

Republican Italy and the Navy: the role of the Armed Force in reintegrating the country in the post-war international context, between the Atlantic Pact and attempts at common European defense.

Historical context

The situation of the Italian Armed Forces at the end of hostilities in Europe in 1945 was determined by multiple factors such as the military, political and geopolitical order that emerged at the end of the conflict and which saw Italy, despite having taken part in the fight against Nazi-fascism as a co-belligerent country, on the side of the defeated. To these elements were added consequent decisions of a plurality of subjects, national and international, which made the process of reconstruction of the Italian military apparatus, and in particular of the Navy, very unique. In fact, until the signing of the Peace Treaty in February 1947, the units of the naval force remained under the direct control of the Allies on the basis of the Cooperation Agreement - which ensured the participation of the Italian ships in surveillance and traffic escort missions. in the Mediterranean - stipulated between Admiral Raffaele de Courten and the Commander in Chief of the allied fleets in the Mediterranean Lord Andrew Browne Cunningham on 23 September 1943 in Taranto.

Although the Peace Treaty turned out to be an Allied diplomatic success, the military clauses were very painful, almost as much as those that led to the change of Italian borders. For example, Art. 51 imposed a ban on Italy from building and testing atomic weapons, from possessing guns with ranges exceeding 30 km and launching devices with self-propelled projectiles. Furthermore, Art. 59 - which specifically concerned the Navy - prohibited the construction, replacement and purchase of battleships and prevented the use of underwater vessels, aircraft carriers, torpedo boats and assault vehicles of any kind.

However, some political and military reasons led to a limited implementation of these measures. The most important of these was the sudden change in Allied relations with the USSR, motivated by Stalin's expansionist intentions in Eastern Europe and by the interest shown by the latter in Italian naval bases (so as to be able to dispose, for any eventuality, of strategic points for their naval forces), which placed the Mediterranean, and the countries overlooking it, at the center of the interest of the great powers. The United States, in order to maintain air-naval control of the Mediterranean, managed to convince Italy to undertake talks for the creation of a defensive alliance in which it would have simultaneously obtained an immediate relaxation of the clauses of the Peace Treaty (which would have been consequently also mitigated by Great Britain and, to a lesser extent,

also by France) and with the inclusion of the Italian armed forces in the Mutual Defense Assistance Program (MDAP), a US aid project to the armies of its allies.

In this international climate, Italy signed the North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) on 4 April 1949 with the delicate task - for the Navy - of monitoring the Adriatic Sea and the Otranto Canal in collaboration with the US Navy (US Navy) and the British Navy (Royal Navy) which, in turn, watched over the central Mediterranean. This commitment led to the elaboration of the "Study on the strengthening of the Italian Navy in relation to the Atlantic Pact" which determined the end of all the constraints imposed on Paris and the no less important "recognition", on an equal footing, of the Italian presence in the international context by world powers.

The fate of Italy would have been that of Europe: this was the perspective in which military culture moved on the threshold of the fifties. From here, initiatives for the common European defense led, along the lines of the integration process initiated by some European states with the Council of Europe (CoE) of 1949 and with the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) of 1950, at the signing of the founding pact, in 1952, of a European Defense Community (CED), which was never materialized due to internal disputes in France which led to its failure through the negative vote on the "Treaty on the CED" expressed by the French Parliament on 30 August 1954.

The CED project was definitively set aside, on October 23 of the same year, the Brussels Treaty of 1948 was modified through the "Paris Agreements" which established the birth of the Western European Union through the entry of Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany into 'organization.

Research objective

With a view to enhancing the historical cognitive dimension and increasing the scientific literature on the subject - which according to the candidate's modest opinion is not too substantial - this research project, through a transversal study, aims to investigate , to increase and innovate the state of studies on the Italian Navy after World War II, in particular in the decade 1945-1955, in a military, political and diplomatic key linked to the context not only Italian but also international which, as we have seen, between games of forces and related influences, was shaping the new post-war world order.

A further aim of the research will be to reconstruct the strategic role played by the Italian Navy in the long process of reintegrating Italy into the framework of the Western powers, and in particular in the European context, to detect its particularities with respect to other States that did not fall under the Soviet orbit but defeated by the Second World War and to analyze the functions played

by the Armed Force in the development of the first supranational, Atlantic and European defensive organizations, and the changes, direct and indirect, which it itself underwent by virtue of these agreements.

