Explanatory memorandum

The Court of Auditors assists the Parliament for the control of the action of the government. Through its public reports, it contributes to inform citizens, parliamentarians, senators and members of the public service.

Provision

The Court of Auditors audits the accounts of the administrations of the **United States of Europe**, monitors the implementation of the budget, finance laws and social security financing laws. It assesses public policies.

The fundamental law fixes the composition, the organization and the attributions of the Court of Auditors.

11.2. Transitional financial measures

Explanatory memorandum

To allow the establishment of embryonic administration, diplomacy and defence, during the decade following the founding of the **United States of Europe**, an annual law of the **United States of Europe** requires the transfer by the **federated** States of part of income tax and VAT, as well as a fixed contribution, to be paid by each **federated** State. The sum of this transfer and this contribution tends for each member-State to equal **2** % of its gross domestic product. During this ten-year period, the **United States of Europe** may also finance themselves through direct and indirect taxes and borrowing.

Provision

During the ten years following the foundation of the **United States of Europe**, the law of the **United States of Europe** annually imposes the transfer by the **federated** States of a part, which it determines, of the income tax and VAT, as well as a fixed contribution, to be paid by each **federated** State.

Article 12. Entry in to Force, modification of the Constitution and the fundamental law

Explanatory memorandum

This article regulates the entry into force of the constitution and the fundamental law, as well as the rules for their amendment.

Provision

The constitution comes into force once ratified by two f**ederated** States.

The initiative to amend the constitution belongs concurrently to the President, on the proposal of the Prime Minister, to deputies, to senators and to the people of the **United States of Europe**. The governmental draft or the proposition of amendment, or the amendment approved by voting, is discussed and possibly amended in the Parliament and the Senate and then voted on by a two-thirds majority in each assembly. The text shuttles between the two assemblies until it is adopted by the two assemblies in identical terms. The President of the **United States of Europe** submits it to a referendum, which decides by simple majority of valid votes.

No procedure for amending the constitution may be initiated or continued when the integrity of the territory is affected.

The republican **and democratic** form of the government of the United States of Europe may not be modified. **The civil character of the State, the primacy of law and respect for the rule of law cannot be amended.**

The fundamental law completes the constitution; it is adopted and modified by two-thirds of the votes cast in Parliament and in the Senate.

6. The fundamental law of the United States of Europe

The will to draft a brief constitution, so that it is accessible to all citizens, requires to refer many important provisions which, given their importance, cannot be included in a simple law, to a fundamental law.[551]

Below are some examples of provisions that could be included in the fundamental law **of the United States of Europe**.

Article 1er. Article 1. The fundamental dispositions

1.4. The adhesion of new States

The fundamental law specifies the conditions for the adhesion of new States and fixes the partnerships that the **United States of Europe**, their **federated** States and the regions may establish with the countries that are geographically, culturally or economically close.

***The following are** considered as European States, within the framework of the constitution and of this fundamental law: **Åland, Albania,** Andorra, Armenia, Austria, Belgium, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, including **the Faroe Islands and Greenland**, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, **Gibraltar**, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Kosovo, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Monaco, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Northern Macedonia, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the Vatican.*

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[551] For a better understanding, the excerpt of the text of each article of the Constitution appears at the head of the chapter in normal type, the text of the fundamental law follows in *italics*.

*The government judges whether the candidacy is admissible according to the criteria of adhesion defined by the constitution and the fundamental law. The executive of the candidate State negotiates the terms of an accession agreement with the government of the **United States of Europe**; this regulates in particular the modalities of participation and representation of this State. The Parliament and the Senate decide on this request for membership by a majority of two thirds of the votes, after hearing the report of the government of the **United States of Europe** on the said request.*

Article 3. Sovereignty, subsidiarity and allocation of competences

The fundamental law allocates competences and lays down the system for the arbitration of disputes within the **United States of Europe**, as well as the sanctions necessary to maintain the unity of the **United States of Europe**.

Provision[552]

The United States of Europe have exclusive[553] legislative competence in:

1. Foreign affairs and defence, including protection of the civilian population, customs and border police;
*2. **Citizenship;***
3. Freedom of movement, passports, residency registration and identity cards, immigration, emigration and extradition;
4. Currency, money and coinage, weights and measures, and the determination of standards of time;
5. Customs, trade, transportation by road and railroads, maritime and waterways, space and cyberspace free circulation of goods, international commercial and currency exchanges, postal and telecommunications services
9. Industrial property rights, copyrights and publishing;

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[552] These provisions are based on articles 70 to 74 of the *Grundgesetz*.
[553] Considering the competences transferred by the member-States to the European Union, Economic and Monetary Union, the European Solidarity Mechanism and the European Central Bank.

9a. Protection by the Federal Criminal Police Office ***of the United States of Europe,*** *in cooperation with EUROPOL, against the dangers of international terrorism when a threat transcends the boundary of federated States, when responsibility is not clearly assignable to the police authorities of a federated State or when the highest authority of a federated State requests the assumption of federal responsibility;*
10. Cooperation between the ***United States of Europe*** *and the federated States regarding:*
a) Criminal police;
b) Protection of the free democratic basic order, existence and security of the ***United States of Europe*** *or of a federated State or a region, and*
c) Protection against activities, within the federal territory, which, by the preparations for or the use of force, endanger the external interests of the ***United States of Europe****;*
11. Statistics for purposes of the ***United States of Europe****;*
12. The law on weapons and explosives, on the production and utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, the construction and operation of facilities serving such purposes, protection against hazards arising from the release of nuclear energy or from ionizing radiation, and the disposal of radioactive substances;
18. Higher education, science and disease control;
19. Measures to control human and animal diseases dangerous to the public or which are transmissible, admission to the medical profession and to paramedic professions or occupations, as well as pharmacy law, on medicines, medical products, drugs, narcotics and poisons;
21. Maritime and coastal shipping, as well as navigational aids, inland navigation, meteorological services, sea routes and inland waterways used for general traffic;
22. Road traffic, motor transport, construction and maintenance of long-distance highways, as well as the collection of tolls for the use of public highways by vehicles and the allocation of the revenue;
23. Railways
24. The protection of nature.

The federated States have exclusive legislative competence in:

5a. Safeguarding cultural assets against removal from the country;
6a Operation of railways entirely or predominantly owned by the Federation (federal railways), the construction, maintenance and operation of railway lines belonging to federal railways and the levying of charges for the use of these lines
8. The legal status of persons employed by the federated State and by corporations under public law of the federated State;
10. Cooperation between the federated State and the regions concerning:
a) Criminal police,
b) Protection of the free democratic basic order, existence and security of the federated State or of a region (protection of the constitution), and
c) Protection against activities within the territory of the federated State which, by the use of force or preparations for the use of force, endanger the external interests of the federated State, as well as the establishment of a Criminal Police Office and international action to combat crime;
11. Statistics for federated State purposes;
13. Benefits for persons disabled by war and for dependents of deceased war victims as well as assistance to former prisoners of war.

The** federated **States have concurrent legislative competence in the following fields:

1. Civil law, criminal law, court organization and procedure (except for the law governing pre-trial detention), the legal profession, notaries and the provision of legal advice;
2. Registration of births, deaths and marriages;
3. The law of association;
4. The law relating to residence and establishment of foreigners;
5. Matters concerning refugees and expellees;
6. Public welfare (except for the law on social care homes);

7. War damage and reparations;
10. War graves and graves of other victims of war or despotism;
11. The law relating to economic matters (mining, industry, energy, crafts, trades, commerce, banking, stock exchanges and private insurance), except for the law on shop closing hours, restaurants, amusement arcades, display of persons, trade fairs, exhibitions and markets;
12. Labour law, including the organization of enterprises, occupational health and safety and employment agencies, as well as social security, including unemployment insurance;
13. The regulation of educational and training grants and the promotion of research;
14. The law regarding expropriation, to the extent relevant to the competences of the **United States of Europe** *or to the competing competences;*
15. The transfer of land, natural resources and means of production to public ownership or other forms of public enterprise;
16. Prevention of the abuse of economic power;
17. The promotion of agricultural production and forestry (except for the law on land consolidation), ensuring the adequacy of food supply, the importation and exportation of agricultural and forestry products, deep-sea and coastal fishing and coastal preservation;
18. Urban real estate transactions, land law (except for laws regarding development fees), and the law on rental subsidies, homebuilding loan premiums;
19a. The economic viability of hospitals and the regulation of hospital charges;
20. The law on food products including animals used in their production, the law on alcohol and tobacco, essential commodities and feedstuffs as well as protective measures in connection with the marketing of agricultural and forest seeds and seedlings, the protection of plants against diseases and pests, as well as the protection of animals;
24. Waste disposal, air pollution control, and noise abatement (except for the protection from noise associated with human activity);

25. State liability;
26. Medically assisted generation of human life, analysis and modification of genetic information as well as the regulation of organ, tissue and cell transplantation;
27. The statutory rights and duties of civil servants of the regions, the municipalities and other corporations established under public law as well as of the judges in the regions, except for their career regulations, remuneration and pensions;
28. Hunting
29. The protection of nature and landscape management
30. Land distribution
31. Regional planning
32. Management of water resources
33. Admission to institutions of higher education.

Competing legislative competence of the region

(1) On matters within the concurrent legislative power of the ***federated*** *State, the regions shall have power to legislate so long as and to the extent that federated State has not exercised its legislative power by enacting a law.*
(2) The ***federated*** *States have the right to legislate, if and to the extent that the establishment of equivalent living conditions throughout the federal territory or the maintenance of legal or economic unity doesn't render federal regulation necessary in the national interest, on civil law, criminal law, court organization and procedure (except for the law governing pre-trial detention), the legal profession, notaries and the provision of legal advice; citizenship, the law of association, labour law, including the organization of enterprises, occupational health and safety and employment agencies, as well as social security, including unemployment insurance; the regulation of educational and training grants and the promotion of research; measures to combat human and animal diseases which pose a danger to the public or are communicable, admission to the medical profession and to ancillary professions or occupations, as well as the law on pharmacies, medicines, medical products, drugs, narcotics and poisons; the economic viability of hospitals and the regulation of hospital charges, the law on food products*

including animals used in their production, the law on alcohol and tobacco, essential commodities and feedstuffs as well as protective measures in connection with the marketing of agricultural and forest seeds and seedlings, the protection of plants against diseases and pests, as well as the protection of animals ; road traffic, motor transport, construction and maintenance of long-distance highways, as well as the collection of tolls for the use of public highways by vehicles and the allocation of the revenue; State liability; medically assisted generation of human life, analysis and modification of genetic information as well as the regulation of organ, tissue and cell transplantation.
(3) If the federated State has made use of its power to legislate, the regions may enact laws at variance with this legislation with respect to:

- *Hunting;*
- *Protection of nature and landscape management sites (except for the general principles of nature protection law, species protection law or marine natural area law);*
- *Land distribution;*
- *Regional planning;*
- *Management of water resources (except for the rules on substances and installations);*
- *Admission to institutions of higher education and requirements for graduation in such institutions.*

(4) A federated State may decide that one of its laws is no longer necessary and may be replaced by regional law.

Article 4. The social contract

4.1. Citizenship, rights and duties

The fundamental law states:

- the rights of **United States of Europe** citizens, including political, individual and diplomatic protection abroad, as well as their duties, in particular fiscal, and possible national service, whether civilian or military;

- the general legal framework within which the right of association is exercised;

- the status and powers of the Defender of the rights of the **United States of Europe**.

Provision

Every citizen is obliged to render personal services to the **United States of Europe** *the federated State, the region and the municipality in which he or she resides and to contribute to public charges, to the extent laid down by their respective legislation.*

The Defender of Rights ensures that rights and freedoms are respected by the administrations of the ***United States of Europe,*** *the federated States, regions, local authorities, public institutions and anybody with a public service mission or with regard to which the fundamental law attributes powers to it.*

He may be seized, under the conditions provided for by law, by any person claiming to be injured by the operation of a public service or of an organization referred to above. He can seize office.

The law defines the attributions and the methods of intervention of the Defender of Rights. It determines the conditions under which he or she may be assisted by a college in the exercise of some of his or her powers.

The Defender of Rights is appointed by the President of the ***United States of Europe*** *for a non-renewable five-year term. His or her functions are incompatible with those of a member of the government, of deputy or of senator of the* ***United States of Europe****. The other incompatibilities are fixed by the fundamental law.*

The Defender of Rights reports annually on his or her activity to the President, to the Parliament and to the Senate of the ***United States of Europe****.*

4.3. The use of languages

The fundamental law fixes the use of languages in administrative matters, in the courts, in health care, in diplomacy and in the military.

Provision

*EU official languages and Russian are used for relations with citizens of the **United States of Europe**, especially for the publication of legislation and other essential elements of information. The **United States of Europe** use furthermore the Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian, Turkish and Arabic to communicate with its neighbourhood.*

4.4. Nationality and naturalization

The fundamental law sets the conditions for access to naturalization.

Provision

*The nationality of the **United States of Europe** acquired by birth and that acquired by naturalization have the same effect. The nationality of the **United States of Europe** may be lost, under the law of the **United States of Europe**.*

*Upon the formation of the **United States of Europe** any citizen of a founding federated State acquires the nationality of the **United States of Europe**. The same will apply when a new State joins.*

Article 5. The Executive power

5.1. The President

The President is elected for seven years by direct universal suffrage in two rounds of voting from among eligible citizens of the **United States of Europe** in accordance with the rules laid down by the fundamental law.

The fundamental law specifies and supplements the constitutional rules relating to the President, in particular by the

measures to be taken in the event of the death, resignation or incapacity of the President to perform his duties.

Provision

The President is elected by an absolute majority of the votes cast. If this is not obtained on the first ballot, a second round is held on the fourteenth day following, in which only the two candidates obtaining the largest number of votes in the first ballot may stand. The poll is opened when convened by the government. The election of the President takes place at least twenty days and at most thirty-five days before the expiration of the powers of the President in office.