Sources of research

The candidate intends to undertake a careful and scrupulous archival research that will start, in the first place, from the analysis of the "Santoni 1", "Santoni 2" and "MARISEGREGE" fonds preserved in the Archives of the Historical Office of the Navy since they are considered particularly significant for the start of the project. The series identified in the aforementioned macro-depths contain conspicuous documentation relating to the "reduction" of the Armed Force in application of the naval clauses of the Peace Treaty, the strengthening of the Italian Navy in relation to the Atlantic Pact, the Organization of the Supreme Command of the Allied Forces in Europe and to the Office of the Secretary General of the Navy for the coordination of the activities of the general and technical directorates of the Ministry of Defense (1946-1966). The study will continue with further investigations at the Central State Archives with regard to the strictly political and institutional aspect and in particular by studying the "Diverse Affairs" series of the Cabinet fund of the Ministry of the Armed Forces for the news contained in the Official Military Journal and relating to the defense of plants, factories and warehouses and, again at the Central State Archives, the "Personal Archive of Carlo Sforza" for the role of Minister of Foreign Affairs which the latter held from the third to the sixth De Gasperi (1947-1951) as well as as Minister for European Affairs in the seventh De Gasperi government which he exercised until his death, in office still in progress, in 1952 and for his personal commitment to the creation of the European Defense Community (CED); again at the Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation for the consultation of the "Reserved Archives of the General Secretariat (1943-47)" on the relations between Italy, the Allies and the "other States", " Central Administration "for the Italian representation at the Atlantic Council," Directorate General for Political Affairs (1951-1960) "for the Council of Europe and NATO," Embassy in London "," Embassy supplement in London "," Representations diplomatic missions in France "," Embassy of Italy in Paris "," Diplomatic missions in Russia (USSR) "and" Embassy of Italy in Washington "in relation to diplomatic and consular missions in the years of interest. Following, at the Historical Archives of the European Union in Florence, the "Alcide De Gasperi" collection and in particular the series "The European Army" for the minutes of the meeting of Foreign Ministers at the European Army conference in Strasbourg in 1951 and for the question of Germany's participation in the EDC, "European Defense

Community (EDC)", for the ministerial correspondence and for the Italian proposals regarding the defensive plan, "Atlantic Pact" about meetings, questions and interpellations parliamentarians and "NATO" for correspondence relating to the NATO economic-military questionnaire in 1951.

Finally, further documentary sources will be taken into consideration in progress, first Italian and then foreign, contemporary and subsequent to the events.

Particular attention will certainly be paid to the existing bibliography, which will provide the fundamental "base" from which to start, favoring the connection between the suitably Italian military and naval aspect and the European one itself.

Bibliographic references

- Bernardi G., *La Marina gli Armistizi e il Trattato di Pace*, Ufficio Storico della Marina Militare, Roma, 1979;
- Bertozzi S., *La Comunità Europea di Difesa. Profili storici, istituzionali e giuridici*, Giappichelli, Torino, 2003;
- Cannata A., *Dalla ced all'ueo*, in *L'Italia e la politica di potenza in Europa (1950-1960)*, Di Nolfo E., Rainero R. H., Vigezzi B., (a cura di), Marzorati, Milano, 1992;
- Cappuzzo U., *Istituzioni militari e Costituzione*, Roma, 1997;
- Cerquetti E., *Le Forze armate italiane dal 1945 al 1975. Struttura e dottrine*, Feltrinelli, Milano, 1975;
- Cosentino, M. *Dal Trattato di Pace alla Legge navale. Lo sviluppo della Marina Militare dal 1945 al 1975*, Rivista Militare Marittima, Roma, 1996;
- Dockrill S., *Cooperation and Suspicion: the United States' Alliance Diplomacy for the Security of Western Europe 1953-1954* in «*Diplomacy & Statecraft*», vol. 5, n. 1, marzo 1994;
- Formigoni G., *Storia d'Italia nella guerra fredda*, il Mulino, 2016;
- Galuppini G., *La Marina italiana dalla liberazione all'adesione dell'Italia alla NATO*, in *Le Forze Armate dalla liberazione all'adesione dell'Italia alla NATO*, Mola A. A., (a cura di) Roma 1986;
- Gentiloni Silveri U., *Sistema politico e contesto internazionale nell'Italia repubblicana*, Carocci, Roma, 2008;
- Lorenzini S., *L'Italia e il Trattato di Pace del 1947*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2007;

- Pizzigallo M., Alberini P., (a cura di), *Le Forze Armate dalla scelta Repubblicana alla partecipazione Atlantica. Acta del Convegno di Studi tenuto a Roma nella Sala del Cenacolo il 27 novembre 1997*, Roma, Commissione italiana di Storia Militare, 1999;
- Romero F., *Gli Stati Uniti in Italia: il Piano Marshall e il Patto Atlantico*, in AA.VV., *Storia dell'Italia Repubblicana*, I, Einaudi, Torino, 1994;
- Romero F., *Storia della guerra fredda*, Einaudi, Torino, 2009;
- Romero F., *The United States and the European trade union movement, 1944-1951*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, , London, 1992;
- Romero F., Varsori A., *Nazione, interdipendenza, integrazione. Le relazioni internazionali dell'Italia (1917-1989)*, Carocci, Roma, 2005;
- Sadkovich J. J. *La Marina italiana nella Seconda guerra mondiale*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2014;
- Sebesta L., *L'Europa indifesa: sistema di sicurezza atlantico e caso italiano 1948-1955*, Ponte alle Grazie, Firenze, 1991;
- Spinelli A., *Europa terza forza: politica estera e difesa comune negli anni della guerra fredda 1947-1954*, Graglia P. S. (a cura di), il Mulino, Bologna, 2001;
- Taviani P. E., *Solidarietà atlantica e comunità europea*, Le Monnier, Firenze, 1967.

Scientific magazines

- *Bollettino d'Archivio dell'Ufficio Storico della Marina Militare*;
- *Rivista Marittima*;
- *Notiziario della Marina*;
- *Cittadinanza Europea*.