In case of vacancy of the presidency for any reason whatsoever, or if the government, acting by an absolute majority of its members, finds that he or she is unable to perform his or her duties, the functions of the President, with the exception of the organization of a referendum and of the dissolution of Parliament, are temporarily exercised by the government. In the event of a vacancy or when the impediment is declared permanent by the government, the election of the new President takes place, except in cases of circumstances outside one's control, at least twenty days and at most thirty-five days after the opening of the vacancy or the declaration of the definitive nature of the impediment.

If, within the seven days preceding the deadline for the submission of nominations, one of the persons who, less than thirty days before this date, has publicly announced his decision to be a candidate dies or is prevented from doing so, the government may decide to postpone the election. If, before the first ballot, one of the candidates dies or is prevented, the government declares the postponement of the election. In the event of the death or incapacity of one of the two most favoured candidates in the first round, the government declares that all the electoral operations must be carried out again; the same applies in the event of the death or incapacity of one of the two candidates who remained in the presence for the second round. If the election must be postponed to a date after the expiry of

the powers of the incumbent President, he or she remains in office until the proclamation of the successor.

No person may serve more than two consecutive terms as President.

No one may stand for election as President unless he or she has applied for and obtained a security clearance of the highest level.

*The President is independent of the **federated** States and does not carry out any other activity, whether remunerated or not.*

*The President presides over the government; through its arbitration, it ensures the proper functioning of public authorities as well as the continuity of the **United States of Europe**. The President alone signs acts relating to the appointment and dismissal of the Prime minister, the organization of a referendum, the dissolution of the Parliament, the preservation of the independence of the **United States of Europe**, the integrity of their territory or the fulfilment of their international commitments, the referral to the Supreme Court, the appointment of the members of the Supreme Court, as well as the messages to the Parliament and to the Senate.*

The President and the Prime minister appoint and dismiss ministers; they jointly sign the acts deliberated in the council of ministers. The President, the Prime minister and the responsible minister(s) sign acts not deliberated in the council of ministers.

The President promulgates the laws within fifteen days following the transmission to the government of the law finally adopted. He or she may, before the expiration of this period, request Parliament to reconsider the law or some of its articles. This new deliberation cannot be refused.

As head of the administration, the President oversees the enforcement of laws.

The President communicates with the Parliament and the Senate by messages which he or she causes to be read, and which do not give rise to any debate, or by addressing the

Parliament and the Senate meeting for that purpose, even out of session. His or her statement does not give rise to a debate or a vote.

He or she negotiates treaties and ratifies them, after obtaining the agreement of two thirds of the deputies and the senators. He or she is informed by the minister of Foreign Affairs of any negotiation leading to the conclusion of an international agreement not subject to ratification. He or she appoints consuls, minister-plenipotentiaries and, with the consent of the Senate, ambassadors. He or she accredits ambassadors and extraordinary envoys to foreign powers; foreign ambassadors and extraordinary envoys are accredited to him. He or she requests a foreign State to recall a representative who has become persona non grata. He or she asks foreign States to admit consuls appointed to exercise their functions. He or she admits and dismisses foreign consuls.

The decisions of the President in matters of defence are taken either in the defence council, which meets once or twice a year and relate to the military programming laws, which fix the general orientations and the five-year budgetary forecasts, and to the reforms of the structure of the armies, or in the weekly restricted defence and security council which deals with planned or ongoing operations, thematic issues or topical matters. These councils are chaired by the head of State. They bring together the Prime minister, the ministers concerned, intelligence officials and the chief of the Defence staff.

The President appoints and dismisses to civil and military posts determined by the law of the ***United States of Europe****. For general officers, senior civil servants and senior magistrates, its choice is subject to the approval of the Senate. Junior positions are assigned by merit by the government.*

He or she informs the Parliament within 48 hours of the launch of a military operation, but the Parliament does not vote on its opportuneness. If the operation continues beyond 4 months, the Parliament votes to approve or refuses its extension. The minister of Defence regularly informs the defence commissions

of both assemblies. These commissions have investigative powers in all areas, including intelligence.

With the authorization of the Parliament, he or she may engage troops of the ***United States of Europe*** *abroad. If the* ***United States of Europe*** *are attacked or under imminent threat of attack, he or she alone may engage the troops alone but must inform the Parliament within 48 hours. If the commitment of armed troops lasts for more than 60 days, formal authorization from the Parliament is required.*

In wartime, he or she commands the armed forces of the federated States and may, if necessary, order the minister of Defence to requisition or take control of any company producing directly or indirectly material essential to the defence effort. He or she mobilizes the armed forces, gives them the order to fight and authorizes the signing of the armistice.

In the event of serious tension within a ***federated*** *State or between two or more* ***federated*** *States, he or she may intervene to maintain law and order there and take command of the armed forces of that* ***federated*** *State or of the* ***federated*** *States concerned.*

The President may submit to a referendum any draft law relating to the organization of public powers, to reforms relating to the economic, social or environmental policy and to the public services which contribute thereto or tending to authorize the ratification of a treaty which, without being contrary to the constitution, would affect the functioning of the institutions. If the referendum is not adopted, no new proposal for a referendum on the same subject may be presented before the expiration of two years following the date of the poll.

The President may pronounce the dissolution of the Parliament. General elections take place at least twenty days and at most forty days after the dissolution. Parliament meets as of right on the second Thursday following its election. If this meeting takes place outside the period provided for the ordinary session, a session is automatically opened for a period of fifteen days. A

new dissolution may not take place within one year of these elections.

Article 6. The Legislative power

The fundamental law specifies the rights and duties of parliamentarians and senators; it determines the parliamentary and senatorial committees, their competences and the rights of the groups formed within the two assemblies; it sets the rules for the presentation of draft laws and proposals before the Parliament or the Senate *of the* ***United States of Europe***.

Provision

The President of the Parliament and the President of the Senate are elected for the duration of the legislature. The plenary sessions of both assemblies are public. The full record of the debates is published in the Official Journal. The Parliament and the Senate as well as their commissions may sit in secret committee at the request of the Prime minister or of one tenth of its members.

The draft laws are deliberated in the council of ministers after consulting the Council of State, then deposited on the office of one of the two assemblies.

The committees collect the relevant information to carry out their monitoring and evaluation tasks.

Under the conditions provided by law, the president of an assembly can submit for an opinion to the Council of State, before its examination in committee, a draft law presented by one of the members of this assembly.

The discussion of draft laws and proposals for legislation take place in plenary session, at first reading, on the text adopted by the competent committee, and at second reading on the text transmitted by the other assembly.

Deputies of senators and members of the government have the right of amendment. This right is exercised in plenary session or in commission according to the conditions fixed by the rules of the assemblies.

The government may oppose the examination of any amendment which has not been submitted to the competent commission.

Any draft laws and proposal for legislation is examined successively in the two assemblies.

The Parliament and the Senate may vote on resolutions. Motions for resolutions which the government considers to be of a nature to jeopardize its responsibility or to be containing injunctions against it are inadmissible and may not be placed on the agenda.

Parliamentary commissions have the power to investigate the executive and its agents, as well as the activities of any body of the ***United States of Europe****. The person heard in commission testifies under oath and in public; he or she must answer all questions, failing which he or she may be accused of contempt of the legislative power, incurring a fine of up to € 10,000 and one year* ***maximum*** *in prison.*

No deputy or of senator may be prosecuted, sought, arrested, detained or judged on the basis of opinions or votes expressed by him or her in the exercising of his or her functions. No deputy or senator may be the subject, in criminal or correctional matters, of an arrest or any other measure depriving or restricting liberty without the authorization of the office of the assembly whose is part. This authorization is not required in the event of a crime or of flagrante delicto or of final conviction. The detention, deprivation or restriction of liberty or the prosecution of a deputy or of a senator are suspended for the duration of the session if the assembly of which he or she is a member so requires. The latter meets as of right to allow a decision on such a request.

The Parliament and the Senate, as well as the deputies, the senators and their families are protected, and the commissions are assisted by a police service[554] *which has exclusive*

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[554] *The U.S. Capitol Police includes 1,700 people; it is responsible for the protection of the buildings of the Parliament and Senate, members and officers of the legislative branch, and their families. It has exclusive jurisdiction within the perimeter of the Capitol but can also intervene*

*jurisdiction in the buildings of the Parliament and the Senate, and which can intervene and investigate the of the whole territory of the **United States of Europe**.*

6.1. The Parliament

The fundamental law organizes the election of the Parliament by means of direct universal suffrage, by **a single-member, first-past-the-post single-round election**, and, **within the framework of** elections with **transnational** constituencies, a multi-member proportional representation system, with an electoral threshold of 5%. It contains the necessary provisions for balancing the current expenditure budget. It provides the **United States of Europe** with their own resources.

Provision

*The Parliament is composed of eligible citizens of the **United States of Europe**, aged at least 25 years old and elected every five years by universal, direct, compulsory and secret suffrage, with one deputy per **region and per million inhabitants (from 1 to 1,000,000: one deputy, etc.)** based on the latest census. The Parliament is endowed with the prerogatives of a people's chamber: to levy the tax, to vote the budget, to fix the contingent of the army, to take legislative initiatives. **Deputies** of the Parliament of the **United States of Europe** cannot belong to the executive, legislative or judicial power of a federated State, or be a member of the executive or judicial power or be a senator of the **United States of Europe**.*

The Parliament meets as of right in an ordinary session which begins on the first working day of October and ends on the last working day of June. It freely organizes its sittings, by a majority of the deputies but the Prime minister may decide to hold additional days of sittings. The days and times of the sessions are determined by the rules of the assembly.

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throughout the United States of America: its officers have the power to investigate criminal acts like other federal police agencies.

The Parliament is convened in extraordinary session at the request of the Prime minister or a majority of the deputies, on a specific agenda. Where the extraordinary session is held at the request of deputies, the decree closing the session is issued as soon as Parliament has exhausted the agenda for which it was convened and no later than twelve days after its meeting. Only the Prime Minister may request a new session before the expiry of the month following the closing decree. Except in cases where Parliament meets as of right, extraordinary sessions are opened and closed by decree of the President of the ***United States of Europe****.*

The draft laws relating to the budget for incomes, expenses and investments, as well as the draft laws establishing the contingent of the armed forces of the ***United States of Europe*** *are tabled by the government in the Parliament, which discusses them, amends them if necessary and votes on them. transmits them to the Senate, which discusses them, possibly amends them and votes on them. If the Senate amends a text, it is submitted to a second reading by Parliament, which has the final say.*

6.2. The Senate

The fundamental law fixes the number of senators per federated State.

Provision

There are 3 possibilities:

- *Each federated State is represented in the Senate by its head of State or government, or by its representative, minister or ambassador, permanent representative to the* ***United States of Europe*** *(cf. the European Council).*
- *Each federated State is represented in the Senate by a man and a woman (cf. the American Senate + sex equality).*
- *The fundamental law fixes the number of senators elected by each federated State in proportion to the number of its citizens (cf. the Grundgesetz).*

6.3. The voting and the petition

The fundamental law sets the rules for voting and petitions.

Provision

*If a quarter of the federated States and 2% of citizens of the **United States of Europe** with the right to vote so request, the vote of the people, regions and federated States shall be held within 100 days of the official publication of the act. The act submitted to the vote may be a law of the **United States of Europe**, a decree of the government of the **United States of Europe** or an international treaty. The latter has to be of indefinite duration, not subject to denunciation, providing for membership of an international organization and entailing an amendment to the legislation of the **United States of Europe**. The act submitted to vote is accepted when the majority of voters, the majority of regions and the majority of **federated** States approve them.*

Petitions are examined by the Committee on Petitions of the Parliament, which decides on their admissibility and is responsible for processing them.

6.5. The advisory bodies

The fundamental law fixes the attributions, the composition and the operating rules of the Council of the regions as well as of the Economic, social and environmental Council; it may make some of their opinions binding.

Provision

The Economic, Social and Environmental Council provides the government, Parliament and the Senate with opinions on draft laws, ordinances or decrees, as well as on legislative proposals submitted to it. A member of this Council may be appointed by it to present an opinion of the Council to the Parliament or the Senate, or to one of their commissions. The Council may be seized by way of petition under the conditions fixed by the fundamental law. After examining the petition, it informs the government, the Parliament and the Senate of the action it proposes to take.

Article 7. The Judiciary power

The fundamental law establishes the right of natural and legal persons, as well as institutions, to act before the Supreme Court; it fixes the administrative and financial status of the magistrates of the **United States of Europe**; it may establish other courts; it organizes the Council of the Judiciary. It organizes the Federal Courts and Tribunals which hear disciplinary disputes and appeals from persons linked to the **United States of Europe** by a public law relationship of service and loyalty, and the Courts and Tribunals hear crimes and offences relating to the security and defence of the **United States of Europe**.

Provision

The Council of the Judiciary comprises a section with jurisdiction over judges and a section with jurisdiction over prosecutors.

The section with jurisdiction over judges shall be presided by the first president of the Court of Cassation. It also comprises five judges and one prosecutor, a State counsellor designated by the Council of State, a lawyer and six qualified persons who belong neither to the Parliament, nor to the judicial order, nor to the administrative authorities. The President, the President of Parliament and the President of the Senate each appoint two qualified persons. This section makes proposals for the appointment of judges to the Court of Cassation, for those of the first president of the Court of Appeal and for those of the president of the Court of First Instance. The other judges are appointed with the assent of the Senate. The section rules as a disciplinary council for judges. It then includes, in addition to the above-mentioned members, the judge belonging to the section with jurisdiction over public prosecutors.

The section with jurisdiction over public prosecutors shall be presided over by the Public Prosecutor at the Court of Cassation. It also comprises five members of the Department of Public Prosecutions and one member of the judiciary, as well as the as the State counsellor, the lawyer and the six qualified members of the section with jurisdiction over judges. It gives its

opinion on appointments concerning prosecutors. It shall give its opinion on disciplinary measures affecting them. In addition to the above-mentioned members, it then comprises the public prosecutor belonging to the section with jurisdiction over judges.

The Council of the Judiciary meets in plenary session to respond to requests for opinions formulated by the President or the minister of Justice on the functioning of justice or to rule on questions relating to the ethics of judges. The plenary session is chaired by the First President of the Court of Cassation. His deputy is the public prosecutor at this court.

The Council of the Judiciary may be seized by a justiciable under the conditions fixed by the law of the ***United States of Europe****.*

Article 8. International relations

The **United States of Europe** conduct relations with foreign States and international organizations by applying the principle of subsidiarity, by practicing a global approach and by respecting the following principles and objectives: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, equality, solidarity, those of the United Nations Charter and international law, and the fundamental law.

Provision

The ***United States of Europe*** *promote fair and peaceful global governance, which ensures the maintenance of freedom of navigation in international waters, space and cyberspace, as well as the sustainable conservation of natural resources. The law of the* ***United States of Europe*** *sets the priorities in the international relations of the* ***United States of Europe****. The* ***United States of Europe*** *and their federated States are part of the Atlantic Alliance, the European Union, the Schengen area, the European Monetary Union and the European Stability Mechanism.*

8.1. Foreign Affairs

The President of the **United States of Europe** determines, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, the foreign policy of the **United States of Europe**, in all their fields of competence. The **federated** States and regions do the same in their areas of competence. The Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the **United States of Europe** ensure, in accordance with the fundamental law, the coherence of the international relations of the **United States of Europe**, of their federated States and their regions with the foreign States and regions as well as with international organizations.[555]

Provision

*Relations with third countries or international organizations, concerning the competences transferred to the **United States of Europe**, are the responsibility of these. The **United States of Europe** take the place of federated States within NATO. In particular, the **United States of Europe** have the power to make treaties, to declare war, to conclude peace, to participate in agreements or to join international organizations with defensive purposes. They have the right of legation, both active and passive.*

*The international treaties binding the **United States of Europe** are negotiated by the minister of Foreign Affairs of the **United States of Europe**. They are subject to the approval of the Senate under the same conditions as the laws, then they are ratified by the President of the **United States of Europe**.*

***Federated** States retain their international relations, including the right of legation, both active and passive, in respect of all matters within their competence. They have the right to delegate quality to the **United States of Europe** to conclude, on their behalf, treaties relating to these matters. Federated States may not sign or ratify treaties which are in contradiction with the general policy of the **United States of Europe**, if the latter*

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[555] This attribution of competences in international relations is inspired by the constitution and the practice of Switzerland.

*informs the **federated** State concerned of its reasoned opposition. The **United States of Europe** and the **federated** States coordinate their participation in international organizations and their diplomatic services. The treaties or parts of treaties concluded between **federated** States and third States, concerning the competences transferred to the **United States of Europe**, remain in force, in accordance with international law. However, they cannot be renewed or extended. **Federated** States are required to make their co-contracting parties aware of their status as members of the **United States of Europe** and to request them to repeal or revise such treaties by common accord. On the other hand, if the **United States of Europe** make a treaty with a third State, within its area of competence, **federated** States accept that all the treaties relating to these matters, concluded with that State, are automatically abrogated.*

*The international personality of the **United States of Europe**, **federated** States and regions derives from their right to establish or maintain, within the limits of their competence, relations with foreign States and international organizations, to have a diplomatic and consular service and to receive foreign diplomatic and consular agents, and to conclude and ratify treaties, diplomatic instruments and other international agreements. However, all consuls are placed under the control of the government of the **United States of Europe**. No new consulate may be established by the federated States. The consuls of the **United States of Europe** exercise for the benefit of all the federated States. Once the consular service of the **United States of Europe** is in a position to represent the interests of all **federated** States' consulates shall be gradually abolished.*

*Peace treaties, trade treaties, treaties or agreements relating to international organization, those which engage the public finances of the **United States of Europe**, those which modify provisions of a legislative nature, those which relate to the status of persons, those which involve cession, exchange or addition of territory, can only be ratified or approved under a*

*law of the **United States of Europe**. They do not take effect until they have been ratified and approved.*

*If the Supreme Court of the **United States of Europe**, seized in accordance with the fundamental law, judges that an international engagement contains a clause contrary to the constitution, the approval or the ratification of the international engagement in question cannot intervene, under penalty of nullity, only after revision of the constitution or clause. The government must immediately propose the revision of the constitution. The same is true if such a judgment is made in connection with ratified international engagement. In any case, if the revision is not adopted, the government must immediately inform the other parties to the project of its withdrawal or denounce the treaty.*

8.5. Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers

The fundamental law fixes, in accordance with humanitarian principles, the welcoming of refugees and asylum seekers and immigration policy.

Provision

*The **United States of Europe**, the **federated** States, the regions and the municipalities facilitate the integration of asylum seekers and immigrants in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. **Federated** States may regulate the residence and establishment of foreigners according to local circumstances and respect for the principle of equality before the law of the **United States of Europe**. The government of the **United States of Europe** and those of the **federated** States may expel foreigners who compromise the external or internal security from the territory of the **United States of Europe** or from that of the **federated** State.*

*The **United States of Europe** may conclude agreements with European States which are bound by commitments identical to its own on asylum and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, determining their respective competences for the examination of requests for asylum submitted to them.*

*However, even if the request does not fall within their competence under these agreements, the diplomatic, administrative or military authorities of the **United States of Europe** have the right to give asylum to any foreigner because he or she is in danger of death or inhuman treatment or because he or she is persecuted because of his or her action in favour of freedom.*

The government can suspend or terminate any agreement or treaty that is not, or is inadequately, applied by the other party.

Article 9. Security and defence

9.1. Homeland security

The **United States of Europe** ensure personal, economic, environmental, food, physical, political, community and cyberspace security. To this end, the **United States of Europe** collect, in accordance with the fundamental law, data and information necessary for the prevention and prosecution of crimes and offences.

Provision

*Federated States shall share information with the **United States of Europe** to ensure the prevention and prosecution of crime while respecting **United States of Europe** values and privacy.*

*The **United States of Europe** and the federated States provide a right to be forgotten online in order to ensure upon request the deletion of data after a certain time.*

*The **United States of Europe** establish a European Intelligence Service and a European Cyber Protection Agency. This protects the personal data of natural and legal persons, prevents the publication of false information and protects democracy.*

*The **United States of Europe** set up a European Police Service. It is supported by the European Intelligence Service and the European Cyber Protection Agency.*

The ministers of the Interior of the federated States are responsible for calling conscripts to military or civil service.

9.2. Defence

The fundamental law fixes the additional and complementary missions of the army; it determines under what circumstances the armed forces can and must act on national territory; it fixes in general terms only, in order to preserve military secrecy, the organization of the Ministry of Defence of the **United States of Europe** and their armed forces, whose missions it determines.

It authorizes the **United States of Europe** Defence to own and the minister of Defence of **United States of Europe** to acquire, build and manage the infrastructure necessary for his department.

It organizes cooperation between the armed forces and other security services; it authorizes the intervention of **United States of Europe** army in support of other **United States of Europe** services, federated States and regions in a situation of internal crisis; it fixes the rules relating to the state of war, serious crisis, tension or defence and the safety of **United States of Europe** armed forces; it fixes possible derogations in such cases from the ordinary rules, in particular in legislative, judicial or internal and external security matters; it organizes the intervention of the **armed forces** in the event of a particularly serious disaster, of natural origin or caused by man.

It organizes a national, military or civil service to which all citizens **of both sexes** are possibly required.

Within the framework of the applicable international conventions, it fixes legal, financial, logistical and administrative questions arising from the temporary dispatch of military personnel of the **United States of Europe** abroad or the temporary stay of foreign military personnel in the **United States of Europe**, in particular as regards responsibility for case of damage, without derogating from the rights of citizens of the **United States of Europe**.

It allocates competence for the prosecution of penal or disciplinary infractions.

It regulates the import and export of military equipment and goods, as well as essential materials and consumables,

including food, medicines, health care equipment, combustibles and motor fuels.

Provision

Defence policy includes defence diplomacy, the security and defence aspects of foreign affairs, the raising of armed forces, the determination of their composition and organization, the definition of the military capabilities necessary to face the threats and challenges, the administration, command, supply and equipment of the forces, the decision to place them on a state of readiness and to use them, the financing of defence preparations and armed operations, the acquisition of buildings, movable property, consumable goods and services necessary for Defence. The ***federated*** *States participate in the definition of the defence policy of the* ***United States of Europe*** *through* ***their*** *Senate's contribution to the drafting of legislation, the vote on the budget and the vote on the contingent.*

The armed forces of the ***United States of Europe*** *include the land, sea, air, space and cyberspace armies, as well as border guards, coastguards and the gendarmerie. Each army includes reserve troops. In addition to the forces organized by, and under the responsibility of the* ***United States of Europe****, there are also armed forces, possibly organized by the federated States. The federated State which organizes it takes over the cost of it.*

The minister of Defence of the ***United States of Europe*** *fixes the detailed organization of the armed forces and determines the mission of each body or unit, as well as the human and material resources assigned to them. He or she acquires, lets construct or arrange the infrastructure and facilities for the Defence of* ***United States of Europe****, which include in particular headquarters, barracks, military ports, airfields, firing ranges, arsenals, depots and exercise grounds. He or she recruits, administers, hosts, equips, arms, supplies, trains, instructs and trains active and reserve military personnel of the* ***United States of Europe****. He or she fixes the rules on the training, equipment and intervention of reservists who may carry weapons and are*

specially trained to supplement the security system that faces terrorism, to strengthen collective resilience in the event of crisis, particularly in the event of an attack and to reinforce the bond of trust between the ***United States of Europe*** *and their citizens. He or she prepares and deploys the active and reserve armed forces. He or she acquires equipment and armaments for the armed forces of the* ***federated*** *States, aligns the standards, procedures, training and other processes of these forces with those of the* ***United States of Europe****, controls their preparation and their interoperability with those of the* ***United States of Europe****; if this is the case, he or she may pay for all or part of the costs of the federated State which organizes armed forces.*

Public services, including Defence, provide mutual assistance. This may involve intervention in the context of firefighting, provision of equipment or infrastructure, cybersecurity, surveillance of airspace, assistance in the context of rescue services, support to civil authorities facing a migration crisis, etc. Mutual assistance does not intervene spontaneously but supposes a request in this sense for another service. The service that has been requested is obliged to provide the requested assistance.

As the world has become increasingly uncertain and dangerous since 2001, the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the ***United States of Europe*** *are preparing for any eventuality, from enhanced maintaining public order to the state of defence. During these exceptional circumstances, the courts and tribunals control in priority the action of the government and the military authorities, in order to pronounce their decisions if possible, during these exceptional circumstances and not afterwards.*

Within the ***United States of Europe*** *and the* ***federated*** *States, the armed forces may be placed at the service of the civil authorities in order to reinforce the maintenance or restoration of public order; they only intervene in this case when the police force is no longer sufficient and when the civil authority requests the support of the army to, in particular, protect people and property or help the population in the event of a natural or*

man-made disaster; they provide support to civil authorities when they face a serious threat to internal security or other exceptional situations.

*The state of tension refers to a period of international tension, a war involving the **United States of Europe**, a major terrorist action against the **United States of Europe**, which can, with a high probability, lead to the promulgation of the state of defence and which requires measures to increase defence capabilities.*

*A state of crisis is the extraordinary, unforeseen, urgent and critical danger engendered by armed conflict, natural or man-made disaster, or an imminent risk of such circumstances, which threatens the existence or the constitutional order of the **United States of Europe**, of a **federated** State or a region. In response, the government of the **United States of Europe** may involve all available forces, from the **United States of Europe**, from the **federated** States and from the regions, first of all the police and security forces, as well as armed forces as a last resort. It immediately informs Parliament.*

*The declaration of a state of tension or crisis by the President of the **United States of Europe** enables the Parliament, on the proposal of the President of the **United States of Europe**, to pass emergency legislation, which is not necessarily based on the constitution, and which is not likely to be subject to voting. Such legislation is only applicable for one year.*

*The state of defence is declared by the President when the **United States of Europe** are subject to armed aggression of a certain scale or when such an aggression is imminent. The declaration of the state of defence allows the armed forces to intervene on the whole territory of the **United States of Europe**. It allows the President and the government to intervene in all matters within the competence of the **federated** States or regions, under the control of the Parliament and the judiciary of the **United States of Europe**, in order to prevent unjustified infringements of individual, personal, civil and economic freedoms such as freedom of movement, of opinion, of expression, of the press and of political or syndical organizations. The freedoms of trade, industry and the use of*

property may be restricted, either by the President in cases of extreme urgency, or by the government, if the need arises for defence purposes.

*When the institutions of the **United States of Europe**, their independence, their territorial integrity or the fulfilment of their international commitments are under very serious threat, the state of siege may be declared by the council of ministers, for a period of thirty days at most. Its extension beyond thirty days can only be authorized by Parliament. The state of siege entails the surrender to the military authorities of all powers, except that of the President, the power of oversight of the Parliament and the judiciary. In particular, the army maintains order in place of or in cooperation with the police. It ensures the control of subversive groups which may disrupt the execution of the missions of the armed forces or aid the enemy and, if necessary, put such groups out of action. It primarily ensures its security and that of defence or vital installations. The Parliament meets as of right as soon as the state of siege is proclaimed; it cannot be dissolved during the state of siege.*

*When the institutions of the **United States of Europe**, their independence, their territorial integrity or the fulfilment of their international commitments are threatened in such a serious and immediate way that the regular functioning of the public authorities is interrupted, the President proclaims the state of siege for thirty days. If necessary, he or she takes alone the measures required by these circumstances, he or she directly informs European citizens and, if possible, the Parliament.*

*The measures taken during the state of siege must be inspired by the will to return to constitutional public authorities, as soon as possible, the means to accomplish their mission. After thirty days of state of siege, the Supreme Court of the **United States of Europe** can be seized by the president of the Parliament, the president of the Senate, a quarter of the deputies or a quarter of the senators, for the purpose of examining if the institutions of the **United States of Europe**, their independence, the integrity of their territory or the execution of their international commitments are still under serious and immediate threat and*

whether the regular functioning of the constitutional public authorities is still interrupted. The Supreme Court decides in the shortest possible time by a public notice. It automatically carries out this examination and decides again under the same conditions at the end of sixty days of state of siege and at any time of its choice beyond this period.

If the above circumstances prevent the convocation of the Parliament, the government adopts the necessary ordinances to safeguard the country, even without a constitutional basis or the consent of Parliament. These ordinances apply if the ***United States of Europe*** *are in such grave danger that it would be impossible to deal with them in accordance with legislative procedures. In the event that the government is no longer able to meet, the competence to adopt such ordinances lies with the President, and failing that, with the governments of the* ***federated*** *States. These ordinances end as soon as the normal functioning of the institutions, and in particular the legislative procedure, is restored.*

From the state of tension and beyond, the government may authorize the minister of Defence or his delegate to mobilize the economy, the companies and the workforce, in particular in the defence industrial and technological base; to use or requisition what the ***United States of Europe*** *need to be able to cope with the situation, including* ***federated*** *State officials and civil transport infrastructure such as motorways, roads, railways, airports, pipelines, telecommunications, etc., as well as to prepare for states of crisis, tension or defence, in particular by awarding deferred contracts The government of the* ***United States of Europe*** *protects the economy from inflation; it can also set prices and wages, allocate personnel, housing, materials and equipment, give priority to government orders and run the economy. To reconvert the economy after those circumstances, it may take measures of economic control and adjustment and to this end requisition civil servants of* ***federated*** *States. All measures taken under this paragraph are supervised by the courts and tribunals.*

Article 10. Home, Economic, Social and Environmental Affairs

10.3. Labour law, social security, social mobility and social dialogue

The fundamental law fixes the rules on labour law, social security, social mobility and social consultation.

Provision

*Public authorities, employers' associations and trade unions interact, from the local level to the **United States of Europe**. These, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, guarantee freedom of association, establish institutions and procedures to settle labour disputes, fix wages, hours and other working conditions, organize labour inspection, social conciliation, arbitration procedures and labour courts. The **United States of Europe** promote the widest possible dissemination of information on job vacancies and requests, on staff training and on vocational guidance. Labour services must be as efficient as possible. Social insurance covers sickness, accidents, old age, descendants, disability and unemployment.*

*The **United States of Europe** ensure the right of access to decent working conditions and protect the right of workers and employers to organize in unions and in transnational trade unions; they promote consultation between them in accordance with the method used by the International Labour Organization. The **United States of Europe** promote social mobility.*

Article 11. Public finances and the budget

The fundamental law fixes the rules concerning the basis, the rate and the methods of collection of all kinds of taxes, as well as the rules relating to investments, subsidies and asset accounts. It fixes the budgetary principles to be observed, contains the provisions necessary to balance the current expenditure budget, as well as the rules relating to the execution and control of the budget. It establishes administrative and

budgetary control within the administrations of the **United States of Europe**.

Provision

*The budget of the **United States of Europe** considers the economic policy of the **United States of Europe**. It must be balanced for current expenditure. Investments that are expected to generate higher tax revenues can be financed through borrowing.*

*The own resources of the **United States of Europe** comprise tax revenue, which the federated States collect for the **United States of Europe,** and which is calculated on the basis of the common tax base for the various taxes of the federated States, while avoiding double taxation.*[556]

Taxes on consumption are levied at the place of consumption. Taxes on labour income and on pollution are levied at the place of production. For other incomes, they are levied at the taxpayer's place of residence. Taxes on real estate assets are levied at the place where the property is located. Taxes on movable assets are levied at the taxpayer's place of residence.

*The **United States of Europe** may grant subsidies to promote the achievement of their goals, in particular to their **federated** States. Subsidies granted by the government of the **United States of Europe** to the **federated** States may consist of free donations, avoiding discrimination between the various **federated** States, or payments for services rendered.*

For the consideration of the budget, the Speaker of the Parliament of the United States of Europe may hold "principled votes" to group several similar amendments on the same article, to create a single vote allowing the adoption

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[556] Avoiding double taxation should not lead to excessive centralization of power, which would be the antithesis of the federal principle. To prevent fiscal dumping (federated States lower the tax rate in order to attract wealthy taxpayers), the American Congress established in 1926 an inheritance tax at a higher rate than that of the federated States, with the duties collected by the States being deducted from the federal tax.

or the rejection of all similar and individual amendments in a single provision. At first reading, in plenary session, amendments must be tabled by a group of at least 15 deputies, or by a group of 5 deputies bearing the signature of the spokesman of an existing political group in Parliament, or by a parliamentary group. At second reading, amendments can only be tabled by a group of at least 40 deputies, or by a parliamentary group.

No tax privileges or exemptions may be established unless they have first been made by a law of the United States of Europe. The Parliament adopts and amends the draft finance and budget regulation laws, which authorise the revenue, expenditure and indebtedness of the federal State, as well as the procedures to be followed in the examination of budget texts, in accordance with the following provisions.

Taxes are established for the benefit of the federal State and are voted annually by the Parliament of the United States of Europe. The rules that establish them are only valid for one year if they are not renewed. The accounting year and the budget year correspond to the calendar year.

To ensure proper information and transparency during the vote and to facilitate budget monitoring and control, the principle of speciality is observed, which consists in authorising an expenditure only by allocating it to one or more services, in particular, and for a precisely defined purpose. Members of the Federal Government may not commit or liquidate expenditure for their services in excess of the appropriations made available by budget or law, or beyond the authorizations granted by the Council of Ministers, even in the event of an emergency.

To guarantee transparency and legibility in budgetary matters, all income and expenditure will be recorded in a single budget document. However, the federal government will present its budget to Parliament in two separate documents: the Ways and Means Estimates and the General Estimates.

The budget describes, for the duration of the financial year, all expenditure and revenue, without the latter being linked via a system of compensation or subordination.

In order to strengthen the obligation of transparency and sound management of public funds, the principle of sincerity is observed by the administration and the executive by providing relevant and up-to-date information on the state of public finances and by providing reasonable forecasts on its sustainability. Concealment, withholding of data and information concerning the budget, budgetary dressing, selective communication, in the context of discussions on budgetary matters are all potential violations of the Constitution, which can lead to the holding of responsibility, or even the dismissal of a member of the government or the engagement of the responsibility of the competent administration.

Derogations from these general principles may be organised by means of a law of the United States of Europe, which must be subject to the issuance of an opinion by the Court of Auditors and its examination by the Constitutional Court, within 30 days before its publication.

Budgetary procedure

The federal administration provides a precise, correct and readable presentation of the state of public finances, which allows the government to produce a budget text that reflects political orientations and mobilizes the necessary resources to achieve this.

Each federal ministry communicates its budgetary guidelines and policy directives to the Parliament by 1 September at the latest. The government communicates, by 3 September at the latest, the general account of the budget in order to inform deputies of the state of public finances and the general orientations of the future budget. All of these documents must reflect the government's budgetary directives and respect the principle of sincerity.

The consideration of the budget begins on 10 September at the latest in the Finance and Budget Committee. The draft law is communicated to the Parliament of the United States of Europe by 10 October. The draft law can be amended in committee as well as in plenary session.

From the start of the examination of the budget texts in plenary session, the deputies can table their amendments within 20 days. Parliament has 40 days from the examination in plenary session to decide on the various budget texts. This period may be extended by Parliament by an absolute majority vote, or by the government.

If the text is adopted, it is transferred to the Senate, which can only examine and propose amendments on budgetary matters concerning transfers or levies relating to regions and federated States. The Senate has 15 days to do so.

The amended text is sent back to Parliament, which can adopt the text in its entirety or reject it. In the event of a rejection, a conciliation committee, composed of 30 parliamentarians and 10 senators and assisted by the government, has 10 days to reach an agreement, which is the subject of a final vote in Parliament.

If the text is rejected at first reading, and there is no agreement in the Conciliation Committee or the agreement has not been adopted by Parliament, the text is subject to a second reading, which can only last 20 days, unless extended by Parliament, by an absolute majority vote.

If the text is adopted on second reading, it is transferred to the Senate, which can only examine and propose amendments on budgetary issues concerning transfers or levies relating to regions and federated States. The Senate has 15 days to do so.

The amended text is sent back to Parliament, which can adopt the text in its entirety or reject it. In the event of a rejection, a conciliation committee, composed of 30 deputies and 10 senators and assisted by the government, has 10 days to reach an agreement, which is the subject of a final vote in Parliament.

After the second reading, in the event of rejection of the budget text, or rejection of the agreement of the conciliation committee or disagreement in the conciliation committee, the text is referred to the budgetary conciliation committee, half of which is made up of deputies, a quarter of senators and a quarter of members or representatives of the government. This committee adopts, as soon as possible, a budget of the federal State, by a two-thirds majority of its members, with abstentions neutralized. If the budget is not promulgated by 1 January, the last budget adopted by the Parliament of the United States of Europe shall be implemented on a quarterly basis until the vote on the new budget. Urgent expenditure of a new nature must be approved by the legislator in accordance with the budgetary procedure above.

Within five days of the adoption of the budget text by Parliament or by the Budgetary Conciliation Committee, the Prime Minister, or a quarter of the deputies, or one third of the senators, may lodge an appeal for unconstitutionality against the provisions of the budget law before the Constitutional Court, which shall rule within a period not exceeding five days following the appeal. If the provisions annulled or partially censured by the Court do not prevent the implementation of the budget as a whole, the budget shall be promulgated, with the exception of the measures referred to by the Court, which shall be corrected subsequently by Parliament.

During the first two parliamentary terms, the budget for current expenditure of ***United States of Europe*** *is balanced by levying a contribution from the federated States, the amount of which varies according to their contributory capacity and is calculated in proportion to the respective amounts of gross domestic product of these States.*

List of abbreviations and acronyms

ATACAMS	**Army Tactical Missile Systems**
Athena	Mechanism for the common financing of EU military operations
BLEU	**Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union**
Benelux	Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg
BSL4	Biosafety Level 4 laboratory
CARD	Coordinated Annual Review on Defence
CDP	EU Capacity Development Plan
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CJEU	Court of Justice of the EU
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
EADS	**European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company, today Airbus**
ECB	European Central Bank
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDIDP	European defence industrial development program
EEA	European Economic Area
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EDF	European Defence Fund
EDU	**European Defence Union**
EEC	European Economic Community
EII	European intervention initiative
EPC	European Political Community
EPU	**European Parliamentary Union**
ESDP	Common European Security and Defence Policy
ESDC	European Security and Defence College
EU	**European Union**
EUISS	Institute for Security Studies, of the WEU and then of the EU
EUMC	European Military Committee
EUMS	European Military Staff
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
€	euro
ESDC	European Security and Defence College

EDF	**European Defence Fund**
FPV	**Drone first person view**
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNSS	**Global Navigation Satellite System**
GPS	Global Positioning System
GSM	Global System for Mobile communications, mobile telephony standard initiated by the "Mobile Special Group" established in 1982 by the European Conference of Postal and Telecommunications Administrations
HIMARS	**M142 High Mobility Artillery Rocket System**
HR	High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and the Common European Security Policy
HUR	**Military Intelligence Service of Ukraine**
ESDI	European security and defence identity
INPA	International Non-Profit Association
IntCen	Intelligence Centre EEAS
JCPOA	The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
LoN	**League of Nations**
MAGURA	**Maritime Autonomous Guard Unmanned Robotic Apparatus**
ESM	**European Stability Mechanism**
MINUSMA	**United Nations Multidimensional integrated stabilization Mission in Mali**
MONUC	**United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo**
MPCC	Military Planning and Conduct Capability
NADGE	**NATO Air Defence Ground Environment**
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDPP	NATO Defence Planning Process
NNSA	***National Nuclear Security Administration***
New Start	**New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty**
OCCAr	*Organisation conjointe de coopération en matière d'armement* - Joint Organisation for Armament Cooperation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Cooperation
OHQ	Operational Headquarter
OMT	**Outright Monetary Transactions**
UN	**United Nations**
OPCEN	EU Operations Centre
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PSC	Political and Security Committee
PESCO	Permanent structured cooperation
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SatCen	Satellite Centre of the EU
SBU	**Security Service of Ukraine**
EEAS	European External Action Service
S€D	European Society for Defence INPA
SitCen	Situation Centre
SSM	**Single Supervisory Mechanism of the banks**
SWIFT	**Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication**
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
TEU	Treaty on European Union
UEF	**European Union of Federalists**
ULB	**Université libre de Bruxelles**
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WEU	Western European Union

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p. 11, Note 7. Benjamin Franklin, « *Join, or Die* », in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 May 1754.



p. 135. On the left, Joseph Maria Olbrich erected this *Art Nouveau*-style building in 1897–98 for the *Secession* art group founded by Gustav Klimt; see https://www.wien.info/fr/art-culture/art-nouveau/sécession-357952 and on the right, a photograph of Barbara Cassin by Frédéric Stucin in *Libération*, https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2019/10/15/barbara-cassin-armee-pour-l-academie-francaise_1757808, 15/10/2019.



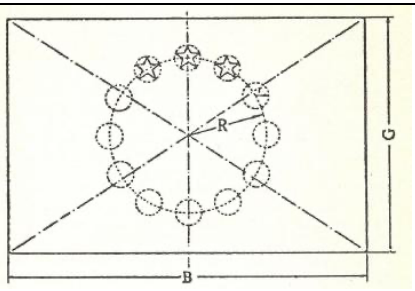


p. 137. **Fresco from Pompeii. See https://www.lankaart.org/article-enlevement-d-europe-pompei-123153105.html.**



p. 137. The blue flag with twelve gold stars.





p. 138. The coat of arms and the seal





p. 138-139. Bow flags for ships

For warships, the background is yellow, and the cross is red.



For the auxiliary fleet, the background is blue, and the cross is red.



For the merchant fleet, the background is red, and the cross is yellow.



The roundel for aircraft and military personnel will be that of the European Union Force (EUFOR), established in May 2003:



The organisational chart of the United States of Europe

